

**PARTIES AND POLITICS
IN
JHARKHAND (1977-1992)**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled **PARTIES AND POLITICS IN JHARKHAND (1977-1992)** submitted by **Umakant** is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this University. This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Chairperson

In
Memory of my
Sister
and
Brother-in-law

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	
Introduction	1-10
Chapter - I Politics in Jharkhand (1947-1976)	11-28
Chapter - II Era of Coalition Politics (1977-1992)	29-40
Chapter - III Response of the State	41-52
Conclusion	53-60
Bibliography	61-71
Appendices	
Appendix I	72
Political Map of the Proposed Jharkhand State	
Appendix II	73-75
Memorandum submitted by the Jharkhand party to the State Re-organisation Commission	
Appendix III	76-84
Memorandum submitted by JCC to the President of India	
Appendix IV	85-110
Memorandum submitted by JMM to the President of India	

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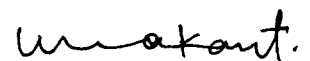
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(Umakant)

INTRODUCTION

The People and The Area

The Pre-Independent Scenario

Objectives of the Study

The Method and Structure

INTRODUCTION

The People and The Area

The Jharkhand area has a long tradition and history of organized protest movement. The movement for a separate Jharkhand state has passed through many ups and downs since the day, the ingenious Munda patriarch, explored the present Jharkhand, cleared the virgin forests and settled his people on rent free lands. During these intervening centuries, the outsiders came and introduced land rent and forced labour, and when the tribals failed or refused to oblige them, drove the tribals out and usurped their lands.¹

The Jharkhand area is 1,87,646 square kilometer with a population of 40 million covering four states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Culturally, this is perhaps the only area where the three major streams: Aryans, Dravidians and Austroasians have converged into a synthesized formation of culture.²

1. Victor Das, Jharkhand : Castle Over the Graves, Inter India Publication, New Delhi, 1992, p. 19.

2. Sajal Basu, Jharkhand Movement: Ethnicity and culture of Silence, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1994, pp. 2-3.

The emergence of an ethnic consciousness always played a vital role in the growth of the Jharkhand movement. It was during this long historical process of synthesisism that the tribal culture, society, polity and economy was threatened by dominant communities and the state. Consequently the tribals of the Chotanagpur and Santhal paragona rose in revolt. This process of emergence of an ethnic consciousness and its development in the course of political action was expressed in the Jharkhand's tradition of protests.³ Since the end of 18th century, Chotanagpur and Santhal Paragona has witnessed agrarian unrest. Movements of protests were developed by the adivasis of the area, sometimes united in pan-ethnic fronts. The 1855 Santhal rebellion, the Birsa movement and a host of other uprisings are the hallmark of the long tradition of protest movements by the tribals. They rebelled against the British, zamindars, moneylenders and other oppressors and also tried to revitalize their own community.

There are four basic issues behind the Jharkhand movement in the post-independence period:⁴

3. Susana B.C. Devalle , Discourses on Ethnicity : Culture and Protest in Jharkhand, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1992, p. 109.

4. R.D.Munda, "In Search of Tribal Homeland", in Buddhadeb Chaundhri (ed.) Tribal Transformation in India, vol. 3, Inter India Pub., New Delhi, 1990, p. 381.

- (i) land and forest alienation,
- (ii) training and job deprivation due to an influx of external population,
- (iii) cultural submergence, and
- (iv) unbalanced development of the region.

The issues behind the resurgence of the Jharkhand movement are not new. Over centuries, the native population of the areas included within Jharkhand were exploited by others. In the last two centuries the oppression was compounded by the exploitation of mineral, forest and human resources of the region. The enormous mineral wealth of the Jharkhand region was used by the outsiders without adequate compensation or development of the region. Coal, iron, manganese, mica, uranium and a variety of other minerals and metals, vital for India's economy were extracted from Jharkhand without proportionate benefits of development reaching the people. The ecological balance of the region was shattered by emissions from heavy industry, massive dams, hydroelectricity projects and commercial exploitation of forest resources.⁵

Worst of all the indigenous people have been and are still subjected to oppression and cultural humiliation. Forced migration, transportation to

5. Arvind Narayan Das, The Republic of Bihar, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1992, p. 88.

plantations and industries outside the region, chain ganging into hazardous work in mines and factories, alienation of land and the conversion of the tribals into bonded or semi-slave agricultural labourers etc, have been features of the political economy of Jharkhand.⁶ This was matched by a cultural assault on the Adivasis. Derision of their way of life on the assumption that it is primitive, and the active suppression and neglect of their languages and traditions, domination over their religious and social mores through invidious extension of the so called Great Tradition represented attempts to culturally enslave the Adivasis.

The key to understanding the political movement in Jharkhand region is the strong feeling of relative deprivation among the tribals. This movement is an expression of this feeling of deprivation and exploitation and that they have no scope to develop within the present administrative setup. It is also an expression of their desire to participate in the national life as a specifically tribal community enriching the country with its rich cultural heritage as expressed in its religious, moral, social and aesthetic values which constitute a clue to understanding its aspirations. The tribals believe that they can do so only in a separate state within the Indian Union.⁷

6. Ibid., p. 89.

7. Boniface Minz, "The Jharkhand Movement" in Walter Fernandes (ed.), National Development and Tribal Deprivation, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1992, p. 346.

The Pre-Independent Scenario

The national wave of the political and cultural renaissance arrived in this area with the beginning of the Tana Bhagat movement around 1914; yet it was ethnic in character. When the era of Constitutional reforms dawned during the British rule, and demand for the promotion and protection of regional and ethnic interests grew, the educated Christian tribals- mostly students belonging to the Lutheran and Anglican Missions -took the initiative in organizing the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj (Chotanagpur Improvement Society). The Improvement Society voiced its concern in 1916 over the absence of security for tribals and stressed the need for the preservation of tribal identity in the changing political context. During 1920-38 the Improvement Society embodied inter-denominational unity of the mission for political purposes and it set up a sustained operation. It sought to secure employment for educated tribals, reservation in services and legislative bodies, and formation of a sub-state joined to Bengal or Orissa.⁸

A militant movement emerged during the period 1938-47 under the Adivasi Mahasabha. The immediate cause of the formation of the Mahasabha

8. K.S.Singh, "Tribal Autonomy Movement in Chotanagpur" in K.S.Singhs (ed.), Tribal Movement in India, Vol.2, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1983, p. 3.

was the experience of the first elections held in 1937 under the Government of India Act of 1935. The Congress swept the polls. This provided the required stimulus to the tribals to form the Adivasi Mahasabha. It commanded a larger political base, and possessed pan tribal compositions and objectives. Two other factors which influenced the formation of the Mahasabha were the Bengali-Bihari controversy and the Muslim League politics. The Bengalis felt that their interests were not safe in Bihar and therefore, they should combine with the tribals to form a separate state. The Muslim League in the mid 1940s supported the idea of forming a corridor passing through the tribal areas to link the proposed areas which would constitute East and West Pakistan. They sympathized with and provided financial support to the Adivasi Mahasabha.

The Mahasabha was led by professional political workers some of them highly educated and articulate. It did not demand merely the formation of a sub-state but complete separation from Bihar. A series of violent incidents occurred during this period which underlined the militant nature of the movements. It remained outside the mainstream of nationalist politics and freedom movement. The Adivasi Mahasabha, however, was routed by the Congress in the elections held in 1946. The link with the Muslim League was broken and also the Bengali-Bihari controversy tapered off.⁹

9. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

The Adivasi Mahasabha finally became a fullfledged political party i.e. the Jharkhand party in 1949; which won all the 32 reserved seats of South Bihar in the first general election, but after its merger with the Congress party in 1963, it lost much of its dynamism. This impelled the growth of a new phase of the movement dominated by the radical groups which formed the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha headed by Shibu Soren, a militant Santhal leader. In the meanwhile, various other groups also emerged which greatly intensified the thrust towards a separate Jharkhand state.

Objectives of the Study

The main concern of this study is to analyse the nature of parties and politics in the Jharkhand area of Bihar from 1977 to 1992. In other words, rise and growth of Jharkhand movement and its association with various political parties is the focus of this study. This is a significant period in the history of Jharkhand movement because it gave a new lease of life as all prominent national political organization started taking more interest in the politics of Jharkhand. The objectives of this analysis are:

- (1) To examine the factors responsible for the emergence of radical groups/parties in the Jharkhand area of Bihar.

- (2) To examine the nature of political movements and strategies employed by them to obtain their goals and objectives.
- (3) To examine the relationship between groups/parties and the state vis-a-vis the response of the state to the regional aspirations of Jharkhandis.

The main arguments which emerges from this analysis is that the radicalization of politics of Jharkhand began with the emergence of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. This encouraged the expansion of the the social base of the movement. As a result, mainstream national political parties started taking more interest in Jharkhand politics. This was also the era of coalition politics in Jharkhand leading to the emergence of more radical groups like All Jharkhand Students Union and also the active involvement of intellectuals and students gave a new and invaluable support to the entire movement.

The Method and Structure

The methods used in this work are historical and analytical. This study is based on some primary sources, but mainly secondary sources which includes party documents, books, journals, magazines, newspapers and other relevant sources.

The study is divided into three chapters each dealing with a significant aspect of parties and politics in the Jharkhand region of Bihar.

The first chapter covers the nature of politics in the Jharkhand region of Bihar from 1947 to 1976. The emergence of Jharkhand Party as a political organization representing a modern and secular outlook of the tribal politics. The party adopted constitutional means to fight for its goal of a separate Jharkhand state . It emerged as a major party in 1952 and 1957 elections. But it could not sustain its initial successes and finally with its merger with the Congress party in 1963, broke into various factions . The politics of split became the order of the day. The emergence of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in 1973 was a positive political development in the Jharkhand area. During the initial period the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) projected itself as a radical Marxist Party fighting against internal colonialism. The involvement of non-tribals with the JMM helped immensely in broadening the base of the Jharkhand movement.

The second chapter focusses on the nature of politics in the Jharkhand region from 1977 onwards. Following a statement made by late Jai Prakash Narayan about the advisability of the formation of small states and also by the Union Home Minister Charan Singh about the reorganization of states, various parties in Bihar demanded a separate state for the Chotanagpur and Santhal

paraganas. Coalition politics was the hallmark of this period. JMM no longer remained a radical Marxist party. This chapter also covers the role of youth, students and intellectuals in the politics of Jharkhand.

The last chapter deals with the response of the State to the aspirations of the Jharkhandi people. Whenever a strong movement has emerged in the Jharkhand region, the ruling elites of this country through repressive State apparatus have sabotaged the movement of the tribals. Control over the rich mineral resources in the Jharkhand region has been the sole concern of successive governments.

Chapter - I

POLITICS IN JHARKHAND (1947-1976)

Era of Popularity and Decline of the Jharkhand party

Politics of Merger and Splits

Reconsolidation and Radicalisation of Politics

Chapter - I

POLITICS IN JHARKHAND (1947-1976)

Democratic politics promoted the growth of an articulate and effective political elite in several tribal areas. Politics has emerged as the principal avenue through which the tribals attempted to find solutions to their manifold problems which have persisted in one form or another through the centuries. The tribals through political actions. i.e., membership of political parties, participation in rallies, demonstration, voting, petitioning, marches, spontaneous revolts, armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, seek to change the social and political order. They have evolved local political institutions as a shield to protect their social, cultural and economic interests. They have also used elections and elected representatives to the state assemblies and Parliament to achieve their demands. In short they have used both parliamentary and non-parliamentary methods of struggle.¹

The tribals of Jharkhand were markedly influenced by the process of political awakening in the post independence period. The democratic forms of politics at various levels, developmental programme, preferential treatment to

1. Joel.S. Migdal, Peasant Politics and Revolution: Pressures Towards Political and Social Change in Third World, London, 1974, pp.1-30.

the tribal areas were responsible for promoting an altogether new social and political orientation of the tribal leadership. The emergence of the Jharkhand Party in 1950 represented the new and secular outlook of the tribal leadership. Majority of the tribal leaders were highly educated and settled in urban areas like Ranchi and Jamshedpur. In the changed circumstances, the Jharkhand Party made new adjustments: the party adopted constitutional means to fight for its goal of a separate Jharkhand State, and the concept of Jharkhand was enlarged to include the bordering tribal areas of Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.²

Era of Popularity and Decline of the Jharkhand Party

The first general election of 1952 marked the newly acquired popularity of the Jharkhand Party. It captured 32 seats in the Bihar State Assembly and 5 in the Lok Sabha. Through the achievement in this election, it became the main opposition party in the Bihar Legislative Assembly, and so it was in a position of strength to bargain with the government and clinch the issue in its favour.³ Not surprisingly the Jharkhand Party after its success in the first general election, raised the demand for a separate Jharkhand state. This was backed by the

2. Kumar Suresh Singh, "From Ethnicity to Regionalism- A case study of Tribal Politics and Movement in Chotanagpur (1900-1975)", in S.C. Malik (ed) Dissent, Protest and Reforms in Indian Civilisation, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1977, p. 322.

3. Ibid., pp.331-33.

demonstrations of the tribal men and women of Chotanagpur before the state Reorganization Commission (SRC), when it visited Ranchi in 1955. "Jharkhand Alag Prant" was the main slogan of the demonstrators. The demonstration was so far the largest taken out by the local tribals. The SRC also visited Dumaka in Santhal Paraganas, and there also they were greeted by a big demonstration.⁴ A memorandum emphasising the economic, political and cultural imperatives for the formation of a separate Jharkhand State was submitted to the SRC by the Jharkhand party. The memorandum stated that ethnically, linguistically and culturally, the tribals are distinct from the non-tribals. Besides they pleaded their claim for a separate State by arguing that the proposed Jharkhand state enjoined a certain geographical contiguity and administrative separateness. The formation of a separate State was thus claimed on administrative, economic and cultural ground for strengthening the national solidarity and achieving more and surer internal and external unity and security of the Republic of India. It was also claimed that the separation of Jharkhand is an economic and administrative necessity. The people of Jharkhand have a very strong desire for a clearer expression of their local individuality, which is different from the plains in origin, history, and land tenure. It further stated that history has amply shown that Jharkhand's will never develop until Jharkhand is dissociated from Bihar and created a separate state. But the Commission rejected the demand on the

4. Upjit Singh Rekhi, Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, Nunes Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, p. 152.

point that since multiplicity of languages persisted in the area, the claim for a single linguistic state was not tenable.⁵

Despite the rise in the number of votes polled by the Jharkhand Party in 1957 general election, the number of seats bagged by it in the Bihar State Assembly did not increase.⁶ Jharkhand Party retained its bloc of 32 seats. It lost some safe seats reserved for scheduled tribes but made up the loss in general constituencies.⁷ Though the party won a majority of the reserved seats, its influence was beginning to decline. It captured 65.6 percent of the reserved seats. The Congress gained some more of the reserved seats as compared to the previous election. Some independents candidates also appeared on the scene.⁸ For Lok Sabha, the Jharkhand party fielded 14 candidates but only six of them were elected.⁹ On the whole, the period between 1952-57 was in many ways, the peak period for the Jharkhand Party. It remained a major party in Chotanagpur and Santhal paraganas region. It displayed remarkable unity, laid

5. K.L.Sharma, "Jharkhand Movement in Bihar", Economic and Political Weekly, 10 January 1976, p. 38.

6. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

7. Shashisekhar Jha, Political Elite in Bihar, Vora & Co., Bombay, 1972, p. 57.

8. Sachchidananda, Tribal Voters in Bihar, National Book House, New Delhi, 1976, p. 16.

9. Shiv Lal, Lok Sabha Elections since 1952, New Delhi, 1978, p. 12.

down the law in the Jharkhand region, and it could mobilize thousands of people and take out mammoth processions at short notices.¹⁰

But the Jharkhand Party started declining in the late fifties and early sixties. The non-fulfillment of their demand for a separate state led to a feeling of frustration and disillusionment among the tribals. Even the prominent tribal leaders seemed to have lost the bargaining power thus losing their credibility among the tribal masses. In the third general election held in 1962, the strength of Jharkhand Party declined further and it was reduced to 20 seats in the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The number of votes polled by it fell down to 4.67 lakhs as against 7.6 lakhs in 1957.¹¹ It secured only 59 percent of the reserved seats. The Congress also suffered heavy losses. It secured only 9 percent of the seats. Swantantra party in which Janata Party had merged made a good start. It won 19.75 percent of the reserved seats. Among the rest, three went to Samyukta Socialist Party and one to the Communist Party.¹² In the third Lok Sabha the Jharkhand Party could win only 3 candidates which showed its waning popularity.¹³

10. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 322.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

12. Sachchidananda, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

13. Shashisekhar Jha, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

Politics of Merger and Splits

After the third general election period there were strong moves in the Congress Party as well as the Jharkhand Party to consider the proposal for coming close to each other in one way or the other. These moves culminated in the merger of the Congress Party - Jharkhand party in 1963. The processes was initiated by Jaipal Singh and Pandit Binodanand Jha, the Chief Minister of Bihar. Significantly enough there was not a single public meeting held to assess the adivasi public opinion about it.¹⁴ The hard core element within the Jharkhand Party, who were keen to maintain a separate political identity did not support the merger. One of the prominent important consequences of the merger was that it created confusion among the rank and file of the party. This also led to the breaking up of the unified political organization of the tribals. Numerous groups and parties emerged to fill the vacuum created by the removal of the Jharkhand party as a result of the merger. But this situation did not last very long. On 28 December 1967, the All India Jharkhand Party led by Bagun Sumbrui was formed. One of its first acts was to declare the merger with the Congress Party

14. L.P. Vidyarthi and K.N.Sahay, Dynamics of Tribal Leadership in Bihar, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1976, pp. 98-99.

unconstitutional and void as it was not approved by the general body the party.¹⁵

In the 1967 general election, the Jharkhand leaders suffered the consequences of the of the anti-Congress wave. Various splinter groups of the erstwhile Jharkhand Party contested the election as independents. S.K. Bage who was made a minister in the place of Jaipal Singh by the Chief Minister K.B. Sahay, forfeited his security deposit and many other tribal leaders lost their seats. Even Jaipal Singh narrowly escaped the defeat in the election. A number of leaders of old Jharkhand who had not joined the Congress were more popular with the masses. Of the 29 reserved seats, 24 percent were won by them. The Congress held the largest share with 48 percent and Jana Sangh secured 17% of the seats. Socialist and Swantantra Parties also won three seats.¹⁶

After the fourth general elections had decimated the party, many attempts were made to unify the factions. But a further split could not be averted despite these efforts. The All India Jharkhand Party led by Bagun Sumbrui began to split up again during 1969-70 which led to the formation of the Jharkhand Party led by N.E. Horo. But before this split a major split in the old Jharkhand Party

15. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 325.

16. Sachchidananda, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.

led to the formation of Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand Party by Justin Richard in 1968. This split led to the separation of Santhali from Chotanagpuri tribals.¹⁷

In the mid term election of 1969, the influence of the Congress was restricted to a great extent by the Hul Jharkhand and Jharkhand Parties. The seats won by the Congress was reduced to 34.5 percent. The Jana Sangh appeared as a potential rival by winning 17 percent of seats. Independent candidates secured 14 percent of the seats. Jharkhand and Hul Jharkhand won equal number of seats (13.79%). Socialist and Swantantra Parties secured one seat each.¹⁸

Personal differences and rivalries among the leaders once again led to the emergence of a breakaway faction which called itself the Progressive Hul Jharkhand Party in 1972.¹⁹ The sorry state of affairs among various Jharkhand groups and their leaders helped Congress to win in the 1972 elections. About 59 percent of the 29 reserved seats went to the Congress. The number of successful independent candidates swelled to 24 percent. The position of Jharkhand and

17. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 325.

18. Sachchidananda, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

19. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 326.

Hul Jharkhand went down. Only 10.3 percent and 3.4 percent of seats were secured by these parties respectively.²⁰

After the fourth general elections, when though the objective conditions for the sustenance of the movement were present and there were spurts and growth of the movement, there was no unified political instrument for the achievement of its goals. The structure of the Jharkhand Party had been fragmented: the parent body had broken into smaller parties formed by tribal sub-ethnic groups. 'The Jharkhand was like a splintered glass. There was a movement but no composite party'.²¹

The fragmentation of the party and factionalisation of politics proved itself as a blessing in disguise in the sense that it intensified radicalism. The language of the pamphlets issued by different groups, the nature of the demands, the mobilization of the people through processions and demonstration were not in the least affected. In fact the processions were larger and the demands became more strident.

The industrial policy adopted after independence had given boost to the exploitation the of vast resources like Bauxite, Aluminum, Manganese, Iron

20. Sachchidananda, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

21. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 323.

ore, coal etc and this process led to the establishment of large industries in different parts of tribal areas in Jharkhand. Thus a number of industries such as Steel Plants at Jamshedpur, Bokaro, Rourkela, Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi etc. were established. These industries displaced people enmasse from their habitat and occupations. A conservative estimate indicated that about 20 lakh people were displaced due to establishment of industries in the past and out of these only 6.5 lakh could be rehabilitated.²² These people were forced to sacrifice their interests and sentiments attached to their traditional villages, homes and lands in larger interest of the society and nation. Industrialization may have proved to be good for the nation, but as far as the tribals were concerned it proved to be disastrous creating several problems in the process of their readjustment in the new environment.

There was a distinct radicalization of politics which came as a result of the insertion of the agrarian factor in the tribal situation. The agrarian issue was not taken up by the Jharkhand Party. There was a massive alienation of tribals from their lands and traditional occupation. The tribals have been deprived of their lands not only through alienation but also through acquisition of lands for public use and displacement, especially in the mining areas and other

22. J.C. Das, Walter Fernandes and Sam Rao, "The Extent and the prospect of Displacement", Social Action, 38(3), 1988, p. 274.

industrial concerns.²³ Construction of industrial complexes resulted in the displacement of tribals from their land, but as a matter of irony their absorption into industrial culture was slow. Though there was some development in the tribal regions, it was on a smaller scale than elsewhere, and it could not match the growing aspirations of the new generation of the tribal community. The industrialization that has occurred, has been of little benefit to the majority of local people. Instead it has made large numbers of local people more determined to resist the intrusion of an expanding group of outsiders.²⁴

Reconsolidation and Radicalisation of Politics

The influence of the Naxalite movement, infiltration of extremist elements in tribal organization and the entry of the leftist parties in the region was largely responsible for the radicalization of politics in the Jharkhand region in a big way. Of late, Chotanagpur as elsewhere, witnessed a series of movements spearheaded by the younger generation of tribals, youth and students which made an important landmark in the history of tribal politics in Bihar. The rise of

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23. Mathew, Areeparampil, "Industries, Mines and Dispossession of Indigenous People: The case of Chotanagpur", Social Action, 38 (3), July-September, 1988, pp. 236-241.

24. Stuart Corbridge, "Perversity and Ethno-regionalism in Tribal India: the Politics of Jharkhand", Political Geography Quarterly, 6 (3), July 1987, p. 228.

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urban pressure group based mainly at Ranchi and Jamshedpur marked the radicalization of tribal politics. Birsa Seva Dal (BSD) was formed some time in 1967 by a group of young men named Lalitkujur, Premkujur, Pius Lakra, Moses Guria and others, which was said to be an independent organization engaged in uniting the Adivasis in a well knit and socially conscious organization in order to work for their moral, mental and economic upliftment. Violent methods of struggle to secure tribal rights were advocated.²⁵

Behind BSD's formation there were two influences at work. First, the missionaries of different denominations were shocked by the fragmentation of political structure of the Jharkhand Party and were dismayed at the erosion of Christian leadership as revealed by the election results. Therefore a new organization to safeguard the interest of the urban and educated tribals. Secondly, the extremist element seeking to establish a base of their influence and operation in the tribal region managed to influence the BSD ideology, programmes and methods considerably.²⁶

Violent methods of struggle to secure tribal rights marked their mode of operation. Meetings procession of youth armed with bows and arrows, gheraos

25. L.P. Vidyarthi and K.N. Sahay, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

26. Kumar Suresh Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 326.

and celebrations of the Birsa Day were the forms of mobilization. BSD demanded creation of a separate state, expulsion of the non-Chotanagpuris, agrarian reforms and measures against money landers, series of violent incidents involving grabbing of urban land, clashes between tribals and non-tribal outsiders were reported at regular intervals. After 1969, as the influence of the CPM(L) and the missionaries waned, BSD pledged itself to play a constitutional role and adopted a peaceful method of struggle. This organization almost ceased to exist after sometime.²⁷

The Naxalite movement started in the heavily forested regions of Chotanagpur in 1969. The movement continued for two years. There were 183 incidents involving murder, dacoity, bomb explosions and violent clashes. By the middle of 1971 the Naxalite activity was contained, and their topmost leaders arrested, and party headquarters liquidated by the state.²⁸

Further radicalization on a broader scale started with the formation of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) on February 4, 1973 backed by the merger of Sonat Santhal Samaj led by Shibu Soren and Shivaji Samaj led by Binod Bihari Mahto. A.K. Roy of Marxist Coordination Committee was another important leader responsible for its formation. During the initial period JMM projected

27. Ibid., p. 328.

28. Ibid., p. 328.

itself as a radical Marxist party fighting against internal colonialism. The formation of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) was a significant development on two counts. Firstly, it catered to the needs of the mining and industrial labour and secondly, it made a headway into a non-tribal (mainly kurmi-Mahtos) population which so far was lukewarm to the cause of the Jharkhand.²⁹

The Morcha combined in its operations elements of agrarian radicalism and cultural revivalism. It demanded a separate state but a state free from class exploitation. The leaders promised to make Jharkhand the first Lalkhand (*red state*) in India.³⁰ JMM decided to recover alienated lands from moneylenders and big peasants in Sanathal Paragana and North Chotanagpur. More than hundred cases of land-riots and violent clashes were reported from the region. The ancient practice of tribal self government was partially revived. The "Baisi" (assembly) was revived in Santhal programmes without pleaders or court fees to deliver simple justice to the local people. Traditional collective farming on common lands was also reintroduced in some areas.³¹

29. R.D.Munda, "The Jharkhand Movement: Retrospect and Prospect", Social Change, June 1988, p. 30.

30. A.K. Roy, Jharkhand Aur Lalkhand (Hindi), Marxist Coordination Committee, Dhanbad, 1981, p. 54.

31. Kumar Suresh Singh, "Tribal Autonomy Movement in Chotanagpur" in K.S.Singh (ed.), Tribal Movements in India, Vol. II, Manohar Publications, Delhi, 1983, pp. 12-13.

It was during that period under the leadership of JMM, the tribal peasants, landless peasants and industrial workers jointly started a popular movement against exploitation on the following forms:³²

1. To recover lands illegally taken away from the tribals by the moneylenders.
2. To obtain employment for the local tribals in public undertakings established in Jharkhand.
3. To get proper compensation for the lands taken from the tribals for big projects.
4. To agitate against the anti people forest policies adopted by the Government.
5. To fight for the formation of Jharkhand state for the downtrodden people of the region for their living with prosperity and dignity.

Gradually the Morcha expanded its base in Dhanbad - Jharia Coal field belts with the help of A.K. Roy of Marxist Coordination Committee by bringing together the mining and industrial labourers and the peasants on a common platform. It was for the first time in the history of Jharkhand movement that the Morcha projected some non-tribal leaders like A.K.Roy, Binod Bihari Mahto, K.C. Chatterjee and others to shed its typical tribal character in order to broaden

32. Victor Das, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

the base of the movement and gain sympathy from the non tribal population of the Jharkhand region.³³

The railway strike in May 1974 strengthened the worker-peasant unity in the Jharkhand region. Many railway workers who were forced out of their quarters in Dhanbad and Gomoh took shelter with the peasants and colliery workers. The nationalization of the coal mines was another factor which strengthened worker-peasant unity.³⁴ After nationalization, criminalisation in the collieries had greatly increased and worker and peasants came closer to fight it.

The 1974-75 harvest was marked by a large number of clashes and the peasants intensified their struggle against the landlords and money lenders. At the same time, the leaders of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha started with many Constructive programmes. Schools, called 'akil akharas' (literally, 'gymnasia for the mind') were opened in many villages. The villages were running their own courts and in many places the peasants had stopped paying rent to the landlords and revenue to the government. In many villages moneylenders were punished after being tried/judged in "people's courts". The police dared not

33. Arunabha Ghosh, "Probing the Jharkhand Question," Economic and Political Weekly, 4 May 1991, p.1177.

34. Arvind Narayan Das, "Struggle of workers and Tribal Peasants in Chotanagpur", Economic and Political Weekly, March 1, 1975, p. 386.

enter several areas. And the movement had started spreading to the adjoining areas in Santhal Paraganas and the neighbouring districts of West Bengal.

During the emergency period the bogey of Naxalism was raised and thus the paramilitary forces viz, the BSF, the CRPF and the Bihar Military Police (BMP) were sent into the Jharkhand region to contain the peoples movement. Binod Bihari Mahato and Shibu Soren were put behind the bars under "Maintenance of Internal Security Act" (MISA).³⁵ Thereafter the movement remained quiet for some time.

The political movement for creation of a separate state of Jharkhand went through many phases. The Jharkhand party under the charismatic leadership of Jaipal Singh emerged as a force to reckon with in the Jharkhand region of Bihar which was also marked by a very high level of tribals participation in the movement as well as the electoral process. But the charisma of Jaipal Singh and also the influence of the Jharkhand party started declining once the State Reorganisation Commission rejected the tribal's demand for creation of a separate state of Jharkhand. And finally with the merger of the Jharkhand party with the Congress in 1963 the politics of splits and factions become the order of the day. The fragmentation of the Jharkhand party helped other political parties

35. Ibid.

like the Swatantra party, the Jansangh and the Communist party to a make inroads into the Jharkhand politics. Another distinct feature was the emergence of radical groups and parties which aimed at consolidation and radicalisation through intensification and broadening of the social base of the movement. This is to say that the emergence of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha gave a new orientation to the Jharkhand movement by incorporating into its charter of demand the cultural, agrarian and economic issues. The tribals, peasants and industrial workers shared a common platform in their struggle against various kinds of exploitation which were prevalent in the Jharkhand region. Thus we can categorise this phase (1947-1976) as a phase of popularity, consolidation and radicalisation in the history of Jharkhand movement.

Chapter - II

ERA OF COALITION POLITICS (1977-1992)

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ERA OF COALITION POLITICS (1977-1992)

From 1976 onward the movement for a separate Jharkhand state assumed a new form. It functioned now on a united front basis. This united front comprised a wide assortment of groups ranging from the Horo led Jharkhand party, MCC, JMM, CPIML (Sinha group), Jharkhand Muslim Morcha, Hul-Jharkhand Party to the Revolutionary Socialist Party. The United Front was dominated by about 20 leaders all of whom were important and influential in their respective areas. The main feature of this period was the further involvement of the masses in the movement. The movement under United Front focussed on two dimensions: (a) political battle for the Jharkhand state, and (b) economic war against the exploiters. In this period none of the constituent organizations of the front were in a hurry to get a separate state. The purpose of the movement was to organise the oppressed masses in the mass-struggle.¹ The united agitation articulated all the forms of mass struggle from hunger strike, sit-ins, mass rallies and gheraos to conferences of intellectuals, meetings and propaganda.

1. U.S.Rekhi, Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, Nunes Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, p. 198.

The protagonist of the separate Jharkhand State kept a low profile during the JP movement in 1974. Jai Prakash Narayan himself was in favour of creating small states in India.² The General elections of 1977, held after emergency, ushered in the Janata Rule both at the Centre and the State of Bihar and saw a virtual rout of the regional forces in the Chotanagpur region. Only A.K. Roy of Marxist Coordination Committee was returned from Dhanbad. Bagun Sumbrui of the All India Jharkhand Party joined the Janata Party.³

The Janta Party regime in 1977 heralded a new era for the cause of Jharkhand as all the prominent national political organizations started taking more interest in the Jharkhand politics. Even the Communist Party of India (CPI) lent its support to the cause of the Jharkhand.⁴ Thus the otherwise dead political movement started gaining ground again since 1978. Shibu Soren, by this time, emerged as a true mass leader in Dhanbad and Santhal Paraganas. During 1978-80 he organized violent rallies and mass demonstration against moneylenders, big land holders and mafia leaders. The Jungle Bachao Andolan

2. A.P.Sharma, "The Jharkhand Movement: A Critique", Social Change, June 1988, p. 67.

3. Ibid.

4. R.D.Munda, "The Jharkhand Movement: Retrospect and Prospect" Social Change, June 1988, p. 30.

centering around the forest areas of Singhbhum, also gained ground during this time.⁵

In 1980 the Congress returned to power at the Centre. In Bihar it developed a special relationship with JMM which continued up to next general election in 1984.⁶ The alliance between JMM and the Congress party had serious repercussions in the sense that it signaled a virtual end to the militancy of Shibu Soren, who gradually distanced himself from Binod Bihari Mahato and A.K.Roy. JMM no longer remained a radical Marxist Party. Meanwhile Bagun Sumbrui, the founder of All India Jharkhand Party and Kartik Oraon the founder of Chotanagpur Development Authority, joined the Congress party. Thus, the militancy of the tribal leadership for a separate state gradually disappeared and those who preferred to stay in joined forces with the ruling party. Over the years the JMM has become a party of power and materialist minded politicians.⁷

5. Arunabha Ghosh, "Probing the Jharkhand Question", EPW, May 4, 1991, p. 1177.

6. R.D.Munda, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

7. Victor Das, Jharkhand: Castle Over the Graves, Inter India Publication, New Delhi, 1992, p. 150.

The Jharkhand Party of N.E.Horo, JMM and MCC did very badly in the 8th Lok Sabha election held in December 1984 and State Assembly election held in 1985.

The Jharkhand Party of N.E.Horo did not contest the election officially . But its leader N.E.Horo contested the Lok Sabha seat from Khunti parliamentary constituency as an independent candidate and he was defeated. The JMM fielded 10 candidates for this election and all of them including Shibu Soren lost. A.K.Roy also lost from Dhanbad by a big margin of votes.⁸

Similarly in the State Assembly elections in 1985, neither Jharkhand party nor its splinter groups participated in this election. Nine candidates including (Shibu Soren) of JMM won and were elected to the State Assembly.⁹ After the elections, 52 members of the Bihar Legislative Assembly, representing the Chotanagpur region, under the leadership of Devendra Nath Champia, a tribal Congress leader, sent a joint memorandum to the Prime Minister demanding Central Administration in the Chotanagpur region.¹⁰

8. U.S. Rekhi, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

10. R.D. Munda, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

New Phase of Coordination and Militancy

A long felt need of coordinating different groups and parties working for the cause of Jharkhand led to the formation of All Jharkhand Students' Union (AJSU) in 1986 and also the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee (JCC) in 1987. The JCC called upon all the political and non-political organizations working for the betterment of the people in the Jharkhand region. The response was overwhelming. Taken together, 53 organizations, comprising intellectuals, labour, women, teachers, students, and so on became members of the JCC.¹¹

The members of the Jharkhand Coordination Committee (JCC) agreed to abide by the 23 points joint declaration, the main points of which were:¹²

- (a) To gear up the age -old movement for the reconstruction of Jharkhand and for the emancipation of her humiliated people.
- (b) To fight for autonomy in the form of a separate Jharkhand state (comprising areas where the Jharkhandi culture persists) in accordance with the provisions enshrined in the constitution of India, for the question of

11. R.D. Munda & B.P. Keshri, "Recent Development in Jharkhand Movement", India International Quarterly, Monsoon, 1992, p. 76.

12. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

Jharkhand is in essence a question of nationality. The basis of the claims for this politico-geographical territory is in its cultural continuity, geo-physical uniformity and structural oneness of its economic life-all of which differ conspicuously from its neighbouring areas.

- (c) To fight internal colonialism supported by international economic colonialism represented by multi-national investment in the Jharkhand Region, particularly in its large industrial and power projects. This is believed to be the main enemy of Jharkhand and fighting it is not going to be easy, for the enemy is powerful and so far has succeeded in keeping the people divided on the lines of caste and religion. Victory can be achieved by uniting all sections of Jharkhandis and forging unity with other movements of the oppressed peoples of the country and the world who are fighting against these same forces. This unity could be achieved through jointly undertaking programmes of common interest (e.g. demand for recognition of the Jharkhandi languages by their inclusion in the 8th Schedule of the constitution, implementation of the policy of reservation for the STs, SCs, and OBCs, implementation of the Mandal Commission Report, restoration of the alienated land belonging the Jharkhandis in general and tribal land in particular, implementation of the disbursement of minimum wages, protection against economic deprivation and sexual exploitation of Jharkhandi women, absorption of Jharkhandis in government and private undertakings, fixing of just prices for forest and agricultural produce and

rescheduling and uniform scheduling of tribes and communities presently having different status in different states). In case of internal contradictions, solutions should be sought in traditional village panchayat in the respective areas.

- (d) To organise leadership training workshops and camps from time to time to build a new generation of leaders dedicated to the cause of Jharkhand.
- (e) To publish occasional bulletins to keep its member organisations informed about the struggles of the people in different areas and to exchange ideas and share experiences.

The formation of the JCC showed instant results. It aspired to adopt a militant course. There was an unprecedented bandh on 25th September, 1987. On 31st October of the same year, a successful bandh and rail roko-rasta roko agitation was observed during which the Ranchi and Singhbhum areas were really shaken. It was followed by a rally on November 15, 1987 on Birsa Day at Ranchi which was an immense success. In a memorandum submitted to the President of India on December 10, 1987, the JCC warned that if the Jharkhand problem is not solved immediately, not only the 3.5 crores inhabitants of the tribal region would face extermination but a serious political, economic and environmental crisis would be created. "The Jharkhand problem is a question of life and death for the oppressed and exploited inhabitants of the tribal region", the

memorandum declared. Stressing that the Jharkhand movement is neither separatist nor anti-national, the memorandum says that it is basically a movement for the socio-economic liberation of the Jharkhand people.

Demanding equal opportunities for development, peoples participations in administration and protection to the weaker sections, minorities, peasants and labourers, the memorandum stressed all these are possible only if a Jharkhand state is formed.

The agitational process continued as the government did not come out with any concrete proposal to solve the Jharkhand problem. During the 72 hours "Jharkhand Bandh" called on April 21, 1989 by the All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU), the Jharkhand activists could succeed in disrupting normal life and damaging railway property because of the sheer complacency of the state administration and its political leadership.¹³ On 14 May 1989, the JMM decided to ask all its MLA's to resign from the Bihar Assembly.¹⁴ When this threat coupled with its boycott of talks, did not get a due response from the Congress Government at New Delhi and Patna, the JMM held a six day economic

13. Ramesh Upadhyaya, "Jharkhand: On the Boil", Frontline, Madras, June 10-23, 1989, p. 25.

14. The Statesman, New Delhi, May 15, 1989.

blockade from 9-15 June 1989 starting with a 24 hour bandh, which were marked by violence and blowing up of railway tracks.¹⁵

In the changing political scenario the JMM entered into an alliance with the Janata Dal(JD) on 8 July 1989.¹⁶ The JMM submitted a memorandum to the President of India on August 11, 1989. It demanded creation of a separate state of Jharkhand under the provision of Article 3 and clause (a) of the constitution of India. It further claimed that Jharkhand is being systematically exploited by the Government of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in the name of industrialization, modernization and development of Jharkhand. Money and population is being injected into this area to create- (1) Cultural identity problem (2) Linguistic identity problem (3) Political identity problem (4) Ecology and environment problem (5) Qualitative improvement of human resources problem (6) Pressure on land problem (7) Health problem (8) Economic problem (9) Unemployment problem and last but not the least (10) Survival problem for the aboriginals of the Jharkhand identity. So for the survival of the four crore people of the Jharkhand and their Jharkhandi identity, the creation of Jharkhand state is essential.

15. Ibid., June 10, 1989.

16. Patriot, New Delhi, July 9, 1989.

Meanwhile, in the 9th Lok Sabha elections of November 1989 and the subsequent Assembly Elections of February 1990, the JMM emerged as the strongest Jharkhand group in tribal Bihar. It captured three Lok Sabha seats and 19 assembly seats in Bihar. Interestingly, the Bhartiya Janata Party which won 39 assembly seats, got 21 of them from tribal Bihar alone.¹⁷

The emergence of Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) as a strong force in the Chotanagpur area, after the 9th Lok Sabha Election held in November 1989 and subsequent State Assembly Election of February 1990, influenced the JMM up to such an extent that in a major policy shift it accepted the proposal of BJP to confine the agitation for a separate state to the geographical boundaries of Chotanagpur and Santhal Paragnas of Bihar only. A Jharkhand Vananchal Action Committee was formed at a meeting held at Patna on July 19, 1990, with Shibu Soren as the convenor of the Steering Committee, having representation even from the Communist Party of India (CPI) apart from JMM and BJP.¹⁸

The mid-term general elections held in 1991 resulted in six Lok Sabha seats for the JMM. In the weeks following the tenth Lok Sabha polls, leaders of the JMM faced wide spread rebellion among their rank and file over the issue of

17. Arunabha Ghosh, "Probing the Jharkhand Question", Economic and Political Weekly, May 4, 1991, p. 1178.

18. The Statesman, New Delhi, July 21, 1990.

"sell out". It was charged that three parliamentary seats of Koderma, Hazaribagh and Ranchi" were bartered away to the ruling Janata Dal or more precisely to Laloo Prasad Yadav, and proceeds of the "sale" went into the pockets of the JMM President Shibu Soren and the Legislature Party Leader Suraj Mandal".¹⁹

The JMM which almost split into two over the induction of former Union Minister of State for Home, Subodh Kant Sahay, into its fold , could not challenge Laloo Prasad Yadav's refusal to agree to the demand of a seprate Jharkhand State . Krishna Mardi, the leader of the rival faction which included 9 MLA'S and 2 MP'S made it clear to support the Janata Dal Government headed by Laloo Prasad Yadav.²⁰ The split in the JMM was finally formalized on August5 1992, following a long war of attrition between the two factions, one led by Shibu Soren and the other by Krishna Mardi and R.K.Mahto.²¹

Announcement by the Union Home Minister S.B.Chavan regarding the possibility of creating a separate state,²² though denied by S.B. Chavan himself,

19. Tribune, Chandigarh, July 21, 1991.

20. Deccan Herald, Bangalore, July 5, 1992.

21. Patriot, New Delhi, August 22, 1992.

22. Times of India, New Delhi, September 9, 1992.

galvanized various Jharkhand groups and parties into action once again. This was marked by stir, blockades, bandhs and large scale violence. The central government on its part agreed for an autonomous council status and rejected the demand for creation of a seprate Jharkhand state.

Thus we see that coalition politics became a hallmark of the Jharkhand politics from 1977 onwards. Coalition politics had positive as well as negative fallout as far as politics in Jharkhand is concerned. The main positive outcome was that the political expediency of various political parties and the broad mass based movement received recognition and attention during this period. But at the same time, the otherwise strong political movement could not be sustained for a longer period of time because of lack of organizational unity, personal ambition, perseverance and ideological coherence among various Jharkhandi groups. As such Jharkhand remains a divided house despite the fact that this period was marked by expansion, self-search, reconstruction and ideological maturity of the political movement for creation of a separate Jharkhand state. The rising influence of the parties like the Janata Dal, the BJP and the Congress has further marginalised the already divided Jharkhandi groups and parties upto such an extent that the non-tribals have started playing a major role in the politics of Jharkhand.

Chapter - III

RESPONSE OF THE STATE

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RESPONSE OF THE STATE

The central government as well as the state government of Bihar have not supported the aspirations of the Jharkhandi people. Over the years both the central and the state governments have followed a policy of divide and rule. Whenever a strong movement has emerged in the Jharkhand region, the ruling elites through repressive state apparatus have sabotaged the tribal movement. Control over the rich mineral resources in the Jharkhand region was the sole concern of the successive governments. The

The Adivasi Mahasabha Movement (1938-50) compelled the government to recognise the problems of the tribals in Jharkhand region which resulted in the enactment of the Scheduled Area Order 1950 which provided several administrative measures for the 'control and good government' in the areas in which the Scheduled Tribe resides and which has been declared by the President of India to be a Scheduled Area under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Further during 1950-70, the government enacted the following measures to address the problem of the tribals in Jharkhand region of Bihar. These were:

- a) The Bihar Scheduled Area Regulation (1969) to further stop land alienation among the tribes of Bihar.

- b) The Bihar Tribes Advisory Council (1951).
- c) The Chotanagpur Santhal Pargana Autonomous Development Authority (1971).

New measures were formulated during 1972-86. These were:

- (a) Tribal Sub-Plan (1972) , and
- (b) Revival of the defunct Bihar Tribes Advisory Council in 1984 which was further reconstituted again in 1985.

The Regulation Act of 1969 benefitted the tribals. But a closer examination of the Act shows that this has only vitiated the good features of Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act of 1949, the main aim of which was to preserve the non-transferable character of the land. The Regulation Act increased the tendency of the non-tribals to grab tribal lands by erecting substantial structures because this Act ultimately helped in regularizing this transfer. After passing of this Regulation Act of 1969, the defacto transfer of land on the basis of oral agreement between the transferor and the transferee became very common. There has been a continuous game of hide and seek going on between the government and the non-tribal people, the non-tribals in their never ending ingenuity have discovered novel methods of defeating governmental measures.¹

1. M.P.Pandey, Land Records and Agrarian Situation in Bihar, Naya Prakash, Calcutta, 1980, p. 60.

The legislative Acts and executive orders devised to prevent land alienation contain many loopholes, with the result the problem has persisted in some form or the other over the years. In spite of the efforts by the State Government to protect the rights of the tribals in land, illegal alienation of land has taken place because of:

- (1) inadequate legislations ,regulations and their defective implementation, and
- (2) coercion and fraud by the non -tribals to gain illegal possession of the tribal land.²

The Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his Report (1969-70) pointed out that the relief which should have been given to the tribals from the government to prevent land alienation did not reach them actually. The weakness existed in the Acts themselves. The organizations which could have helped the tribal communities in securing relief were few and far.

The SC/ST Commission Report(1978-79) pointed out that in Santhal Parganas the police was hand in glove with dominant Brahmin landlords in perpetrating atrocities on the Santhal tribals. Santhals were so afraid of police that they even do not go to the police station to register complaints of

2. Ratna Murdia, "Land Allotment and Land Alienation", Economic and Political Weekly, August 9, 1975, p. 1213.

exploitation and atrocities. It has become a common phenomenon in this region that after each clash between the tribals and non-tribals, Central Reserve Police (CRP) and Bihar Military Police(BMP) is deployed which conducts so called 'Combing-Operations' to arrest the accused tribal in the night without proper legal warrants and in that process beat the tribals, rape the tribal women folk and sometimes their household are also taken away.

During Janata rule when the tribals had organized themselves on a large scale against economic exploitation, the government in order to liquidate the movement in Jharkhand region pursued its well tested policy of annihilation and assimilation. On the one hand, it packed the Jharkhand region with CRPF, BSF and BMP and gave them a free hand to firmly deal with the tribals , to use the Chief Minister's phrase, "with anti-social and anti-national elements", and on the other, it set up three autonomous development authorities for North Chotanagpur, South Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas whose chairmen were the Janata Party leaders, and who openly backed the demand for a separate Jharkhand State.

While the policy of assimilation succeeded to some extent, it miserably failed to satisfy the masses and their leaders. For them the state let loose its armed forces which literally used their weapons, attacked villages, arrested

hundreds of tribals, plundered villages and humiliated defenseless tribal women folk.³

Apart from the political movement spearheaded by various Jharkhandi political organizations, there were other movements against social, cultural, religious and economic exploitation. In all these cases, the state government used the most brutal methods to smash the agitation. Hundreds of tribal huts in remote forest villages were demolished or burnt. Thousands of fake forest cases were lodged involving more than 5000 innocent tribals and numerous tribal women were sexually molested and the police opened fire several times-as many as 18 times in Singhbhum district alone between 1978 and 1985 killing many tribals.⁴

According to the SC/ST Commission Report(April 1983 - March 1984) total cases of atrocities against the tribals in Bihar in the year 1983 was 115 which included 9 cases of murder, 10 cases of violence, 12 cases of rape, 14 cases of arson, and 70 other IPC offences. It was also pointed out that the meager assistance provided to the victims of atrocities does not fully compensate

3. Arun Sinha, "Containing Jarkhand Movement", Economic and Political Weekly, April 7, 1979, pp. 649-50.

4. Victor Das, "Tribal of Jharkhand and the Question of their Survival", Social Action, Oct-Dec 1989, p. 441.

the loss suffered by them and their family. The report further pointed out that there were 200 cases of atrocities against tribals in Bihar in the year 1979 which was followed by 101 cases in 1980, 174 cases in 1981, and 85 cases of atrocities in 1982.

The Report of the National Commission for SC/ST (April 1990) observed that incidence of crime against members of the scheduled tribes in Bihar during 1981-1986 were 15.02 cases per lakh scheduled tribe population. The report further pointed out that despite the most stringent enactments to stop land alienation of tribals in Bihar, the non - tribals have found illicit methods of evading the law and have acquired tribal lands on large scale which as a result has given rise to mass discontentment among the tribals in the Jharkhand region of Bihar.

The Bihar Tribes Advisory Council reconstituted in November 1985, was an improvement on the Tribes Advisory Council of 1984 as far as inclusion of adequate number of Scheduled Tribes was concerned. However it added six non tribal members, which as per the provisions of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India, only dilutes further the functioning of the Tribes Advisory Council. The same is true with the formation of the Chotanagpur Santhal Paragana Autonomous Development Authority. In fact it could even be said to

be a fraud on the Constitution as it operated under the provision of an Ordinance issued in 1981.⁵

The common weakness of both these bodies was that they were merely advisory and did not meet regularly. They met only twice between 1984 and 1988. Problems were rightly identified and the lines of action were indicated as the consequences of the first meeting but nothing came out of it as the bodies had little control at the level of execution and monitoring of programmes and actions.⁶

During the year 1988 the Congress government tried to woo the tribals through various announcements and meetings with the Jharkhandi leaders. But when the Prime Minister visited the Jharkhand region in May, 1988, the JCC organized bandhs on those days. Though the Prime Minister showed concern about the deprivation and problems of the tribals, he turned down the demand for a separate state.⁷

5. R.D. Munda, "Jharkhand Movement: Retrospect and Prospect", Social Change, June 1988, p. 36.

6. Ibid, p. 37.

7. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, May 22, 1988.

From May through August in 1989, the talks at various levels were held. At first, the JCC and AJSU took part in these talks and the JMM stayed away. But later on JMM also agreed to participate in other round of talks at Delhi which was convened on August 11, 1989.⁸

The next round of talks on Jharkhand was held on September 4, 1989 at Delhi in which the proposal for the formation of the committee on Jharkhand matters was accepted. It was decided that the three specialists - Dr. Kumar Suresh Singh, Dr. Bhupinder Singh and Mr. K.N. Prasad would prepare the draft and report would be finalized with the consent of the entire committee. Mr. B.S. Lali, joint secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, was nominated as the convenor of the Committee. It was also decided that the Committee would submit its report by October 16, 1989.⁹

The Committee on Jharkhand Matters (COJM) submitted its report by April 1990 to the Union Home Ministry whose findings were not made public; nevertheless some of its contents were reported in the press. It did not recommend the formation of a separate state. Instead it favoured the formation of a Jharkhand Development Council. The second option was to declare the

8. R.D. Munda and B.P. Keshri, "Recent developments in Jharkhand Movement", India International Centre Quarterly, Monsoon 1992, p. 78.

9. Ibid., p. 79.

region a Union territory.¹⁰ The proposal of a development council was rejected by the Jharkhand leaders who stuck to the demand of a separate state.¹¹ The centre rejected this demand. As a result, the usual tension, threats of agitation and bandhs resumed.

At the state level, the Bihar State Assembly passed a Jharkhand Vikas Parishad Bill 1991 in the monsoon session to give autonomy to the area; however, the Bill could not be moved in the upper house of the Assembly. Meanwhile the JMM also agreed to the proposed council without withdrawing its demand and struggle for statehood . In December 1991 after keeping this Bill pending for three months ,the Chief Minister of Bihar sent it to the Governor for approval.¹²

In 1992, the AJSU observed a 24 hours bandh on March 1 followed by a five day economic blockade which were marked by arson and blast.¹³ But the really effective 13 day economic blockade called by the JMM started with a 24 hour bandh on March 21, 1992. This blockade was more violent than all the

10. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 5, 1990.

11. Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, August 8, 1990.

12. The Hindu, New Delhi, December 10, 1991.

13. The Telegraph, Calcutta, March 2, 1992.

previous ones and brought the Central Government to its knees.¹⁴ It was called off on March 31, 1992 after the Union Home Minister placed the summary of the COJM's report in the Parliament and promised to start negotiation with the concerned states.¹⁵ But nothing came out of the various meetings which were held after the blockade was suspended. The Bihar government upheld its own interpretation of the COJMs report and reiterated its stand on the powers and jurisdiction of the proposed Jharkhand Development council. The Chief Ministers from other states did not accept Jharkhand's claim on the districts in their states and flatly refused to part with any of their territory.¹⁶

The Congress government at the centre as well as the Janata Dal government headed by Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar tried their best to split the JMM legislative Party. The Bihar CM proved smarter and just when the JMM withdrew its support from the ruling Janata Dal it was split right down the middle in August 1992. One part headed by Shibu Soren was left with 4 MPs and 10 MLAs while the other faction led by Krishna Mardi Comprised 2 MPs and 9 MLAs. The latter continued its support to the Janata Dal government.¹⁷

14. The Times of India, New Delhi, March 23, 1992.

15. The Times of India, New Delhi, March 29, 1992.

16. The Statesman, New Delhi, April 2, 1992.

17. Patriot, New Delhi, August 22, 1992.

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The shaken JMM (Soren) responded to the break-up by turning militant and announced an economic blockade starting from September 2, 1992. The Congress government took an initiative to start talks on the issue on August 24, 1992. The talks failed as the AJSU, JPP, JMM and Bihar government did not participate. The Bihar Chief Minister, instead, announced tough measures to tackle the economic blockade. Anyway on the assurance of S.B. Chavan the blockade call was withdrawn by the JMM(S).¹⁸ The Union Home Minister S.B. Chavan made a statement about the possibility of forming a separate State or Union Territory for Jharkhand¹⁹ which was later on denied by none other than S.B. Chavan himself and the subsequent strong opposition to it by the Bihar Chief Minister once again very clearly proved the real intention of the ruling elites of this Country towards the genuine aspirations of the Jharkhandis i.e. divide and rule.

Thus once again various Jharkhandi groups have been forced to take a backseat as far as the fate of the Jharkhand region and its people are concerned. It has also been proved beyond doubt that the government will not hesitate to resort to any means - fair or foul to contain/suppress the peoples movement in the Jharkhand region of Bihar as it serves their (ruling elites) interests very well

18. Patriot, New Delhi, August 27, 1992.

19. The Times of India, New Delhi, September 9, 1992.

and at the same time the successive governments have kept the issue alive by aligning with the pro-Jharkhand political forces to gain and maintain control at the Centre. Finally what can be said is that whether a separate state of Jharkhand is created or not one cannot and should not overlook the genuine grievances of the people of Jharkhand region. The problem of economic underdevelopment along with that of cultural submergence has to be understood in two different planes. The Jharkhand question is not merely an economic one, it has its psychological and political aspects too. The fear of being swamped by the dominant cultural streams, the suspicion of losing one's own identity as well as the feeling of alienation from the national mainstream often leads to movements of self-assertion, which demand sympathetic consideration but certainly do not deserve contempt or negligence.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Today the Jharkhand movement is fragmented and divided into various groups and parties and has to struggle hard to maintain its distinct ideology and organizational identity. This has often been blamed on the character of tribal leadership and the divide and rule policy of the government, the weak pan-tribal ethnic consciousness etc. The Jharkhand Party led by Jaipal Singh emerged as a strong political force in the post- independence period. In the first and Second general election it won all the tribal reserved seats of Bihar State Legislative Assembly. It displayed remarkable unity and could mobilize thousands of people. But the Jharkhand party started declining from the early sixties. The non-fulfillment of their demand for a separate state led to a feeling of disillusionment among the tribal masses. Even the prominent tribal leaders of the Jharkhand Party seem to have lost the bargaining power thus loosing their credibility among the tribal masses. During this period there was a general overall decline of the activities of the Jharkhand Party. As a matter of fact, ever since the merger of the Jharkhand Party with Congress Party in 1963, the politics of splits and factionalism became a recurrent feature of Jharkhand politics which greatly undermined the movement. This also provided an opportunity to the government to exploit the situation to maintain its control

through promises of development of the region thereby neutralizing the militancy of the tribal leadership.

Though for a brief period some sort of radical and militant activities were revived by the activists of the Birsa Seva Sal (BSD) and also the Naxalites but as a matter of fact the phase of radicalization on a broader scale started with the emergence of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) which in its initial phase projected itself as a radical Marxist party struggling against internal colonialism and supported the promotion of cultural revivalism. More than hundred cases of violent clashes between the morcha activists and the moneylenders and landlords were reported in this period. Moreover in this period the forcible capture and cultivation of lands by the morcha activists were also reported. It was because of the efforts of the JMM leaders that the involvement of the non-tribals especially the Kurmi-Mahatos started, thus broadening the social base of the political movement for creation of a separate Jharkhand state.

The post 1977 phase gave a new lease of life to the cause of Jharkhand as all the prominent national political organizations took more interest in the Jharkhand region. Even the Communist Party of India (CPI) lent its support to the cause of the Jharkhand in 1978. During this period various parties came together to seek a solution of the Jharkhand problem and also to broaden and strengthen their base in the Jharkhand region. Thus the otherwise dead political

movement started gaining strength since 1978 with the Jungle Andolan Centering around the forest areas of Singhbhum.

With the Congress party coming back to power in 1980 the era of Coalition politics began in the Jharkhand region. The Congress formed an alliance with the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and it also co-opted some other prominent tribal leaders like Bagun Sumbrui and Kartik Oraon. As a result of this, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) no longer remained a radical Marxist party. This was mainly responsible for the co-option and accomodation of the Jharkand movement within the structure and ideology of the dominant classes and political parties. The coalition politics encouraged tribal leaders to work with the ruling party which in turn reduced them into weak and corrupt politicians.

The All Jharkhand Student's Union (AJSU) and the Jharkhand Coordination Committee (JCC) were pretty successful in organising cohesively the activities of different groups and parties working for the cause of the Jharkhand. These groups provided ideological and intellectual leadership, thus reviving the momentum of the political movement. They resorted to bandhs, economic blockades and mass rallies. This compelled the government to open negotiations with the Jharkhandi leaders. But several round of talks held at Patna and New Delhi did not result in the resolution of the problem mainly

because the Jharkhandi leaders insisted to their demand for a separate state of Jharkhand.

The notable feature which came into prominence during this period was the emergence of Ranchi University students and staff as one of the focal points within the movement (AJSU, JCC, etc.). This is an urban group with no base in rural areas, consequently could not mobilise and represent the interest of the rural masses. Even with regard to the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha which is the dominant force of the movement, agrarian and jungle based movements have become matters of the past. With the new found urban emphasis the movement has had to accommodate aspirations and interests of the non-tribal majority in the towns.

Thus the political movement for creation of a separate Jharkhand state as it today stands more for a regional state formation than for ethnic self-determination of tribal masses. It is concerned more with the question of administrative boundary of the proposed state rather than with the enduring issues of ethnic and class exploitation. It is also more and more preoccupied with manipulative politics within urban centres than with mobilising the tribal masses.

The response of the government over the years both at the central and State level was not very encouraging to the genuine aspirations of the Jharkhandi

people. Though the government introduced many Acts, Regulations, and various programmes and policies, these measures have not helped the tribals significantly. The central government always treated the problems of the Jharkhand region as essentially a problem of underdevelopment. But underdevelopment is only one part of the problem. This approach has not helped in resolving the Jharkhand controversy either. In fact the industrial development which has taken place so far has alienated the tribals from their lands, forest and traditional occupation and at the same time it does not provide them any new job opportunities. With more and more people coming from outside to settle down in the industrial towns of the region, Jharkhandis themselves were getting marginalised and what is more their culture and identity is threatened by the huge influx from outside.

The coercive state apparatus was used frequently to suppress the popular movements in the Jharkhand region of Bihar on various occasions. The ruling elites have also resorted to engineering splits and co-opting their leaders. This up to a great extent has succeeded in neutralizing the militancy of the Jharkhandi leaders.

Various administrative decisions such as the Committee on Jharkhand Matters (COJM), appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs in August 1989, to recommend the modalities for dealing with the aspirations of Jharkhand people

also could not settle the issue. The COJM submitted its report to the Union Home Ministry, and the Home Ministry started negotiations with the concerned States. But nothing emerged from the numerous meetings on the issue. The Bihar government defended its interpretation of the COJM's report and reiterated its stand on the powers and jurisdictions of the proposed Jharkhand Development Council, the Bill regarding this was passed by the Bihar State Assembly in 1991. The Jharkhandi leaders rejected the Development Council proposal saying that this powerless Council is not going to meet the aspirations of the people of the Jharkhand region. Thus once again the efforts ended in a stalemate.

One important development in Jharkhand politics is the induction and association of non-tribals who have sidelined and marginalised the tribal leaders and their organisations. The tribal leaders cannot compete with the enormous resources available to the Congress party, the BJP, and the Janata Dal which has compounded the ineffectiveness of the tribal leadership. In the process the tribal leaders were systematically coopted and made to take a backseat whereas on the other hand, the non-tribals had come to the centre stage in the politics of Jharkhand. All this has greatly weakened the movement and subdued its militancy.

Thus within the framework of movement from ethnicity via development towards regionalism, the Jharkhand movement has travelled a long distance in the ideological road to integration and assimilation within the dominant class and communities interests. As a result, from being a movement of tribal autonomy and identity it has been transformed into a movement for decentralised administration and for revision and demarcation of state boundaries. This perhaps is the reason that why in the recent past the central government took note of the movement and toyed with the idea of granting a semblance of autonomy to the region; and this could also be the reason that many of the national parties are speaking in terms of various kinds of state formation in the region.

The government on its own has made some attempts to find a solution to the problems of Jharkhand region. The Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) agreement signed by the Chief Minister of Bihar Laloo Prasad Yadav and the Union Minister of State for Internal Security, Rajesh Pilot on September 27, 1994, without presence of any tribal leader from Jharkhand is an instance of this initiative. The very fact that the tribal leaders were not part of the process of consultation and resolution demonstrates the dominant role of non-tribals in the politics of Jharkhand. Without any legislative, financial and administrative powers in true sense of the term, the proposed autonomous council would remain ineffective in solving the complex problems of the Jharkhand region.

Nevertheless, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) signed the accord, but other Jharkhandi organizations have so far declined to sign on the dotted line. Taking into account the fragile nature of resistance and the past record of political opportunism of various Jharkhandi organizations, it is hard to imagine how long the marginalised Jharkhandi groups would be able to resist or oppose the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC). Ultimately the non-tribals will determine and influence the course of politics of Jharkhand. The fragmentation and persistent disunity in the movement enabled the government at the Centre and state level to assume an apathetic attitude towards the just demands of the Jharkhandi people. The movement continued, sometimes taking a violent turn, but without any substantial political rewards or gains. This is not to suggest, however, that the factors giving rise to the movement have disappeared and reasons of social unrest were assimilated in the unification/assimilation process. Rather the movement of the Jharkhandi people to seek justice and fair deal will remain alive, though in a subdued form for sometime. The struggle will go on and may turn more militant in the times to come.

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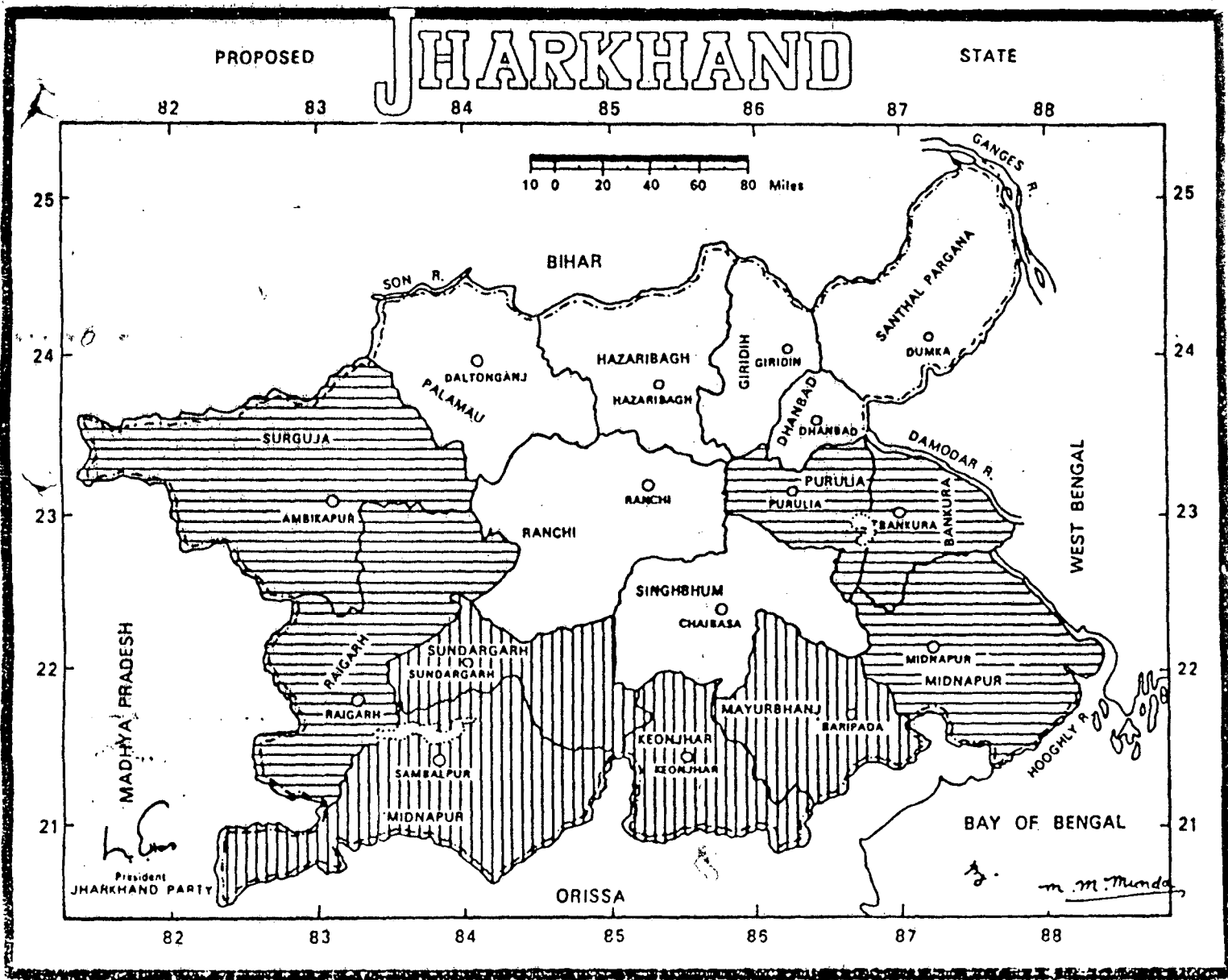
The Telegraph, Calcutta

The Times of India, New Delhi

Tribune, Chandigarh

APPENDICES

Appendix I



Appendix II

A MEMORANDUM

Presented to the State Re-organisation Commission by the Members of the Jharkhand Party in the Bihar Legislature on the question of the Formation of the State of Jharkhand within the Indian Union.

This Memorandum is presented to the States Re-organisation Commission constituted by the Government of India, by the members of the Jharkhand Party in the Bihar Legislature. The memorandum is submitted in connection with the immediate reconsideration and formation of Jharkhand within the national and constitutional framework of the Sovereign, Democratic, Republic India, by the formation of the state of "Jharkhand" comprising the Division of Chotanagar, the district of Santhal paraganas, the former Chotanagpur states, namely, Changbhakar, Jashpur, Korea, Sarguza, Udaipur, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj and other adjacent territories which can be suitably and conveniently included in the new state. In the view of the fact that Chotanagpur and Santhal paraganas and the adjacent territories form the compact and homogeneous block distinctly separated from Bihar by physical, historical and natural features, this formation is claimed on administrative, economic and cultural grounds to strengthening the national solidarity and achieving more and surer

internal and external unity and security of the Republic of India. It is claimed that the separation of Jharkhand is an economic and administrative necessity. The people of Jharkhand have a very strong desire for a clearer expression of their local individuality, differing from the plains as they largely do in origin, in history, in proclivities and in their land tenure. History has amply shown to prove that the Jharkhandis will never develop until Jharkhand is dissociated from Bihar and created a separate state.

The proposed state of Jharkhand will be enough in area, size and population to become a separate administrative state. It will have an area of about 63859 sq. miles with a population of 16367177.

Jharkhand in respect of area and population is large enough to become a separate, compact, harmonious and administrative state. This memorandum is being submitted with a strong affirmation on moral, material and cultural grounds and for peace and good Government, that Jharkhand be re-consolidated and formed into a state comprising the division of Chotanagpur, the district of Santhal paraganas, the former Chotanagpur states, viz. Changbhakar, Korea, Sarguja, Jashpur, Udaipur, Gangpur, Bhagalpur, Jammui sub-division of Monghyr district, Kawakol P.S., Govindpur P.S., Rajouli P.S., and Sherghati P.S. of gaya district, Rohtas P.S. and Adhaura P.S., in the district of Shahabad, Dudhi Tehsil and Roberts Ganj Tehsil of Mirzapur district.

We the members of the Jharkhand Party in the Bihar Legislature hereby, respectfully submit this memorandum to the State Reorganisation Commission, this day of 22nd April, 1954.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Sd/- S. Hemrom, M.L.A., Bihar | 22. | Sd/- U.L. Ho, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 2. | Sd/- S.K. Bage, M.L.A., Bihar | 23. | Sd/- D. Majhi, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 3. | Sd/- H. Lakra, M.L.A., Bihar | 24. | Sd/- B. Bhagat, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 4. | Sd/- S. Deogram, M.L.A., Bihar | 25. | Sd/- M.R. Tanti, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 5. | Sd/- S. Majhi, M.L.A., Bihar | 26. | Sd/- S. Uraon, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 6. | Sd/- L. Munda, M.L.A., Bihar | 27. | Sd/- Ankura Ho, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 7. | Sd/- J. Kisku, M.L.A., Bihar | 28. | Sd/- A. Uraon, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 8. | Sd/- J. Surin, M.L.A., Bihar | 29. | Sd/- C. Hemrom, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 9. | Sd/- W. Hemrom, M.L.A., Bihar | 30. | Sd/- B. Hemrom, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 10. | Sd/- B.L. Tudu, M.L.A., Bihar | 31. | Sd/- S.N. Birua, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 11. | Sd/- K. Prasad, M.L.A., Bihar | 32. | Sd/- I. Kujur, M.L.A., Bihar |
| 12. | Sd/- S. Murmu, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 13. | Sd/- H.S. Besra, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 14. | Sd/- R.C. Kiskue, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 15. | Sd/- N. Munda, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 16. | Sd/- D. Soren, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 17. | Sd/- J. Mahto, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 18. | Sd/- P. Dayal, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 19. | Sd/- Gokul Mahra, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 20. | Sd/- M. Besra, M.L.A., Bihar | | |
| 21. | Sd/- G.R. Santhal, M.L.A., Bihar | | |

Appendix III

(A True Copy)

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

presented by

JHARKHAND COORDINATION COMMITTEE December 10, 1987

The President of India
New Delhi

Sub: Formation of Jharkhand state with 21 districts of the Jharkhand area

Hon'ble Sir:

For a long time, the inhabitants of the Jharkhand region have been conducting movements with the demand for the formation of Jharkhand state. On 11-13 September 1987, some 49 organisations supporting Jharkhand state have repeated this demand at Ramgarh-Hazaribagh, under the banner of the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee (JCC). The success of the "unity rally" at Ranchi on November 15, on the occasion of Birsa's birth anniversary, defying the total "nakabandi" of Ranchi by the administration and the total success of "Jharkhand Bandh" on November 19, 1987 have proved beyond doubt that the demands raised by the JCC enjoy

enormous support. Instructed by the JCC, we submit this memorandum to you and request to take steps for the formation of a Jharkhand State in accordance with the provisions of Art. 2 and 3 of the Constitution of India. We place the following facts as background regarding the suitability of the demand of a Jharkhand state for your kind consideration.

Background of the Demand for Jharkhand State

The north-eastern hill region of Gondwanaland, which was famous in ancient history as Ark-khand, Kark-khand, Jharkhand, etc, remained an independent "Janpad" for a long time. The people of the region lived a happy life under autonomous rule. This region engulfs 12 districts of present Bihar (ie. Singhbhum, Giridih, Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla, Palamu, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Dumka, Godda, deoghar and Sahebganj); 4 districts of present Orissa (ie. Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sambalpur and sundargarh); 3 districts of present West Bengal (ie. Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia); and 2 districts of present Madhya Pradesh (ie. Surguja and Raigarh); altogether 21 districts. Its area is nearly 1,87,646 sq. kms. and the population, according to the 1971 Census, is 3,05,98,791. This region has its specific identity, it being a cultural unity in itself. Till the British occupation, the political-cultural identity of the region remained unimpaired. Its autonomy was destroyed for the first time during British rule. The people of Jharkhand waged relentless struggles to defend their traditional autonomy and self-rule. But these heroic struggles were defeated by the manoeuvrings and superior armed

force of the British Raj. Ultimately the Jharkhand region was split up between four states. The Jharkhand nationality, divided between the four states, became a victim of political, economic and cultural colonialism and this oppression led to the erosion of their identity.

The people of the region have been launching relentless struggles since 1769 against this political, economic and cultural exploitation and the resulting disintegration. Lakhs of Jharkhandis have sacrificed their lives for their autonomy and identity. But the Jharkhand region could not achieve its liberation from colonial rule and exploitation, though many heroes of the Jharkhand region like Kanta Munda (1820); Singrai-Bingrai Manki (1831), Tilka Majhi, Sidhu, Kanu, Chand, Bhairav (1856); Biswanath, Sahdev, Ganpat Rai, Sheikh Bhikhari, Kurban Ali, Nilambar, Pitambar (1857); Birsa Munda, Gaya Munda, Bharuri Munda (1900); Jatra Bhagat (1915), etc. As a continuation of this struggle, the movements of Unnati samaj (1916), Adivasi Mahasabha (1930) and Jharkhand party (1950) were started.

The people of Jharkhand region had expected that their identity and autonomy would be recognised in independent India. This region, full of mineral wealth, occupies a pride of place in India from the cultural viewpoint, too. Three great cultures of India - Aryan, Dravidian and Austric, have co-existed and interacted with each other for a long time in the region. In this way, this region has preserved the precious elements of Indian history and culture from destruction. After independence large-scale industrialisation of the region created an

unfavourable situation for the Jharkhandi identity. Nearly 50 lakhs of outsiders were brought into the region, while the people of the region were evicted in large numbers. Today, the whole of big business, industry and employment are in the hands of outsiders. The people of Jharkhand are treated like foreigners in their own homeland. Majority of them have to leave their villages and travel long distances in search of a meagre living. The outsiders grab all the fruits of development, while the Jharkhandis remain in a condition of acute distress. Their wealth, honour, religion, language and literature and music are being systematically looted and destroyed. Under such circumstances, the people of Jharkhand are demanding a separate state within the Indian Union for the protection and development of their identity. They believe that their identity will not be protected and developed unless they get state-power in their own hands. With this purpose, the people of Jharkhand have been drawing the attention of the Central Government through a political movement. Earlier, different organisations of Jharkhand had submitted their own memoranda to the Central Government. But the Jharkhandis have not yet got any redressal of their miserable plight.

In this background, the people of Jharkhand have become restless. They have brought together nearly all organisations fighting for the cause of Jharkhand and have formed the Jharkhand Coordination Committee to fulfil the dream of a separate Jharkhand state. We, on behalf of this Coordination Committee, request you to take steps for the formation of a Jharkhand state and thus clear the way for the protection and development of Jharkhandis.

Justification of the Demand for Jharkhand State

The State's Reorganisation Committee's verdict against the formation of Jharkhand state was based mainly on three grounds.

The SRC noted:

1. The tribes are a minority in the Jharkhand region;
2. There is no specific link language in Jharkhand; and
3. The economic balance of the neighbouring states will be disturbed if Jharkhand state is formed.

Later on, the Government reached the understanding that the problem of Jharkhand is a problem of development alone and that the people would be satisfied if developmental projects were taken up.

The considered opinion of the JCC on this issue is that the viewpoint of the government is not based on facts and that is the reason why the movement is considered secessionist and anti-national. Sometimes the government has tried to discredit the movement by saying that it is "instigated" by Christian missionaries. But it should be noted that the Jharkhand movement has withstood severe repression and each time has emerged mightier than before. Now, the government should seriously consider this demand with sympathy.

The fact is that the Jharkhand movement is one for the protection and development of Jharkhandi nationality. Till now, the nationality question has not been seriously considered in our country and states have been formed arbitrarily on the basis of convenience. Sometimes it is based on language, sometimes on administrative convenience and in some cases it is based on ethnicity. We think that nationality is the only scientific basis for the formation of states. In the Soviet Union, the states were reorganised on this basis and the people got a happy road for development. In a multi-national, multi-lingual and multi-cultural country like India, the unity and integrity of the country can be preserved and strengthened by awarding all nationalities equal rights for their protection and development. This right can be guaranteed by the formation of a separate state.

Considered from this viewpoint, all the conditions necessary for the formation of a state are present in Jharkhand. It consists of a specific geographic region which is different from the neighbouring states. It has its own history. It has its own economic and social formation and consequently, a distinct culture. The tribes and the Sadans living in Jharkhand region constitute inseparable parts of this cultural tradition. According to 1971 Census they constitute 85% of the population. If they get autonomy, they can present a model of democracy. On the contrary, if this is not given, and the present process of disintegration through industrialisation goes on, then the people of Jharkhand will meet the same fate as the Red Indians in American democracy.

The problem of Jharkhand region is not the problem of development alone. In the name of development, the wealth and the cheap labour-power of Jharkhand have been looted. Millions of rupees of foreign capital has flown into Jharkhand, but has it really brought any benefit to the people of Jharkhand or, for that matter, to the people of India? Due to the plunder, all public sector enterprises are running at a loss. The profits earned by the private sector are utilised in the interest of neither the Jharkhandis nor the country. Corruption, nepotism, bribery and goondaism and unemployment are now common features of the region. Mafia groups are ruling the areas surrounding the mines and industries. It is loot and plunder that is going on in the name of development.

In this situation, the question is being raised whether any country or society can acquire a glorious life without self-reliance. This is the condition of Jharkhand. Real development in Jharkhand will take place only when the people of the region will be masters of their wealth and sweat. They will not be able to move onto a path of self-reliant development unless they get the power to take decisions.

The JCC holds that the formation of Jharkhand state will be beneficial to the neighbouring states as well as to the country. In order to put an end to parasitic culture and to develop on the path of self-reliance, the formation of Jharkhand state is a pre-condition. In reality, the

formation of Jharkhand state will advance the democratic revolution in India. From this viewpoint, the demand for the formation of Jharkhand state is constitutional and is in the interest of the country. It is a demand for development and regional autonomy. It is a natural aspiration of the people based on democratic values.

The Jharkhand region is the store-house of forest and mineral wealth, water resources and a huge labour power. Jharkhand is the soul of India. The semi-colonial slavery of Jharkhand should be done away with in the interest of India and the world.

Even if somebody insists on a link-language, it should be considered that the people of Jharkhand are now using Hindi more or less all over the region. If Hindi-speaking states like M.P. and U.P. can be formed, then what is the objection to the formation of Jharkhand with Hindi as the link-language?

Looking at all the facts, it seems that the government, either consciously or unconsciously, is acting in a manner leading to the destruction of the oppressed Jharkhandi masses.

This memorandum is intended to draw your attention to the demand for Jharkhand state. If needed, we shall furnish further facts about our miserable condition and the justification for the formation of Jharkhand state.

We hope that the Government of India will take note of the above points and will seriously ponder upon the problem and fulfil the aspirations of the tribal and non-tribal masses of Jharkhand through the formation of Jharkhand state and thus take immediate steps for the protection of their existence and identity.

Yours sincerely

Members of the Jharkhand Coordination Committee

Appendix IV

Memorandum

for the

"Formation of Jharkhand State" within the Union of India comprising the two divisions of Chotanagpur, i.e. the districts of Ranchi, Gumla, Palamau, Singhbhum, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad and Santhal Pargana division with Deoghar, Godda, Sahebganj and Dumka districts in Bihar, Purulia, Bankura, Midnapur districts of West Bengal, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundergarh and Sambalpur districts of Orissa, Raigarh and Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh, under the Provision of article 3 Clauses (a) of the Constitution of India.

To

The Hon'ble President of India
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi

Through

The Hon'ble Home Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

Submitted by

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
Central Committee Office
Bariyatu Road
Ranchi-834008

The 11th Day of August 1989

Hon'ble Sir,

The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Central Committee most respectfully submits this Memorandum to the Hon'ble President of India through your kind Honour demanding for the formation of "Jharkhand State" within the Union of India comprising the divisions of Chotanagpur, i.e., the districts of Ranchi, Gumla, Lohardaga Palamau, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Godda, Sahebganj and Dumka and Santhal Pargana division with Deoghar, Godda, Sahebganj and Dumka districts in Bihar, Purulia, Bankura, Midnapur districts in West Bengal, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts in Orissa, Raigarh and Surguja districts of Madhya Pradesh, under the Provision of Article 3 and Clause (a) of the Constitution of India.

"Jharkhand"

Jharkhand is a picturesque area with hills and forest and this area is known geographically as Chotanagpur plateau. Its geographical conditions, economy, cultural tradition, social structure is free from exploitation, its simplicity and its historical tradition to revolt against all types of atrocities is present even to-day in every field of its life.

Formation of Jharkhand state within the Indian Union is demanded by including 21 districts of Chotanagpur-Santhalpargana, 12 districts of Bihar, Midnapur, Purulia and Bankura of West Bengal, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur and Sundargarh districts of Orissa, Surguja

and Raigarh of Madhya Pradesh in it. The area of Jharkhand is 1,87,646 square kilometer. Its present population is about 4 crores.

India is a multi-community nation made of many sub-nationalities. Jharkhandis are a sub-nationality like Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil, Bihari, Gujar, Oriya, etc., and they are a part of the Indian Nationality. Sub-nationality does not signify any caste, race, etc., rather a historical, cultural identity of certain communities. As sovereignty is a basis condition for the independence of the nationality of any country, similarly autonomy is necessary for the sub-nationalities. Autonomy is given in India in the form of statehood.

Autonomy means the right of the people of any region to develop themselves. Jharkhand area is divided and placed in the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh and thus it has been made the colonies of those states.

Like the other sub-nationalities of India, the Jharkhandi nationality also wants to develop its language, culture, civilisation, etc., and social justice and dignity, so that it may not have to remain as the slave of other sub-nationalities. The ruling classes of the country have crushed its social system and plundered every thing. The capitalist and their government have made the immense mineral and other natural resources of Jharkhand, i.e., their means of prosperity, for their own interest depriving the Jharkhandis. The Jharkhandi people are victims of double exploitation-one on the side the sub-national exploitation and on the other side class

exploitation. The struggle of Jharkhand is against both these exploitations. This is the question of liberation of the people of Jharkhand.

Thus, the foremost cause of the oppression of the Jharkhandi people is depriving it from the "right of autonomy", whereas the right of autonomy is the essential condition for freedom of any sub-nationality from its feeling of inferiority and joining it with the national mainstream.

The People of Jharkhand

The number of population in Jharkhand is about 4 crores, out of them 1 crore 30 lakhs belongs to tribals, 65 lakhs Harijans, 70 lakhs Kudmis, 75 lakhs other Backward communities are living peacefully. The total percentages of S.C. & S.T. constitute about 47% which is definitely much bigger than the National Average of 22%. The Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Kharia, Bhumij, Mahali, Tamaria, Dudha, Birhor, Turi, Pan, Bhuya, Dhobi, Dom, Dusad, Muchi, Routia, Kuiri, Kudmi (Mahato), Kumar, Kamar, Kohar, Konkal, Kalbar, Keshra, Munibar, Sonar, Teli, Napit, Gogi, Gangu, Kalindi, Lohara, Asur, Mandal, Pharia, Chunia, Gour, Rajwar, Momins, Ghashi, Patikar, Pattra, Khandwal, Mudi, Bastam, Baniya, Bauri, Tamil, Baiga, Banjara, Bedia, Karmali, Chero, Chikbarik, Gond, Gorait, Birjia, Bathudi, Chaupal, Bhogta, Pasi, Bantar, Hari, Musahar, Lalbegi, Nat, Knond, Kisan, Kora, Malpaharia, Souripaharia, Swar etc., constitute the Jharkhandi identity. The Jainis (Sarakh Majee), Buddhist, Christian,

Muslim, Momins, Sikhs and Brahamins are living side by side peacefully and maintaining communal harmony and there is no any instances in the historical past of any communal disturbances.

Santhal, Munda, Kharia, Bhumij, Kharwar, Mahali, Ho, are Austro-asian or austric family, while the Oraon, Kudmi, Gour belong to Dravidian family, who have migrated from Indus valley Civilisation and Maharastra to Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and madhya Pradesh in the remote past.

The Kudmis were with the Scheduled Tribe list till 1931, vide Notification No. 550, 2nd May, 1913 of Home Deptt., Government of India. The Kudmis submitted a Memorandum to the Home Minister, Government of India through Sri Ram Ratan Tam, M.P., Ex-General Secretary, Congress (I) in their conference at Jhunjka, P.S. Arsa, dist. Purulia, West Bengal. The conference of the Kudmis was hold on 27th December, 1987. More than one lakh Kudmis attended the conference which was presided over by Sri Thakur Das Mahato, Retd. I.A.S. and the conference unanimously resolved for re-inclusion of Kudmis (Mahato) of Jharkhand belt in the list of Scheduled Tribes, Government of India. The Central government must include the Kudmis of Jharkhand in the list of Scheduled Tribes, Government of India without delay. The Mandals are still S.C. in the West Bengal and the Gour of Singhbhum are recently notified as a tribal community they must include in the Scheduled Tribe list of Government of India. The Kumar, Kamar and other communities of Backward classes Annexure (I) also be included in

tribal list. Among outside workers who have migrated to this region for work in the mines and industries also the down-trodden people and they are living peacefully with the Jharkhandi people. Taking all this, the people coming from the oppressed society constitute more than 80% of the population of Jharkhand. It is an interesting feature of Indian body politic that those who are socially exploited are economically also and they live in this exploited and backward area called Jharkhandis.

To understand Jharkhand Movement properly it is necessary to understand how unbalanced development of the region or of the different segments of the society is creating problem of internal colonialism in the model of South Africa. Where the exploiter and exploited are not connected with any link even staying within the same geographical region. This is a peculiar situation with no parallel anywhere with which we generally tend to compare our conditions like Russia, China or Vietnam and try to draw our political line of action of India, under developed region is exploited by the developed region as their colonies and similarly the under developed people by the developed people. Society is physically divided and the gap is increased to the extent that the Indians are openly declared in India as foreigners. The relationship has become that between the natives and the foreign rulers as in the British days. And the Rulers and the Ruled speak different clubs, everything is different for the poor. So they cannot be one even as a nation. This is the real two-nation theory operating in Jharkhand.

This country is a land of multiplicities and diversities. Jharkhand Movement is the result of such policies of the government since last 41 years that are born out of an unscientific outlook regarding development and progress. Almost all the areas have their economic, traditional and cultural peculiarities and every one of these areas insists on preserving that peculiarity. In fact, this instance is the birth right of every citizen. It was necessary for natural unity and national development that the government would follow such policies that would provide all the opportunities for these peculiarities and diversities, support them and instil self-confidence in them. But in today's conditions the people of the Jharkhand region consider themselves as victims of economic and social injustice. Jharkhand movement is a joint movement of the tribals and non-tribals. Neither this movement has come up in one day, nor is it devoid logic. Due to continuous discriminations this area is denied even the simple necessities of life till date. The inhabitants of this region consider themselves different from the Main streams of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, e.g. The Jharkhandis living in Bihar and M.P. have to get their education in Hindi, in Bengali in Bengal and in Oriya in Orissa. Consequently the people of a single linguistic community have to adopt different languages in different states. Culture is being attacked and social atmosphere is changing. So we want separate Jharkhand State so that we may progress in accordance with our aspirations.

This demand is not the outcome of any political manipulation. It is full of innumerable ethnic, socio-economic complexities and contradictions which are showing up. Jharkhand

movement has taken birth in this very complex situation. After 1947, all the governments at Patna, Calcutta, Bhubaneshwar and Bhopal have adopted such policies that a state of tension and antagonism has existed, development has been irrelevant to the interests of the people. These policies were based on narrow-mindedness and oriented towards creating conflicts among the Jharkhandis communities.

The sufficient amount being allocated for the development of this area? Has the government made a justified employment policy for the unemployment of this region. If the answers for these questions would have been in affirmative there would not have been any questions of this movement taking such exploding proportions. In fact the whole thinking of the administration has been ridden with narrowness. One need not say that history has done great injustice to this region. It could not be liberated from the centuries old backwardness.

The Ingredients for Internal Colonialism and Exploitation

1. The first ingredient of the internal colonialism is the caste system which despite all denials broadly determines the division of labour within the country and still definitely indicates mental attitude to physical work. The upper caste police men can do anything in a Harijan and Tribal village which they cannot dream of doing in an upper caste village just as a Englishman could do any thinf in India, a fraction of which he could not think of doing in England. What happened in Gua, Tiruldih in Singhbhum and Adilabad could not have happened any where

with non-tribal agitators, however great and grave might be the provocation. The existing Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh governments could not show their sympathetic attitude towards the problems of tribal and Jharkhandi people. A rude attitude of the government towards the Jharkhandi people is the root cause of frustration. The mafia group are working every where and exploiting Jharkhandis people with the help of power and money. This is social unevenness and internal colonial exploitation to the Jharkhandi. To get rid of this exploitation "Separate Jharkhand State" is the only solution.

2. The second ingredient of internal colonial exploitation is the uneven development of the society. political upheavals which might lead to development did not embrace all the area of this vast country for a long time. in the medieval age, all the civilisation were to rise and fall on the banks of the big rivers like Sindhu, Ganga, Brahmaputra, Godavari, Narmada, Kavery and there was a mad rush to capture fertile land around these big rivers. In that colonial era, the political centre shifted to the shore like Calcutta, Bombay and madras, later on shore-based colonial civilisation combined with the river-based feudal civilisation to regulate politics of the country. The leadership of the anti-imperialistic struggle also came from this area ensuring to lead in political development. This trend is still ruling in the politics of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh and the Jharkhand people are exploited due to the same sentiment is working in their mind. In past, these areas which formed the mainstream of political struggle used to enjoy an undisturbed autonomy of age old inertia. Today they disarmingly face not only

with this exploitation but with submergence, suffocation and gradual extinction. They have now become the colonies of the people of the developed area. Their fate is like that of the original people of America now on the way out of history or those of African-the birth place of homosapiens who were used to be shipped as slaves to work in the tobacco gardens and mines of white masters. The internal colonial politics of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have forced the Jharkhand people gradually extincted which cannot be checked serate Jharkhand State.

3. The 3rd Ingredient - Unbalanced Economic Development

The foregoing factors have all resulted in a discrimination in development between the two regions of the State-the hill area of Jharkhand having been provided less opportunities than the plains of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. This discrepancy is reflected in all areas of development.

The most alarming feature of the development process is that even from the meagre funds allotted for this region less than 30% reaches the real beneficiaries. Seventy per cent is pocketed away in the process of finalising the paper work by a 15-20% of the superimposed personnel which has no sense of obligation and belonging for this area. More than 50% of the allotted funds have been surrendered to the government from this belt every year due to non-utilisation of funds.

This has an obvious reflection on the quality of life in the two regions. The people of the Jharkhand area are increasingly sliding down below the poverty line despite their being sincere and hard working. This is most apparent in the new developed industrial and urban areas including the district headquarters like Ranchi, Dhanbad and Jamshedpur where the local people are systematically marginalised or sandwiched into slum areas. There are some who have tried to move out to far away places like Punjab, Assam and others in search of better living conditions but their prospect remains the same-to be disintegrated into the slums there.

4. 4th Ingredient - Land and Forest Allocation

The land of the Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana is protected under C.N.T. Act and Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act, 1908. The transfer of raiyati land is restricted under these Acts.

The C.N.T. Act and S.P.T. Act have been made ineffective due to Land Acquisition Act, 1894, and now the lands of tribals and non-tribals have been acquired for the purpose of multi-purpose river valley projects, mining, queries, industries, township, railways, roadways, irrigation schemes, colonies in urban centres and other public and private uses under the Provision of Land Acquisition Act, 1894 through the notification of governments of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh without giving them adequate compensation, re-settlement, service facilities, education and cultural safeguards.

Almost all the big industries like TISCO, TELCO, H.E.C., Bokaro Steel, Rourkela Steel Plant, and urban centres are based on cities like Jamshedpur, Adityapur, Chaibasa, Ghatsila, Chakradharpur, Ranchi, Muri, Simdega, Khunti, Loharda, Daltunganj, Godda, Hazaribagh, Chatra, Ramgarh, Dhanbad, Bokaro, Chass, Rourkella, Giridih, Chandrapura, Gomia, Deoghar, Santhaldih, Dumka, Pakur, Purulia, Jhargram, Baripada, Rairangpur, Keonjher, Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Raigarh, Surguja, etc., are situated on the heartland of Jharkhand and have affected 12 lakh acres of land and displaced about 15 lakhs Jharkhandi people from their home land without providing re-settlement, services and adequate compensation and other facilities to them.

The major mining centres are also in the homeland of Jharkhand. The iron ore, copper, mica, lime-stone, kyanite, bauxite, uranium, golds, manganese, asbestos, dolomite, quartz, china clay etc. "The Ruler of India" based on Jharkhand, their mining operations have affected about 20 lakh acres of land and have displaced 25 lakhs of Jharkhandi people without proper compensation, rather treated them like anything.

Thus all these modernisation of welfare state have affected about 35.55 lakh acres of land and 44.25 lakhs of Jharkhandi people have been displaced in improper way. They have migrated to tea-gardens of Assam and Darjeeling and most of them have become beggars. The number of displaced persons in Jharkhand is much more than the displaced persons at the time

of the division of our country. This indicate the clear intntion of the government to extinct the Jharkhandi people from their Home Land.

Forest

The governments of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have good intention for administering this region but its intentions are always being frustrated by inflexible officers, who refuse to see the dynamics of a policy of the government. We can take, for example, the Social Forestry programme strated in the beginning of the eighties. The Central and the Provincial governments got together to finance this good effort from 1985 onwards. Social forestry has not yet become a people's movement in this region as the people have quite recovered from the shock of the Indian Forest Act, 1927, and the Buhar Forest Produce (Regulation of Trade) Act, 1948. Unless the people are able to market forest produce freely, they are not going to protect the tree for decades, just to be taken over by the State.

Although the State has agreed to make the marketing of forest produce lucrative, it has not anything in this regard. It will not be long before the Central government will decide to spend this money in a state which may benefit by it. This has been the fate of most projects in this area. Projects which have been completed have acquired more land than actually required for and have later established private residential colonies for their employees and retired employees, which goes against the Provision of Land Acquisition Act, 1894. Private residential

colonies are not public purpose (e.g. co-operative colony of Bokaro, Jamshedpur, Ranchi and many others) the land belongs to the government.

These development projects and schemes did good to the nation on one hand but on the other hand it also left a worst impact on the economy of the Jharkhandis. The land was the main source of income and the economy of the Jharkhandis. They were dependent on agriculture but their lands were acquired and they were compelled to become displaced and no government attention was paid towards their economic growth except the payment of compensation which was very normal. Therefore their condition started deteriorating. An economic, educational, employment and other survey will speak for their present pathetic condition.

5. 5th Ingredient - Education and Employment

India is a rich country inhabited by poor people. There is light everywhere, industries and power plants flourishing in all directions but just beyond an under limited boundary live the people of the region in the villages where one even could not get lamp. Jharkhandis are living under darkness in the midst of light.

There is no dearth of development but only at the cost of people there. Industries displaced them, dams around them, and frustration starves them. The industrial development of

the region does not mean the development of the people there, but displacement of the people from there and their replacement by descending the colonies of developed people, the clever people, the clever people, the politically connected people, descending from the developed region. As the industrialisation of the British India was done to draw drain the resources of the country and even railways were installed for draining out the raw materials. So was the industrialisation of Chhotanagpur, where railways came as early as 1894 to draw out its Coal and Iron. Total demography of the region changed while lakhs and millions of people coming from outside and taking most of the jobs, today without getting jobs, the Tribal men and women are to sell themselves to the contractors to be exported any where-- from Punjab to Tripura--for working in brick kilns or digging earth. Even in the Forest Development and Department they have no place no jobs. The colonial character of development would be evident from the following facts: 80% of the income of Bihar comes from Jharkhand but only 15 to 20 % is spent for the people there. Not even in the proportion of the population. More than 45 lakh people have been displaced from the region for making dams, mining, quarries, urbanisation and in the name of modernisation. They have no berth in the government services, even in the III & IV grade, what of others? In the cosmopolitan cities like Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Dhanbad, Hazaribagh and others, millions and millions of outsiders (people) are working but the people of this region have no place. They have been totally deprived from the service. Even in civil jobs like primary and secondary schools, teachers are outsiders who dominate due to red-tapism and favouritism on caste lines. The influx of an outside population has led to 60/40

tribal/non-tribal population ratio in 1951 to become 40/60 in 1981, just the reverse in 30 years.

There are provisions for 80 % reservation for tribal and local people in training and jobs but the fact is that nearly 90% of the training (in general education, engineering and medical) facilities and jobs are filled by an external population.

In Jharkhand the biggest sufferers of the reservation policy for the locals (particularly in Grade III and Grade IV position) have been the local non-tribal (i.e. the local non-tribal (i.e. the backward communities). Most of the posts go to the outsider non-tribals who are used to take certificates being issued to the outsider non-tribals. As in most cases it is the outsider non-tribal who sits in the chair of authority that issues the residential and caste certificates. There have been cases where higher caste candidates have changed their names to fit the job restriction for the weaker sections. At times local customary laws are trusted to be taken advantage by the otherwise unfit candidates.

6. 6th Ingredient

The Bihar and West Bengal governments issued the ordinance banning the possession of bows and arrows by the tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand which are part of their life and at the same time lifted prohibition and started liquor shops in tribal region. There are clashes and resistance from the tribal people and the government swearing in the name of Gandhiji,

provided armed forces to protect the wine shops. Any colony can be kept under subjugation for long only after the character of the people in the colony is spoiled. So as once opium was forced in China, now wine is being pumped in to Jharkhand. Thus between development and non-development, the choice for the people of Jharkhand is like that between firing pan and the fire, under-development means languishing death, development means extinction.

7. 7th Ingredient

The 42nd years of post Independent exercises could not narrow the gaps of development between the different regions of the country and between the different social groups. If all restrictions in movement, settling, pursuing profession, etc., are removed considering India as one country then underdeveloped people and their society would be completely submerged and erased out of the map due to thrust of the people of the developed region. Integration of India can only remain secured in a revolutionary change of their present system. Unless the motivation is changed the migration only creates hostility and India's integration always remain in peril. Despite all deformation, it has created a scope to project working class philosophy and the crisis has injected a bond between the industrial workers even if they have come from outside and rural poor who constitute the vast local masses popularly known as Jharkhandis. This is a phenomenon having image, possibility of struggle of *dalit* (oppressed) people of internal colonies. The tribals and the socially down-trodden against the imperialism and ruling

class can develop any time into a real national liberation movement in the country, but now threatens to commence in the very heart of the country. There can be so many new states in India-such as Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana, Assam, Mizoram and Arunachal on the basis of nationalities, specially on language and administrative facilities and cultural uniformity.

8. 8th Ingredient

We now deal with the social life, social customs and culture of the people of the Jharkhand and its neighbouring areas which have speciality and peculiarity of their own. Briefly speaking, culture is a way of life which includes the activities of human beings, such as rituals, custom, habits, songs, and dances, languages and literature, education, art, religion, occupation, livelihood, and so on and so forth. Thus culture of a society or nation, so to say, does not depend on the efforts and contribution of a few intellectuals, or intelligent and enlightened people. On the contrary, social and geographical conditions of the society play the most important role in making its culture and sustaining it through ages. It is regarded as folk culture as distinguished from elite culture. Folk culture is the culture of the general masses. It includes all cultural cross-currents of the nation as an integrated whole. The entire region of Jharkhand has a common cultured basis. It has taken a shape of its own through centuries.

The social set-up of the people of this area is a clear depiction of this special culture, the social ceremonies, birth, marriage and death are wholly different from those of the elites, the cultured people. Even in the twentieth century they observe their traditional customs, rites and rituals and social conduct according to their own relation and in original manner. These social ceremonies are observed on different occasions. Kudmali, Mundari, Nagpuri, Kurukh, Khotha, Santhali, Ho, Kharia, Pahari, etc., are the dialects of the region. Now-a-days, Hindi, Bengali and Oriya are also adopted by them due to the demand of the time. Adoption of either of these three languages upon the language of the States they reside in. Written literature is rare but the literature in its verbal form is the hidden treasure of this region. This continues primarily through songs like Tusu, Jawa, Bhadu, Bhogta, Dhua, Ahira and marriage songs, etc., and secondly through stories like Jankakhanis, proverbs, *dant katha*, *chhara*, *mantra*, *rumujha sakhi*, *jant*, *kavigam* and so on. *Maharaya*, the great epic of this region is again there in its verbal form and is preserved through oral tradition from generation to generation. This is sung at the time of Dharam Puja. There is a custom to celebrate Dharam Puja by the male (boy) before his marriage. A male member cannot marry, if he does not celebrate the Dharam Puja.

Fairs and festivals of this region-Jharkhand-have their base on agriculture and on behalf of birth, death and re-birth. 'Jawa' festival, for example, represents birth, 'Tusu' represents death, the 'Bhoga' represents re-birth. Apart from these three festivals Rajaswala festival is observed on the first day, and 'Ambawati' on the 7th day of the month of Asar. Mansa Puja is

observed in Sharwan Sankranti, 'IND' on the next day of Karam Ekadashi, Chatta is observed on 'Bhadra Sankranti', 'Bandhna' in Kali Puja, and 'Aikhan Jatra' is observed on the first day of the month of Magh. In addition to these, Khelai Chandi, Duru, Bhansigh, Magh, Baha Sarhul, Horo and so on are also observed during the year on different dates and time. During all these festive occasions. Puja is performed by their respective 'Layas' (Pujaris) in the traditional way. All these festivals are associated with their distinctive songs and dances. Cock-fighting is a common feature of amusement almost in all fairs besides 'Bhera Larai' (Sheep fighting) and 'Kara Larai' (Buffalo fighting) are also among various forms of local amusements.

Songs and dances are life blood of the people of this region. These are traditional in nature and are learnt with the mother's milk. No training is needed for the same. By the time a child is grown up, he or she becomes well acquainted with songs and dances like Chhau, Dard, Karma, Jawa, Kanthi, Bhadu, Jhumur, Panta, Sohrai, Tusu, Nachni, Natua, Judur, Gonu, Jupi, Raca, Arandi, Jagaran, Hejor, Jatra, Bhajan, Citid, Labun, Large, Dhantha, Bapla (*dang serang*) Rijha, Burigari, Matoya, Machhani, Bhogta, Bhuang, Marriage songs and dances, etc. These dances and songs can be categorised as occasional, seasonal and social. People here believe in their traditional art and craft. These are Wood-craft, Bamboo-craft, Metal-craft, Earthen-craft, Weaving, Sewing, Rope making, Leather work and the like.

Woodcraft

Hal, Jawal, etc., are related to agriculture. Takta, Khat, Daraja, Janala, Lora Pira, Parti, Mundha, Ukhal, Dhenki, Jant, Ghani, Weighing rod, etc., are the necessary household articles. The craftsmanship of these equipments and articles is traditional in nature.

Religion, Faith & Belief

A detailed examination of religion, fear, faith and belief of the people of Jharkhand will reveal the traditional hatred towards Brahminical and Vedic supremacy. The following are important worship as God and Goddess, Dharam Puja or the Surjahi Puja. According to the tradition and belief, the first day of the Agrahayan or the first day of the month of Magh is auspicious and favourable to have this Puja. For performing the Puja, the head of the family remains in fast from the previous day along with another, also on fast to kill the goat specially preserved for sacrificing it before Dharam God. Mahari song in story form is sung by a special and expert songster in praise of Dharam God throughout the night.

Jantal Puja or Garam Deota Puja

In the month of Ashar or before transplantation first fruit is offered to the village diety. Goat sacrifice and meat distribution is done in the village.

Karam Festival

Karam festival is observed on the half-moon day of the month of Bhadra (Sept-Oct.). It is a joyful festival both for the males and the females, who spend the whole night in enjoyment and merrymaking through music and dance based on Karam song which has a melody style and standard of its own. This is called Karam Nach. The festival is deeply and fully related to the Jawa function celebrated by the young girls, and this in fact, forms the basis or rather it is a part and parcel or life-blood of the Karam festival, without which every charm and beauty, every sanctity and sublimity of the Karma festival is completely lost. Besides the Baha Sarhul and Bhru worship is made by the people of Jharkhand.

Sohrai or Bandna

This is an important festival of the Kudmis as well as Santhalis, Mundas and Oraons and all other Jharkhandis.

It is purely a rejoicing for good crops, special feeding and decoration with the blades of corns and oil and vermilion are made to the bullocks and cows who assisted for good crops. On the day of the new moon in the month of Kartik this festival takes place.

One pair of lamps (made of powdered rice mixed with *ghee* burning and two bundles of special grass are placed in the house doors, gardens, tanks, manure pits, wells, powdered rice mixed with water is thrown on all the things of house-hold. One bullock and one cow is selected for worship and these are named as 'Shree Balad' and 'Shri Gai'. On the first day of the moon, the *puja* is done by a 'Layar or Pahan' at the resting place of village cattle.

The special features and the identity of the Jharkhand are follows:

The study reveals the vivid picture of the Jharkhand culture, religion, language, literature, fairs and festivals, art and music specially and peculiarity of their own which forms a common culture known as Jharkhandi culture. The Jharkhandi culture is the richest culture in India.

The eminents of the Jharkhandi culture have been elaborately discussed. Now the maintenance of cultural pluralism has been one of our flourished national goals. Jharkhand has been the only cultural region in the entire country where the three major cultural streams have met and have created an integrated and uniform synthesis. This is a mini India in the true sense of the term. The culture of Jharkhand region over the years has attained a distinctiveness by fostering a balance between nature and culture. Egalitarianism in social structure, accomodative history, equal sharing of economy, secularism in religious pursuits, a democratic political thinking and a people-oriented art and literature. These are marks and of truely viable amodern

culture. But this culture is facing a crisis of identity. We see a large-scale devastation of nature in the form of deforestation and unscientific mining and industrial growth, the hierarchical notions of caste and class creeping in place of egalitarianism, exploitation by the incoming population in return of the accomodativeness of the JHarkhandi people. Business and industry taking over and making agriculture subservient ; fundamentalism setting in and dividing the population on communal lines; and the activities, literary and artistic, are losing their participatory nature and becoming more passive and observation-oriented. In fact, the Jharkhandi people, out of sheer frustration and unable to cope with the external pressures, are developing at an alarmingly increased rate marks of a negative identity for himself. He is being branded as a lazy bum, good for nothing, drunk and criminal, particularly in the fast developing urban areas like Dhanbad, Ranchi, and Jamshedpur. The notions of a noble savage and a healthy tribe are fast becoming a myth. These are all signs of cultural degradation. This submergence of a potential modern culture must stop if we as a nation are to look forward to a better future for our Jharkhandi people. Jharkhand is being systematically exploited by the Government of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in the name of industrialisation, modernisation and development of Jharkhand. Money and population is injected in this area to create - (1) Cultural identity problem, (2) Linguistic identity problem, (3) Political identity problem, (4) Ecology and environment problem, (5) Qualitative improvement of human resources problem, (6) Pressure on land problem, (7) Health problem, (8) Economic problem,

(9) Unemployment problem and last but not the least (10) Survival problem for the aboriginals of the Jharkhand identity.

Jharkhad is the best place for exploitation as cheap labour, cheap resources, cheap raw materials, cheap coverages, no political problem. Hence, Jharkhand is the paradise for the governments of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. We have given enough time for industrialisation, modernisation and development of economic condition for the country and sacrificed a lot. So far, we have been made scape-goat for the national cause. But till now, no amount of industrialisation, modernisation and development programmes could change the lot of the people for the better but gone against it.

So for the survival of the aboriginals of Jharkhand and Jharkhandi identity, Jharkhand State is must at the earliest.

Sir-Much has been said above. We now come to the conclusion of this memorandum through which we have placed before you a vivid picture of the pitiable, social, cultural, economical, political, educational, employment and geophysical, historical position and the lamenting plights of the Jharkhandi Identity for your just and august consideration. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Central Committee demanded the formation of separate Jharkhand State for Jharkhandi people under the provision of Article 3 and Clause (a) of the Constitution of India.

The fact and circumstances stated above, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Central Committee on behalf of four crores Jharkhandi people submit this memorandum through you to the Hon'ble President of India for the formation of separate Jharkhand State with most humble and sincere wish that your kind honour will be highly pleased to consider our demand for the formation of separate Jharkhand State for the Jharkhandi and oblige the Jharkhandi people for ever. The Central Committee of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and more than four crores Jharkhandi people shall ever remain grateful to you and the Hon'ble President of India.

Thanking You,

Yours most sincerely,

(Shibu Soren)
President

(Suraj Mandal)
Vice-President

(Shailendra Mahato)
Gen. Secretary

(Manoranjan Mahato)
Secretary

(Abutalib Ansari)
Secretary

(Sudhir Mahato)
Secretary

(Salkhan Soren)
Treasurer