

**UNDER DEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL MOVEMENTS  
IN SANTHAL PARGANAS AND ✓  
. CHOTANAGPUR**

**By**

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**A Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in  
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This Dissertation entitled " UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN SANTHAL PARGANAS AND CHOTANAGPUR " by Shri Himanshu Shekhar Choudhary for the degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University. We recommend this Dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

  
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CHAIRMAN

  
(Yogendra Singh)  
Supervisor

## P R E F A C E

This work deals with "The Underdevelopment and Tribal Movement, in Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur". Now-a-days a number of questions on the unrest of the tribals are being asked. To find out the answer to the questions, it is necessary to go into the economic and political history of the rebellious tribes. The main cause of their unrest is due to the comparative economic underdevelopment and their exploitation in the hands of moneylenders, landlords and industrialists. To understand their under-development and unrest properly, I have tried to interpret their changing economic system, political activities and hardships which they face in different social matrices. Their unrest starts with the introduction of new British economic policy which transformed their communal economic system into the private individual ownership of the property. This individual ownership of property has still been continuing. This private ownership of the property created the classes of exploiters and exploited. The exploitation is so severe that it generated an inevitable need to struggle for sheer survival.

My interest to find out the reasons of this struggling tribes is old enough. I have been observing the unrest among these militant people since my childhood in the remote

areas of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. Another most pertinent reason to choose this topic is that no exclusive account of the theoretical study on the recent tribal movement is available.

These recent writings are in the forms of pamphlets and articles. The last but not the least reason to study the tribal movement is that the anthropologists while dealing with the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur, ignored the economic background and struggling potentiality of the deprived tribes.

But this dissertation has certain limitations <sup>in</sup> to present <sup>ing</sup> the facts. I have used secondary materials <sup>and</sup> compiled <sup>them</sup> which are non-sociological in nature. Particularly the course of the movement is not handled properly by the local newspapers and pamphlets. This shortcoming could be overcome only by fieldwork.

This dissertation came into complete shape primarily due to my supervisor. Prof. Yogendra Singh, Chairman, Centre for the Study of Social System and Dean of Student Welfare, Jawaharlal Nehru University. I am greatly thankful to him for constant guidance. I am *grateful* to my class teachers Prof. J.R. Gusfield, University of California, San Diego, U.S.A. and Prof. T.K. Commen who delivered a series of lectures

on the various aspects of the movements. I thank to Dr. Dipankar Gupta, Centre for Community Health and Medicine, JNU, who made valuable comments and suggestions on thés writings. I am *grateful* to Shri Chandra Shekhar Kumar Singh, Research Associate of National Labour Institute for helping me with material on tribes. I am deeply indebted to Fr. P. Ponnett, Fr. Van Exam, X'avier Institute of Social Welfare, Ranchi who explained to me the Munda and Oraon Economic System.

In fact they provided me the "Encyclopaedia Mundarica" and several valuable old records. I owe my thanks to Shri Doman Sahu Shamir, the editor of 'Horsombad', a santhaly weekly, who suggested me some valuable references on the economic life of Santhals. I owe a special debt of gratitude to the staff of "S.C. Roy Anthropological Society", Ranchi, I also wish to express my thanks to the employees of the record rooms of the districts of Santhal Pargana, Dhanbad and Bhagalpur.

I have largely benefitted from the suggestions and comments made by my colleagues, Fr. Christopher Lakra, Shri Gulab Jha, Shri Alok Srivestava, Shri Satyendra Kishore, Shri Rashid Ahmed Anseri and Shri Chandra Bhushan Singh. I owe my thanks to them. I am very thankful to my friend Shri Sebastian who made my dissertation presentable.

  
HIMANSHU SHEKHAR CHOUDHARY

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ABBREVIATIONS

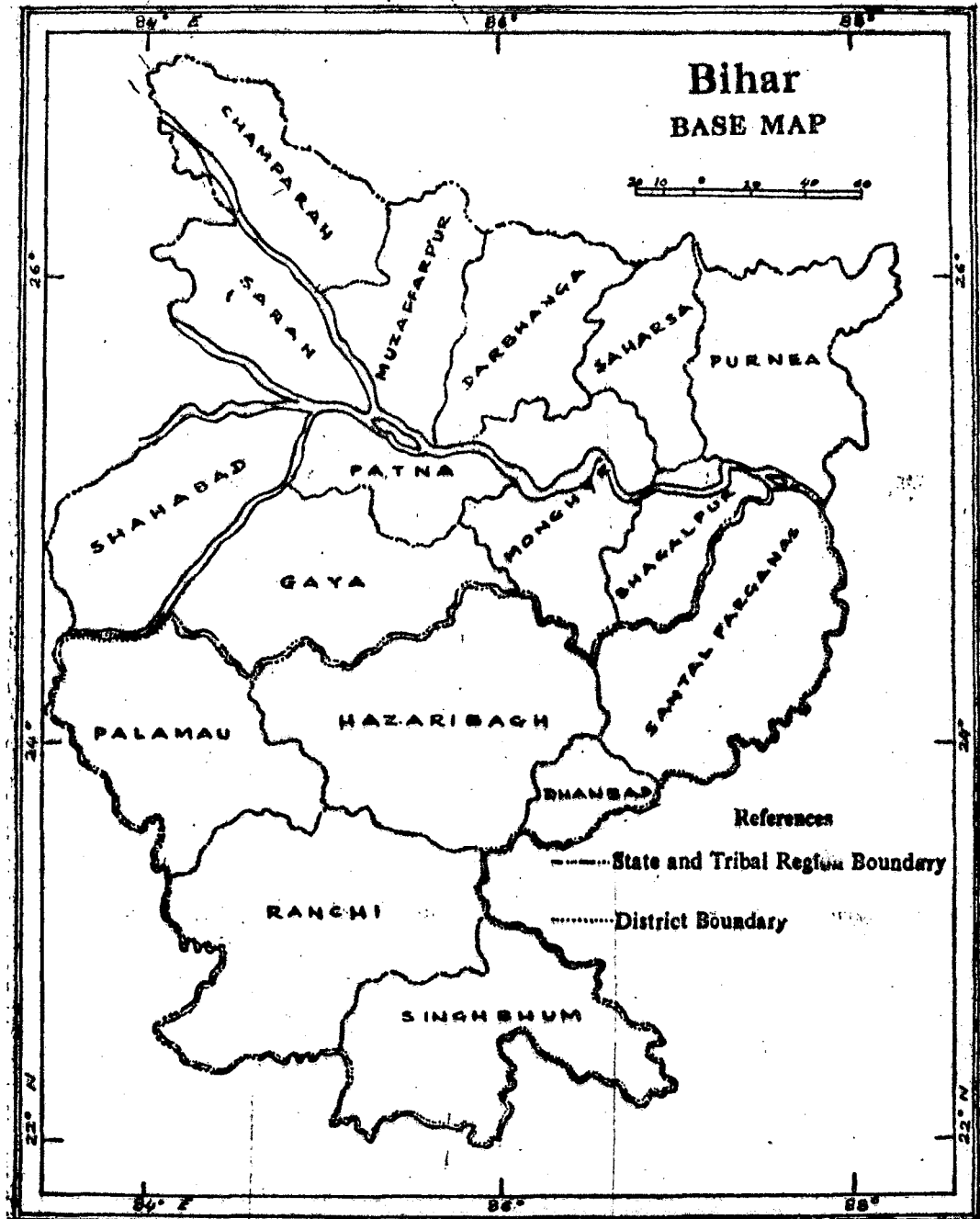
Enc. Mund. : Encyclopaedia Mundarica

E.P.W. : Economic and Political Weekly

J.A.S.B. : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.B.O.R.S. : Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

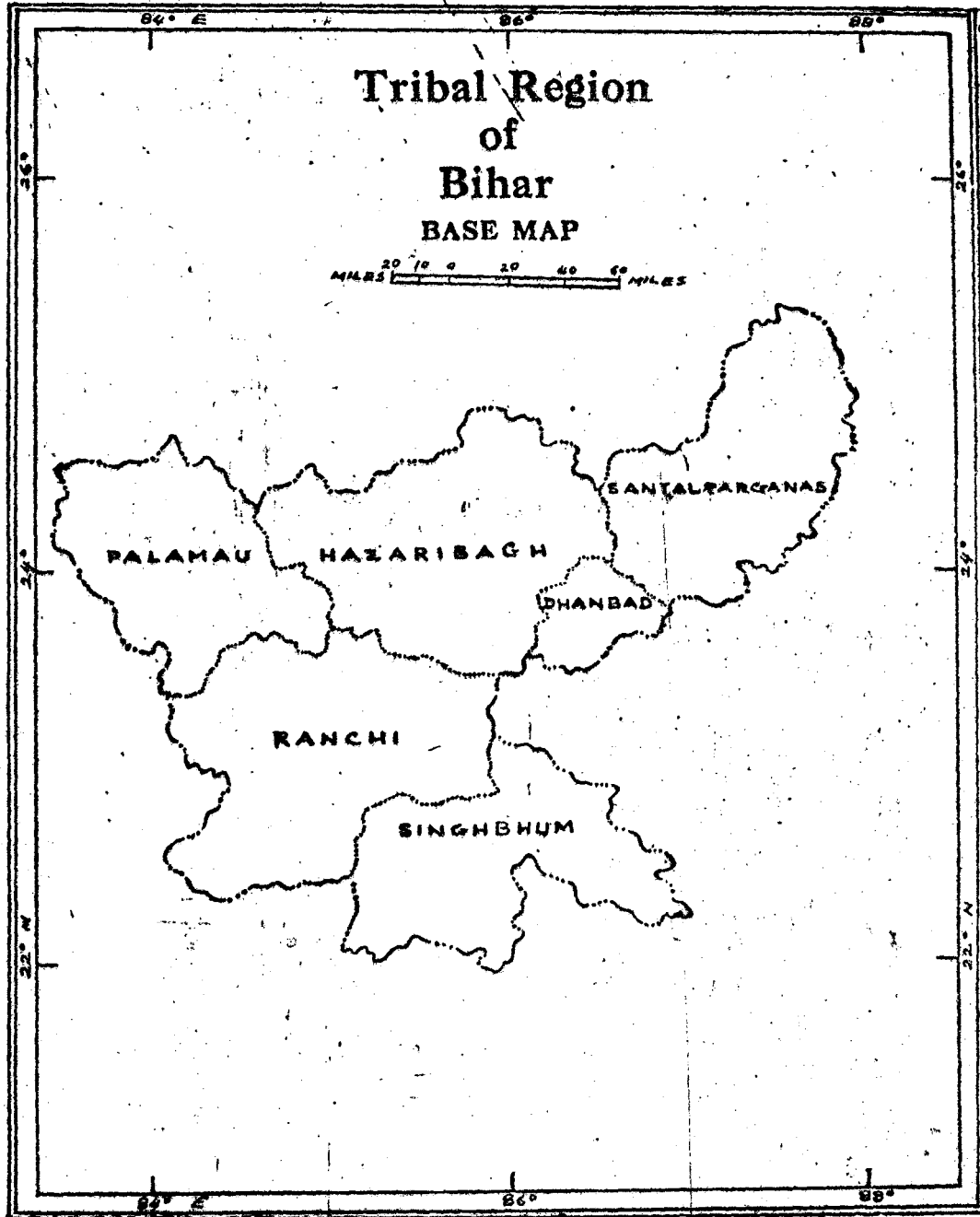
TRIBAL BIHAR IN MAPS





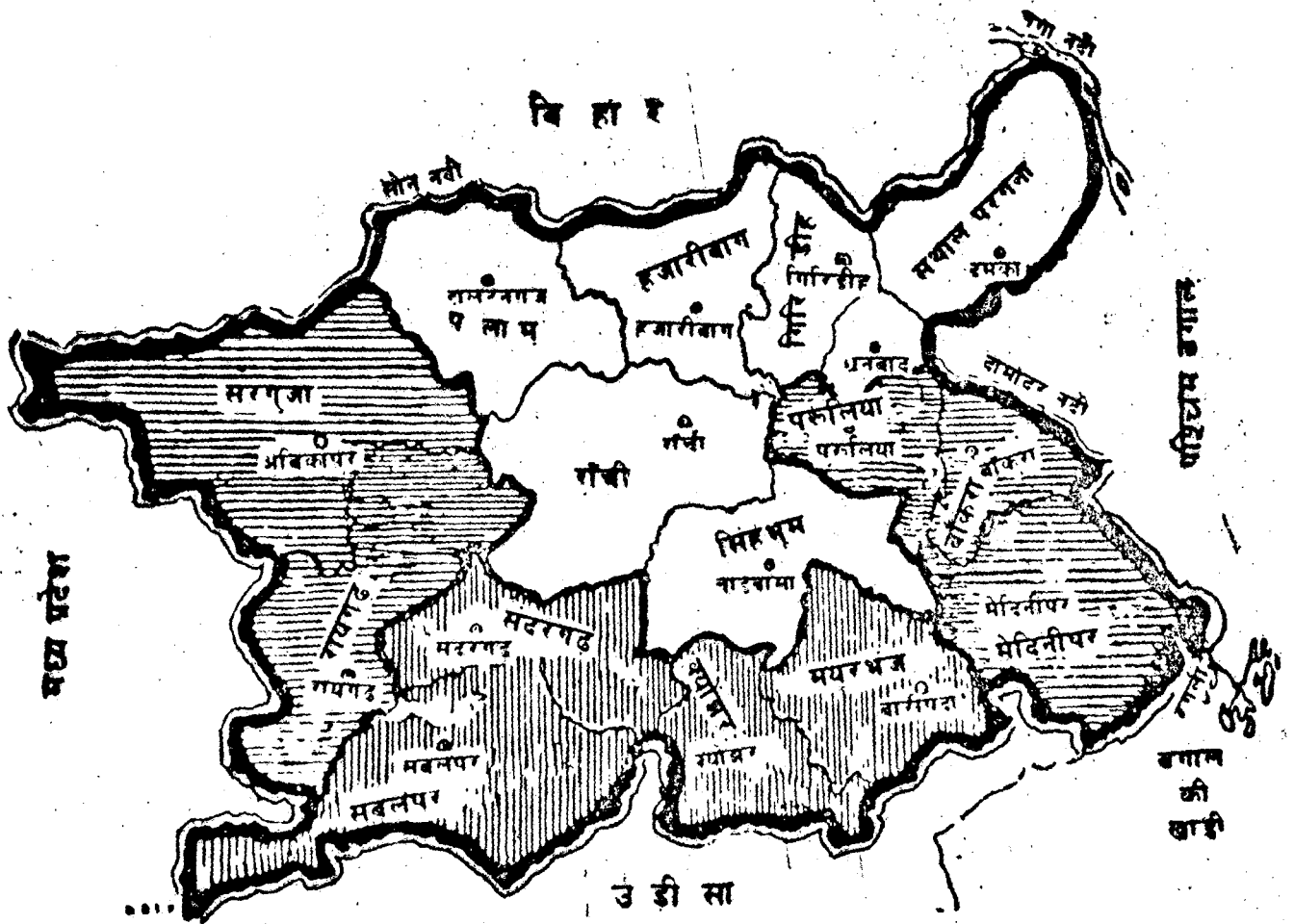
(iv)

The Tribal Region of Bihar



(४)

# प्रस्तावित भारखंड राज्य



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

ANNEXURE - ISCHEDULED TRIBES OF BIHAR (1971)

	<u>Name of S/T</u>	<u>Population</u>
1.	ASUR	7,026
2.	BAIGA	1,807
3.	BANJARA	130
4.	BATHUDI	880
5.	BEDIA	48,021
6.	BHUMIJ	1,24,918
7.	BINJHA	9,119
8.	BIRJIA	3,464
9.	BIRJIA	3,628
10.	CHERO	38,741
11.	CHIK BARAIK	33,476
12.	GOND	48,869
13.	GORAIT	3,239
14.	HO	5,05,172
15.	KIRMALI	26,908
16.	KHARIA	1,27,002
17.	KHOND	596
18.	KISAN	16,903
19.	KORA	20,804
20.	KORWA	18,717
21.	LOHRA	1,16,828

(vii)

22. MAHALI	74,542
23. MAL PAHARIA	48,636
24. MUNDA	7,23,166
25. ORAON	8,76,218
26. PARAHIA	14,651
27. SANTHAL	18,01,304
28. SAURIA PAHARIA	59,047
29. SAURIKA	3,548
30. SAURIA PAHARIA	36,285
31. UNCLASSIFIED	
<hr/>	
TOTAL	49,32,767
<hr/>	

Source : Census Data

(viii)

ANNEXURE - II

DISTRICT-WISE TRIBAL POPULATION OF BIHAR(1971)

Name of District	Total Population	S/T Population	%age of S/T Population
Patna	2,250,883	2,151	0.1 2/3
Nalanda	2,306,062	125	0.01
Gaya	1,924,289	445	0.02
Aurangabad	1,292,666	329	0.02
Nawada	1,240,518	764	0.06
Bhojpur	1,995,146	5,906	0.30
Rohtas	1,943,888	32,820	1.69
Saran	2,035,488	436	0.02
Siwan	2,243,765	997	0.04
East Champaran	1,956,084	68	Neg.
West Champaran	1,587,019	22,792	1.44
Muzaffarpur	1,909,059	433	0.02
Vaishali	1,348,990	252	0.01
Sitamarhi	1,582,632	81	Neg
Derbhanga	1,517,151	43	Neg
Samastipur	1,824,714	170	0.01
Madhubani	1,892,039	122	0.01
Monghyr	2,745,180	54,881	2.00
Bhagalpur	2,091,103	75,056	3.59

(1x)

Santhal Parganas	3,186,908	1,154,281	36.22
Begusarai	1,147,429	35	Neg
Shharsa	2,350,268	5,159	0.39
Purnea	3,941,863	155,813	3.95
Pelameu	1,504,350	287,150	19.09
Hazaribagh	1,645,838	142,819	8.68
Giridih	1,374,376	188,979	13.75
Ranchi	2,611,445	1,516,698	58.08
Dhanbed	1,466,417	155,645	10.61
Singhbhum	2,437,799	1,124,317	46.12
BIHAR STATE	56,353,369	49,32,767	8.75

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Source : Census Data

ANNEXURE - IIIINHABITATION PLACES OF THE TRIBES

<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Main inhabitation place</u>	<u>Other places</u>
1. Santhal	Santhal Parganas	Hazaribagh, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Saharsa, Monghyr
2. Orson	Ranchi	Shehabad, Champaran, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Saharsa, Purnea, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Singhbhum
3. Munda	Ranchi	Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Dhanbad, Purnea, Shehabad.
4. HO	Singhbhum	---
5. Bhumij	Singhbhum	Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Dhanbad
6. Kharia	Ranchi	Singhbhum, Hazaribagh
7. Kharwar	Palamau	Shehabad, Ranchi, Hazaribagh
8. Sauria Pahariyas	Santhal Parganas	---
9. Mahali	Ranchi	Santhal Parganas, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Purnea.
10. Lohra	Ranchi	Singhbhum, Palamau, Hazaribagh
11. Mal Paharias	Santhal Parganas	Bhagalpur, Singhbhum
12. Bedia	Hazaribagh	Ranchi, Singhbhum
13. Chikbaraik	Ranchi	----

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14. Gond	Ranchi	Palamau, Singhbhum
15. Chero	Palamau	Shahabad, Champaran, Monghyr, Ranchi, Santhal Parganas
16. Kora	---	Monghyr, Dhanbad, Santhal Parganas
17. Korwa		Palamau
18. Karmali		Santhal Parganas, Chotanagpur
19. Parehiya		Palamau, Ranchi, Hazaribagh
20. Gorait		Patna, Gaya, Shahabad Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Santhal Parga nas, Palamau, Dhanbad
21. Binjhia		Ranchi
22. Asur		Ranchi, Palamau
23. Birhor		Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Palamau, Singhbhum
24. Birjia		Palamau
25. Savar		Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh
26. Bathudi		Singhbhum
27. Baiga		Santhal Parganas
28. Baiga		Ranchi, Hazaribagh
29. Kisan		Ranchi, Palamau, Singhbhum

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Source: Narmadeshwar Prasad, Land and People of Tribal Bihar, (Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Government of Bihar, Ranchi, 1961, pp. 1 + 359.



## CHAPTER - I

### THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT :

#### A REVIEW

This chapter attempts to provide a brief view of the several theories of social movement. The basic objective of this chapter is to make our position clear among the theorists of social movement to understand tribal movement in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. Here, the theoretical understanding of social movement has<sup>a</sup> variety of advantages in analysing social change among the tribes. Another methodological advantage in the study of social movement is the study of order as well. Analysis of the theory of social movements gives an insight to inquire about the possible cause, course and consequence of the tribal movement at the same/<sup>time</sup> its manifestation through several avenues. A theoretical study of social movement among the tribes can help the administrator, planners and local people to know the existing situation and their strain among the tribes. Altogether/<sup>the</sup> study of social movements is the study of social structure and thus it occupies the central place for debate among the academic sociologists and activists. From Comte to the Great revolutionaries Mao and Lenin interpreted movement and revolutions in a variety of manners. Thus theory of social movement ranges

from order and progress to the blood thirsty perennial class struggle. The inherent nature of conflict, consensus and change in society attracted a large number of scholars particularly philosophers historians and political scientists.

Detailed studies on social movement and revolution are further enriched by the activists and scholars of the period of French revolution. But the systematic study of social movement with sociological perspective was a phenomenon of 1930s. The theoretical sophistication of the movement again accentuated after Russian Revolution, Chinese Revolution, Nazi and Facist movement and de-colonization of several countries and local uprising among the masses. In the recent development of sociology, theory of social movement has become a matter of scientific investigation at its different levels and aspects, namely :

- (i) Societal change preceding the establishment of the social movement.
- (ii) Goals and ideologies of the social movement.
- (iii) Its means and methods
- (iv) The mass base of the movement
- (v) Conditions facilitating organizations e.g. a history of communal co-operative effort.

- (vi) Its allies and antagonists
- (vii) The outcome of the movement or the conditions for success and failure.<sup>1</sup>

(1) PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

- (i) Problem of definition and classification
- (ii) Problem relating to the emergence of movement
- (iii) Problem concerning the formulation of ideologies and establishing identities.
- (iv) Problem of collective mobilization, organisation and leadership, internal dynamics and routinization.
- (v) Problem concerning the nature of the consequences for the change in the wider society and culture.<sup>2</sup>

But there are some problems in the theoretical study of social movement which should be highlighted emphatically. "Perhaps the greatest problem facing the study of movement is that movement is a process, not a simple event, yet most theorists do not study social movement as a process. They pick a particular point in the process of analysis." Recently Eckstein criticized the study of movement because of

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- 1. H. Landeberger, Rural Protest, Peasant Movements and Social Change, (London, 1974), pp.24-27.
  - 2. M.S.A. Rao (ed), Social Movements in India, (New Delhi, 1979), pp.1-8.

the excessive concentration on the precipitant causes rather than upon more fundamental pre-conditions. Most of the theorists tend to focus on preconditions, while failing to consider the course the movement takes or its ultimate outcome.<sup>3</sup>

A further problem in the study of social movement arises when we look into the context of social revolution. The great revolutions in China, Russia and France are treated only as revolutions. Thus revolutions are considered as the result of convergence over a long period of time, of a number of different process comprising an extended and complete chain of cause and effect. The turmoil which took place in colonial and pre-colonial era, however, gave rise to a wider variety of events that seemed "revolutionary" while falling short of being truly "great revolutions or movements". Thus these events should be carefully understood, which can help to understand the more complex revolutions. Otherwise the study of movement will be lop-sided.<sup>4</sup> Thus all movements and revolution should be investigated at micro level and macro level, whether it has national character

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3. H.Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars", History and Theory, (2/1965), pp.136-45.

4. Ibid.

5.

or regional linguistic character.<sup>5</sup>

The next difficulty which comes in the way of the study of social movement is the ambiguity of the terms involved. Thus for full length sociological treatment social movement should be distinguished from mob, crowd, riots, historic trends, voluntary association, political parties etc.

Movement and Political Parties :

Sociologists have already traced difference between movement and Political Parties. Wilson is under the opinion the "political parties" guide themselves through "institutional means" while "movement" attempts to bring or resist large scale change in the social order by "non-institutional means".<sup>6</sup> James Jupp is in the view that political movement is against the political establishment, both are in antagonistic relationship.<sup>7</sup> For Gusfield, many movements and many aspects of movement do not display the degree of organization, definiteness and permanent establishment enjoyed by political parties.<sup>8</sup> But so many characteristics are

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5. T.K.Oomen, 'Sociological Issues in the Analysis of Social Movement in Independent India', Sociological Bulletin, Vol.26, No.1, March 1977, pp.14-37.
  6. J.Wilson, Introduction to Social Movements, (New York, 1973), p.5.
  7. James Jupp, in (ed), Paul Wilkinson Social Movement, (London, 1971), p.108.
  8. J.R.Gusfield, (ed), Protest, Reform and Revolt (New York, 1970), p.6.

common between the political parties and movement. Hence it is very difficult to distinguish social movement from political party on a single criterion. Here the main problem which sociology faces is to demarcate the boundary line between several human organizations. The problem of exclusiveness and exhaustiveness still remained unsolved. In spite of that, most satisfactory criteria should be traced out to demarcate the boundary line. Here, Wilson has made a satisfactory distinction between political parties and social movements. To him social movement is a process while political party is a structure. Movement is a process which attempts to bring the transformation in the system or the transformation of the system while political party wants to achieve the monopoly over administration and coercion mechanism.<sup>9</sup>

#### Movement and Trends:

Heberle has emphasised that social movement is a specific kind of concerted action group, they last longer and are more integrated than mobs, masses and crowd. The sense of solidarity among the members of a group is essential for a social movement. Gusfield had defined movement in contrary

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9. Wilson, op.cit, pp.55-57.

to trend in following manner 'movement' - Possess both structure, some organization of people and sentiments, belief about what ought to be done and what will come to pass. Trend has the same characteristics but trend is uncoordinated action of many individuals.<sup>10</sup> For Broom and Selznick crowd, riots, public opinion are collective behaviour but unstructured social situation as well.<sup>11</sup> A crowd does not have common constitutive value, it is momentous organization with no integrative aspect, and psychologically crowd is contiguous. The identity of individual immediately merges in the identity of gathering. While the main aim of movement is to bring out some changes in system or of the system. It is instrumental and always oriented toward some goal.<sup>12</sup>

#### Revolution and Rebellion:

A revolution writes Samuel P Huntington, is a rapid, fundamental and violent domestic changes in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institution social structure, leadership and governmental activities and policies.<sup>13</sup> Lenin provides a different but complementary perspective 'Revolution' he says "are the festivals

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10. Gusfield, op.cit.

11. Broom and Selznick, Principles of Sociology, (New York, 1970), pp. 221-254.

12. H.Landsberger (ed), op.cit, pp.21.

13. S.P.Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, (Yale : 1968), p.264.

of the oppressed and exploited. At no other time are the masses of the population in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order.<sup>14</sup> Thus revolutions are accompanied and in part affected through class upheavals from below. It is the combination of thorough going structural transformation and massive class upheavals that sets social revolutions apart from coups, rebellion and even political revolution and national independence movement. Revolutions are not just extreme form of individual or collective behaviour. They are distinctive conjuncture of socio-historical structures and process.<sup>15</sup> "Revolution" consists of a transformation of the existing conditions or status of the state or society, hence its political <sup>and</sup> social act. Although the inevitable consequences of rebellion is a transformation of existing conditions, it is not this transformation that is its starting-point, but peoples dissatisfaction with themselves. It is an uprising of individuals rising without regard for the arrangements that develop out of it, revolution aims at new arrangement, rebellion leads to a position where we no longer allow others to arrange things."<sup>16</sup>

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14. Stephen T. Possony (ed), The Lenin Reader, (Chicago, 1966), p.349.

15. Skocopol Thede, Comparative studies in Society and History, Vol.18, 1976, p.175.

16. K.Marx, German Ideology, (Moscow, 1976), pp.399.



(2) TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT :

According to their interests and theoretical perspective, writers on the theory of Social Movement have given a variety of typologies. Most of the writers have taken following criteria to make the typologies. (i) Structure, (ii) leadership, (iii) goal, (iv) means, (v) ideology, (vi) followers, (vii) scope of the movement, (viii) internal articulation of the movement etc.

According to Turner and Killian there are three types of social movements : (i) value oriented movement, (ii) power oriented movement, (iii) participation oriented movement.<sup>17</sup> Wilson has given some more typologies in addition to Turner and Killian. These are : (i) the transformative, (ii) the alienative, (iii) the redemptive.<sup>18</sup> C.Johnson gives following typologies: (i) jacquerie, (ii) millenarism rebellion, (iii) anarchist rebellion, (iv) communist revolution, (v) coup d'etat, (vi) militarized mass insurrection.<sup>19</sup> According to the scope and change, movements could be classified as reformatory and revolutionary. Smelser's typology consists of two types, (i) value oriented and (ii) norms oriented movement.<sup>20</sup> Anthony Wallace has defined revitalization

17. Turner and L.M.Killian, Collective Behaviour, (New Jersey, 1957), p.308.

18. Wilson, op.cit, p.32.

19. C.Johnson, Revolution and the Social System, (Stanford, 1964), pp.28.

20. N.J.Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour, (London, 1962), p.10.

movement and showed a sub-class also. These sub-classes are (i) nativist movement (ii) revivalistic movement, (iii) Cargo cult, (iv) vitalistic movement, (v) millenarian movement, (vi) messianic movement.<sup>21</sup> These above mentioned classifications makes the nature of movements clear for further theoretical knowledge to understand the social structure.

### (3) DEFINITION OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT :

Definitions of social movement is also described according to different theoretical perspectives. But sociologists have consensus among themselves on the following points. (i) organization, (ii) movement as a process, (iii) leadership, (iv) means the movement adopts, (v) ideology, (vi) as an instrument of social change. Hurbert Blumer defines social movement as a collective enterprise to establish a new order of life."<sup>22</sup> For Turner and Killian movement is a collectivity which acts with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or a group of which it is part.<sup>23</sup> Here according to Turner and Killian movement does not necessarily bring the change in society but it can resist also. Wilkinson in his definition of social movement

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21. Anthony Wallace, Revitalization Movements, American Anthropologists, vol.58, 1956, pp.267.

22. H.Blumer, New Outlines of the principles of sociology, (New York, 1951), pp.1.

23. Turner and L.M.Killian, op.cit., pp.308.

included almost all aspects of the movement. According to him "social movement is a deliberate, collective endeavour to promote change, having at least a minimal degree of organization and founded upon the normative commitment and active participations of followers and members."<sup>24</sup>

Gusfield also shares the view of Wilkinson and writes "Social movements are shared activities and belief directed towards the demand for change in some aspects of the social order."<sup>25</sup>

Here general consensus among the theorists reveals that common normative and ideological belief is necessary for any social movement. In Heberle's terminology it is called constitutive value. John Wilson has given special importance to the means which is adopted for movement. Social movement according to him is a conscious, collective and organized attempt to bring about or resist large scale change in the social order by non-institutionalized means.<sup>26</sup> As far as organizational aspect is concerned, there has to be an organization behind the movement. Study of organization is concerned with all aspects of social movement including internal dynamics. "Organizational aspect of the movement is composed of the various personal, structural and ideolo-

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24. Paul Wilkinson, *Social Movements*, (London, 1971), p.104.

25. J.R.Gusfield, *op.cit.*, pp.2.

26. P.N.Mukherjee, 'Social Movement and social change : Towards a conceptual classification and theoretical framework', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol.26, No.1, March 1977, pp.38-60.

gical ties". Those who are involved in the movement belong to periphery to capture the power and privileges of the core. The people who are engaged in the social movement could be placed in the category of core and periphery as well. Masses are periphery while leaders are supposed to be in core of the organization. The organizational aspect of social movement may be formal and informal in nature and they use the system of reward and punishment to maintain themselves. Any social movement tend to develop an event structure over a period of time. A past event influences the choice of strategy in the event that follows in the context of interaction with opposition group. The rate of the organization growth of movement will be higher if it is higher in larger interest. The acuteness and necessity of conflict also determines the size of organization. Thus social movement is (I) a product of social structure and hence emerges out of certain conditions in the social structure (II) social movements have the consequences for social structure of which they are the product (III) social movement has its own social structure according to goal it wants to achieve, (IV) social movement is a mechanism of social change (V) social movement always occurs against some section of the society. Hence there becomes the clash of interest in two or more groups.

(4) THEORITICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT:

As we have written that earlier works on the study of Social Movement/<sup>have been</sup> done by political philosopher and historians. The earliest application of the term movement was political, it referred to the sudden or violent overthrow of rulers or of a government. Since radical change in political power was often associated with the actual use of violence, because a critical symptom in diagnosing and differentiating between constitutional and extra-constit<sup>was not clear,</sup>utional change. The study which historians done is called sequential study of social movement.

(4.1) THE SEQUENTIAL/HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY:

This study include the historical accounts, events and details of the movement instead of going into their cause, structure and consequences sociologically. The major theme of this theory is individual history, history of dictator, succession of various rulers and history of politics. Thus sequential study of social movement can be a valuable material to a movement theorist to understand the course, ideology and alliance of the movement historically. With the French Revolution the term movement acquired new dimension that is economic. From this point therefore the term

movement implied not only a change in <sup>the</sup> top echelon of the political system, but change in the society as a whole, and the influence of twentieth century psychoanalytical theory the term acquired third dimensions, psychoanalytical theory approach. This way the term movement has come to be associated with the change in political social and economic and psychological dimensions of human organization.

(4.2) The Psychological Theory of Social Movement:

Psychological theory claims that the cause of movements lies in satisfying inner drives on the part of leaders and followers and their personal liberation. The basic premise of this theory is generalization of frustration-anger-aggression from individual level to the societal level. The mental state in which masses turned into violence and leader because of his specific types of personality and psycho-analytical reason took part in the movement. This provides a theory of motivation which could account for individual pre-disposition toward participation in social movement. One psychologist emphasised the personality type as factor of the study social movement. Another trend which is found in this theory that "those who join social movement do so primarily because it gives them a feeling

togetherness against the emptiness of individualistic existence.<sup>27</sup> Laswell is of the opinion that people are oriented politically and take part in the movement because it is directly related to the childhood repression and adolescent paranoia.<sup>28</sup> E. Davis writes that the widespread feeling of fear and frustration due to the growing power of communism a large number of people attracted toward Mearthism.<sup>29</sup> An another brand of social-psychologists who traced out the socio-psychological course of social movement will be discussed in structural-function theory because they do not give emphasis only on the mental state but on the social and economic factors as well.

But this theory has several limitations. These theorists have reduced the explanation into pure psychological category and ignored other objective factors such as economy and society. As a critique of this theory, Jonson says that this approach can explicate who are the revolutionaries rather than what are the causes of revolution in the social system.<sup>30</sup> Another problem which this theory exaggerates <sup>is the</sup> that/neurotic persons constitute the bulk of population of the movement, but the case of neurotic persons are

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27. Hoffer.E, The True Behaviour (New York), 1951.

28. H Laswell, Psychopathology and politics, (Chicago, 1960), X

29. E Davis, But we were Born Free (New York, 1960), p.35.

30. G.Johnson, op.cit., p.23.

not average, entire society cannot be neurotic. One advantage which Heberle traced out from this theory is that "how the psycho-pathological individuals more frequently found in social movement than among the non-participating population."<sup>31</sup>

(4.3) Studies of Social Movement in Sociology :

Study of social movement <sup>in</sup> sociology is mainly dominated by two major theoretical approaches structural-functional and Marxist theory. They have their different bodies of knowledge, organized by distinctive concepts and theories that have been consciously cultivated and extended over a period of time.

(4.3.1) Structural-Functional Theory :

The founding fathers of this approach are Max Weber and Durkheim. Maxweber talked of bureaucracy and authority while Durkheim was engaged in formulating the theory of solidarity and collective representation. Their languages were rich in describing social order not the revolutionary change. Following this tradition, the most famous

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31. Heberle, Social Movement, (New York, 1951), p .54



Sociologist T.Parsons became significant to interpret the language of order in new style. The basic scheme of functional theorist like Parsons <sup>is</sup> to interpret social system in a state of equilibrium. For him the maintenance of social structure is to be interpreted not the change. Parsons achievement was to accommodate revolution to the requirement of order. Parsons saw social system as a system of action and it <sup>was</sup> made up of interaction of individuals and guided by standard of value orientation.<sup>32</sup> Parsons brought revolution literally within the "system" by treating it as a species of social change. His concept of change, in turn, was derived from the social system. According to Parsons, "Society is in a state of equilibrium" and it is within the confine of this search, the revolution acquires the meaning, not from what the revolutionary may happen to think either about the system or their own intentions.<sup>33</sup> Then question arises how the functionalists interpret social change? Change comes through disfunctions, however, tend to resolve themselves, or to be institutionalized, in the long run through built in mechanism of adjustment and control."<sup>34</sup> For Parsons 'association' is regarded properly,

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32. T.Parsons, The social system,(Illinois, 1961), pp.52-63.

33. Pierre, 'Dialectics and Functionalism' in H.J.Demerith and R.A.Peterson,(ed) System, Change and Conflict New York, 1967, pp.267.

34. Ibid.

as part of conventional organization of social life while collectivities are contrasted to the institutionalized behaviour. Collective behaviour is deviant one and is unstructured situation of society. Thus any kind of collective outburst could be examined in its relation to conventional behaviour, Parsons says that social movement which becomes larger and powerful and perforce endurance, are described as having taken on the characteristics of an association rather than collectivity. When this collectivity becomes association ( ) it becomes the conventional mode of life and the part of social structure. Thus change in the social system is seen, as a departure from normalcy and process of change usually manifested in movement continues till consensus is reached again at different level.

By following T Parson's "Functional Needs" in "Understanding of Social Systems", C Jonson points out, four kinds of dysfunctions. For Johnson dysfunctions are inappropriate socialization and inappropriate ensemble of rules, <sup>dissension</sup> ( )

(on) goals. Johnson suggests typology of sources of change, with examples, there are (i) exogenous condition causing value change, e.g. "international demonstration effects", (ii) endogenous-value changing conditions, e.g. the rise of new religious movements (iii) exogenous sources of environmental change, e.g., foreign trade, technology and

conquest (iv) endogenous sources of environmental change, e.g. technological innovations.<sup>35</sup>

For Johnson the first necessary cause of revolutionary conflict is a disequilibrium <sup>of the</sup> social system, one in which either systems of values and symbolic interpretations of social action or the societies pattern of adaptation to the environment, change sufficiently that societies functional requirements can no longer be fulfilled. Elites failed with this situation may or may not attempt to redress the disequilibrium. If they prove intransigent or unable to do so, they lose legitimacy, the second necessary cause of revolution. They may still continue in power for sometime by relying on coercion. The final, sufficient cause of revolution Johnson calls it an accelerator is the elites loss of control over the instrument of coercion. The military may be defeated in war, or become increasingly ambitious or disaffected from the rule, or be challenged to revolutionary combat, however, it happens the accelerator precipitates revolutionary conflict. Thus, here the theory's dynamic element concerns the consequences of dysfunction for a revolutionary conflict.

Smelser's "Theory of collective behaviour" is a general conceptual analysis of social change. It is principally concerned with showing how various kinds of structural strain

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35. Chalmers Johnson, Revolutionary change, pp.64-70.

produce "collective behaviour" which is defined as "mobilization on the basis of belief which redefines social action".<sup>36</sup>

More concretely, "collective behaviour" includes panic, crazes, hostile outbursts (including riots), and norm and values oriented movement comprises most violent conflicts though note that Smelser is concerned with accounting for their non- or antisystem component, not with explaining conflict more generally. Smelser identifies six sets of social determinants whose various degrees, typed and concurrence produce different kinds of collective behaviours:

1. Structural conduciveness - Structural characteristics that encourage collective behaviour, which are effective only in combination with
2. Structural strain - Ambiguities, deprivations, conflicts and discrepancies, such as real or anticipated economic deprivation.
3. Growth and spread of generalized belief - Which provides potential actors with an interpretation of the situation and specific appropriate responses.
4. Precipitating Factor - a specific event that triggers group action.
5. Mobilization of Participants for action - Usually by a leader, and

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36. N.J. Smelser, 1962, Theory of collective behaviour, p.8.



6. Operation of social control - those counter-determinants which prevent, interrupt, deflect, or inhibit the accumulation of the (above) determinants including those which minimize conduciveness and strain and those mobilized after a collective episode begins.<sup>37</sup> Structural strain is most important. As is evident in this hypothesis "some of strain must be present if an episode of collective behaviour is to occur. The more severe the strain, moreover, the more likely is such an episode to appear."<sup>38</sup> Smelser offers sets of categories for typologizing strain. One set of these categories is his components of social action. Here social action refers to people's norms, organization and situational facilities.<sup>39</sup> But Smelser does not provide any dynamic analysis of change. His discussion of determinants of value oriented movements, for example, merely lists kinds of strain-like, inadequacy of knowledge of techniques to grapple with new situations, severe physical deprivation,<sup>40</sup> and the normative disorganization that war occasions.

Most of the writers of this brand on structural strain lay emphasis on (i) the structural weaknesses, (ii) power in the hand of weak and ineffective group or individual, (iii) the maladjustment in the social order which attracts the marginals to the movement, (iv) relative deprivation.

37. Ibid., pp.15-18.

38. Ibid., p.48.

39. Ibid, p.48.

40. Ibid, pp.338-40.



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Theda Skocpol arrives at the conclusion that the main causes of revolution in France, Russia and China were (i) the collapse of incapacitation of central and administrative mechanism, (ii) widespread peasant rebellion and (iii) marginal elite political movement.<sup>41</sup> Crane Britton is also of the opinion that revolution in England, France and America was economic rather than society themselves which produced structural strain.<sup>42</sup> In the same context Lipset says that the cause of Fascist movement was the threat of extinction of middle class, in the hand of capitalistic class.<sup>43</sup> The basic premise of this type of theory is the weakening of social structure due to the weakening of social attachment among the persons of the society. Thus the leaders and followers both are not well integrated section of the society. Kornhanser emphasises that this type of movement takes place in the democratic society where elite and non-elite has high social distance due to the lack of secondary association.<sup>44</sup> Lipset also analysed that the alienated and disintegrated labourers were the participants in the

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41. Theda Skocpol, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.18, 1976, p.175.

42. Crane Britton, The Anatomy of Revolution, (New York, 1965), p. 29.

43. M Lipset, "Fascism-left, Right and Centre, in Gusfield (ed), op.cit., p.36.

44. W Kornhanser, Mass Society, International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol.10, p.60.

communist movement.<sup>45</sup>

(4.3.2) Theory of Relative Deprivation:- is also framed to study social movement. Relative deprivation theory includes psychological factor with socio-economic factor for the explanation of social movement. The basic postulate of the theory could be understood this way.

First, people develop the image of a stage of affairs which is possible to attain second, they develop the belief that they are entitled to that state of affairs. Third, they know that they are not enjoying the state of affairs. Thus the simultaneous possession of these three cognition produces a state of dissonance. Dissonance is not comfortable and it produces pressure toward dissonance reduction. Therefore dissonance reduction activity often take the form of social protest or revolutionary behaviour. Gurr in particular, transforms the nexus of 'frustration-aggression' into the concept 'relative deprivation' which represents a state of dissatisfaction resulting from an unfavourable comparison between things as they are and the things as they ought to be. Relative deprivation occurs either because there is a decline in what people get or an increase in what

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45. S.M.Lipset, Political Man (Delhi, 1973), pp.131-173.

they feel they deserve.<sup>46</sup> Feierabend, like Gurr, accepts the fundamental thesis that frustration breeds aggression and lead to political violence. His unit of analysis, therefore, is the nation state, and he defines systematic frustrations as a ratio between aspirations (measured by literacy rate and urbanization) and achievement (measured by gross national product percapita, number of radios, newspaper, number of physician percapita.<sup>47</sup> Thus, both Gurr and Feierabend saw revolution as an aggression of widespread psychic discontent.

Runciman has also described three aspects of relative deprivation theory, (i) the magnitude and the size of discrepancy between the hopes and aspirations of the people and actual situation, (ii) the frequency or the number of those who feel actually deprived in a group which faces similiar conditions, (iii) the degree or the intensity of the feeling of relative deprivations.<sup>48</sup> Tocqueville and later John Davis, argued that people rise up in revolt when

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46. T.R.Gurr, Why men rebel, (New York, 1977), pp.177-79.

47. Feierabend and Rosalind L. Feierabend, "Aggressive Behaviour within politics, 1948-1962. A cross-national study", Journal of Conflict Resolution, (September, 1966), 244-371. Also from Ivok Feierabend and Rosalind L. Feierabend, Systematic condition of political aggression : An application of Frustration Aggression Theory," in Ivok. Feierabend, R. Feierband, and T. Robert Gurr, ed., Anger violence and politics: Theories and research, (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), pp.135-73.

48. W. Runciman, Relative deprivation and social justice, (Berkeley, 1966), pp.14-46.



rising standard of living resulted in greater expectation than can be met. For Davis "the actual levels of social economic development is less significant than the expectation that the past progress now blocked and must continue in future." "Revolution are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp <sup>reversal</sup> 49

(4.3.4) Group differentiation and conflict theory:

A group of functional sociologists believe in the function of social conflict and change. They criticize Parsons on the ground that he did not examine the cause of conflict and saw society homeostatic. These functional conflict theorists are Dahrendorf, Timašchew, Coser and Crane Briton. The common point which these conflict theorists tried to retain from the functionalists<sup>is</sup> that the main cause of movement is rupture in the value consensus<sup>of</sup> society. According to Dahrendorf, group conflict is pervasive in all societies at all times. This conflict cannot be resolved but regulated. Dahrendorf concerned with class conflict as group conflict. Class conflict is defined as any conflict between the super-

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49. J. Davis, Toward a Theory of Revolution, American Sociological Review, Feb 1962, Vol.2, No.1, pp.5-18.

ordinate and subordinate strata of authority structure.<sup>50</sup> For Dahrendorf the determination of class is differential allocation of authority, which characterizes a much wider variety of institutions than just of the state. Two principal aspects of conflict about which Dahrendorf generalizes are its intensity and violence. The intensity of class conflict is said to <sup>be</sup> decrease<sup>d</sup> with the extent of class organization with the extent to which various class and group conflict are dissociated rather than coincident and with the extent that authority, and distribution of reward and facilities in an association are dissociated.<sup>51</sup> Thus in sum and substance, we can say that the cause of strain or conflict in the societies, according to functional theorists is the breakdown in consensus of values and their dynamism is confined to this breakdown and to the subsequent reassertion of consensus. But above mentioned theories can explain tribal movement partially.

J.A.Banks has rightly pointed out that "functionalists had miserably failed to show that how some parts of social systems seems to be more open to pressure for change than the others. Parsons considered society in the state of equi-

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50. R.Dahrendorf, Class and class conflict in industrial society, (London, 1969), pp.259.

51. Dahrendorf, Ibid, p.259.

librium, once established is conceived to be perpetual whose essential reality is believed to be its inner coherence, rather than conflict, tensions and disorder, are one sided explanation of the dynamic aspect of the social structure.<sup>52</sup> Cohen challenges the basic foundation of functionalism at three different levels, viz. logical, substantive and ideological. Cohen writes, the final substantive complaint that functionalism cannot explain social change is perhaps justified the implication of this argument is that functionalism, by emphasizing the conditions of persistence and stability, treats change as something abnormal and unlikely to occur accept perhaps, by accident.<sup>53</sup> If functionalism asserts that all items in a social system reinforce one another, than none can contribute to change, since each is kept going by the other. But in fact, if functionalism could really state the condition under which social system persists than it could also explain change simply by showing that some of these conditions are sometimes absent, clearly the truth of matter is that if functionalists have not produced adequate theories of social change this is

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52. J.A. Banks, *The Sociology of Social Movements* (London, 1972), p.9.

53. P.S.Cohen, *Modern Social Theory*, (London, 1975), pp.47-68.

this is largely because they have not produced adequate theories of social persistence. In so far as they have gone some way to explaining why social system persists, they have also, I submit, contributed to the theory of social change. What has been wrong with functionalism is that it has simply asserted that social system or certain types of system tend to persist without giving more than a hint at why this occurs.<sup>54</sup>

(4.4.4) Marx's approach to the Study of Social Movement:

"Marx's distinctive combination of theory and action embedded in a tradition of revolutionary inquiry and experiences. Marxist approach considers property relations as crucial because they shape the purpose, nature, control, directions and objectives underlying the production and further property relation determine the norms about who shall get how much and on what grounds."<sup>55</sup>

For Marx, <sup>the</sup> mode of production is determining factor of all human relations. Here, mode of production is a way in which people produce and exchange their means of life. Every society is based on a mode of production, which is what ultimately determines the character of all social activities and institutions. The whole development of society is deter-

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54. Cohen, Ibid.

55. A.R.Desai, 1980 - Presidential Address at Meerut Sociological Congress, "Relevance of Marxist Approach in India".

mined by the development of productive forces and consequent changes in the relation between man and production. The productive forces and production relations of a given period together constitute the mode of production.

From division of Labour in production emerges private property, and so the rise of exploitation and the division of society into antagonistic classes. In the development of society there have arisen five type of production relations, primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism. One mode of production is followed upon another and this economic change and development constitutes the basis of the whole of social development. Each mode of production shows property relations and this property, relations are essentially social relations between people arising out of production. Property relations simply give conscious legal expression to these mutual relationship which by being expressed as property relations. According to Marx, all communities known <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> history between primitive communism and socialism, the means of production are not socially owned, but are held by individuals or group, a minority of the community. As a result, those who held the means of production are able by virtue of their positions as owners, to appropriate the product, and so it becomes

possible for them to live on the fruits of the labour of others, in other words, to exploit them. Those who do not own the means of production are compelled to work for the benefit of those who do. Further, with private property the ~~re~~ begins also transformation of the product into commodity a process which is finally completed in capitalistic society, when practically the whole product including labourer takes the form of commodity with the development of social production beyond the primitive commune, the ~~n~~community is divided into groups occupying different places in social production as whole with different relationships, the means of production and therefore different methods of acquiring their shares of products such group constitutes the social classes and their relations constitute the class relations or class structure of a given society.

What constitutes and distinguishes classes is not primarily differences in income, differences in habits, or differences in mentality, but the places they occupy in social production and the relations in which they stand to the means of production, from which their differences in income, habits and mentality arise. Lenin writes :

"Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of social production by their relations (in

most case fixed and formulated in laws) to their means of production, by their in the social organization of labour, and consequently, by the dimensions of social wealth that they obtain and their method of acquiring their share of it classes are groups of people one of which many appropriate the labour of another, owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy."<sup>56</sup>

And with classes there arise class antagonisms, class conflicts. Society based on exploitation is inevitably divided into antagonistic classes. "These warring classes are always the product of the production and exchange, in a word, of the economic condition of their time."<sup>57</sup> Such a society is torn by class conflicts between exploiters and exploited, and between rival exploiters for this reason "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle".<sup>58</sup> This is observed that the from the end of primitive communism upto the victory of socialism, society has always been divided into exploiters and exploited. A minority of exploiters has succeeded in living on the back of the masses. But how has it been possible for a minorities thus to preserve and exercise its

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56. Lenin, A Great Beginning, Quoted from Maurice Cornforth, The Dialectical Materialism, (Calcutta, 1954), p.175.

57. Engles, Socialism, Utopian <sup>and</sup> Scientific, Quoted from Cornforth, The Dialectical Materialism, p.176.

58. Marx and Engles, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Quoted from Cornforth, op.cit., p.176.

domination over the majority. It has been possible only because the majority possessed and had control over a special organization for coercing the rest of the society, that organization is the state Engles writes,

"The state has not existed from all eternity, there have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage."<sup>59</sup> Further "as the state arose from the need to keep class antagonism in check, but also in the thick of the fight between the classes, it is normally the state of the most powerful, economically ruling class, which by its means becomes also the politically ruling class and so acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class .... The control link in civilized society is the state, which in all typical periods is without exception the state of the ruling class."<sup>60</sup> The state, write Lenin is an organ of class, rule, an organ for the repression of one class by another.<sup>61</sup> Every class struggle is a political struggle wrote Marx and Engles.<sup>62</sup>

59. F.Engles, The origin of family, private property and the state, (Moscow, 1948), p.170.

60. Ibid.

61. V.I.Lenin, The State and Revolution, (Moscow, 1949), p.11.



Thus the economic changes are actually carried through as <sup>o</sup>result of political struggle. Social Revolution is therefore, the transfer of state of political power from one class to another class. "The question of power is the fundamental question of every revolution."<sup>63</sup>

Revolution means the overthrow of the ruling class, which defends existing relations of production, and the conquest of power by a class which is interested in establishing new relations of production. Every revolution, therefore, makes forcible inroads into existing property relations and destroys one form of property in favour of another form of property. *Summing* up the principal lessons of historical materialism Marx wrote:

- i. "that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production."
- ii. "that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat".
- iii. "that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society".<sup>64</sup>

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63. Lenin, on Slogans, Cited from Cornforth, op.cit, p.192.

64. Marx, Letter to J Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852, Cited from Cornforth, op.cit, p.197.

(5) THE APPROACH:

The survey of the theoretical study of social movement show that most of the theories namely, sequential, psychological and structural functional can not do full justice to the cause, course and consequence of the tribal movements. Only Marxist approach can give a full understanding of social movement among the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. The movements of the tribes start with the economic exploitation and continues till ~~to day~~ <sup>to day</sup>. What we are attempting to do is not to much to present a theoretical justification of the Marxian perspective but to present tribal movement in its total and dynamic perspective. Colonial background of tribal movement can explicate the economic contradictions and class struggle of their system and it is possible by Marxist approach only. Although it is a general criticism levelled against Marxism that ~~it~~ has reduced everything to economic determinism. "In fact, he was engaged in pointing out crucial importance of the basic activity, namely the activity of producing the things, for survival and persistence of mankind", <sup>65</sup> Marxist approach can make clear the socio-economic-technological division of labour among the tribes very clearly in a historical perspective. This approach is relevant to trace out

65. A.R.Desai, op.cit, p.15.

the central tendency of the transformation of tribal society. "This approach develops a matrix for concrete studies of a particular phenomenon of a specific type of society in the context of all pervading property relations. "66 among the tribes.

During the last one hundred and fifty years tribal society of Bihar had not overcome backwardness, poverty and inequality. Incomes are accumulated in the hand of money-lenders and landlords. Greed of private property accumulation of industrialists, shop-keepers and corrupt officials annihilated the tribal social system. Even after independence a large number of tribals are leading their life as nomads, semi-nomads, food gatherers, hunters, and <sup>as</sup> half slave factory workers. A large number of young girls have been compelled to adopt the life <sup>of</sup> prostitutes in the industry and far-off their places in province like Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Assam and Calcutta. All these lively account of tribal life needs a comprehensive explanation with radical thought to understand ( ) their problem sociologically.

CHAPTER - II  
T H E P R O B L E M

Following the approach, it becomes necessary here to criticize the prevailing ideologies among the anthropologists who have been working on the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. The social anthropologists of India who by and large, did not consider class relations as crucial to the understanding of tribal transformation have got training under the British colonial social anthropologists or influenced by their approaches in one or other way. The theorists of this category could be kept in two main brands: (A) Tribe-caste continuity theorists (B) modernization theorists. A recent approach which came into practice in the social anthropology to study the changing tribal Bihar is the theorists who deal with ; (C) the economic exploitation of the tribes.

A. TRIBE CASTE CONTINUITY THEORISTS :

Ghurye, one of the *Pioneer* Anthropologists of India, viewed tribes as an integrative community rather than as isolated groups of Indian culture. Ghurye under the spirit

of nationalism propounded that tribes can be separately seen from the castes and tried to prove with historical evidence and termed them as "Backward Hindus".<sup>1</sup> N.K. Bose under the influence of Clark Wissler worked on 'cultural contact' or on 'acculturation' among the tribes of India and Bihar as well. Bose's most ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~fascinating~~ <sup>fascinating</sup> theoretical essays on it, the Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption describes the tribal absorption method in Hindu social folds.<sup>2</sup> For him, the tribal absorption method is performed at three levels. (i) "Although the policy was not to displace the original and religious culture of tribes but rather to preserve it, yet something had to be done to bring the tribal culture in line with Brahmanism, as a result, the Brahmanism modified the old culture when it went against their own ideas and left the rest intact. (ii) "Once a tribe came under the influence of the Brahmanical people ..... a strong tendency was set up within it to remodel its culture more and more closely in conformity with Brahmanical way of life, (iii) "However, the tribes could not be allowed to come very close to their superior, the Brahmanas very often put a stop to such process toward higher and higher standard of culture, thus many forms of culture came into existence."<sup>3</sup> The reasons of these processes according to ~~the~~ ~~economic~~ ~~dominance~~ the economic dominance.

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1. G.S. Ghurye, The Scheduled Tribes, (Bombay, 1963), XIV + 404.

2. N.K. Bose, Cultural Anthropology, (Bombay, 1961) pp. 156-170.

3. Ibid, op, cit,.

In his own words:

"Culture seems to flow from an economically dominant group to a poorer one when the two are tied together to form a large productive organization, political dominance has its own advantages for the dominant group to a subordinate one on social matters too, the former occupies a higher status in contact to the <sup>later</sup> ~~tribe~~<sup>4</sup> Surjit Sinha, L.P. Vidyarthi and Martin Oran under the influence of Chicago School anthropologist viz. Robert Redfield and Milton Singer showed transformation of tribes into <sup>the</sup> caste fold and other communities and groups. These culturologists emphasized on fusion of the traits of caste with that of tribal cultures explain causation through external contact which led to the diffusion of new roles and values in the tribes. Surjit Sinha writes :

(a) "The overall characteristics of the socio-cultural system of these tribal communities are distinguishable from those of the tradition peasant communities (b) "there are significant elements of continuity between the two kinds of socio-cultural system, (iii) "All over central and southern India we find the tribal communities in a process of transformation, which brings them closer to peasant Hindu communities. There is not a single tribe in this belt <sup>completely</sup> ~~entirely~~ unaffected by Hinduism".<sup>5</sup> Martin Oran took 'little tradition'

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4. Ibid, ~~op. cit.~~

5. Surjit Sinha, 'Tribal Culture of Penninsular India as a Dimension of little Tradition in the Study of Indian civilization : A preliminary statement', Man in India, Ranchi, (37), 1957, pp.95.

as the stuff of civilization and having the quality of explicitness, systematization and reflectiveness. His field work on Jamshedpur, an Industrial City where industry, market economy and democratic political frame work operate, led a great impact on the Santhal workers, Particularly young Santhals changed their belief and practices concerning witchcraft, quantitative variations in marriage form and created an indigenous great tradition in their own village society.<sup>6</sup> Sachchidanand is ~~of~~ the opinion that tribal Bihar where caste and class <sup>live together</sup> cut through society as deeply as in any other village in non-tribal area. In most cases the class structure is intermingled with caste structure. The emergence of class structure and impact of caste values are due to constant contact with the stratified caste society and some economic factors. Sachchidanand writes "Tribals have also been living in contact with non-tribals who have a well defined caste and class structure. As the non-tribes are more advanced than the tribals in material culture and also in social status, the later think it elevating to emulate their example, The continuous impact have been both regular and casual. Many Hindu castes have been living together with tribal

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6. Martin Orans, the Santhals; A Tribe in search of great Tradition, (Detroit, 1965), pp XIV + 154, See also, Martin Orans, 'Tribal People in an Industrial setting', Journal of American Folklore, (Philadelphia, 1975), 71 (281), pp. 422-46.

villages for centuries and have been integrated into the social system of the village. Without them perhaps the economic structure of the village is likely to fall into pieces".<sup>7,8</sup>

B. MODERNIZATION THEORISTS :

Impact of urbanization, industrialization and administration remained the main focus of analysis of this brand of theorists. Narmadeshwar Prasad, Amal Kumar Das, Pranab Kumar Das Gupta, K.N. Sahay and L.P. Vidyarthi are the main contributors. These writers are of the opinion that above mentioned processes have been involved in modernizing the tribals i.e. Modern education and democratic way of life have been making the tribals more conscious about the modern amenities and avenues. The other aspects which they emphasized were the problem of the adjustment of tribes in the communities of the industrial set-up

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7. Sachchidanand, caste and class in Tribal Bihar, Man in India, Ranchi, vol.35, No.3, July-September 1955, pp.95. See N. Prasad and Arun Sahay, Impact of industrialization on Bihar Tribes - A Report, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, 1961, pp. 2 + 64, Amal Kumar Das, Influence of city life on educated tribals, Bulletin of the cultural Research Institute, Calcutta, 1(2), 1962, pp.69-78. Pranab Kumar Das Gupta, impact of industrialization on tribal life, Bulletin of Anthropological survey of India, Calcutta, 13(1-2), Jan-June 1964, pp. 85-166. L.P. Vidyarthi, Socio-economic cultural implications of Industrialization in India : A Case Study of Tribal Bihar, (New Delhi, 1970), pp. XXIII+552P, P. Dash Sharma (ed), Sarat Chandra Roy commemorative volume The passing scene in Chotanagpur (Ranchi, 1980), pp.IV+170.
8. J. Troisi, 1978, Tribal Religion Religious belief and practices among Santhals (New Delhi, 1978) pp. 238-274.



C. ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION THEORISTS :

Third stream of writers have provided the historical accounts and backgrounds of the tribal movement in context of economic and social deprivations. Culshaw, K.S.Singh, R.N.Meharaj, Mahasveta Devi, K.B.Saxena, and Hiranmay Dhar are the leading writers of this brand. The contributions of these writers will be discussed in Chapter III & IV.

THE VIEW:

The survey of the theories no. I and II are not able to show the dynamics of tribes in historical perspective. They have narrowly focussed the changing tribals as if the tribes have never experienced any socio-economic crisis and rupture in their long past. These theories deal with selective cultural category and the process of change in them. These approaches emphasize upon, primacy of cultural forms and their impact on other social imperatives. Thus culturologists are interested in the character of tribal society, their values and myths and on that basis construction of typologies like, tribe-caste, tribe-peasants-caste, tribe-caste and class <sup>relationship</sup>. These anthropologists failed to show the competition among the tribes for power and economic gain and the historical contradictions bound up in that tribal social structure itself. They ignored the economic hardship, class formation and class antagonism among

the industrial and urban tribal workers. Thus the contribution of first two theories emphasized on the ethnic based continuity and isolation. Here for N.K. Bose Hindu mode of tribal absorption was neither Hindu nor absorption but an integration into the production system of colonialism.<sup>9</sup> This secular process has sometimes been over simplified the transition of tribes into peasants and of peasants into depeasantised working class is generally described as unilinear process. Such studies overlook the complexities of tribal social formations and situations.<sup>10</sup> Ghurye who had propounded his anti-isolation and pre-assimilation view point regarding tribal in 1942 based on American model of ethnic-cum-cultural pluralism has been unabashedly applied to the Indian situation even though it has failed in relation to American Indians.<sup>11</sup> Recently, Andre Beteille has investigated tribal agrarian social structure on the basis of (i) ownership of the land (ii) control of the land and (iii) use of the land.<sup>12</sup> For him, the definition of peasantry which has been propounded by Shanin is suitable to identify the Chotanagpur tribes as peasants. The first characteristics according to them is the importance of family

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9. Cited from, K.S. Singh, Eight Devraj Chanana Memorial lecture, perspectives and ideology, December, 9, 10, Delhi School of Economics (unpublished), pp.1-4.

10. op. cit.

11. op. cit.

12. Andre Beteille, Agrarian Social Structure, (Delhi, 1979) pp.34, See also Andre Beteille, 'Agrarian Social Structure', Man in India, Vol.52, No.2, April-June 1972.

farm as the basic unit of production and consumption which the Munda <sup>and</sup> Oraon own, control and cultivate by themselves. Where share croppers or agricultural labourers exist. Second characteristic is that land-husbandary constitute the main pattern of livelihood as subsistence economy. Third characteristic is that they lead small community life with traditional values. Fourth characteristic the 'under-dog position' of these tribes due to the exploitation of the outsiders, industrialists and the money-lenders. The merit of Beteille's analysis lies in the fact that he has shown a varied system of stratification among the tribes of Chotanagpur which is different from the caste stratification system.<sup>13</sup> But even, he ignored the conflictual aspects of the tribal social structure and ultimately ~~got~~ <sup>got</sup> himself ~~strapped~~ <sup>strapped</sup> while analysing the conventional caste and tribe dichotomic relationship and differences.<sup>14</sup> The writers who fall in category No. III do not provide the full accounts of class relations among the tribes. Even the major writings of the category III is simply non-sociological and merely historical accounts. But their contribution is highly significant to understand the dynamics of tribal society. Here our attempt will be to understand tribe as an economic group, although my emphasis

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13. Andre Beteille, 'Six Essays in Comparative Sociology, (Delhi, 1979), pp.64-74.

14. Andre Beteille, 'Definition of the Tribes, in Romesh Thapar (ed) Tribe, Caste, Religion (Meerut, 1977), pp. 7-14.

cannot ignore other factors of the tribal life for analysis, N.K. Bose has rightly pointed out that "there are many ways in which tribe can be classified, one ... is by language, another is by religion and third is by degree of isolation to which they are subject which had led some to retain a larger proportion of their original culture than others. But, we believe the plainest way will be arrange them into categories based on the manner in which they primarily make their living!"<sup>15</sup> Bose divides tribes into five categories on the basis of economic activities (i) hunters, fishers and gatherers (ii) Shifting cultivators (iii) Settled agriculturists using the plough and plough cattle (iv) nomadic cattle keepers (v) artisans, labourers and workers in plantations and industries.<sup>16</sup>

Thus our attempt in this dissertation will be to present the tribal as economic class rather than as primitive, pre-literate, static and community which is going to be converted in other religions Hindus and Christians. In this study main hypotheses will be:

- (1) How the British colonial administration created a class of exploiters for the tribals which became responsible for movement.

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15. N.K. Bose, Tribal Life in India, (New Delhi, 1971), pp.4-5.

16. Ibid.

- ( 11 ) Even after the independence of India, the capitalistic government's policy and the interest of the local capitalists, industrialists and moneylenders, further accentuated the tribal movement in Bihar.

## CHAPTER - III

### T R I B A L M O V E M E N T

#### PHASE -I (1855-1905)

(1) COLONIAL BACKGROUND : The movement among the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur was not a unique phenomenon under the British Raj, as it was also experienced by other tribes and caste peasants throughout India. The process of the British rule was occupied by serious discontent and resentment among the people, even the Indian soldiers serving in the British army were affected, and for nearly hundred years popular discontent took the forms of arms resistance led by the deposed chieftains or their descendents and relations. A large sections of peasantry and artisans joined these revolts because of their own grievances and hardships. The uprisings were responsible to deprivation of unusually severe in character, always economic and often also involving physical brutality and ethnic persecution. The colonial plunder was the main source of enrichment for the ruling oligarchy in

Britain and this plunder caused the collapse of all branches of Indian economy. The British intruders neglected public works and thus brought about the collapse of India's irrigated agriculture. The colonialists broke down the communal economic framework of land ownership of the tribes. The tribals spread over a large part of India participated in hundred of uprisings. The uprisings were marked by immense courage and sacrifices on their part and veritable butchery on the part of official machinery suppression.<sup>1</sup> Raghavaiah has given a list of such eighty uprising among the tribes in Chronological order, the famous uprisings are paharia revolt (1778), Koli disturbances (1784-5), Tamar revolt 1789, Khasis revolt 1829, Munda revolt (1820, 1832, 1887), Khampti (1839-43), Santhal (1855), Bhil (1857-8), Naga revolt (1879), Warli revolt (Maharashtra); (1946-8), Mizo revolt (1966-71), Naxalite revolt (1967-71) etc.<sup>2</sup> As we have mentioned not only the tribes but displaced peasants, zamindars and Soldiers participated in the several rebellion; Sanyasi

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1. Bipan Chandra, Freedom Struggle, (New Delhi, 1977) pp.42-43 and 46-47.

2. V. Raghvaiah, 'Tribal Revolt in Chronological order: 1978 to 1921' In A.R. Desai (ed.), Peasant Struggle in India (Delhi, 1981), pp.23-27.

See also, Erick Stokes, 'The Peasant and the Raj : Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India', (New Delhi, 1978), pp.245 and Kathleen Gough, 'Indian Peasant Uprisings, EPW, Vol.9, No.32-34, August 1974, pp.1261.

rebellion (1763-1800) led by dispossessed zamindars and religious monks, Orissa zamindar rebellion (1804-1817), Raja of Vijayanagram (1794), the Poligars of Tamil Nadu (1790), Dindigals (1801), Mysorians (1800, 1831) Vizagapattam (1830-34), Dewan Velu Thampi of Travencore (1805), Saurashtra (1816-32), the Kolis of Gujarat (1824-25, 1828, 1839, 1849), the Jats of Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. The culmination of the traditional opposition to British rule came with the revolt of 1857 in which million of peasants, artisan and soldiers participated. The overall impact of British on India and particularly on the tribes remained exploitative. A.R. Desai writes that the British generated (i) dominant mode of production that was in the form of (ii) introduction of private property in land (iii) new modes of revenue collection (iv) transformation of land and asset into commodities (v) introduction of commercialization in agriculture. (vi) ushering in a novel principle of governance, based on rule of law, a bourgeoisie legal framework and an administration composed of a hierarchy of officers, constituted of imperial, provincial and local unit and further composed of Class I, II, III employees and other categories founded on the new principle of recruitment, promotion and retirement. (vii) the British created a new feudal landlords with intermediaries such as tenants, sub-tenants, share-croppers, bonded labour and agricultural labour in zamindari area.



(viii) the socio-economic formation which emerged after independence is capitalistic due to the colonial British impact.<sup>3</sup> In sum and substance we can say that the impact of the British on Tribal economy was disruptive which the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur never experienced.

## (2) PRE-COLONIAL TRIBAL ECONOMY

### Tribes of Santhal Parganas :

(1) PAHARIAS: Paharias are the primitive tribe of Santhal Parganas who live on the Rajmahal hills. Their livelihood depends on the forest products, hunting and shifting cultivation. No detailed study on their economic conditions in terms of class relations have been done. They are known as cattle lifters and robbers in their area.

(ii) SANTHALS: Before their insurrection, Santhal had never experienced any influx in their economic system. They were quite happy with their subsistence economy. Sher will reports that "in 1851 several hundred substantial Santhal Villages with an abundance of cattle and surrounded by luxuriant crops, occupy the hitherto neglected spot, the hillmen have with a few exception retired to the hills".<sup>5</sup> The Santhals have no record of their economic conditions before the arrival

3. A.R.Desai, op.cit., pp.xv-xvii

4. L.S.S. O'Malley, Bihar District Gazetteer, Santhal Parganas, (Patna 1938), pp.23-24 and 33-37.

5. Walter S.Sherwill, 'Notes upon a Tour Through the Rajmahal Hills - Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 20(7), 1851, pp.544-606.

of the British but as their traditions show that they were very expert in cleaning the forests as well as seasoned agriculturists. Here the history of migration can be helpful to trace out their economic activities and the final settlement in the Santhal Parganas. Santhal known as a wandering race. Wadwell <sup>writes</sup> that about the middle of eighteenth century <sup>in</sup> the beginning of the British rule in India a number of Santhals were to be found in Chotanagpur especially in the districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau, Singhbhum, Midnapore and Birbhum <sup>6</sup> Sir John writes, "Thus early as 1795, the Santhals were seen in Ramgarh in Birbhum district." <sup>7</sup> Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Santhals who were very expert in cleaning the forests and bringing them into cultivation began to migrate the Rajmahal Hills situated on the north eastern side of Chotanagpur. There are three possible reasons <sup>as</sup> traced out by the administrators and Gazetteer writers. Firstly: the unfertile land of Chotanagpur could not support them at the same time the British occupied their clean/cultivated land. Secondly: The introduction of the permanent zamindari settlement by the British government in 1793, led extension in the village with a new class of landlords, who began to <sup>hire</sup> Santhal labourers

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6. L.A.Wadwel, The traditional migration of the Santhal Tribes, (Bombay, Oct 22, 1893), pp.294-96.
  7. Cited in P.C.Roy Chaudhury, Santhal Parganas District Gazetteer, (Patna, 1965), pp. 61-91

to clean the virgin forests in the Rajmahal hill, so as to bring more land under cultivation. The landlords promised them for higher wages and rent free farms. Thirdly: The Santhals were introduced in the area by the British mainly to contain violent opposition of Pahariyas who have been revolting against the local people and the British since 1778.<sup>8</sup> These reasons clearly show that Santhals were in the process of migrations under certain constraints. Before the British rule in Santhal Parganas the Santhals led a very peaceful life, Sherwill writes, "Far away from the din and bustle of a complex society, the Santhals led their simple and unsophisticated lives in the villages of the hills amidst nature's profuse bounties, an orderly race of people, their rules have little more to do than bear their honours and collect the rent".<sup>9</sup> The period of their settling in Santhal Parganas ranges from 1790 to 1830.

### (3) PRE-COLONIAL TRIBAL ECONOMY

CHOTANAGPUR: The history of Chotanagpur is associated with the history of Oraon, Munda, HO and several other minor tribes. The history of these tribes prior to their settlement in Chotanagpur is mainly derived from legends and traditional sources. Before the arrival of the British, the

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8. S. Dasgupta and R Dhar, 'An approach to the Development of Santhal Parganas Tribal Areas, Report of National Institute of Bank Management, Bombay, 1975.

9. Sherwill, op.cit.

general socio-economic conditions of Chotanagpur is reported economically prosperous and socially undisturbed. Two main tribal systems which existed in Chotanagpur are known as Munda system and Oraon system.

(3.1) MUNDA SYSTEM : From S.C.Roy's accounts, it is evident that Munda had never experienced any socio-economic exploitations. In his words : "All through the long Centuries of Hindus rule in India, the Jharkhand Mundas appear to have unmolested in their isolated mountain ~~area~~ walled off from the outside world by chains of wooded hills, they long remained in occupation of the north-west parts of what is now the Ranchi district ----- The Munda immigrants made clearance ~~of~~ the jungle and established their primitive Kol villages. The heart of the deep dense forest ~~was~~ hitherto the rays of the Sun hardly penetrated, smiling villages grew up, and went on steady multiplying till the beginning of Akbar's reign Chotanagpur maintained its independence. It was the last territory to be added to the Mughal Empire".<sup>10</sup> From a strategic point of view this region had got high importance in medieval period. Sersah of Rohtas and later Shabbaz Khan Kamba one of the military Commanders of the Akbar Great tried to capture this area, so their way to

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10. S.C. Roy, Mundas and their Country (Bombay, 1974), p.62.

Orissa and Bengal would be more easily for military expeditions.<sup>11</sup> But it is clear from the old records that these military intervention did not cause any disturbance to the tribes. Thus the "long immunity from hostile disturbances which the Mundas now enjoyed enabled them to build up those social and administrative organization which may still be seen in more or less mutilated forms in the southern and eastern Parganas of the Ranchi district".<sup>12</sup> The Munda has got long traditions of their independent and rich socio-economic political system since 6th century B.C. In the region of Chotanagpur. Since they were the first cleaners of the soil, they became the first owners of the land adamant to keep its ownership for themselves and their descendents.<sup>13</sup>

**(3.2) THE MUNDA SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM:** When the Mundas first came into Chotanagpur they were neither pastoral nor agriculturists. They were mainly dependent on the jungle produce and hunting. Firstly they started cleaning jungle and settled down the<sup>al</sup> a group or a family. This

11. S.C. Roy, Ibid, op.cit, see also Reid, Survey and Settlement Report of Ranchi, 1902, p.4.

12. S.C. Roy, Ibid.,

13. This fact was most important for the Mundas. It was the foundation of their ownership of the land in perpetuity (succession and Inheritance among the Mundas, in J.B.O.R.S., Vol.I (1915), Pt.I, pp.3). This is the reason too why the Mundas could not understand how foreigners could take their lands from them and become owners. This is the basis of the basis of struggle between the Mundas and the landlords in the 19th century.

settlement with family unit was called KHUNTKATTIHATU.<sup>14</sup> Thus the ownership of the land was held by the family. A village consisted of several families and waste lands, hills, jungles and wild animal area were declared as common property of the village families. Once a family cleaned the jungle for land, the right of ownership remained within the family.<sup>15</sup> This land was neither transferred nor sold and inheritance was strictly confined to the male. There was formal control of six headmen on the land of village community.<sup>16</sup> But we do not get any evidence whether equal distribution and consumption were existing in that age.<sup>17</sup> On the basis of the land, Khuntkatti system was arranged and introduced. These Khuntkatti system was systematized on the basis of three groups organization levels. The first group,

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14. They seems to have taken to agriculture after the Oraons came among them, see Hoffmann, J.B. Encyclopaedia Mundarika, Vol.III, pp. 2430.
  15. Hoffmann: Ency. Mundarika cit., pp.6, "Man who first turns a piece of jungle or a plot of waste land into arable land even as he who shapes a piece of wood into an axe-handle or a plough, becomes the owner of that handle or plough". Hence when in the latter part of the 17th century foreigners (whom they contemptuously called Dikus) took their land from them, the Mundas refused to acknowledge them as the rightful owner of the land. They said "we cut the forests, we plough and sow and weed and reap and singbonga (God) send the rain and sunshine, what have they the Dikus?".
  16. D.N. Mazumdar, A tribe in Transition: A study in Cultural Patterns (Calcutta, 1937), pp.8 and 36.
  17. Hoffmann and E. Lister, Memorandum on the Munda Tenancy System, in Reid, J. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 with notes, Judicial Ruling and the Rules framed under Act, Calcutta, 1910, pp.226.

the Khuntkattidars or sons of the dependents in the male line of the original founder of the village. They all had equal socio-economic status in the village, since there were no landlords, moneylenders or outsiders in that area. Therefore, they did not pay any rent. The second group was of the prajas or tenants they were almost invariably Mundas and very often relations on the female side of Khuntkattidars. They were in no sense owners of the lands but were the tenants. The third group consisted of subsidiary castes, the main function of which was non-agricultural work necessary to the village life, they were Mahalis, Bhogtas and Barais.<sup>19</sup> But these Khuntkatti system became scarce in

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18. There was no landlord in the Khuntkatti system, thus these were no question of the payment of any rent to any body before 18th century. For tribes and others, rent has been defined by the British in the following manner "whatever is lawfully payable or deliverable in many or kind by a tenant to his landlords on account of the use or occupation of the land held by tenants". (Anon, land law of Bengal, with notes, Calcutta, 1902, pp.4).
19. J.B. Hoffmann and E.Lister, op.cit., The division of these groups could be understood in the formation of exploitation of the Mundas by the Rajas. When Raja was independent of any foreign intervention his gift and other subscription were supplied by the Prajas and common people. But in 17th century and onward he lost his power to enjoy these privileges due to foreign power and this foreigner started to collect the subscription and gift from the workers and prajas not from the Khuntkattidars, but still foreigners was not contented with their privileges thus they began to collect the rent from the land of prajas and workers. The constant use of the term 'foreigners' is generally for the outsiders whom the Maharajas called in from outside their areas.

later period due to two reasons. (i) "the emergence of individual ownership of land as opposed to the control by the local lineage and (ii) the incroachment of moneylenders and landlords in the Munda country".<sup>20</sup> This economic activity determined the social and spiritual relationship of the Mundas. In all their economic activities sowing harvesting of the crops - there was a feeling of solidarity, for very early in life the Munda learned to live in harmony and friendship with those of his kins. The economic activities were associated with the market not only for the exchange of goods but for further strengthening the social ties by meeting elders, headmen and relatives.<sup>21</sup> The socio-political system of the Mundas which is associated with the economic aspect is also important to note here. The socio-political system which was mainly based on the kinship system had two aspects (i) the village organizations, (ii) the confederation of the villages. (i) the village was the primary and <sup>the</sup> basic unit of administration headed by a Pahan (priest) who was treated as the original founder of the village or the oldest representative of the original founder. The function of these headmen was in both areas, namely in administration and in rituals.<sup>22</sup> In the administrative hierarchy Pahan was assisted

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20. Andre Beteille, 'Six Essays in Comparative Sociology', (Delhi, 1978), pp.69.

21. D.N. Mazumdar, A Tribe in Transition, op.cit., pp.40.

22. J.B. Hoffmann, Enc. Mund., Vol. III, pp.2392-93.



by the Munda for the service of entire community. But they were not granted any land for their official services. These officials were not hierarchically arranged as modern bureaucracy but were treated as first among the equals.<sup>23</sup> When a group of villagers which used to be generally ten or twelve in number made a confederation of the ten or twelve Mundas of the same clan was called a 'Parha' or 'Patti', and the chief of which was called 'Manki'.<sup>24</sup> Manki had immense power in administration and judiciary, he used to perform the function of the settlement of disputes between the villagers. He was the head of the Panchayats of Council of the elders. But there was no wider organization than the Parha. Thus when Oreon came in contact with the Mundas they elected a common Raja.<sup>25</sup> This Raja used Parha as administrative unit. Raja had been presented some gifts and tributes by Mankis.<sup>26</sup> Hence in conclusion we can say that Munda was passing their socio-economic and political life democratically before the advent of the British in region of the Mundas.

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23. Munda was the civil head of the village. In the British period Munda represented the village in dealing with landlords and the British government. But the Munda was understood as the landlord of the village by the outsiders, which is wrong.

24. S.C. Roy, op. cit. pp.140.

25. Raja means in Mundas, the chief of the chiefs and was not the property holder of any public concern. His post was not attached with any land property.

26. The voluntary contribution later fixed in the form of tributes. The British in his initial period of rule considered manki as the landlords of the territory. Therefore, manki was authorized by the British to collect the land rent from the patti. Therefore tension occurred in the village, when manki claimed his individual ownership on the land.

(3.3) THE ORAON SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM:

Perhaps between 6th century B.C. and 5th century A.D. a more advanced agriculturist tribes called Oraons came to the north-west plateau of Chotanagpur. They cleaned the jungle fastly and settled down with the Mundas. Oraons coming in contact with the Mundas, imitated their way of social and economic organization like Mundas, Oraons also cleaned the jungles with the help of their families and used the land for agricultural production which is called BHUINARI SYSTEM - this bhuinari village system was similar to the Khuntkatti village system of the Mundas.<sup>27</sup> The bhuinars of the village like Khuntkattidars of the Mundas owned the land. The village priest which is called PAHAN had to be a bhuinar, the main function of which was to keep oraons away from the effects of any evil through sacrifices. But as far as idea of ownership of the property is concerned it seems that Oraons had developed the system of individual or family ownership of the land<sup>28</sup> like Mundas, Oraons had also developed political organization on the level of (i) single village and (ii) confederacy of the village.<sup>29</sup> The village

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27. S.C. Roy, The Oraons of Chotanagpur, their history, economic life and social organizations, (Ranchi, 1915), p.105.

28. S.C. Roy, Oraons Religion and Customs, (Ranchi, 1928), p.374.

29. See S.C. Roy, The Oraons of Chotanagpur.

organization consisted of the bhuinars, later Oraons settlers and workers. Bhuinar, the religious and secular head was the indispensable privileged and the central figure of the village who alone owned the land. He was also called Pahan or Baiga. In the civil administration, Panchayat was formed in which Pahan was assisted by the Panchs who used to be the elders of the village when more than one neighbouring villages which varied in number of the groups, viz., 7, 9, 12, 21 or 22 come to form as socio-political organization was called parha panch. The head of which was the Raja. The head of the villages were the members of the Paraha Panch, who used to settle any dispute of the villages. It was a body which made the social laws of the Oraons. This parha confederation had its immense social importance. It was a body which took all the responsibility of social development protection from any evil whether they are supernatural or human, village confederation was the backbone of the independency of tribal existence, their solidarity, health, progeny, cattle and agricultural interests. It commanded the authority from private family to the public social life for the welfare of the Oraons.<sup>30</sup>

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30. S.C. Roy, The Oraons of Chotanagpur, p.432.

(4) PROCESS OF INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE TRIBES

(4.1) THE SANTHALS: The British wanted to squeeze the rent as much as possible therefore they did not leave any mechanism to exploit the innocent Santahals. Zamindars wanted to get jungle cleaned so as to collect more and more revenue from the agricultural rent. As we have already mentioned Santahals were wandering in nature, so after cleaning a bit of forest for cultivation they used to produce something for their subsistence but as soon as the question of payment of rent came they usually left that place and went to a new area. It was also in the myth of the Santahals that they had not paid any rent in their past golden age. Thus even the small payment created a strong resentment among the Santahals as to why there should be any one in between the land and himself. The wonder lust of Santahals was further exploited by the Tea District Labour Association Officers. Thousand of Santahals were recruited often through various pretexts and false hopes and transported to the tea district of Assam.<sup>31</sup> The intervention process was direct in the case of Santahals, non-tribal zamindars were appointed to collect the rents and taxes from the Santahals while no special power was given to their traditional chiefs the Parganaits and Manjhi, no Raja was existing

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31. E.C. Roychoudhury, Bihar District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas, (Patna, 1965), pp. 61-91

among the Santhals. But the case of Munda and Oraons were different from the Santhals.

#### (4.2) MUNDAS AND ORAONS

The interference in the administrative and revenue of the Mundas and Oraons system starts with chief of them the Raja. Previously Raja did not interfere in the internal administration of the tribes. In 1585, a sudden dramatic change took place the Raja of Chotanagpur made the tributary of the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. In 1616 this Raja was failed to pay the tributary to the Emperor thus he was sent to the Gwalior Jail for 12 years.<sup>32</sup> Now the Raja of Chotanagpur came in contact with out side world and saw the pomp and shows of the imprisoned Hindu Kings, this outside contact made some remarkable change in the Raja of Chotanagpur. On his release from the Jail, he began to implement new rules regarding royalty and copied the administrative and revenue style of Hindu Kings. For the proper imitation Raja brought in Brahamins, Rajputs, Courtiers, Warriors and various Hindu castes to the region of Chotanagpur. He now claimed over the lands of Mundas and Oraons and announced himself the imperial authority or Maharaja of that country. Most probably it was the time when Maharaja started to make himself

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32. The Raja of that time was Durjan Sal and the Mughal Emperor was Jahangir. See S.C. Roy, 'The Mundas and their Country'.

Hinduized. It is also evident from the historical records that Maharaja after coming from Gwalior was never interfered by the Emperor of Delhi.<sup>33</sup> The new administration and revenue collection method made a change in the land system of the Mundas and Oraons. The currency system was not in vogue that time therefore, Maharaja was unable to pay the foreigners in cash. So Maharaja handed over to them his right to supplies from the villagers there grant<sup>was</sup> rendered for the service of the officers. Thus the system of service grant (Jagirs) <sup>was</sup> introduced and the beneficiaries were called Jagirdar.<sup>34</sup> This new land system was the main cause of the agrarian unrest in later time among the tribes. Not only the Maharaja made claim for the land but foreigners for their own interests made it clear that the Maharaja had absolute right over the whole of Chotanagpur and that in making his service grants he had transferred his absolute property right to the Jagirdars.<sup>35</sup> Here there became the emergence of

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33. After coming from Gwalior Jail 'Raja' announced himself as 'Maharaja'.

34. The resolution of the government of Bengal for the year 1880, cited in S.C.Roy, The Mundas, pp.165, The aborigenals had no place in their system for a 'landlord' and their language did not even have such a word, when the 'Jagirdars' and others forced the idea on them, they did not bother to coin a word but merely called the landlords 'dikus' (foreigners), from Hoffman J.B.Enc. Munda, Vol.II, p.515.

35. S.C. Roy, The Oraons of Chotanagpur, pp.166.

private property and landlordism in Chotanagpur. Mean while in 1793 the permanent settlement introduced in Bengal and extended to Chotanagpur. In 1806 Maharaja and landlords were asked by the British to establish zamindari police station and appoint police officers. These officers were brought in from outside Chotanagpur. This way there became the end of the Khuntkatti and Bhuinari system of the Mundas and Oraons. The Mundas and Oraons who were always peace loving people plunged into violence against the oppresors to regain their right on their property.

(5) CAUSES OF THE MOVEMENTS AMONG THE TRIBES OF SANTHAL PARGANAS AND CHOTANAGPUR:

The first revolt which took place in Santhal Parganas was among the Sauriya Paharia against the Khetauri lies in the fact that these khetauri treacherously murdered the chief of the Pahariyas in the middle of the eighteenth century. This murder caused a great resentment among the tribes. They immediately stormed the fort of lakragarh and started plundering the villages. This resentment further took a dramatic turn when famine of 1770 caused heavy death in the region. They started plundering the villagers till the end of 1810. In the meantime Cleavland Commissioner of Bhagalpur had been appointed to pacify the Pahariyas. He ultimately got the

success.<sup>36</sup>

(5.1) SANTHAL: The main causes of Santhal rebellion of 1855-57 were economic oppression, loss of cultural identity and abolition of politico-jural system. In no way they were left with their own autonomy in any sphere of life by the outsiders.

Writing in 1867, twelve years after the out-break of rebellion, E.G.Man concluded that the four grievances were chiefly responsible for rebellion (i) the rapacity of the money lenders in their transactions with the tribes (ii) the increasing misery caused by the iniquitous system of allowing personal and hereditary bondage for debt. (iii) unparalleled corruption and extortion of the policy in aiding and abetting Mahajans (moneylenders) (iv) the impossibility for Santhals to obtain redress from the court.<sup>37</sup> K.K.Basu found the same cause of the Santhal rebellion in Santhal Parganas and Bhagalpur.<sup>38</sup> The Calcutta Review reports that corrupt administration, police and judicial system were main causes of the tribal rebellion of 1855.<sup>39</sup> The Assistant

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36. P.C. Roychaudhury, Bihar District Gazetteer, Santhal Parganas, pp. 61-81

37. Man E.G., - Sonthalia and the Sonthals, (Calcutta, 1867) p.10.

38. K.K.Basu, The Santhal outbreak in Bhagalpur, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, 20(2), June 1934, pp.186-224, See also R.Carstairs, 1971 Harna village - A novel of Santhal life, Pohnuria, the Santhal Mission Press, pp.320.

39. The Calcutta Review, (Calcutta, July-Dec. 1860), pp.510.



Commissioner of Naya Doonka (Dumka) Division traced out the causes of rebellion of 1855-57 . These are (i) the enhancement of rent by the samindars (ii) the institution of suit by Mahajans for fear of ActXIV of 1859 (iii) a prophecy by Siddhu who just before his execution, had predicted an uprising about this time at which he might reappear as leader. As a result several military police at other places, namely, Rampurhat, Pakur, Pirpainty, Godda and Deoghar were deployed. There was no rising but the administration got panicky, culshaw in describing the cause of Santhal rebellion, goes beyond the economic factor and emphasized on the emotional aspect of the cause of the rebellion. In his own words :

"Economic factor alone will not have to give a solution to the Question of why the Santhal rebelled.... hunger drawn them to despair but their attachment to the land provided also an emotional basis without which the rebellion might not have taken place. For the Santhals, land not only provided them with economic security but is also a powerful link with his ancestors. No land is taken possession unless the spirit approves it." 40

Thus land for Santhal was an ancestral property and a spiritual heritage.

(5.2) DEMAND AND GOAL OF THE SANTHALS: Generally the writers on the Santhals consider this rebellion as a simple momental dissatisfaction and upsurge of the Santhal but it was not the case. It was an organised and goal oriented action to overthrow the exploited class for their sovereignty. K.K.Dutta

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40. W.J. Culshaw, The Santhal rebellion, Man in India, Ranchi, 25(4), December 1945, pp.219.

writes:

"The Santhal Rebellion was not a mere spasmodic outburst of the crude instinct of the semi-savage Santhals, but the outcome of a long course of oppression, silently and patiently submitted to by these unsophisticated people unaccustomed to fight for their rights in the legitimate way of their neighbours. The rebellion came at a time when the destitution and suffering of Santhals had reached an extremely high level because of the moneylenders and merchants".<sup>41</sup>

Calcutta Review also reports that the Santhals thus saw his crops, his cattle even himself and family appropriated for debt which ten times paid remained in incubus upon him still. The Santhals had got no solace or any help from the side of the government, the Santhals harassed by their landlords and exploited by <sup>USU2evz</sup> ~~the~~ and could not get redress in the British court.<sup>42</sup>

### (5.3) ADMINISTRATIONS:

Corrupt administration was not in any case prepared to listen the grievances of the Santhals. The court of law was simply ment for zamindars and those who were engaged in the collection of rents. The location of courts were far away from the hinterlands of Santhals, Bhagalpur and Deoghar Courts were not easily accessible for the Santhals. Amlahs

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41. Ibid.

42. Calcutta Review, 1860, pp.510-11.

(Clerks), Mukhtiar (Pleaders) and Peon attached to the Court were famous for corruptions. Apart from this the Santhals were not knowing any language other than Santhali, thus <sup>they were</sup> easily cheated by the non-Santhal administrators. In spite of these grievances Santhal did not immediately indulge in any violence but they repeatedly presented their memorandums to the government, but government did not pay any attention to their demands. Their problems are clearly expressed in their rebellion song.

that is -

Saheb rule is troublesome  
Shall we go or shall we stay ?  
Eating, drinking, clothing,  
For everything we are troubled,  
Shall we go or shall we stay ?<sup>43</sup>

(5.4) EXPLOITATION MECHANISMS:

The bondage systems which were operating were the Kamlottee and Harwahee. These exploitation mechanisms did

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43. W.G. Archer, Man in India, Vol. 1945, pp.218.

not leave any freedom for Santhals.<sup>44</sup> Rate of the land rent was so high in comparison to the production that they failed to pay rent in time. The consequence of which was the confiscation of the land property of the Santhals. This confiscation method is called Ooched. According to Ooched, the lands of Santhals were called for auction on cheap rate, the purchasers of the lands were mainly the non-Santhal north Biharis. This way moneylenders and thikkadars became the landlord of that area. Another system which was also in vogue to appropriate the property of Santhals was Girwi method. Through this method moneylenders used to keep the ornaments, utensils and cattle of the Santhals by paying some money to them on the high interest for a specific short period of time. If Santhals were failed to return the money in that period of time their property right would have naturally lost.

Thus these deterrent and rapacious activities of moneylenders and landlords and foreigners evoked the rebellious potentiality of the Great Santhals. This rebellion of 1855-57 led by the two brothers Sidhu and Kanhu. They pro-

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44. Kamiottee system: A man borrowed money binding himself to work without pay for moneylenders wherever required till the loan was paid. Harwahee system: Under this system the borrower had in addition to personal service, to plough the moneylenders field whenever required till his loan was repaid. It was thus practically impossible for the borrower to repay the loan because his service were required during harvest time and other busy seasons of the year, (J. Troisi, Tribal Religion: Religious belief and practices among Santhals, (Delhi, 1978), pp.35.

claimed that they had witnessed divine power and received a message from his spirit, urging them to lead the rebellion. In the time of rebellion these two brothers appealed the Santhals that they should bring the past golden age where they used to live in camps without any trouble. This message of rebellion passed to all the headmen of the tribes.

(6) COURSE:

All headmen organized the Santhals at different places to drive out the oppressors from their land. Sidhu and Kanhu sent a message to announce a meeting at Bhognadi on 30 June 1855. More than thirty thousand Santhals with their bows and arrows marched towards Calcutta to overthrow the British regime. A local Police Inspector Mahesh Lal Dutta tried to resist them with local moneylenders but he was immediately slaughtered with their supporters. Santhals cried Hul ! Hul ! (Rebel, Rebel). After a long battle between the Santhals and the British, Santhals were eventually crushed down within a period of two years. Santhals with their leaders suffered heavy casualty. Sidhu and Kanhu tried and convicted. This defeat is explicit in their rebellion song;

Sido, why are you bathed in blood,

Kanhu, why do you cry Hul, Hul?

For our people we have bathed in blood

For the traders thieves,

Have robbed us of our land.<sup>45</sup>

Thus the resentment and rebellious activities of the Santhals continued throughout the nineteenth century at a stretch. In 1871, there was a great wave of unrest throughout Santhal Parganas and Birbhum owing to oppression of the Santhals, which was again ruthlessly suppressed.

(7) CONSEQUENCES OF THE REBELLION OF 1855-57 OF NINETEENTH CENTURY:

These rebellions of Santhals were partly successful and partly unsuccessful. These rebellions were eye openers to the British administrators. The fear of Santhals was so strong in the mind of the British that they had forced to take some legal measure to improve the conditions of the tribes. These measures were administrative, land reformation and abolition of some of the exploitative mechanisms. First measure was

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45. W.G. Archer, op. cit., pp.207, originals at Nos. 1505, 1490, 1495, 1497, 1941 and 1480, G.C. Soren and W.G. Archer, H.C. Soren (Dumka, 1943) History of the Santhals Hul (Rebellion) of 1855, Manuscript by Digambar Chakraverty, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

the setting of "Ashley Aden Inquiry Committee" the report of this inquiry Committee resulted in the formation of the Act XXXVII of 22 December 1855, According to this Act, there became the formation of Santhal Parganas (previously it was Damin-i-koh) a non-regulation district which was placed under the Commissioner of Bhagalpur.<sup>46</sup> This new district of Bhagalpur and Birbhum, lies between 23 48' - 25 19' North latitude and 86 28' - 87 57' East longitude. It has an area of 14,129 sq. km.<sup>47</sup> This new district again divided into Dumka, Deoghar, Godda, Rajmahal and Pakur under a Deputy Commissioner and four assistant Commissioners for administrative purpose. The Police Rule of 1856 introduced, according to which the headman of every village (manjhi) and the parganait (head of a number of villages) <sup>were</sup> given police power. The Deputy Commissioner was given power to appoint or dismiss a manjhi or parganait. The system which introduced was a non-regulation system, this regulation system brought administrator and Santhals together. The power of Daroga (Police Sub Inspector) was sharply reduced. The Land Tenancy Act of 1855 passed. According to this Act no land could be sold to non-Santhals by the Santhals. In 1858, Kamiottee bondage system was abolished. But in no

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46. This Act, however, largely amended by the Act X of 1857 which slashed down the district to a smaller area.

47. Census 1971, series 4, Bihar, part X-B, Primary census, Abstract, Santhal Parganas District (Bihar).

Sub Inspector) was sharply reduced. The Land Tenancy Act of 1855<sup>was</sup> passed. According to this Act no land could be sold to non-Santhals by the Santhals. In 1858, Kamiattee bondage system was abolished. But in no way these reforms ~~was~~ proved ineffective to solve the long standing problems of the Santhals. After the failure of 1855-27 rebellion and introduction of Stamp Law of 1863, according to which Santhals were made to pay ever increasing rent, dismissal of village headman and again the capture of free-rent land by the rapacious landlords created a situation of helplessness among the Santhals. Deprived of their leaders, decimated and starved by the government troops, and finally ~~forced~~ of their own violences and opposition, the Santhals gave themselves up and sued for peace.<sup>48</sup> Troisi writes the cause of this movement in the following sentences:

"The failure of the rebellion was, however, still fresh in their minds. They realized that the path of better economic condition through militant method was closed and thus could not openly revolt against the British. This realization was the beginning of a new consciousness which manifested itself in another social movement called the Kherwar

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48. Stephen Fuchs, Rebellious Prophet, (Bombay, 1965), P.52.



movement: This movement was motivated by the desire to return <sup>to</sup> idealized past of the tribal independence and glory that it <sup>as</sup> celebrated in Santhal myths".<sup>49</sup>

For Santhals, Kherwar is the ancient name of the Santhals and in their minds it is inseparably associated with the golden era of their history, namely the time when they lived in campa in absolute independence and had no rent or tribute to pay for their leaders <sup>by</sup> virtue of their office.<sup>50</sup>

Several leaders of Kherwar propogated that the worship of bonga was the cause of the defeat of Santhals in war. They should have worshipped Thakur tiu. Then the Santhals <sup>felt</sup> guilty of abandoning their supreme god and worshipping the <sup>alien</sup> spirits.

<sup>51</sup> The most, important leader of this movement was Bhagirath Manjhi who claimed himself powerful Bahaji and announced that he could emancipated Santhals from the Oppressors if they worship one God Ram ~~with~~ with purity.

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49. J.Troisi, 'The Santhals' in M.S.A.Rao's (ed) Social Movement in India, Vol.2,(Delhi: 1979), p.134.

50. Skrefurd, Letter to the Editor, The Statesman, Nov 8, 1880.

51. Stephen Fuchs, op.cit., p.53.

This Babaji preached that the present oppression was a divine punishment for the abandoning of the worship of one God Ram Cando and turning to the veneration of minor and evil spirits (Bongas). This movement weakened when Bhagirath Manjhi gave a militant turn to the movement. <sup>It was</sup> immediately suppressed down by the British and Bhagirath tried ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> convicted. After the death of Bhagirath Manjhi this sect kept alive by the several Babajis who like Bhagirath Manjhi claimed to be the emancipator of the Santhals. Their claim of prophecy was maintained because they also had got divine message from Ram Cando to improve the economic condition of the tribe.

In 1880, Dubia Gosain, a Hinduized tribal Santhal Sadhu revolted against British operation in the Santhal Parganas area.

Once again there was an outbreak of rebellion among the Santhals in the famine of 1897. This time Kharwar sect split into three sub-sects: the Sapha Hor, Samra and Babaji.<sup>52</sup> The main spirit of these sects remained same. They shared the common worship of Ram Cando. Later Sapha Hor Sect became more Sanskritized and exclusive. The members of Sapha Hor observed strict commensal norms which forbade them ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> eating

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52. A Santhal Sect - The Modern Review, Calcutta, 31 March 1922, p.358.

in the houses of those who did not belong to the sect.<sup>53</sup>  
In 1930 and 1942 the Sapha Hor sect followed the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi and took part in freedom movement.

(8) MOVEMENTS AMONG THE TRIBES OF CHOTANAGPUR

CAUSE:

Case of Chotanagpur tribes ~~was~~ not very much different from the case of Sant hals of Santhal Parganas. The British had the same vested interest in Chotanagpur. The foreign ruler announced that the tribes ~~did~~ not have their legal documents to prove the ownership of their land 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 the British administrators relied on the landlords and ignored the tribes.<sup>54</sup> The British rule starts in this region from 1765. In 1793, the permanent settlement <sup>was</sup> introduced in Bengal, so it naturally covered the region of Chotanagpur. In 1806 the landlords and Maharaja were asked to establish thana (Police Station) and recruit

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53. T. Troisi J., op.cit, p.133.

54. Hunter, W.W., , Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Language of India and High Asia, (London, 1885), pp.2-6

the outsiders as Police Officers.<sup>55</sup> Like Santhals the Mundas and Oraons did not get justice from the Court and Police "they were neglected by their new masters, oppressed by the aliens and deprived of the means they had formerly possessed of obtaining redress through their own means."<sup>56</sup> S.C.Roy remarks in this context that "Unintentionally and unwittingly in the transformation of communal ownership of the villages of the aboriginal Communities into individual ownership mostly of the non-aboriginals and alien proprietors".<sup>57</sup> The Thikkadars got the village on lease from Maharaja as payment of their goods and services. Some of the Mundas were called Beth Begar. The Mundas and Oraons were disparate they expressed 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."<sup>58</sup>

A committee was set up to investigate and resolve the problem of the tribes. Mr. Blunt a member of the Governor General Council reported to the Government that the main causes of rebellion were the tyranny of the government

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55. From (A civilian), Memoir on the land tenure and principles of Taxation, obtaining in the provinces attached to the Bengal Presidency, Calcutta, 1832, and see also Hunter . . . A Brief History of Indian People, (23rd ed., 1903, Oxford), pp.192-193. O
56. Dalton, E.T. - Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p.170.
57. S.C. Roy, Aborigines of Chotanagpur, in J.B.O.R.S., XVII (1931), pt.IV, p.374.
58. Cit. in S.C.Roy, op.cit., p.201.

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, and 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 was introduced for administration that was called the South-Western Frontier Agency and was under the management of the agent to the Governor General. A head quarter 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 region, Judicial Court was established at Lohardugga. Wilkinson as an agent <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ peace <sup>who</sup> tried to pacify the Munda and mankis by granting them the individual ownership of the land. But the Mundas and mankis now began to act as landlords. This created inner rift among the tribes themselves. The court of justice now started the trial of insurgents which further created resentment among the tribes.

The language which was used in the British Court was quite unknown to the tribes. The amlahs and mukhtars were in favour of the non-tribes. Thus aboriginals lost their cases frequently. The ruthless exploitation by moneylenders proportioned his interest not to the means of the borrowers but to his needs, so that whether the borrower won the case or not, the fields were lost to the moneylenders.<sup>59</sup> Sometimes aboriginals did not like to go to the courts and tried to settle their dispute in the village, in this case also settlement usually ended in favour of landlords. The years went by, the oppression grew worse and during the administration of the South-western Agency the greatest disturbances of tribal peasants occurred.<sup>60</sup> The available original reports of the inquiry committee on 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.<sup>61</sup> The people of the district "suffer much injustice at the hands of the foreign middlemen introduced by the Raja."<sup>62</sup> According to the report of Mr. Ricketts the main causes of the exploitation of the tribes were

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59. J.B. Hoffmann, Enc. Mund. Vol. II, pp.507-17.

60. Chotanagpur Agrarian Report, Calcutta, 1890, Part II, p.21.

61. Chotanagpur Agrarian Report, Part II, p.6.

62. Report cited by RICKETTS in selection from the Records of the Bengal government, No.XX, pp.14-15.

landlords and thikkadars. So the British government replaced the South-west Frontier Agency by a Commissioner-ship for Chotanagpur Division under the Lt. Governor of Bengal. Regular Civil and Criminal Courts were established. In the beginning a simple set of rules to meet the special needs of Chotanagpur was formulated for guidance of the courts, but later the laws and enactment in force in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which was suited to the more advanced people in those regions, were introduced into backward Chotanagpur also. This added to the disadvantage of the aboriginals. As a result, a reform which could have brought relief to the aboriginals was delayed.

In Dhanbad district, there were agents of labour transport company, which recruited coolie to sell them to Mauritius, Assam Tea plantation and Cachar. Coolie were also forced to work in the factories and they were provided to live in barracks which were congested hovels. They were exported under false pretention forged and cheated. Majority of these workers were Santhals and Bhoomiz. Thousand and thousand of coolie died in the outbreak of cholera and pleague in several factories. This kind of plight was common phenomenon in the entire Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur region. Sir Maurice Hallet and Sir T.S. McPhesdon traced out the cause

of unrest and that is highhandedness of police officials and landlords. They write that the Kols (Munda and Oraons) throughout Chotanagpur within the last few years had their rent increased by their thikkadars, samindars by 35 per cent, they had made the roads through the Parganas without payment to the labourers.

In Palamau district introduction of Sazwal system created a great disturbance among the Cheros. Kharwar and Bho~~g~~tas also rebelled against the British due to same reasons. <sup>63</sup> Although Palamau district had its own different mechanisms of the exploitations, which we will deal in detail.

Awabs: Speaking of Rakumats (awabs) Mr.T.W.Bridge writes in the final report on survey and settlement : "Awabs were the landlords, being able to take all that the holding could pay in shape of rent". The begar which the landlords took from the tribes were in following forms.

(1) Harai: Every raiyat possessing plough had to give harai which is to plough the Jagirdar's khalsa field for three days in a year and the rayots were paid only three seers of any grain per day as bannai for doing this kind of job.

63. Captain Dalton - letter No.252, dated December 22, 1857 to the Lt. Governor of Bengal and letter No.21, dated 31st January 1859 from Dalton to the Commissioner of Chotnagpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.



(ii) Ropni: At the time of transplantation of paddy, the raiyats of a village had to attend to the Jagirdars or the farmer's land before their own for a period of eight days.

(iii) Salami: During Dasahra festival the rayats had to pay from Rs. 1 to Rs.2 to Jagirdars or zamindars.. The rayots had also to give a rupee as salami babuan for jagirdar's son and rupee as salami thakurbari on account of worship of the idol in Jagirdar's house. A he-got was also taken from each village.

(IV) Dewan Rasam: If the village was of the Jagirdar, the tenant had to pay the Jagir's dewan at the rate of one pie on each rupee of the total rent. If the village was under ~~thikka~~, the thikkadar had to pay a diwan rasam.

(V) Musadi Kharcha: When a rayat paid up his dues in full he was granted a Farakatti by the Jagirdar, for this, the charge was one anna generally, but in case of well-to-do thikkadars, one rupee was charged by the person who wrote receipt.

(VI) Mohur Kharcha: Two annas to four annas were taken from every raiyat at the end of each year by the man who stamped receipt, issued to the tenants for <sup>the</sup> rent paid.

(VII) Gammi: It was a cess, which Jagirdars took at the rate of one rupee per raiyat when any death occurred in the Jagirdar's family. This was realized for funeral expenses of the deceased.

(VIII) Mukh-Dekhi: On the birth of a son or daughter to the zamindars every raiyat had to pay at the rate of one rupee for <sup>seeing</sup> the face of the newly born baby.

(IX) Bardaonachi: Jagirdar used to purchase a bull every third year and the cost used to <sup>be</sup> met by raiyats of a village jointly.

(X) Bet-Begar: Whenever services of potter, carpenter or blacksmith were needed, they had to work for the Jagirdar and they were paid only three seers of grain for work.

During the last survey operation Mr. T.W. Bridge considered these mechanisms as exploitative. The most severe exploitat<sup>ive</sup> method which was common among the all tribes of Bihar was Kamiottee System. The survey and Settlement report of Mr. T.W. Bridge shows that under this system the landlord used to keep a fairly large number of tenants practically slaves for cultivating their BAKSHAT LANDS. The holdings of tenants were so small and the rent so high that they had to depend solely on the landlords for their employment during a portion of the year. In return for their labour on the lands of landlords these unfortunate tenants

used to get only three seers of kachi of paddy per head perday. According to Mr. Bridge the total number of such slaves was about 60,000 and the remaining tenants were the half slaves in Palamu. Mr. Sefton has given a full description of the Kamiottee system in paragraph 265 to 273 of Hazaribagh District settlement report which is quite applicable to any tribal region of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. This exploitati~~ve~~ mechanism was so severe that even government could not resist herself to shed tear on the plight of the tribes. Later Governor of Bengal passed "Bihar and Orissa Kamiottee Agreement Act 1920. (Bihar and Orissa Act VIII of 1920). This Act brought under operation to make provision regarding abolition of this system.

Thus, these severe exploitati~~ve~~ system created a widespread discontent among the tribes. Now the measures were adopted by British to improve the position of the tribe the government attempted to prepare the records of the right to land. Government official started to prepare the documents which continued from 1860 to 1862 and again in 1869, this later attempt resulted in the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act. (act II of 1869). This Act is also called the Bhuinari settlement. Lieutenant Governor was

directed to appoint Special Commissioner to implement the Act. The Special Commissioner was empowered to probe out the claims of tenure, demarcated the land boundary and to prepare records of all the tenants specifying the conditions to be fulfilled, the rent and services to be rendered and the right and privileges to be enjoyed. The Act made special provision to enable everyone to file a suit before the Special Commissioner. But the foreign landlords in serving their interests did not leave any stone unturned to defeat the aboriginals before court of law. This Act was a failure, the high hopes of this Act were far from being completed and fulfilled. This settlement and court system generated a loss of the lands of tribes more and more. The another cause of the failure of the law and Acts of the British government in the tribal region lies in the fact that the British failed to understand the independent economic, political and cultural system of the tribes. The British who practised the private property system and laws which were suitable to their social matrix destroyed the tribal economic and political system of the primitives. Roy writes "through inadequate knowledge of the British officials and their Indian subordinates of the history of landholding in the district, and the inappropriate application

of the principles of English laws and ideas of landlordism to a country where the history of landholding has been altogether different, incalculable a mischief was done to the aboriginal peasant proprietors.<sup>64</sup>

Cources of the Movement:

In these background several rebellion took place, Sardari larai and Birsa rebellions were most militant among them. After the mutiny of 1857, the Mundas turned to fight against the landlords but Evangelical Luthern missionaries severed the relationship with violent Mundas, so they *could* survive in that region. Failing to receive adequate missionary support, the ~~educated~~ Mundas trained by the missionaries fought against the British.

In the mean time catholic missionaries entered Chotanagpur. In 1885 C.Lievens, a Belgian *Catholic* promised to help them in landtrouble. This promise attracted a large number of tribes who were converted into Christianity. In their course of action, the Sardars submitted several memorandums. In 1885, memoin 12,000 Christian submitted a memorandum, to the Lt.Governor. The main gist of this memorandum was to reclaim the lost lands. The sardars collected subscription from the tribes to fight cases agains the money-

64. S.C. Roy, The Mundas, p.370.

lenders in court. But the lawyers deceived the sardars in fighting the cases against moneylenders and landlords. The lawyer announced that the Queen of England has granted them Chotanagpur as independent Kingdom. When Sardars came to know about the actual situation that Queen is not sending any order, then sardar was told by the lawyers that it had come but destroyed by the Lutheran Missionaries. Thus all sardars turned against the Lutheran Missionaries. Hence their movement against exploiters succumbed, the next very organised rebellion which took place in Chotanagpur region was that of Birsa Munda. Birsa like Sidhu and Kanhu claimed himself the saviour of the Mundas. *They* prophesied the entire strategy to drive out the exploiters. Although Birsa was influenced by the Hindu gurus and German Catholic education but he preferred to adopt old Munda religion. He preached the Mundas that they are required to worship one God and must give up their sacrifices to multiple spirits. Birsa made sure his followers that no foreign power can conquer them, if they follow the 'Ten Commandments' which includes to avoid theft, drunkenness, deception etc. He propagated that a day will come soon when the world of oppressors will be destroyed by natural calamity. With this religious spirit he fought against the British army. His area of operation included Chalkand, Chutia, Singhbhum,

Dumri Hill and several other remote areas of Chotanagpur. His army under the command of General Gaya fought bravely. This war continued for five years (1895-1900). Ultimately he was caught in 1900 and died of Cholera on 2 June 1900 in the Jail of Ranchi.

#### Bhagat Movements:

It was the time when Brisa was active among the Mundas, a religious movement took place among the Oraons. The cause of this movement was economic and consequently spiritual depression among them. The Oraons leaders and followers of the movement called their religion the Kurukh or the original religion of Oraons. "The Oraon Bhagat promised their followers not only the deliverance from the capricious or blood thirsty tribal spirits of which the Oraons were much afraid, but at the same time relief from exploitation by landlords, usurers and various government officials. The Kurukh Dharam that through devotion to one true God Bhagwan, they would be able to obtain relief from their long standing agrarian grievances and prevailing misery of their economic condition. Moreover, it was claimed by the propogators of the new faith that by its practice they would at the same time rise in social status above their Christian rivals and become equal with the Hindus who claimed social superiority and looked down

upon them with contempt. Here too consequently the religious aspect of the movement was intimately connected with social and economic interests.<sup>65</sup> Among the Oraons of Chotanagpur the name of Bhagat has come to be applied as the distinctive name of a section of the tribe which subscribes to the cult of Bhakti or loving trust in and adoration of deity and observes certain rules of ceremonial purity.<sup>66</sup> The main spirit of this movement is believe in salvation through Bhakti-marga or the way of devotion as practiced by the Hindus. It is characterized by a large scale incorporation into Hindu edeology of Hindu belief and practices. This movement was so popular among the Oraons that it divided into several sects such as Bacchi-dan, Bhagat, Tana-Bhagat, Nimha, Bhagat, Kabir Panthi Bhagat etc. Bacchi-dan Bhagats were highly Hinduized than the other sects. Baachi-dan Bhagats used to give a calf to their Gurus in process of expiating their past sins and ceremonial impurity. Some Bacchi-dan Bhagats who take Vaishnava gosain as their guru called themselves Vishnu-Bhagat and they avoid to eat flesh.

All Bhagats were required to maintain the rules of ceremonial purity in food, drink and other habits.<sup>67</sup>

Kabir Panthi Bhagats also involved the use of Hindu Gurus as

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65. Stephen Fuchs, op.cit., pp.35-36.

66. S.C. Roy, 1912, 328

67. S.C. Roy, Aborigins of Chotanagpur, JOBORS, Vol.XVII, 1928, p.316.



spiritual advisor. In some areas several Oraons were themselves Gurus.<sup>68</sup> The main ideology of Kabir Panthi Bhagat was to abstention from worship of idols, intoxicating beverages, eating of fowls, pigs and exens, opposition to the worship of spirits and minor dieties, belief in single God, kindness to the living beings.<sup>69</sup>

Tana Tana Bhagat Movement :

This is called original religion of the kurukh or Oraon.<sup>70</sup> The main thrust of this new faith is the tribal spirits and deities whom they had been worshipping were not helping them alleviate the social and economic ill, to which they had fallen victim, and indeed affirmed that these deities were responsible for the present state of degradation. The Oraons were under the opinion that this alien evil spirits have come from the Munda religion. Thus, exorcism of these foreign spirits were necessary for the Oraons. According to this religion, recognition of one God and worship of Mahadeo or Bhagwan is necessary by Bhakti devotion and for that abstenation from all impure things is necessary. The

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68. S.C. Roy, Ibid, pp.318-19.

69. S.C. Roy, 1928, Ibid, P335

70. S.C. Roy, 1928, Ibid, pp.339-403.

organized Hinduized and Christian conversion, movement which took place among the tribals <sup>occurred</sup> ~~took place~~ in extreme economic, social and political distress. Arya Samaj also tried to convert the tribes into Hindus. But they failed because orthodox Hinduism was quite difficult to be understood and interpreted by the tribes.

In sum and substance we can say that the impact of the British and outsiders was fatal to the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. The present plight of the tribes has its root in its historical settings. The tribal commune property system has been transferred into private property system by the British. This private property system generated strata of economic classes. e.g. zamindar, thikkadars, moneylenders on the one hand <sup>and</sup> displaced, destitute peasants and agricultural labour on the other hand. Thus the entire history of the tribal movement is the history of struggle between two opposed 'haves' and 'have-notes'.

These movements though not very organized but militant one are the main source of inspiration to the struggling tribes of the modern time. The failure of movements of the tribes lies in the fact that the tribes lacked the experience of war, they did not have single centralized insurrectionist leader while the British army was highly organized

and disciplined with modern fire arms. Although these rebellions were widespread in various historical period but one rebellion of one place was not well co-ordinated with the rebellions of other place. Virtually these rebellions were the rebellions of regional peasant communities which represented a local system of moral, economic and social order. Their sentiment was attached to fulfill the basic need of life in a fixed geographical setting. Their social horizon was entirely regional bond. They tried to preserve local rights which were embeded in the local social contract. These movements had religious coverage in one or other way.

The spirit of religion was simply helpful in appealing and organizing the people. But the incorporation of religious element in the movement was due to economic deprivation and failure in war. Religious movement occurred in a state of confusion and loss of orientation. It was the manifestation of alienation and powerlessness of the tribes. Sometime due to religious practices their fighting spirit backed from concrete action to an unknown otherworldly ideal action. They left the hope that there is possibility of the creation of self dealing of their own. They lost their creative concrete consciousness. They develop illusory structure of myth which they

developed after the failure of rebellion. Thus all religious movements were protest against the real suffering of the tribes. Their religious movements were expression of real economic social distress i.e. a proof that there is something basically wrong with the modes of their historical existence. It was not a Hinduized movement which was directed toward cultural integration. The exploited tribes in a sense of confusion and distress tried to adopt the world view and life style of a dominant superior, economic community. Thus the dominant exploited community curbed the concrete fighting action of the tribals. In the later phase of their movement, the tribals realized the mistakes and adopted concrete political method to emancipate themselves.

## CHAPTER - IV

### TRIBAL MOVEMENT PHASE - II (1906-1982)

#### (A) CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS PHASE :

This phase of the tribal movement starts with the spirit of political consciousness. The path which the tribes ~~were~~ <sup>was</sup> followed to free themselves from misery and oppressions <sup>was</sup> profoundly altered. This change was marked by a shift in emphasis from socio-religious to the political aspects.<sup>1</sup> A systematic political organization, ideology and action programme were incorporated into the tribal movement in the time of freedom struggle. 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 revolt was centered around the protection of the right over land and forest. The rebellion of the first phase was the rebellion of different regions which came in contact with one another to formulate a programme of action to achieve

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1. Troising, The Senthals, in M.S.A.Rao, op.cit. pp.136.

their freedom in second phase. They had been very much influenced by the freedom struggle and personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Some of the major tribes like Santhals, Oraons, Bhils and Gonds took part in it. Several Bhagats such as Tana Bhagat Samphahor (Santhals), Haribaba movement among Hos (1930) joined Gandhi's movement and tried to overthrow the oppressors. K.S.Singh <sup>writes</sup> that many Bhagats become the members and followers of Indian National Congress. They have launched reformative programme based on Gandhian ideology and joined the mainstream of national issues.<sup>2</sup> Another main force which was operating behind the awakening of the tribes on the political level was the role of educated tribal and nontribal local people. The role of Christian Missionary is historic. Cross cutting for organization between tribes and backward non-tribes (exploited low castes) took place in protest of the exploiters. Stratification system was visible among the tribes by now, K.S. Singh writes 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 couched in secular idioms.<sup>3</sup>

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2. K.S. Singh, "From Ethnicity to Regionalism : A case study in Tribal Politics and Movement in Chotanagpur from 1900 to 1975 in S.C.Malik (ed) Protest, Dissent and Reform in Indian Civilization.

3. K.S. Singh, Eight Devraj Chanana Memorial Lecture, Tribal Transformation : II Tribal Movement, *Delhi School of Economic*  
(unpublished) 1981, p. 2

New job opportunity, industrialization, unequal distribution of land created a new stratification system among the tribes. Class antagonism emerged in their community due to various economic and political interests. Government has also considered tribes as a part of the larger programme of national reconstruction. As far as their present socio-economic condition is concerned it <sup>is</sup> deteriorating day by day. The present tension and resentment among them <sup>are inherent</sup> lie in their precarious socio-economic conditions.

(B) CAUSES OF THE MOVEMENT :

Exploitation of the tribes in the <sup>hands</sup> ~~hand~~ of moneylenders, bureaucrats and landlords remained the cause of tribal movement in this phase as well. The historical development and complex structure of capitalism worked as metropolis to the tribal satellite. Thus a dialectical conflict exists between the tribes and exploiters. The complex structure of capitalistic class has created both the wealth of the new and the poverty of the vast majority of the tribals.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear from the empirical evidences that tribal areas of Bihar is largely ignored by the government, is still the centre of exploitation in Bihar. The underdevelopment of

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4. A.G. Frank, 'The wealth and poverty of Nations', E.P.W., 1970, pp. 1147-86

tribal area is the cause of the development of the capitalists of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur.

(B-1) LAND USE PATTERN :

Government has not taken sufficient measure to improve the socio-economic condition of this area. Land use pattern of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas plateau is different from the rest of the state of the total area of these two regions 45 per cent is not cultivable as about 28.65 per cent covered by forest and 6.79 per cent is classified as barren and over 5.74 per cent has been put to noncultivable use. Permanent pasture covers about 1.5 per cent of the total land. The net sown area accounts for only 18.6 per cent and the 4.96 per cent is classified as cultivable waste. The future of modernization of agriculture is dark there. Irrigation is based on rain 85 per cent of rain is received between June and September. On account of this reason entire Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur are mono cropped area. The rain water is not fully utilized for irrigation due to undulating terrain which cannot contain water. Thus the per capita land and production is much lower in comparison to the other parts of the state.



Irrigation Facilities, 1972-73

S.No.	Source	Area irrigated in Jharkhand (in '000 acres)	As per total irrigated in Bihar by this sources
1.	Canal	55	2.0
2.	Tubewell	24	1.5
3.	Tanks	100	33.9
4.	Well	101	19.4
5.	Others	197	13.1
6.	Total	497	7.2

Source: Directorate of Statistics and Evaluation Bihar.

(Also cited in Nirmal Sengupta, Class Structure in Jharkhand, National Labour Institute Bulletin, July-August, 1979, p.226).

TABLE - 2

Area Irrigated by all Sources  
as P.C. of Cropped area

Districts	1931	1971
Santbal Parganas	17.3	3.6
Singhbhum	14.7	3.9
Hazaribagh	1.4	2.1
Ranchi	0.2	2.1
Palemau	11.0	16.0
Dhanbad	N.A	2.1
All Bihar	17.9	19.5

\* Percentage of gross irrigated area to gross cropped area - Table of all districts District Census Hand books 1961

\*\* Percentage of irrigated area to net sown area Agricultural Census, Bihar 1971.

The intensity of cropping is very low hardly the 3 per cent of the new sown area is double cropped as against the state average of over 30 per cent.

Apart from agriculture, the tribes of these two regions earn their livelihood in different ways. For more detailed

analysis, the tribes could be put in the following economic categories.<sup>5</sup>

- (B-2) (i) Landless agricultural labourers
- (ii) Primitive/Shifting Cultivators
- (iii) Artisan Groups
- (iv) Nomadic/semi-nomadic groups/food gatherers and hunters.
- (v) Urban and Industrial wage labour

(B-2:1) MARGINAL AND SMALL FARMERS:

This category consists of advanced settled agriculturists whose holdings are not productive these groups are suffering from (i) alienation and encroachment of their land by migrant groups and well to do tribals, (ii) Chronic indebtedness because of lack of credit facilities for production and consumption facilities for improving agricultural facilities, (iii) lack of employment during lean seasons, (iv) low return for their agricultural produce.

(B-2:2) LANDLESS AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS :

The percentage of landless labourers is increasing day by day. The cause of which is massive displacement of tribes from land as well as from traditional agricultural industries.

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5. K.B.Saxana, A Report on Tribal Development in Bihar : An Appraisal, Bihar Tribal Welfare Research Institute, Ranchi, 1975.

Agrarian sector is not able to absorb such a vast number of labourers. In one decade the percentage of agricultural workers has increased from 9 per cent in 1961 to 28 percent in 1971.

TABLE - 3

Statement showing occupational displacement  
among S.T. Workers

S.No.	Classification	Years	
		1961	1971
1.	Cultivators	78.11	63.93
2.	Agricultural Labourers	9.54	28.64
3.	Mining, Quarrying, Livestock etc.	4.19	2.13
4.	Household Industry	2.40	2.13
5.	Manufacturing other than household industry	1.09	1.09
6.	Construction	0.33	0.13
7.	Trade and Commerce	0.27	0.12
8.	Transport, storage and Construction	0.33	0.57
9.	Other Services	3.74	2.02

Source : Census Data

(B-2:3) PRIMITIVE/SHIFTING CULTIVATORS:

Sauriya Paharias, Hill Kharas, Asurs, Parhaiyas and Korwas come in this category. They practice slash and burn cultivation method to grow maize and pulses. The major problems of this group are (i) lack of drinking water, (ii) high incidence of disease like T.B., Goitre, Malaria, Leprosy and lack of medical facilities.

(B-2:4) ARTISAN GROUPS:

The Mahalis, the chickberaiks, the Lohars, the Karmalis can be put into this category, Mahalis are basket makers, Chiksaraiks are weaver the Lohar and Karmalis are iron smith or tool makers. Asur melts iron and makes iron tools. But their household industries are declining day by day. The main cause of the declining industry is due to lack of raw materials and failure in competition with advanced technology and low return of production in the market. These situations compelled the artisans to leave their traditional jobs and to join the work of unskilled labourers.

TABLE - 4

Figure of the Declining artisan Community

S.No. Traditional artisens	Household Industries	
	1961	1971
1. Chickbaraik	11.64%	5.62%
2. Karmali	5.63%	7.57%
3. Lohra	22.96%	19.88%
4. Mohali	31.64%	25.93%

Source : Census Report

(B-2:5) NOMADIC/SEMI-NOMADIC GROUPS/FOOD GATHERERS

HND HUNTERS:

Birhors, Korwar and Parahiyas come in this category. They are in this condition because their Utkar land is alienated by the outsiders Birhors and nomads, by and large depend on the hunts of wild animals and produce of jungle e.g. honey, medical hurbs, fruits, roots and prepare rope from the bark of trees and sell them in local village markets.

Korwas and Parahiya also lead their life as nomads and hunters due to alienation of their Utkar land.<sup>6</sup> They are semi-bonded labourers called sewakias for a fixed period of

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6. Utkarland - This land system is similar to Bhuinari and Khunkatti land system.

time of the year. K.B. Saxena reports that during the lean period, they also roam around in the forest in search of roots, fruits and tubers for consumption and pieces of firewood for sale to supplement their income. The problem of Hill Kharia is more acute, they have no land for cultivation and no assured supply of food or source of income, their settlement lacks basic social services like drinking water, all weather house, difficulty in getting raw materials for their crafts and lack of remunerative price for forest produce which they sell.

(B-2:5.A) FOREST BASED PROBLEMS:

The total area under forest in Bihar constituted 21.4 per cent of the total geographical area of the state in 1963/64. Forest in Chotanagpur constituted 80.7 per cent of the total forest area of Bihar during the same period. 35 per cent of the geographical area of Chotanagpur is covered by forest as is evident from the table given below:

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7. K.B. Saxena, op. cit, pp.5.

Forest area in percentage of the total district.  
Area and in percentage of the Total State Forest Area  
(1955 to 1964)

<u>Districts</u>	<u>% of the Total District Area</u>		<u>% of State Forest Area</u>
	<u>1955/56</u>	<u>1963/64</u>	
Hazaribagh	43.6	48.1	23.5
Ranchi	26.8	25.7	12.6
Palamau	63.5	50.0	17.2
Singhbhum	51.4	46.8	1.2
Dhanbad	16.7	15.4	17.1
Santhal Parganas	23.4	23.7	9.1
Chotanagpur	42.6	39.7	80.7

Source: Chief Conservator of Forests,  
Bihar Government.

But the collection of food, fruits, raw materials from forests have also been restricted through a variety of administrative checks which restricts the availability of food and reduces income. The policy of government is not in favour of the local tribals, who solely depend on the forest for their livelihood. It will be seen from the below mentioned fact that even after independence the government proposes to continue the policy followed in the British Rule to protect the forest from the people and not for the people.



(B.2:5.B) HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE FOREST LEGISLATION AND  
THE TRIBES :

Before the advent of the British Rule in India, there was only the customary regulation of the peoples right over forests and forest produce but now the British capitalist government understood the commercial value of the forest and made some Acts to keep under *its* position. The first Act which came into existence regarding forest is known as Government Forest Act 1865. This Act <sup>*stipulates*</sup> that the Government can declare any land which is covered with tree should be considered as forest (Section - 2). This Act also suggests the punishment to the offenders of the rules because this Act empowered the government to make the rules regarding the preservation of the forest. Section-12 of this Act laid emphasis on the check *of* the abuses of power by the Police and Forest Officers on local forest dwellers. But this Act was not sufficient, hence Act of 1865 was annuled and a new Act was introduced this is Indian Forest Act, 1878. According to this Act Forest was divided into three parts (i) reserved forest, (ii) protected forests and (iii) village forest. This distinction is mainly based on the peoples right over forest land and produce. ~~The~~ Forest Settlement Officers had been appointed to inquire into and determine the existence, nature and extent of people's right over land within the limits of reserved

forests. 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. The Section-27 empowers the local government to declare any forest which is not reserved forest as village forest. Apart from this Act, some regulations were made which prohibited certain Acts damaging non-governmental trees and property. 1878 Act (Section 61) provides the provision of punishment for the forest offenders. Section-2a(c) prohibits the illegal burning of lime or charcoal or removal of any forest produce, felling of trees, cleaning of jungle for cultivation grazing field for cattle or cleaning of the jungle for cultivations. The Local Government made a lot of local rules and regulation regarding the forest under Act of 1878, but some of the parts of it <sup>were</sup> modified, replaced and enlarged by the Indian Forest Act, 1927, According to this Act, Forest Settlement Officer was empowered to settle the right over forest land of the local people. A special provision regarding shifting cultivation was undertaken for consideration. Section-19 of this Act reads that the Government can issue the order of prohibition or permission of the shifting cultivation in a particular forest area. The Duty on timber and other forest produce was introduced. The Act of 1865 had already made the provision that offender can be arrested without issuing any warrant, It ~~was~~ continued till

1978 but its area was limited in the Act of 1927. Now the powers to arrest without warrant was limited to specific cases. The Government of India Act 1935, was passed by the British Parliament which gave due <sup>power</sup> ~~with~~ to the Provincial Legislature. Hence the regulations concerning forest was included in provincial legislation. Now it was clear enough in law and its practice that clearing of jungle for cultivation, herding cattle or any misuse of forest ~~is~~ <sup>an</sup> declared offence in the Provincial Legislation. Therefore the Act of 1927 remained ideal frame of rule <sup>for</sup> forestry throughout the British Raj. As far as legislation regarding forest in Independent Indian constitution is concerned it ~~did~~ not made any mark difference with the British legislation.

(B-2:5.0) THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION:

The Forest Act was placed under state list in the 7th Schedule of Indian Constitution till the 41 amendment. But it was transferred to <sup>the</sup> concurrent list in 42 amendment in 1976. According to this amendment the Power of state <sup>got</sup> curtailed over forest by the promulgation of the Forest Conservation Ordinance (issued on October 25, 1980, No.17 of 1980). This ordinance prohibited the state government to transfer any forest land for non-forest use without the prior permission of the Central

Government. Now this ordinance has been considered as an Act No.69 of 1980 by the Parliament.

(B-2:5.D) THE PARLIAMENT :

In the current Session (March 1982) of the Parliament the Forest Bill of 1981 has been discussed for approval. This bill is highly controversial in the Parliament and outside of the Parliament. The bill is still to be approved. This bill defines forest as any land containing trees, Shrubs, Pasture land and any land whatsoever which the state government may by notification declare to be forest for the purpose of this Act. Section 2 defines the forest produce like tree, leaves, flowers, fruits, ~~and~~ all types of grass, creepers, <sup>and</sup> orchids. <sup>The</sup> Section 10 is related to the practice of shifting cultivation. The State government is empowered to prohibit the shifting cultivation. <sup>The</sup> Section-30 is concerned with the provision of the punishment for the offenders. New punishment is rigorous, Section-34 prohibits the removal of any forest produce or breaking up or cleaning the trees, <sup>The</sup> Section-42 empowers the state government to make rules for regulating the management of <sup>The</sup> village forest. The state government can regulate or prohibit the breaking up or cleaning up of land and tree for cultivation or any other forest produce of the village. <sup>The</sup> Section-43 ~~states~~ <sup>stipulates</sup> that no court of law shall be liable to question

the regulation and prohibition under Section-42. Apart from these provisions, forest officers have been given immense power to tackle the offenders. Under this Act, any Forest Officer or Police Officer may without order from any Magistrate can arrest the offenders. ~~The~~ Section - 109 has been made to check the misuse of power by the Forest Officers but it has been further protected by "no suit or criminal prosecution or any other legal proceeding shall lie against any public servant for anything done by him in God's faith (Section-128)<sup>8</sup>.

(B-2.5.E) EXPECTED RESULT

After the survey of these Acts we find that <sup>the</sup> view of the Government of India is not very much different from the British Government. ~~The~~ Government is still unable to check the abuses of Power done by the bureaucrats and Police. The bill provides harsh punishment for the people <sup>and</sup> not for the forest officials. Protection of forest means the co-operation of local people which Government officials can not do. "The provision in respect <sup>for</sup> reserved forests are very harsh and unrealistic atleast in one respect. These speak of personal claims over lands and forest produce. Many of these rights especially those connected with forest produce enjoyed by

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8. Sarad Kuarkarni, "Encroachment on Forests : Government versus people", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XVII, No. 3, January 16, 1982, pp.55-59. See also "Statism not the Answer", (by a Special Correspondent), EPW, Vol XVI, No.36, Sep 5, 1981.

tribes as groups. The procedure <sup>for</sup> inviting claims with evidence presupposes a highly literate and conscious community which does not exist in the forest areas of the country ----- . It is also necessary to put restriction on Forest Officer's right to seize property and especially to arrest persons without warrant<sup>9</sup>. Special correspondent of EPW is of the opinion that symbiotic relationship with the forest is crucial for the tribes but this bill does not describe it. This proposed bill make them alien in their own habitat their encroachment, hunting, fishing and <sup>resorting</sup> to the forest for their basic needs.<sup>10</sup> Three organizations from Maharashtra - Shramik Sanghatana, Dhule, Bhoomi Sena, Thane, and Kashtakari Sanghatana, <sup>They are</sup> of the opinion that this bill can lead a disaster to the tribals.<sup>11</sup> Dinman reports that forest official, contractors and local industrialists are more responsible for deforestation than the Adivasis.<sup>12</sup> 'The Illustrated Weekly of India' substantiates this view independently. The essay "corrupt merchants, and officials" reads that the need for forest is better understood by the tribals, whose livelihood depends on it, than by the Forest Department, Yet the tribals get a raw deal from the

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9. Ibid, pp. 55 & 59.

10. <sup>Station not the Answer</sup> EPW, (XVI-), 1981-2, pp. 1447.

11. Ibid.

12. "Jungal Ka Kanum", Dinman, Feb.28 -March 6, 1982.

Officials who are often hand-in-glove with local timber merchants."<sup>13</sup> Majumdar writes in <sup>the</sup> report that the Forest Bill, far from being a departure from the Forest Act of 1927, merely ensures a large share of the pie for forest Officials from the profit reaped by timber merchants, Paper Mill Owners and others".<sup>14</sup> Recently, Prem Shankar Jha has given strong critical view on this bill. He writes that the new bill, which is intended to replace the Indian Forest Act 1927, will complete the destruction of the few remaining forests in the country, alienate millions of the tribals and other poor people permanently from the rest of its, people and push many of them over the brink of rebellion against a government that they have never known except as cruel oppressors. The most disturbing gesture of this new bill is the fact that the agent for enforcement of the law will continue to be the same forest officers and forest guards whose venality has made it possible for rapacious contractors and timber thieves to destroy the forests of this country with absolute impunity in the last thirty years.<sup>15</sup> The Adivasis of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas live at the mercy of Forest Officials with the reduction in the forests, there is growing immiserization

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13. Madhumita Majumdar, "Corrupt Merchants, and Officials", The Illustrated Weekly of India, Vol.C III,9, March 14-20, 1982, pp.44.

14. Ibid, pp.45. See also, "Tortured Himalayas" by Achilles Olympus Mafrokordatos. The Illustrated Weekly of India, Vol.CIII,9 March 14-20, 1982, pp.45.

15. Premshankar Jha, 'The proposed Forest Act : I-A Paradigm of Misguided Legislation', The Times of India, March 14, 1982, and II- Forest Policy at crossroads, March, 15.

of Adivasis. This has resulted in a large scale distress, out migration and their subjection to bonded and *semi* bonded labour.<sup>16</sup>

(B-2:6) URBAN WAGE LABOUR IN THE MARGINAL SECTOR:

This section consists of the groups of tribal groups who are uprooted from land as a result of industrialization, mining development, loss of traditional occupations, land alienation and keen competition in agricultural employment. These people who have not been absorbed in the organized sector are engaged in marginal urban occupation like rickshaw pulling, domestic service, coolie, car-pullers, rag picking etc. The major problems which this community face in this sector is (i) incidence of child labour (ii) uncertain and minimum wage, (iii) nature of work is casual, (iv) lack of housing and unhygienic condition of health.

(C-1) MINES AND INDUSTRIES :

Jharkhand is developing fast but not the people of Jharkhand. Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas together account for only a fortieth part (2.5 per cent) of the

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16. Sarad Kulkarni, E.P.W., op.cit, p.59n.56.



total geographical area of the country, but more than a fourth part of the totality of mining activities in the country is performed in this small region alone.

Production of Minerals, 1970  
(in value)

S.No.	Name of Minerals	All India Total production		P.C. Production	
		Value (Rs.Lakhs)	As P.C. of total Mineral production	Jhar-khand	Rest of Bihar
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Copper	374.8	0.77	100.00	nil
2.	Kyanite	261.1	0.54	85.0	nil
3.	Quartzite	16.0	0.03	60.5	5.3
4.	Mica (crude)	201.4	0.41	58.5	Neg.
5.	Asbestos	21.1	0.04	53.0	nil
6.	Apatite	9.8	0.02	48.6	nil
7.	Coal	29292.7	54.27	44.5	nil
8.	Sand	10.4	0.02	37.3	nil
9.	Fire clay	44.8	0.09	33.0	Neg.
10.	Bauxite	174.6	0.36	32.4	nil
11.	Iron ore	3680.1	7.59	22.4	nil
12.	Limestone	2302.3	7.59	22.4	nil
13.	Manganese ore	771.9	1.59	0.6	nil
14.	Pyrite	56.3	0.12	nil	100
15.	Other Minerals	12733.9	26.28	- -	4.37
16.	Total	48447.6	100.00	27.77*	0.47

\* Figure excludes value worth 1.15 per cent accountable by other minerals produced in Bihar which the distribution between Jharkhand and the rest of Bihar is not available. (also cited in N. S. Gupta, op. cit. p. 220)

Nearly a fifth part of <sup>the</sup> total public sector, investment in industrial activities <sup>are</sup> located in this region. In the Private Sector, beginning with TISCO and TELCO factories of the TATAS, there are several big, medium and small industrial units located in this region. The aluminium factory at Muri, copper plant at Ghatshila, lead smelter at Tundi, Uranium mining at Juduguda and mica industry at Giridih have strategic importance. Railway has been operating in Jharia Coal Field since 1894. In fifties the Damodar Valley Corporation, Fertilizer Plant at Sindri, the Heavy Engineering Factory at Ranchi and the biggest Steel Plant of Asia at Bokaro have been established.

(C-2) IMMIGRATION PATTERN:

During the past one hundred years there has been more than four times increase in the total population of this region. The process of immigration has increased the rate of population growth in this region also. Here the case study of 1951-61 census reports is a clearcut evidence of it.

Immigration from outside Bihar

S.No.	Immigrants	1951	-	1961
		(in thousands)		
1.	Punjabis	30		57
2.	Marwaris	8		12
3.	Gujaratis	8		18
4.	Telugu speakers	18		36
5.	Tamilians	6		15
6.	Bengalis	7.2 (lakhs)		7.9 (lakhs)

Immigrants from within the State

The number of Bojhpuri are 113 thousands, Maithili speaking people 16 thousands, Chattishgarhi 9 thousands Bilaspuri 2 thousands.

A Comparison between Jharkhand and the rest of Bihar.

S.No.		Jharkhand	Rest of Bihar
1.	Geographical area as P.C. of State Total	46	54
2.	Total Population no. (in crores)	1.42	4.21
3.	Total as P.C. of Total State Population	25	75
4.	Population of Scheduled Caste (in lakhs)	14	65
5.	Population of S.T. (in lakhs)	46	4
6.	Total Scheduled population as P.C. of population of that region	42	16

Source : Census 1971

(Also cited in Nirmal Sengupta, op.cit. p.219)

(C-3) GROWING CITIES AND TOWNS :

The number of towns in Chotanagpur, Santhal Parganas region has increased from 13 in 1901 to 34 in 1951 and then to 96 in 1971. The total urban population in Jharkhand area has increased from 13 lakh in 1961 to 23 lakh in 1971 and it is expected by the recent census report that population is going to exceed more than 35 lakh. The main cause of this urban development and immigration is due to new and more attractive opportunity of jobs in the private and public industries.<sup>17</sup> One may notice a competition between outsiders and Jharkhandis for jobs in several industrial complexes. Where Jharkhandis are easily defeated. It is reported that in a single week following the nationalization of Coal Mines in 1971, nearly 50 thousand Jharkhandi mine workers lost their jobs and were replaced by people from Bhojpur region. After the nationalization of Coal Mines the Jharkhandi workers in mines became an extinct category.<sup>18</sup>

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17. N.Sengupta, The Destitute and Development : A Study of the Bauri Community in Bokaro Steel Region (unpublished)
  18. N.Sengupta, Class Structure in Jharkhand, Labour Institute Bulletin, Vol.5, No.7-8 August, 1979, p.222.

Workers engaged in industrial categories,  
Jharkhand - 1971

S.No.	Industrial Category	No. of Workers		S.C.&S.T. as p.c. of total workers
		Total	S.C.& S.T.	
1.	Mining and Quarrying	250,104	79,912	32
2.	Household Industry	112,295	40,151	36
3.	Other than household Industry	213,748	43,241	20
4.	Construction	42,275	10,500	25
5.	Trade and Commerce	145,100	6,781	5
6.	Transport etc.	102,620	23,815	23
7.	Other Services	245,026	65,131	27

Share of S.C. and S.T. has been reduced drastically after the nationalization of Coal Mines in 1971,

Source : 1971 Census

The ten per cent (roughly speaking) immigrants in Jharkhand appropriate more than fifty per cent of industrial job.<sup>19</sup> Majority of the Jharkhandis are slum dwellers, unskilled and casual labourer, in industrial complex. L.P. Vidyarthi reports in a case study of Hatia industrial com-

19. Sengupta, Class Structure, p.223.

Land Acquired/being acquired by big projects.

S.No.	Name of the Project	Land acquired (In acres)
1.	H.E.C.	7,711
2.	Adityapur	34,432
3.	Bokaro	34,227
4.	Koel Project (in the process)	45,112
5.	Subernarekha	85,000
6.	Tenughat	97,843
Total		3,04,325

The land is acquired under the central law of land acquisition for a 'public purpose'. The acquisition of tribal land for cooperative housing colonies shows that the term 'Public Purpose' has not yet been correctly used. To deprive poor tribals of their lands and home in order to provide land on lease to the middle class bureaucracy is neither <sup>for</sup> 'public purpose' nor <sup>for</sup> 'social justice'. It is decidedly worse if, not only officers but also contractors and businessmen are allotted land in co-operative housing colony as reported at Bokaro where they have built Palatial House and also let them out on rent. Patratu, Tenughat Super Therman Power Plants and Karo-Koel Project replaced

plex of Ranchi city that 57.8 percent tribal industrial workers are slum dwellers. The number of slum dwelling families is 8,850 at Dhurwa and Hatia. They are uprooted agricultural labour force. Women labourers are also increasing day by day. They daily come to Ranchi from their village in quest of daily wage. 36 per cent of the total earning women are wage earners in Ranchi.<sup>20</sup>

(C-4) DISPLACED ADIVASIS:

During the first three Five Years Plans more than 50 thousand Scheduled tribes and 10 thousand Scheduled Castes families were uprooted from their own ancestral homes to take land available for the construction of Public Sector and Private Sector <sup>and</sup> housing colonies. If a complete account is maintained of acquisition of tribal lands in this area government acquisition may far exceed the alienation caused by the individual with the added disadvantage that no legal protection is available against it.

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20. L.P.Vidyarathi, "Aspects of Tribal Labour Force in Chotanagpur", The Tribe, Published Quarterly by the Tribal Research Institute, Udaipur, Vol.VI, No.3, December 1969, pp.54-55.

a large number of tribal people. Koel-Karo Thermal Power Project of Singhbhum district aimed to destroy 200 villages and 45,000 acres of agricultural land for the construction of a reservoir. The capacity of Koel-Karo is 732 megawatt of electricity, which will facilitate the industrial production. This area, comprising a half of Bihar state and only 2.5 percent of the whole country produces 90 and 7 per cent of total electricity generated in Bihar and India respectively. The per capita consumption of electricity in Jharkhand area is possibly the highest in the country, but it is not for the tribals and local inhabitants.

Consumption of Electricity in Jharkhand and other areas

Region	Per capita consumption of electricity 1972-73 (KWH)	Proportion of village electrified till March 31, 1973
Jharkhand	204.4	5.0
Rest of Bihar	19.5	20.1
All India	96.3	27.3*

\* Till March 31, 1974

Source: Bihar State Electricity Board.  
(Also cited in Nirmal Sengupta, op.cit. p.228)



Recently, a Coal Bearing Areas Acquisition Act came into scene. The government of Bihar has protested against the provision of the Coal Bearing Areas (acquisition and development) Act 1957, and provided several suggestion to improve the condition of tribes who have <sup>been</sup> displaced from coal-mine areas. <sup>22</sup> But the suggestions are still on papers.

Recently, two cases of tribal dissatisfaction have come into scene ; (i) the project tiger and (ii) the microwave tower; (i) The Project Tiger is a special Save - Tiger Project at Betla. The total area of the project tiger in Betla is 924 sq. km. At present there are 30 adult tigers and 12 cubs in Betla, Betla received 39 lakhs in the Sixth Five Year Plan. But the tribals are not allowed to pick wood, felling bamboos. Particularly the wild destroy crops worth Rs. 2,0000 a year. The Adivasis are also dissatisfied over the compensation to them for cattle killed by animals. Sometimes the wild animals kill the inhabitant of that area. The Adivasis are demanding a compensation of Rs.2,000 besides medical expenses. Recently, Bihar Government has announced that Rs.10,000 would be paid for people killed by wild animals. <sup>23</sup> (ii) The microwaver tower : According to official sources the state government without

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22. Coal Bearing Areas Acquisition Act : Bihar for Amendment, The Times of India, August 15, 1981.

23. See Probe, November 1981.

completing the formalities of land acquisition handed over a site to the Ministry of Communication for constructing the microwave tower. This construction work <sup>appropriated</sup> the rights of tribes over land. This appropriation of land made the tribes <sup>rebellious</sup> which resulted in the complete destruction of the entire project. Another reason of this agitation was come into light that this is a sacred place (Sukumburu hill 60 km away from Ranchi) for them.<sup>24</sup>

Pragatishil Vichar Manch (Progressive Study Group) at Nirscha-tti, Dhanbad organized a one day seminar on September 6, 1981 to investigate the impact of rapid mechanization of coal mines of Bihar. They come to the conclusion that mechanization is simply to boost the production but it will reduce employment opportunities. Before the nationalization of coal mines in 1973, the nature of employment was labour intensive but it is now capital intensive. Now the expenditure on purchasing the sophisticated imported machine increased from Rs.51.37 crores to Rs.101.76 crores. Thus rapid mechanization of coal loading operations made redundant the contract labourers engaged in consequently the employment of 32,938 contract workers was in crisis. Most of them were local

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24. See, The Statesman, "Attack on microwave Tower", April 2, 1982.

Harijans and Adivasis. Over the last three years over 5,000 women had lost their jobs either through the voluntary retirement or had been laid off.<sup>25</sup>

CONDITIONS AND CASES OF THE LABOURERS IN OTHER SECTORS:

The condition of coal field labourers, women, and child labourers are very pathetic under the labour contractors in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. Not only the tribal labourers are severally exploited here but non-tribal labourers who have come from different parts of <sup>the</sup> nation in search of livelihood. These labourers are known as 'Gorekhpuri', 'Chattisgari', 'Allahabadi' and they are invariably ill paid.<sup>26</sup> There are contractors in Bokaro Steel Plant who pay only Rs.20.00 per week to the workers. There is provision of fixation of minimum wage but it is simply kept on ideal level.<sup>27</sup> In Bokaro there are two major agencies of employer (i) Bokaro Steel Limited (ii) Hindustan Steel Construction Ltd. (HSCL), these are Public Sector contractors for the plant, the private construction and companies are large in number. The total number of workers employed by these

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26. Appendix in S.Mohan Kumar Mangalam, Coal Industry in India : National <sup>nation</sup> and Task Ahead, New Delhi, 1973.

27. Arun Sinha, EPW, Moneylender's Reign of Terror, January 17, 1976, p.53.

agencies is estimated at one lakh per day. According to Trade Union Report, about 40 per cent are tribals, Bokaro Steel Limited has 32,000 employees on its rolls including engineers, executives and clerks. HSCIL has 18,000 employees and the ancillaries employ some 1,000 people. Taken together the private construction company is the largest employers with nearly 45,000 labourers on their rolls. The majority of the private companies have unskilled manual work force. They are mostly tribals and paid Rs.3.50 per day <sup>of</sup> twelve hours work a day.<sup>28</sup>

(D-1) BONDED LABOURERS :

Bonded labour system is a very common phenomenon among the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. According to bonded labour (abolition) ordinance 1975, "bonded labour system means the system of forced or partly forced labour under which debtor enters or has or is presumed to have entered into an agreement with creditor. It is commonly observed in Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur that bonded labourers are in large number in agrarian sector as well as in industrial sector. They are Begars (forced unpaid labourers)

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28. "Exploited Builders of Bokaro", EPW, July, 1976, pp.979-980.

or sometimes they are paid absolutely minimum wage. Sevakias are the best example of beggars, which show the barbarian feudal legacy in entire Chotanagpur region. Similar to sevakias, a Chutta mazdur system is also in vogue there which is most dehumanizing exploitation system. Not only the money-lenders or contractors exploit these labourers but C.O.'s, B.D.O.'s and other high officials of local area also.<sup>29</sup>

Most of the bonded labourers are hereditary. There are so many cases and stories of the woe of Adivasi bonded labourer exploitation. A.N.Das reports that a 70 years old man had taken only <sup>Rs. twenty</sup> from a mahajan 30 years ago for which he had to remain a sevakia throughout his life and when he was unable to work, the mahajan declared Rs.1800 loan on him.<sup>30</sup> Patan Police Station of Chotanagpur has many cases of this type of Sevakias. Mr. Pyare Bhuinan of Kolhar village has taken Rs. 70 as loan from Bania Bhola nearly twenty years back but till recently he was a sevakia.<sup>31</sup> Vir Bharat Talwar has written an exhaustive survey report on the bonded labourers of Palamu. The report "The bonded labourers of Palamu" presents the clear picture of the precarious life of the exploited tribes. The case of Santhal Parganas is also pathetic.

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29. A.N.Das, BPW, Agricultural labourer in Bonded Freedom, May 15, 1981, pp.724-27.

30. A.N. Das, Ibid.

31. Vir Bharat Talwar, Salpatra, Vol.1, 1977, p.9.

Harwahi System : Harwahi system, in santhal parganas under which a landlord engages a harwaha (ploughman) on contract for many years. The landlord keeps harwaha engaged by giving small chunk of land for cultivation (one or two Katha) or some amount of money. The number of harwaha is thousands and thousands.

Mahasveta Devi reports from Ranchi about the conditions of bonded labour in the area of Palamu, Ranchi and Singhbhum. She highlights the pathetic condition of Rejas (tribal women workers). The rejas who work in the factories are exploited by the contractors in very many ways. The replaced young girls from the industries are taken to Calcutta, cities of Punjab and several other places under false promises. The local sardars (outcasted tribal women) receive Rs.30 and 40 as commission for supplying rejas to the kiln contractors. While the each kiln employes 200 to 400 rejas. Sometimes some male sardars also do this business. The kiln-owners or bhatta-maliks are very harsh in paying the wages to rejas. The rejas receive one token or 'tikli' for carrying 10 unbaked or 'pucca briks'. For unbaked bricks 20 tokens means one rupee. For Pucca bricks, 44 token means one rupee, one rupee for carrying 440 pucca bricks. The Rejas cannot earn more than Rs.4 or 5 per day inspite of hard labour. Children aged 10 to 12 years constitute 25 per cent of the total labour strength.

Where an adult rejs earns Rs.25 to 35 a week, a child earns Rs.10 to 15. However, an adult actually receives only Rs.15 per week and a child Rs.10.<sup>32</sup> The sardars prefer young girls, unmarried ones. They are better workers and good for sale. The sardar force these young girls to sleep with the owners, the supervising staff, the truck drivers and khalasis.<sup>33</sup> These unfortunate~~ly~~ being live in Jhopris less specious than a pig whole. The kiln is closed <sup>during</sup> the monsoon and the rejas are sent home. August and September the monsoon months are the worst for tribals. This is their starving period. Mahasveta Devi writes "the Munshi and sardar arrange grand feasts and invite local youth. Through them they come to know of the whereabouts of girls. Then they make the rounds with ready cash in hands. The munshi pays 'dadan' or advance money to the parents of the girls. Once the parents accept Rs.100 to 150 from the Munshi, the girls become contract bound. They cannot refuse to go and work. Once in the bhatta, life undergoes a change, 12 to 14 hours of work a day, compulsory sex with the owners of his men in the first hours of the night, sleep in the Jhopri in the late hours, No medical or sanitary arrangement"<sup>34</sup>

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32. Mahasveta Devi, "Constract Labour or Bonded Labour", EPW, vol.XVI, No.23, June 6, 1981, pp.1010-1011.

33. Mahasveta Devi, op. cit.

34. Ibid, see also, Mahasveta Devi, witch Sabbath at Singhbhum, EPW, vol.XVI, No.40, October 3, 1981, pp. 1595.

These rejas are mainly supplied from Chakradharpur to Calcutta, Bankura and 24-Parganas. They are so suppressed that <sup>none</sup> of them <sup>is</sup> allowed to come back after the brick-backing season is over.

A mother sings to the baby on her laps :

My Bali could live on Jungle fruits,  
My Bali could live on Jungle roots.  
But trees do not grow Saris  
So my Bali went to the bhatta  
So my Bali went.<sup>35</sup>

(D-2) FLESH - TRADE :

So many young girls of Chotanagpur have been sold by recruiting Sardars. They have been recently traced out from the different parts of Bengal, Bihar (Bhojpur, Arrah, Chapra) and Punjab (Ludhiana, Gurdashpur and Pathankot). Even the Police has link with flesh traders. This flesh trade is done mostly by tempting offer<sup>s</sup> of a good job.<sup>36</sup> These girls are main source of running several prostitutions with in the area of Bihar.

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35. Ibid.

36. The Times of India, August 16, 1981, see also, Nirmal Sengupta, class structure, p. 228.



(E) NETWORK OF LIQUOR SHOPS:

The network of liquor shops is spread throughout Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. It was the British who artfully spread liquor shops to check the rebellious tribes, but it still continues <sup>and</sup> the Bihar Government earn Rs.8 crores each year by keeping the Jharkhandis addicted.<sup>37</sup>

Percapita consumption - 1973-74

<u>Item</u>	<u>Jharkhand</u>	<u>Rest of Bihar</u>
Country liquor	0.50 litre	0.16 litre
Ganja	1.0 gram	0.25 gram
Bhang	0.56 gram	0.09 gram

Source: Commissioner of Exise, Bihar

(Also cited in Nirmal Sengupta, op.cit. p.229)

(F) MUSCLEMEN :

The local moneylenders, contractors and businessmen of Dhanbad and Ranchi have kept goondas to tackle the protesting tribes. If a tribe is unable to pay the debt of a moneylender, it becomes the responsibility of the goondas of moneylenders to get the money returned from the poor tribes.

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37. Nirmal Sengupta, op. cit., pp.229.

(G) ATROCITIES OF POLICE :

The cases of atrocities, firing and rape by the policemen are common in the tribal areas.

(H) COURT AND JUDICIARY :

The condition of Court and Judiciary is not much different from the British Raj. The delayed and long process of Judiciary <sup>is</sup> not providing justice to the tribes. The judicial procedure is a costly affair and the tribals still face the problem of language.

(I) RECENT SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS:(1978-1982)

Recently survey and settlement operations in Santhal Parganas has created a tension between tribes and non-tribes. It is the claim of the tribes that Santhal Parganas belong to them. Thus the non-tribes should leave this place. They do not believe in the official records or ownership of the land to non-tribes which is provided by the government. Recent land grabbing movement in Santhal Parganas and Purnea district is due to this reason.<sup>38</sup>

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38. The Times of India, April 11, 1981, see also Singhbhum Ekta, November, 1981.

System of Satta:

When a land owner takes the land of a person on lease for six year by paying money (amount varies from Rs.1000 to Rs.2000, it depends on the fertility power of land) it is called system of Satta. Under this system the landowner gets his money returned in two years by cropping on the field and rest four year's cropping becomes the interest of the invested amount.

Dyora System:

Under this system if a landlord gives one quintal grain (particularly paddy) to a harwaha, in the time of return to landlord, the harwaha will have to return one and half quintal within six month times, if harwaha is unable to return it in this fixed period of time he will have to return two quintal in a year and this multiplication of return continues till he returns the grain. Here, now after surveying the conditions of the tribes we can come to conclusion that the tribes of Senthai Parganas and Chotenagpur have been facing all human problems. Thus these human problems have made the tribes revolutionary.

HISTORY OF THE TRIBAL MOVEMENT - (1906-1982)

The National Liberation Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi <sup>attracted</sup> the struggling tribes of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas in 1920. The Oraons, Santhals, Bhils and Gonds took part in it. Many Bhagats of Ranchi became the true follower (chelas) of Mahatma Gandhi. For the tribes Swaraj meant not only the emancipation from the British government but from dikus, money-lenders and zamindars also. It was the organized Christian Missionaries and educated Christian youth which played very important role in educating the exploited tribes. Since 1898, the Christian Association founded by Lutheran graduates had been educating the tribes. Roman Catholic co-operative Society established in 1906 worked a lot for the development of the tribes, In 1912, Anglican Mission founded a branch, called Dacca Student Union. In 1918, Christian Association in collaboration with catholics founded Christian college union. Non-christian formed Munda-Oraon Education Conference (Siksha Sabha) to educate the tribes. In 1912, the Chotanagpur Charitable Association played a decisive role to remove the distances which were existing between the Christian and non-christian tribes, between minor tribes like Tamar, Mahali, Lohar and Major tribes like Munda and

Orissas. K. Singh called this process as Pan-tribal sentiment.<sup>39</sup> The students of German and Anglican Mission in 1918, organized 'Chotanagpur Improvement Society' to demand for economic development, social protection and constitutional safeguards. The organizational history of 'Chotanagpur Improvement Society (Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj) continued till 1938. This society had been run by the teachers, and educated class to secure employment, reservation in services and formation of a sub-state comprising of the areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The net organization which emerged for tribal upliftment was Adivasi Mahasabha (1938-47), K.S. Singh writes that 'the immediate cause of the formation of the Mahasabha was the experience of first election held in 1937 under the Government of India Act of 1935. The Congress had swept the polls. This persuaded mainly Christian and also some non-Christian tribals'.<sup>40</sup> The tribes of other areas than Chotanagpur joined the movement. This movement spread in rural and urban areas as well. In 1939, the President of Mahasabha, Jaipal Singh an Oxford educated Munda Christian demanded for a separate Jharkhand State.

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39. Kumar Suresh Singh - "From Ethnicity to Regionalism: A Study in Tribal Politics and Movements in Chotanagpur from 1990 to 1975". in Malik S.C. (ed) Dissent, Protest and Reform in Indian Civilization IIAS, Simla, 1977, p.320.

40. K.S.Singh, op. cit., p.322.

He held a meeting of Mahasabha in 1949 at Jamshedpur where he decided to extend the membership of the sabha to non-Adivasi Jharkhandis. Thus <sup>this</sup> period (1938-1949) saw a violent and militant movement in Chotanagpur and Saonthal Parganas in which exploited tribals and non-tribals both joined together to fight against their oppressors.

This period of 1949-58 is a period of the rise and growth of Jharkhand party. The Adivasi Mahasabha took the shape of a Political Party, known as Jharkhand Party in 1951. The symbol of this Party was Cock. The Independent India is based on the principle of democracy, so the Constitution has provided the provision of election and adult franchise. The basic spirit of the Indian Constitution was also based on Secularism. The tribes has been recognized as minority under fifth and sixth schedule of the constitution. Here K. Suresh Singh observes that when the tribes have been considered as minority in Chotanagpur, then the tribes tried to keep aside their ethnical identity and called themselves Jharkhandis. Now language or region should determine the formation of province not the ethnicity so it was a move from ethnicity to regionalism.<sup>41</sup> This is the period when some other political party activists like Congress, Socialist Party and moneylandng Communities supported Jharkhand Party. Jharkhand leaders formulated a massive programme to get their independent political status. Thus the party fought

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41. K.Suresh Singh, op.cit., p.321.

the first General Election of 1952 and won all thirty two seats in Bihar Legislative Assembly and some seats in Orissa also. In the first Bihar Legislative Assembly, this party played the role of main opposition. In the first General Election, the manifesto of the Jharkhand Party included the demand for a separate Jharkhand State which included the part of Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Jaipal Singh mobilized lakhs of people to get this demand fulfilled. In 1955 the executive Committee of Jharkhand Party submitted a memorandum to the Reorganization Committee of the State Government but this memorandum was rejected on the ground that Jharkhand region does not have a common language. The period of 1955' saw a growth as well as gradual decline of Jharkhand Party. The causes of the declining of the militancy of Jharkhand Party (J.P.) are many. <sup>such as</sup> the impact of developmental programmes initiated by the government in tribal region and the involvement of the tribes in that process.

The rivalry between the Christian tribes and non-christian tribes for getting educational facilities and other material resources was also a set back to the organized tribe. The presence of other political parties like Congress, Jansangh, Swantra, CPI all diverted the attentions of struggling tribes. The government has also

formulated the policy of the representation of tribes in the government and council of ministers and in other plan making bodies. It was also observed that the leaders of <sup>Jharkhand party</sup> J.P.) had urban background who did not sketch out any programme for rural and agrarian sectors. The party was also suffering from dissidents and lack of funds. The scarcity of money forced the tribals to depend on the moneylending community and zamindars. These forces slashed down the fighting spirit of Jharkhand Party. The Jharkhandis won only 20 seats in Bihar Assembly Election in 1962. Now they were suffering from identity crisis. They made political alliance with ruling Congress Party to achieve their goals. This alliance created a resentment among the tribal leaders and followers. This alliance was not approved by the General Body of the party. The effect of this political alliance proved so fatal to the tribes that they could not check the spread of industrialization, land alienation and the settlement of moneylenders in the tribal regions. Till 1966, Jaipal Singh was not clear about his future programme of action. In the meantime Jharkhand party split up in many factions. Some of them are:

- (i) Akhilbhartiya Adibasi Bikas Parishad founded by Kartik Oraon in 1966. The number of members was 1144.
- (ii) Birsa Seva Dal (BSD) its President was Lallo Oraon (1972-73)



(iii) Chotanagpur Bhumi Rakshak Party founded in October 1968.

(iv) Chotanagpur Plateau Praja Parishad founded in 1966 to promote the employment and welfare programmes in industrial area.

(v) Jharkhand Raj Morcha formed in 1966. Jogesh Oraon was its President.

(vi) Parha Samaj was formed by non-Christian Adivasis.

Other small parties and organizations were Veer Biren Party, Adivasi Chhatra Sangh (the radical students organization, Chotanagpur Samukta Morcha, All India Adivasi Federation, Yuvak Dal and Krantikari Morcha.<sup>42</sup> But there was hardly any difference in the Programmes content. Santhals of Santhal Parganas had their own grievances. They were more numerous than Munda and Oraons but hardly had any influence in Jharkhand Party. Thus on 28 December 1968 they formed a party known as Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand Party, They won six seats out of 18 in the mid term Assembly election in 1969 and got adequate representation in the Council of Ministers. But personal rivalaries created a new faction, the 'Progressive Hul Jharkhand Party'. The immediate outcome of this factional conflict was that the two factions got only 3 seats in 1972 election.

The only advantage of this cleavage lies in the fact that all parties and organizations mobilized the local people and made them more conscious about their rights.

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42. K.S.Singh, op. cit., pp.342-343.

But this factional cleavage proved fatal <sup>for</sup> a single united political organization.

A new pressure group emerged in the urban area of Chotanagpur particularly in Ranchi and Jamshedpur. The educated christian and non-christian youth formed this group called Birsa Seva Dal (1967). The main demands of this group was the creation of a separate state expulsion of non-Chotanagpuri, agrarian reforms, opportunity of education and employment. It was a socio-political organization rather than a political party. This organization was very active in several areas of Jamshedpur and Ranchi. They adopted violent method to counter non-tribal outsiders, land-grabbers and moneylenders. So many violent incident took place. The Chiri (June 1968) Chainpur (27 October 1968) incidents could be taken into account as instances. In 1969, this organization supported an extremist organization led by CPM (L) which was in the pattern of Naxalbari Movement. But this organization declined due to conflict between two factions, some of the leaders joined the splinters Jharkhand Party. Thus the existence of Birsa Seva Dal confined to some of the pockets of Jamshedpur area. The unrest of the tribes are also observed in dense. Chotanagpur and this unrest has its own history. But it is in no way detached with the unrest of the other aspect of tribal movement.

The British and the Government of India both ignored the basic foundation of tribal economy and their sentimental attachment with jungle. The abuses of power by the forest officer, forest settlement officers and police have been rampant throughout the history of forest administration. The tyranny of the administration in Jungle has been quite unbearable to the tribals. Thus they have long tradition of fighting to gain their birth right over forest.

The Jungle movement started in the time of Satyagrah movement. It was the leaders of the freedom struggle who led the tribes of Chotanagpur to fight against the exploiters of the forest. In 1930, Indian National Congress launched a satyagraha against the oppressors. The Kharwar of Palamau, the dominant tribal peasant community inhabiting the forest region south of Koel river were drawn into such a struggle led by the Congressmen from across the river.<sup>43</sup> The Famous leader of Kharwar Mr. Fotel led this movement in Palamu District. Even the recent cause of unrest among the tribes is the complete encroachment of their right over forest. The National Commission of Agriculture has recommended certain strategies for the development of tribal areas. One of the strategies is to go in for high investment and high profit for forest in tribal regions. In other words the Commission

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43. K.S. Singh, Eight Devraj Chanana Memorial Lectures, Tribal Transformation (II). Tribal Movement, Delhi, (Unpublished), pp.23.

wanted rapid commercialization of the forest.<sup>44</sup> Forest is a source of variety of products, Sabaigrass is used in paper making, Lemon grass and Kendu leaves are used for production of essential oils, collection of minor oil seeds, mahuna, neem, karmi, kusumand oil is fairly widespread in the areas for their utilization in soap making and other industrial areas. For this purpose a large number of governmental and private contractors and organization are working. Although these forest output is important for the national benefit but <sup>the</sup> government is still unable to provide any suitable alternative subsistence system to the forest dwellers. Recently, the tribes of the different regions of Chotanagpur are manifesting their resentment against the government and outsiders in variety of manners. The Police of Gua, a place in Chotanagpur open fire on the rebellious tribes. These tribes were against the plantation of commercial tree and cleaning the trees of Sal. The protest was so strong that so many police personnels and tribes were killed in heavy combat. In July 1981, under the leadership of Deoendra Manghi the local tribes of Saranda forest, Bada Sokro range, Lots pahar and Chakradharpur stormed the officials and guards of Bihar Forest Development Corpertation. They destroyed the all commercial plants and fought a heavy battle

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44. See, Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Schedules Tribes (Twenty Sixth Report, 1978-79, pp.10.

with police. Last year, on 25th November 1981, Deputy Superintendent of Police of Sarjomahatu had shot a 19 years old tribal Youth Tapa Hembrem <sup>shot</sup> dead on charge of cutting the commercial forest tree.<sup>45</sup> The resentment among the tribes against the government lies also in the fact that Sal tree has got cultural and religious values for the tribes. The sacred abode of their spirit (Bonga) is under the Sal tree, they use every produce of Sal tree for ritual and cultural activities. According to the report of forest department Sal tree becomes matured in 120 years while bamboo and teak takes maximum 10 to 20 years to grow matured. If teak and bamboo could be planted in 40 thousand hectares the produce of which can run one lakh tonnes paper plant for one year.<sup>46</sup>

An extremist organization also started its activities in the forest of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur called Naxalite (1969-1973). The Naxalites used bombs, automatic fire weapons and guerilla technique to remove the exploiters from the region in co-operation with semi-aboriginal and *other non-tribal* community e.g. Mahto of Hazaribagh and Dhanbhd, but they were ruthlessly suppressed by the Police and

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45. See Singhbhum Ekta, Dec. 1981, p.3.

46. Harkishore, Deforestation and commercialization of the jungle, see Dinman, pp.29, 28th February to 6th March, 1982.

armed forces. In 1969 the Mahto formed an organization called Shivaji Samaji (1969). Later, the Santhals and Mahto made a political alliance and gave the birth of an organization named 'Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (1973)'. The Morcha tried to return the land from its grabbers. Particularly Santhals were very sensitive to it. The cases of looting the standing crops by Santhals were rampant phenomena in Santhal Parganas. The support of Hul Jharkhand Party and the Santhals of Hazaribagh, Giridih and Dhanbad to this Morcha is commendable.

Period (1975-May 1982):

The scene of this period is not much different from the past but certain external stimuli have added new parts and dimension to it. The main demand of the agitating tribals remained constant. They want a separate Jharkhand State for their own self government within the Acts of the Indian Constitution. They think that this self government and administrative autonomy within the Indian sovereignty can improve their condition. It is also the claim of Jharkhandis that it is not a movement which is demand for a separate nation. They are not even in favour of driving out the non-tribals from the region. They are only against of the exploiting class.<sup>47</sup>

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47. See, 'Jharkhand warta' (a local Hindi quarterly) "Jharkhand, Kya, Kyon Aur Kaishye" Pratham Ank 1/5-2, 1978.

Recently, Sibu Soren has launched a massive programme to educate the masses. He has directed to construct some schools for adult education. He has also emphasized to <sup>to</sup> development cottage and household industries. The Government of Bihar also opened 'Birsa Agriculture University' at Ranchi, it was simply the result of the militancy of the tribes. He brought into light the tribes about the abuses of country liquor.<sup>48</sup> Now the Jharkhandis are interested in eliminating the anti-social elements, They are pressurizing the local bureaucrats to implement the developmental programme. Still the goals of tribal movement is concerned with the land and to save the working tribal workers from exploitations.<sup>49</sup> Their ideology is in consonance with the old demands as well their ideology mean the class interest of the Jharkhandis it also includes systematic set of ideas with action consequences, serving the purpose of creating and using organizations. It is a manner of thinking characteristic of an organization. The Jharkhandis follow pure ideology, ~~See the value~~, moral and ethical conception about right and wrong while practical ideology includes direct action consequence. Thus ideology has (i) world view as well as (ii) practical part.

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48. "A New Dimension of Jharkhand Movement", Jharkhand warta' Ank-2/March, 1978.

49. See, Singhbhumi Ekta, November 1981.

The World View : \*

The life of Birsa Munda a Sidhu-Kanhu and Jaipal Singh work as reference for the agitating tribals.

1. Idolization of Birsa and Other Heroes :

These above mentioned leaders are still the legendary heroes of the struggling tribals. Their endomitable capacity to fight against the exploiters, their pure way of living and their love with the exploited are still copied by the tribes.<sup>50</sup>

2. Justice :

The tribes feel that there should not be exploitation of the tribes by the outsiders or by anybody. Because tribals are historically independent. They have their own independent system of economy and culture. They also think that they are unjustly exploited by the governments. Here ~~the~~ tribes questions the basic foundations of socio-economic and the political system of the state and nation.

3. Concept of Man :

The leaders of the tribes and even majority of the tribes realize that without political and economic freedom there is no possibility of the full development of the life, of the

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50. P.N.J.Purti and Mrs.R.Kandhulna, 'Jharkhand ke Amar Saheed' (in Hindi), (Ranchi, 1969)

\* We have borrowed the concepts e.g. idolization, justice, concept of man and parochialism from the book 'Nati- going to be published from Manohar. with the permission of the author Dhirendra Singh'



tribes. Thus the appropriation of their privileges by the exploiters is immoral and unwarranted.

(ii) Practical Part :

(i) Jharkhandism:

It is clear from the fact that the ~~capitalist Biharis~~ <sup>are</sup> outsiders. Thus the inhabitants of the tribal areas want to expel these elements out. The leaders of Jharkhand think that they are deprived of the development due to the administration of outsiders in the region. The Scheduled Castes and Schedules Tribes account for 42 per cent of the population of this region. N.Sengupta writes that "the concept of Jharkhandis<sup>is</sup> not merely a geographical region. Its real implication is 'a land of depressed people' a mass of destitute' and the development of Jharkhand is a question of development of the condition of destitute population.<sup>51</sup>

(ii) Parochialism:

Jharkhandis regionalism and antipathy toward outsiders is very strong. They have very negative attitudes toward those who have come from outside to exploit them socially and economically. For tribes outsiders are Dikus.

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51. Nirmal Sengupta, op.cit., pp.220.

See also - Nirmal Sengupta, "Rich Jharkhand, poor Jharkhandis" (in Hindi) Jharkhand warta (quarterly) Ranchi, March, 1978, pp.27.

(iii) Concept of Diku:

The use of the concept is as old as tribal movement. Still it has a crucial significance in the understanding of aliens. "According to some the word Diku is derived from the Mundari "ko" and means those who annoy or irritate (dik). It is a territorial and ethnic concept applicable to the categories of land grabbers .... who come from outside".<sup>52</sup> The present hostility which has created unrest in tribal region is due to this feeling. Now the concept of Diku is confined to exploiters only.

(iv) Political Exclusiveness :

The Jharkhandis want their separate state with separate independent bureaucracy so <sup>that</sup> they can improve their lot with their own organization.

Organizational Aspect of the Tribal Movement: Here organization means a relatively permanent, complex, discernible and patterned interaction system among the actors. As far as organizational aspect of this movement is concerned it is a composition of several parties and trade union organization. The internal structure of the organization con-

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52. Kumar Suresh Singh, "Agrarian Issues in Tribal Chotanagpur" (Mimeo), Seminar on the Tribal situation in India with reference to the Border Tribes, Sunday, July 6 to Saturday July 19, IIAS, Simla, 1969, (J.N.U. Library -New Delhi), pp.5.

sists of the various components and their activities, mobilization and diversification, leadership, decision making body, control and communication of the organization recruitment of the followers and leaders as well. Here, due to lack of sufficient materials it is very difficult to make a clear picture of the organization. The recent tribal political organization includes, student wing, peasants, mine workers, lawyers, and several non-tribal exploited workers and christians. In tribal region A.K.Roy initiated a joint movement of industrial works and peasants of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. So they can feel a class consciousness together. The Bihar Colliery Gamgar Union a workers Trade Union and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha led a long procession, in Dhanbad. This alliance actively worked for two years (1974-1976). A.K. Roy interpreted it "the dream of Jharkhand is to create a Lalkhand" free from exploitation and oppression". The Green Banner (JMM) and Red Banner (GPI-ML) were put together to create a solidarity among the working and peasant class.<sup>53</sup> Now the Jharkhandis are also in the several Trade Unions. In Singhbhum three unions work (i) Tata Workers Union (ii) Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, (iii) Tin Plate Workers Union (B) Teleco Workers' Union

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53. A.K. Roy, 1981, Jharkhand Aur Lalkhand (in Hindi), Marxist Co.ordination, Dhanbad.

(C) Dhanbad has (i) The Colliery Mazdoor Sangh, (ii) The Koyala Mazdoor Sangh, (iii) The Bihar Koyala Mazdoor Sangh, (iv) The Hindustan Khan Mazdoor Sangh and (v) The Fertilizer Factory Workers' Union. (D) Ranchi has (i) Hatia Project Workers' Union, (ii) The Muri Aluminium Factory Workers' Union, (iii) The National Coal Organization Employees' Association. (E) Hazaribagh has (i) Coal Workers Union, (ii) The Mica Labour Union. (F) Santhal Parganas has 27 Unions most of them affiliated to AITUC and INTUC.

But recently a case has come in which the working committee of INTUC made a secret alliance with Bharat Coking Coal to exploit the labourers by paying extremely low wage and throwing <sup>them</sup> out of employment. Thus this case has sharply weakened the trust of workers in Unions.<sup>54</sup> The story of politics does not end here. In 1980, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha again split on the issue of the selection of candidate for the election in Bihar legislative council. There were two other political elements, JMM. Pro-communist and the rightist. The pro-communists chose their candidate a widow Parvati Hembram wife of late Dhani Kisku, a Morcha Leader who died in a road accident near Dhanbad. The rightist element was in favour of a multi millionaire from Santhal Parganas. This situation created a rift within the party. They were now convin-

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54. See, Amiya Rao, "Miners Fight Against Imposters - Dhanbad", EPW, vol. XVI, No. 50, December 12, 1981, pp. 2031.

ced that the green flag cannot go with Red Flag. JMM won eleven seats for Legislative Assembly in the last election. But the most responsible leader of JMM, Sibusoren again came in the fold of ruling Congress (I). He followed the path of Jaipal Singh, Bagun Sombrung and Justin Richard who betrayed the Jharkhandis.<sup>55</sup> Thus the tendency of split up and hostilities <sup>not only</sup> exist in Bihar but other part of assumed Jharkhand State.

(JMM and CPM : A Case Study of West Bengal)

Tribal movement for the demand of a separate Jharkhand State is not only confined in Bihar but it is widespread in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and in Madhya Pradesh. West Bengal is considered to be a very sensitive area for tribal unrest. Three districts of West Bengal viz; Purulia, Bankura, Midnapore are experiencing the mobilization of the tribes. On November 2, 1981 Anara rally was organized by JMM and CPM separately and there was fear of clash between the two organizations. JMM activists were preparing for rally while CPM tried to counter it. The CPM activists shouted slogan "down with Jharkhand Mukti Morcha". The slogans of JMM were "we will stop liquor sale", "The police cannot suppress our movement", "we will face up the CPM opposition", "we will harvest paddy

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55. See Singhbhum Ekta, Chaibasha, February 1982,

from Adivasi land".<sup>56</sup> Those two rallies were organized according to the direction of JMM leader Sibhu Soren and MCC leader A.K.Roy. The claim of CPM against JMM lies in the fact that, CPM does not consider Jharkhand as a party but considers it as disruptive, sectarian and Congress(I) sponsored. According to CPM, JMM has a only a pro-Jotedar and anti-share cropper record. Now Congress (I) considers JMM as a deadly weapon to counter CPM. Even A.K.Roy calls 'JMM as capitalist-oriented'.<sup>57</sup> Now question arises whether the Jharkhandis party and other political organization will be able to achieve their goal, that is separate Jharkhand? Naturally the past records and present conditions of movement predict the answer no. Why? This movement suffers from a lot of weaknesses. The affluent and educated groups of tribe do not take sufficient interest in the problem of rural tribals. The gap between leaders and led exist in the movement. Most of the leaders belong to urban areas. Most of the leaders of Jharkhand still failed to understand that the political mobilization is the product of the backward socio-economic condition of the tribes. Now the leaders do not take care of the proper planning and policy making to develop the tribal regions. But they indulge in making alliance with ruling

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56. Sivdas Banerjee, The Times of India, Nov. 12, 1981.

57. Sivdas Banerjee, Growing Militancy of tribals, The Times of India, November 11, 1981.

party simply for the lust of power. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha is suffering from the chronic problems viz. personal interest and rivalry of the leaders. Here the character of tribal leaders is used in much wider sense for the time being, It includes the leadership character of a famous Jharkhand leader. Mr.Horo's general secretary is a Punjabi, Mr.Sohan Lal Ahuja, whose family runs a thriving Printing business in Chaibasa. Mr.Sumburi on the otherhand is the brother of the old Raja of Rangarh (a wealthy former mine owner) who was at one time projected as a likely chief minister when Jharkhand came into being. ~~Some other parties are also active in the movement.~~

Most Jharkhand leaders have the full support of local merchants and monelenders who shrewdly estimate that if an when a new state is carved out they will have a finger in the pie. On occassions, traders and local moneylenders have been backed a mass movement for their own ends, It is alleged for instance that forest contractors are also encouraging adivasis to fell teak trees planted by the state owned forest corporation in tribal region because they want the tracts to be leased out to them once again. This is why some observer claim that the Jharkhand movement is basically an urban phenomenon - of all things backed by vested interests as well as

the educated tribal elite who feel that their horizons will widen if a separate state is formed.

In recent months, there have been attempts at getting the various parties and factions on to a common platform. Horo has been writing to several major national parties to support the cause and is heartened by the response. But it is difficult to see how they will pull together. Mr. Sumburej, for instance would be quite content if a separate state comprising just Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur in South Bihar is conceded. While Mr. Horo is sticking out for all 15 districts, given the clash of ideologies and personalities any talk of a sustained common front is premature.

The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha does after more hope, though as Sibn Soren himself insists, his first task is to organize Adivasis to assert their rights and only then press for statehood. The Morcha's seventh anniversary has celebrated in Dhanbad on February 4th 1980 with an impressive turnout of several hundred Adivasis and workers (affiliated to Mr. A.K. Roy's Dhanbad based Union) bearing their respective green red flags, despite Mr. Roy's fervent efforts to forge such worker. Peasant unity, however, coal miners and steel worker can scarcely be persuaded to feel a sense of solidarity with Adi-





after a century. Once in <sup>1980</sup> some dedicated freedom fighters M.L.As. raised the voice against exploitation system, but it was put down for ever. It was nothing but the simple vested interest of tribal privileged elites.

As far as the question of a separate Jharkhand State is concerned, the government of India should consider it judiciously. The Indian Constitution provides such provisions. This movement in no manner a movement for separate nation. If the leaders and masses of tribal area want to get a separate Jharkhand State they, will have to be more organised. The leaders will have to be more dedicated, politically disciplined and clean. The leaders of Jharkhand will have to bring more consciousness among the nomadas, food gatherers and rural peasants. If the leaders and followers will start a fresh movement with more consciousness and dedication to fight against the exploiters, we can hope that they will achieve their ends.

Thus this period remained a history of rivalry and personal interest of the political organizations.

As far area of the mobilization is concerned it includes Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Dhanbad, Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas (Bihar), Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur (Orissa), Purulia, Midnapur and Bankura (West Bengal) and Raniganj and Sarguja (Madhya Pradesh).

## CHAPTER - V

### S U M M I N G U P

#### I

We have already completed the survey of the under-development and tribal movements. Now, it is necessary to summarize the entire work in order to investigate the theoretical implications of the sociology of social movements.

In Chapter II that is the first phase of the tribal movement (1832-1905) we have criticized the anthropologists who have followed the different sets of ideology in writing about the transition of tribes. These theorists could be put in the categories of (i) tribe-caste continuum theorists (ii) modernization theorist (iii) economic exploitation theorists. The first two sets of theorists have been under the influence of American and British anthropologists. N.K.Bose under the influence of Clark Wissler arrives at the conclusion that the tribes are being constantly absorbed in the fold of Hindu culture and this could be possible because of their economic dominance. Ghurye describes tribal communities as the inte-

gerated part of the Hindu society. Thus to him the tribes are 'Backward Hindus'. L.P. Vidyarthi, Martin Orans and Surjit Sinha in the tradition of Chicago School Cultural anthropologist Robert Redfield have showed the impact of caste Hindus on the tribes. Surjit Sinha is of the opinion that tribal communities are changing in the forms of peasant-caste communities, <sup>while</sup> Martin Orans shows the impact of great tradition, <sup>e.g.</sup> the industrial belt of Jamshedpur on the little folk tradition of the village. L.P. Vidyarthi <sup>also</sup> investigated the similarities of the traits between tribes and castes, impact of industrialization on the tribes, their political role in national life and emerging patterns of leadership. Sachchidanand traced out the emerging stratification system among the tribes, which resulted due to the contact of Hindu stratification system. The modernization theorists, e.g., N.Prasad, A.K.Das, P.K. Dasgupta, K.N.Sahey and L.P.Vidyarthi laid special emphasis on industrialization and urbanization and their impact on the tribes. Their researches are limited to find out <sup>as to</sup> how the tribes react when they come in contact with some new innovations or some new social situations. But there are severe limitations with these theorists <sup>in</sup> show<sup>ing</sup> the dynamics social system of the tribes in historical perspectives. A group of theorists who laid special emphasis on the changing eco-

nomy and society of the tribes are K.S.Singh, K.D.Sharma and Hirnmay Dhar. They have adopted a historical perspective to understand the changes of the tribal system. In our present writing, we have tried to share some view points of these writers to highlight the socio-economic structure and the contradictions involved in it.

In Chapter II we have discussed the colonial background of tribal rebellions and other caste peasants in India, but the main focus has been on the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur. The Paharias are the primitive tribes of Santhal Parganas, who remained disturbed for a Century (1770-1870) by a militant non-tribe, the Khetauri. The Santhals the primitives of Birbhum, Palamu, Hazaribagh and Singhbhum migrated to Santhal Parganas in the later part of the eighteenth and first part of nineteenth century. The causes of their migration are several but most authentic of them are three fold viz. (i) alienation of cleaned land of the Santhals by the British in Chotanagpur (ii) the landlords of Santhal Parganas invited to clean the jungle of Santhal Parganas to squeeze more and more rent from agricultural land (iii) the Santhals were called by the zamindars and British to counter the violent Paharias. Thus they entered Santhal Parganas to clean the forest and cultivate the lands. They were considered as expert in jungle cleaning and farming. As far as

their pre-colonial economy is concerned they had never experienced land alienation when the British entered Santhal Parganas and introduced new land legislation, the Santhals lost their land and other property. They were so helpless due to the destruction of their subsistence economy that they rebelled against the British in 1855-57 under the leadership of Sidhu and Kanhu brothers. Several other rebellions also took place in the several part of Santhal Pargans. The case of Chotanagpur was not much different. The pre-colonial economy of the Mundas and Oraons of Chotanagpur was prosperous and undisturbed. They had their own land systems. The Munda land system was called Khuntkatti <sup>while</sup> the Oraons land system was known as Bhuinari. To them the settlers who cleaned the jungle and settled down were the original holders of the land or Khuntkattidars. After them the property right was passed to the sons of the Khuntkattidar. As the number of sons of the Khuntkatti families increased the whole village was occupied by the descendent of one family. That village was called Khuntkatti village. When the geographical area and resources became scarce to the inhabitant of one Khuntkatti village, the groups of one village family left for another area and kept themselves in touch with the original descendent. Thus all those who descended from one

village ancestor formed a clan. Their entire socio-economic and political structure were based on this clan and ownership of the land. They were independent in forming their unique socio-economic and political system and did not feel the need of any overlord or king to rule over them. They had their own headmen to perform the functions of politics, judiciary and other local disputes. But these headmen never enjoyed any privileges in lieu of their offices.

The Oraons, the other late settler of Chotanagpur influenced the Munda in forming the socio-economic structure of each other and agreed to elect a common chief (Raja). But in no sense the king was supposed to hold any property and to run the administration. He only enjoyed the subscription and other privileges voluntarily provided by the Mundas and Oraons. Under the headmanship of Raja, Mundas and Oraons lived peacefully till the end of 17th Century. Incidentally he was imprisoned by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir and kept in <sup>the</sup> Gwalior Jail with the Hindu Kings where he came to know the way of the administration of Hindu and Muslim rulers. On his return to Chotanagpur he introduced the same administration in the region and limited several priests, courtiers and servants from Hindu regions. In lieu of their services, the Raja used to distribute the share of his subscription, but it was inadequate to them. They soon started to claim over the land

from which the gifts were collected. Raja readily transferred land to their outside non-tribe servants. This way the land of the Mundas and Oraons were transferred to the <sup>rich</sup> class. When the British came to this region, they patronized the kings, courtiers and jagirdars to collect the rents. Thus the alienation of land by the landlords and other non-tribal section became serious after 1765. The British who did not know the language, culture and agrarian system of the tribes improperly disintegrated their entire socio-economic and political structure. From 1834, the British started to rule over Chotanagpur directly and introduced their own economic, political and judicial system which were totally unfit, unique and strange to the tribes. The British in the land revenues policy started <sup>ing</sup> deciding the ownership of the land for which there was need of written documents. The landlords and outsiders showed the documents of ownership of land which they had received from the Raja while the Mundas and Oraons did not have any written document so far. The tribes had only the proof of burial stones on their lands which did not make any sense to the British courts and administrations. The local administration, court of law and police were in favour of landlords. Hence it was impossible for tribes to get <sup>the</sup> redressal of their grievances from the authority. The landlords and moneylenders developed severe



exploitation mechanisms were Kamiottee awab and bethbegare systems. Once being the owners of land, the aboriginals now found themselves the slaves of exploiters. But the tribes of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur did not reconcile to their fate and resented, culminating into the rebellions of Kol insurrection of 1832, Santhal rebellion of 1855-57, Sardari Larai and Birsa rebellion of 1895-1900. They fought unequal war with the modern British army and got defeated. In course of the rebellions several religious movements emerged among the tribes e.g. the Kherwar movement among the Santhals and Bhagat movement among the Oraons. They tried to change some elements in their original ancestral religion and incorporated the element of surrounding Hindu religion. On the finding that their own spirits were powerless and could not prevent the loss of their land. This is the period when conversion of tribes to Christianity took place. The conversion to Christianity and Hinduized movement were the result of their extremely distressed economic and social situation. Their conversion was the outcome of alienation and powerlessness. After several uprisings, the British took some steps to improve the conditions of the tribes. The Santhals of Santhal Parganas got their separate district. In 1869, the government introduced the Chotanagpur Tenures Act<sup>and</sup> at the same time Bhuinari settlement came into operation

which continued till 1880. But for various reasons the efforts of reform were a failure. The aboriginals lost their lands in several legal complications

In Chapter IV (Phase II 1906-1982) we have discussed the role of politics in organizing and mobilizing the tribal movement. The emergence of consciousness of the politics among the tribes were due to national freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. They followed the pattern of freedom struggle in mobilizing the people. Several Bhagats took part in freedom struggle. In the beginning of twentieth century several educated Christians had done the welfare work for the upliftment of the tribes. They also started to mobilize the tribes on political front. Roman Catholic Society and Chotanagpur Improvement Society had done commendable work to save tribes from several exploitative agencies. The leader of Adivasi Mahasabha (1938-39), Jaipal Singh demanded for a separate Jharkhand state. He appealed to all exploited tribes and non tribes to join the movement. In 1951, Jharkhand Party was formed. In the time of first general election Jharkhand Party won 32 seats in Legislative Assembly of Bihar and acted as main opposition. In 1955 the executive committee of Jharkhand Party submitted a memorandum to the reorganization committee of the State Government.

But the memorandum was rejected by the Committee. After 1955, there becomes the gradual decline of Jharkhand Party due to personal politics and rivalry within the organization. Other political parties e.g. CPI, Jansangh, Swatantra Party and Congress Party took interest in tribal politics and diverted the attention of struggling tribes. In 1962, Assembly election, the Jharkhand Party won 20 seats and made alliance with ruling Congress Party which created resentment among the leaders and activists of the movement. This alliance also resulted in the split of the Jharkhand Party (1966-73) Akhil Bharatiya Adivasee Bikas Parishad was founded by Kartik Oraon in 1966. Birsa Seva Dal (1972-73) was founded by Lallo Oraon. Santhals of Santhal Pargana created Hul Jharkhand Party and several other minor tribal political organization came into existence. In 1969, Birsa Sena Dal an urban based organization supported an extremist organization CPM(L) commercialization of the forest also created unrest among the tribes in recent past. Several tribal naxlites started to operate from Jungle. In 1973, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha another well organized political party started to loot the standing crops of exploiters. In 1976-77 Sibut Sorén, the leader of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha launched a massive programme to capture the land forcefully from the land grabbers. In 1974 -76 Jharkhand

made alliances with A.K.Roy's Party (CPI-ML) so there could be proper mobilization of Industrial and Agricultural labourers. The Tharkhandis also took part in several trade union movement in the industrial areas. But this alliance was not permanent. A.K.Roy was of the opinion that Tharkhandis are backed by the capitalists. Ultimately this alliance ended in 1980. Sibusoren, in the recent assembly election of Bihar fought with the alliances of Congress-I. Thus the history of political movement of the tribes, particularly after independence failed to achieve the goal, the main causes of which were the personal political rivalry, their political and economic alliances with <sup>the</sup> capitalists and ruling parties. The cases of West Bengal and Orissa are not different. In 1982, Assembly election of Bengal, CPM fought against Tharkhandis. There was case of violent clash between the two parties in Midnapur and Bankura. As far as their area of mobilization is concerned it includes the districts of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The causes of recent movements among the Tharkhandis are underdevelopment of the tribal area, ignorance of the government in development work, land alienation, problems of food gatherers and hunters, appropriation of the right to forest and forest produce, bonded labour problem, flesh trade, and displacement of adivasis due to heavy industry and unemployment atrocities of police and

presence of several severe exploitation mechanisms. Thus it is clear that political independence of India has not brought any remarkable change in the tribal economy.

## II

Now we can interpret the implications of theoretical study of social movement in understanding the tribal movement. It is clear from analysis of the tribal movement that only Marxist approach can diagnose the all aspects of tribal movement. Marxist approach has special advantage in knowing the historical background, class formations and the contradictions involved in the tribal economy and society. This approach also explains the causes, course consequences and various factors involved in shaping the nature of movement. The Marxist approach is able to find out the ideology of exploiters and exploited in Jharkhand areas. This approach also gives special emphasis on the organization, means and methods of social movement. The positions of other theorists on movement are not much clear in investigating and analysing the tribal movement.

The functionalist and psychoanalytical theorists do not put emphasis on the historical background of movement. The recent development of tribal problems have its roots in the colonial administration. The British generated different modes of production in the tribal economy which resulted in the formation of different class. The pre-feudal mode of production of the tribes was transformed into feudal mode of production by the British. The Marxist theory also explains here as to how colonialism exercised the important influence in shaping and directing the institutional framework of agrarian structure and legislation. The present troubles of the tribes are due to the depressed colonial economic situation. In independent India the nature of right to property created and attracted a number of moneylending class to exploit the poors. As a result of new agrarian land legislation a new moneylending class also emerged among the tribes. The unequal distribution of property and interest of landlords created a serious situation of indebtedness land alienation dependence on the workes in other non-agricultural sectors. The disruption of their subsistence economy resulted in serious discontent and social disorganization. The situation of division of labour created further alienation of workers in industrial set up, and stratification system among them. Now they have variations in

their income, living style and mentality. Here we have got success in analysing the importance of basic needs in determining the tribal problems, e.g., land alienation, problem of bonded labour, exploitation mechanisms and flesh trade. The concept of property relations is crucial to knowing the nature of social movement and class relations. The leaders of Jharkhand belong to alien as well as from economically well-off class.

### III

Although tribes have not brought any structural transformation in their system through their struggle but most of the poor section of their population are conscious about their rights. Now they know how to struggle organizationally with their opponents. Their level of interaction for mobilization have been growing everyday <sup>down to</sup> the masses. They have activists in the area of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. But the regions of Bihar is highly sensitive and conscious due to socio-economic structure of Bihar region, role of education and political parties. A large section of

non-tribal people took part in the tribal movement to remove the socio-economic disparities and exploitations. Now the exploited non-tribals and exploited tribals made their own class, where ethnicity was insignificant in the struggle against the exploiters.

The Jharkhandis of Santhal Parganas and Chotanagpur appealed<sup>k</sup> the tribes of the other parts of India to support their movement. But this appeal failed to attract the other communities of the tribes. Simply because tribes of Bihar do not have any tradition of communication with the tribes of other part of India. Although they face same type of problems.

The tribes of Bihar in course of their movement have reached an awkward stage from where they cannot return to their old past and cannot adopt the post-capitalistic way of life. They are not very clear about their future programme of action. They must think over it. There should be broad based leadership for mass mobilization, so their infrastructure could be reorganized for an egalitarian prosperous society.



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