

**SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE  
JHARKHAND MOVEMENT C. 1930-2001**

*Thesis submitted to the*  
**Vidyasagar University**  
**Paschim Medinipur, West Bengal**

*For the award of degree of*  
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS)**  
**IN HISTORY**

BY

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2015

**DEDICATED TO**  
**My beloved parents**  
**Mr. Pabitra Kumar Ghosh & Mrs. Jyotsna Ghosh**

## **DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE**

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE JHARKHAND MOVEMENT C.1930-2001**” is my own bonafide research work and effort and that it has not been submitted anywhere for any award or diploma. This thesis is a presentation of my original research work prepared only for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in History under Vidyasagar University, Paschim Medinipur, West Bengal. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of different personalities I met during my visit to various places of Jharkhand and Bihar for preparation of this thesis.

Dated: 30<sup>th</sup> October 2015

Vidyasagar University

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(PRASENJIT GHOSH)

## **PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

The state of Jharkhand was born on 15<sup>th</sup> November in the year 2000 after a long unremitting struggle against all sorts of threat created by the state agencies in colonial and post colonial time. Jharkhand movement was one of the oldest autonomy movements in India, probably started in the last part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and continued through various tribal uprisings till the state formation. But in modern sense it was come into being in the year 1930 when demand for separate state was placed before Simon Commission. But when we discuss about the historical importance of the old tribal movements we can see that the major subject of those movement was mainly rights of lands and forests. But ultimately these subjects have gradually lost under politicization and demand for new state by the political parties. Though during the year 1970 an effort was made to bring back the old demands. But there is no doubt that the power of the national politics and unacceptability of the regional political leaderships Jharkhand Movement was gradually losing its power. It was prominent because when the government under the leadership of B.J.P using its ideological weapon created new state of Jharkhand through some revision of old demands and policies.

In view of getting deeper into and detail study of the Jharkhand movement I have opted social and ecological dimensions of the movement which in my perception is important because it is reflected in the demand of the autonomy movement. By exploring the ecological dimensions of tribal mobilization, in view of great importance of cultural identity in such mobilization, that the present thesis is been prepared, but in real term it subsumed in popular political culture as it goes closer to political understanding. However it is really painful for any researcher that the availability of records does not draw any significant information because from 1940s there is a serious absence of proper records in archival rooms. In this juncture to reconstruct a more intimate narrative of the movement I have to depends on news papers and secondary sources which are vastly available.

Apart from this it is stringent to note that the new born state is still undertaken movements for greater Jharkhand because though the new state has come into being solution of problems has not

yet been achieved. In many forest areas miscreants are cutting the woods from the jungle and supplying outside in high prices. As a result of ecological balance of the state is being jeopardized. Naxal movements in vast area of Jharkhand have really created big problems in the state. Planning of the government for the development of the state is greatly wanting. Tribals are not getting any benefit of the governmental benefit. Sons and daughter of the forests are facing many crises and practically they are living outside the lap of the forests. There is no genuine purpose on the part of the government to protect the history of the tribal people.

There is no doubt that presences of large number of migrants have brought great changes into the life of the tribal people. Traditional institutions also are having great change. There is no effort on the part of government to protect the old tribal institutions. So it is quiet a problem to say where this acculturation process will end.

In the course of the study I have been helped by many persons both directly and undirectly. Here at first I owe my debt to my research guide Prof. Ujjayan Bhattacharya. He has made many reasonable solutions of many problems and has helped in writing this theis. I am indebted to Dr. Swapan Kimar Misra, Principal of Mugberia Gangadhar Mahavidyalaya where I worked as Assistant Professor in History since 2003. He has given me great inspiration in various matters.

My father Sri Pabitra Kumar Ghosh and my mother Smt. Jyotsna Ghosh not only inspired me to write the thesis but they created congenial atmosphere in my house to write the thesis. I shall remain indebted to them throughout my life. I have been greatly influenced and relentlessly supported by my wife Debjani and my son Rairik. They have inspired me in many ways. My sister Papiya Bera and brother-in-law Mr. Kausik Bera have been really helped me in regard to this theis.

I am especially indebted to my teacher Centenary Professor Bhaskar Chakraborty and Nurul Hasan Professor Arun Bandyopadhaya of Calcutta University. Undoubtedly I have been greatly influenced to write my thesis by their blessings. My colleagues of my college Dr. Saikat Kumar Seth, Dr.Kalipada Maity, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Samanta have helped me with some important opinion in some harder matter in solving some harder problem in my research work.

Besides them, I owe my indebtedness to all officers and staff of Bihar State Archive, Patna, especially Research Assistant Sri Ramkumar Singh, Dr. Koushal Kishore Singh, Dr. Mina Kumari, and other staff members of Jharkhand Regional Archive, Ranchi, Staff members of Ranchi Express, Pravat Khabar, all the members of the National Library Kolkata, All the members of Cultural Research Institute (CRI) of Kolkata. I show great respect to Dr. Suhridd Kumar Bhowmick. He has helped me in many ways. I would also be grateful to many others for their advice and assistance in solving various problems encountered by me during the study period. I owe my indebtedness to Tribal Research Institute Ranchi and I also owe my indebtedness to Father Franken of Ranchi. He brought to my notice many old incidents. I owe my indebtedness to Mr. Soumen Bhattacharya of Palpara Mahavidyalaya for his advice to many questions directly related with tribal history. I also sincerely acknowledge my onetime colleague Dr. Santanu Rakshit presently working in Viswabharati University, he has helped me in many ways.

I cannot acknowledge by names of so many persons I talked during the preparation of this thesis. Therefore I owe my indebtedness to all of them who helped me directly and indirectly in my research work.

30<sup>th</sup> October, 2015  
Vidyasagar University  
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# CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
Preface and Acknowledgement .....	iv-vi
Tables, Figures and Appendices.....	ix
Abbreviation .....	x
List of published/accepted papers .....	xi
<b>Chapter-1</b>	
Introduction .....	1-12
<b>Chapter-2</b>	
<b>The importance of the region in the analysis of the Jharkhand Movement: Interrelatedness and interactions of the social, ecological and political factors that gave rise to the movement</b>	
2.1 Introduction .....	13-16
2.2 The question of early discontents on the basis of regional setting .....	16-18
2.2.1 Physiographic nature of Jharkhand State .....	19-25
2.3 Finding ecology and Jharkhand Movement: A close proximity? .....	25-34
2.4 Conclusion .....	34-35
<b>Chapter-3</b>	
<b>Colonial origins of the movement: Colonialism and the pressure on tribal land: Notion of ownership and its socio-cultural consequences</b>	
3.1 Introduction .....	36-37
3.2 History of subjugation: The early colonial period .....	37-42
3.3 Colonialism and the conflict over tribal lands, and the ownership issues in Jharkhand .....	42-49
3.4 The historical memories and the ideas of homeland .....	49-57
3.5 Ecological prudence inscribed in culture: The agricultural practices and its influence in the Jharkhand Movement .....	57-61
3.5.1 Ecology and magic – A twofold technique of understanding of nature .....	61-63
3.6 Agrarian distress and an anti Paddy Levy Movement in colonial Jharkhand .....	63-65
3.7 Conclusion .....	65-67
<b>Chapter-4</b>	
<b>The colonial and post colonial forestry: Resource conflict and the Jharkhand Movement</b>	
4.1 Introduction .....	68-69

4.2 The colonial approach to forest management in undivided Bihar .....	69-84
4.3 Post colonial approach on forestry in Jharkhand: A grave effect? .....	84-86
4.3.1 Primitive form of forest conservation: A cultural orientation .....	86-89
4.3.2 Environmental politics in Jharkhand demand .....	89-95
4.3.3 Jungle andolon in Singbhum (1978-1983): Struggle against ‘eco-incarceration’? .....	95-99
4.4 Conclusion .....	99-102

## **Chapter-5**

### **Industrial development in Jharkhand: The identity crisis, reinforced by the arrival of modern industries: 1930-2001**

5.1 Introduction .....	103-104
5.2 The demographic situation and the rise of industrial capital:	
The socio-economic behavior .....	104-113
5.3 Socio-economic dislocation in the domain of industrialization .....	113-120
5.4 The question of safeguarding the tribes: The colonial approach .....	120-123
5.5 Tribal Displacements, Ecological crisis and Human Rights in Jharkhand .....	123-131
5.6 Labour, Market, Employment and the North South dichotomy .....	131-136
5.7 Conclusion .....	136-137

## **Chapter- 6**

### **Jharkhand politics and the promise of emancipation: A critical analysis of the political and ecological factors in the movement**

6.1 Introduction .....	138-140
6.2 The emergence of politics in the realm of separate Jharkhand .....	140-145
6.3 The Political dilemma in Jharkhand Movement: Contradictions and limitations .....	145-146
6.3.1 The Political role of the early Christian Missionary Societies in Jharkhand .....	146-152
6.3.2 The emergence of Adivasi Mahasabha and the Congress-Mahasabha dichotomy .....	152-159
6.3.3 The emergence of Jharkhand Party and the modern phases of	
Jharkhand movement: An electoral game? .....	159-162
6.3.4 The rise of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and the formation of the Jharkhand State .....	162-173
6.4 Conclusion .....	173-175

## **Chapter-7**

<b>Conclusion</b> .....	176-182
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## **Chapter-8**

<b>Bibliography</b> .....	183-200
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## TABLES, FIGURES AND APPENDICES

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Tables</b>	
4.1 Annual Progress Report on Forest Administration in the Province of Bihar & Orissa, 1921 .....	75
4.2 Number of intentional firing in order to obtain new grass .....	77
4.3 Report on the percentage of culturable and unculturable jungle of Singbhum .....	82
4.4 Reported forest offences from 1935-40 & 1947-1955 in Bihar .....	90-91
5.1 Annual exponential growth rate of population (1951-1991) .....	107
5.2 Variation in Population during 50 years in Santal Pargana district .....	109
5.3 Growth of population in Singbhum district in between 1872-1961 .....	110-111
5.4 Migration in Chotanagpur 1931 .....	111
5.5 Number of Bengali speakers in Chotanagpur division 1918 .....	112
5.6 Population according to language in Singbhum district 1971 .....	113
5.7 Position of land in Jharkhand 1951-1995 .....	115
5.8 Tribal displaced between 1950-1990 (in tens of million) .....	116
5.9 Principal causes of death in Jharia Colliery (1949-1953) .....	117
5.10 Land use and displacement of households by Piparwara and Ashoka Mines, 1981 .....	118
5.11 Percentage of displacements of households by Piparwara and Ashoka Mines, 1981 .....	119
5.12 Persons displaced by projects in Jharkhand .....	126
5.13 Income realized through sale of Minor Forest Products .....	129
5.14 Jharkhand (Chotanagpur/Santal Pargana) and central Bihar: Ranking of districts by development score .....	133
5.15 Consumption of electricity .....	134
5.16 Minerals of Jharkhand & Bihar during 1970s and their share .....	135
6.1 Jharkhand parties electoral performance in Bihar (1952-2000) .....	163
6.2 Election performance of major and minor political parties in Bihar Assembly, 1952-2000 (Party wise) .....	164-165
6.3 Proposed Jharkhand areas .....	171-172
6.4 Present Jharkhand areas .....	172-173
<b>Figures</b>	
1.1 Chipko (Hug) .....	5
2.1 Jharkhand Map .....	19
<b>Appendices</b> .....	201-230

## ABBREVIATIONS

RCJM	Report of the Committee of Jharkhand Matters (May 1990)
SAIP	Status Report of Adivasi/Indigenous People
JMM	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
JMM(S)	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (Soren)
CNTA	Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908
SAR	Scheduled Area Regulations, 1952
NFP	National Forest Policy
JFM	Joint Forest Management
MFP	Minor Forest Product
NTFP	Non Timber Forest Product
NCA	National Commission on Agriculture
DOJM	Documentation of Jharkhand Movement
BMP	Bihar Military Police
PUCL	Peoples Union of Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
BJP	Bharitiya Janata Party
AJSU	All Jharkhand Students Union
JAAC	Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council
SPTA	Santal Pargana Tenancy Act
DVC	Damodor Valley Corporation
BSEB	Bihar State Electricity Board
PESA	Panchayat Extension to the Scheduled Area Act, 1996
SRC	State Reorganization Commission
BCKU	Bihar Colliery Kamgar Committee
JCC	Jharkhand Coordination Committee
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
CPI (M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)

## LIST OF PUBLISHED/ACCEPTED PAPERS

1. Paper published in *'Itihas Anusandhan'*, Edited by Manju Chattopadhyay, Vol-24, page- 590-601, Kolkata, 2010 paper entitled : *'Jharkhand Andoloner Itihas : Bhowmik tatha Banabhumi Rakshar Prsangikata'*
2. Paper Published in edited book on *'Globalization & Human Rights'* Edited by Dr.Subrata Chatterjee, Published by Khejuri College, Paper entitled *'Forests, Lands, Resources and Adivasi rights – An unworthy narrative of 20<sup>th</sup> century catastrophe of Human Rights in Jharkhand, India'* January 2014, ISBN- 81-925349-0-9
3. Paper published in the proceedings of an International Multidisciplinary Conference on *'Sacred Geographies, Religious Cultures and Popular Practices in History and Imagination'* (SGRCPPI), Paper entitled *'Nature Culture and Tribal Behavior: A study of the Social Transformation in Jharkhand State'* held at Tiruvannamalai, Tamilnadu, at Post Graduate & Research Department of History, Government Arts College. Dated : 26-28<sup>th</sup> June 2014, ISBN 978-93-81521-40-3
4. Paper published in the National Journal *'Palli Charcha : The Indian Journal of Rural Studies'*, Viswabharati University, Santiniketan Vol.1, No- 2, June-Dec 2014, Paper entitled *'Tribal Culture and Environment : Reconstructing Theory and Changes towards Autonomy Movement in Jharkhand, India'*, ISSN – 2350-1227
5. Paper accepted for the forthcoming issue in the National Journal *'Palli Charcha: The Indian Journal of Rural Studies'*, Viswabharati University, Santiniketan, paper entitled *'Ecological aspects of the Jharkhand Movement: A brief historiographical narratives'*. ISSN – 2350-1227

# *CHAPTER 1*

## INTRODUCTION

# Chapter 1

## Introduction:

Some of the headlines of the Australian frontline newspaper ‘The Canberra Times’ that was published during the Stockholm Conference of ‘United Nations Environment Programme or UNEP in 1972<sup>1</sup> ran as ‘Draft Charter in Balance’, ‘The State of the Environment: The UN sounds a warning on mankind’s future’, ‘Conference opens without USSR’, ‘Putting environment on the map’, ‘Nations will confer on strategy for survival’, ‘Declaration of principles ready’ etc. The UNEP declaration on the state of environment had a fascinating impact on the global outlook of the resource utilization and the development model. In short, this conference had an impact on the thinking of the global masters towards more sustainable development. The first point of the UNEP proclamations shows:

‘Man is both creature and moulder of his environment, which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth. In the long and tortuous evolution of the human race on this planet a stage has been reached when, through rapid acceleration of science and technology, man has acquired the power to transform his environment in countless ways and on an unprecedented scale. Both aspects of man’s environment, the natural and the man made, are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights the right to life itself<sup>2</sup>.

As a representative from third world country the then Prime Minister of India late Smt. Indira Gandhi in her oratorical speech pointed out the reasons behind global ecological crisis. She delivered ‘All the ‘isms’ of the modern age-even those which in theory disown the private profit principle, assume that man’s cardinal interests is acquisition. The profit motive, individual or collective, seems to overshadowed all else. This overriding concern with self and today is the

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<sup>1</sup> (Draft charter in balance, The Canberra Times, (ACT: 1926-1995), Friday 9<sup>th</sup> June, 1972),(The state of the environment; The Un sounds a warning on mankind’s future, The Canberra Times (ACT: 1926-1995), Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> June 1975),(Conference Opens without USSR, The Canberra Times (Act: 1926-1995), Tuesday 6<sup>th</sup> June, 1972)(Putting Environment on the map, The Canberra Times, (ACT:1926-1995), Friday 26<sup>th</sup> May, 1972), (Nations will confer on strategy for survival, The Canberra Times (ACT:1926-1995), Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1972, (Declarations of Principles ready, The Canberra Times (ACT:1926-1995), Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1972) all these news papers are available in National Library of Australia through ([trove.nla.gov.au](http://trove.nla.gov.au)), these are the news headlines which covered most of the sessions of UNEP programme in 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Declaration of the United nations Conference on the Human Environment’ Stockholm,1972 ([www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org))

basic cause of ecological crises<sup>3</sup>. This was the starting point of the official discourses in the framing of Indian environmentalism in post 1970. However in real aspects this vision looks at the problems from above not from below. It also denies the ethnic sentiments persisted in the forests belts that created an ethnic crisis because ‘no government or development planners would agree to the possibility of such imminent threat as a result of their policy or project’<sup>4</sup>. Thus such increasing misery inevitably created an incomprehensible condition for the forest people. And those periodic attempts marked its decisive progress since independence. For better understanding ethnic crisis can be found in this way.

<b>Bases of Identity</b>	<b>Cultural values</b>	<b>Causes of crisis</b>
1. Geography	Balance between nature and culture	Imbalance
2. History	Accommodativeness	Exploitation by outsiders
3. Society	Equality	Inequality
4. Economy	Collective management	Individualism
5. Polity	Democracy	Paternalism
6. Religion	Naturism	Fundamentalism
7. Art and literature	Participation	Non-participation

Source: Sajal Basu, 1994 ‘Jharkhand Movement: Ethnicity and Culture of Silence’, p-54

Since the early colonial time, enormous natural catastrophe had been taken place due to timber trade and resource mobilization. The colonial imagination of resource utilization was also practiced in post independent India because state impressions of ecological imbalances is a crisis which could be corrected by ‘aggressive responses and legitimizes extreme initiative’<sup>5</sup>. This was precisely an analogous position of the earlier vision. In this backdrop the environmental

<sup>3</sup> [Lasulawsenvironmental.blogspot.in/2012/7/indira-gandhis-speech-at-stockholm.html](http://Lasulawsenvironmental.blogspot.in/2012/7/indira-gandhis-speech-at-stockholm.html), accessed on 28.08.2015

<sup>4</sup> Sajal Basu, 1994, ‘Jharkhand Movement: Ethnicity and Culture of Silence’, p-54

<sup>5</sup> Akhileshwar Pathak, 1994, ‘Contested Domains ; The state, peasants and forests in contemporary India’, p-9, In his book, Pathak argued that the immediate response of the state to address ecological crisis had created a two way concept it ‘precludes resolution without the institutions of the state and at the same time by recognizing and legitimizing social contradiction, it opens the possibility for their maturation into a crisis’, pp-9-10

movements of the forest dwellers are typically subdued in political agenda because in both concepts they are the worst sufferer as because their daily needs were under serious threat.

Like other global crisis, environmental crisis in today's world spreading like wild fire in every possible way. This global crisis in the sphere of environment created a massive threat to the society in the last couple of decades. In popular writings this global crisis are seen as man-made and was due to unethical development with improper justification. In India massive despoliation of woodland deteriorated the ecological balance of the nature because it not only leads to the soil erosion but also had an impact on the rainfall. In short, in most cases modernity reinforced ecological crisis. What is important in today's globalizing world is an empirical attempt to restore the mankind by formulating people friendly act by which human beings can stay as they should without disassociate themselves from the core objectives of the state. In the case of Jharkhand, the commercial forestry which was accelerated since independence by and large rejected the traditional practices of the forest dwellers and produced a serious threat to the existing biomass.

In my thesis I have made some efforts to trace the persistence and continuity of the alienation process that caused rapid estrangement from tribal home and hearth. I have documented that in Jharkhand the process of commercialization dovetailed with clearing of old trees which symbolically attached with traditional culture of the forest dwellers. Moreover it prevented the way they lived in the forests. On the other hand, due to social transformation, particularly through conversion by the missionaries for a long period and later by mainstream religious forces, particularly in the process of Hinduization, forest dwellers had to accustom with an array of confusions which led a slow elimination from their traditional social system as well as from their customs that negatively impacted a dispassion towards their cultural heritage<sup>6</sup>. The exaggerated importance of the Hinduization was so high that many tribal communities lost their traditional significance. Village Headman, Manjhi separated from traditional indigenous political system, political institutions were perturbed, and structural factionalism occurred<sup>7</sup>.It was

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<sup>6</sup> However in my field visit to many places I have heard from local people that many tribal communities still practiced their traditional cultural amid huge acculturation process in the region

<sup>7</sup> Eminent historian Prof. Binoy Bhusan Chowdhury in a formal discussion recall the past attempts of the anthropologists like, S.C.Roy, N.K.Dutta, D.N.Majumdar and Martin Oraon about social transformation in tribal

aggravated since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was argued that the influx of the outsiders produced complex ethnic crisis which extinguished them in a backward stage and later completely lost their traditional beliefs in the process of social acculturation.

In this wider context of transformation, at one stage the capitalist vision of use of nature and the existing traditions, emotional involvement that evolves through associating the landscapes under customary communitarian belief had to come in a conflict because it was a conflict of interests between commercial and communitarian understandings. Because since colonial time, scientific forestry 'design to recorder both nature and customary use in its own image'<sup>8</sup>. Clearly then the pauperization was started by rupturing landscapes and social structure where the main means of adaptations can be found and this was explored in constructing identities in later political movements. This kind of alienation set the tone of a vision that turned world upside down. And it was reflected in the environmental movements like Chipko in Uttarakhand and many others anti dam movements originated since post colonial approach of development because it was nagging pain as well as long term effect on the customary rights. So to say, in Jharkhand the process of commercialization intensely alienated tribal rights over natural resources and also isolated them from the holy place they usually entered and worshiped. Thus, rampant changes in tribal economic and ideological system and imposition of civil culture (which is different form of culture, rather, mainstream culture) have been from the very beginning led to exodus of the tribals to the deeper part of the forests or to new area of colonial development such as tea gardens in Assam and Duars. Therefore my thesis stand on the side that the colonial and post colonial state intervention on the region brings changes which are new to the tribes of the region.

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area, he told me that these authors made an extensive study over Hindu absorption of tribes, According to N.Dutta, the Juang tribes of Orissa had to abandoned Jhum cultivation because they wanted more secure economic life with the Hindu society. Martin Oraon documented that after Santal rebellion, they realized that the British are more powerful and later they were associated with mainstream Hindu society, (interview taken at Vidyasagar University during my Ph.D.Course work on 22.02.2011.)

<sup>8</sup> R.Guha, 'The Unquiet Woods, Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya' 1989, in R.Guha's, 'The Ramchandra Guha Omnibus', p-59





Fig: 1.1 Chipko (Hug)

Source: Canberra Times (ACT: 1926-1995), Saturday 13 May 1989 under the heading 'Indian forest women find a new convert' , Downloaded from National Library of Australia through <http://nla.gov.au/n.l.a>.

In this backdrop Jharkhand movement can also be portrayed as a resource based struggle originated since colonial intrusion into the Chotanagpur region which became an instrumental weapon in post colonial movement. In post colonial India the construction of regional politics by the Jharkhandi parties was a continuation of the earlier saga to establish a regional ethnic identity over 'Jal Jungle and Jamin' by the tribal heroes in the successive insurrections. Astonishingly the demand of the separate statehood in a fragmented manner accepted and utilized the moral negotiations with the non-tribal residents to meet the cherished demand of statehood. In popular writings this act of mental attitude had been seen as a mere deviation from the original demand of tribal homeland which in all means brought changes in the course of the movement. In reality the politics choose to articulate those subjects that produced an understanding of commonalities between tribes and non-tribes vis-à-vis a self assertive direction and this had produced a diverse and changing significance by which tribal aristocracy and political leaders appropriated the

original demand of environmental rights, raised by many tribal leaders earlier. In such a coalition, social, environmental and ecological demand subsumed and diluted in a broader political demand. It not only produced variance in the ethnic politics but also created a utilitarian concept which overturns the basic ethnic issues. This is an alternative context of the Jharkhand movement. The contemporary political debates on the issue of North Bihar -South Bihar dichotomy and the participation of the non-tribal had a great impact on the ideologies of the political discourses started in 1930. From this alternative political path ecological questions were largely irresponsive till 1970s. From this point I have tried to make a detail analysis as well as in-depth study of the social and ecological factors that gave Jharkhand movement a success over its demand. The thesis also gives many factors and events which shaped tribal identity politics.

The thesis provides many answers to the questions of development politics and ecological situations particularly from the rise of industrial regime in Jharkhand. It also tries to bring it to the light from theoretical exposition perspectives that how the change in the customary land holding and the so called alienation distinctively settled upon an ecological resource battle. How the agricultural practices produced an acute ecological consciousness among the tribes of Jharkhand is also presented in this thesis to identify how the change in adaptation was catastrophic in tribal economy which was largely framed on the basis of ecological subject.

Since there were vast literatures and reviews which were mostly came from anthropological case studies based on participant observation and other intellectual book forms. Huge articles on specific issues of Jharkhand State are also available. But unfortunately there were small amount of works related to the whole history of the Jharkhand Movement by the historians through archival resources. However few books are available though most of them are based on political history of the movement. Not much works are carried out on the ecological and environmental history perspectives though some of the works were greatly devoted to the ecological and social questions under suppositional concept. A few can be illustrated here to understand the existing literature and its contents.

One of the best available books on Jharkhand Movement is Sajal Basu's "*Jharkhand Movement, Ethnicity and Culture of Silence*". His observation was mainly based on ethnic politics; the

mixed compositions of caste prevail in the society which he believed created lots of disparities among the communities of Jharkhand. Particularly in the case of reservation policies, he shows how the composition of S.C and S.T populations created a division among the tribes and non tribes. Basu observed that the movement in its inception was located clearly on the ethnicity of the tribals but it has changed during the course of the movement.

Another important book “*Jharkhand: Politics of development and identity*” wrote by Amit Prakash was outstanding in its class. It focuses on the evolution and transformation of the Jharkhandi identity over the last half-century culminating in the formation of the Jharkhand state in November 2000. It also provides several data regarding socio-economic conditions in Jharkhand and undivided Bihar, beginning with 1950, and correlates the performance of the Jharkhandi political formations in Lok Sabha elections with the development profile of Jharkhand (in relation to undivided Bihar). It would be immensely valuable to political analysts, political parties, economists, policy makers, advocates of smaller states in India, and the state governments of Jharkhand and present day Bihar.

“*In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand*” by Alpa Shah is an exceptionally rich ethnographic research oriented book. It suggests that indigenous rights and development in a broader way heart the people of Jharkhand. As a critique, Shah pointed out that the long cherished dream of Jharkhand was finally achieved due to local, regional, and transnational activism for the rights of the region’s culturally autonomous indigenous people. Shah observed that the community always think of the revival of the indigenous governance system, and seek to avoid the initial spread of an armed revolution of Maoist guerrillas who claim to represent them. The policy based movement misguided them to a larger extent where one can easily lost his culture-based identity. *In the Shadows of the State* brings together ethnographic and theoretical analyses to show that the local use of global discourses of indigeneity often reinforces a class system that harms the poorest people.

“*Jharkhand Movement: A Study in the Politics of Regionalism*” by Arunabha Ghosh is the only book which gives a comprehensive history of the Jharkhand political Movement and its gradual

evolution. This book contains only political history of the Jharkhand Movement. No such attempts were made to investigate social and ecological problems.

Mathew Areeparampil's article on "*Forest Andolon in Singbhum*" which was published in S.Narayan edited '*Jharkhand Movement: Origin and Evolution*', in 1992 is a classic example dealt with Ho's movement against commercial forestry in Singbhum in 1978. Another edited volume on "*The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples Struggle for autonomy in India*" edited by Ramdayal Munda and S.Bosu Mallick is a set of papers of eminent authors. Leading social scientists and activists discusses almost every part of Jharkhand autonomy movements including internal colonialism that booming due to disparity of development between North Bihar and South Bihar. It also documented several memorandums sent to the govt offices during the movement. "*Forest, Government and Tribe*" edited by Dr.Chittaranjan Kumar Paty is also a good volume of collected papers. It focuses on different aspects related to social protests due to forest reservation, forest laws, ecological ideologies and development parameters.

Stuart Corbridge in his article "*The Ideology of Tribal Economy and Society : Politics in the Jharkhand 1950-1980*" Published in the Journal of Modern Asian Studies, 1988 critically examines the rise and fall of tribal ethnoregionalism from the point of view of tribal policy and tribal politics in independent India. He argues that in Independent India during 1960s the fall of tribal ethnoregionalism was based on rapid change in the economy of tribal society and factional clashes within tribal societies. He also believes that replacement of ethnic politics by a resolutely class politics altered the ethnic ideas. Thus economic and demographic transformation of South Bihar and the contradictory development of state tribal policies should be critically examine to find out the reason behind the fall of 'ethnoregionalism'.

Susana B C Devalle's "*Discourses of Ethnicity: Culture and Protest in Jharkhand*" is one of the important book extensively dealt with how the rise of ethnic identity emerge through 'historical structure, human experience and social consciousness'. This is one of the books which touched upon almost all the aspects of the Jharkhand Society under indigenous knowledge of ethnic ideas that evolves through long period of time.

*“Tribal Movements in Jharkhand 1857-2007”* is a collective volume of many articles that dealt with many issues, such as assertion of cultural and political identity through long struggle. The book mainly focuses on the indigenous struggle from various reasons.

The existing literature on the subjects has already dealt quite extensively with the role of economic change since colonial times in causing periodic bouts of unrest in the region. That such economic concern was dovetailed with tribal culture is also fairly well known. However what requires to be studied more elaborately is the ideological dimension rooted in their ecological ideas. This thesis also provided a well ordered display of some unexplored parameters of the ecological ideas of the tribal people under specific conditions. The thesis made with a conscious argument that the tribal people did not look upon their land as a mere commodity in the market. It was an integral part of their habitat; therefore alienation from their land was something more than a mere loss of property.

Drawing a single line of argument is very tough in respect to the complexities that had produced through the entire phases of the Jharkhand Movement. The movement had shown a multifaceted demand over many issues based on ground realities for a new system vis-à-vis a new state. In effect, the Jharkhand Movement as a part of age long campaign for a separate state finally achieved a major success politically by the accreditation of the local people who fought for the plea of tribal homeland. The movement was ended up officially with the formation of the separate Jharkhand State carved out from erstwhile Bihar through Bihar Reorganization Act on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000<sup>9</sup>. The Jharkhand movement is believed to be a continuation of the indigenous peoples struggle against the British colonialism<sup>10</sup>. The emergence of the new state has created a need to look differently, at least in the entire process of beginning and the diffusion moment of the Jharkhandi politics. The entire political phase of Jharkhand Movement was neither too simple nor being too insensitive to the question of model separate state. With the emerging popularity of different political parties and their wings and of all ideological clashes supporting political maturity that comes alive after every ten or twenty years since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However all these interesting episodes of the whole movement was to a great

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<sup>9</sup> The date and year marked the birth anniversary of the legendary Birsa Munda

<sup>10</sup> S.Bosu Mullick, 2003, ‘The Jharkhand Movement : Indigenous Peoples Struggle for Autonomy in India, (edt) by Ramdayal Munda and S.Bosu Mullick, p-iv, IWGIA

extent predominantly focuses on the electoral politics as part of the underpinning demand of social restoration and ecological improvement which was undoubtedly ascribed in different traditions of the local tribes.

The Jharkhand Movement to a great extent dedicated to those of the leaders, (locally Bhagwan) who relentlessly fought against the oppressor, dreamed in the way to reconstruct past attempts by re-visioning critical problems in a radical way, illustrating the causes of the pain and contributing accordingly. It is however a multi dimensional movement evolves through various phases, from ethnic solidarity to the tribal nationalism and regionalism<sup>11</sup>. It has built strong ideological connection of the earlier movements that was suppressed by colonial forces. Politically those earlier uprisings had a role in making decisions of the later insurrections and by recording of those attempts in the minds are based on certain ideologies sharpened through popular practices<sup>12</sup>. However on the basis of the earlier uprisings the Jharkhand movement was having its goal of separation of south Bihar became relatable because of its unique natural setup which is ethnically as well as ecologically different from the mainstream society. The region and its antiquities provide the ideological resources in the mainstream political movement. The tribal population and their age long suppression also provide the legitimacy of a separate state.

Various studies have made a consensus that there were various issues which are responsible for the emergence of Jharkhand Movement. Social and economic suppression through political coercion are those of the main issues on the basis of which Jharkhand movement prepared its agenda. Forest and ecological rights were mostly combined into economic problems. Because since the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, economic and political contents of the movement were many a times appropriated by the non-tribal *sadans* or the tribal aristocracy leading the movement to a dead end, but as the social and ecological essence remained intact in the tribal movements got refueled and rejuvenated since 1970s under the banner of of Jhrakhnd Mukti Morcha. Since the formation of the Jharkhand State, the demand of the greater Jharkhand comprising the adjoining forest areas of West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh was to a great extent endorsed the legitimacy of such essence. In the last phase of the movement it was completely an

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<sup>11</sup> Alexius Ekka, 'Jharkhand Movement and Parliamentary Elections' Jan, 29, 2000, EPW, p-257

<sup>12</sup> The use of tribal traditional weapons, Bow and arrows and the unanimously selected spots of gatherings, the hidden locations and the traditional way of transmitting messages are all used to reconstruct earlier strategies.

episode of fragmented politics on the demand of separate state accompanied with new political or economic slogans but the same essence of the social and ecological rights to the tribal remain intact. Thus Jharkhand movement started more on the basis of ecological notions with economic and political considerations subsumed in it. Although in 2001 the tribal state has been carved out from Bihar but the question of ecology in social practices neither fulfilled nor addressed by the state.

There has been tremendous development since the post colonial era in the Jharkhand politics and more radicalization in terms of movement because of the ‘development model’ adopted by the post independent state. The electoral politics also became more prominent as the centre rejected the demand of separate state on the ground that it was ‘perverse and irrational to the progressive tribal policies of Post independence administration’<sup>13</sup>. Thus the radicalization of the movement and the split over many political organization have been seen which was significantly destabilize the movement. Yet this movement never been a part of broader national movement but the movement largely evoked local demands. Concentrated on the issues like, land alienation due to large scale industrialization and deforestation which was ecologically devastated because of the change of the habitat. Thus it was unprotected from the centre and independent in its own.

There is no doubt that existing internal problem which swallowed everything had greatly influenced the course of the movement. These can be called interacting forces that constituted an image of destruction. It can be summarized by following diminutive observation.

- The rampant change in the customary land holding pattern due to new land management which was increasingly taken place in the region. The tribes of Jharkhand follow traditional agricultural customs. The most important factors of the traditional agriculture were evolved through communitarian belief. Market based production was not there in a communitarian setup. And these agricultural patterns determines by traditional culture which was mostly unwritten and practiced according to customs.

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<sup>13</sup> Sanjoy Bosu Mallick, *The Jharkhand Movement : Indigenous Peoples’ Struggle for Autonomy in India*, (Introduction, p-xiv) (edt) by Ramdayal Munda & S.Bosu Mullick, 2003, IWGIA

- The modern land management ostensibly created forced migration because of the lesser scope of the traditional production management. Ecological change in the habitat occurred due to different livelihood.
- The emergence of scientific forestry has caused indefinable pain to the local tribes, because they were restricted to enter into the forests where their ancestors used to live. It not only dishonored the forest dwellers but also destroyed the food chain.
- The resource use patterns, such as the collection of roots, fruits and cattle grazing are forbidden which ecologically decline the strength of the tribal people.
- The emergence of the industries also responsible for the large scale deforestation and pollution. It not only ruined the status and standing of the local tribes but also opened up inroads for non-tribal. The identity crisis became prominent in such a condition.
- The Jobs, assertion of languages, the rehabilitation, the atrocities towards the tribal women and violations of the principles of the tribal world had brought a notion of exclusion.
- Further, the movement was originated with the view that the North Bihar had less contribution to the GDP but they had enjoyed all the benefits. The concept of the pattern of injustice was so powerful between the north Bihar and South Bihar.

From this whole spectrum of confusions and reconstruction the leadership appraisal (including Christian Missionaries) and their relevance in political parties are important. In this thesis I have tried to find out the views of the leaderships towards social, ecological and political issues which were epitomized as an uttered summons and directives that enabled the local tribal people to rose movements against the oppressors. It is true that leaders' participation and strategic articulation sometimes fosters people's zeal of getting into the demand they sought. The politics of Jharkhand movement was undoubtedly depends on political activism in all the spheres of rural principles. That is how the movement evolves in a steady but fragmented way.

Finally another important aspect of this thesis is to analysis how the state after creation look into the dynamics of the tribal demand and how the new state observed the same in their policy making.



## *CHAPTER-2*

**THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REGION  
IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE  
JHARKHAND MOVEMENT:  
INTERRELATEDNESS AND  
INTERACTIONS OF THE SOCIAL,  
ECOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL  
FACTORS THAT GAVE RISE TO THE  
MOVEMENT**

## Chapter - 2

### **The importance of the region in the analysis of the Jharkhand Movement: Inter-relatedness and interactions of the social, ecological and political factors that gave rise to the movement**

#### **2.1 Introduction:**

The Jharkhand Movement in the post colonial India with its accent on the demand for statehood has achieved a major success in the formation of the Jharkhand state out of the so-called tribal districts of Bihar<sup>14</sup>. The emergence of the Jharkhand State has created the need for taking a new look at the region, which since the early part of the last century had periodic attempts to organize the tribal population of the region on a partisonal basis, taking inspiration from the earlier tribal uprisings against the oppressing arms of the colonial state. All those who began to dominate the regional economy because of their connection with the colonial state become targets of tribal anger born out of their gradual loss of land to new classes of land owners and money lenders, their displacement from their land, home and hearth, and the consequent emigration of a substantial section of tribal population to other regions. (e.g. Assam tea Gardens, working as cooley, or daily waged labour in the urban cities like kolkata and other places)

The political history of the formation of Jharkhand state has an ecological and environmental context. To a great extent ecological and environmental issues had a luaring on the processes of social life and its political consequences. Often ecological and environmental issues had direct political resonance. To begin with the ecological and environmental parameters that reflected in a steady political movement for Jharkhand separate statehood, it is necessary to look at the available accounts which dealt with ecology and environment. Most of the available accounts developed through anthropological researches mainly, though some historical accounts are also available. Before taking into accounts of these vast resources, a distinction must draw between ecological and environmental history. R.Guha and D.Arnold in their famous work “*Nature, Culture, Imperialism, Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*” argued that ‘ecology

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<sup>14</sup> Jharkhand State was curved out from erstwhile Bihar on 15<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2000

implied a family of living organism, each in close proximity to the other, sharing the same physical space, with conflicting appetites or complimentary needs<sup>15</sup>. The term ‘*ecology*’ was first developed by the German Zoologist Ernst Haeckel in 1866. He clarifies ecology as ‘the science of the relations of living organism to the external world, their habitat, customs, energies, parasites etc’<sup>16</sup>. In the same way Jonathan Hughes pointed out that ‘the term ecology is properly used to refer to a branch of Biology, that which deals with the relations between organisms and their environment’<sup>17</sup>. He believed that when we used ‘ecological and environmental’ it certainly refers to the human problem<sup>18</sup>. On the other hand environmental history is the

‘Study of human engagement over time with the physical environment, of the environment as context, agent, and influence in human history. Here nature figures unabashedly as human habitat, but in a dual capacity. On the one hand are ranged those elements of nature-climate, topography, animal and insect life, vegetation and soil-which directly or indirectly shape human activity and productivity but the relationship is a reciprocal one, for man more than any other living organism also alters the landscapes, fells trees, erodes soil, dams streams, kills of unwelcome plants and predatory animals installing favoured species in their stead’<sup>19</sup>.

In this dictum ‘human engagement’ had a role in constructing ideas of dependence on forests resources over time. It refers to the long attachments with nature, flora and fauna and a continuous process of use of forests resources as a source of livelihood. Like many other states in India, these long processes of dependence on the forest products are the part and parcel of the tribal communities in the entire Jharkhand region. They depended on the forests for food, vegetables, medicines, fertilizers, fibres, oilseeds and other non timber forests products (NTFPs). The symbiotic relationship with forests from generations constructs the ideas that the scattered forests are the home and hearth in tribal life where they can move freely without any fear or restrictions. They can play games or graze their cattle. These ideas came from a mature understanding of surrounding environment which linking ‘the system of ecological relations with the community, their herds and pastures and the system of social relations governing access to

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<sup>15</sup> R.Guha & M.Gadgill 1995, ‘Nature, Culture, Imperialism’ p-2, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

<sup>16</sup> Cited in R.Guha op.cit, p-2

<sup>17</sup> For detail discussion on ecology pls see ‘Ecology and Historical Materialism’ Jonathan Hughes, 2000, Cambridge, pp-8-9

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*, pp-8-9

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*, p-3

the land and its product<sup>20</sup>. Thus in perception, both ecological and environmental history to a great extent related with human nature relationship that created a space for human habitat.

Indeed, the question of ecology and environment suppose to be one of the principal factors behind indigenous identity creation<sup>21</sup>. Consequently the development in the domain of culture, religion and self determination in a political dimension particularly in the indigenous social and economic demand inspired the native to reconstruct earlier activities of their relation with the nature<sup>22</sup>. It was gradually developed and suddenly finds its way within political development in the entire period of subjugation by the state agencies. In the late 1970 particularly under the banner of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) the revival of culture and its associated festivals became the major agenda of Jharkhand Political Movement. And its shows a tremendous growth of tribal consciousness which was sometimes crossed boundaries and reached neighbouring states also. However the revival of glorious past by performing festivals has achieved a major success in the political movement but was unable to capitalise any significant move towards larger environmental perspective<sup>23</sup>. The ideologies behind such revivalism were the outcome of endless love and affection towards nature and its use in a simplest form or in a practice which are traditionally governed by the villages or by the elders. So to say, since the practice did not harm nature because it was contained within the domain of belief and respect<sup>24</sup>. In this spectrum, the understanding of the flora and fauna and the use of nature for their own purpose surely has had a

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<sup>20</sup> Tim Ingold, 1980, 'Hunters, Pastoralists and ranchers, Reindeer economies and their transformation' prologue (Introduction)(unpaged)

<sup>21</sup> The identity of tribes is often related with the term 'Junglee' as because they usually reside in the vast impenetrable jungle having different culture from the mainstream, uncivilized, uneducated and savaged. The colonial administration often called them savage beasts. They have been categorized as the primitive because of their distance from the civilized world. Calling them savage beasts refers to certain ecological setup but the rest have definitely engulfed with different ecological set up, they have suffered differently with the colonial pressure, it cannot be overruled that the construction of tribe as an isolated entity became prominent in the Jharkhand Movement and definitely created many options in regard to relation to the external world.

<sup>22</sup> The term reconstruction of earlier activities has been used to identify the relation of the tribes with the natural environment. It was not artificial but essentially proved a dynamic influence.

<sup>23</sup> Many writers have evoked that the land alienations and forest degradation was the major concern in many parts of Jharkhand even after the creation of a new state. And the recent demand of greater Jharkhand comprising the jungle mahal area of West Bengal was very important because all these areas are forested.

<sup>24</sup> However in recent years many area based case studies have been taken up to locate the ecological knowledge of the Jharkhand tribes, Mr.P.Dey and A.K.Sarkar in their article 'Revisiting Indigenous Farming Knowledge of Jharkhand (India) for conservation of natural resources and combating climate change' published in the 'Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge, Vol 10 (1), Jan, 2011, pp-71-79 have shown that the tribes possessed a clear ecological knowledge in the farming practice despite of rainfall shortages and other climatic condition. For detail see also Sanjay Kumar's, 'Forest Dwellers Knowledge of Local Ecological Services' in Jharkhand, Environment, development, Ethnicity, (ed) Stuart Corbridge, et al. 2004, Oxford

role in tribal culture that evolves a strong connection in the political development in the first two or three decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>25</sup>. The construction of identities through the places of ecological values was born under specific eco-system, which was wilfully taken into consideration in the Jharkhand Movement as the right of the downtrodden<sup>26</sup>. However there was another significant development regarding cultural assertion as a milieu against the rampant change in the surrounding environment caused by modernity. And the primitive culture in most familiar understanding inextricably intertwined with religion in which western social anthropologists and sociologists have developed the role of Judaeo-Christianity<sup>27</sup>. In compliance with the religion, psychology was in turn had a great link in shaping the idea of animism, mostly defined by the anthropologists. It was developed by many known figures like, Edward Taylor, Herbert Spencer and Robert Marett. They claimed that the relationship with the nature was an intellectual part of the religious propagation practised through taboos rendered for supernatural powers, ancestors' veneration in particular ecological circumstances<sup>28</sup>.

## **2.2 The question of early discontents on the basis of regional setting**

The Jharkhand region has a glorious history of several tribal uprisings subjugated later by the colonial forces. Since the formative period of British expansion in the eastern tribal belt, this area has been given special status of excluded area and place under the direct control of the Governor and later under the district officers. Indeed the intention was to meet the rich mineral resources available in the region<sup>29</sup>. It was documented that the 'Dominant trend in the colonial period in Chotanagpur was one of deforestation is not surprising given the fact that the landscape that evolved under colonial rule clearly expressed British attempts to dominate the forests and

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<sup>25</sup> In many instances particularly after the emergence of Chotanagpur Improvement Society in 1915 the demand for separate state has been chalked out by the notion of environmental parameters, such as the forest rights for the tribes, but it was not achieved any major success because it was diluted within a strong political appeal.

<sup>26</sup> The demand of separate state has been for a long time undergone in several dimensions, one of the major concerns was the territorial boundary. Later it was unanimously accepted that the Jharkhand State should be carved out with the vast jungle tract of the former Southern Bihar.

<sup>27</sup> D.Debnath, 2003, 'Ecology and Rituals in Tribal India, pp-3-4

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*, p-4

<sup>29</sup> Amit Prakash, 'De-colonisation and tribal policy in Jharkhand: Continuities with Colonial Discourses' *Social Scientist*, Vol-27 (7-8) July-Aug-1999,p-117 see also 'Jharkhand Politics of Development and Identity', Amit Prakash, 2001

minerals and water sources in the interests of the production and profits<sup>30</sup>. However such attempt had been repeatedly challenged by the tribes of the Jharkhand in different time. It has been argued that the colonial discourses brought series of changes in the region which brought social and economic distress among the tribal people and as a result they became united and sharpened later in the course of the Jharkhand political Movement.

Undoubtedly the political movement in Jharkhand had a series of propaganda reflected on the issue of environmental degradation started at the very beginning of colonial expansion. Jharkhandi activists have concerned about the fact that before the advent of the British there were every possibility of hope and prosperity prevailing according to the tribal law and customs<sup>31</sup>. The British, who were solely responsible for destabilising the traditional practices of environmental knowledge<sup>32</sup> and forced them to alienate from the use of ecological resources, particularly after the forests reservation in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century when tribes were forbidden to enter the forests. In this ‘contested domain’ it seems to be very crucial to understand the motif of colonial expansion in the Jharkhand region. Scholars are mostly agreed that the expansion of the colonial power into the Jharkhand region proved to be devastating in terms of imposing restrictions between forests and the tribes.

The early colonial foresters did not understand the ecological value of the region and decided to expand revenue yielding tracts ignoring ecological situation, and gradually became the sole owner of the forests land. Colonial forester Stebbing wrote that ‘to the government and their officials, the important which forests play in nature and the great influence they exercise in the physical wellbeing of a country was unrecognised’<sup>33</sup>. With time a number of forests act was enacted which gradually took over all the forests land and the tribes were alienated forever. The losses of land and forests have been become a seed that flared violent against the oppressing arms. The need of taking ownership forcefully was hastened because of the revenue collection is a matter of great concern to the ecological imbalances. Hence, the destruction of forests had been

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<sup>30</sup> G.Cederlof & K.Sibaramakrishnan 2006 ‘ Ecological Nationalism, Nature, Livelihood and Identities in South Asia’ p-118

<sup>31</sup> This attitude has been depicted in various memorandums delivered to many official dignitaries since 1915. Some of the original memorandums are given in the appendices portion of this thesis.

<sup>32</sup> In the course of the movement, many attempts have been made to enter the forests forcefully because of the restrictions.

<sup>33</sup> E.P.Stebbing, 1921, The forests of India, Vol-1, p-61,

criticised by many colonial foresters like Ribbentrop, Dr, Schlich, and Stebbing. Ribbentrop in his writing warned the govt that destruction of forests caused deterioration in the climate, Since then the concept of scientific forestry was developed and it was first introduced by the then Governor General Lord Dalhousie in his Forest Charter in 1855<sup>34</sup> and according to facts and figures the British Govt. had enacted India's first forest act in 1865 with cumulative intension to expand its territory to all over Indian subcontinent. Scholars have argued that the 'Discourses of scientific forestry was no more accepting of indigenious ideas of conservation than the earlier ethics of exploitation had been. This has to be seen as a mechanistic science where nature, the human body and animals could be described, repaired and controlled',<sup>35</sup>.

The colonial intrusion into the region's forest area to a great extent directed for preservation of good timber which could be used for railway sleepers. The initial attempts were opposed by intermittent tribal movements. But despite of all the opposition they have accentuated the expansion into the vast and stretchable jungle tracts and gradually established British supremacy into the region. The early attempts, particularly during the East India Company can be found in accounts made by colonial anthropologists and ethnographers. Early writings pursued a model and construct tribe as an isolated entity, savage, and endangered. Therefore they live in an isolated kingdom and have no connection with civilized world. This is the fundamental theory which mobilized colonial administrator to precede some sort of negotiation with the tribal world otherwise they became subject of exploitation by the moneylenders. With time such feelings have transformed into a broader framework that only the colonial government was capable of securing tribes through modernization with the help of mainstream politics<sup>36</sup>. Later, it was the economic value guided by the notion of accumulation of wealth of the region that also came under consideration. Therefore it would be pertinent to draw an account of the geographical situation of the area which constitutes the knowledge of the ecological situation.

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<sup>34</sup> 'Minute' by the Governor General of India, 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1856, Lord Dalhousie, p-36, Paragraph, 82

<sup>35</sup> G.Cedelof & K.Sibaramakrishnan,2006,op.cit, p-118

<sup>36</sup> Amit Prakash,1999, op.cit, p-118

## 2.2.1 Physiographical nature of Jharkhand state



Fig 2.1 Jharkhand Map

Source (<http://www.indianexcursion.net/jharkhand/map.html>)

Jharkhand is the tribal belt of eastern India and its physiography is largely defined by the portion of Chotanagpur Plateau and Santal Parganas of South Bihar. It has shared its border with Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Chattisgarh and Odissa. Jharkhand is a land blessed with huge mineral resources and presently one of the largest producers of minerals in India. It is vastly forested. According to India State of forest Report 2009, the forest area is about 23,605 sq. km. of total geographical area of the state which is almost 29.61% of the total landmass.<sup>37</sup> Around 89 percent of the people who lived in these vast lands are agriculture oriented and forests supplement the agrarian economy<sup>38</sup>. Scholars have argued that the existing internal administrative divisions are formed because of the ‘geo-ecological regional differentiation of the

<sup>37</sup> Department of Forest and Environment, Govt. of Jharkhand, ([http://www.jharkhandforest.com/forest\\_glance.html](http://www.jharkhandforest.com/forest_glance.html)) accessed on 5.5.2013, see also ‘India State of Forest Survey Report, Jharkhand’, 2009 ([http://www.fsi.nic.in/srf\\_2009jharkhand.pdf](http://www.fsi.nic.in/srf_2009jharkhand.pdf)) accessed on 5.5.2013

<sup>38</sup> Susana.BC Devalle, 1992, ‘Discourses of Ethnicity : Culture and Protest in Jharkhand’ p-15



state<sup>39</sup>. These divisions are North Bihar to the north of the Ganges River, the south Ganges plain or South Bihar and the plateau areas of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana<sup>40</sup>. Interestingly these geo-ecological divisions are ‘partially conditioned the development of system of production and the emergence of socio-cultural patterns’<sup>41</sup>.

The essence of Jharkhand Movement in the past prolonged years can be found within the inner meaning of the word ‘Jharkhand’ itself. Jharkhand means forest lands and it was in the beginning ‘coined to give a cognitive value to the tribal lands of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas of Bihar’<sup>42</sup>. Jharkhand region is known for its picturesque landscape, large tract of forests, and homeland of innocent tribes. Jharkhand is the abode of the early man<sup>43</sup>. It is a popular tourist spot, people from all over India used to visit this place throughout the year, and it is always attracted traders, merchants’ miners, and pilgrims<sup>44</sup>. Now days this place has been badly affected by the Extremist Movement. In the recent report of five year plan for the state of Jharkhand reveals that 19 districts out of 24 have been affected by extremist movement<sup>45</sup>. Indeed topographically this place has been a perfect place for any movement because of its impenetrable jungle tracts.

From where the first reference of the word ‘Jharkhand’ is coming was still not clear from the available literature. Some of the Muslim chronicles and other contemporary documents show that the first reference of the word Jharkhand was mentioned in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Baishnav literature Sri *Chaitanyacharitamrita*, The seventh canto of Sri Chaitanyacharitamrita described about the great journey of Sri Chaitanya from Jagannathpuri to Mathura, a sacred place near Delhi. It describes that during Sri Chaitanyas journey he passes through the land of Jharkhand<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> *ibid*,p-53

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*,p-53

<sup>41</sup> *ibid*,p-53

<sup>42</sup> A.K.Jha 1992, ‘Jharkhand Politics of Bihar, Paradigm of Non-Performance’ in S.Narayan (ed) Jharkhand Movement : Origin and Evolution’

<sup>43</sup> K.S.Singh 2008 ‘People of India’ XVI, Part II, p-14

<sup>44</sup> *ibid*, p-14

<sup>45</sup> For details pls see State 12<sup>th</sup> Five year plan (2012-2017), 2012, State Annual Plan, 2012-13, State of Jharkhand, ([http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/Presentation12\\_13/jharkhand12\\_13.pdf](http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/Presentation12_13/jharkhand12_13.pdf)) accessed on 5.5.2013

<sup>46</sup> K.S.Singh, 2004, ‘Ecology, Ethnicity, Regionalism and State Formation : An Exploration of Jharkhand Movement’ in Rajib Balakrishnan (ed) ‘Jharkhand Matters: Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development’ Council for Social Development, p-117

The early documents revealed that geographically the entire area from Birbhum and Panchet to Ratnapur in central India and from Rohtas to the frontiers of Orissa, were collectively known as 'Jharkhand' or jungle land<sup>47</sup>. It is also connected with great vindhyan range. Contemporary documents shows that this portion of the region is also known as 'Dandaka Forest', in the 5<sup>th</sup> report of the select committee it is called Jharkhand, Chutia Nagpur and Kukera, in this report it was claimed that it is called Nagpur from its diamond mines<sup>48</sup> Dalton wrote in his *Ethnography of Bengal* that "When Mundaris first appeared in it, was doubtless all covered with such grand sal timber as we still find in un reclaimed parts"<sup>49</sup>. Probably the first clear picture of the region is found in the medieval text. During 13<sup>th</sup> century the first reference of Jharkhand was found in a copper plate inscription. Nrisingha Deva of Ganga Dynasty granted land in Dakshina (Southern Bihar)<sup>50</sup>. In 1538 A.D during the rebellion against emperor Humayun, Sher Shah built his fort near Teliageri and on 12<sup>th</sup> July 1576, the battle of Rajmahal was fought and the foundation of Mughal rule in Bengal established<sup>51</sup>.

The history of this area indicates that in the whole Mughal period the region enjoyed autonomy and independence because the Mughal ruler did not intervene much into the indigenous political system existed in the region. It was suppose to be true that the introduction of British rule has brought some changes through extending its suzerain power over region's polity, society and economy and ideological primitive structure practised through generations. Inevitably ancient traditional village structure had begun to deteriorate because the process of colonialism swept away indigenous traditional system and promulgated new system and exploit them through the local kings and Jagirdars. It was further mobilized through exploitative nexus with the money lenders. During the early decade of 1780s the East India Company consolidated the subjugated provinces under the name of Ramgarh Hill Tract, and the administration was set up as military collectorship. Few years after there was a sporadic tribal insurrection called Tamar Rebellion in 1789.<sup>52</sup> During the period of Cornwallis, when permanent Settlement was introduced in 1793 things began to change very quickly. For the first time the Zamindars Class was created and

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<sup>47</sup> F.B. Bradley-Birt, 1910, 'Chotanagpur, A little known province of the empire' pp-1-2

<sup>48</sup> K.S.Singh,2008, op.cit, see also E.T.Dalton' *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, see also 'District Gazetteers of Manbhum, Coupland, 1911, pp-53-54

<sup>49</sup> Dalton op.cit, p-117

<sup>50</sup> K.S.Singh, 2004, op.cit, p-117

<sup>51</sup> S.C.Bhat,1999 'The Encyclopedic District Gazetteers of India', Vol-08 pp-397-398

<sup>52</sup> *ibid*, pp-397-98

through them the exploitation began. Under this system the tribes had to pay tax for their land!<sup>53</sup> Moreover in due course the land was made private property. When the British East India Company received Grant of Diwani in 1765 the Jungle Mahal District were broken up and Dhalbhun became a part of Manbhum District and again Dhalbhum transferred to Singbhum district in 1846 due to the criminal work in Manbhum.<sup>54</sup> The coming of the Britishers brought devastating impact on the socio-economic balance of the region. With time many other non tribal communities were also came and forcefully grabbed tribal traditional lands<sup>55</sup>. They introduce taxation for Khuntkatti lands which was believed to be inherited from their ancestors as original settlers. Tribes have a very strong attachment to their land but the days came when the innocent tribes have to pay rent which is unknown in the tribal system of land management. Colonization brings so many changes that the tribes had to face identity crisis which provoked them to raise revolt against colonial system<sup>56</sup>. Such insurrections and uprisings together form the base of the Jharkhand Movement which was in full swing after 1930s. Munda uprisings (1797,1807,1819-20), Bhumij revolts (1798-99,1834), Tilka Manjhi revolt(1784),Chero uprisings(1800),Ho revolt(1820),Kol rebellion (1832-33),Santal Hul (1855-56), Sardari larai (!859-65), Kherwar uprising (1871), Birsa Munda Movement (1895-1900), Tana Bhagat Movement (1914)<sup>57</sup>. All these movement were millenarian and prophetic in character. These movements seeks to ensure the traditional system of ownership and to restore forests rights as they have enjoyed since their ancestors time, therefore the legacy of the Jharkhand movement remain on the issue of self-reliance into the rights of Jal, Jungle and Jamin.

Geographically this portion of India has been studied as the cultural domain of tribes of India. This culture evolves through adjusting territoriality and resources stretches around them, so to say resources and cultures seem to be a twofold system depends on each other<sup>58</sup>. This place is

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<sup>53</sup> Procurement of tax in various ways ruptured tribal rights because the land is traditionally belongs to the tribes. Pls see Chapter 3 for detail in this regard.

<sup>54</sup> Singbhum District Census 1961

<sup>55</sup> Thousands of lands including forests and agricultural lands have been encroached for many development projects since the early quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Mining and hydraulic power projects have been established without minimum compensation to the land losers.

<sup>56</sup> The penetration of the colonial power and its impact on tribal economy is discussed in chap-3

<sup>57</sup> W.Ekka & R.K.Sinha 'Documentation of Jharkhand Movement' p-1 (Here after DOJM), for details pls see Victor Das, 'Jharkhand Movement : From Realism to Mystification' EPW, July 28, 1990, p-1624

<sup>58</sup> The word 'twofold system' was used by G.Cederlof and K. Sivaramakrishnan in their work, 2006, op.cit, we have used the word to understand a symbolic relationship that permanently took place in the tribal village and maintained

unique in terms of socio-historical process that led to tribal and nontribal confluence over immemorial time. Although there were tends to be confusion in the whole phases of Jharkhand Movement on the concept of ‘a principal of undivided access to productive resources including both the lands and its fauna’<sup>59</sup>. This sort of realization was immediately developed because Jharkhand is the primeval zone of vast natural resources where man and nature representing a fine balance, a place of mystic culture evolved through its surrounding nature and constituted key ingredients to the cultural construct of the area. Jharkhand perceived a cultural and geographical distance from those of its neighbors region; it has large tracts of forests, mountainous, mostly covered with hills with an altitude. It is blessed with different fruits, flowers and edible roots which extensively consumed and used by the tribes in nearby villages<sup>60</sup>. The flora and fauna had been a part of that culture that stand avow in front of forces of civilization owing to the large scale deforestation, still continued with the same visions of sustainable natural protection from the destroyer working together. This region has been endowed with cultural heritage and perhaps this is the only area in the entire country where the cultural assimilation of three major streams (Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asian) of civilization is found<sup>61</sup>.

Apart from the physiographic character, the very own material conditions of the region developed through cultural precision. Cultures took the pre-eminent position in Jharkhandi identity. The sharing relations of culture and environment suppose to be inextricably intertwined subject in the Jharkhand Movement<sup>62</sup>. Surrounding environment sharpened tribal culture and culture has evolved through surrounding environment. Social anthropologists define that ‘the social systems determine human objectives, and the eco system determines the physical or organic conditions within which these objectives are to be realized. Together they define a set of problems, which men attempt to solve by cultural means’<sup>63</sup>. This sort of cultural adaptation can

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by other prevailing communities in Jharkhand. During our field visit, we have seen that many parts of Ranchi and Patna agricultural fields are situated almost close to a large tree, though most of the trees are not sacred groves. It symbolizes that the trees were somehow demarcated the area or plot and has a cultural value.

<sup>59</sup> Tim Ingold, 1980, op.cit, p-161,

<sup>60</sup> DOJM, op.cit, p-2

<sup>61</sup> R.D.Munda, The Statesman, 4<sup>th</sup> February, 1989

<sup>62</sup> From late 1970 many programmes have been adopted to glorify the ancient environmental practices of the tribes.

<sup>63</sup> Tim Ingold, 1980, op.cit, p-7

be traced in sacred practices of the tribals<sup>64</sup>. Scholars are believed that most of the early tribal uprisings occurred in colonial Jharkhand with its accent on the demand of self rule has come out from cultural perspective existed since ages. Since the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Jharkhand, these cultural practices embarked and unfolded during the Jharkhand Movement through religious scripts, languages<sup>65</sup>. In fact Jharkhand area was remained one of the cultural places where every community, irrespective of caste, races, and religion produced a hybrid culture through long process of civilization. In Jharkhand, culture displayed the backbone of tribalism; and it is based on myths, legends, folklores, and fables. These unwritten discourses of tribal world became one of the ideological resources which embedded as an idiom of cultural autonomy and also symbolizes as a weapon of animosity when they lost their cultural rights to outsider (Diku)<sup>66</sup> came into that region with the colonial administration.

The intrusion of the outsiders and their impact on the existing social structure brought many economic compulsions, division of labours, resource accumulations etc, thus in a pertinent term Jharkhand is the land mass where ethnicity always became a subject of politics, within the Jharkhand demand it has played vital role because of the complexities emerged since the intrusion of the outsiders started in early 19<sup>th</sup> century. These forces in due course push them outward in each and every year which causing a severe loss in accessing traditional customs. However it was really a striking fact that how the indigenous people of this region have been able to accommodate non-tribal people migrated in different time for various reasons amid huge pressure on ethnical crisis in a constantly shifting terrain. Probably the communities share the common basic traits because of the long historical process<sup>67</sup>.The logic behind this long sustenance has been rightly explained by scholars like Sajal Basu, he argued that the geographical situation and tribal culture both synthesized in a hybrid system that able to accept other communities irrespective of caste and races. “This geography of balance, accommodative history and egalitarian social structure provide shelter to many ethnic groups through ages. The

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<sup>64</sup> For tribal culture pls see detail in the Chapter 3

<sup>65</sup> Assertion of tribal language was one of the principal demands of Jharkhand Separation Movement, during the course of the movement many Jharkhandi Protagonists have arranged meetings and took resolution that the movement should be aimed on the issue that adivasi languages should be preserved and incorporated in colleges and universities as the medium of study.

<sup>66</sup> The term *Diku* is often used in literature which means outsiders. In our study we have found that the ‘Diku’ was the term is found in very early records prepared by the British.

<sup>67</sup> Susana BC Devalle 1992, ‘Discourses of Ethnicity, Culture and Protest in Jharkhand’ p-15

tribal based egalitarian social structure has to a great extent neutralized the caste and class hierarchical notions found elsewhere in the country”<sup>68</sup>. Despite of complex ethnic closure, the tribes of Jharkhand had been able to cope up with the situation and successfully retain their cultural heritage in many parts of Jharkhand, Basu argued “Like all other indigenous religion governed by naturalistic modes, Jharkhand society believe in ethical moral living. People are simple, hard working and honest. People oriented art and literature, viz folk form is predominant, hence participatory poetry, story, drama, all have direct bearing on day to day life of the people. Literature is the reflection everything man does and aspires to do”<sup>69</sup>.

### **2.3 Finding ecology and Jharkhand Movement: A close proximity?**

However an important consequence of the study of Jharkhand Movement is in addition to cultural and ethnical discourses was ‘ecological warfare’ that took serious attention with British colonial forestry. Since the enactment of India’s First Forest Act in 1865, India’s forests were taken over by the crown from the inhabitants, the attempts to preserved forests for ship building, railway tracts and the clearings of forests herbs to give space to large timbers became contested everywhere. Jharkhand remained one of the tracts where tribes suffer mostly due to rampant change in the ecological setup. It was recorded that because of the climatic limits of agriculture many tribes lived upon resources available in forests. But later because of rampant change in the forest flora and fauna they were forced to adopt agriculture<sup>70</sup>. On the other hand most of the tribes have lost their livelihood patterns and out migrated to other regions. The tea tribes of Assam were mainly migrated tribes of Jharkhand. Historically the climate of Assam encouraged the British for tea plantation. For a large number of workers the British brought tribes of Chotanagpur to the Assam Tea Gardens<sup>71</sup>. Scholars argued that one of the reasons of this transportation was to weaken tribal uprisings. These tribes were later assimilated with the mainstream Assamese culture<sup>72</sup>. Hence the effect of the transition from settled agriculture to the

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<sup>68</sup> S.Basu, 1994, ‘Jharkhand Movement: Ethnicity and Culture of Silence’ pp-28-29

<sup>69</sup> *ibid*, pp-28-29

<sup>70</sup> Revised Working Plan for the Reserved and Protected Forests of the Kolhan Division, Bihar, 1934-35 to 1943-44, GOB, Patna, 1937, p-19

<sup>71</sup> Annual Report on the Working of the tea Districts Emigration Labour Act (XXII of 1932) for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1939, pp-1-39, Regional Archive Ranchi (RAR)

<sup>72</sup> Amalmani Sharma, 2012, ‘Assimilation Process of the Tea Community in the socio-cultural life of Assam-Breach and Prospects’ in ‘Environment and Tribes in India’ (edt) by Vineetha Menon, pp-65-69

different economy in terms of breakdown of the tradition and believes has deep rooted impact in providing background of Jharkhand Movement. Jharkhand Movement in these ecological perspectives had a role, precisely developed through ideological dimensions rooted in their ecological ideas. Tribal agrarian system was the most important element shaping tribal identities as they were in their habitat, home and hearth, the ideologies of tribal movements were invariably based in an acute environmental consciousness and it can be explored through land use pattern of the community displayed distinctive ecological thinking which was inscribed in their practices. It is true that the system of territorial compartmentalisations are suppose to exists among the tribes of Jharkhand, and it was justified with different culture formation, but the notion of land became homogenous and distinct, reciprocal and evolves through clan system. Thus when it was modified it resulted violent resistance, therefore it is possible that it was from this ecological perspective that the tribal communities reacted against the state forces.

This ideological practice was developed through generation to generation with relation to the knowledge they procure from their daily experiences. They love their forests as much as one can do and became the friends of tree. The tribal villagers in the vicinity of forests always took the forests as a source of subsistence. They always took care of vast and inexhaustible resources of forests, and their ecological values. They enjoyed their social and cultural life according to their need and customs mostly related with forests and agriculture. They always perform their festivals in order to protect their lives from evil spirit surrounded by them. 'They knew forests are protective, productive and aesthetic', and they represent harmony with nature and maintain a symbiotic relationship with forests<sup>73</sup>. If the forests destroyed it could bring change in climate, caused soil erosion and severe flood. They seem to have inherited these ideas from their forefather. In other words, forests, scrubs and herbs always played a vital role to the tribal life, stabilize and configure the structure of nature. Thus the flora and fauna of Jharkhand played role to construct the 'trinity of environment'<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> Akhileswar Pathak, 1994, 'Contested Domains' p-13, Quoted from Bandyopadhyay & Shiva 1986 'Environmental Conflicts and Public Interests Science' EPW, Vol. 21 (2) 11<sup>th</sup> January 1986

<sup>74</sup> For detail pls see A.B.Chowdhury's 'Forest Environment and Man' 2007 pp-51-52, A.B.Chowdhury argued that the Trinity of Environment applies to the whole ecology of forests, such as soil, vegetation, flora and fauna, trees, shrubs and herbs. They are 'alpha and omega' of environment and have values in modulating structures. Man has the power to manage and use this trinity of environment in a sustainable manner.

In order to trace the ecological crisis in the region took place with technological advancement the study of rivers is also pertinent. It is interesting to observe that the region is surrounded with rivers, Subarnarekha, Koel Karo, Brahmanai, Damodar, Chingutu, Garra, Koina, Deo, Kharkai, Raru, Burha, Kanhar and many others which played an important role in maintaining ecological balance. These rivers also associated with tribal cultures and had a distinctive role in maintaining cultural practices<sup>75</sup>. It remains unexplored in Jharkhand that how the rivers involved in tribal practices corroborated protection of ecology in the region. Invariably the rivers always had been a subject of commerce in the region. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Jharkhand region witnessed large number of industries came into force and the land alienation became rapid than ever. Soon Hydraulic power projects and other sorts of industrial sectors also set up their industrial units. These projects have diverse impact on environment as well as responsible for ecological crisis in the region.

In both the colonial and post colonial period the entire South Bihar witnessed large scale forest degradation and other hazards due to various state sponsored projects. These projects were launched without maintaining ecological balance, therefore the forest disappeared steadily and today some of the places of Jharkhand have little forests left. Rampant destructions of Sal forests caused severe impact on the livelihood of the local inhabitants. The region is the largest producers of Sal trees, which is valuable to the tribal social and economic system. They used to take Sal flowers in their heads when they participated in festivals. They also collect dry Sal leaf and bring it to the nearby village markets to sell them. Some time they worship Sal trees for a good harvesting time. It was the cultural values that embodied with the Sal trees. Rapid Changes to the cultural environment brought with the intrusion of the outsiders having great deal of commercial approach marginalized the tribal poor people. It was by asserting that culture that the

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<sup>75</sup> Madhav Gadgill and R.Guha's attempts to find the ecological crisis in the Kerala coast have been well known. They documented how the local fishermen who used to go deep into the sea for catching fish have now faced tremendous pressure from trawler owner who simply making inroad to the sea without having any knowledge of ecology and catching fish more than the actual requirements. On the other hand the smaller boat owners have no choice but to give up their fishing work. Jharkhand tribes also have been facing problem due to large hydraulic projects, their villages were submerged under the water. In many parts of West Bengal and Jharkhand the tribes never spit into the river because they believe that the rivers are holy. For details pls see M.Gadgill & R.Guha 1994, 'Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movements in India', Development and Change, Vol-25, pp-101-136, Blackwell Publishers.



tribal consciousness shaped and their aggressiveness got violent against the oppressing arms of the colonial forces.

Apart from the different phases of crisis in socio-ecological setup which destroyed the interactions between the tribes and their traditional social systems, even, state approach are not sensible enough towards those systems, this sort of ignorance virtually discredited tribal communities and breaks the dependence on environment which is symbiotic in nature. The ideology behind the colonial conceptualization of tribe had a great deal with their natural structures of socio-religious and cultural proximity with nature. The colonial intension towards life of the forest people considered as a social service towards disadvantageous. Therefore they have been seen as a dependent. The British ignored that they have great ideas of what M.Gadgill called an '*ecological prudence*' and have a strong symbiotic relationship<sup>76</sup>. Gadgill has seen the tribal people as the natures protector, as he believed that the cultural distinctiveness of the tribes and the desire to maintain the tribal system of resource use by enforcing different festivals and images through oral tradition and taboos, which is predominant in all the Indian states, such as taboos of cutting any trees of the sacred groves etc. hence there is a distinctive ecological consciousness that shaped to the course of the movement when they felt an alienation caused by the outsiders<sup>77</sup>. Gunnel Cederlof and K.Sibaramakrishnan in their pioneering work, "*Ecological Nationalism: Nature, livelihoods and Identities in South Asia*" have argued that the tribal population in South Asia have a closed linked with the Land, landscape of their origin, therefore they have asserted some notion to legitimize their demand and this assertion was established through close links between humanity and nature. They have argued that the romantic vision of

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<sup>76</sup> Virginius Xaxa 2008, 'State, Society and Tribes: Issues in Post Colonial India' p-101, the term 'ecology' has been defined by many scholars in their own way. In his book Xaxa in regard to social and ecological connection in tribal society argued that 'the study of relation between organism and their environment, the culture of a group or community is shaped by the environment at the same time human being too have an impact on the environment' However Anthropologists like, Franz Boas and J.W.Benett rejected the idea that environment is the basis of cultural change, they argued that people who primarily depends on environment created the need for what they need from the environment and this decision came from culture not from nature thus culture always take precedence over environmental settings. For details pls see Franz Boas, 1911, 'The Mind of Primitive Man, and J.W.Bennett, 1976, 'Ecosystem Analogies in Cultural Anthropology in the concepts and dynamics of Culture' (ed), B.Bernerdi.

<sup>77</sup> Madhav Gadgill 1985, 'Towards an Ecological History of India' EPW, Special Number Nov, 1985, p-1909. Here Ecological Prudence refers to the tribal maturity towards surrounding environment. Gadgill pointed out that 'an exercise of restraints in the exploitation of natural resources' ecological prudence is applicable to the tribal belief in totemism and taboos.

nature expressed through ecological nationalism<sup>78</sup> which is emerged as propaganda or expressions against superior state behavior, linked with a relation to the prey and predators, the distinctive features of the ecological nationalism was thus a concept based on historical memories, assertion of cultural identities, ancient rights of land and forests where the tribe inhabits<sup>79</sup>. The so called autonomy movement of Jharkhand can be locate through this ecological nationalism because we find that there were every possibility of construction of ecological understanding subsumed in a greater political nationalism of what Gunnel Cederlof and K. Sibaramakrishnan call it ‘civic nationalism’<sup>80</sup> (Civic nationalism subsumed ecological nationalism, Civic nationalism refers to an intellectual form of political activism, which is not a part and parcel of the Jharkhand Tribes, They only demanded forest and land rights, which is in the later diluted with the emerging demand of political space) emerged in the 1950s when different political organizations demanded separate state for the tribal population.

It was evident that in the Jharkhand region, a number of tribal communities have faced ecological crisis due to rampant change in the customary land holding system, alienation due to industries, forest reservation etc. In recent studies, it was documented that the Jharkhand state alone has the largest producers of ecological refugees. From the angel of different development projects and its outcome, it was calculated that more than 300,000 people have been displaced followed by ecological devastation which have completely ruined chain of food security<sup>81</sup>. The consequences at greater length form the basis of the tribal movements. Such dislocation from local ecology and customary economy was even rapid in the 19<sup>th</sup> & in the 20<sup>th</sup> century particularly during the war time when colonial government had tried to extract large timber poles from the forest area of Jharkhand for their own economic need,<sup>82</sup> Such as ship building at the Malabar Coast and the railways. Later it was intensifying because of the urban demand and most

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<sup>78</sup> Gunnel Cederlof & K.Sibaramakrishnan, 2006, op.cit,

<sup>79</sup> What K.Sibaramakrishnan & G.Cederlof refers of ecological nationalism & a concept where cosmopolitan and nativist version of nature combined as a form of nation pride to consolidate nation.

<sup>80</sup> Here we deliberately have chosen the word ‘civic nationalism’ to justify the difference between tribes and intellectuals. (Though there are some tribal intellectuals also) The Jharkhand Movement from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had a stronghold of the regional politics and since then the movement got momentum in intellectual politics, similarly the demand also reflected in an intellectual basis but since the 1970s the movement got ethnic base through some environmental propaganda.

<sup>81</sup> S.Basu Mullick, 2007 ‘ State Forest policy and Adivasi Self-rule in Jharkhand’ (ed) C.K.Paty ‘Forest, Government and Tribe’p-23

<sup>82</sup> *ibid*, p-23

of the cases it was found that the suppliers were the officials of the forest departments. Felling and leasing of trees by the contractors have been one of the major discontents of the tribes. Heavy demand of wood caused biological crisis and eroded tribal habitat of the region. They have been subject of long penury and alienated from the flora and fauna of the region from where they used to collect necessary subsistence for their livelihood. So the immediate impact of the deforestation was crisis in habitat due to climatic and environmental change.

Since there is ample scope to believe that the processes of rupturing tribal communal systems profusely attached with nature still active in Jharkhand. In this backdrop particularly from the mid 1950s Jharkhand region emerged as the most significant area of historical research. There are lots of arguments evolving within the function of state and literary, most of the attempts have been made to instigate state conservation policies through different laws and legislations. On the other hand scholars have also attributed to the ethnic and political dimensions of the vast composite society, it is a kind of approach that dovetailed with constitutional amendments, and state recognition of SC & ST population, Languages etc, most of these writings threw lights on the internal colonization, Job deprivation and the tribal questions. Much of the studies have come either from the anthropological views or the socio-political background.

Considering the approach of different environmentalist and historians, it can be stated that the whole history of tribal movements in Jharkhand emerged during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century had been manifested in expanding their territorial supremacy into different realms of justification<sup>83</sup>. The early millenarian movements, Such as Sardar Larai, Tana Bhagat Movements, and Munda Rebellion of the tribes have been organized against the exploitation of the local elites, Zamindars as well as against the British officials appointed in the area. These movements have also some sort of environmental consequences along with other demands. But in the later the voice of tribal movements were converted into the voice of mainstream political movement which mobilizes against the unbridled commercial attempt of the state functionaries to the region. So there were always attempts to fight back against the authoritarian attempt to establish various imperatives of accumulation. In 1999 K. Sibaramakrishnan in his books *“Modern Forests: State making and*

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<sup>83</sup> Predictably the realm of justification refers to an adjustment of what they sought in the Jharkhand Movement and the aims of the movement were got considerable power over the past two decades because of the experience has been encouraging to them.

*Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India*” observed that the emergence of recurrent tribal movements was due to the attempt of colonial government to transform the forest land into the agricultural land for revenue appropriation. He unhesitatingly calls these movements as “Ecological warfare”. He stated that nature “produced through the interaction of biophysical process that have a life in their own and human disturbance of the biophysical” he pointed out that “Human agency in the environment mediated by social institutions may flow from cultural representations of process in nature, but we cannot forget the ways in which representation are formed in lived experience of social relations and environmental change”<sup>84</sup>.

Given the fact we can draw an assumption that the imperatives of the Jharkhand questions have definite articulated ecological consciousness which was gradually shaping the courses of the political movement in Jharkhand. Scholars have assessed that the restoration of social institutions which was indigenous in nature was one of the main ideological resources that shaping tribal identity, The Munda Tribes always “want to distant themselves from secular state, they valorize village authorities such as the *Pahan* and the *Paenbharra*, as well as inter-village entities such as the *Parha*. The legitimacy of this indigenous system of governance for the Mundas derived from the fact that they represent a sacral polity, a cosmology where the sacred and secular are intimately connected, even identical”<sup>85</sup> and those indigenous institutions are formed through lived experience of the space and ecology of the region. This point can be assessed by elaborating some other aspects. It was known to all that the tribal village system is based on ‘magico- religious belief not attributable to the absence of social stratification had a role in its creation and sustenance’ by virtue of that a portion or a part of the village has been utilized, such as a place was unscrupulously selected by the elders of the village as the home for village deity which was never been converted into agricultural land or so even during the worse scarcity of food. The role of the village headman is important not as an intermediary of wider political authority but also his presence in the village festivals and other rituals is very important for the

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<sup>84</sup> K.Sibaramakrishnan, 1999 ‘Modern Forest, State Making and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India’ p-299, see also Anne Rademacher & K.Sibaramakrishnan (ed) ‘ Ecologies of urbanism in India : Metropolitan Civility and Sustainability’,2013, p-15

<sup>85</sup> Alpa Singh, 2010 ‘In the Shadow of the State, Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India’ pp-32-33, pls sees in our detail discussion on the return of traditional institution in Chapter 3.

well being of the village as a whole. These imaginaries reinforced through folklore and similar oral tradition.<sup>86</sup>

Thus the ecological and cultural association remains one of the principle factors behind access and use of surrounding environment. However in the case of the Jharkhand Movement, the complexities in politics emerged since 1930 certainly bringing other parameters into the ideology of the nativist imaginary i.e the formation of different political parties with different demands, the demand of schools, colleges, languages etc. However interestingly these demands dovetailed with an imaginary of articulated environmental consciousness in the form of old practices in 1970s. Despite the fact most of the tribal and peasant uprisings have their own agenda and gone through several dimensions and several issues. In the Jharkhand Movement the root of the movement was clearly identified in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century in the form of agrarian distress when the Permanent Settlement was introduced. Economic deprivation was the simplest outcome of the process. It also authenticates huge land encroachment in the tribal areas of Chotanagpur, Santal Pargana and adjoining areas. These changes within a tribal setup created several assumption and resulted a sharp distance from the colonial power. This sort of changes brings catastrophic changes in tribal village structure and also created wide space for tribal uprisings. In this juncture the question of ecology and environment is important. Alienation from space and locality as well as the land and environment in a deep sense of understanding causes gradual isolation from nature as well as subsistence. The extinction from the forests virtually weakens the tribes ecologically, culturally and economically.

Cumulatively this process of alienation was further aggravated in the late 1950s because of the rising demands of the industrial capital. Since the Company rule the destruction of forest is largely due to the extension of arable land which caused alienation and ecological crisis. On the other hand in the phase of scientific forest management the alienation process was legitimised through forest laws. In the colonial as well as in the post colonial time the forest departments have generated different strategies and calculations and imposed different Forest laws. Under several schemes and objectives those laws generated lots of 'new openings' in terms of economic value. First Forest Act of 1865, forest act of 1878, forest policy of 1894, Forest act of 1927,

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<sup>86</sup> Calcutta Historical Journal, Vol. XIV, July 1989-June 1990, p-186

Bihar private forest act of 1949, National Forest policy of 1988 and many other forests acts to some extent created a strong wall in between the tribals and the forest resources<sup>87</sup>. Scholars observed in post colonial phenomenon that the state 'sought to 'rationalize' forest production and successfully lobbied state govt forest officers to enforce restrictions of local people to the forests.<sup>88</sup> Scholars have also argued that, like Chipko Movement in Uttarakhand, Jharkhand Movement can also be portrayed as a part of 'Resource based battle fought out between the representative of capital and the defenders of a natural (moral) economy'<sup>89</sup> in this manner Parajuli commented that the 'politics of Jharkhand clearly synonymous with the politics of jal (water) jungle (Forest) and jamin (Land)'<sup>90</sup> he also pointed out that the ecological sense and the ethnic demand have been altogether merge in the movement , after having a close understanding he come out with a strong objective that 'if ecological subordination is the content, ethnicity is the form in which it is experienced and expressed'<sup>91</sup> he also argues that the adivasi Cosmo-vision is created to defend state initiatives and to retain traditional system of environmental knowledge of environment<sup>92</sup>.

In the colonial time the basics of all those British initiatives came from a matured understanding of the economic value of the region. We are well informed that Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana were the regions of highly valuable trees, such as Sal, Mahua etc. The colonial administrator protected the forestland in the disguise of scientific forest management after 1894 and the entire forests of the then South Bihar have been categorized as a) Reserved Forests, b) Protected Forests c) Private Forests d) Village Forests,<sup>93</sup> In south Bihar huge number of forest tract were identified for protected forest. Several laws have been enacted for this purpose. The process of protection intensely alienated tribal rights over natural resources and also isolated them from the

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<sup>87</sup> Most of the forests related rules and regulations have been enacted to ensure steady progress in forestry research in India. For revenue, in many cases the forests were sold to outside contractors and as a result clear feeling began very ruthlessly.

<sup>88</sup> David Stuligross, 2008, 'Resources, Representation and Authority in Jharkhand', India, Asia Pacific View Point, Vol-49, (1) April, 2008, pp-83-97

<sup>89</sup> Sarah Jewitt, 2008 ' Political Ecology of Jharkhand Conflicts' Asia Pacific View Point, Vol-49 (1) April 2008, pp-68-82

<sup>90</sup> P.Parulji, 1996, 'No Nature Apart : Adivasi Cosmovision and ecological discourses in Jharkhand, India' Paper presented during the 2<sup>nd</sup> conference on the reconstruction of Jharkhand, Aug 1996, Cambridge, UK, Quoted in Sarah Jewitt, op.cit, pp-68-82

<sup>91</sup> Parulji, ibid, Jewitt, op.cit

<sup>92</sup> Jewitt,2008,op.cit,p-69

<sup>93</sup> Jewitt,2008, op.cit, pp-68-82

holy place they usually entered and worshiped. Thus, rampant changes in tribal economic and ideological system and imposition of civic culture (which is different form of culture, rather, mainstream culture) have been from the very beginning led to exodus of the tribals to the deeper part of the forests or to new area of colonial development such as tea gardens in Assam and Duars. So we may stand on the side that the colonial penetration on the region brings changes which are new to the tribes of the region.

## **2.4. Conclusion**

In the light of the above we cannot denied that the socio-economic upliftment was the major concern of the Jharkhand Movement, but the search for another avenues that consists of culture and environmental considerations was partially attempted by most of the Jharkhandi leaders. In the last couple of years, there were few attempts, which have been taken to identify how and why a change in circumstances brought social and ecological devastation which was developed both in colonial and in post colonial Jharkhand. In 2011 a Status Report of Adivasi/Indigenous People (SAIP) has been prepared under the initiative of 'The Other Media and All India Co-Ordinating Forum of Adivasi/Indegenous People' which examine the various factors behind land alienation that Jharkhand faced since the British regime. The report says that the 'Crime against ecology' happen in three stages 1. The first phase began with the British domination and the clearings of forests by disturbing flora and fauna for agricultural expansion. 2. The second phase of crime can be located in the colonial conservationist policy which was continued to reinforce by the post colonial attempts. These attempts can be trace by formulation of forest policies like in 1980; the central government has enacted Forest Conservation Act. 3. In third phase that comes after independence by enacting laws, regulations, directives 'aimed at completing the unfinished jobs of the colonial masters'<sup>94</sup>.

It was evident in todays Jharkhand that in most of the region, ecological devastation carried out ruthlessly for the purpose of the urban needs. New openings for industrial capital under the aegis of modernity caused severe erosion of communitarian system. Because of the less progressive ideology resources are taken out without proper mainetance or balance to the nature. Forest

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<sup>94</sup> Alex Ekka, 2011, 'Status of Adivasi/Indigenous Peoples Land Series-4, p-53

destructions and conversions, soil erosions, social dislocations steadily alter tribal systems and undoubtedly this sort of metamorphosis in a conservative tribal society became a target in the Jharkhand movement. Now it would be pertinent to raise question that how long Jharkhand will survive in terms of ecology? However to some extent the question of survival of Jharkhand State in terms of ecology is apparently related with the whole politics that emerged within a periphery of securing tribal demand for statehood and after. If we divide and crosscheck the two themes of Politics and Ecology, we will be able to find out that within the periphery of democratic politics ecology and environment are still active but political consideration appropriated environmental issues to a great extent.



## *CHAPTER-3*

**COLONIAL ORIGINS OF THE  
MOVEMENT: COLONIALISM AND  
THE PRESSURE ON TRIBAL LAND:  
NOTION OF OWNERSHIP AND ITS  
SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES**

## Chapter 3

### Colonial origins of the movement: Colonialism and the pressure on tribal land: Notion of ownership and its socio-cultural consequences

#### 3.1 Introduction

In the middle of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when Jharkhand Movement was in full swing Jaipal Singh<sup>95</sup>, the ‘Marang Gomke’ or great leader of Adivasi Mahasabha stated in a public address that the first ever adivasi movement in Jharkhand originated as early as 1820s in the later dishum against the Sikh who were planted in every Munda villages, it was the first landmark of adivasi movement engrossing land as an inalienable property for the adivasi people. It was the Birsa Munda who fought for the land of adivasi.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless these lessons were taken by the Jharkhandi leaders in the later movements and which expresses the most seminal results of the political unity. In adivasi cosmivision, land is absolutely an aesthetic part of the life of the tribals, its economic values are also immensely important above every limit. These principles were inscribed in their age old traditional agricultural practices. In this strict sense of believe regarding the territory and territoriality which derived from the extreme attachment with land and culture not only acted as a common factor behind tribal aggression but also traditionally governed in the entire phases of the autonomy movement.

It is noteworthy that their grievances found expressions in different way. In the Revisional Survey of Singbhum during 1958 and 1965 Mundas and Mankis of Kolhan forwarded their grievances that in this survey their privileges, status according to their tradition were not recorded<sup>97</sup>. Thus any loss or curtailment in the access to those traditions certainly kept them

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<sup>95</sup> Jaipal Singh was a great leader of Jharkhand Movement. He was an educated Munda tribal man and captained Indian hockey team in Olympics in 1928, He founded Adivasi Mahasabha in 1938, he represented as the leader of tribal community in the Constituent Assembly of India

<sup>96</sup> This statement has been made by Jaipal Singh In the annual Adivasi Mahasabha Meeting held at Ranchi, G.E.L Mission compound on 13.04.1947. More than 25thousands of tribes have attended the meeting. For detail pls see Political Special Section,File no 270, 1947, Bihar State Archives (hereafter BSA)

<sup>97</sup> Alex Ekka, ‘Status of Adivasis/Indigenous Peoples Land Series-4, Jharkhand, 2011, p-31, in tribal India many tribal communities possesses land rights purely on the basis of traditions, grants etc, there was no records or papers which could claim their ownership, during settlement operations many such communistic land tenures were assessed.

backward and found in it a major threat. Considering the fact, gaining access to lands and forests became one of the major agenda before the Jharkhandi protagonists in the formation of a separate province consisting of the five district of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana. The institutionalization in the later movements particularly in the 1970s clearly signifies a loyalty towards lands and brotherhood and dominated the Movement.<sup>98</sup> Such aspirations for retention of identity which was deeply inter-related with land appeared within political scenario since 1930 according to their conventional interactions with land and its resources and mobilized the tribes towards greater political will. Consequently loss in the nature of lands, alienation of lands and rents on lands in the long process began to act as contested domains. The question of lands thus articulated and transformed into a larger domain of tribal upsurge in different space and time against the oppressors. They refused to pay land revenue to the Zamindars and inflicting heavy damage to the Zamindars house and also began to fight against the alien rulers.

### **3.2 History of subjugation: The early colonial period**

The colonial expansion in Jharkhand was started since the East India Company got the right to extract revenue of this vast natural zone of India. The expansion not only ruptured tribal traditional economies but also created a scope for the alien ruler (Zamindars, Money lenders) to come and occupy the resource rich land for their own pursuits. It was documented that as the power of East India Company extended over many parts of Chotanagpur, tribal chiefs were compelled to pay revenues to the crown on the fixed basis<sup>99</sup>. The conversions of forests land into agricultural lands became prioritizes towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the introduction of Permanent Zamindari Settlement in 1790, East India Company by means of exercising power fixed the revenues which in turn created a way for Zamindars to hire easy labors for clearing up

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<sup>98</sup> The return of traditional institution in the form of symbolic protests in the 1970s under the banner of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha has been succeeded on the ground that the principle agenda of the movement was to restore tribal tradition and their homeland.

<sup>99</sup> J.C.Jha, 'History of the land revenue of Chotanagpur in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century', The Journal of the Bihar Research society, Vol-1, January-December, 1964, Parts-1-4, pp-106-107, In this eassy J.C.Jha clearly pointed out that after the introduction of land revenue in Chotanagpur, Most of the surviving tribal chiefs, rajas were recognized and grantees as Zamindars. He pointed out that how each and every tribal community has faced common problems and alienated from their existing rights over land. the extension of lands under revenue maximization took serious effects over the existing land rights of the *Sardar Ghatwals* belongs to Bhumij community, *Mankis* of Chotanagpur and *Manjhis* of Santal Pargana also lost their customary rights of holding lands.

forest lands into the agricultural lands<sup>100</sup>. These changes usurping tribal traditional *Bhuihari*, *Khuntkatti* system believed to be inherited from their forefather's time. However regarding traditional resources and protection they haven't easily accepted but contested for the sake of traditional identities. In India many of such tribal insurrections came out with extreme desperation against all alien nexus but later put down by guns of the colonial power. Similarly in the entire Jharkhand area the crown had succeeded in subjugating and imposing unquestionable control over its natural resources.

The furtive control over resources for the benefit of the crown had rapidly alters primitive economic structure which is aesthetic in tribal culture. Slowly but steadily the British had regulated all the resources. In these conditions many forest officials acting for the sake of British crown had certain justification on the part of forest accession. They criticized tribal attempts and behavior, which was accorded as a stigma to the modernity, and treated as a fairly misfortune to the prosperity of the region. A clear reflection of the above expression can be drawn from the writings of C.C.Wilson, the Chief Conservator of Forests, Madras, He noted 'the villagers did not understand that he was not being denied these essentials but that their extraction was being controlled.....'<sup>101</sup> This reflection underlying the significance of the territorial conflicts based on ecological adaptation. The '*economic expansion*'<sup>102</sup> of the British East India Company in this region is accentuated through resource utilization and appropriation of revenues. However initially they had no intention to improve the regional backwardness or to uplift '*tribal situation*'.<sup>103</sup> The above colonial expressions were taken into account throughout 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in the context of colonial discourses.<sup>104</sup> It is a known fact that at the primary level the Britishers put their grip over vast natural resources through conversion of wetlands, forests into the agricultural land on the basis of new land management as well as for appropriation of

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<sup>100</sup> Nabendu Dutta Majumdar, Memoir No-2, 1955, 'The Santal, A Study in Culture-Change', Department of Anthropology, p-23,

<sup>101</sup> C.C.Wilson, Reminiscences, 1961, '100 years of Indian Forestry' 1861-1961, Dehradun, Souvenir, Vol. 1, p-64

<sup>102</sup> Economic expansion refers to the extension of British territory after the Grant of Diwani in 1765. It was aimed to secure revenues from this entire land as much as possible.

<sup>103</sup> The term 'Tribal Situation' has been taken from KS Singh's 'Tribal Situation in India'.

<sup>104</sup> The early colonial ethnographers and forests officials have stated that the early colonial attempts particularly during the reign of East India Company there were destruction caused by immense pressure on tribal economy. For reference one can go through various journals of Bihar Research Society. Foresters like Ribbentrop, Scillich also noted in their famous works on forestry in India. For much detail pls see O'Malley, 'History of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa under British Rule' 1925.

revenues and it can be understood through their motives. It was pointed out as early as 1789 that the entire wealthy land can be utilized as a source of revenue because the 'country yields more than is paid by the raja consequently his villages must be much underrated within the sum now he pays'<sup>105</sup>. How the concept of property will boost early colonial land legislations can be understood through these directives, it was assumed that 'the distinctive feature of early colonial land registration was the meaning of property, the agricultural land that could yield revenue was property, the rivers, water bodies, woodlands and grazing grounds which could not yield revenue were not properties, these were regarded as wasteland'<sup>106</sup>. O'Malley agreed that in this way they first bring changes into the barbarous customs of semi savage tribes, then put down by armed forces and then they were managed by policies of reconciliation<sup>107</sup>. Moreover the unswerving changes in the nature of land, forests and so to adivasi customs which was rooted in land and believed to be inherited through generations from their forefather, being also under serious threat.

As we discussed earlier that the expansion of colonial rule into the Chotanagpur 'leading to the ruin of tribal peasantry'<sup>108</sup> and particularly since the Permanent Settlement in 1793 it was aggravated and assumed to be a watershed in the history of Chotanagpur. Since the Grants of Diwani, Colonial forces have engaged in revenue collection as much as they can, thus it opens "the history of this 'out of the way' tract of India as in the rest of it"<sup>109</sup>. After Emperor Shah Alam II granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the British East India Company, naturally Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana as a subah of Bihar fall into the premises of revenue collecting zone. Ramgarh and Kharakdiha became a part of revenue tract for the British, but for some time the British would not be able to proceed even into the region because the region is fully covered with trees and the hilly terrain apparently inaccessible for any kind of measures. In

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<sup>105</sup> Bengal District Gazetteer, Manbhum, H.coupland, 1911, p-193, see also J.C.Jha, 'History of Land Revenue of Chotanagpur in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, in The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol1, Jan-Dec, 1964, Parts 1-4, pp-105-113

<sup>106</sup> N.Sengupta, 1996 'Property Rights, Incentives and Efficiency : Natural Resources in Indian Legal System' ISI, New Delhi, Jan-11-13, pp-7-16, Quoted in Brara, 1989

<sup>107</sup> O'Malley 1925, 'History of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa under British Rule' Chapter XXII, p-668, in this chapter O'Malley noted that the alienation of land has been one of the major reason behind tribal uprisings in Bihar, and 'these have been caused chiefly by their passionate attachment to the land.

<sup>108</sup> J.C.Jha, 1964,op.cit, pp-110-111

<sup>109</sup> J.C.Jha, 1957, 'Early British Penetration into Chotanagpur, 1769-73', The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol XLIII, Sept-Dec, Parts III & IV,pp-329-333, Patna

1769, a letter had been issued to Harry Verelst, President and Governor of Fort William by the Chief of Patna Mr. Rumbold seeking the permission of the order to penetrate into the vast Jungle tract. In the same year captain Camac, had been charged the duty to penetrate into the forest tract for two reasons, one, it was necessary to put vigilance against the Marathas because it bordered the British Indian Dominion, and secondly it can open a vast revenue yielding tract which is essential for British Economy.<sup>110</sup> However what they sought to achieve is the absolute administrative supremacy over these vast tract. Accordingly within 1771 the entire region has been subjugated within the jurisdiction of British Dominion and many changes in the administrative setup brought into existence. Sometime in many occasions these changes acted as one of the crucial moment regarding violations of ethnic administration maintained and govern by the tribal communities and practicing through ages. The so called change from the ethnical administration of village to the semi modern British administrative setup geared up vision of alien rule among the innocent tribe.

After the Kol insurrection in 1831-32, the whole system of administration has changed in due course in relatively suitable way for colonizers. The entire Chotanagpur region was placed under newly formed non-regulation province, the South Western Frontier Agency directly under a judicious officer, Thomas Wilkinson, who was became an agent to the Governor General. Wilkinson became empowered for exercising all revenue and judiciary powers and also in charge to subjugate Kols thoroughly to bear true allegiance to the British Government. The most important of all the activities was that the old village administration that prevailed in almost all the villages was maintained.<sup>111</sup>

This recognition gave birth to Manki-Munda system of administration and also formed the basis of civil, revenue and criminal justice and police administration. The transfer of land or mortgage was prohibited without the prior sanction of the agent. Wilkinson also banned all sorts of taxes that prevailed in the entire region.<sup>112</sup> Similarly in the Kolhan Estate which was annexed in 1837

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<sup>110</sup> *ibid*, pp-329-333

<sup>111</sup> E.T.Dalton 1872, 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' pp-182-183, For details of the Wilkinson Rule in the Kolhan area one can go through reports prepared by the Welfare Department of Jharkhand Government, A report on the Wilkinson Rule in the Kolhan Area submits that in many parts of Kolhan Wilkinson's rule was allowed to continue, (Jharkhand Tribal Welfare Research Department, Ranchi, Jharkhand)

<sup>112</sup> Report of the Committee on Jharkhand Matter, 1990, pp-6-7, (Hereafter RCJM)

also placed under the similar administration. The principal motivation was to protect Ho culture and administrative practices from the foreigners, because usually “they came as traders, moneylenders and subordinate government officers and fleeced the tribesmen in all conceivable way” and that “led to unrest among the Ho’s of Sarikella, Kela and Badgaon in 1840”.<sup>113</sup> Colonel E.T.Dalton in his letter to the Secretary, Govt. of Bengal mentioned that “from the first creation of the Agency the laws for the sale of land for debt or arrears of rent appear to have been regarded as inapplicable to the province, and the rules proposed by the captain Wilkinson provided that no sale or alienation or even mortgage or hereditary immovable property, was to take place without the sanction of the agent, which it was declared, would be generally withheld”.<sup>114</sup> Later by act XX of 1854 the denomination of the agent has changed to commissioner and territorial delimitation shifted from South Western frontier Agency to Chotanagpur. The extension of the provision of Act VIII of 1959 to three districts of this province, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and Lohardanga and it was decided on the ‘good & sufficient ground’ that the restriction on the sale of landed property in 3 districts should continue without the sanction of the commissioner of province.<sup>115</sup> This system was suffered gradually after the introduction of police act, Bihar land Reforms Act, and Bihar Gram Panchayat Act, though in 1964, during the revisional survey period, the Manki-Munda System was safeguarded and recognized.<sup>116</sup>

On the other side of the Rajmahal Hills the Paharias were also subjugated and in the later British Government decided to “Mark of an area surrounding by a ring fence of masonry pillars in order to make the Paharia settle down in the village lands as rent paying cultivators” the demarcated area known as Damin-i-koh. Where since the year 1838 and between 1851, huge migration of Santals took place, they had to pay nominal rent to the govt. but as the jungles cleared and more and more lands brings under the plough the situation became worsen and it was seen that the revenue of the whole Damin were raised from £668 to £6803 in between 1838-1854.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> J.C.Jha, 1969, ‘Singbhum under the South West Frontier Agency 1837-1854’, The Journal of Bihar Research Society, Jan-Dec, Vol. LV, pp-151-57, Original Source, Political Agent on SWF to Govt. 18<sup>th</sup> Nov, 1840, Chotangpur Political Dispatch Register, No, 128, Patna Archives, 1969

<sup>114</sup> From Colonel E.T.Dalton C.S.I, Commissioner of Chotanagpur division to A.Eden , Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal , in the Judicial Department (No 3115, Dated 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1869), BSA, Patna

<sup>115</sup> *ibid*

<sup>116</sup> RCJM, op.cit p-6

<sup>117</sup> ‘The Santals, A Study of Cultural Change’, Navendu Dutta Mazumder, Memoir No-2, 1955,1956, p-24

The Santals seems to first settle in the Santal Pargana district in between 1790 and 1810.<sup>118</sup> Probably in between 1815 to 1851 they accounted gradual upward trends in numbers in the Damin-i-Koh. Many of the British officials, Mr. Sudarland, Mr.Ward, Mr.Dunbar, Mr.Pontet and Mr.Sherwal have accounted Santal migration into the Rajmahal Hills.<sup>119</sup> At the time of British expansion, the entire Santal Pargana District were under control of Ghatwals and Zamindars and to occupy territorial supremacy over the tract for better administration, it was entrusted to the collector of Bhagalpur. As early as 1824 the Santal Pargana district was modified and placed under a superintendent.<sup>120</sup> After a series of events the British Government had added certain new socio-political dimensions which diminish the democratic character of the Santal's own administrative system. Such as, the Government possesses the power to dismiss village headman and appoint one new headman and also can raise his hands to elect village and Pargana heads which seriously affected Santal village system. The establishment of British legal and political control over the territory of Santal village seriously caused erosion of traditions and social segregation as they were since their settlement. The report of the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes Commission (2002-2004) observed that after the enactment of Rent Act, Civil Procedure Code, and Stamp Act which 'led to enhancement of rent, eviction of headman from their offices, increased exploitation by money lenders and other ills' which in turn created the basis of the Santal Revolt in 1855<sup>121</sup>.

### **3.3 Colonialism and the conflict over tribal lands and the ownership issues in Jharkhand**

Tribal egalitarian systems are interlocking sets of values, virtues, norms, usually practiced in their economic pursuits. Tribal intuitive values are normally interconnected with sacredness, holiness find in living and nonliving things existed within their '*surrounding environment*'<sup>122</sup>. The surrounding environment produced their subsistence; they place their burial stones in the sacred jungles, and maintained persuade different taboos ensuring the protection of ecologies

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<sup>118</sup> O'Malley, 1910, Santal Pargana District Gazetteer, Calcutta, p-54

<sup>119</sup> *ibid*,p-54

<sup>120</sup> RCJM, 1990, *op.cit*, p-6

<sup>121</sup> Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Government of India, 2002-2004, Vol-1, p-21

<sup>122</sup> The debate on surrounding environment in anthropological research is well known. Here we have taken this term to identify the location of tribal settlement and their relation with the nearby flora and fauna.



which is pivotal in tribal culture. On the other hand, the notion of tribal environmentalism<sup>123</sup> was dovetailed with '*Land ownership*' an issue which has undergone a serious threat when colonial state had brought alternative economic policies in the region in an unprecedented manner. In various juncture, when they lost their land rights and alienated from their ancestral land where they lived from time immemorial the '*values of their own*'<sup>124</sup> were active and sharpened the tribal mind to rose fights against the alien ruler to get back their lands, as they were in their habitat.

It was believed that the continued prosperity of the region was ended with the rampant change in the land tenures system, virtually created a notion of alienation because in tribal egalitarian system land is more than a property, something different other than commodity. It was immovable, non profitable subject. In the traditional system elsewhere found in Jharkhand that the Raja who was the leader of the tribes but not the owner of land. He has the right to procure Chanda (contribution) instead of tax. But after the colonial land structure the Raja became Zamindars<sup>125</sup>. The first sign of colonial establishment through alteration of customary rights being one of the important legacies occupied in the history of colonization in Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana districts. The indigenous land settlements were according to practice has been formed in a customary manner though the colonial introduction of payments for pasturage and carrying forest produce has created the notion of alienation<sup>126</sup>. Community rights were the only perceptions that the entire tribal society desire to avoid compiling with anything. This spiritual insight and fundamental rights were inscribed in the old *Bhuihari* and *Khuntkatti* land tenures. The tribes were intensely attached to their land and resources through their distinctive institutions and apparatus. However dislocation from land in various forms and the need for retention of those lands has been one of the principle factors behind the enactment of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act in 1908. (Hereafter CNTA). During the colonial land settlements

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<sup>123</sup> 'Tribal environmentalism' has been defined by many writers in different way. In anthropology it has been argued that the long attachments with the adjacent flora and fauna certainly determine the degree of environmental knowledge. This sort of inter-connection between nature and tribal society has produced what many scholars coined as 'traditional knowledge'. Gadgill and Guha have used the term 'Symbiotic Relations' frequently to understand tribal environmentalism.

<sup>124</sup> Here the term 'value' has been used to signify cultural and ethical foundation, which was the principle ideological resource behind Jharkhand Movement.

<sup>125</sup> Sachhidananda & BB Mandal, 1985, 'Industrialisation and Social Disorganization, A study of tribals in Bihar', p-40

<sup>126</sup> The Chhotanagpur Tenancy (Amendment) Bill 1919, Regional Archive Ranchi, (hereafter RAR)

survey, particularly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century much legislation has been enacted. CNTA was the major land tenure act in force till in the region and substantially protected the tribal customary rights on their lands.<sup>127</sup> In this way the use of land in tribal Jharkhand has been considered as a unique system inherited from the earliest settlement in this tract. The manner of holding of lands, the measurement of quality, the capacity of yielding good quality seeds, these all are synthesized and organized through long experiences. The knowledge and usage of agricultural land based on traditional system has been demarcated the region in its own kind separated from the adjacent areas.

Against this background it would be relevant to look at the land and agricultural pattern on the basis of region's physical character which had a great role in constructing tribal culture and tradition. Chotanagpur division of the Jharkhand State consists of the five districts namely, Palamou, Manbhum, Singbhum, Ranchi and Hazaribagh and was constituted the major portion of the plateau. The topographical features of the entire area are known as undulating terrain and are marked by 'alternating interfluvial ridges and water channels'.<sup>128</sup> Due to unnatural characteristics of the land it is necessary to adopt for good arable farming a division of arable space between ridges of hills and valley bottoms. In local dialect the division is known as *don* and *tanr* respectively. Due to steep slope overdrainage and soil erosion is very common, for that reason *don* lands were used mainly for paddy cultivation; on the other hand *tanr* lands were used mainly for other crops such as millets, oilseeds etc, though in some instances a variety of paddy is called *Gora Dhan* is cultivated on the top of the ridges, it is peculiar and only found in Chotanagpur alone.<sup>129</sup> In Singbhum district, there were three categories of land available according to their quality. A) *Bera land*, best in quality because of the supply of water throughout a year. B) *Bad land* known as inferior quality c) *Gora* located in the ridges and depends on entirely natural rainfall.<sup>130</sup> In a complete year cultivation is maintained according to the availability of arable land. In the whole process of arable land management many other forms of land were also used for cultivation precisely taken away by subdividing the *don* and *tanr*

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<sup>127</sup> Carol Upadhyay, 2005, 'Community Rights in Land in Jharkhand', EPW, Oct 8, p-4435

<sup>128</sup> Prabhu Prasad Mahapatra, 1991, 'Some aspects of arable expansion in Chotanagpur, 1880-1950', EPW, April 20, pp-1043-1054

<sup>129</sup> *ibid*, pp-1043-1054

<sup>130</sup> W.W.Hunter, 1877, 'Statistical Account of Bengal' pp-79-95

lands<sup>131</sup>. The basics of expansions of arable land vested on the process of clearings of jungles. This process is absolutely maintained by customs. Reclaiming jungle lands is one of the principle systems on which more and more lands can be transformed into arable lands. Foundations of new village and again reclaiming the older one in a rotational basis formed the traditional practice regarding expansion of new lands. The oldest practice of founding new villages near forests was the *Khuntkatti* system among the Mundas<sup>132</sup>. Another form of reclamation was *Pradhani* system, which is very common in entire Chotanagpur region particularly in the Dhalbhum area. Under the *Pradhani* system whenever necessary a large tract of forests have been cleared and with time settlement have been made in the area by paying tributes to the Pradhan. Pradhan were sometimes remunerated through rent free lands or a part of village rent as commission<sup>133</sup>. Pradhan is a recognized village official and thereby in-charge of collecting rents in his own village. The entire Kolhan are come under the direct fiscal administration of the government in 1837 after the Kol insurrection.

One of the arguments was that, the tribes have lost their identities due to acceleration of rampant change in the landholding traditional system in an unprecedented scale. Following the hinduisation process in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>134</sup>, there were series of other problems slowly brought devastations in tribal primitive economy in the entire Jharkhand. In the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century in Jharkhand the tribal populations were extremely suffered with the '*landlord system*' that was believed to be brought in by the British and it was carried out with ruthless completeness.<sup>135</sup> Marxist historian R.P. Dutta while describing the painful situation of the peasantry noted that "The introduction of the English land lord system, of individual landholding, of mortgage or sale of land, and of a whole apparatus of a English bourgeois legal conception alien to Indian economy and administered of an alien bourgeois which combine in itself. Legislative, judicial and administrative function completed the process. By this transformation the British conqueror's state assumed in practice the ultimate possession of the

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<sup>131</sup> *ibid*, pp-79-95

<sup>132</sup> *ibid*, pp-79-95, see also file no- III F 160 of 1933, in this report conservator of forests claimed that the expansion of the Bad and Gora lands are heavily depend upon forest clearings.

<sup>133</sup> Mahapatra, 1991, *op.cit*, pp-1043-1054

<sup>134</sup> In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century many non tribal Hindus migrated in Jharkhand for settlement and with time they caused severe problems to the tribal society. They were later known as Diku. From there onwards process of acculturation started. With long association many Bhumij Kols have adopted Singh as their surname.

<sup>135</sup> R.P. Dutta, 1997 'India Today', Calcutta, pp-228-229

land, making the peasantry the equivalent of tenants. Who could be ejected for failure of payment, or alienating the lands to its own nominees as landlord?"<sup>136</sup> It was from the beginning of the British penetration, the rampant change in the tribal economic set up took place. Hunter commented, that the introduction of Permanent Settlement was tried to 'substitute contract from custom'<sup>137</sup>.

The economic exploitation and the failure in the practice of customary rights which was largely depended on law of succession became a serious blow for the tribes of Jharkhand, thus the fight for retaining of the ancestral land for nearly two hundred years showing a steady inter-relation between land and the "sons of the soil"<sup>138</sup>. The early colonial rule successfully alters the traditional bases of rural homogeneity and incorporated heterogeneous structure which was considered one of the major cause of tribal discontent in Jharkhand. Most of the Jharkhandi protagonists have similar voices that the change in the socio-economic system gradually alienated the tribes of Jharkhand from ethnic bondage, cultural heritage, and in turn forced them to surrender their own land to the outsiders. The situation was more vulnerable when tribal economic life cycles have changed due to loss of cultural distance from the land. The loss of land in any condition does not reflect any peaceful compulsions, virtually in many instances it was simply ruled by sporadic insurrections.

One of such important insurrection was the Tana Bhagat Movement (1914-1919) of the Oraons that opposed taxes imposed on them by the zamindars. The suppression of Zamindars was so high that the British decided to provide additional compensation to the rayats under the provision of the section 54 of CNTA<sup>139</sup>. Their grievances were mainly against the taxation and the attitude of the zamindars. It was broke out to reconstruct tribal identity and economic improvement of the tribes<sup>140</sup>. As early as 1920s the Tana Bhagat (Oraon) disregarded to pay '*Harai*' (a plough and ploughman for a day to cultivate land of Zamindar) to Sambhu Bharati, an owner of Rud

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<sup>136</sup> *ibid*, p-228

<sup>137</sup> W.W.Hunter, Bengal MS Records, 1, p-89, Quoted in J.C. Jha, 'Aspects of Social and Economic Development in Chotanagpur in Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century', p-383, The Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol, LXX, Jan-Dec, 1983-84

<sup>138</sup> The term 'Sons of the Soil' was taken from 'Weiner's book on 'Sons of the Soil', 1978, Princeton University Press, to denote the original settlers of the land.

<sup>139</sup> Coll No-XV, File No-1, 1913-14, RAR

<sup>140</sup> The movement sometimes become violent between Tana Bhagats and Non Tana Bhagats, see file no 316 (A) 1922, BSA

Jungle<sup>141</sup> of Nowatoli, in the Ranchi District. The Tana Bhagats have been usually grazing their cattle in the rude jungle and takes fuel from the same by paying ‘Harai and Boukatti’. The basic tenets of the Tana Bhagat’s religious directives were to be free from all sorts of subordination. In the later the movement was active in a larger collaboration with the Kols who associated themselves as decedents of ‘Rawan’, once the king of Ceylon. Their main principle of agitation was to re-form ancient past because they believed that god created the soil and by this absolute truth they have the equal right to enjoy the production.<sup>142</sup>

In the course of the movement they left their cattle, houses and assembled Satpahari area near Hazaribagh which was surrounded by seven hills full of dense forest. They took this place as a place of pilgrimage. The Oraons believed that Shibu (Guru or Bhagwan) will make up the deficiency. It was documented clearly that the tribes were in a great trouble and wanted from the government that they should arrange ‘*Adhbatai*’ an equal portions of the grains as the owner of the land.<sup>143</sup> On the other hand for the Zamindars of Ranchi and Palamou on their eviction to jungle do not imply any serious matter as they believed “The land is their (Zamindars) and that Bhagats can go and practice their religion in the jungle”<sup>144</sup>. Dickinson, the then S.P of Hazariibagh observed this movement as a mixture of ‘Bolshevism, Gandhism and idiocy’<sup>145</sup>. However some of the officers believed that there might be some connection of the German Church operated in this area that might be a supporter of the movement<sup>146</sup>. These fights for economic emancipation in a broader framework gained maturity in the democratic politics particularly in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Jharkhand movement was started among the residents of Jharkhand. The struggle for get back of the ancestral land became an ideological symbol of Jharkhand Movement and has root of reconstruction of indigenous socio-political institutions and that has been readdressed by the colonial and post colonial state by suppression

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<sup>141</sup> We have found in many early records that the term ‘Rud Jungle’ had been used; probably it denotes indiscipline forests tracts.

<sup>142</sup> Political Special Section, file no-313 of 1920, BSA

<sup>143</sup> Political Special section,, File no-313 of 1920, BSA

<sup>144</sup> *ibid*

<sup>145</sup> *ibid*

<sup>146</sup> *ibid*

of movement in one hand and on the other hand schematic formulation of legislation was laid to meet the grievances of the voices of tribals in a larger democratic sphere.<sup>147</sup>

Scholars like L.P.Vidyarthi argued that the pattern of transformation of tribal society in India has two distinct processes, Traditional and Modern. Hinduization, Sanskritization, tribe caste continuum etc are the important traditional processes and the modern processes are those comes after the rise of Christianity, Urbanization, and Industrialization, Development, Democratic experiments etc<sup>148</sup>. Thus in both pattern tribes did not get rid from acculturation. Jharkhand also witnessed these both patterns on the basis of which tribal society transformed. As early as 1830s the entire Chotanagpur region witnessed the process of Hinduization that to a large extent responsible for bringing up so called hybrid structure into the tribal society. Fundamental traditional relations between man-subsistence got transformed and tribal ethnic identity which was believed to be different from mainstream society had to accept and accustomed with more pluralistic mechanical society. The process of Hinduization penetrated inside the traditional system of social and economic relationship, destroyed ancient land tenures through rupturing ownership pattern and bring catastrophic changes in tribal society. It was recorded that the Hinduised Maharaja of Chotanagpur donated huge amount of lands to “respectable man (Non-tribals) mahajans and men of subsistence”, a large number of villages were granted to Brahmins as *Kush-Brahman* tenures, many other like *Brittadar*, *Khairat* had been given to those with whom maharaja was pleased<sup>149</sup>. Along with the loss of *de-facto* rights of land the gradual deterioration in practicing tribal traditional religion was the major setback for tribal society. With time the effect of acculturation can be seen at multiple levels and to a great extent replaced the animistic religions based on tradition. For example, Ho, a Munda speaking tribe completely changed their material life after close contact with the Hindus. It was found that instead of ‘leafy booths and wicker wall’ they uses alternative substantial houses, earlier they largely uses wooden ladles and plates made of leaf but now they uses metallic plates instead of leaf<sup>150</sup>. It was evident in today’s Jharkhand that Santals are abstaining from Beef-eating and less interested in

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<sup>147</sup> Nitya Rao, 2003, ‘Life and Livelihood in Santal Parganas, Does the Right to a Livelihood Really Exist ?’, EPW, p-4081

<sup>148</sup> L.P.Vidyarthi, ‘Cultural change in the tribes of modern India’, ‘The Journal of the Bihar Research Society’, Special issue, 1968, pp-268-269

<sup>149</sup> Appendix Number, 3, to W.Dents separate remarks, 5 Jan. 1833, Boards Collection, London, 1502/58891, quoted in Jha, op.cit. p-382

<sup>150</sup> Memoir No-2,1955-56, op.cit. p-13

performing *Itesh Bapla, Nirbolok Bapla, Sanga Bapla, and Baha dor Bapla* because of the close proximity with the Hindu Society<sup>151</sup>.

### 3.4 The historical memories and the ideas of homeland

The cumulative effects of all these menace reduced the tradition and interactions based upon lands, however historical memories, ideas of homeland, and their retention through armed struggle in the past were reoriented and recorded through different phases of Jharkhand Movement. In order to look at fairly articulated economic consciousness of land and the whole complexities of experiences and their great contribution to the development of Jharkhand Movement it would be necessary to find out when they lost their land to those oppressor's (Diku) then on what idea or in what condition they want a restoration of their land? In this regard B.H. Baden-Powell observed, "Every tribesman knew that he had joined in conquering or seizing a territory, and that he would fight to keep his hold on it. He acknowledged that his chief's word was his law, and that the share allotted to him and his fellows must be observed. His sense of right to his own allotment would make him equally ready to fight for it, and it asked why? He would in all probability reply, because his clan had conquered it. His chief's had allowed him 'his inheritance' and he had cleared and ploughed up the land"<sup>152</sup>. Thus it was from this notion of land and property ownerships based on Clan system virtually a driven force for retaining the land from the outsiders. This sort of notion is reflected in the Jharkhand Movement. E.T.Dalton has also propagated similar views in his '*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*', he argued that the land belongs to the tribes have strongly defended by themselves in any occasion. He says "Munda's and Ho's, who tenaciously cling to their holding and have always showed themselves ready to fight for them if necessary"<sup>153</sup>. Baden-Powell added that "the idea of right was that they were 'Bhuinhar' the original soil clearer and settlers. The latter originated with 'inheritors' who acquired the lordship of existing villages, or founded new ones in the same sense of superiority"<sup>154</sup>. However the land is not a mere property for the tribals, it was something more that reflected in the course of the time when they rose in revolt against the alienation process.

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<sup>151</sup> Arunabha Ghosh, 1998 'Jharkhand Movement, A Study of Politics of Regionalism', p-109, Original Source, Digambar Chakraborty, 'History of the Santal Hul, Chief Executive Officers, Rajnagar LAMPS, Birbhum, 1989, p-6

<sup>152</sup> Baden-Powell, 1886 'The Indian Village Community, p-399

<sup>153</sup> E.T.Dalton, 1872 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal', p-212

<sup>154</sup> Baden-Powell op.cit, p-403

When the imperial policies take over all the available land under various forms irrespective of exogamous clan system, it does not generate only political animosity and violence but it produced an apocalyptic vision of the world that turn upside down.

Irrespective of different economic ventures brought devastating impact to the very economy of tribals, the other dissatisfaction also becomes high with the intense involvement of the new classes, the *DIKUS*. The term ‘Diku’ believed to be a synonymous form of cheats, tyrants, looters, dacoits etc, and with time the connotation has changed accordingly. Originally the oppressive Zaminadars are called Diku, though at the initial stages it was used to denote non tribals or upper castes and at the middle of the Jharkhand movement it stands for North Biharis.<sup>155</sup> Since the colonial time Jharkhand suppose to be the worse victim of non-tribal migration<sup>156</sup>. As it perceived a suitable place for profit thus it began to turn up as the hunting ground for non tribal. The money lenders, Zamindars, Bengali merchants, Oria people, all of them suddenly came in large number and threatening their lives and compelled them to sell their Bhuihari lands. Since 1793 there had been a series of land alienation which continued till the CNTA in 1908. In the general remarks on the ‘Opinions on the Bihar Money Lenders Bill’ observed that due to constant transfer of the the land to the to the creditor class increases class division which is a grave political danger to the province<sup>157</sup>. Most of the tribal peasants of the Chotanagpur province are debt ridden, it was observed by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee in 1930 that ‘not more than 30% of the population was entirely free from debt while 70% were indebted’<sup>158</sup>. Therefore the loss of lands to the non-tribal private owners and the rampant destruction of traditional institutions, as well as their customary rights got fuelled in a series of agrarian unrest in the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana region in the last two decades. Earlier, considering the impact of the agrarian unrest the colonial government has decided to adopt Chotanagpur Tenure Act in 1869 under the special commissioner to demarcate the land of the tenants and landlords, again within 10 years in 1879 Chotanagpur Landlords & Tennant Procedure Act was passed in view to protect tenants from illegal enhancement of rent.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Jyoti Sen 2000 ‘ The Jharkhand Movement’, in K.S.Singh (ed) The Tribal Situation in India, p-434

<sup>156</sup> Please see chapter 5 for detail analysis of migration

<sup>157</sup> Opinions on the Bihar Money-Lenders Bill, General Remarks, The British Chamber of Commerce, p-31, RAR

<sup>158</sup> ibid

<sup>159</sup> RCJM, op.cit, p-6



Documents related to the land law of Bengal with Bihar and Orissa during 1920s revealed that the Bhuinhar was one of the important tenures for Munda Community in Chotanagpur, a Munda always claim himself as the original clearers of Jungle but report revealed that during 1920s no Bhuinhar family of Munda had been found in the Chotanagpur District, because 'Hindu land lord put down the influence of Mundas and the result was gradual reduction of Bhuinhar members.'<sup>160</sup> Now what was found in the real state was the desire to be awakened or fixed all the perils inter related with the rights of land. However there was no sign of restoration of its original state. Rampant alienation caused rumblings of localized unrests on the basis of ideas, images, emotions and emptiness<sup>161</sup>. As we discussed in our earlier section that the legitimacy of tribal demands was recognized in the CNTA of 1908 which was the major outcome of growing discontent over land issues in entire Chotanagpur division. It was however a tribal friendly act which was made-up to protect transfer of Bhuinhari lands. By the CNTA it has been declared that, Bhuinhari land cannot be transferable or saleable, except Bhugutbandha for 7 years or Zuripeshgee for 5 years, or by means of buildings educational, or religious construction<sup>162</sup>. Apparently CNTA proved to be beneficial for the tribes of Jharkhand, but in ground reality the passing of lands to the hands of the non tribals became steady, enforcing change and detained from their traditional land. Further, industries and mining in the Jharkhand region aggravated the situation very badly. In 1891 more than 330,000 people have been out migrated from Chotanagpur alone, in 1911 the number has increased into 707,000 and in 1921 it was numbered near about 947,000<sup>163</sup>.

In these circumstances the value of lands became a conditional factor which was sharpened further later in the political agenda of Jharkhand Movement. The expansion of thought and precision enter into the communication of thought of customary rights attributed in a larger political background because they not only wanted bringing things together which had a high relevance in restoring land rights but also adopted certain distinctively indigenous practices

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<sup>160</sup> Sarada Charan Mitra 1921, 'Tagore Law Lecture, 1895, The Land Law of Bengal with Bihar and Orissa' the second edition, Sarat Kumar Mitra, Calcutta, p-524

<sup>161</sup> As Stephen Fuchs embraced that the remembrance of the golden past came into effect after a period of decline, Revivalism, Nativism, Syncretism, Eschatologism and Millenarianism came into force after catastrophies and upheavals, for details of the analysis pls see Stephen Fuchs 'Messianic Movement' in 'Peasant Struggle in India', Edt. By A.R.Desai,1979, pp-28-46

<sup>162</sup> Act VI (B.C) of 1908, sec-64 and 49, Cited in Tagore Law Lectures op.cit, p-526

<sup>163</sup> P.P.Mahato, 1982 'Jharkhander Bidroho O Jibon', Quoted in Sajal Bose, 1994 'Jharkhand Movement : Ethnicity and Culture of Silence' p-49

which were all part of a process of cultural borrowing. Since the Hinduisation process there might be every possibility that the tribes were made some compromise by accommodating certain different practices, food habits and even adaptations,<sup>164</sup> though there was suppose to be some sort of notion of tradition in Jharkhand and on this substantial ground they maintained traditional tribal system of administration<sup>165</sup> in various pockets of Jharkhand.

An experience of this sort can be called mystical and a combination of accepted beliefs in their nature. This knowledge and the deepest understanding of the rights have not changed in many parts of Jharkhand amidst huge pressure from outside, because as we have seen that the ideology of tribal economy is based on communal land management and kingship through generations. Lineages and clans are the backbone of tribal society which revolving through land ownerships. It was “Communal land tenures epitomized by the *Mundari Khuntkattidar* system”<sup>166</sup>. “In this system the lands reside with the clan-elders”<sup>167</sup>. The word *Khuntkatti* signifies clearing the jungle. According to the Act of 1908 a *Mundari Khuntkattidar* is

“a Mundari who has acquired a right to hold jungle land for the purpose of bringing suitable portion thereof under cultivation by himself or by male members of his family and includes (a) the heirs male in the male line of any such Mundari when they are in possession of such lands or have any subsisting title thereto and (b) as regards any portions of such land which have remained continuously in the possession of any such Mundari and his descendents in the mail line, such descendents”<sup>168</sup>

In the long term adverse impact on the economic structure by rupturing land tenure some steady change also occurred in the traditional village system. It was natural for a community to determine the functioning of their economic pursuits through the articulation of traditional

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<sup>164</sup> The process of acculturation has been affected tribal communitarian systems which was traditionally governed by the tradition itself. In due course they became more suffered, in other words, discarding egalitarian systems and accepting caste system that make stratification within the tribal society.

<sup>165</sup> The concept of ‘different system’ has been taken into consideration because in the Jharkhand Movement the restoration of system was predominant partly because of their need to reconstruct ethnic identity. It was evident in the later movement through incorporating agenda on land problems, even the movement at one stage tried to restore traditional agriculture essentially to a great metaphysical and speculative height.

<sup>166</sup> Stuart Corbridge 2005, ‘The Ideology of Tribal Economy and Society ; Politics in Jharkhand, C-1950-1980’, in S. Corbridge et. all, ‘Jharkhand: Environment, Development, Ethnicity’ Oxford, p-25

<sup>167</sup> *ibid*, p-25

<sup>168</sup> Tagore Law Lectures, *op.cit*, p-531, Bhuinhari tenure which was recorded and demarcated by the settlement officer Babu Rakhil Das Halder under Chotanagpur Tenures Act of 1869, where he found that most of the Mundas have no very clear idea about the laws that created a distinction between Mundari Khuntkattidar and a Bhuinhar, for details pls see Final Report on the Revisional Survey and Settlement Operation in the District of Ranchi, 1927-1935, BSA, Ranchi

village structure. B.H. Baden- Powell put his extreme effort to confine himself with a suitable definition of a village. According to him “all the races of India, whose history we are to any extent acquainted with, have, when they passed the nomadic or pastoral stage, and took to settled agriculture, formed certain groups of land-holdings, more or less connected together, and which we call ' VILLAGES.' At least that is true for all the districts in the plain country where there are no exceptional features”. Again by endorsing the complexities in the initial formation period of a village, Baden-Powell concluded that “the term ‘village’, as we use it, means a group of landholdings, with (usually) a central aggregate of residences, the inhabitants of which have certain relations, and some kind of union or bond of common government.” Now the argument goes back to the tribal formation of a village which is essentially a form of bondage achieved through “nomadic and shifting cultivation in the forest” which can last for more than 100 years through hereditary headship or certain customary powers. Baden-Powell argues that the primitive sense of village has changed its essence due to acceptance of “Hinduism and Aryan ideas of Government”<sup>169</sup>

In order to find some common features of tribal village system in the whole of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Division, it is necessary to look at the colonial ethnographer’s documents of the Kolarian and Dravidians races. Dalton’s *‘Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal’* was one such available resource contains extensive details of the tribal system of governance. This great work emphasized on the analysis of the tribal administrative system based on *village or Parha*.<sup>170</sup> B.H. Baden-Powell wrote in 1896 ‘Each *Parha* contained and form twenty to twenty five villages and had a chief called *Manki*’. Dalton observed when Mundari’s first came into the Jharkhand Region they had No Raja, they formed a congeries of small confederate states, the head of each village is called a *Munda*. In various occasion self assertion was facilitated by the Munda community through their rights of inheritance. According to custom the *Munda* was the head of *Parha* which was traditionally presided over by the *Manki* and his area is called *Pati*. He was the person whose duty was to settle down all the disputes related with land and this was known to all Munda villages as *Mankipatti* system.<sup>171</sup> Baden-Powell agreed that the Kolarian tribe in the

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<sup>169</sup> Baden-Powell, 1896, ‘The Indian Village Community’, pp-398-444

<sup>170</sup> Baden-Powell, op.cit, p-152, see also Dalton, op.cit, p-165

<sup>171</sup> ibid, pp-531-532

entire forest tract accepted the rule of the tribes based on Dravidian Stock (Gond & Oraon) because of their superior organization.<sup>172</sup> On the other hand Kol have also no centralized govt. The common traditional leaderships are based on village headman. It consists of a secular leadership and sacerdotal leadership known by various names in various parts of Jhrkhand. The post of headmanship is entirely hereditary while the sacerdotal headman was chosen from dominant clan of the village. These headmans have a stronghold among the tribe of Jharkhand. They also guide the deliberations of the village Panchayat. Each family had its own headman, known as *Munda* among the Ho and Munda tribes, *Manjhi* among the Santal and *Sirdar* among the Bhumij.<sup>173</sup> W.W.Hunter in his Great work “Annals of Rural Bengal” described that in a Santal society “The headman for the time being (*Manjhi*) bears the undisputed sway which belongs to a hereditary governor”.<sup>174</sup> He also mentioned about the deputies of headman like *Jog manjhi and Jog pramanik*. In Munda or Oraon system of village Panchayats there are numerous numbers of ‘*Parha*’ or *Pir* which was a collective form of village unions.<sup>175</sup> The groups are small and separated by the cultivated and wastelands held by each. Each group has a chief called *Tarvi*. It has found that each tribal clan has its own chief, like others Bhils also has its own chief called *Rawat*. Unless these chief became united in subordination to some *Raja* they remained independent and hardly in a sufficient degree of relation to form a confederacy, though it seems that they met in assemblies to confer on any matter that concerned several of the *parha* in common. The *parha* or union grouping is still traceable, and on festival occasions each one exhibits its own flag with the distinguishing device or *totem*”<sup>176</sup>.

With time such tribal agencies have lost their command because of the steady migration into the Chotanagpur and it caused marginalization and “lead to a complex acculturation process it gradually resulted in the spread of hierarchy and differentiation and the increasing loss of status of these communities”.<sup>177</sup> During Mughal period they successfully penetrated the whole of Jungle Mahal and for the first time imposing *rukumats* to the Munda and Oraon communities and

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<sup>172</sup> J.F.Hewitt, Asiatic Quarterly Review, April 1887, p-396, Quoted in Baden-Powell, op.cit, p-153

<sup>173</sup> Baden-Powell op.cit, pp-151-155

<sup>174</sup> W.W.Hunter, 1868, ‘Annals of Rural Bengal’, pp-219-220

<sup>175</sup> Sachhidananda, 1972 ‘Tribal Situation in Bihar’ in K.S. Singh (edt) ‘Tribal situation in India’ op.cit, p-174, see also Victor Das, EPW, July 28, 1990, p-1624.

<sup>176</sup> Baden-Powell 1896, p- 152, Hunter 1868, pp-219-220, op.cit.

<sup>177</sup> V.Damodaran 2006, ‘Colonial Construction of Tribe in India : The case of Chotanagpur’, Europe and the World in European Historiography, (ed) Csaba Levai, Thematic Work Group, p-169

forcefully snatching away their land and subsequently brought some changes towards their communal indigenous system of land use.<sup>178</sup>

The supremacy over land was inscribed in the perceptions of tenures. In several settlement reports it has been seen that numerous numbers of tenures are active in the region since colonial time which was morally less associated with law of primogeniture. Some of them are *Tangor, Chibabrit* etc. In Palamou district some of the rent free tenures were *Khuskhairat, Bishnubri, Kushbrit* etc. These are religious grants, in Manbhum district there are *Putni tenures, Tamipatta tenure*, generally given as lease of an entire village, *Jungleburi tenures* were given for clearing the jungles<sup>179</sup> and these tenures were guided by the idea of rationality and not even changed in the whole life of a tribe. Father J.Hoffman. S.J observed that Munda of Chotanagpur have a ritual of their own that their land is inalienable because they believed that their lands remained with the last man even after his death. He wrote that “the man or owner continues live in his family or offspring in a manner which however crude or even ridiculous it may seem to us, is to the aborigines a very serious matter indeed. For in their belief the owner depends even after death to a great extent on the material well being of his descendents”.<sup>180</sup> To further concentrate on the relationship based on landed property the management of ‘common pool’<sup>181</sup> resources by the local indigenous institution is very important.<sup>182</sup> The role of traditional communal property institution in the management of common pool resources has been seen intact to the whole heterogeneous tribal communities.

Since the early human settlement in the entire Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Plateau the management of resources was based on this primitive institution. It suddenly allows sustainable resource use in a scientific way. Traditionally almost all the tribal communities practiced the *Kili* and *Clan* system which was distinguished from the mainstream Jati society and which allows the

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<sup>178</sup> *ibid*, p-169

<sup>179</sup> Baden-Powell, 1896, *op.cit*, pp-398-444

<sup>180</sup> J.Hoffman.S.J, 1915, ‘Principal of Succession and Inheritance among the Mundas’, The Journal of Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Sept. 1915, Vol-1, pp-5-19

<sup>181</sup> The term Common Poll Resources often used by scholars to identify the tribal resource used. By using common property resource it is tended to obscure maximum benefits and regulating the preservation and maintenance of common pool resources.

<sup>182</sup> Fikret Berkes 2008, ‘Sacred ecology’, p-49

tribes to direct access to the land<sup>183</sup>. It has been argued in Dhebar Commission Report in 1962 that ‘Life in the hills in spite of the attendant disabilities, has made the tribal’s hardy, self reliant and vigilant’<sup>184</sup> thus the agricultural parameters were shaped in collaboration with existing knowledge of their surrounding environment as well as traditional institution. So to say, the tribal community is more prone to consume once they taken of the grains from the field, and instead of making any profit making efforts to make instant money they consume most of the productions at a village level. Market oriented demand have never been seen in the tribal community. Thus any irrational change compels them to rebel.

The epitome of Jharkhand Movement by and large was to free from agrarian discontent, disparities emerged through colonial discourses. Since the emergence of the Colonial State as a proprietor of the whole plateau area and the vision of the modern independent state, to say followed a parallel legacy and histories of land alienation. The trajectories almost same and unchanged till the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Hence, The British policies towards tribal economic structures is somehow affected the lineage and clan system and violates cultural identity for a large section of tribal communities. But as we said earlier that they were not completely lost, they keep an obscure image of it which along with identity crisis remains one of the ideological resources that reflected in armed revolts in different phases of autonomy movement in Jharkhand. Baden-Powell observed that “The British Government went on an entirely different principle; it started with the avowed policy of defining and confirming on an equitable basis, the right of private persons in the soil”<sup>185</sup>. The inbuilt notion of clan system was important as a part of tribal regionalism and a major concern in a communitarian ethnic based society. It also worked as a symbolic weapon during ‘the wartime or in a defense condition against the strangers, local feuds, even worked as a unit against the extortionate revenue officers’<sup>186</sup>.

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<sup>183</sup> Stuart Corbridge, 2004. ‘The ideology of Tribal Economy and Society, Politics in Jharkhand, C-1950-1980’ in Stuart Corbridge, et.al. op.cit, p-23, Original source, F.Bailey, 1961, ‘Tribe, Caste and Nation’, Manchester University Press. D.J. Mandelbaum, 1970, ‘Society in India’, 2 Vol. University of California Press, p-578

<sup>184</sup> U.N.Dhebar (Chairman), 1962, ‘Report of the Scheduled Caste Scheduled Tribes Commission, New Delhi, p-8, Quoted in Corbridge, 2005 op.cit, p-22

<sup>185</sup> Baden-powell, op.cit, p-430

<sup>186</sup> ibid, p-436

K.S.Singh has given an interesting fact that in many cases transfer of land owned by tribals has been transferred to those of non-tribals under the exclusive consent of the owner of that particular land. It was happened because of the high rents imposed by the colonial powers as well as rack renting by the zamindars and other money lenders. Thus the tribes reside in the countryside that was highly indebted was almost accepted money lending profession due to the restriction imposed by the CNTA. In many cases the number of non professional moneylenders overlapping professional money lenders in great numbers. The cases of land transfer are becoming very high in some parts of Chotanagpur region through illegal selling, mortgage of rayati lands.<sup>187</sup> The report of the Committee of Jharkhand Matters has figured out that in spite of various tenancy laws namely, CNTA of 1908, The Santal Pargana Tenancy Act 1949, The Scheduled Area Regulation 1969, huge land alienation occurred because of the ineffectiveness regarding enforcement of the law. No proper land settlements have been taken into account. Singh observed that the first ever ‘agrarian myth’ of what is known in the tribal belt of eastern India as “all lands to the tribal” was first manifested in the Sardar larai, not in the Kol & Tamar insurrection in the early decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century. However there are so many instances of such insurrection that can be compiled to understand the core principles of these movements. K.S.Singh noted that the whole tribal problem of agrarian distress remained vital in the concept of golden age; he warned us that it does not reflect that the tribal agrarian movements always tended to procuring “state of things” that prevailed before the influx of the aliens.<sup>188</sup> It may not be correct to say that the tribal revolts were shaped by facing serious blow brought by the colonial oppressors, but in many cases it was engineered by the indigenous oppressors, like, zamindars, peasants, intelligentsia, the native royal dynasties and many others. Apprehension in taking part in those revolts subsumed through memory and earlier tribal uprisings.

### **3.5 Ecological prudence inscribed in culture: The agricultural practices and its influence in the Jharkhand Movement**

Yet the tribes always in any situation retain their cultural values found in festivals and folksongs. They dance, perform their songs in a masterly way according to their own tradition. They are the

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<sup>187</sup> K.S.Singh, 1972 ‘Agrarian Issues in Chotanagpur’, in K.S.Singh (ed) ‘Tribal Situation in India’, op.cit, pp-379-80

<sup>188</sup> *ibid*, pp-379-380

sons of the soil. Theoretically they are the actual owner of these vast tracts. Their understanding of nature in its fullest meaning has sharpened tribal minds since colonial time through periodic bouts of unrest in the region. Steve Daniel noted that “Identities are often defined by legends and landscapes, by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised homeland with hollowed sites and scenery. The symbolic activation of time and space often drawing on religious sentiment gives shape to the imagined community of the nation”<sup>189</sup>. Scholars like Vinita Damodaran clearly define the term ‘*Landscape*’ in terms of imaginary sense, symbolic to the culture of its inhabitants. This notion of landscape ultimately articulated within tribal society, a self realization of ownership and a mature understanding of nature-human relationship<sup>190</sup>. However distinctive culture of a region sometimes worked as a backbone of ‘*Cultural Nationalism*’, it signifies ‘the moral regeneration of the national community’ is more promising, because culture is the ubiquitous, common element of all separatist movement. However assertion of culture as *sui generis*- as an immutable, organic entity which is quiet independent of political nationalism’<sup>191</sup>. Now the landscape and the cultural dominance worked together to create sustainability to this exclusive habitat. Keeping in mind of the geographical characteristics of the soil of Jharkhand, it is a common argument that “distinct ecologies necessitated distinct mode of adaptation, in turn the social systems developed in each area lent support to the economic base and become different”<sup>192</sup> thus specific ecologies of a region sometime reflected in the course of its sustenance by the realm of cultural aspirations propounded by its inhabitants.

In these context cultures took the pre-eminent position in Jharkhandi identity. It was rooted in their sacred practices and these cultures articulated through their agricultural practices. “The Hos are a purely agricultural people, and their festivals are all connected with that pursuit”<sup>193</sup> said Dalton in his ‘*Descriptive Ethnology in Bengal*’. He noted that Hos keep seven festivals in a

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<sup>189</sup> Vinita Damodaran 1997, ‘Environment, Ethnicity and History of Chotanagpur (1850-1970)’, ‘Environment and History’, Vol-3, No-3 (Oct.1997), p-279, Original Source, D.Cosgrove, cited in Stephen Daniels ‘Fields of vision, Landscapes, Imagery and Identity in England and US’ Cambridge, 1993, p-5

<sup>190</sup> *ibid*

<sup>191</sup> S.K.Mitra, 1995, ‘The Rational Politics of Cultural Nationalism: Subnational Movements of South Asia in contemporary perspective’, pp-59, cited from Hutchinson, ‘The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Iris Nation State’, London, Unwin Hyman, 1987, pp-7-9

<sup>192</sup> Nirmal Sengupta, 1988, ‘ Reappraising Tribal Movements, III, The Economic Basis’, EPW, Vol-23, No, 21, pp-1054-1055

<sup>193</sup> E.T.Dalton 1872, ‘Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal’, p-196



single year marked with full of joy and enthusiasm. The *Magh Parab* or *Desauli Bonga* is the principal festival among other festival. These festivals are held in the month of Magh when the paddy field are covered with full of grain. Dalton noted that it is the Ho's of Chibasa who formed the 'environs', it was varies in season to season. During the festival of joy they were delicately performed the songs and dances to celebrate Magh festival. "It is the festival of the harvest home; the termination of one year's toil and a slight respite from it before they commence again"<sup>194</sup>. Another festival called *Bah Bonga* is celebrated when a sal tree is in full bloom, this festival is similar to the *Sarhul* festival of Munda, it was observed in the month of March and April. The boys and girls use to wear flowers in their hair in the festival, decoration of their houses were made by sal flowers. According to Dalton the festival mainly performed as the sacred offering to the founder of the villages. There is another important festival known as *Damurai*, this festival is observed in Ho community because they believed it would prevent their seeds from germination. *Bah-Tawli Bonga* is also a known festival for growing up seeds into full maturity, this festival is performed by sacrificing a fowl and later a wing was placed in a bamboo cleft and dung-head in to the field<sup>195</sup>.

Santals community also known for their agricultural knowledge, they were purely agriculturist as mentioned in both Dalton and Risley in their work. They mainly depended on their agricultural productivity and consume the same within their community. The most popular festival of the Santals is *Sohrai* or harvest festival. Risley mentioned that the *Sohrai* festival is celebrated during the month of Posh (Nov-Dec) after the rice crop in the year has been got in, following rituals by offering pigs, goats to the Sacred Grove. Dalton, Risley and O'malley noted that *Baha Puja* observed in the month of Phalgun (Feb-March) when a Sal tree comes into flower. *Janthar Puja* in Aghran (Oct-Nov) is also performed within the community when they see the first fruit of winter crop. Many other festivals like *Sankranti puja*, *Maghsim*, *Jomsim puja*, *Makmore Puja* also have the notion to systematize the practice of worshipping nature.<sup>196</sup> According to their environmental knowledge they believed that, the deities have the power to confer changes in nature which can affect their subsistence economy. However such believe synchronized with

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<sup>194</sup> *ibid*,p-196

<sup>195</sup> *ibid*, p-196

<sup>196</sup> Dalton,1872 *op.cit*, pp-196, See also Risley 1915, 'The People of India', pp-441-454, & L.S.S. O'Malley, 1910, 'Santal Pargana District Gazetteer' , pp-120-146

rituals that started at the early stage of the formation of earth. They sung their song of cultivation with great pleasure,

*“Akhan Asar Asche Sathi re Amar  
Sabuj Dhaner Charaguli Sab Ruibo Aa,  
Gramer Sabai Dak Shuneja Ghar Thika  
Amra Sabai Sukhe kaaj kori  
Pasa Pasi ar Sara Sari Sab Ki Ananda  
Subjya Dublai Amra Palabo Diner Majuri Halituli  
Majuri Ni Ghar Jabo Chalak Chalak Pa Pheli”*

(“The Month of Asar has come. Let us high to the fields to transplant seeds of green paddy. The village folk in their home have left and wended this way, side by side, in rows shall we work. As the sun sets we shall leave taking our wages with great pleasure”<sup>197</sup>)

In another song, father giving advice to his sons to cut the dead wood and use it for ploughing if he do so he will find that the gold still beneath the earth.

*“Kath Babu Lage Mashe  
Ishi Marar  
Bend me  
Hasarsi Babu, Sona Mina”<sup>198</sup>*

Risley accounted that, in view of this great channel they had memorized in linking their forefather they started performing such festival with great enthusiasm<sup>199</sup>.

Succession of festival can also be traces in Munda community. Risley recorded even *Sing Bonga* the Sun God, believed to be the head of Munda religion is also comes with nature. *Marang Buru* the God of Munda community is also regarded a god who presided over rainfall. Even in times of

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<sup>197</sup> Sabyasachi Lodh, 1979, ‘Thematic Analysis of Tribal Folk Tales and Folk Songs of West Bengal’, p-31, Cultural Research Institute, Kolkata

<sup>198</sup> *ibid*, p-16

<sup>199</sup> Risley 1915, ‘The People of India’, pp-441-454

serious draught they appeal him for quick rescue from the situation. Like other tribal communities Munda also perform *Sahrul or Sarjum baba* which is a spring festival when the Sal tree is in bloom. The next in importance was *Kadleta or Batauli* celebrated in Asarh at the commencement of rainy season. *Nana or Jom Nana* is celebrated in Asin when the highland rice is harvested<sup>200</sup>.

### 3.5.1 Ecology and magic: A twofold technique of understanding of nature

In the entire Jharkhand region the tools of magic seem to be very important in the adivasi life. In many instances ‘by offering worship to propitiate the supernatural or super-human power for acquisition of the thing or object desired’ can be found within the tribal societies<sup>201</sup>. Some believe in magic in the form of Imitative or Homeopathic were practiced by the Ho and Munda Communities in particular<sup>202</sup>. It has been recorded in various occasion that during a seasonal crop failure due to less rainfall or even at the time of shortage of rainfall for which they won’t be able to perform their agricultural practices depends on magic, they believed magic would bring rain for their cultivation. When they felt isolated and worried about the circumstances they performed different activities to ensure rainfall. Ho’s in particular used to fire up certain things and waits for smoke which necessarily coming out from the fire; it generally spread over certain areas and within few minutes it looks like cloud is slowly spreading over a large area which is capable of bringing rain to the earth. On the other hand in the same state of nature Munda community is used to climb up in a near small cliff and throwing down a large piece of stone across the bottom, the stone while rolling towards the bottom sounds like storm. They believed that in this form they will be able to bring rainfall back<sup>203</sup>. S.C.Roy noted that during the paddy seedling process many tribal communities of Chotanagpur celebrated the marriage ceremonies of the seedlings, during the marriage ceremony it is a custom to leave a plough stuck up in the field in the ‘belief that it will avert rain during the transplantation’<sup>204</sup>. S.C.Roy noted “When the paddy seedlings (apparently representing or embodying the spirit of new corn) have been duly married

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<sup>200</sup> *ibid*, pp-441-454

<sup>201</sup> D.Debnath 2003, ‘Ecology and Rituals in Tribal areas’, p-23

<sup>202</sup> A.K.Das,1994, ‘Adivasi Jibone Biswas o Kusanskarer Bhumika’, LOKOSHRUTI, Vol-11, Govt. of West Bengal, p-42

<sup>203</sup> *ibid*, p-42

<sup>204</sup> S.C.Roy,1915, ‘The Corn Spirit and the Tree Spirit in Chotanagpur’, ‘The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society’, Vol-1, September, p-48

in this manner, the cultivator's wife first take down these 'wedding' paddy seedlings to the field and plant them close to the ridge. Other female labourers then enter the field and the women all proceed to transplant paddy seedlings on every part of the field with the exception of a small space at one end of it. The women next plait together a few paddy seedlings in the form of marriage '*karsa*' (a crown of paddy sheaves) and plant it in the middle of the space left untransplanted. Then they all dance round this '*karsa*' sing wedding songs, and apparently as a rain charm, spatter one another with mud and water. Finally they transplant this remaining portion of the field and proceed to the owner's house where they are given a jar of rice beer to drink.<sup>205</sup> However in other occasion, particularly in the case of first field of the village transplantation, village priest *Pahan* is empowered to do the same instead of cultivator's wife<sup>206</sup>. Apart from these ceremonies, taboos are also practiced and still remained intact within the communities. However it would appear in the context of environmentalism possessed in every step of life the rituals from all the resident tribal communities irrespective of caste and creed explored within their institutional and communitarian ground. Though there are differences in the dances and songs which was varied from each community but the plurality signifies the ecological understanding of this animistic world.

The knowledge of surrounding environment created an 'alternate subsistence' practice during the scarcity of subsistence. An interesting letter wrote by H.E.Horsfield, Deputy Commissioner of Gumla District to J.A Habback, Commissioner of Chotanagpur about the knowledge of poisonous plant and vegetable by the adivasis. Horsfield wrote "undetected poisoning cases in Gumla subdivision drew attention in the knowledge of vegetable poison possessed by the aborigines. Enquiries were made by the subdivision officers, Khunti, which resulted in a list of poison; I got this, examined by the Director, Lac Research Institute, Namkum, who has added a few more poison to the list from her own knowledge. The result goes to show that not only some of the most important vegetable poison known grow freely in the country but that the aborigines, particularly the Munda's have methods of extracting or utilizing these poisons. It is not therefore surprising that in cases sent to the chemical examiner reports are usually received that no poison

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<sup>205</sup> *ibid*, p-48

<sup>206</sup> *ibid*, p-48

is traceable.’<sup>207</sup> Thus it can be argued that the tribes of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas have a definite concept or mechanism of use of food utilizing different scrubs as alternative subsistence during food crisis. One may argue, this sort of ‘*subsistence economy*’ derived from their physical attachment of nature and substantially grow ‘from man’s dependence for his living upon nature and his fellows. It refers to the interchange with his natural and social environment, in so far as these results in supplying him with the means of materials want satisfaction’<sup>208</sup>. This kind of experiences created a direct link with surrounding nature through specific ecological traits.

### **3.6 Agrarian distress and an anti Paddy Levy Movement in colonial Jharkhand:**

However despite of strong cultural assertion of land rights and its uses and associated demands on the right to agriculture, no clear cut agricultural demand has been put up in the agenda by the leader of the Jharkhand Movement. It was probably due to the politicization of the movement from 1930 onwards. It was clear from available sources that electoral politics distracted and deformed indigenous demands of land rights. Though there are recurrence of old slogan that ‘all land to the tribals’ particularly in the 1940s when Jaipal Singh engaged himself as the leader of Adivasi Mahasabha<sup>209</sup>. In spite of close linkages, due to lack of agrarian programme many localized agrarian movements particularly in Palamou, Singhbhum and Gumla emerged from the ‘cry of the tribals’ but were not included as a part of the Jharkhand Movement. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and its leader Sibusoren also failed to constitute any strong agenda which would help the tribes to overcome these serious conditions they facing<sup>210</sup>.

Yet there were some instances of resentment against the Paddy Levy order in the whole Chotanagpur District. In the late 1940s, Joel Larka, the President of the Lutheran Church and the district sabha office bearers including Mr. Julius Tigga, the General Secretary of Adivasi Mahasabha and a few workers undertook some propaganda to fight for the sake of separation. The major one was the collection of ‘*Sup Dhan*’ (Paddy) for its fund as the organization running

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<sup>207</sup> Letter to J.A. Hubbak, Commissioner of Chotanagpur from H.E. Horsfield, Deputy Commissioner's office, Gumla, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1933, D.O, Number 21 OC, Political Department, Confidential Fortnightly Report, Chotanagpur, File No- KW18/1933, B.S.A , p-42

<sup>208</sup> Karl Polyani, Conrad Arsenberg and Harry Pearson (ed) ‘Trade and Market in the early Empires, Economies in History and theory’ 1957, p-243

<sup>209</sup> DN, 1989, ‘Some Agrarian Question in the Jharkhand Movement’, EPW, July-8, p-1505

<sup>210</sup> *ibid*, p-1505

in a poor condition financially<sup>211</sup>. On the other hand the State has decided to collect grains in the name of paddy levy. The leadership of Mahasabha has decided not to surrender their grains to the hands of the government<sup>212</sup>. According to the resolution passed in the meeting held at Basar Tand, Simdega, at Ranchi District, Jaipal Singh announced that the government has decided to procure adivasi grain according to Paddy Levy order which ostensibly triggered poverty in the entire region<sup>213</sup>. He expressed that those who had more than 25 acres of lands and production above 200 mounds would have to contribute their grains to the government,<sup>214</sup> whereas it has been seen in many areas that the official who was in-charge of the procurement process do not have proper knowledge and without systematic surveying of the actual status of the adivasi they forcefully trying to implement the order with no sympathy<sup>215</sup>. It is a harsh reality that the entire Jharkhand area is mainly dependent on the agricultural production and it will be catastrophic if the govt. took away the subsistence from poor adivasi. Because of the shortages of rainfall production of paddy was never according to demand. Thus if the paddy was taken away they will be falling into starvation. In connection with the above paddy levy order Adivasi Kissan Samaj a de facto wing of Jharkhand Movement under the leadership of Satish Chandra Kora and Mukund Ram took official leadership and raised protest against the demand. They were active in Kolhan and Porhat Govt. area of Singhbhum District. Professionally both of them were teachers of Jagannathpur School. Later they placed a memorandum to the govt. of Bihar<sup>216</sup>.

This sort of agenda was taken into consideration to show the hatred against the Government decision; however it does not contain any larger agrarian issues which could generate agrarian wave. Though the resentment had a clear notion of Jharkhandi consciousness dovetailed with the land ownerships. The rise of Jharkhandi consciousness was related to a large extent due to the rapid change in the structure of customary rights inherited by the tribes since time immemorial and it was sharpened at the beginning through the appearance of the Christian Missionaries on the scene. The initial acceptance of the missionaries largely coupled with the miseries the innocent tribal faced through various exploitations. Thus the truth was that the tribes were ready

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<sup>211</sup> Govt. of Bihar, Special Section (Confidential) File no-270, BSA

<sup>212</sup> ibid

<sup>213</sup> ibid

<sup>214</sup> ibid

<sup>215</sup> ibid

<sup>216</sup> ibid, for the selected memorandum please see in the appendices.

to accept anyone's guidance which could help them control their miseries.<sup>217</sup> The process was further strengthening with the large scale conversions to the Christianity. The Oraon and the Munda's have been converted very largely, however it was accelerated in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite of various debates concerning the objectivity of these conversions, the main outcome of the process was spreading of political consciousness among the tribes. It suddenly proclaims the rights of property are economically rich to the tribes and inalienable substance. It was documented that in Chotanagpur the first ever political movement for solution of property rights was Christian Sardar Movement against the missionaries under the leadership of Birsa Munda. It was succeeded it terms of bringing agrarian peace through the historic CNTA in 1908<sup>218</sup>.

### **3.7 Conclusion:**

The repercussions of the landlessness situation and other constraints were converted into Jharkhand political movement for autonomy since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However there were differentiation within each tribal communities and distinctive thoughts about self-economy sustained on purely traditions. It would appear pertinent that, in the entire period of separation movement the pressure on land in various occasions affected tribal communities in variable manner, to say in optimum to less optimum in terms of 'loss'. One would suffer much in respect to other in this course of land alienations. International labour organization observed that "Indigenous peoples are not homogenous groups. They differ from one another not just in terms of their ecology, cultural identity, economic organization, and social and religious practices but also in terms of the nature of their relationship to national political and economic systems".<sup>219</sup> An eminent agrarian historian Prof.B.B.Chowdhury in a wider concept argued that any regional economic formation with agricultural development, settled cultivation essentially a village based economic formation. The property, level of cultivable land, technology, village organization etc are the major characteristics of a village based agricultural structure. There were no disagreements that colonial rule had a decisive role in social transformation. To get rid of the

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<sup>217</sup> K.N.Sahay, 1968, 'Genesis and Development of the Early Christian Movement in Chotanagpur, p-291, The Journal of Bihar Research Society, Special issue,

<sup>218</sup> K.S.Singh,1972, op.cit, p-375

<sup>219</sup> Hari Mohan Mathur, 2009, 'Tribal land issues in India : Communal Management, Rights and Displacement' in Jayanta Parera (ed) 'Land and Cultural Survival, The Communal Land Rights of Indigenous people in Asia, p-163

situation the pre-colonial tribal societies have adopted certain devices to prevent changes certainly going to take place in their economic system. But in a broader way this theory was not acceptable, he further argued that the cultivation essentially means a collectively recognized set of restraints on use of village resources. In a community, culturally derived producers did have a role in a particular area. In the tribal areas, the role appears in this form. Even in the social structure of major tribal communities like Santal's and Munda's are different from the hilly Paharias.<sup>220</sup> This argument is immensely significant to understand the Jharkhand movement started by the adivasi for their ancestral land. Without romanticizing the fact that the tribes who fought for Jharkhand Movement may have different demands exclusively for their own communities, according to their relation with their natural rights but in a greater political movement they unanimously adopted the path for separation from North Bihar as ultimate goal. The trajectories of Jharkhand Movement would lead us to believe that the problem in the case of excessive demand for taxes in colonial regime was framed empirically not ideologically. The imposition of taxes, levy created huge burden on the whole tribal society and forced them to adopt different profit enabling food habit, the result was an alienation from their ecological set up as well as habitual food habit. It was not only alienated from their traditional food habit but also created serious effect in their environmental knowledge. O'Malley recorded that "there has not been a famine here since 1866, chiefly because the majority of the population are aboriginals and a considerable part of their food supply consists of edible forest product".<sup>221</sup> Similarly in a census report of 1961 it was claimed that the inhabitants of eastern Chotanagpur plateau are mainly dependent on non-agricultural occupations and 'unable to pursue their traditional work as a main source of livelihood'<sup>222</sup>. The symbiotic relation with the surrounding environment collapsed which steadily weaken resource generation. Retention of the production pattern or behavior can be seen as a part of resource mobilization in the context of Jharkhand Movement. Ideologically this ecological crisis can be traced through cultural practices of the adivasi communities.

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<sup>220</sup> Prof. B.B.Chowdhury , Personal interview at University of Calcutta and Jadavpr University 2007

<sup>221</sup> O'Malley,1910,op.cit, p-120

<sup>222</sup> Joseph E. SCHWARTZBERG,Census of India 1961, Monograph Series, No-4, occupational Structure and level of Economic Development in India, A Regional analysis, pp-92-93



It could be a viable instrumental approach that traditionally the tribes of Jharkhand had notion of land ownership which certainly created a feeling unanimity in spite of huge land alienation. There position was in any way to emphasis on the detainment of the traditional rights. It was a concept that means self reservation. The obliteration of the century old customary rights by the colonial administration as well as by the Non-tribal was somehow created resilience against the oppressing arms. It was evident that most of the tribal Khuntkatti land was sold by the moneylenders; some lands were alienated from the tribes through collusive title suits, Chapar Bandi, Sada Hukumnama, Sada patta, marrying tribal women etc. these alienation method is actually determine through the cash trapped method.<sup>223</sup> The alienation from the land was continued in the post colonial era through industrialization and in other possible way. This is however reflected in a series of agrarian unrest in Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana District. And in the later the issue related to land was dovetailed with mainstream political movement epitomized for the separation of Jharkhand.

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<sup>223</sup> Ramesh Sharan, 2005, 'Alienation and Restoration of Tribal Land in Jharkhand : Current Issues and Possible Stategies' EPW, Oct, 8, pp-4443-4446

*CHAPTER-4*

**THE COLONIAL AND POST  
COLONIAL FORESTRY: RESOURCE  
CONFLICT AND THE JHARKHAND  
MOVEMENT**

## Chapter 4

### The colonial and post colonial forestry: Resource conflict and the Jharkhand Movement

#### 4.1 Introduction

In India, conflict over use of wood has got remarkable importance in recent years because of the growing tension between state and forest dwellers. The use of fuel, fodder in rural areas, the industrial demands by indiscriminating clearing of forests and unscientific conversion of forest land became one of the prime reasons of India's environmental degradation. It was true that India's forest cover has been depleted each and every year due to pressure on wooden lands. This crisis has produced different perspectives of the course of dwelling because of the inability of the state to address the crisis<sup>224</sup>. After the Stockholm Conference in 1972, and the pressure generated by the Chipko Movement in Uttarakhand the state has initiated 'environmental preservation' by mobilizing 'aggressive responses' which in turn opens new crisis<sup>225</sup>. However in the early colonial time the forests were destroyed for revenues and later for environmental reasons the scientific forest conservation launched, which was conflicting in nature<sup>226</sup>. Though both colonial and post colonial India this conflicting ideologies and its implementation in rural areas by the forest department had severe impact on the rural ecology and adaptation which were in many cases turned into various forest related conflict. Along with India's other parts, the Jharkhand region also witnessed ecological stresses mostly created by the forest department. Rampant depletion, overstretching and destruction of forests are the reasons when society lapse into endemic warfare<sup>227</sup>. Even the fragile nature of the forests are seen as the crucial point of subsistence conflict which are constantly evolves through multiple layers of conservation and regeneration of forests and thus ecology indigeneity and conflict over resources are largely dominated in tribal areas evolves through environmental politics<sup>228</sup>. In other words the tribal

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<sup>224</sup> Akhileswar Pathak, 'Contested domains, The State, Peasant and Forests in contemporary India' 1994, (Introduction)

<sup>225</sup> *ibid*

<sup>226</sup> In both perception tribal people were alienated from their customary use of nature

<sup>227</sup> Vineetha Menon, 2012, 'Environment and Tribes in India, Resource Conflict and adaptations', (introduction)

<sup>228</sup> *ibid*

demand over *Jal, Jungle and Jamin*<sup>229</sup> had a clear environmental resonance but were suppose to derive against the policy makers.

Scholars have argued, in the name of forest conservation, what was happened was rapid destruction to ecological diversity and the alienation of eco-people<sup>230</sup> from the ecological setup<sup>231</sup>. Nevertheless Jharkhand Movement has succeeded by incorporating environmental questions in their political agenda to show protest against the policy makers towards so called management of forests which they believed worked as agency to supply required woods for the sake of urbanization and the demand for wood was the culprit of destruction of forests. The impact was massive because most of the population was depended on the forest products and they earn by transferring those products into market. Generally the forests of Jharkhand not only productive but also known as one of the pinnacle source of tribal home and hearth. The symbiotic relationships between forests and tribes marked continuous and coherent association. But later, these '*monopoly*'<sup>232</sup> had been challenged by so called 'commercialization' and as a result, the jungleland became a spearhead domain of '*ecological warfare*'. The alienation of land and forest displaced the innocent tribes socially economically and culturally. Yet the pressure on forests came right from the intrusion of the colonial hegemony over vast tract of Jharkhand at one hand and on the other hand periodic policies of independent India adopted in the name of preservation became a factor of exclusion.

#### **4.2 The colonial approach to forest management in undivided Bihar**

Along with other forests belts of India, in Jharkhand, the colonial approach had been sought to establish selfish interest over its resources. As advocated by the British imperialists, scholars argued that the early colonial rule marked a significant period when depletion of forests became a major concern. Combining agency governance, the colonial power holds a supreme command

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<sup>229</sup> Jal, Jungle and Jamin are the backbone of tribal habitat; it carries not only the symbol of environmentalism but also a well known catchword of Jharkhand Movement.

<sup>230</sup> In most of the contemporary studies the tribes have been defined with the term 'eco people' who actually reside close to forest resources and well adoptive to the nature because of their long term experiences.

<sup>231</sup> Guha and Gadgill's 'Ecology and Equity' 1995, submits that the post colonial policy of environmental renewal was actually followed by abusing of nature.

<sup>232</sup> The term 'monopoly' significant here because of the unrestricted use of forests by the tribes of Jharkhand, they believed that they are the owner of these large forests tracts according to traditional customs.

over available resources by alienating local people from their customary rights. As we pointed out in our earlier chapters that alienation from customary rights inevitably provoked the innocent tribes to react against the so called policies<sup>233</sup>. It is noteworthy that, as the British annexed whole of India gradually the forests of India had been to a great extent reduced in size because the colonial intentions was to extend arable land by diminishing thick forest plateau for their own benefit in terms of revenues and other means. In this context a part or whole of British forestry had directed towards achieving control of forests of India. In other words, these attempts were made to help the crown in every possible way. ‘The single largest landlord’<sup>234</sup> had profound interests on the vast inexhaustible resources that Indians are managed and manipulated over long period of time. The orientation towards utilization of forests by taking the territorial control, an empirical framework had been adopted through extensive surveys and forests legislation.

Noteworthy the intrusion of the colonial power into the jungle tracts of Jharkhand brought certain restrictions between forests and tribes through consecutive forest legislations along with other parts of India. These legislations curtailed the chain of age old interdependence between forests and tribes. The state interests on the total control over forests were precisely gained significant shift when they enacted different forest acts which ensured timber trade in different parts of India for various reasons. The extraction of forest resources and the consecutive regulatory acts predominantly regularized the extraction which created environmental degradation in its height. Most of the early colonial foresters have agreed that the climatic change in Indian subcontinent was due to the different forest policies adopted to ensure good timber preservation<sup>235</sup>.

The colonial injudiciousness has been seriously criticized by many foresters. Stebbing questioned unbridled ambitions of the early colonial rule. He observed that ‘to the government and their official, the important which forest play in nature and the great influence they exercise in the physical wellbeing of a country was unrecognized’<sup>236</sup>. However, with time a number of

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<sup>233</sup> Scholars have argued that the traditional ways of forests conservation can be found everywhere in Jharkhand.

<sup>234</sup> The term was taken from R.Guha & Gadgill, ‘Ecology and Equity: The use and abuse of nature in contemporary India’, 1995, pp-21-22

<sup>235</sup> Colonial foresters Ribbentrop, Dr. Schlich wrote in their reports about the abuse of nature by the East India Company.

<sup>236</sup> E.P.Stebbing, 1921, ‘The Forests of India’, Vol-1, p-61

forests act was passed to ensure supreme command over all the forest resources. It was the era when the tribes witnessed the alienation process and became a mere spectator, they lost their traditional forest rights and alienated forever. However scholars have argued that the ‘ intrusions into indigenous populations habitats and their lives have contributed to ecological stress as indigenous populations did not over exploit their habitat and had harmonious adaptation to environmental change<sup>237</sup>. Though in many occasions loss of forests lands have been became a seed that flared violence struggle against the oppressing arms. The need of taking ownership forcefully was hastened because of the forest reservation which completely disturbed ecological balances.

In the early decade of 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> century the use of forests for commercial purpose<sup>238</sup> was the main objectives of the East India Company embodied through different schemes and forest laws. Corresponding to that, the colonial laws were enacted in view to safeguard Indian forest tracts from the tribes as they believed that the age old tribal practices such as shifting cultivation have been destructive and solely responsible for huge forest degradation. In a forestry report of 1922, a clear definition of shifting cultivation has been drawn, it observed ‘Jhooming means the system of cultivation, which consist in felling the forests on a selected area, burning the cut materials and sowing one or two crops in the ashes and then after reaping, leaving the area to lie follow for a number of years before re-cultivation’<sup>239</sup>.The colonial forester Stebbing noted that shifting cultivation was ‘A Pernicious system which is probably as destructive to forests as any other act of man’<sup>240</sup>. Such observation not only one sided but criticism also came against the earlier attempt of expansion of agricultural land by diminution of forests by the East India Company. Dr.Schlich criticized and wrote that ‘with the advent of the British rule the destruction of forests become more rapid than ever, the order of the day became extension of cultivation at the cost of the existing forests, then railway came and with their extension the forests disappeared with

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<sup>237</sup> Vineetha Menon,2012 op.cit, p-2

<sup>238</sup> As we discussed that for railway expansion many forest lands were encroached. The emergence of railways also demands for staff quarters in every pockets of Jharkhand. Thus Land aquisitions also carried out for various reasons due to expansion of railways, see in details Collection No-XXI, File No-22, Rev. Department, 1915, Sub : Acquisition of additional lands by E I Railways for Staff quarters at Patterdil in the district of Manbhum.

<sup>239</sup> Indian forests 1922, Jharkhand Regional Archives,(RAR) Ranchi, p-97

<sup>240</sup> Menon,2012 op.cit, p-2

greater rapidity than ever<sup>241</sup>. Thus the objective was to protect commercially valuable woodlands from all sorts of destruction.

Irrespective of their knowledge over use of forests resources, the British had appeared convinced in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with markedly divergent views on use of nature. They apparently discovered that forcible alteration of the landscapes became crucial in regard to ecological balance. This conception inevitably leads western value system<sup>242</sup> on the basis of which they criticized the views of the early colonial attempts. This value system has been described by G.Barton as ‘Utilitarian Tapestry which is a Victorian blend of optimism and pessimism that resulted a vision of a proper use of society resources’<sup>243</sup>. A level headed forester Ribbentrop wrote ‘It can hardly be denied that the extension of non existence of large well wooded areas in a country naturally capable of growing forests affects its climate in every marked degree. History proves this to us in numerous instances where the deterioration of the climate of whole districts and even of whole countries has followed the destruction of forests’<sup>244</sup>. This vision to a great extent responsible for the emergence of scientific forestry, which began and was first introduced by the then Governor General Lord Dalhousie in his *Forest Charter* in the year 1855. However it is true that till 1854 Britain had no idea of Scientific Forestry, it was the time when the ‘*Scottish Arboricultural Society*’ took some steps to preserve their trees since then the British had adopted scientific forestry and not before that. Therefore in India, at the very beginning they had less idea of forest preservation. But it was a just a matter of time, the British Govt soon started spontaneously working on the forestry to develop some consciousness among its official and warned them about the environmental problem<sup>245</sup>.

Probably the first attempt of protecting forests from the so called destruction was carried out by Conolly in Madras to increase teak plantation.<sup>246</sup> Owing to the variation of climate and

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<sup>241</sup> Dr. Schlich, 1922 ‘Manual of Forestry’, Vol-1, p-142

<sup>242</sup> They came as a protector of forests for community development and focused on inclusive sustainable forests conservation.

<sup>243</sup> Gregory. A.Barton 2006 ‘Resisting environmentalism: empire forestry and its critique’ (Unpaged) (asicsociety.org.bd/journals), Barton belongs to those observer who thought that the empire foresters have taken forest management in India to protect resources and eco-system.

<sup>244</sup> Ribbentrop, 1900, ‘Forestry in British India’, pp-59-60

<sup>245</sup> Jan Oosthoek, 2007, ‘The Colonial Origin of Scientific Forestry in Britain’, pp-1-8, (www.pairvi.org/pdf/research/status%20of%20human%20rights%20in%20jharkhand.pdf) accessed on 13.08.2013

<sup>246</sup> R.S.Pearson, 1912, ‘Commercial Guide to the forest economic products of India’, p-1

distribution of different types of forests, the British decided to mark forest areas endowed with good usable trees<sup>247</sup>. Immediately after some examinations, the British Govt had enacted India's first forest policy in 1865 with calculative intentions to expand its territory all over Indian subcontinent<sup>248</sup>. Before the framing of the so called act they had started surveying the forest areas and pointed out commercially valuable timber as they wanted to export those timbers for their monetary benefit. The 1865 Forest act virtually empowered them as the constitutional owner of the forest land. In order to established control over forests, administration was being empowered to give punishment to anyone who violates the act<sup>249</sup>.

In the course of the time the colonial govt. realized that the act was failed to expand exclusive command or possession over different prevailing tenures, and customary rights which were practiced in the forests lands. But soon, to regulate or prohibit certain activities of the tribes the act of 1878 were enacted which successfully curtailed community rights and more rigid control of the government was established therein. In 1878 forest act, the whole forests were classified as 1) Reserved Forests 2) Protected Forests 3) Village forests. Through the 1878 act, the establishments of absolute state property rights were legitimized. In Reserved and Protected Forests, the land were the absolute property of the government but in case of Village Forests the use of rights remained because of the absent of profit<sup>250</sup>.

The first investigation on the forests regarding reservation in Chotanagpur was made by Dr. Anderson, the then conservator of forests of Bengal in 1864.<sup>251</sup> The forests of Singbhum Districts were measured extensively by Capt. Losak in 1870-1871 and again by H.H.Davis in 1879-80<sup>252</sup>.

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<sup>247</sup> ibid

<sup>248</sup> Greogory.A.Barton,2006, 'Resisting Environmentalism: Empire Forestry and its Critique' (unpaged)(asiaticsociety.org.bd/journals/vol%2052/RESISTING%ENVIRONMENTALISM.html) accessed on 11.08.2013 & 2002, 'Empire Forestry and the Origin of Environmentalism', pp-38-62, see also Somnath Ghosal, 2011, 'Pre Colonial and Colonial forest culture in the Presidency of Bengal' Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography, pp-107-116 (www.humangeographies.org.ro/articles/51/5\_1\_11\_8\_ghosal.pdf)

<sup>249</sup> Part V of the Prevention of Offences and of Punishments of Act VII of 1865 has special notification regarding such punishments. For details pls see 'The Government Forest Act, No-VII 1865, in 'Memorandum on the Forest Legislation proposed for British India, by Dr. Brandis, 1875, p-52

<sup>250</sup> Arnab Kumar Hazra, April 2002, 'History of Conflict over Forests in India: A Market Based Resolution' Working Paper Series, Julian L. Simon Centre for Policy Research: pp-2-42, (www.libertyindia.org/policy-reports/forest\_conflicts\_2002.pdf) accessed on 10.09.2012

<sup>251</sup> Revised Working Plan for the Reserved and Protected Forests of the Kolhan Division , Bihar, 1934-35 to 1943-1944, Patna, 1937, p-28

<sup>252</sup> ibid



These surveys were taken into consideration in order to have a clear idea of the forests belt and accordingly classification of forests were made. However there was another strong view which explicitly declared by many officers that the attempt of reservation was necessary to protect ecological balance of the region<sup>253</sup> and accordingly the nature and impact of forests also gets importance.

One of the Revised Working plan clearly mentioned that the designation of forests of Singbhum area is known as ‘Moist Peninsular Sal’ and ‘Dry peninsular Sal’. H.H.Haines, the then conservator of forests observed that due to climatic conditions, Chotanagpur forests were ‘monsoon type of tropical zone’<sup>254</sup>. Infact, the entire Jharkhand area produced a wide range of forest flora due to climatic condition. However after thorough investigation Davis recommended for reservation of Kolhan and Porhat Estates<sup>255</sup>. Accordingly those areas were declared reserved on 1<sup>st</sup> Nov. 1884.<sup>256</sup> The demarcation of the forests and the reservation process became faster as the year progresses. Thousands of acres of lands were acquired in the name of reserved or protected forest which includes Sal, Asan, Mahua, Mango, Kusum and ancestral lands like Jahira and other holy places<sup>257</sup>.

The forest protection measures were immediately challenged by the Zamindars. A Zamindar of Baradal of Palkot wrote to the British that the forest protection inevitably brought ‘insecurity in the enjoyment of thir properties in the minds of the body of local people, as the Zamindars of the district undoubtedly are’<sup>258</sup>. The correspondent on the subject of the proposed measurement stated that the best way of seeing the preservation of jungle is to make it the interests of private individuals so that they can get full enjoyment out of this and so preserved<sup>259</sup>. The recurring problems in regard to forest encroachment in the name of scientific forestry the British were forced to prepared records of rights on the basis of priviledged lands. Deputy Commissioner of

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<sup>253</sup> During our study, we have gone through many inspection reports written by the conservator of forests clearly shows this sort of ideas. An Inspection note on Chibasa and Porhat forest division by the Commissioner of Chotanagpur has been to a great extent devoted on the issue of rainfall and the agricultural conditions. For details pls see, File N0-IIIF 160 of 1933, Regional Archives Ranchi (Hereafter RAR)

<sup>254</sup> H.H.Haines, 1910, ‘A Forest Flora of Chotanagpur, including Gangpur and Santal Pargana’, p-26

<sup>255</sup> Revised Working Plan, 1934-35,1943-44 op.cit

<sup>256</sup> ibid

<sup>257</sup> Indian Forest, 1922, op.cit, pp-80-83

<sup>258</sup> Coll. No- VII, File No-22 of 1906-1907, Rev. Department, RAR

<sup>259</sup> ibid

Ranchi in his note clearly stated that the forest settlement should be undertaken in order to provide freedom of jungle to the aboriginals so that they can clear them from cultivation and use them as their requirements<sup>260</sup>. However on the other side few restrictions were brought in action by the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner Mr. Twidell to prevent the tenants of the Kolhan protected forests to collect forest resources<sup>261</sup>. An enquiry Commission observed that instead of forests are protected tribal people went to the forests for domestic and agricultural implements which were constructed with timber taken from the forests. They also were selling flowers and fruits in excess of their requirements<sup>262</sup>. Thus forest reservation always became a question of bitterness.

**Table: 4.1 Annual Progress Report on forest administration in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, 1921**

Division	Areas	Sq.ml	
Palamou	122917	192	}
Hazaribagh	35859	56	
Singbhum	343763	537	⇒ Reserved forests
Porhat (Ranchi+Singbhum)	1202/125267	2/196	}
Santal Pargana	186827	292	
Palamou	41133	61	}
Hazaribagh	20729	32	
Singbhum	28336	45	
Porhat (Ranchi+Singbhum)	23951/54320	37/85	
Chaibasa (Singbhum+Manbhum)	142183/9196	223/14	

Source: Annual progress Report on Forest Administration in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, 1921-22, Patna, 1922, pp-22-23

<sup>260</sup> File No-22, of 1906-1907 op.cit

<sup>261</sup> Coll. No-IX, File No-6 of 1913-14, RAR

<sup>262</sup> ibid

As we noted earlier that one of the important reason for forest reservation in India was shifting cultivation (Jhum, Dhaya). Schlich in his 'Manual of Forestry' criticized the practice of shifting cultivation. Accordingly the fire protection measures were taken seriously by the British Government and the successful attempt was taken by Colonel Pearson in the Central Provinces in the year 1860<sup>263</sup>. Various working Plans for the Reserved and Protected Forests of the Kolhan Division have shown that the continuous and widespread Jhuming was responsible for ecological devastation of the entire area because it effects on drying of streams and general lowering of the streams level. It was also responsible for dry nature of the division<sup>264</sup>. Along with Sauria Paharia of Godda and Pakur division, Kharias of Singbhum and Maler of Santal Pargana District are mainly depended on Jhoom cultivation according to their customs<sup>265</sup>. In 1954 Bihar govt. adopted geographical rehabilitation scheme for Maler tribe. The scheme was formulated to encourage the Maler tribe to settle down in low lands from the hills for cultivation. However the scheme was not succeeded at all, because Maler tribe denied settling down for cultivation as because they were already accustomed with the forest economy. They strongly opposed the scheme because Jhooming is a part and parcel of their cultural borrowing, their culture and moral ethics evolve around it<sup>266</sup>.

As early as 1927 a British settlement officer noted that the practice of *Kuraoing* (a similar kind of Jhoom cultivation) by the Sauria Paharia was always done systematically and 'have not wantonly destroyed the forests'<sup>267</sup>. Oldham's note on the conservatory of scattered woodland opened up intra tribal rivalries, he noted, 'wherever the Paharias were left to deal with the forests, a certain portion always flourish in spite of their destructive Jhoom cultivation, whenever the Santals has appeared, he never plants. Though he feels the want of wood, he is too reckless to preserve it while his expertness with the axe makes tree felling as much or past time to him, as to the Paharias preservation of the great trees around his village is an object of solicitude'<sup>268</sup>. A similar vision also drawn by Mr. Carstairs, his note in 1899 reveals that the Santals and the

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<sup>263</sup> Manual of Forestry, Schlich, Vol-1, p-160, 1922

<sup>264</sup> Revised Working Plans for the Reserved and Protected Forests of the Kolhan Division Bihar, 1934-35 to 1943-44, Patna, The Conservator of Forests, 1937

<sup>265</sup> Sachchidananda, 1989, 'Shifting Cultivation in India', p-23

<sup>266</sup> *ibid*, p-80

<sup>267</sup> Final Report of the Survey and Settlement of the Sauria Paharia Hills in the Subdivision of Rajmahal and Godda, 1926, p-18, RAR

<sup>268</sup> *ibid*, p-18, RAR

plainsmen trespassing from outside are responsible for the disappearing of the forests of the hills<sup>269</sup>. On this point we may assume that those who depend mostly on forest products have faced most crises and to a great extent Paharias are environmental friendly rather than the Santals. In such a condition, to obtain new grasses intentional firing have been noticed in almost all the district.

**Table 4.2 Number of intentional firing in order to obtain new grass**

Number of intentional firing in order to obtain new grass		Cases	Area burnt in acres
Division	Year	02	7368
Porhat	1921-1922		
	1920-21	00	00
	1923-24	09	4171
	1924-25	02	309
	1926-27	02	241
	1925-26	00	00
Santal Pargana	1927-28	03	75
	1935-36	02	1600
Kolhan	1935-36	03	94
Saranda	1934-35	01	05
	1933-34	00	00
Chaibasa	1932-33	03	55
Kolhan	1930-31	01	14

Source: Annual progress Report on Forest Administration in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, 1921-22, Patna, 1922, pp-22-23

This period was probably the important period occupied in making a more detailed examination of the forests in view to estimating possibilities. In view to gather information many attempts were made with working plans.

<sup>269</sup> ibid, p-18, RAR

Indian Forest Act of 1927 vide its notification no 4845 successfully reserved Sal, Satsal, Kusum, Mango, Mahua, Asan, Sissu, etc in the entire Santal Pargana District under Bhagalpur Division<sup>270</sup>. Following each year the forest protection measures were taken into account. It was a fact that the forest conservation was legalized after thorough investigation of the quality of the forests and demarcating the valuable forest areas with a view to estimating their possibilities. At the very beginning it was assumed that the continuous and widespread Jhooming (slash and Burn) caused the erosion and drying out water levels<sup>271</sup>. In view of the above discourses the colonial foresters have attempted to conserve fire protection measures. After some evaluation it was noticed that in the assessment year 1924-25 the total area were burnt as recorded was 7785 Sq km while in 1932-33 assessment year the figure increased and stood 30498 sq km<sup>272</sup>. The tendency was clear that the adjacent people were not giving up but using some loopholes enters the forest and uses their traditional practices.

The Indian forest act of 1927 formed the legal foundation of all forests ownership. It was not merely a written law that denied access to forests but improper understandings of legal rights and misinterpretation of law and its blatant violation lead to alienation from tribal lands<sup>273</sup>. In fact some measures were also undertaken by introducing '*Khatian*', a record of the actual conditions and customary rights of the existing tenants. In most parts of Jharkhand, tribal people had shown objection because while preparing the *Khatians* they were not informed<sup>274</sup>. Despite of forest reservations and the introduction of *Khatians*, the British probably were in a great trouble because of the growing tension between the landlords and the tenants over the rights of forests. It was believed that both landlords and tenants have responsible for cutting down large trees for their own purpose<sup>275</sup>. Therefore it was necessary to create a partition of area between landlord and tenants under '*Rakhat*' system. Accordingly forests blocks were divided into *Rakhats* of the Landlords (Generally Mundari Khuntkattidars) *Rakhats* of the Tenants and ordinary village

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<sup>270</sup> Revised Working Plan for Santal Pargana Division, 1955-56 to 1964-65, The Chief Conservator of Forests, Bihar, p-84, Appendix 1

<sup>271</sup> Revised Working Plan for Kolhan Div. Bihar, op.cit., p-49

<sup>272</sup> ibid, p-38

<sup>273</sup> Revised working plan Kolhan, op.cit, pp-2-42

<sup>274</sup> Annual Report of the Work of the Department of Land Records and Surveys, Bihar and Orissa, for the year ending the 30<sup>th</sup> September 1929, pp-9-10, RAR

<sup>275</sup> File No III F-31 of 1927, Revenue Department.

forests by agreement between the landlords and the tenants<sup>276</sup>. But from 1931 onwards landlords agreed to partition but in some cases ‘no arrangement or persuasion would induced the tenants to agree’<sup>277</sup>. All these *Rakhats* blocks were free from cultivation and decided to taken over by the forest department<sup>278</sup>. Considering the need of reservation an attempt was made to induce Ghatwals in the Santal Pargana to agree to have the forests managed by the forest department but they were simply refused to apply for reservation<sup>279</sup>. However Government did concerned that the responsibilities of tenants for reckless destruction of jungle was not partially true. Because though the landlords and the tenants were even at the bitter strife over their traditional rights and seeking free use of the jungle products from the settlement department, but they won’t get the necessary permission, whereas the introduction of railways was responsible for denudation of Rayati rights<sup>280</sup>.

On the other parts of Jharkhand, particularly in Ranchi District large scale deforestation was noticed in privately owned forests due to growing urbanization. It was observed that in most cases the landlords and the tenants were responsible for denudation of the forests for the supply of timber to the towns of Ranchi and Jhalda which caused erosion of ravine and rivers banks and the destruction of culturable land<sup>281</sup>. It was estimated that such destruction of forests in turn created a huge loss of Government land revenue and a decrease in vegetation produces and also an uneven distribution of rainfall<sup>282</sup>.

The broadening of the basis of the forest reservation was accentuated through ideas of revenue generation and this sort of ideas reflected in the writings of many divisional forest officers. In a letter, Divisional forest officer wrote to the commissioner of forests, Bihar and Orissa that for the development of Jamda Colony near railway station, a portion of forest land from Kolhan Protected Forests block had to be taken and for the rest of the large and valuable trees, it could be

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<sup>276</sup> *ibid*, see also Annual report of the work of the Department of Land Records and Surveys, Bihar and Orissa for the year ending the 30<sup>th</sup> September 1929, p-10

<sup>277</sup> *ibid*, p-8

<sup>278</sup> *ibid*, p-9

<sup>279</sup> *ibid*, p-14

<sup>280</sup> Final Report of the Survey and Settlement operation in the District of Palamou, 1913-1920, p-5, RAR,

<sup>281</sup> Acquisition of Private Forests for Protection in the District of Ranchi in Chotanagpur Division, Revenue Department, Forests, File No- III F-31 of 1927, RAR, see also File No-III F-29 of 1919, RAR, Sub : Acquisition of land for the Protection of Private Forests in the District of Ranchi and Palamou,

<sup>282</sup> *ibid*

sold for 'credit revenues to the govt'<sup>283</sup>. And for water supply to railway colony many hundreds acres of forests had been cleared<sup>284</sup>. Even to credit revenues to the govt. Palamou Div. Forest Officer agreed to offer 40 acres area of Koderma reserved forests as a grant of Mica mining lease to Tata sons & co<sup>285</sup>. To make use of the whole forest produce of the Jharkhand area the British had also decided to lease Sabai grass<sup>286</sup> to private contractors like Messrs Balmar Lawrie & Co and Messrs Victor & Co, Calcutta on the ground 'of the poor use of the rope making by the Mankis in Kolhan area' and a considerable loss of money to the govt<sup>287</sup>. For the tribes of Jharkhand the use of Sabai is considered as the part and parcel of the economic life of the tribes. The leasing of Sabai Grass in terms of revenue appropriation was similar with Kendu nationalization in post colonial era, because both policies were to a great extent curtailed and ruptured traditional economic dependence of the tribes. The grant of lease as well as extension of various leases for woodlands in Jharkhand was also given to many private contractors, such as a lease extension of the Singbhum and Porahat forest tracts were granted to the Bengal Timber Trading Company for better management of the Woodstock<sup>288</sup>. These extensions were given to the big contractors for timber extraction instead of small contractors, because the British had an idea that big contractors can work faster according to imperial need<sup>289</sup>. The forest reservation as well as the shift of the ownership has created severe impact on the traditional beliefs of the tribes because according to common customs 'trees sown, planted or nurtured by a rayat or his ancestors, are the property of the rayats, such trees are generally called *Artop* but right to enjoyment of their fruits belongs in some cases to the village community'<sup>290</sup>.

F.Canning, the then forests conservator of UP wrote in his reminiscence that whenever imposition were made the anger born out from the tribesmen, they wanted forests rights as they had enjoyed it in the past. He wrote that, 'Forest administration consists for the most part in a running fight with the villagers'<sup>291</sup>. Verrier Elwin also wrote 'the reservation of forests was a very serious

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<sup>283</sup>File no-298 of 1933, Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, Revenue Department, RAR, see also File No III of 156 of 1930 Part B on the Sub: Lease to Messrs. Steel Brothers and Company for extraction of Bamboos from the Forests. BSA

<sup>284</sup> File No- III F-262 of 1926,

<sup>285</sup> Coll. XVI, File No- 38 of 1912-13

<sup>286</sup> Sabai Grass is a kind of long grass grown mainly on the hill side

<sup>287</sup> File No-III F-84 of 1932, Revenue Department, Forest Branch, RAR

<sup>288</sup> File No-III-F-97 of 1919, Revenue Branch, Forests, RAR

<sup>289</sup> *ibid*

<sup>290</sup> Final Reports of the Survey and Settlement Operation in the District of Palamou, 1913-1920, RAR

<sup>291</sup> Souvenir, 1961, 'Indian Forest Centenary (1861-1961)', Vol-1, Dehradun, Reminiscences, pp-37-64,

blow to the tribesman. He was forbidden to practice his traditional methods of cultivation. He was ordered to remain in one village and not to wander from place to place.....if he was a forest villager he become liable at any moment to be called to work for the forest department..... he was forced to obtain a license for almost every kind of forest produce.....at every turn the forest laws cut across his life,.....destroying his self confidence'<sup>292</sup>. V.R.Raghavaia wrote 'In the tribal view of jungle in his ancestral.....he took to the jungle like fish to water, every sound was familiar to him in the woods.....he could name every bird, plant animal or even insects.....he was nature's child and like a loving mother, nature fed him, nursed him, lulled him, and protected him as a mother. In fact he is the overlord of it, an axiom'<sup>293</sup>. In fact the British forest policies were formulated to supply timbers and other forest products for the forests based industries and commercial exploitation was encourage at the cost of the tribes in the name of national interests. Due to forest restrictions grazing were forbidden in the woodland. The lives of Santals, a prominent tribe of Jharkhand became ecologically devastated because now they were unable to cut dry woods and cultivating small lands by clearing jungles. They were also forbidden from collection of vegetable drugs, gums, roots, seeds, charcoal which they collect mainly for their own use and partly for sale<sup>294</sup>. There is no doubt that during the British rule the tribes were restricted to use forests products for their subsistence<sup>295</sup>.

W.G.Lacey the then Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi in his report on the Revisional Survey and Settlement Operations of Pargana Dhalbhum mentioned that Midnapore Zamindari Company had allowed considerable damage to the forests by leasing large portion of them to the private thikkadars, which was devastating for the local dependence in terms of fertility of the cultivated area as well as for the climate<sup>296</sup>. Similarly it was recorded that the entire Sal jungles have been denuded due to rampant felling of trees and the area 'did not have the word Sal annexed to

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<sup>292</sup> Varrier Elwin, 1941, 'Los of Nerve : a Comparative Study of the contact of people in the aboriginal area of Bastar state and the Central Provinces of India', p-28 as quoted in Guha, 2001, 'The pre-history of community forestry in India' Environmental History, 6(2) p-214

<sup>293</sup> V.R.Raghavaia, 1979, 'Background of Tribal Struggle in India' in A.R.Desai (ed)'Peasant Struggle in India',p-15

<sup>294</sup> Irfan Habib,2010, 'Man and Environment: The Ecological History of India' p-135, A Peoples of India Series , Vol No- 36

<sup>295</sup> A.B.Chowdhury, 2007, 'Forest, Environment and Man',pp-52-82

<sup>296</sup> Final Report on the Revisional Survey and Settlement Operations of Pargana Dhalbhum in the District of Singbhum (1934-38), 1942, W.G.Lacey, Ranchi, Patna, Chapter VII, p-67



them<sup>297</sup>. This report reveals a situation that reflects remarkable change in the culturable jungles. The absence of bigger tree in the Godda Reserve in Santal Pargana District was also noticeable, the Godda reserve was declared closed as early as 1897 but the working plan of the Santal Pargana Division noticed that there was hardly any big tree because of the ineffective protection against theft<sup>298</sup>.

**Table 4.3 Report on the percentage of Culturable and Unculturable jungles of Singbhum**

Culturable Jungles			Unculturable Jungles			Total		
Last Settlement	Present Settlement	Percentage of Increase or Decrease						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
156061.23	79183.12	49.3	204739.79	234971.68	14.8	360801.07	314154.80	-12.9

Source: Final Report on the Revisional Survey and Settlement Operations of Pargana Bhalbhum in the District of Singbhum, (1934-38), Patna, Chapter VII, pp-67

The above data shows that culturable jungles of the Pargana have been reduced to about half their former extent. It was reported that this huge reduction happened due to the establishment of Steel Company at Jamshedpur and the Copper Corporation at Mayurbhandar and Mosabani<sup>299</sup>.

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war time the British had decided to take over village forests land from the custodianship of the Zamindars by enforcing The Bihar Private Forest Act of 1946. Through this act all the forests became vested in Government and were constituted as protected forests<sup>300</sup>. In this act under section 11 restrictions were also imposed on cattle grazing in the private protected

<sup>297</sup> ibid

<sup>298</sup> Revised Working Plan of Santal pargana Division, 1955-56 to 1964-65, The Chief Conservator of Forests, Patna, 1963, p-14

<sup>299</sup> ibid, p-68

<sup>300</sup> S.Bosu Mallick, 2007, 'State Forest Policy and Adivasi Self rule in Jharkhand' in Dr.Chittaranjan Kumar Paty (ed) 'Forest, Government and Tribe', pp-22-23

forests<sup>301</sup>. With the enactment of Bihar Private Forest Act in 1946, the government has decided to take over the management of all the private forests throughout the province therefore no proposals were entertained under Indian Forest Act. In Ranchi District 2034 Sq. miles, Hazaribagh 3949, Palamou 2484, Santal Pargana 104 and in Bhagalpur it was estimated about 94 sq. miles of dense forests<sup>302</sup> were taken under supreme command of the government. In connection with that act, the Bihar Land Reform Act of 1950 was also enacted. Under this arrangement Ranchi Forest division also created on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1946 and 4540 acres of forest from Hazaribagh and 5494 acres of forest from Palamou Districts were transferred to the Ranchi Division<sup>303</sup>.

It may be agreed that the colonial attempt to control large wooded areas of Jharkhand produced severe impact on the customary rights, as we have discussed in chapter 2 and 3 that the commercial use of forests not only alienated the tribes from local subsistence economy but ecologically they had to adopt different adaptations as an alternate livelihood. We have seen that many a times the tribals of Jharkhand lost their rights due to alienation, in spite of the presence of the 1908 of CNTA. The other acts like Scheduled Area Regulations in 1969 (SAR), The Coal Bearing Areas Act, 1957 and the SC and ST Prevention of Atrocities act 1989 gave adivasis ‘an executive protection from individual resource alienation’<sup>304</sup>. These succeeding acts not only ensure tribal rights over their lands but also guarantee the customary rights of the tribes<sup>305</sup>. Despite of different regulations and acts, lease and transfer of *khuntkatti* lands to the contractors continues to take place and later the entire area opened up for the outside investors for their investments. It brings huge displacements of tribal families from their homeland. The scenario became worse in the post independence period, when many gigantic industries have come over there and set up large scale industries. The intention was to acquire more land instead of what they actually need for setting up industries. With the setting up of Tata iron and steel company at Jamshedpur right about the time which took away 3,564 acres of tribal land for their purpose. Other industries too like Hindusthan Copper Mines and National Coal Development Corporation

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<sup>301</sup> For the detail of the Bihar Private Forest Act of 1947, please see Act No IX of 1948 available at [www.ielrc.org/content/e4701.pdf](http://www.ielrc.org/content/e4701.pdf)

<sup>302</sup> Bihar Forest Administration Progress Report 1946-47, Patna, p-18

<sup>303</sup> Annual Progress Report of the Forest Administration in the Province of Bihar for the year 1946-47, (Chapter1)

<sup>304</sup> Ramesh Sharan, 2005, ‘Alienation and Restoration of Tribal land in Jharkhand, Current issues and possible strategies’, EPW, XL (41), pp-4443-46

<sup>305</sup> *ibid*, pp-4443-46

Followed soon. To facilitate '*development*' through industrialization section 49 was added later to the CNTA in 1947,<sup>306</sup> which added more pain to the lives of the adivasis.

### **4.3 Post colonial approach on forestry in Jharkhand: A grave effect?**

The post colonial period is acclaimed to be the most important period for the policy makers in order to provide unbiased forest legislations by looking forward. But unfortunately that was not happened in reality till 1980s. Since the British left India the forests of India continued to be exploited by the post colonial forest policies at the worse level. The post colonial approach to forests in the context of social forestry probably originated from a concern to recover state of things from the earlier experiences. It was to identify and fix the forest growth and ecological stability that defines '*purified landscapes*'<sup>307</sup>. The Forest Policy Resolution of 1952 clearly asserted that the early forest policies were sound and needed to be re-oriented<sup>308</sup> and this re-orientation in the real term '*accommodated the demands of industry for raw materials*'<sup>309</sup>.

The national forests policy of 1952 underlines continuity of the colonial policy, it reinforced the claim of the state to exclusive control over forests protection and production,(Tribal Governance),the act of 1952 consequently restricted tribal need, it added the dimension of increased the forests cover. It does not look into the matter of tribal benefit as such. The forests law turned the forests dwellers into encroachers<sup>310</sup>. In order to enable a systematic resource management, bulks of the process are borrowed from early provisions which continued edifice on resource operations. Gadgill pointed out that post independent outlook over available forest resources and its utilization evolves through '*sequential exploitation*'. It first '*exhausting the most accessible, most desirable fuel wood species and then progressively going on to less*

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<sup>306</sup> Victor Das, 1991, 'Forest and Tribals of Jharkhand', EPW, XXVII (10-11), pp-275-277

<sup>307</sup> Daniel. J.Rycroft, 'Revisioning Birsa Munda : An afterward on vir vanavasi construct versus identity-hybridity in Jharkhand', undated  
([http://ibrarian.net/navon/paper/Revisioning\\_Birsa\\_Munda\\_An\\_Afterward\\_On\\_Vir\\_Vana.pdf?paperid=1114576](http://ibrarian.net/navon/paper/Revisioning_Birsa_Munda_An_Afterward_On_Vir_Vana.pdf?paperid=1114576))

<sup>308</sup> Akhileswar Pathak,1994, op.cit, p-21

<sup>309</sup> ibid, p-21

<sup>310</sup> Hazra,2002,op.cit, pp-2-42

accessible, less desirable sources'<sup>311</sup>. Re-orientation has taken place to occupy larger profits from state sponsored forestry by alienating the people mostly depended on its resources.

In Jharkhand, it was true that the scope of extensive agriculture for the market is low thus the dependence on the forest products was irrevocable. So to tribes, the dependence on the forest products can be justified because of the less agricultural productivity in the entire plateau. The physiographic nature of the entire Jharkhand is not suitable for cultivation, most of the area is covered with undulating terrain, it is rocky, hard, and usually few patches of plots are being cultivated throughout the year by the local peasantry. It was documented in various reports that the average rainfall is less in comparison to other states. Due to these unfavorable conditions, local tribal communities depends on forests products as a substitute to agriculture which was practiced through time immemorial. Strikingly, despite of the less agricultural productivity no proper alternative steps are being taken even after the creation of Jharkhand State. Facts on records indicated that till date no proper beneficial policies implemented which could enhance the agricultural conditions of the whole plateau. During my field visit to Namkum, which was located around 10 km away from the proper Ranchi city, I met Father Franken who was the in-charge of an orphan school located in Namkum, and he told me that a NGO's working on the top of a barren hills in persuasion to examine how the barren hills can be used for plantation. They first started digging a few feet of its surface and storing water (water reservoirs), then started planting across the shallow slopes into the soil gradually.

(Shallow slopes into the soil)



This sort of innovation can be utilized for future production and it was seen that the system works fine and ensure some plants to come ups, but from the government ends nobody is willing

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<sup>311</sup> Madhav Gadgill, 1990, 'India's Deforestation: Patterns and Processes', p-137, Society and Natural Resources, Vol-3, Taylor and Francis

to use such innovative method for alternative agricultural patterns. In such a negative conditions tribal people till today largely depends on ecological resources<sup>312</sup>.

#### **4.3.1 Primitive form of forest conservation: A cultural orientation**

Upon closure examination, it was evident that from 1865 to 1967 Singbhum District witnessed 15 severe droughts, floods and famines<sup>313</sup>. However the ecological characteristics of the region to a large extent brought indigenous communities together as the '*protectors of forests*' in both good seasons as well as in bad seasons. Naturally the need to protect forests innocuously articulated in the concept of proprietorship through cultural motivation. Thus when the forest department reinforced scientific conservation through social forestry, immediate challenge against such repulsive act was communicated among tribal groups which were aimed to restore forests as consecrated place. The concept of holiness and the attachments had ideological parameters reflected in various riddles, auguries and folklores. For example Hos auguries tell that when someone dreamed of a royal elephant procession or riding an elephant he may expect a plentiful harvest for that season. On other occasion when someone dreamed of preparing haria or rice bear that means rain will come fast. It was believed that if someone saw dream of cutting sabai grass that portends famine<sup>314</sup>. According to Ho folklore a boy was punished by his brothers' wives on account of some negligence, the boy went off from his house and did not come back, while when his brother returns from work and hearing the situation rush to the nearby villages for the boy, but could not come up with him. At last fugitive came and stand in a nearby dry bed of a tank and sung,

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<sup>312</sup> Father Franken came in India in 1963 from Belgium; he started actively participated in the tribal upliftment programme through educational measures. He was the ex-Principal of the St. Xavier's College, Ranchi. He told me that his friend Michel Vanden Bogaert started community forestry as early as in 1970 in Bero. The main concept of the community forestry was to educate the people about nature and warn them, not to destroy the natural forests. Father told me that even Mundas used their forests with great knowledge; they never harm their surrounding forests or chopped down trees for mere recreation. Simon Oraon was one of the important man who was associated with Vikas Maitry which was an important organization working with tribal upliftment in the forest area. Father Franken told me that he brought irrigation system into his village near to Bero along the foothills, but unfortunately mainstream economy destroyed the village unity and even elephant came frequently which had broken the initiative.

<sup>313</sup> Singbhum District Gazetteer, 1984, RAR, Ranchi, p-22

<sup>314</sup> Sukumar Haldar, 1917, 'Ho Auguries' in 'The Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, pp-279-281

*“O Nag and Naga’s wife take me unto you,  
O Bind and Bind’s wife, take me unto you  
My sisters in law have filled my life with misery”<sup>315</sup>.*

After he had sung the song the water came out from the dry bed, he repeatedly sung the song and each time the water rose up, at one stage it rose right over his head. Nothing was visible except his upraised hands and hairs. When his brother arrived he tore off his fingers and hairs and turned back to his house and buried them in the nearby ground. It was believed that ‘from the fingers there sprang trees and lovely foliage and from the hair arose verdant fields of sabai grass with a mantle of green vegetation’.

Birhors the prominent tribes of Chotanagpur also practiced clan systems based on totem. Eminent Anthropologist S.C.Roy documented various exogamous clans of Birhors mostly named after some trees or animals, some of them are Bonga Sauri, (a kind of wild Grass), Hembrom (betel-palm), Jegseria Latha (a cake made of Mahua Flower), Jathseria (name of a place), Ludamba (a kind of flower), and Saunria (a kind of wild grass). They practices totem taboos to abstain the other totem members to destroy other clan totems. S.C.Roy observed that ‘Eating, killing or destroying one’s clan totem is regarded by the Birhors as equivalent to killing a human member of his own clan, and the reason usually assigned by the Birhors for abstaining from, or preventing other from, killing or destroying his totem is that if the totem animal, plants, or other objects, diminishes the clan too will suffer a corresponding decrease in number’<sup>316</sup>. Bhumij Community also divided into several exogamous clans, such as, Bhunga (a kind of fish), Sanri (a kind of bird), Gulgu (sal fish), Jaroo (a bird), Hansda (a wild duck), Jugi (a bird), Sandilya (a kind of bird), Kashyapa (a tortoise), Tessa (a kind of bird), these are all connected with surrounding creatures and their customs and daily life revolves through strict practices of these clans. Munda, Santal and all other prominent tribes of Chotnagpur have prominent divine myths based on surrounding nature, even their social lives, their marriages and other rituals have directly associated with forests and its resources. Such exclusiveness formed the ownership

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<sup>315</sup> Sukumar Halder, 1915, ‘Ho Folk-Lore’, in The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, pp-260-261

<sup>316</sup> Sarat Chandra Roy, 1916, ‘Totemism among the Birhors’, ‘The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society’, pp-250-256

concepts which were recognized by the Colonial and other invaders but in Post colonial state it was rapidly eroded<sup>317</sup>.

Scholars have argued that “Scientific Conservation was an ideology that was at once apocalyptic and redemptive. It did not hark back to an imagined past but look to reshape the present with the aid of reason and science”<sup>318</sup>. It not only undermined the local ecological knowledge but also had keen campaign for development ideologies. The idea of scientific forest management was actually in force after the Forest Charter in 1855<sup>319</sup>, the year known for Santal rebellion against all sort of nexus between Mahajans, Money lenders and the British. Most of the environmentalists have the common arguments that the tribes of Jharkhand have possessed a good knowledge of their surrounding flora and fauna. Disappearance of the forests or unplanned afforestation measures is a question of survival. To endure forests growth their supplementary requirements are used in a benevolent way. This argument can be extended by few examples.

A working plan report of 1955-56 to 1964-65 of Santal Pargana clearly observed that besides agriculture the basic requirements of the Santals were to firewood and Sal poles of 1ft to 3ft girth, bamboos and thatch grasses for building their houses. They use few other species like Piyal (*Buchanania latifolia*), Gamha (*Gmlenia arborea*), Assan (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Jamun (*Enginia Jambolana*) etc. They use Asan (*Terminalia tomentosa*) trees for silk cocoon and Kusum (*Schkichara olisha*) and Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*) for propagation of Lac and pasture land for grazing their livestock<sup>320</sup>.The good grounding of the local ecology and adaptations which guides the way of resource generation is so high in the entire Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Districts, O’Malley in his District Gazetteer wrote that “there has not been a famine here since 1866, chiefly because the majority of the population are aboriginals and a considerable part of their food supply consists of edible forest products”<sup>321</sup>.

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<sup>317</sup> Richard, H. Grove, Vinita Damodaran, Satpal Sangwan, 'Nature and the Orient, The Environmental History of South and South East Asia, pp-16-17

<sup>318</sup> R.Guha, 2000, 'Environmentalism, A Global history, in the 'Ramchandra Guha Omnibus'2011, p-30

<sup>319</sup> Minutes by the Governor General of India, 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1856, Lord Dalhousie, paragraph-82

<sup>320</sup> Revised Working Plan of the for the Santal Pargana Division,1955-56 to 1964-65, The Chief Conservator of Forests, Bihar, 1963, pp-82-84

<sup>321</sup> O’Malley, 1910, 'Santal Pargana District Gazetteer', p-120

During my field visit to Namkum I have found that progressive adivasi communities, particularly Munda's are well versed with community forestry. Father Franken told me that Dr.Sanat Kumar Prasad one of his friends working on the Munda belt of Jharkhand has seen that the traders chopped down large trees and took them away, it was frequent, in most of the cases the tribes reacted against unlawful cutting of the trees because they knew if forests disappear they will also disappear<sup>322</sup>. The escalating resource based conflicts in almost all the parts of Jharkhand created an impetus against large scale felling of old trees and afforestation of commercially valuable trees which neither usable nor connected with the adivasi economy. In fact many of the whole spectrums of organized forestry in Jharkhand have serious effect causing huge degradation in ecological sustainability. The so-called afforestation by the forest department by replacing Sal and Mahua trees by Eucalyptus has been contested in the form of economic blockade, strike, gherao, which were seen dominated the Jharkhand movement in late 80s against capitalist vision of resource utilization .

#### **4.3.2 Environmental politics in the Jharkhand demand**

Besides some weaknesses, from 1950 onwards Jharkhand Movement became increasingly vocal in expressing the demand of separate statehood with specific claim of natural rights within the wider concept of human nature relationship. In the course of the movement, in between 1973-1980 Jharkhand movement questioned the orientation of the governing process at the state level, and produced acute sub-regional expression for management of the forest resources for security of economic and ecological life. As a consequence the untiring efforts of the leaders of Jharkhand Movement accelerated the movement to uphold the inalienable rights of the tribes over the age old interaction with the forests. In the early years, the ancient *Munda Manki* system has been undermined by the new system of colonial administration which resulted drastic changes in all aspects of social and economic rights, but through Jharkhand movement which was tends to arouse emotional attachments successfully bring back Munda and Oraon adivasi system of governance which is still active even in the post colonial era! Revival of this system

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<sup>322</sup> Father Franken told me that his friend Sarjit Singh working in excise department told him that the tribes never able to sell MFP even today.



was that they represent a sacral polity<sup>323</sup>. However with rapid growth of urbanization and hinduization, few customs are diluted in the *Karam* festival and the concept of *Sarna* has also undergone rapid change in the last few years. Tamar, Mahatos are much hinduised because they now used '*Prarthana Sabha*' in such festival which was exclusively used in other religions<sup>324</sup>.

Scholars have argued that the policies of independent India deforested Jharkhand forests vigorously for the sake of industrialization and consciously the state has added section 49 to the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 in the year 1947<sup>325</sup>. Probably from 1950 onwards the genesis of the forest movements partly reoriented through cultural motivation. Many tribal villages adopted security measures such as recruitment of private forest guards against the transport contractors being paid by the village community to protect the trees as well as '*Sasandir*' a holy place which were left aside due to forest protection<sup>326</sup>. Ideologically forest fencing in turn created offensive activities in the whole of Chotanagpur. Around 3202 cases have been registered which includes injury to forest fire 57, unauthorized felling 2441, unauthorized grazing and other offences 293 in 1940-41 by the forest department of Bihar<sup>327</sup>.

**Table 4.4 Reported forest offences from 1935-40 & 1947-1955 in Bihar**

Year	Cases registered	Year of record of offence	Name of the Conservator of Forests
1935-36	2268	-----	-----
1936-37	1950	1938	J.S.Owden
1937-38	2280	1939	J.S.Owden
1938-39	2511	1940	L.R.Sabharwal
1939-40	3109	1941	L.R.Sabharwal
1947-48	4657	1955	S.S.Prasad

<sup>323</sup> Alpa Shah, 2010, 'In the Shadow of the State : Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India', p-43

<sup>324</sup> Father Franken told me in a formal discussion

<sup>325</sup> Victor Das, 1991, op.cit, pp-275

<sup>326</sup> ibid, pp-275-276

<sup>327</sup> Annual Progress Report on Forest Administration in the State of Bihar for the year 1940-41, Govt of Bihar Forest Department, 1960, Province of Bihar (1948-49), by S.S.Prasad, Conservator of Forests, 1956

1948-49	6919	1956	-----
1949-50	9273	1956	-----
1950-51	9616	-----	-----
1951-52	11,132	-----	-----
1952-53	19,552	-----	-----
1953-54	13,065	-----	-----
1954-55	8990	1960	-----

Source: Progress Report on Forest Administration in the State of Bihar for the year 1940-41, Govt of Bihar Forest Department, 1960, Province of Bihar (1948-49), by S.S.Prasad, Conservator of Forests, 1956

The above table shows the growing offences in the whole of the Bihar state. Significantly besides all of these growing tensions, post independent Jharkhand Movement has been known for some outstanding accomplishment of several forest related matters. At the very beginning of 1966 the Hul Jharkhand (Jharkhand rebellion) movement was organized against the money debt and the atrocities of Mahajans which was considered influential in the course of the Jharkhand Movement. It was observed that due to money debt many tribal communities were forced to sell tree parts by means of theft. But after the formation of the Coalition Ministry with the support of the CPI in 1967 the process of cutting trees were stopped<sup>328</sup>. Indeed post independent period witnessed many tribal insurrection intended to get back lost rights over forest lands. One of those movements for forest and water rights were led by Father Anthony Murmu in Sahebgunj in 1980. But later all the agitators were shot at police custody on April 19, 1985 known as the Banjhi Massacre<sup>329</sup>.

In South West Bengal, a similar movement organized jointly by Jharkhand Samyukta Morcha, Jharkhand Kranti Dal, The Jharkhand Party and the CPI-ML against the commercial forestry by the forest department. The primary objective of the movement was to detained the forest department to replace old types of tree to the commercially valuable trees like, Eucalyptus and Akashmoni. In order to capitalize the movement, all the parties have formed the 'Save Forest Committee' which immediately launched mass mobilization to show protest against the new

<sup>328</sup> Nitya Rao, 2003, 'Life and Livelihood in Santal Parganas Does the Right to a livelihood Really exist?', EPW, Sept.27, pp-4081-4084

<sup>329</sup> ibid, pp-4081-4084

forest bill and auctioning of the forests. The committee also evoked for plantation of old types of trees in the degraded area and seeking necessary steps on the issue of people's participation in nature conservation<sup>330</sup>. The Jharkhand Movement so to say particularly after 1970s directed to 'find means for the protection of traditional knowledge relevant to the preservation of biological diversity and affirms the relations between biological and cultural diversity'<sup>331</sup>.

However apart from different protective arrangements in and around Jharkhand large scale commercial forestry and depletion of forests causing ecological crisis<sup>332</sup>. Physically this practice was the root cause in the vanishing of the Sal forests in many parts of the Jharkhand as much as that one of the main slogan of Jharkhand Movement stands 'Sal is Jharkhand, teak is Bihar'<sup>333</sup>. So to say crisis in bio-mass, shrinking of old types of tree created rampant change in the local subsistence pattern. A special correspondent noted that in between 1947 and 1980 the area under forests has fallen from 33% to 10% which he thought 'is not merely an environmental problem, the environmental aspects of the problems is tragic enough'<sup>334</sup>. In order to show sympathy to the tribal demands, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha which was founded in 1973 has taken up agrarian issues partly because of the continuous erosion and dissatisfactory position of the Jharkhandi politics over non tribal immigrants and the sadans. Yet more deep rooted controversies over Lalkhand and Jharkhand, ideological clash between left and right, split over class and caste have been to great extent made ecology a non prioritized subject<sup>335</sup>. Though, JMM leaders as the strongest and popular among all the other parties might have thought that the aspirations of the tribal people always, despite of complexities in ethnicity never forget the age old demand of customary property rights. Thus it would be realistic to change the course of the movement from the electoral politics to the agrarian and forestry related matters for larger benefits. Thus the

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<sup>330</sup> 'When the forest disappear, we will also disappear', EPW, 1982, No-27, p-1902

<sup>331</sup> Rosemary. F.Coombe, 2005, 'Legal Claims to Culture in an against the Market: Neo-Liberalism and the Global Proliferation of Meaningful Difference', Law Culture and the Humanities, (1), p-47

<sup>332</sup> Father Franken told me that even now the contractors are used to cut down large trees in the Munda villages. They are well versed in Mundarica dialect.

<sup>333</sup> Madhav Gadgill, 1989, 'Deforestation: Problems and Prospects', (Society for Promotion of Wasteland Development), p-765, [www.ces.ernet.in/biodiversity/sdev/mg/pdfs/mg087.doc](http://www.ces.ernet.in/biodiversity/sdev/mg/pdfs/mg087.doc)

<sup>334</sup> When the forest disappear, we will also disappear, op.cit, p-1901

<sup>335</sup> Gail Omvedt, 1984, 'Ecology and Social Movements', EPW, Vol-19, No-44, Nov.3, pp-1865-1867, In this article Gail Omvedt has seen the Jharkhand Movement as ecological movement, he stated that there is a similarity between Chipko movement and the Jharkhand Movement, He emphasized the long impoverishment of the region which simply in turn created a space for arrogance and radicalization, and there is no scope for Gandhian non-violence which Chipko took as the main weapon. According to him Lalkhand is a symbolic term and denotes red flag belongs to others (Diku) and green flag is the flag of the Jharkhandis.

claim of this period can be portrayed ‘ecologically sustainable forms of development as alternative to state sponsored and cooperative resource extraction’<sup>336</sup>.

Eminent Forest intellectuals, like Guha and Gadgill admitted that growing tensions over forest rights in Bihar have been ‘an integral element in the popular movement for a tribal homeland’ and the conflict over forests produced a sharper political edge<sup>337</sup>. The growing discontents between state and tribes questioned the locus of the state in managing the entire forest belt, they argued in Uttarakhand, Chipko movement allowing the centre to change their locus and put thrust on ecologically stable forest policies according the need of the forest dependent people<sup>338</sup> and which reflected in the National Forest policy of 1988. The NFP 1988 has been enacted to secure ‘environmental stability through preservation and restoration of ecological balance’<sup>339</sup>. It was also aimed to include social forestry programme by associating tribal people for ‘protection, regeneration and development of forests’<sup>340</sup>. The orientation of NFP was clear; it not only accepted and legitimizes tribal demand of traditional forest rights but also accepted tribal cooperatives for retaining ecological balance. This was probably an important watershed in the history of the environmental movements in India. Later in persuasion of this policy Government of India adopted Joint Forest Management in all the States of India<sup>341</sup>. Bihar took the initiative on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1990 and in 1999 an area about 935.08 (‘000ha) was covered through JFM under 1675 JFM committee<sup>342</sup>.

Significantly all these development hastened because of the growing discontents among the tribes against commercialization of forests by enactment of different acts. Report of the Committee of Jharkhand Matters observed that the immediate question of the tribes in regard to the collection and sell of the Minor Forests Products (MFP) was not properly handled by the state but altered by the forest department through the provision of Bihar Forest Produce Act

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<sup>336</sup> Rosemary, 2005, op.cit, pp-35-52

<sup>337</sup> Madhav Gadgill and Ramchandra Guha, 1994, ‘Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movements in India’, Development and Change, Vol 25, p-102, Blackwell, see also Akhileshwar Pathak,1994, op.cit, p-116, Nirmal Sengupta, op.cit, pp-111-112

<sup>338</sup> Akhileshwar Pathak,1994, op.cit, pp-39-60

<sup>339</sup> National Forest policy, 1988, Ministry of Environment and Forest, Govt. of India

<sup>340</sup> ibid

<sup>341</sup> State Forest Report, 1999, p-21

<sup>342</sup> ibid, p-36

(Regulation of Trade) in 1984<sup>343</sup>. As early as in 1972 under the Bihar Kendu Leaf (Control of Trade) Act the first attempt was made to initiate the process of nationalization of Non Timber Forest Product (hereafter NTFPs). This act however successfully regulated its uses by raising supreme control of the state over the trade of Kendu leaves which became a ‘big revenue earner for the state’<sup>344</sup>. In 1977 Sal seeds became nationalized and also State Forest Department has appointed an agent for purchase and trade of Mahua fruit and seeds, Karanj fruits and seeds, kusum fruits and seeds.<sup>345</sup> The following years marked with different regulations and laws which suddenly eroded tribal traditional mode of forest use and driven out from the resources. The State Forestry Report of 1981 documented that the percentage of forest area to geographical area is only 16.8 percent, though annual per capita consumption of firewood in Bihar is >0.25 (in tons) and income realized through sale of NTFP is more than 40% which is just next to Andhra Pradesh<sup>346</sup>. Thus one can simply assume that the state attempts to ‘alternative policies’ marginalized the tribes as because they were restricted and ousted from the traditional economy. Hence, The Jharkhand movement in the beginning of the mid-twentieth century thrust on the question of participation in the governmental policies and exercise of the will of the local tribal people. But since the First General Election of India in 1952 few forests related programmes were adopted. A concern for forest rights, stressing on customary uses of forests and free access could have been found in the earlier attempts during 1930s but it could not have been unanimously incorporated in many memorandums of the Jharkhand parties<sup>347</sup>. Though following the years from 1946 which was marked as the year of Bihar Private Forest Act suddenly accentuated the concept that underpinning abuse and disrespect to traditional forest rights. Bihar Land Reforms Act was also enacted and was subsequently constituted into protected forests curtailed tribal rights into the forest areas<sup>348</sup>.

After independence the first attempt was made to alter the existing policy (1894) by formulating new National Forest Policy (hereafter NFP) in 1952 aimed to include a ‘system of balanced and

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<sup>343</sup> RCJM, p-10

<sup>344</sup> Jharkhand Policies of NTFPs Act & Rules, Banajata, ([www.banajata.org/pdf/state-level/jharkhand.pdf](http://www.banajata.org/pdf/state-level/jharkhand.pdf))

<sup>345</sup> *ibid*

<sup>346</sup> The State of Forest report, 1987, pp-53-54

<sup>347</sup> The post independence period was significant from the view of electoral politics, forest related problems were many a time appropriated and subsumed in the regional political development.

<sup>348</sup> RCJM ,May 1990 ,p-9,

complementary land use<sup>349</sup> but it did not succeed enough<sup>350</sup>. The NFP of 1952 not only bring some changes towards tribal privileges in regard to access to forest land, but it completely affects the daily practices. In 1976 Central Govt. has enacted National Commission on Agriculture (hereafter NCA) to look after the forestry sector of India; it recommends ‘protective and aesthetic function of the forests’<sup>351</sup> it also recommends social forestry programme under the forest labour cooperatives<sup>352</sup>.

#### **4.3.3 Jungle Andolon in Singhbhum (1978-1983): Struggle against ‘eco incarceration’?**<sup>353</sup>

The Jungle Andolon in Singhbhum was extensively recorded by Mathew Areeparampil. According to him ‘In the year 1978 the Sadar sub-division of Singhbhum district witnessed the outbreak of a well organized and formidable andolon known as ‘Tree War’ or forest andolon started by the adivasis of this area’<sup>354</sup>. He noted that the movement started ‘in the form of felling of trees in these forests by the adivasi as symbolic protests against the threat to their livelihood and identity’<sup>355</sup>. The entire phases of the movement was directed against the commercial forestry and its associated functionaries like, police, contractors and the forest department both are imagined as a culprit for its destruction<sup>356</sup>. The basic ideology behind alteration of old type of forests with the commercially valuable trees was that the ‘future production programme should concentrated on clear-felling of valuable mixed forests, mixed quality forests and inaccessible hard wood forest and planting this area with suitable fast growing species yielding higher return per unit area’<sup>357</sup>. Areeparampil noted that the Tree War was important in the sense that it was responsible for the renewal of the Jharkhand Movement under the JMM and the leftist ideologies

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<sup>349</sup> National Forest Commission Report, p- 27, ([www.envfor.nic.in/divisions/1-8.pdf](http://www.envfor.nic.in/divisions/1-8.pdf) accessed on 27.01.2012)

<sup>350</sup> *ibid*

<sup>351</sup> *ibid*

<sup>352</sup> *ibid*

<sup>353</sup> The term ‘Eco-incarceration’ has been taken from Alpa Shah’s book ‘In the Shadow of the State : Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India, 2010

<sup>354</sup> Mathew Areeparampil, 1992, ‘Forest Andolon in Singhbhum’, in S.Narayan (edt). ‘Jharkhand Movement : Origin and Evolution’ pp-144-145

<sup>355</sup> *ibid*, pp-144-145

<sup>356</sup> Areeparampil, 1992, *op.cit*, p-151

<sup>357</sup> *ibid*, p-150

under the leadership of N.E. Horo who led the alag prant andolon following the ideologies of Jaiprakash Narayanan<sup>358</sup>. It was a militant form of the Jharkhand Movement<sup>359</sup>.

Due to widening tensions and evictions from the home and hearth of the adivasis, considerable allegations have been filed against the state forest department. Instances show that after 1975 thousands of alligations were filed for taking unlawful steps and fencing thousands of acres of land which were recorded as Khuntkatti land<sup>360</sup>. It is noteworthy that in the year 1976 many villagers reside in the vicinity of forests worked as bonded labour for the forest department. Their exploitation and harassment by the forest department officials, lack of proper rehabilitation, serious violations of their culture, all of these problems created resultant pauperization for the adivasis and they rose in revolt for saving the ecological resources as well as their identity.

The conflict over forests was not unknown in Singbhum. The tour diary of Ratneswar Roy (1927-30) had a note on forest conflict over forests rights in Singbhum. The tour diary reported that Ho's in dealing with the nearby forests involved in a conflict against the forest officials recruited in that region. The allegation was that the Ho people denied the area marked by the forest official, for claiming the land the adivasis marked similar line to include reserved forests within their villages<sup>361</sup>. But the Tree War in Singhbhum was more radical because it was incorporated in the alag prant andolon by many political parties, such as JMM, Hul Jharkhand Party, Birsa Seva Dal, Jharkhand Party etc. Sibusoren, A.K Roy, Devan Manjhi, Shailendra Mahato, N.E.Horo, D.C.Murmu, all these leaders of different political parties acted jointly<sup>362</sup>.

The movement was spread in various places against long prevailing perils, disassociation of customary rights and uses. They started paying their homage by celebrating Birsa Jayanti on 15<sup>th</sup> November. Later the police started deploying forces in all the forest areas in order to rescue peace. The phases of repression were dealt with two major incidents occurred in Ichahatu in Goirkela block and Gua where many adivasis were gun down. Areeparampil noted that on 8<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> *ibid*, p-154

<sup>359</sup> *ibid*-p-153

<sup>360</sup> *ibid*, p-150

<sup>361</sup> Asoke Kumar Sen, 2011, 'Representing Tribe, The Ho of Singbhum under Colonial Rule', p-76

<sup>362</sup> Areeparampil, 1992, *op.cit*, p-156

September 1980 hundreds of adivasi assembled to demonstrate and submit memorandums to the nearby police stations and foresters. A peaceful meeting was held in the market and when they started dispersing suddenly BMP Jawans started arresting their leaders and fired 59 rounds on the spot. As a result 09 innocent adivasis were killed<sup>363</sup>. It was reported by Areeparampil that after the incidents there were tremendous atrocities began by police and administration, looting houses, beating and arresting adivasis, raping their women, and these entire incidents occurred with ruthlessness<sup>364</sup>. A report of the Gua Massacre of 8<sup>th</sup> September 1980 was recorded by Mr. Anjan Ghosh from eye witness account. He noted that the Jungle kato movement was ‘a movement to reclaim the village lands lost by the tribals since the days of the British rule’<sup>365</sup>. Peoples Union of Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights (PUCL) observed that the reason of the Jungle Kato andolon was taking place because of the ‘terror created by the police in collusion with certain vested groups like forest official, contractors and administrators in the forest area of Chibasa’<sup>366</sup>. The report observed that the movement was peaceful and supported by all the adivasis because the demand itself was related to the adivasi life<sup>367</sup>.

However the intensity of the movement was great because of the recurrent suppression of the adivasis but unfortunately the leaders of the Jharkhand Movement failed to organize their voices due to factional politics. Areeparampil noted that from 1981 few bandhs and other demonstration were adopted but leaders like Devan Manjhi and Sibbu Soren, the two most prominent figure of the Singbhum forest Movement became separated from each other due to faction, though at the sametime another radical organization emerged, named the Jharkhand Kranti Dal<sup>368</sup>.

The jungle kato andolon was to a great extent carried out by the adivasi itself. Because the movement wasn’t a mere movement against the economic plunder by the external agencies, but it is dovetailed with their livelihood, and the confrontation was began because ‘when natural forests are replaced by commercial species of trees or when forestry practices encourage the

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<sup>363</sup> *ibid*, p-165

<sup>364</sup> *ibid*, p-166

<sup>365</sup> [www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/humanrightd/02%20STATE%20AND%20ARMY%20-%20POLICE%20REPRESSION/C%20BIHAR/01.pdf](http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/humanrightd/02%20STATE%20AND%20ARMY%20-%20POLICE%20REPRESSION/C%20BIHAR/01.pdf) accessed on 23.05.2015

<sup>366</sup> Repression in Singbhum, Report of the Fact Finding Committee of the People’s Union of Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights in Bihar, March 1979, p-4

<sup>367</sup> *ibid*

<sup>368</sup> Areeparampil, 1992, *op.cit.*, p-170



growth of commercial species of trees and gradual disappearance of commercially unprofitable but locally very useful trees, the traditional protective relationship of the tribal with the surrounding forests breaks down which in turn breeds confrontation<sup>369</sup>. As we stated earlier that the forest movement in Singbhum was hastened because:

- it was culturally motivated under the will to rescue *sasandir* or the burial places of their ancestors
- Because of the ethnic components and peculiar socio-economic settings of the area. It is true that Sal was found in best in category because of the climatic conditions along with ancient sediments<sup>370</sup> of the area and these are responsible for controlling the vegetation of this area.
- The movement was carried out because of the conflict between 'dictates of ideologies and the imperatives of reality, perhaps hopelessly'<sup>371</sup>. Failing of so-called ecologization of the cultural process of region the tribes felt a sense of alienation from their home and heart and took shelter under the aegis of eco-political movement and supports separate statehood for an immediate result out of the crisis<sup>372</sup>.

In this whole spectrum of incidents Jharkhand Movement was also widespread because of the vanishing of the large scale forest woods. It was reported that in many places of Singbhum timber merchants and their support staff of police and the official of the forest department have been stealing large woods out of the rich forests but unfortunately the govt had taken initiative to arrest the poor adivasis for degrading the forests. The revival of the Munda-Manki association in the Kolhan area and their active participation in the agitation programme got refueled under various agenda, i.e the increase of salary and the demand of central rule in Kolhan and Porhat area etc<sup>373</sup>.

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<sup>369</sup> Dr.Rajib Ranjan Prasad, 'Forests and Tribals, Issues in Policy Making', in 'Tribal and Forests', Govt of Bihar, Welfare Department, Bihar Tribal welfare Research Institute, Ranchi, 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1987, p-7

<sup>370</sup> Dr.Umapati Sahay and Sarojini Sahay, 'Forest in Socio-Economic Development of Tribals', in Tribal and Forests, op.cit, p-22, 26<sup>th</sup> Jan.1987, Bihar Tribal Welfare Research Inst. Ranchi

<sup>371</sup> Nirmala Shukla, 'Ecology and Cultural Crisis', in Tribals and Forests', op.cit, p-256

<sup>372</sup> *ibid*, p-259, the author argues that a 'comprehensive integrated pragmatic and holistic approach for ecologization of nature-man-culture interactions' is necessary for development of human society.

<sup>373</sup> Arreparampil,1992, op.cit., pp-176-177

During the forest movement in Singbhum, N.E.Horo of the Jharkhand Party clearly warned the government that if the govt. not proceeded with the demand of the separate state in a few days, it would lead a non-cooperation movement against the govt<sup>374</sup>. He supposes to organize a civil-disobedience campaign along Gandhian non violent lines<sup>375</sup>. However the Jharkhand movement and the radical approach towards the integrity of the tribes of the region have been considered successful in bringing few attentions towards tribal and forestry development. It pushed the government to think on so-called a) planned programme on the basis of association of the tribals on the plantation programme, b) the creation of the forest labours co-operatives by eliminating outsiders, c) the resettlement programme for the displaced tribals, d) plantation on highest priority on areas influence on plantation, e) full rights on MFP<sup>376</sup>.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Apart from a relative successes, the Jharkhand parties have failed to accommodated all the tribes from plains, Areeparampil found some weak points of the movement, he noted that the principle drawbacks of the movement was the internal factionalism and the lost of the leftist character, it was also gradually weaken because of other reasons, such as the collection of Chanda, closeness to the Congress Party, carelessness about the injured persons and many others<sup>377</sup>. However what was most striking that as the Jharkhand Movement progresses the demand of the inclusion of the adjoining states also weakened. In case of West Bengal, it is fair enough to believe that the disassociation of the tribal population from the main stream Jharkhand Movement in late 90s was due to the tribal friendly policies enacted by the left Front government. The veteran leader of the leftist movement in West Bengal, Mr. Rabin Deb in a formal discussion informed me that in 90s at Ranigaunj in the district of Bankura a big rally of tribal people was organized under the first grade leader Biman Basu. It was made possible due to tribal policy of left front govt. West Bengal is the only state where the tribal people have received rights and ownerships of forestlands. Success in the case of Joint Forest Management (JFM), West Bengal is the first state in India. Kendu leaves by which tribals make Biri in the denaj system was also protected. Its

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<sup>374</sup> The Canberra Times, (ACT-1926-1995), Monday 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1978,

<sup>375</sup> The Canberra Times, (ACT-1926-1995), Saturday, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1978

<sup>376</sup> Substance of Resolution Passed in Forest Ministers Meeting on 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1978, New Delhi, in the PUCL Report, op.cit, Appendix III, pp-17-18

<sup>377</sup> Arreparampil, 1992, op.cit, pp-183-185

reflection was seen in the Jharkhand Movement also because the tribals of West Bengal did not want separation among them. In the whole of Jungle Mahal in Jharkhand separatist movement against Jharkhand was at rampant. Because of the spread of the left ideology the slogan of the movement was that separatists must be defeated. So it can be well being declared that Jharkhand Movement flourished outside West Bengal because of the success of the leftist movement in West Bengal<sup>378</sup>.

However when the BJP led government came in power in the centre in the late 90s the demand of autonomy of Jharkhand became more powerful. On the other hand earlier the BJP took the decision to offer Vananchal State as early as in august 1988 at the BJPs national conference in Jamshedpur<sup>379</sup> to the people of South Bihar including nontribal origins; they tactfully rejected the term ‘adivasi’ and substitute ‘Banabasi’ for their religious and ideological gains<sup>380</sup>. The decision was not accepted by the former Prime Minister Chandrasekhar<sup>381</sup>. He criticized the decision which he thought was taken without knowing the ground reality. For him, it must be guided with a consensus effort to uphold dialogues between political parties and actual situation which could legitimize the creation of a new state<sup>382</sup>. However when the news came into public, everybody had accepted because they desperately wanted the formation of the separate Vananchal State without knowing the politics behind it. Even of the existing M.L.As such as Khatru Ram Mahato, Indar singh Namdhari, Duti Pahan, Upendra Nath Das, Mrigendra Pratap Singh and many others were firmly accepted the decision and shouted for immediate implementation of the Jharkhand Bill<sup>383</sup>.

After the decision in centre many pro-BJP organizations started active participation in the regional politics. BJPs minority leaders from Vananchal areas such as Kyamuddin Khan from Ranchi, Md. Ajim Khan from Jamshedpur, Md, Firoz Ahmad from Chaibasa, Md. Karim Khan from Ranchi, Md. Enayetullah Afsar from Dhanbad, Shamma Alam from Bokaro, Md, Shamim

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<sup>378</sup> Personal interview with Mr.Rabin Deb, on 24<sup>th</sup> august 2015, at Tamluk, Purba Medinipur, West Bengal

<sup>379</sup> Indu Bharati, ‘Behind BJPs Vananchal Demand’, 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1989, EPW, pp-656-657,

<sup>380</sup> *ibid*, pp-656-657

<sup>381</sup> Ranchi Express, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1998

<sup>382</sup> *ibid*

<sup>383</sup> *ibid*

Khan from Gumla have started engaging themselves in the politics<sup>384</sup>. Separate women organization was also opened to look after the situation in the Vananchal State, the party spokesperson Dr. Uma Shankar Koria stated about the organization in the newspaper<sup>385</sup>. Various political agenda were also taken to counter the existing Jharkhandi parties, in view of that a meeting was held in Ranchi under the banner of Chotanagpur Santal Pargana Teli Vikash Parishad, a pro BJP organization under the chairmanship of Dr. Bhubneswar Anuj to show the gratitude to the BJP leaders for accepting Vananchal State<sup>386</sup>. They accused the Congress Ministry, The Janata Dal, and The Samyukta Morchas for not making proper decisions towards autonomy of Jharkhand. They believed that many regional parties having its name with 'Jharkhand' do not show any fruitful attitude because their political will never came out from their own interests. And that is why adivasis rejected the regional parties and accepted BJP as the alternative towards achieving their age old demand. It reflected in the last election that the BJP is able to pocket 12 seats out of the 14<sup>387</sup>. But few Jharkhand parties and the All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU), the leading students' forum rejected any negotiations with BJP and focused on the formation of the Jharkhand action Force<sup>388</sup>.

But only under the leadership of JMM(S) the movement further reoriented towards environmental stability. From 1990s the state has started afforesting the degraded areas but the actual picture of the state sponsored afforestation programme was severe. According to forest department report in between 1997-98 near about 11,000 cases were lodged for tree parts smuggling, more than 796 trucks have been ceased for illegally carrying large woods. Even because of the unlawful activities the department has failed to bring around 300 crore rupees from World Bank<sup>389</sup>. Furkan Ansari the leading congress leader stated that the forest department never ever came with proper report, only false report were placed in all the time. The concern Minister of the department Tulsi Das Mehta also endorsed that around 1300 workers of the forest department were convicted and arrested for misbehaving with the adivasis and for corruption<sup>390</sup>.

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<sup>384</sup> Ranchi Express, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1998

<sup>385</sup> Ranchi Express, 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1998

<sup>386</sup> Ranchi Express, 8<sup>th</sup> July & 10<sup>th</sup> July 1998

<sup>387</sup> *ibid*

<sup>388</sup> *ibid*

<sup>389</sup> Ranchi Express, 11<sup>th</sup> July 1998

<sup>390</sup> *ibid*

The rampant change in the environmental setup, the ruthless destruction of the forest flora and the suppression of the adivasis were the principal factors behind the Jharkhand Movement. On the ground of ecological and environmental factors the JMM (S) started spreading the message particularly among the school children through Van Mahotsav (Forest festival) in various pockets of Jharkhand. Suraj Mondal the leader of the JMM (S) and the member of the Jharkhand Autonomous Area Council (JAAC) in a school function called for another Chipko movement in Jharkhand forest area for ecological balance. He pointed out that in Jharkhand the relation between adivasi and the forests are inalienable subject, and which must be protected by implanting fruits bearing trees in the jungle of this area not eucalyptus<sup>391</sup>. However later he was under scanner for more closeness to BJP<sup>392</sup>. On the other hand The Chief Conservator of forests B.D.Bhagat also spoke about the ecological refugees in the area.

The Jharkhand State was created on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000, though the success of autonomy neither fulfills the demand of the adivasis nor they became a part of it. Jharkhand is still under severe condition, The Jharkhand Parties lost their support from adjoining states. No such proper utilization of the forest resources are taken henceforth. The mafiadom and the illegal felling of trees are active in the state, afforestation programmes are also failed to satisfy the rural adivasis. Rampant change in the ecological set up brings catastrophic changes in the region. In this phenomenon it is the most awaiting question that how Jharkhand survived in terms of ecology? The production and the soil conservation are still under serious condition. Lack of planning and other deficiency made the tribes more backward.

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<sup>391</sup> Ranchi Express, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1998

<sup>392</sup> Vananchal Prahari, Year-1, issue 39, 3<sup>rd</sup> May-9<sup>th</sup> May, 1998

## *CHAPTER-5*

# INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN JHARKHAND: THE IDENTITY CRISIS, REINFORCED BY THE ARRIVAL OF MODERN INDUSTRIES: 1930-2001

## Chapter 5

### **Industrial development in Jharkhand; The identity crisis, reinforced by the arrival of modern industries: 1930-2001**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Throughout British period the economic policies were to a great extent executed to protect and promote British interests rather than advancing welfare for the Indian people<sup>393</sup>. The legacies of the colonial approach towards Indian economy had been criticized by many scholars, arguing that the government policies were mainly responsible for the decline of the indigenous tiny industries; however there was a steady shift after 1930 which ‘signaling a more active interests in development problems’<sup>394</sup>. Consequently just after the transfer of power, The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 rendered initiative to cope up with the stagnant economic situation and virtually taken a decisive attempt to regulate India’s socio-economic policies, and it was by and large had produced a fundamental departure from the colonial policies.

The Indian Planning Commission was formed in 1950 and so on the industrial growth of India has been significantly raised. It was recorded that the mining and manufacturing industries has risen around 160 percent and the modern industry by over 250 percent, however these growth drastically reduces the agricultural output and which stands 50 percent in the early fifties and 45 in early seventies<sup>395</sup>. And from 1970 the industrialization took the command and forms a notable change in agricultural sector. It was observed that the number of agricultural labour has been decreased significantly from 1990 due to rapid change in the process of technology and cropping pattern and similarly the development in the industrial sector actually opened up job possibilities in service sector<sup>396</sup>. However these trends in economy always been seen as uncertainties.

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<sup>393</sup> A.Vaidyanathan, ‘ The Indian economy since Independence (1947-1970) in ‘The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol II, C.1757-2003, edited by Dharma Kumar, 2010, p-947

<sup>394</sup> *ibid*, p-947

<sup>395</sup> *ibid*, p-961

<sup>396</sup> Jayati Ghosh ‘ The Indian Economy (1970-2007), p-1039, The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol II, C.1757-2003, edited by Dharma Kumar, 2010,

The growth of economy and the subsequent change particularly in the field of development strategies took serious attention by the scholars. In a review article, R.C.Guha<sup>397</sup> observed that the basic model on which industrialization started in India particularly from second five year plan onwards was that ‘underdevelopment essentially was a consequence of insufficient technological progresses’. This theme, what Guha observed was actually directed the state for natural resource utilization for the sake of industries and this has severe impact on the rural tribal population because the imposition and intrusion of industrial capital caused social dislocation from their own traditional practice of resource management<sup>398</sup>. In this structural change we speculate that the shift of the rights of managing the resources from the hands of the rural people to the hands of the state became turbulent in many states of India. Among them Jharkhand state is not exceptional because of the massive industrial development from the last century to capitalize the rich mineral resources and forest products.

## **5.2 The demographic situation and the rise of industrial capital: The socio-economic behavior**

Regarding policies, a fundamental failure over the large parts of Jharkhand state was massive land encroachment by the profit makers, unrecognizing the customary rights of the tribal people over Jal, Jungle and Zamin. Even so, while approaching so called economic reform the state has not only faces some of the turbulent phases of struggle ‘related to economic interests of different actors in the use of natural resources’<sup>399</sup> causing land alienation but also contested because of growing urbanization due to un-broken rise in population over many years from the neighboring states. Thus according to one study the “Question of development and ecological degradation has often been traced to a dyad consisting of population growth and technological choices”<sup>400</sup>This process greatly intensified in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought rapid changes in regional economy in terms of growing industrial capital following substantial increase in output in

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<sup>397</sup> An eminent historian and writer

<sup>398</sup> Ramchandra Guha, 1986, ‘Ecological Roots of Development Crisis’ Main article, ‘The State of India’s Environment, 1984-85, The Second Citizen’s Report, Ed. By Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain, Center for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1985, EPW, Vol-XXL, No-15, April 12, 1986

<sup>399</sup> Madhav Gadgil & Ramchandra Guha, 2000, ‘The Use and Abuse of Nature’ incorporating This Fissured Land, An Ecological History of India and Ecology and Equity, p-91

<sup>400</sup> Rohan D’Souza, 2002, ‘Colonialism, Capitalism and Nature, Debating the origin of Mahanadi delta’s Hydraulic crisis (1803-1928)’, Special article, EPW, March 30, p-1261



Jharkhand. It is fairly comprehensive to note that the continuity of the industrial development in Jharkhand produced serious impact on the lives of tribes. They lost their traditional practice and resource utilization and forced to surrender their ancestral places, in total they were moving out from the scene. This long process of pauperization was started since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and became rapid from the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since then the mineral resources were exploited by the capitalist. The trend can be traced back in 1911 when the first ‘blast furnaces of Jamshedpur were in course of erection’,<sup>401</sup> the mining activities also began near Dhalbhum and Kolhan, many other mining sectors were also opened up and Sakchi a small town flourish with the works that had grown up with the Tata Iron and Steel Company. In 1911 Sakchi was inhabited by only 5641 and just after 10 years the population increases nearly 57 thousand. Sakchi became a popular destination for capital and known as Jamshedpur City.<sup>402</sup> It was however an emerging fact that the rise of capital without loss of time was the problem which imposed certain condition on the lives of the innocent tribes that eradicated the flow of ethnic bondage<sup>403</sup>.

The decline of the traditional resource management system as well as resource utilization and the extensive pressure for alternative resource management has usually been inferred from the rapid growth of urbanization in the period following 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The evident suggests that it was started by encroaching land. Thus Land became a central point of confrontation between tribal rights and state intervention. The pressure on land became one of the principle factors behind tribal anger, and it was aggravated due to huge population explosions. The population explosions along with the emergences of industrialization and in its wake the rise of towns and non-tribal population have seriously affected the lives of tribes. Materially the immigrants caused serious problem to the regional equilibrium and created a hybrid culture

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<sup>401</sup> W.G. Lacey, Census of India 1931, Part I, Reports, p-55

<sup>402</sup> *ibid*,p-55

<sup>403</sup> The emerging capital flow in the industrial development certainly determined the division of labour. It was drastically changed the ethnic composition in the entire Jharkhand region. The status Report of Indigenous Peoples (SAIP) in its report observed that the growing industrialization in the entire Chotanagpur area has created a massive demographic change in between 1881-1950 because of the intrusion of the unskilled labour into the region from nearby states like West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Gaya, Munger, the number of cities also increases. See details in A.Ekka, Status of Indigenous Peoples Land Series-4, Jharkhand 2011, & M. Bandyopadhyay, 1999, ‘Demographic consequences of Non-tribal incursion in Chotanagpur region during colonial period (1850-1950)’, Social Change, 29(3-4) Sept. Dec, pp-22-24

forcing the tribes to change their traditional occupation was one of the major concern of the Jharkhand Demand<sup>404</sup>.

However over the period many tribal groups were forced to migrate to other region for alternative livelihood<sup>405</sup>. Vice-versa many districts of Jharkhand have been reported huge in migration from the neighboring states and as a result, demographic composition has been changed. Different demographic studies have revealed that out of 18 districts of the state there were five tribal districts in 1961 having tribal population comprises more than 50% of the total population<sup>406</sup>. In 1991 the scenario has changed totally and one can find only three tribal districts that have the majority remains. The selected data in this chapter suggests that from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century Jharkhand suffered greatest depopulation in tribal percentage. An article indicated that from 1951 to 1991 the tribal population decreases gradually, it shows that in 1950s the tribal population constituted in an around 36% of the total population of the region while in 1991 the number fallout and stands around 27%. So the tribal population decreases in each year<sup>407</sup>.

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<sup>404</sup> The non-tribal migration into Chotanagpur expressed a significant change in the fall of ethnoregionalism and the rise of regionalism haggling into the demand of Jharkhand autonomy movement.

<sup>405</sup> The out migration from the Jharkhand has been recently studied as the change in circumstances. Alpa Shah in her recent work 'In The shadow of the State, Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India', 2010, Duke University Press, argued that the seasonal migration of the Jharkhand tribes to the brick factories was due to 'not only the ability to cope with everyday livelihood struggles but also freedom from the social constraints at home', Shah criticized that the right based Jharkhandi Protagonists have raised their voices against the seasonal migration because of their ethnoregionalist vision, as they used to interconnected the migration with the loss of cultural identity as rooted in their land.

<sup>406</sup> Subhangi Thatte, (undated), 'Growth and Distribution of Tribal Population in Jharkhand 1962-2001: A Census Analysis' (<http://paa2006.princeton.edu/papers/61800>) accessed on 14.04.2010, pp-1-2

<sup>407</sup> Arup Maharanta and Rasika Chitke, 2004, 'Demography of Tribal population in Jharkhand, 1951-1991' EPW, XXXIX (46/47), pp-5053-5062

**Table-5.1****Annual Exponential Growth Rate of Population, (1951-1991)**

District	Social Groups	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91	1951-91
Santal Pargana	All	1.42	1.75	1.54	2.11	1.7
	SC	3.37	1.24	3.08	1.50	2.3
	St	0.14	1.21	1.70	0.67	0.86
Hajaribagh	All	2.12	2.42	2.63	2.55	2.43
	Sc	3.32	1.93	5.64	2.63	3.38
	St	0.15	2.00	2.44	2.10	1.67
Ranchi	All	1.47	2.00	1.62	1.75	1.71
	Sc	3.10	2.59	2.25	2.12	2.52
	St	1.57	1.41	1.33	1.16	1.37
Palamu	All	1.86	2.36	2.43	2.46	2.28
	Sc	3.38	2.17	2.23	2.51	2.57
	St	2.84	2.28	2.02	2.32	2.37
Singhbhum	All	1.87	1.73	1.60	1.73	1.73
	Sc	2.02	3.67	4.43	1.96	3.02
	St	3.07	1.48	1.15	1.36	1.76
Dhanbad	All	2.46	2.15	3.66	2.35	2.66
	Sc	5.93	0.73	3.96	2.28	3.22
	St	1.14	1.93	2.14	1.56	1.69
Jharkhand	All	1.80	2.04	2.13	2.15	2.03
	Sc	3.67	1.83	3.75	2.30	2.89
	St	1.38	1.49	1.54	1.26	1.42

Source: Census Report, Quoted from A. Maharanta & R.Chikte, 2004, 'Demography of Tribal Population in Jharkhand, 1951-1991', p-5054

Table 5.1 indicated that the exponential growth rate is fluctuating in almost every district. The exponential growth rate in Santal Pargana is monotonically increasing from 1951 to 1981 but it decreases within the interval between 1981 and 1991. Similar nature can be traced for

Hazaribagh, Dhanbad and Jharkhand. It was seen in the table that the exponential growth rate of the population of S.T in Ranchi monotonically decreasing from 1951 to 1991. Moreover the exponential growth rate of the population of ST in Palamou is monotonically decreasing from 1951 to 1981 but it increase within the interval between 1981 and 1991. Similar nature can be drawn for Singbhum also.

There can be two possible hypotheses about the slower growth rate of tribal population. One may be due to low birth rates or high death rates, another hypothesis may lead to another angle that it caused because of the huge out migration from the region.<sup>408</sup> In 2001 census data it was estimated that the persons who migrated from the last residents for work or employment stood 79,027<sup>409</sup>. Thus the equilibrium in tribal population changed drastically in between 1911 and 1951 and the percentage was down from 40 % to 31% in the period.<sup>410</sup> The statistical reports of Santal Pargana clearly indicated that a large number of people from outside Southern Bihar occupy the fertile land for their setup.

On ground, these conditions brought catastrophic changes into the region's wealth and in every aspects of tribal life. However there were some instances that many of the tribal population took some advantages from the newly emerging scopes. Some of them acted as strong contender in the Jharkhand Movement. For example, the Ho industrial workers participated in the trade union movement and also became a part of Jharkhand Party and Birsa Seva Dal for separation of Jharkhand. That is how many tribal workers 'try to combine their sense of belonging to the village along with the social and economic gain out of the industrial complex'<sup>411</sup>. The pressure of the outside non tribal population and the development of industrialization in the region certainly opened two different possibilities; at one side it not only created an opportunity before the tribes to work as cooley or daily waged labour in those newly emerged industries but on otherside threatened the primacy of the original settlers they practiced in decision making. Due to the change in the traditional structure they became marginalized and lost their belongings. Market forces bring drastic changes in land utilization pattern as well.

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<sup>408</sup> Maharnta et.al,2004, op.cit, pp-5053-5062

<sup>409</sup> Census of India 2001

<sup>410</sup> A.Ekka, Status of Indigenous Peoples Land Series-4, Jharkhand 2011, pp-94-95

<sup>411</sup> Pranab Dasgupta, 'Impact of industrialization on a tribe in South Bihar, 1978, ASI, Kolkata

**Table 5.2 - Variation in Population during 50 years in Santal Pargana district**

Census Year	Persons	Variations	Net Variations	Males	Variations	Females	Variations
1901	1,804,526			893,841		910,685	
1911	1,877,486	+72,960		930,753	+36,912	946,733	+36,048
1921	1,793,742	- 83,744		893,521	-37,232	900,221	-46,512
1931	2,050,258,	+256,516		1,025,296	+131,775	1,024,962	+124,741
1941	2,234,497	+184,239		121,410	+96,114	1,113,087	+88,125
1951	2,322,092	+87,595	+517,566	1,172,594	+51,184	1,149,498	+36,411

Source: Santal Pargana Census Reports, 1951

The population explosion dynamics had a great role in the formation of the Jharkhandi identity politics. It was created a broader frame of the Jharkhandi politics. We must not forget that the intrusions of the non-tribal population and their association in the regional politics always been treated as the alien rule (Dikuization), however the Jharkhand movement never rejected the possibilities of the association of the residing non tribals in their fight for self-rule. In order to find the answer behind Jharkhand demand it is necessary to look at the regional economies which in other words an example of a ‘process of development of underdevelopment taking place in underdevelopment capitalist formation’<sup>412</sup>.

Along with spectacular urban growth lakhs of outsider came into Jharkhand as worker or as profit makers and it was true and evident from the above data. Table 5.2 shows that the growth of population was very high and steady alone in the Santal Pargana District, it was recorded that, since the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century all the districts of Chotanagpur have witnessed similar kind of population growth. An apparent reference to the increasing non-tribal population in the Chotanagpur region also affected the primitiveness and it resulted the fall of ethnicity and

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<sup>412</sup> Susana BC Devalle 1992 ‘ Discourses of Ethnicity, Culture and Protest in jharkhand’,p-78, in this particular point Devalle criticized the objectives of the capitalist entrepreneurs for agricultural impoverishment, which was paradoxical and see the traditional society as an obstacle to the modernity. Here underdevelopment refers to a situation where the tribes never been accustomed or been integral part of the present day modernity and their relative backwardness to a great extent responsible for Jharkhandi social formation.

religion which became certainly brings ‘social degradation, racial discrimination, deculturation and cultural distortion’ and all these change according to Devalle ‘acted as effective mechanism to the process of economic control and exploitation of the adivasi’<sup>413</sup>. It was estimated that the number of tribals following their religion decline by 33% between 1921 and 1931<sup>414</sup>. Moreover an immediate result was that, a number of inhabitants give up their dependency on the land for cultivation and forced to adopt different means of livelihood. In such a condition a steady ecological transformation occurred on the ground of adaptation variations of different practices which certainly entail the truth that ‘the manner in which the nature was perceived to be influencing native nature was diverse’<sup>415</sup>. In these changing patterns the number of persons deriving their secondary means of livelihood from cultivation stood male 23526, female 24976,<sup>416</sup> which was very less in respect of the total population of the district. On the other hand there was a healthy growths of the number of persons including dependants who derive their principal means of livelihood from cultivation of own land is Male 4, 69,045, and Female 4, 76,149<sup>417</sup>. Thus there was a steady decline in all the aspects of socio-economic conditions. As indicated earlier that apart from social and economic change, i.e; the reclassification of towns, urbanization the change in demography has also manifold cultural differences.

**Table 5.3 - Growth of population in Singbhum district in between 1872-1961**

Year	Population	Variation	Percent Variation	
			Singbhum District	Bihar State
1872	318,180			
1881	453,775	+135,595	+42.62	+15.56
1891	543,965	+90,190	+19.88	+5.94
1901	909,655	+365,690	+67.23	+0.22
1911	1,015,656	+106,001	+11.65	+3.67
1921	1,074,254	+58,598	+5.77	-- 0.66

<sup>413</sup> *ibid*, p-90

<sup>414</sup> J.H.Hutton, Census Reports 1931, Vol 1

<sup>415</sup> M.Amruith, 2012, ‘Reason of (Under) development: Conceiving the Tribal Problematic’ in Vineetha Menon (edt) ‘Environment and Tribes in India, Resource conflict and adaptations’, p-161

<sup>416</sup> Santal Pargana Census 1951

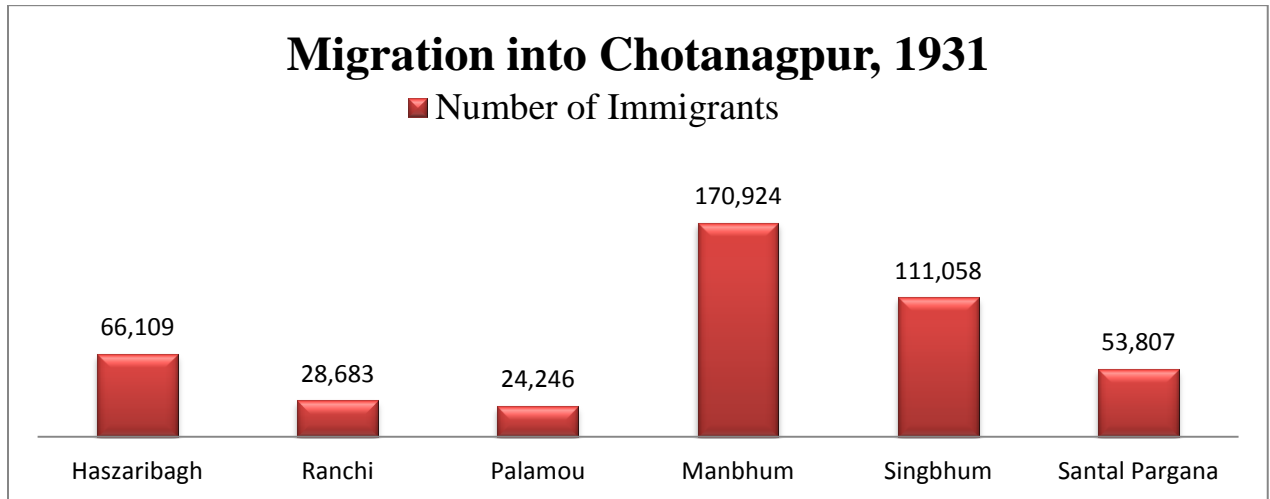
<sup>417</sup> *ibid*

1931	1,312,630	+238,376	+22.19	+11.45
1941	1,565,306	+252,676	+19.25	+12.20
1951	1,700,590	+135,284	+8.64	+10.27
1961	2,049,911	+349,321	+20.54	+19.77

Source: District Census: Singhum, 1961

Apart from Santal Pargana, Singhum district also witnessed a steady population growth. One can simply assume from the above tables, particularly in connection with the table 5.3 that in between 1872-1931 the population increases more than 100 percent<sup>418</sup> and it was gradually increasing in every 10 consecutive years. The population increases gradually with the coming of industries, mining and other sorts of industrial sectors. The situation was aggravated due to large scale land alienation. Since the beginning of the commercial era in 19<sup>th</sup> century the indigenous populations comprising around 85 to 90 percent of the total population have been worse hit by the industrial capital following devastating impact through commercially, socially and economically. In 1931 census data, it was recorded that the number of immigrants in Chotanagpur alone had been significantly rises in large numbers and to a great extent responsible for emergence of mixed cultural, bilingual hybrid society.

**Table-5.4**

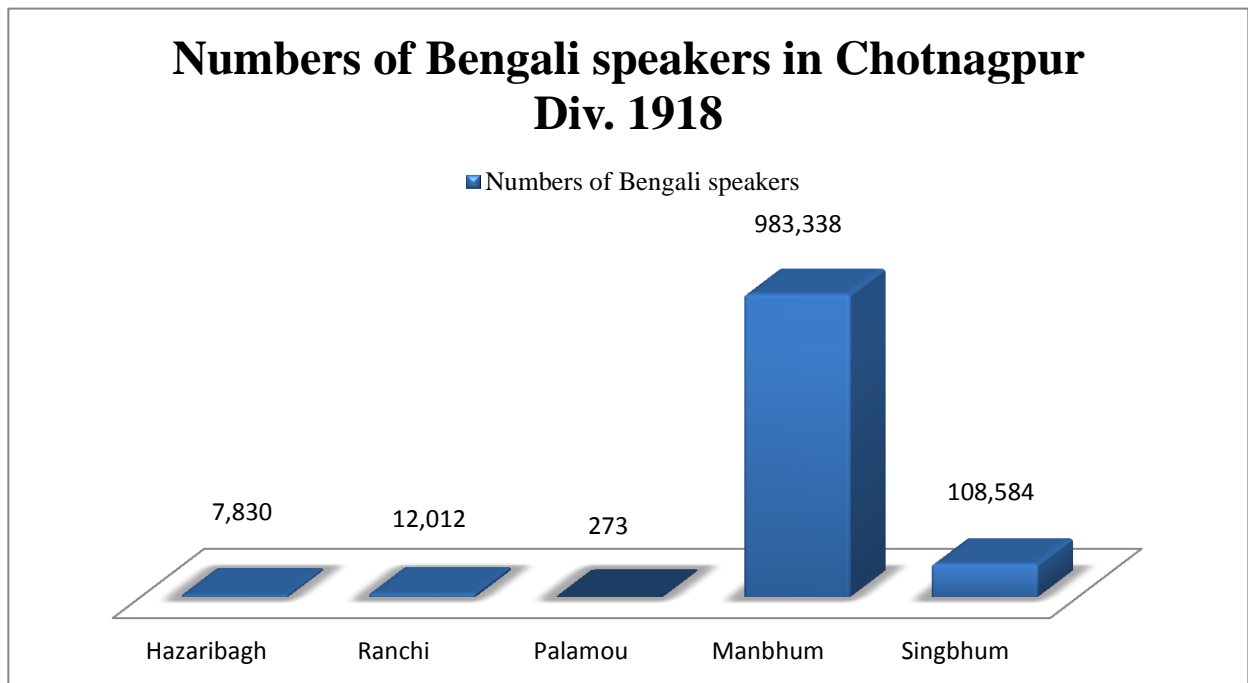


Source: Census of India, Vol VII, Bihar & Orissa, Part 1, 1931

<sup>418</sup> Census of India 1931, Vol VII, Bihar and Orissa, Part 1, Report 1933, p-55

With the influx of the outsiders the numbers of Bengali speaking people were also increased. Records of the Political Department on the issues of the depressed classes in Chotanagpur estimated that the Bengali speaking persons in British territory of Bihar and Orissa as recorded in 1911 census was 2,186,020<sup>419</sup> and in 2001 the number of Bengali speaking people stands 26,07,601 only in Jharkhand<sup>420</sup>. In this report Bhagalpur Division of Santal Pargana estimated 274,318 people who speak in Bengali dialect.<sup>421</sup> Not only that, some other reports revealed that within 10 consecutive years, between 1951-1961, the Punjabis of the region increases from 30,000 to 57,000, Marwaris from 8000 to 22,000, Gujratis from 8000 to 36,000, Andhras from 18,000 to 36,000, Tamilians from 6000 to 15,000.<sup>422</sup> The following charts in this regard have been prepared according to the data available in the report of 1918 and 1971. The table 5.5 and table 5.6 show the growth of non-tribal migrants into the Jharkhand since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Table – 5.5**



Source: Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, File number 444 of 1918, BSA, Patna

<sup>419</sup> BSA, file no 444 of 1918

<sup>420</sup> Census of India, 2001

<sup>421</sup> Government of Bihar & Orissa, Political Department, 'Proposed to Depressed Classes', File number 444 of 1918, BSA

<sup>422</sup> Nirmal Sengupta, 'Class and Tribes in Jharkhand', EPW, April 5, 1980, p-666



**Table 5.6 - Population according to language in Singbhum district in 1971**

Language	Number of persons
Assamese	24
Bengali	6,64,206
Gujrati	7404
Hindi	2,63,951
Oria	3,19,124
Telegu	26,260
Urdu	78,813
Panjabi	32,120
Marathi	2,903

Source: Singbhum District Gazetteer, Gazetteer Revision Branch, Government of Bihar, 1984, p-8

### **5.3 Socio-economic dislocation in the domain of industrialization**

The industrialization in Jharkhand was empirically determined through examining possible scope of resource utilization<sup>423</sup>. Hundreds of records have been prepared to investigate the point of levels of productivity<sup>424</sup>. It had been confidentially taken for granted that the ‘British willing to take over mineral rights of whole of Chotanagpur District’<sup>425</sup>. To execute the supreme command they decided to replace Halles ‘Ecology of India’ (on the ground that it was not sufficient) by a proper geological map of Chotanagpur Division with coalfield duly coloured<sup>426</sup>. The beginning of the coal industry in Dhanbad during 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in 1907 were the initial stages marked by the large scale exploitation of mineral resources and ecological devastations. There was a considerable area of extension of coal mining within a short period of time was also significant. Before the

<sup>423</sup> File no 13 of 1903, Sub : Acquisition of the mineral rights of the Karanpura coal field in Hazaribagh,RAR

<sup>424</sup> *ibid*, in view of the great possibility of mineral resources the British have appointed a committee to investigate the possibilities and the methods of the development of mineral resources. The main objective of the committee was to investigate the possibilities of revenues. For detail pls see File No- 2M-25 of 1922, RAR

<sup>425</sup> *ibid*, this colonial view was placed in a letter by R.N.Reid, The under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur

<sup>426</sup> *ibid*

nationalization of coal mining the use of coal is voracious substance for mine owners and exploited unsystematically. When the Coal India put its grip after the nationalization in 1971 the whole Jharkhand Region was opened for private contractors and mine owners<sup>427</sup>. Other private industrial hubs such as agriculture based industries; chemical industries, small engineering, and manufacturing industries also setup their units in almost all the parts of Jharkhand. Thermal Power plants in Bokaro, Patratu, Chandrapura, Sindri also is in full swing, the other industries like, Hydro electric Projects run by Damodar Valley Corporation also generated for supplying powers to the industrial sectors<sup>428</sup>.The metallurgical coal of the Jharia coalfield is famous in regard to the production and utilization and has given Dhanbad a very popular destination<sup>429</sup>.

The large scale industrializations in the region require huge lands for establishment purpose. It was with the emerging colonies huge lands have been transferred to the hands of the non-tribals. Mica and coal mining lease were also granted to various private owners. As early as in 1913 mica mining lease was granted to Messrs Tata Sons & Company in the Koderma Government forest, Hazaribagh<sup>430</sup>. It can be easily assumed that the actual land grabbed by the private agencies for their mining set up is quite large square miles than the actual reports is concerned. The Uranium Corporation of India has set-up their mines in Jaduguda and Bhatin and taken away five villages which completely destroyed the lives of the aboriginals particularly the Santals who have been alienated from their ancestral land<sup>431</sup>. On the other hand The Piparwar coal projects in the North Karanpura valley in the 1990s also uprooted more than 15000 people and also highly responsible for environmental degradation. More than 289 hectares of reserved forests have been cleared for construction of Piparwar project<sup>432</sup>. But in actually more forests areas have been cleared. It is really striking to note that from 1951 to 1991 due to mining activities around 34.4 percent of lands have been acquired only in Jharkhand<sup>433</sup>. It would be pertinent to note that the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNTA) of 1908 and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPTA) of 1949

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<sup>427</sup> Arreparampil, 'Displacements due to mining in Jharkhand', EPW, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1996, pp-1524-1525 op.cit

<sup>428</sup> ibid, pp-1524-1525

<sup>429</sup> S.C.Bhatt, The Encyclopedic District Gazetteer of India, p-123

<sup>430</sup> File no-38 of 1912-13, Collection XVI, RAR

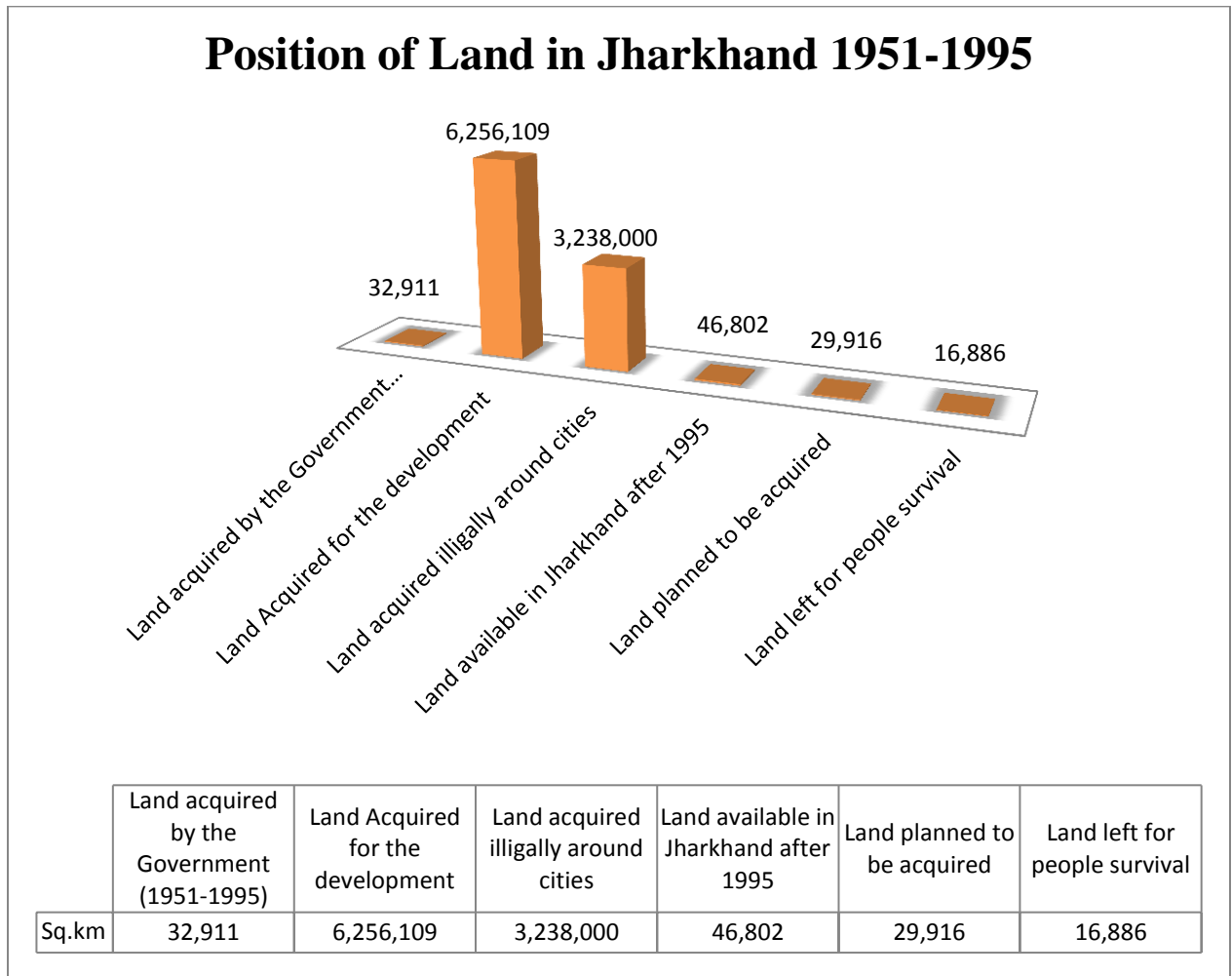
<sup>431</sup> Arreparampil, 1996, op.cit, pp-1524-1525

<sup>432</sup> ibid

<sup>433</sup> Ekka, A and M,Asif 2000, 'Development Induced Displacements and Rehabilitation in Jharkhand 1951-1995 : A Database on its extent and Nature', Indian Social Institute, Delhi, As quoted in 'Laws Related to mining in Jharkhand', Ajitha Susan George, EPW, Oct 8, 2005, pp-4455-4458

were enacted to safe guard adivasi land from the non-tribal traders and several sections from both the acts had been stands as barrier between two contested class. But unfortunately for the Jharkhand State the land has been regularly passes away from the tribes by misusing the section 23 of the SPTA as ‘*Dan Patras*’ or Gift deeds. The poor adivasi people were pressurized to sell the lands for the money<sup>434</sup>. The table below shows how critical situation emerged due to rampant land transfer for the sake of urban demand.

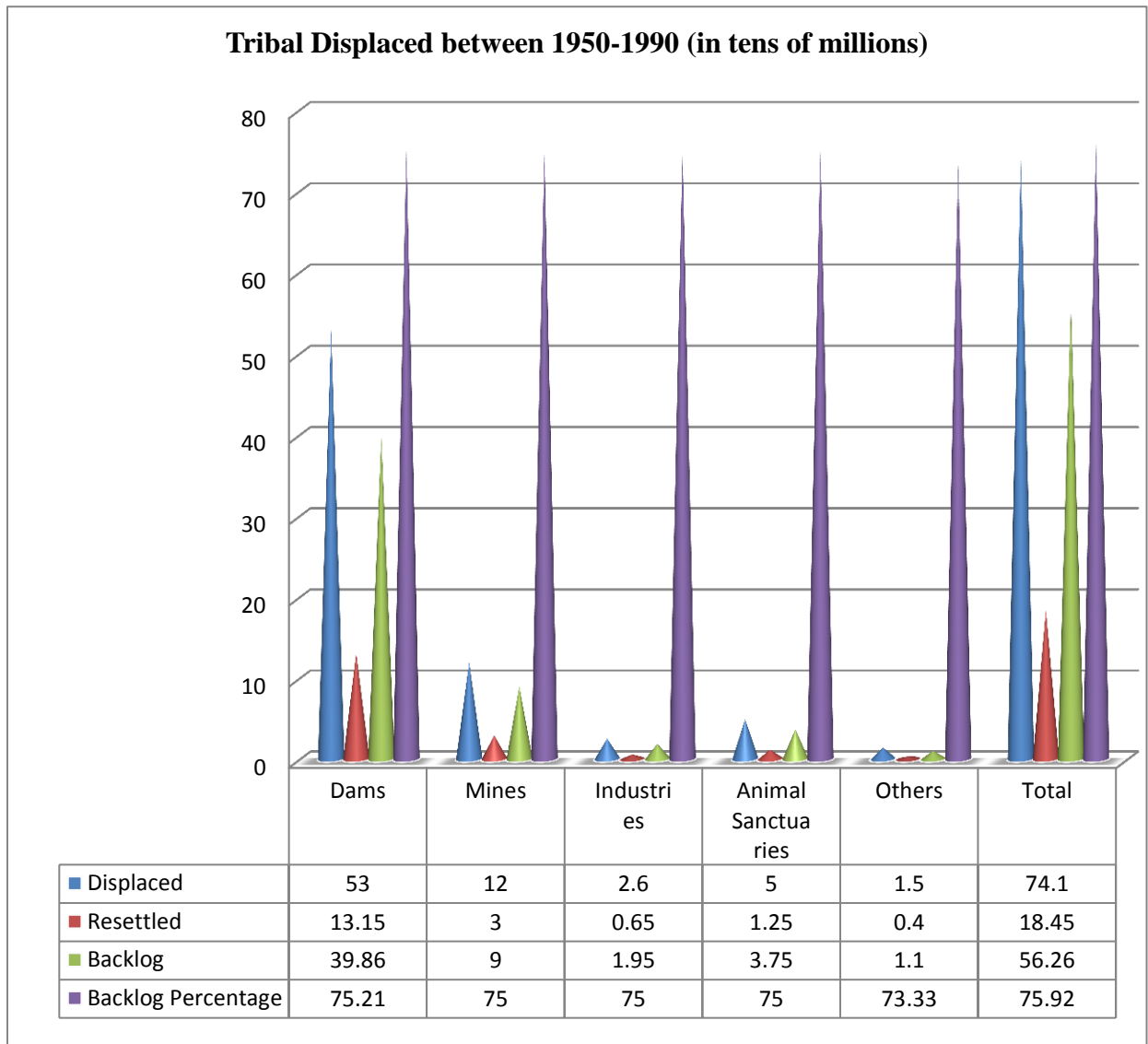
**Table 5.7**



Source: Stan Swamy, 2013, ‘Fate of Commons, Commoners and Displaced: Why do people Resist Displacement?’ in ‘Governance of Commons and Livelihood Security’ (ed) Himadri Sinha & Anant Kumar, Published by Xavier Institute of Social Service, Ranchi, Jharkhand

<sup>434</sup> Nitya Rao, ‘Life and Livelihood in santal pargans, Does the Right to a livelihood exist?’ EPW, Sept 27, 2003, pp-4080-4084

**Table -5.8**



Source-Minz,A ‘Development and/or destruction in Jharkhand : Growing Fascism, Update collective Quotes in Prakash Louis “ Marginalisation of Tribes” in EPW, 18<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2000 P-4088, as quoted in a ‘Case study, Tribal Rights in Jharkhand’ UNDP Amit Prakash p-42

The deleterious practice of the economy of the Jharkhand State has been consequently evolved through mineral based industries and mining throughout 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The common propaganda of tribal unrest for retaining land and to secure habitat as a whole had been identified as an outcome of landlessness. It is also supplemented by huge ecological and environmental degradation caused by air and water pollution which slowly but steadily imperils the aborigines

to the massive risk on their lives. Taking into account of the Jaduguda Case, that tribal people has faced a series of complication due to radioactive hazards; they became a sufferer and slowly going into the painful death.<sup>435</sup> Jharia coal field settlement also witnessed severe diseases due to unhygienic conditions of the colliery workers.

The Tabulated statement of below shows the death rate per 1000 of population from the principle causes of deaths during 1953 as compared with the preceding four years<sup>436</sup>.

**Table -5.9 Principal causes of death in Jharia Colliery 1949-1953**

Causes of Deaths	Total No of Deaths- 1953	Percentage of deaths to total	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949
A)Wholly or partially preventable							
Cholera	51	1.22	0.07	0.12	0.33	1.07	0.24
Small pox	14	0.34	0.02	0.20	0.40	0.17	0.04
Plague	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
Fever	2732	65.59	3.75	4.35	5.79	6.06	5.47
Diarrhea & Dysentery	119	2.86	0.16	0.18	0.20	0.34	0.14
Respiratory Diseases	217	5.21	0.30	0.39	0.41	0.41	0.27
B) Non preventable Diseases							
Suicide	17	0.41	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.03
Wounds & accidents	100	2.40	0.14	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.11
Snakebite	13	0.31	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.002	0.002
Wild animal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other causes	902	21.66	1.24	1.23	1.37	1.49	1.23

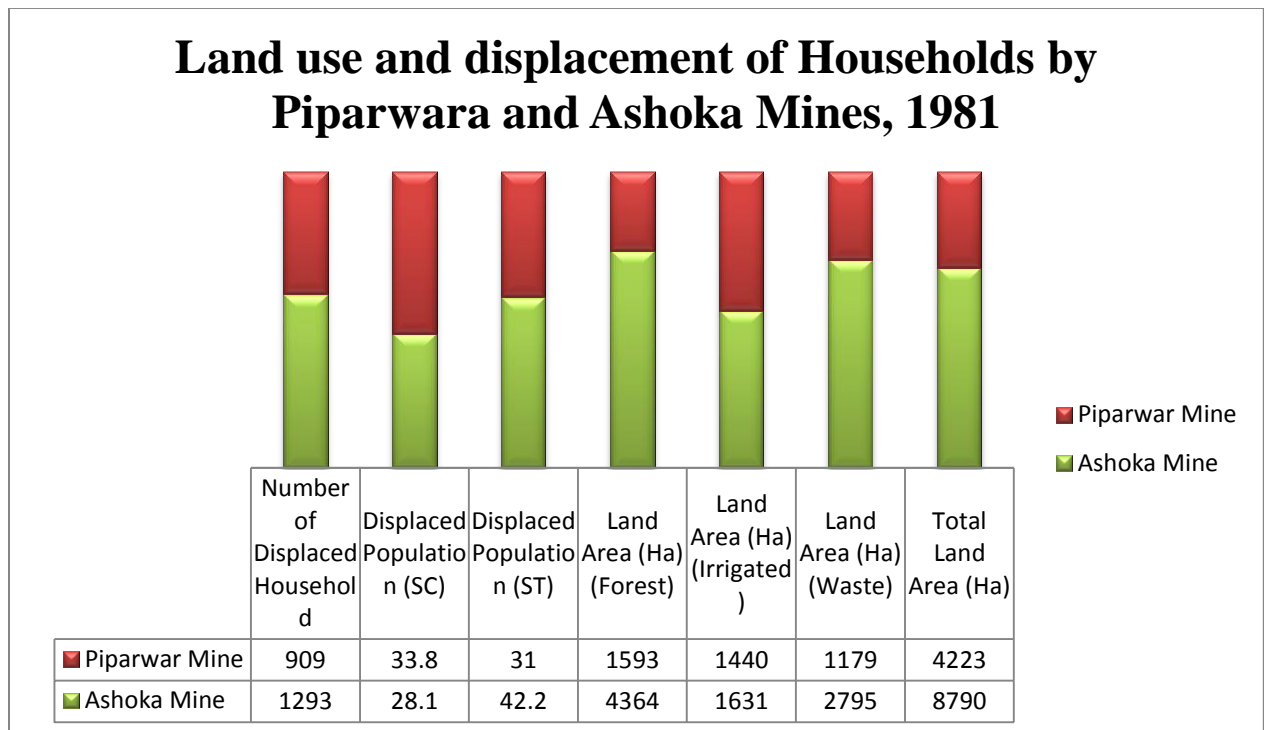
The above table shows the causes of deaths, particularly from respiratory problem are high, because of the unhygienic conditions of the colliery settlement; it is also painful to note that the

<sup>435</sup> Areeparampil,1996, op.cit

<sup>436</sup> Jharia Mines Board of Health, Report on the working of Jharia Mines Board of Health for the year 1953-54, p-21, RAR

deaths among the children workers are very high. It was reported that in Jharia and Mugma coalfields children between the age of 1 and 5 and 5 to 10 were died in maximum numbers in comparison to other and constituted 14.36 and 4.42 percent to the total deaths<sup>437</sup> that means general living standard was deteriorating along with environmental degradation. In addition to this, enormous demand for the industrial development caused household alienation which took place gradually with the coming of the new industrial settlement. This sort of critical situation was largely retrieve by the mining settlement. The following chart shows how the alienation of household continued in consequences.

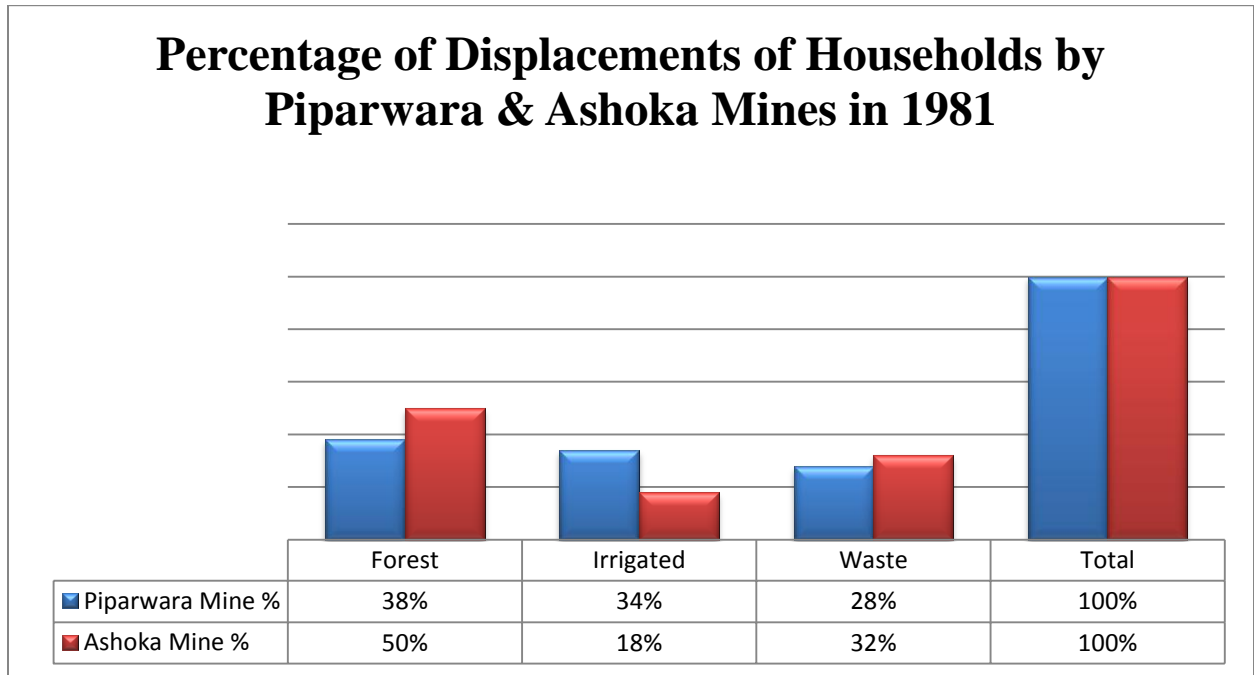
**Table- 5.10**



Source: District Census Handbook, 1981 Quoted by Amar Kumar Singh ‘Jharkhander Katha-A Tale of Swadeshi Colonisation’ in Jharkhand Matters: Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development, Edt. By Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Socail Development (India), 2004, p-37, see also P.Roy (1992)

<sup>437</sup> ibid, p-49

**Table-5.11**



Source: A.K.Singh, op.cit, p-37

While the agrarian problems vis-à-vis new techniques, introduction of cash crops etc enforcing the tribes to surrender the traditional methods of cultivation in one hand and on the other hand in the non-agricultural sector rampant change in ecological setup, health and household alienation started since the colonial attempt to the post colonial phenomenon had taken place due to the growth of modern industries. It is necessary to remember that Jharkhand movement not only vocal against rampant change in customary practices but also take advantages politically against the long term ‘development’ process by projecting internal colonization theory which was fully justified. However all of these alterations pose direct threat to the existing tradition and brought in several environmental hazards. The environmental degradation due to extensive mines and industrialization operating in the whole Jharkhand region has been responsible to rise to a more complex understanding of land and adivasi vision of nature. Due to the large scale forest destruction for commercial purpose there were severe food crisis and ecological damage.

The irrigational change has also suffered traditional customs and uses. More and more emphasis on the part of industrialization in the successive years after independence put aside irrigational needs. It was the era when no major irrigational projects had been taken to meet the demand of

the tribes.<sup>438</sup> The abandonment and radical change in the agricultural sectors bring regular drought and failure in paddy crops, in 1955-56, and in 1967 drought and crop failure affected near about 73 % of the population of Central Bihar and Southern Bihar<sup>439</sup>. In 1979 to 1982 Santal Pargana noticed a severe drought of various degrees<sup>440</sup>. In these miserable conditions a protest movement had been launched in 1982 where police ruthlessly made firing upon the starved adivasi seeking relief of these condition, later under the banner of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) a movement originated against the incident<sup>441</sup>.

Now with adivasi solidarity, the threat from the industrial activities suddenly demanded a shift from the traditional customs of communal agrarian structure. In most of the cases many tribal areas of Jharkhand have altered into a zone of easy labourers. For instances Santals of Damin during colonial period has suffered mostly due to mining activities. The proprietors always liked Santal labours because they were hard working, honest and moreover can be used by ensuring small wages.<sup>442</sup> However it was none other than British who at the initial stages enjoying the mining activities in an around Damin for capital accumulation, Lord Dalhousie encouraged it and opened the pathways for the Europeans to increase mining and exploit mineral resources as much as possible. In some cases many Europeans have their own coalmines.<sup>443</sup> More over the loss of primitive subsistence economy<sup>444</sup> in the wake of the capitalist demand emerged in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century disrupted the traditional bases of the tribes of Jharkhand.

#### **5.4 The question of safeguarding the tribes: The colonial approach**

A further analysis of the situations of aboriginals in the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Division need to be examined from colonial point of view. During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a debate occurred on the issue of safeguard the primitive and backward peoples in

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<sup>438</sup> Susane B.C.Devalle,1992, op.cit.,pp-84-85

<sup>439</sup> ibid,p-85

<sup>440</sup> ibid,p-85

<sup>441</sup> ibid,p-85

<sup>442</sup> Samar Mallick, 'Transformation of Santal Society; Prelude to Jharkhand', 1998, p-131

<sup>443</sup> ibid, p-131

<sup>444</sup> Primitive subsistence economy refers to pre-capitalist economy which was traditionally govern by the Jharkhand tribes, division of labour within traditional society, crop choices with the clan and other fundamental characteristics of the society became ruptured and a new social system emerged where the earlier tradition became modified according to the demand of capitalist society.



certain district not proposed for inclusion and the motive was to ensure correct measures against fraudulent activities against the tribes. It was suggested that the Governor in Council should have the power to intervene in such cases. In a letter no 33 C, Dated 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1919, Patna, H. Mcpherson, Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa wrote to the Secretary J.A. Hubback about the necessity of the immediate intervene of the Governor in Council with a view to safeguard the tribes of Chotanagpur under the reform scheme. Mcpherson himself was concerned and caring about the political rights and arguing about the rights of aboriginal tribes in the legislation and district administration. He pointed out that,

“The general object of the safeguards is to protect the primitive and backward people, who from the main constituents of the population of the tracts concerned, from the application of legislation and administrative action which though suitable to the ordinary district of the province may be altogether unsuitable to these people and may be even dangerous. The great bulk of the aboriginals and semi-aboriginal races of Chotanagpur will have no voice in the selection of the divisional representative in the Legislative Council. Few of them, even under the very low franchise which has been proposed for Chotanagpur, will have a vote, and still fewer will have any appreciation of the value or meaning of a vote. It follows that no minister who can be selected from the elected members of the Council will have any responsibility vis-à-vis the backward races. His responsibility will be to the classes on whose suffrage he depends for his election and these classes have nothing in common with the aboriginal races, which indeed, in the areas where they preponderate, look on the non-aboriginal settlers as interlopers and often regard them with aversion and distrust. Although they have many good qualities, the aboriginals are ignorant, thriftless, and intemperate, and, unless specially protected they fall an easy prey to the Goalas, Sunris, Telis, and other low caste Hindu, who if not prevented by special measures gradually breakdown their special tenures, oust them from their land and reduced them to a state of serfdom”<sup>445</sup>.

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<sup>445</sup> Safeguard for primitive and backward peoples in certain district not proposed for inclusion/Particulars of special purposes for which governor in council should have the power to intervene in transferred subjects for protection of such people, Political Special Section (confidential), file no 20 of 1919/Part IV, Patna, BSA

Regarding the Transferred subjects<sup>446</sup> and the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, Mcpherson believed a strong intervention of the Governor in Council to be necessary in the above mentioned subject in case of any problem. He enunciated that

“what action will be taken on the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, nor at what stage the subject of major industries is likely to be included in the transferred departments, but it is within the backward areas of Bihar and Orissa that the most important development of the major industries-Coal, iron, steel, mica, limestone-are taking place, and his Honour in Council consider it essential that the Governor in Council should reserve full powers of intervention in the complicated questions of labour, forests and agrarian rights, etc. that are likely to arise from the establishment of great industrial works in the midst of these primitive peoples”,<sup>447</sup>.

Mcpherson’s observation not only exposed the colonial aims in respect to the reform schemes which are brought into the midst of the tribal areas but also had specific assumptions towards uncertainties in addressing the problems of the Chotanagpur region. It was clear from the archival sources that there was a severe degree of pressure between the rights and privileges of the tribes (which are inscribed in the demand for separate statehood) with the modernity emerged in colonial time and reinforced in the post colonial times when the state initiated large scale industrial development into the region following the same style of intervention into the areas of ‘eco-savage’<sup>448</sup>.

Now it would be pertinent to reconstruct the ideas of government from the post Independence period where the first sign of land alienation was started from the very beginning of first five year plan which certainly alienated more than fifty thousand Scheduled tribe families and ten thousand scheduled caste families in order to make inroads for industrial setup of various

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<sup>446</sup> Transferred Subjects are those subjects which are controlled by the council ministers. These are Local Self Governments, Education, Public Health, Forests, and Fisheries. The system ended with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1935.

<sup>447</sup> *ibid*

<sup>448</sup> Here eco-savage refers to the Jharkhand tribes who were ecologically, economically suffered in both the era

projects.<sup>449</sup> As a result of these huge penetrations of large and tiny industries into the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana the impact also raises with the urbanization process. It is a fact that in 1901 the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana belt which are consisted of only thirteen towns gradually increased into 34 in 1951 and 96 in 1971, the urban population also increased simultaneously, reports revealed that the urban population in Jharkhand has increased from 13 lakh in 1961 to 23 lakhs in 1971.<sup>450</sup> As early as 1840s when the Coal and Mica industries have set up their units, the influx of outsiders began to dominate the region and the tribes were completely dispossessed from their own land and that insist a separation from the land. In this case a central issue would seem to an exclusion of its occupants and resources, even no policies does not meet tribal demand, in this conjuncture the tribal migration began to place within the jungle tarai as well as near urban cities as waged labour.

### **5.5 Tribal Displacements, Ecological crisis and Human Rights in Jharkhand**

One of the important expressions of capitalism is ‘self expansion through the appropriation of surplus value’<sup>451</sup> and the immediate effect was ‘the complexities of nature and its innumerable inter linkages are broken down, reconstituted and then reified into or treated as capitalist commodities or as units of capital, nature became recast and compressed through technology’<sup>452</sup> Therefore the inflow of the capital through ages and of development activities in Jharkhand the rapid change in the tribal setup has been brought up by ousted them from their traditional rights encouraged the policy makers in both colonial and post colonial time that the aim of the policies for industrialization was to secure as much as revenues by controlling its resources. It came to be talked about widely by the Jharkhandi protagonists that this situation had a great role in aggravating tribal anger and rebellion. It was estimated that in Jharkhand alone, more than 300,000 people have been displaced under the development projects; ecological devastation has completely ruined the symbiotic relations or the food chain<sup>453</sup>. According to official reports the

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<sup>449</sup> Arunabha Ghosh,1998, ‘Jharkhand Movement, A study in the politics of Regionalism’, pp-100-101, original source, P.KDutta, ‘Politics of Region and Religion in India’, 1991, p-123

<sup>450</sup> *ibid*, p-127

<sup>451</sup> Rohan D’Souza, 2003, ‘Environmental Discourses and Environmental Politics’ in ‘The Value of Nature, Ecological politics in India’ (Edt) Smita Kothari, Imtiaz Ahmad and Helmut Reifeld, p-26

<sup>452</sup> *ibid*,p-26

<sup>453</sup> S.Bosu Mullick,2007, ‘State Forest Policy and Adivasi Selfrule in Jharkhand’ in Dr. Chittaranjan Kumar Paty (edt) Forest, Government and Tribe pp-22-23,

per capita availability of food grains in Jharkhand is 230 gm/day against a requirement of 480 gm/day, we can simply assumed how inadequate it was. Similarly more than 10.46% of the households in Jharkhand have seasonal food insecurity. Around 2.5% of the household regularly faced chronic food shortages, more over it was strange enough to know that for a period of 4-5 months more than 28% have insufficient food and factually 6% have no food half of the year<sup>454</sup>. Thus ‘The Qualitative transformation’<sup>455</sup> of the nature for the sake of urban need has a devastating impact on the nature as well as on the lives of its dependent. This has produced habitual change. A steady shift occurred from one space to a material social place<sup>456</sup>. Scholars argued ‘Habitation describes a way of being in place, a way of being which itself defines and transformed place. It is so powerful because the coercive powers of colonialism and globalization have ultimately no answer to it. Whether affected by imperial discourses or by global culture, the local subject has a capacity to incorporate such influences into a sense of place’<sup>457</sup> but in post colonial time the movement for separate statehood became one of the resistance born from the dominant assumption that the traditional space began to shift.

Ecological scarcity, economic and political stressess compelled the tribes to become obsessed and articulated in a series of armed conflict against the state agencies. The situation emerged over a period of time and it was accentuated to a higher degree during the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war time when the British had decided to take over village forests land from the custodianship of the Zamindars by enforcing The Bihar Private Forest Act of 1946. Through this act all the forests became vested in Government and were constituted as Protected Forests<sup>458</sup>. In connection with that act, the Bihar Land Reform Act of 1950 was also enacted. Under British rule, particularly at the time of Permanent Settlement the introduction of Sale and Rent Law of 1859 causes huge drain of land to the new classes of land owner, they were later known as the Zamindars. In many areas of Jharkhand in both the period of colonial and post colonial time the fertile land has been transferred to the non tribals. Scholars have argued that the alienation from lands were somehow represents as exploitative to the tribal rights. Though the transfer of tribal land to the hands of

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<sup>454</sup> *ibid*, pp-22-23

<sup>455</sup> The term qualitative transformation has been used to clarify the transformation of the regional nature as required by the modern demand

<sup>456</sup> The transformation from a space to a place denotes a change in the condition of one’s life, see detail in ‘Post Colonial Transformation’ 2002, by Bill Ashcwft, p-15

<sup>457</sup> *ibid*,p-15

<sup>458</sup> Mullick,2007,op.cit., pp-22-23

non tribals had been stopped long years back in 1908 when the government introduced Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNTA) and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPTA) in 1949<sup>459</sup>. The other acts like Scheduled Area Regulations in 1969 (SAR), The Coal Bearing Areas Act, 1957 and the SC and ST Prevention of Atrocities act 1989 give adivasis ‘an executive protection from individual resource alienation’<sup>460</sup>. These succeeding acts not only ensure tribal rights over their lands but also guarantee the customary rights of the tribes<sup>461</sup>. Despite of different regulations and acts, lease and transfer of *khuntkatti* lands<sup>462</sup> to the contractors continues to take place and later the entire area opened up for the outside investors for their investments. It brings huge displacements of tribal families from their homeland. The scenario became worse in the post independence period, when many gigantic industries have come over there and set up large scale industries. The intention was to acquire more land instead of what they actually need for setting up industries. With the setting up of Tata iron and steel company at Jamshedpur right about the time which took away 3,564 acres of tribal land for their purpose. Other industries too like Hindusthan Copper Mines and National Coal Development Corporation Followed soon. To facilitate ‘*development*’ through industrialization section 49 was added later to the CNTA in 1947<sup>463</sup> which added more pain to the lives of the adivasis.

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<sup>459</sup> Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNTA) and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (SNTA) provided the legal framework of the land system in Chotanagpur and Santal pargana, these colonial acts for the first time ensures the non-transferability of lands to the outsiders.

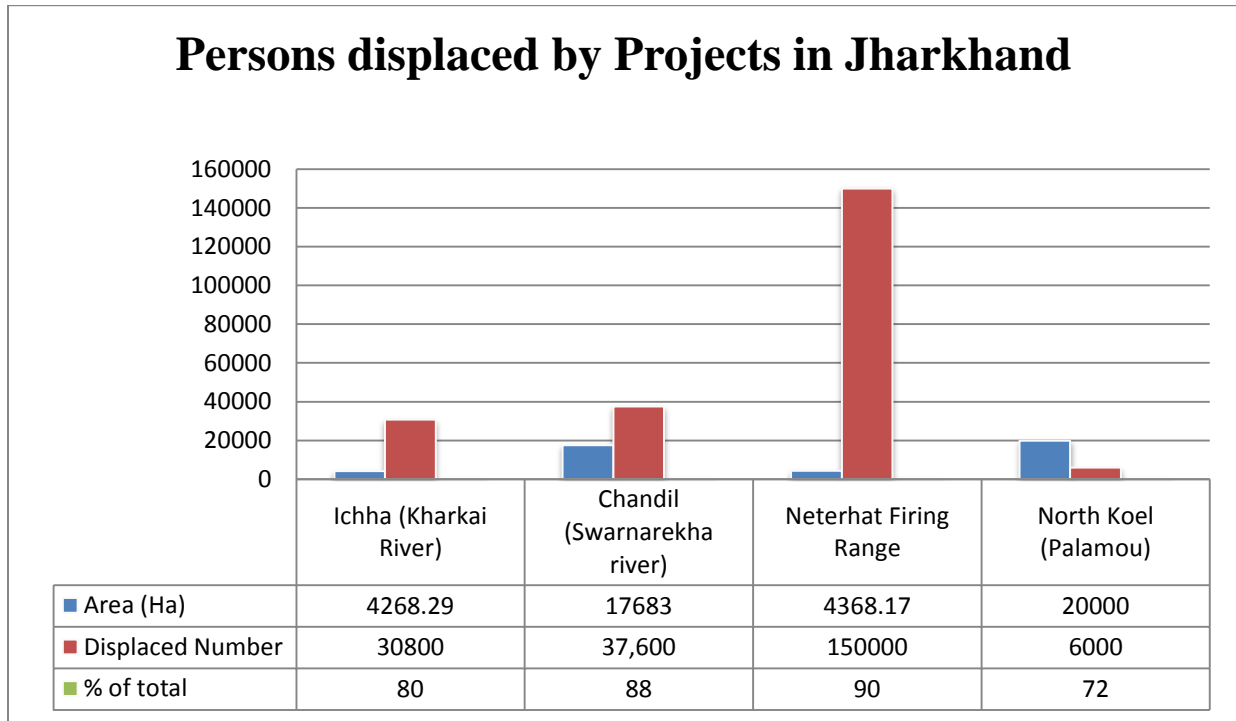
<sup>460</sup> Ramesh Sharan, 2005 ‘Alienation and Restoration of Tribal land in Jharkhand, current issues and possible strategies’, EPW, XL,(41),pp-4443-46,

<sup>461</sup> *ibid*

<sup>462</sup> Khuntkatti lands are those lands traditionally belongs to the tribes, it cannot be transferred or lease to anybody, these lands were maintained by the Manki or the village

<sup>463</sup> Victor Das, 1991, ‘Forests and Tribals of Jharkhand’, EPW, XXVII (10-11), pp-275-277

**Table-5.12**



Source : Vikasman, (undated) Bulletin no-2, Tribal Resource Research and Training Centre, Ranchi, Quoted in Amar Kumar Singh's "Jharkhand Katha –A Tale of Swadeshi Colonisation" in Jharkhand Matters: Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development," Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Social Development (India), 2004, pp-36

Independent India adopted five year plans which would actually open up more area for more industries and urban expansion. These industrial sectors needed power supply to run all their industrial units, to fulfill the necessity the need of construction of big Hydraulic Power Projects under Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) and Thermal Power Projects in different areas are materialized. These huge projects are swallowed thousands of acres of land without systematic and appropriate compensation to the land owner. The most devastating one is the Koel Karo River Valley Project. The Project was first conceptualized in the year 1955 by the Bihar State Electricity Board (BSEB). The estimated displacements were widely contested, it is estimated that around 256 villages and more than 1, 50,000 people would be displaced<sup>464</sup> however due to large scale agitation; it was abandoned on 21<sup>st</sup> July in 2010. In 1955-56 another river valley project had been launched on the banks of the river Mayurakshi. It flows through Jharkhand and

<sup>464</sup> Rohan D. Mathews, 2011, 'The Koel Karo Peoples Movement in Eastern India', DPH Published Articles, (<http://base.d-p-h.info/en/fiches/dph/fiche-dph-8885.html>), accessed on 15.07.2013, unpagged

then through the district of Birbhum, West Bengal. For this project approximately 144 villages have been submerged in Dumka district. Surprisingly due to the project local agriculture has been ruined and the farmers of the region declined from 3.95 million to 2.76 million. This project had a devastating impact on ecology. It was seen that after some years as the canal of the dam is silting and unable to carry sufficient water force the remaining agricultural lands were also abandoned and the local tribes were forced to migrate to other region as stone crusher. The social and economic impact of such projects are huge as they forced to leave their burial places; Jahir Than, and other holy places due to submergence of land and it also responsible for disappearance of several customary practices such as gifting land to daughter or sister etc<sup>465</sup>. Hence, the land and forest became the priority sectors of the Government and in regard to that various programmes have been adopted which certainly led to the exclusion of the forest base people in Jharkhand. In other words 'It had adverse impacts not only on the natural world but also operated as a form of enclosure in the manner it ended innumerable types of types of customary rights and scales of access of local communities, i, e., the traditional pattern of resource use'<sup>466</sup> In 1966 a movement titled 'Hul Jharkhand' was started in Dumka district aimed at releasing lands from the Mahajans and also forcible harvesting<sup>467</sup>. Later this kind of movement became popularized and in this way the agriculture or the cultivation became a part of Jharkhand political movement. Recently World Wide Fund for Nature(WWF) supports the indigenous peoples rights over their own land and forests which were historically, traditionally owned by the aboriginals, 'the land territories and resources that they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used'<sup>468</sup>.

In the Jharkhand state mining is a major activity and was carried out since long time, which grabbed thousands of acres of land without systematic compensation to the tribes, moreover the national census recorded that only 6.7% of the tribal population including *sadans* was involved in mining or manufacturing industries<sup>469</sup>. The forest conservation act failed to ensure such type of

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<sup>465</sup> Amit Mitra and Nitya Rao, 'Displacing Gender from Displacement, A view from the Santal Parganas, Jharkhand' [http://www.uea.ac.uk/polopoly\\_fs/1.146473!nitya\\_Lyla\\_Mehta\\_Ch-02\[1\].pdf](http://www.uea.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.146473!nitya_Lyla_Mehta_Ch-02[1].pdf) retrieved 16.05.2015, pp-44-45

<sup>466</sup> Rohan D'Souza op.cit, p-27

<sup>467</sup> Amit Mitra, et.al, ibid

<sup>468</sup> WWF International, 2008, Indigenous Peoples and Conservation: WWF Statement of Principles. WWF International, Gland, Switzerland, p-2, quoted in 'The policies of Rights-based approaches in Conservation' Prakash Kashwan, Elsavier, Land Use Policy, 2013, pp-613-626

<sup>469</sup> David Stuligross, 2008, 'Resources, Representation and Authority in Jharkhand, India' Asia Pacific View Point, 49 (1) pp-83-97

land use and in parallel thousands of displaced tribal families had to migrate to the other regions because of the absence of the customary rights<sup>470</sup>. The issue of displacement was one of the major factors affecting the tribal rights in Jharkhand; an estimated statistics can be drawn here for better understanding of the fact. It is estimated that more than 1,546,000 acres of land has been acquired for various development projects in between 1951 to 1995 which resulted displacements at least 1,503,017 persons of which 41 percent are tribals<sup>471</sup>. They displaced from home and hearth which had a devastating impact on the livelihood of the tribal population in Jharkhand, lack of compensation and proper rehabilitation was so acute that the tribes had to flee to the other adjacent region for livelihood.

Since national forest policy of 1894 to 1995 the local forest people were controlled by the state and central government. More over they had given easy access to the private contractors and businessman to collect forest timber and other materials, Government forest officers also enforce restrictions of the tribes to the forests. Mathew Areparampil in his essay 'Forest Andolon in Singbhum, 1992' reports that around 5,160 cases were pending in courts against 14,000 adivasis for violations of the forest acts between 1978 and 1985, which constituted more than 11% of the total populations in Singbhum. He showed that around 1562 cases were pending before the court on forest related issues<sup>472</sup>. Therefore it is a fact that every time when forest laws on the tribal rights are imposed, they reacted against it. However the truth is that the tribal people of Jharkhand have lost their forests rights due to different forest policies. One of the acute problems was regarding access to minor forest produce. It was known to everyone that most of the tribal communities used *Minor Forest Products* (MFP) (other than timber) for their livelihood, which has a substantial bearing on tribal economy. Reports have revealed that in comparison with other states the tribes of undivided Bihar have much more dependency on the MFP.

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<sup>470</sup> Kashwan, 2013, 'The politics of right based approaches in conservation' Elsevier, 'Land use policy' (31) pp-613-626

<sup>471</sup> Alexius Ekka & Mohammad Asif, 2000, 'Development induced displacement and rehabilitation in Jharkhand, 1951-1995, A database on its extent and nature' New Delhi, Indian Social Institute, p-134, Quoted in 'Case Study, Tribal Rights in Jharkhand', Amit Prakash, 2007, p-42, Publisher, Asia Pacific Gender Mainstreaming Programme (AGMP) UNDP, (<http://regionalcentrebangkok.undp.or.th>)

<sup>472</sup> Mathew Areparampil, 1992, 'Forest Andolon in Singbhum' in S.Narayanan (ed), Jharkhand Movement : Origin and Evolution, pp-178-179, for details please see in Chap-4



**Table-5.13**

**Income realized through sale of minor forest products:**

State	Income acquiring from sale of MFP (% of total income)
Andhra Pradesh	10-55%
Orissa	5.4-13%
Bihar	7.4-40% (including Jharkhand)
Madhya Pradesh	13.6-38%

Source: The State of Forest Report, Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India, Forest Survey of India – 1987 p-53

Despite the facts and figures of forests rights curtailed during both colonial and post colonial India some measures and programmes have also initiated in national level to safeguards the common people. Among them Joint Forest Management (JFM) or Joint Resource Management System was foremost important because of the tribal participation in the act. These models were directed on the very concept ‘to avoid conflicts over resources by encouraging the funding of individually oriented income and employment generating schemes in village where community resource management is unlikely to succeed’<sup>473</sup>. The joint Forest Management was framed on the basis of system adopted by the Bihar Government in 1990s but in Jharkhand it was extended from degraded forest types to all type of forests in 2001<sup>474</sup>. The aims of the projects in many areas were not succeeded because in most cases the participatory families are coming from very wealthy families. On the other hand poorer villagers followed a distance. It is in reality many of the JFM committees were dominated by the elites and in turn reduced the opportunities of the poorer tribal families<sup>475</sup>. However the JFM represents an important step towards unprotected tribes though various anomalies on the part of management certainly reflect a negative gesture towards tribal participation. The conflicts of management and control became prominent and gave birth to another crisis supplemented to the past grievances.

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<sup>473</sup> Sarah Jewitt, 2002,2008, ‘Political ecology of Jharkhand Conflicts’ Asia Pacific View Point, 49 (1), April, pp-68-82

<sup>474</sup> ibid

<sup>475</sup> ibid

On the other hand immense pressure from outside in the long term process not only created a new vision of production pattern and agrarian distress but also brings partisan behavior by accommodating institutional governance and sub-systems<sup>476</sup>. Therefore land and territorial rights became always a part of contested domains on which tribes lost their explicit rights to the hands of the outsiders. The most worrisome aspects was that the introduction of *money economy* which is unknown to the tribes and they have no option but to accept the dependence on the commercial production in place of their traditional food production. They were socially and culturally isolated from their traditional system of agriculture. Those who used to harvest paddy in their field is now using their land for harvesting mostly maize apart from paddy. The traditional system is uprooted and the money economy was taking place very rapidly. The imposition of money economy in place of regional traditional economy partly benefited the local tribes but also it has a severe result of distraction from their bondage of traditional practices. The simmering discontent on the issue of landlessness and the growing industrial activities, joblessness became one of the core issues in Jharkhand movement. Report of the Committee on Jharkhand Matters clearly noted that all the industrial activities should be weighted in favour of the local people and this must be carried out through ecological sustainability as because the term ‘Jharkhand’ is evocative of ecology. It has also provided some critical observation that no policies had been taken up in comply with the ground realities<sup>477</sup>.

During the first five year plans, especially the first four five year plan the tribes of Jharkhand took nothing from the development programmes and leading to a widening of the gaps between state and the tribes. In the beginning of the 1990s the adivasi members of parliament brought the attention of the government on the issues related to the deprived people of Jharkhand, under the leadership of Sri Dilip Singh Bhuriua, the central government has formed a special commission to investigate the situation and recommendations concerning the self-development of adivasi people<sup>478</sup> and in 1996 the PESA Act (Panchayat, Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act) was enacted. PESA aimed at ‘facilitating participatory democracy in tribal areas by empowering the

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<sup>476</sup> Akhileshwar Pathak, 1994, op.cit., pp-36-37

<sup>477</sup> RCJM, op.cit., p-42

<sup>478</sup> Bineet Mundu, 2002, ‘Challenges to the Traditional Customary Rights of the adivasis : The Jharkhand Experience’, Paper submitted at Indigenous Rights in the Commonwealth Project’, South and South East Asia Regional Expert Meeting, ICITP, New Delhi, 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> March, unpagged

Gram Sabha to manage and control its own resources<sup>479</sup> but in ground level conditions many fractions within tribal society emerged regarding elections for the Panchayat. Later in 2001 the State Government has passed a Panchayat Raj Act but it has also taken out even the rights over Minor Forest Products from the jurisdiction of Gram Sabha<sup>480</sup>. It does not at all accepted by the tribes and therefore violated in the course of the time.

## 5.6 Labour, Market, Employment and the North-South Dichotomy

The rising impact of the global economy infested the rural backbone of Jharkhand on various modes, articulated through the policies adopted by the states. The basic change in the nature of economy can be illustrated as ‘non-capitalist mode of production with the capitalist mode’<sup>481</sup> and virtually the access to labour which was belong to *sardari* system of recruitment has been fully utilized for industrial sectors, it was like ‘gang system’, inclusive of families, childrens, women and elders. They can be utilized with minimum wages not more than adult male<sup>482</sup>. In these certain conditions where the most of the labour worked in the mines were adivasi and after the nationalization of mines most of the illegal private mines were run by the labour from the adivasi community.<sup>483</sup>

The uninterrupted process of displacements and suffers from gradual hunger the tribes vehemently oppose the process in their own way, in 1980 JMM started campaigning for restoration of traditional agriculture and the practice of traditional culture as a symbolic protest against commercialization. It was also observed by the RCJM that the industrial development cannot provide employment to the tribes because ‘the solution lies more in decentralized vocations and occupations like small cottage industries, agriculture etc’,<sup>484</sup> thus the demand for autonomy was come from the gradual loss of property as well as the roar from the victims of the development projects.

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<sup>479</sup> Amit Prakash, 2007, op.cit, pp-45

<sup>480</sup> S.Bosu Mullick,2007, op.cit., pp-22-23

<sup>481</sup> Devalle, 1992, op.cit, p-94, Devalle pointed out that the Traditional mode of production has gone under the newly semi capital form of production, it was neither fully capital nor traditional, what was happen was that they have been restructured for the benefit of capitalist.

<sup>482</sup> ibid, op.cit., p-96

<sup>483</sup> ibid, p-97

<sup>484</sup> RCJM, op.cit, p-42

One of the important aspects of the Jharkhand movement was the economic suppression by the North Bihar. The Jharkhand movement got momentum in this direction because people of Jharkhand believed that the reason of their impoverishment was due to looting of resources by North Bihar. The Jharkhandi protagonists believed that people from North Bihar got all the benefits from the industrialization. Most of the Jharkhandi Protagonists, writers, have called this situation as 'Internal Colonization'. To understand the menace of internal colonialism and its relation with the demand of Jharkhand separate state one had to go deeper into it. The Internal Colonialism has various significance and was described by the Committee on Jharkhand Matters in 1990. This was developed categorically as synonym to British Colonialism. The British have gone after the independence but again the same conflict over resources continued. The Report of Committee of Jharkhand Matters put these situations as a malaise of Jharkhand, The report furnished that the Jharkhand Region has contributed 70% of the total revenue of the state but in return the Jharkhand area did not get much out of it. Out of the total agricultural production of Rs. 1165.92 crores of the 39 districts of the state the value of the production of the 12 districts of the North and South Chotnagpur and Santal Pargana district were 172.59 crores.<sup>485</sup> While the total gross irrigated areas of 39 districts are 23.7 lakh hectares on the other hand the 12 districts comprises the North and South Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Div. estimated have 1.94 lakh hectares or 12.1 percent<sup>486</sup>. The consumption of the electricity was also much greater than the rest of the Bihar, but the rural peoples of Jharkhand do not have much scope, the 'Diku' simply enjoying the facilities<sup>487</sup>.

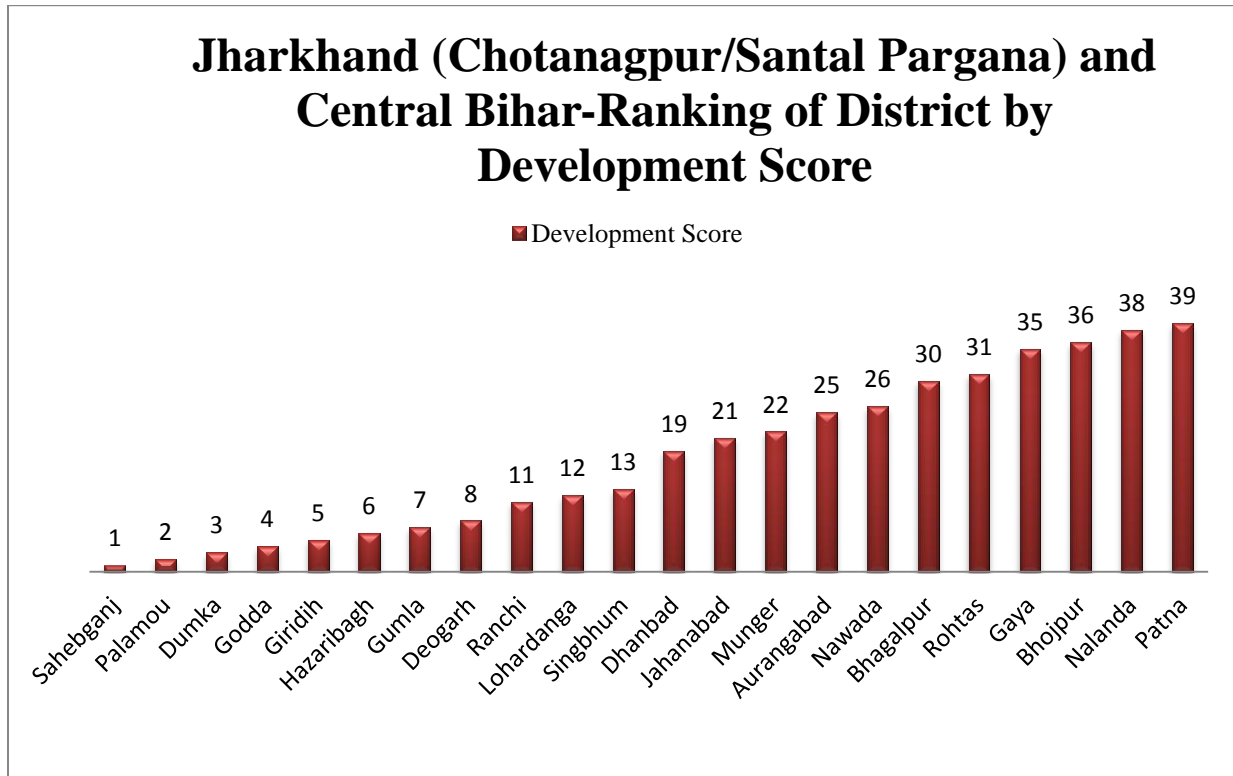
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<sup>485</sup> Government of Bihar's Data for selection of districts under the special socio-economic development programme, quoted in Report of Committee of Jharkhand Matters, 1990, p-21

<sup>486</sup> Governments of Bihar's Data for selection of districts under the special Socio-Economic Development Programme and Communication of Regional Development Commissioner, Quoted in Report of Committee of Jharkhand Matters, 1990, p-21

<sup>487</sup> *ibid*

**Table-5.14**



**Source :** A.K.Singh, (1990), Committee on Jharkhand Matters, A critique, Ranchi, Jharkhand Co-Ordination Committee, Quoted in Jharkhander Katha, A Tale of Swadeshi Colonisation, Amar Kumar Singh, pp-34 in Jharkhand Matters : Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development, Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Social Development (India), 2004,

The nature and extent of Internal Colonialism has been for a long time debated within the framework of Jharkhand Political Movement. Apart from the intimidation towards tribes, that took place predominantly within the fragmented Jharkhandi society another theory based on caste hierarchy can be drawn. Higher castes controlled the agriculture production.<sup>488</sup> However there was a series of propaganda instigated and articulated against the North Biharees for the betrayal and show affliction towards adivasi space. That is how the legacies of the Jharkhand Movement lie in so complexities that one could easily melt in sweat. The deprivation in the sectors mainly in employment, agriculture, literacy, health service, irrigation and many other sectors have coupled with the demand of separate Jharkhand State. It can't be overruled that a

<sup>488</sup> A.K.Roy, Jharkhand Internal Colonialism, pp-81 in ' The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples Struggle for Autonomy in India' (ed) R.D.Munda, S.Basu Mullick, 2003

severe imbalance occurred in each and every sphere of development sectors in comparison with the North Bihar. Even the production of the minerals and their values in respect to the share of the both the state, Jharkhand placed almost in the top in India. Workers who were employed in all the industrial sectors have come from North Bihar but the original settlers were deprived<sup>489</sup>. This sort of discrimination ultimately gave birth to a more complex situation where the right based politics exhibited within the core politics which led to the separation movement.

**Table -5.15 Consumption of Electricity:**

Region	Per Capita Consumption of Electricity (1972-73) (KWH)	Villages Electrified till March 31, 1973 (Percent)
Jharkhand	204.4	5.0
Rest of Bihar	19.5	20.1
All India	96.3	27.3*

\*Till March 31, 1974

Source: Bihar State Electricity Board, Quoted in Nirmal Sengupta, 'Class and Tribe in Jharkhand' EPW, Special Article, April 5, 1980, p-66

Note : The average per capita consumption of Bihar before bifurcation was 152 units but after the creation of Jharkhand it was fall drastically and now come down to about 76 units in residual Bihar. (Bihar Electricity Regulatory Commission, Patna)

<sup>489</sup> However the internal colonialism thesis had been criticized on the basis of available field based data series, these records revealed that a significant percentage of workers contributed to the industrial sectors actually originating from South Bihar, for detail pls see Stuart Corbridge, 'The Ideology of Tribal Economy and Society : Politics in the Jharkhand, 1950-1980, Modern Asian Studies, 22, 1 (1988) pp-1-42

**Table 5.16****Minerals of Jharkhand & Bihar during 1970s and their share**

Minerals	Value (All India)	% to Total	Share of Production	
			Jharkhand	Bihar
Copper	374.8	0.77	100	Nil
Kyanite	261.1	0.54	85	Nil
Quartzite	16	0.03	60.5	5.3
Mica	201.4	0.41	58.5	Neg
Asbestos	21.4	0.04	53	Nil
Apatite	9.8	0.02	48.6	Nil
Coal (C3)	29292.7	54.27	44.5	Nil
Sand	10.4	0.02	37.3	Nil
Fire Clay	44.8	0.09	33	Neg
Chaina Clay	84.1	0.17	28.7	Nil
Bauxite	174.6	0.36	32.4	Nil
Iron Ore	3680.1	7.59	22.4	Nil
Limestone	2302.3	4.75	3.7	7.5
Manganese Ore	771.9	1.59	0.6	Nil
Pyrite	56.3	0.12	Nil	100
Other Minerals	12733.9	26.28	4.37	Nil
Total	50035.6	97.05	27.77	0.47

Source : Indian Minerals Year Book 1970 Quoted in Das 1992 (Jharkhand Castle Over the Graves) P-158, see also Jharkhand Katha- A tale of Swadeshi Colonisation, Amar Kumar Singh, P-32, see also Class & Tribe of Jharkhand , Nirmal Sengupta, EPW, Special issue 5<sup>th</sup> April 1980, p-665

This economic deprivation either came from the state or by the North Bihar forms the basis of Jharkhand Movement. Later it was articulated and reinforced in the form of political movement, the retention of identity and the fight for land in the face of onslaught was one of the main ideological recourses that has established the power to bring back tradition as the ‘alternative’ The later foundation of the Jharkhand Movement on the plea to redress of the perils of the society, various political organizations entrusted the work to assembling the people of Jharkhand

on a traditional essence, to get back into the golden age. It was the power that acquired through traditional customs, religions, and self esteem.

## 5.7 Conclusion

In today's globalizing world we cannot overlook the demand of tribal people not because they were marginalized but because in common, developments tend to displaced tribes more than others. Moreover it was clear from the analysis of the foregoing paragraph that the development in Jharkhand in real terms virtually eradicated tribal communitarian system which to a great extent leads to exodus of tribal communities from their traditional society. In addition, what was stringent to note that without proper knowledges of the geographical variabilities, industrialization carried out vigorously under various unregulated laws. These laws were enacted by the state under the very concept that these are 'not sensitive to the cost that the indigenous have to pay for the development of mines'<sup>490</sup> In the case of Jharkhand, industrial development and its impact on a whole curtailed tribal communitarian system and socially they became backwards because they always stay outside of the proper advantage out of the so-called industrialization.

As a part of development processes large scale destructions of forests and grazing ground caused the severe impact on '*primitive economy*' which simultaneously marginalized the people forever. Shifting cultivation was also discouraged without showing the alternative path<sup>491</sup>. Indeed there was a growing realization that the urbanization in tribal area sometimes caused identity crisis, job deprivation, and hunger. Therefore policies towards Jharkhand needs proper understanding of tribal communal system and careful attention must be taken in account that the developments are for the benefit of the tribes. Otherwise Jharkhand "A well endowed state with a scope of immense development is enveloped in wide scale poverty and unemployment"<sup>492</sup>.

Besides huge industrial development Jharkhand has the lowest literacy rates in India, around 54.13% is certainly may be labeled as the most backward state in India. Reports says more than 99% of the tribal household suffers from chronic hunger, and in reality more than 50% of the

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<sup>490</sup> Ajitha Susan George, 2005, 'Laws Related to the Mining in Jharkhand', EPW, XL (41), pp-4458

<sup>491</sup> Nirmal Sengupta, 1988, 'Reappraising Tribal Movements : III: The Economic Basis', EPW, 23(21): pp-1054-55

<sup>492</sup> PAIRVI, ([www.pairvi.org/pdf/reserach/status%20of%20human%20rights%20in%20jharkhand.pdf](http://www.pairvi.org/pdf/reserach/status%20of%20human%20rights%20in%20jharkhand.pdf)) accessed on 16.04.2013



children die before their first birthday. Besides these social enigmas the current political activism ultimately gave birth of Maphiadom and this was happen through lumpenisation of economy. Apart from this, one of the important assessments that have to be done before initiated industrial capital was to gathered a fair knowledge of the geographical posibilites that could help to promote policies without alienating the tribal people and a policy that could bring sustainable development by facilitating local tribal communities according to their needs and systems.

The so called development that will come up later in Jharkhand must be adopted without any controversy and in this case pripority should be given to land losers with proper compensation within a stipulated time. Also it may be possible to provide opportunity to the tribals to be a worker in the industrial sectors because everyone has the potential to be a good worker. Moreover whenever the government took land for public purposes, the tribal people must be compensated with alternative lands and this processess needs sympathetic consideration as well because any problem that intrigued with local sentiments must be address with proper care for a better understanding of the future. However apart from several fruitless attempts by the Government, land and forests becoming easy target of the private entrepreneur who never bothered about the lives and culture of the indigenou people.

## *CHAPTER-6*

# **JHARKHAND POLITICS AND THE PROMISE OF EMANCIPATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL AND ECOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE MOVEMENT**

## Chapter 6

### **Jharkhand politics and the promise of emancipation: A critical analysis of political and ecological factors in the movement**

#### **6.1 Introduction:**

**T**he autonomy movement in Jharkhand was started 200 years back before the emergence of Jharkhand State in 2000. The 28<sup>th</sup> state of the India was brought into existence by the Bihar Reorganization Act on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000,<sup>493</sup> the birth anniversary of legendary Birsa Munda. The creation of Jharkhand state has created the need for taking a new look at the region. Since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in Jharkhand, many collective tribal uprisings by the tribal leaders have been organized against the alien ruler. Those movements not only opened up some distinctive features of the tribal communities but also establish the need for looking at the complexities of century old traditional rights of the tribes which were inalienable in terms of tribal law of inheritance. Since the formation of the new state within the jurisdiction of Indian Constitution suddenly got tremendous academic debate on the question of deterioration of the situation of the state in various aspects. Various reports of central governments as well as NGOs revealed about the worst condition of its inhabitants amidst huge success over the demand of separate state.<sup>494</sup> Apparently those reports are prepared from ground level surveys and accordingly criticized the necessity of a new state.

Before get into detail of the regional politics, it is meaningful to note that the demand for separate statehood has been taken into consideration by assembling both tribals and non tribals. Theoretically in several issues, many controversial discourses emerged due to large scale

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\* This part of the thesis has been partially funded by the UGC under Minor Research Project Grants. I would like to than UGC in this regard.

<sup>493</sup> K.S.Singh, 2004, p-139 'Ecology, Ethnicity, Regionalism and State Formation: An Exploration of Jharkhand Movement' in "Jharkhand Matters: Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development, Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Social Development (India)

<sup>494</sup> The present socio-economic situation of Jharkhand has been studied extensively by many organisations. An UNDP programme revealed some unhealthy parameters of Jharkhand State. It was reflected in Amit Praksh 'Case Studies on Tribal Rights in Jharkhand' supported by Asia Pacific Gender Mainstram Programme (AGMP), pls see ([asia-pacific.undp.org/practices/governance/azj/docs/casestudy-06-India-Jharkhand.pdf](http://asia-pacific.undp.org/practices/governance/azj/docs/casestudy-06-India-Jharkhand.pdf)) retrieved on 14.03.2013

inclusion of non-tribals. It was indeed the major issue perpetuated through different time in the course of the movement. However after long 15 years of state formation the *status quo* has not been changed yet in terms of tribal-nontribal dichotomy. Various agenda which were incorporated in the demand of separate statehood like, preservation of language, preservation of tribal system of administration, right to economy, jobs, securities, and right to land and forests were undermined (though there is a govt.vision of tribal upliftment) in these 15 years of existence. Political and other internal problems have not been meted out properly. Besides all those social and economic backwardness it should not be overshadowed the legacies of Jharkhand movement started since the arrival of British into this vast tract. Many tribal uprisings originated from oppression, atrocities by the alien ruler as well as the Zamindars, Money lenders whom they called ‘Diku’ (non-tribal outsiders)<sup>495</sup>. But in the Jharkhand Movement proper, paradoxically it has been a point of chaos that it was shifted quickly on the decisions exclusively taken by the elites and the educated individuals.

Jharkhand Movement in colonial and post colonial India had been originated in two different phases. It was first organized against the Zamindars, Mahazans and British until the early quarters of 1930s and ended before the independence engrossing land and forest as an integral part of tribal life. It was again got refueled after Independence against the state hegemony reflected in anti tribal policies by targeting the Congress Ministry. The problem of Jharkhand however to a great extent intimately related with the colonial and post colonial policies which cost immense complex and intolerance in the region apart from all other menace. In addition the local inhabitants firmly believe that the post colonial state expression was just a mere shift from a class of suzerain powers to another, both are trouble maker<sup>496</sup>. We have seen in our earlier chapters that the escalating discontent in Jharkhand was emerged from the alienation of traditional culture and other parameters. However politics has a great influence over tribal mobilization through different time and spaces, created a platform where they can share their

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<sup>495</sup> The term ‘Diku’ has been used in Jharkhand Movement to denote outsider exploiter but there were also a section of people who migrated from adjacent areas such as artisans, industrial workers whom the tribes called sahia/mitan which means friend, they are not harmful, pls see details in ‘The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples Struggle for Autonomy in India (ed) Sanjay Basu Mallick, R.D.Munda, IWGIA, Document No -108, Copenhagen, 2003,

<sup>496</sup> It has been stated by different Jharkhandi Protagonists in their writings that the problem of Jharkhand remained within the domain of State Govt as well as the central govt and their consecutive policies, they still aware of the fact that maximum policies enacted so far was not tribal friendly.

demands, produced a secure path to reach the final destination leading to a separate state. But unfortunately since the first general election in 1952<sup>497</sup> when the Jharkhand Party contested and won 32 seats the electoral politics came as the most decisive factor in the Jharkhand Movement.

In this juncture the question and relevance of political parties and leaders are important. Their views and duties towards the aboriginals were epitomized as an uttered summons and directives that enabled them to fight back against the oppressors. In many occasions particularly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the nature of historical events (in political terms) had received dramatic changes due to the cumulative failure in the leadership appraisal<sup>498</sup>. It was true that leaders' participation and strategic articulation sometimes fosters people's zeal of getting into the demand they sought. The character of any regional movement and its steadiness definitely depends upon its leaders who in the course of the movement became an iconic figure and being remembered for a long time despite of success or failure. However in the case of Jharkhand Movement, the beginning of the first quarter of Independence brought an organized intellectual idea within the periphery of democratic politics. Some of the leaders were also come up and holds their participation and systematized the course and rationalized the whole movement by political understandings. These discourses produced by intellectuals in tribal and non tribal leaderships of both regional level and in national level.

## **6.2 The emergence of politics in the realm of separate Jharkhand**

The political development in Jharkhand was started to give an alternative platform exclusively to the tribal people against state hegemony which were tended to meet regions wealth by implementing policies. On paper these policies were prepared for the wellbeing of the region's inhabitants but on ground these policies imported alien rule in the region. Those policies dispassionately deprived substantial section of tribes and their customs. These excluded section were known as the '*ecological refugees*'<sup>499</sup>. They seldom have faced such time when they have

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<sup>497</sup> In 1952 in the first General Election Jharkhand Party has contested in 53 assembly seats and won 32 seats. See details in Election Commission of India (1952) for further study pls see K.S.Singh op.cit, p-134

<sup>498</sup> It was assumed that in the course of the movement the participant political groups transformed because of the internal problem particularly in the tribal, non-tribal controversy.

<sup>499</sup> S.Basu Mallick,2007 'State Forest Policy and Adivasi Self-rule in Jharkhand' pp-20-23 in C.K.Paty (ed) 'Forest, Government and Tribe, Concept Publishing, New Delhi, The term 'ecological refugees' has been used by Mallick.

to leave their forefathers places and to migrate to other region for alternative subsistence. The state, on the other hand had to table tribal friendly policies to meet the grievances of the tribes of Jharkhand under the constitutional amendments with expediency. However the rapidity of the growing discontent over issues directly related with '*Jal Jungle and Zamin*'<sup>500</sup> flooded through different phases of armed struggle in the Jharkhand Movement against the common enemy '*The Diku*' (Both the British and the outsiders, DIKU particularly those who are non-tribal) and in turn the state reaction to the problem was manipulated by trying to please with insincere praise or servile attentions that fleer the tribal mind into dejected state of affairs.

This could be elaborated with some critical analysis of the politics of Jharkhand. It was well known that the pressure on tribal egalitarian system (communitarian) was started with the expansion policies adopted during the colonial state formation and soon the penetration of the non-tribals into the region added more dissatisfaction to the process.<sup>501</sup> The emergence of new class and land tenures brings catastrophic changes into the regional economy by altering traditional systems. The changes in socio-economic structure added new dimensions through ethnic conflicts and many others which demoralized the tribes. Scholars have argued that certainly the movement lies on some basic issues like; land alienation, forests rights, protection of language and culture. But in the course of the movement particularly after independence, more specifically after the merger of the Jharkhand Party with the then Congress in 1963 which was not merely a major setback for the Jharkhand Movement but also questioned the authenticity and reliability of the leaders.<sup>502</sup>

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Here in this thesis it has been cited deliberately to show the displacement occurred due to large scale industrial development and different policies that encroaches tribal lands and curtailed tribal rights from their Khuntkatti lands. Various development projects undertaken since 1950 revealed such numerous land alienation figures. In his article '*Fate of Commons, Commoners and Displaced : Why do people resist displacements*' in '*Governance of Commons, and Livelihood Security*' (ed) Himadri Sinha and Anant Kumar, Xaviar Institute of Social Science, 2013, Stan Swamy recorded that in between 1951-95 govt. has acquired 32,91,000 hectares of lands. Lands acquired for development projects were 6,256,109sq.km. Forest area declared 23,417,082 sq.km and illegally acquired near about 3,238,000 sq.km area and subsequently land only available in entire Jharkhand area is 46,802 sq.km.

<sup>500</sup> P.Paurlji, 1996, '*No nature apart: Adivasi Cosmovation and ecological discourses in Jharkhand India*', Paper presented during the '*second conference on the reconstruction of Jharkhand*' Cambridge, UK, quoted in S.Jewitt, '*Political ecology of Jharkhand conflict*' Asia Pacific Viewpoint, vol-49,no,1 April 2008, pp-68-82, the term has been used to relate Jharkhand Politics as synonym with Jal, Jangle and Jamin.

<sup>501</sup> It was documented that along with the British many non-tribals penetrated in the Jharkhand region as Mahajan, Money lenders etc.

<sup>502</sup> See details in Usha Sharma's '*The Background and Nature of the Congress-Jharkhand Merger (20<sup>th</sup> June 1963)*' published in IHC Proceedings, 59<sup>th</sup> Session 1998, pp-699-704

The Jharkhand Movement was sometime amplified by the protagonist that due to the rise of political consciousness in Jharkhand the state was finally carved out. However since 1920 the promises made by the leaders often ended in failure or have never fulfilled in the course of the movement due to factions and disintegrity. We are aware of the fact that at the early stage, the projection of separate state on the ground of socio-economic freedom was overwhelmingly accepted by the tribes<sup>503</sup>. But later the incorporation of the non-tribals for the Jharkhand cry was substantially became boomerang because it ostensibly diluted the questions of 'Diku' within itself, hitherto growing discontent prevailed over the participation of the non-tribals. It was not a hidden fact that participant leaders mainly those who are Christian and educated were seen as a multiplex omnivorous character who was enough to make a mal off of the whole situation and it was evident in their choices.<sup>504</sup>

However somewhat inconsistently Jharkhand Movement was successful through the regional politics, but cracks and disarrays among the leaders virtually lead the movement into a complex one. It was however true that the emergence of radical politics in the 1950s with the emergence of Jharkhand Party and the emergence of electoral politics under the conscious effort of making inroad to parliamentary politics for succeeding the demand of Jharkhand claim obfuscated the actual demands of the tribes i.e. social and cultural upliftment, the land and forest rights etc. however in its capacity the movement for autonomy and the roll of the leaders should not be exaggerated for the success in achieving 28<sup>th</sup> state of India. Indeed the movement has succeeded in achieving the goal but unfortunately the promise (socio-economic freedom) could not be fulfilled. This was a peculiar situation that Jharkhandi politics have faced in the last 50 years or so and can be embodied as movement of memorandums<sup>505</sup>.

Many authors have argued that the initial attempt of solidarity among the tribes have come from Chotanagpur Improvement Society (Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj) in 1915. It was largely associated with Christian educated persons. Some of the key figures are Joel Lakra, Theble

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<sup>503</sup> K.S.Singh in his article 'Agrarian Issues in Chotanagpur' in 'Tribal Situation in India' (ed) K.S.Singh 1972, has argued that since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century from the Munda uprising, later Tana Bhagat Movement, and Unnati Samaj Movement, all of these movement tended to obscure from agrarian distress. p-375

<sup>504</sup> See in details in the confidential report on the subject ' Adivasi Movement, Attributes of Mr. Jaipal Singh and others' political special section , file number, 270,1947, BSA

<sup>505</sup> Hundreds of memorandums have been submitted in various offices both in the state as well as in centre for the Jharkhand Separate State, pls see in the appendices.

Oraon, Bandiram Oraon who submitted a proposal to the Simon Commission in 1928 seeking special administrative unit as well as some special privileges for the adivasi of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana. It was simply not a political organization but known as welfare organization. However it has helped the tribals to consolidate their demand. In this period some attempts have been taken to revive some old movement and that certainly rejuvenated the entire tribal communities to reconnect with earlier uprisings.<sup>506</sup>

In the entire period from 1915 to 1940, many adivasi movements have been carried out with the immense sympathy of the missionaries who were active in this region to promote education among the tribals. during this period large scale conversions were also done<sup>507</sup>. By the end of the 1940, there were many regional organizations that fought for the sake of separation of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana from Bihar. That era also witnessed the rise of 'Adivasi Mahasabha' under the leadership of Jaipal Singh Munda<sup>508</sup>. Later he was criticized for authoritarianism<sup>509</sup>. In this period of political development many Christian and non-Christian political organizations have separately submitted various memorandums to various offices both in the state level and in the center for separate province on the ground of traditional culture, language and geographical uniqueness.

The evolution leading to the development of political consciousness among its residence, however the major setback for the movement comes from within because of the rise of factions which virtually weakens the movement. The reasons for factions can be listed in following manner, first, the Christian and non-Christian controversy, second, hidden alliance between Mahasabha and Congress and third, the involvement of *Sadans* or non-tribal. All these problems simultaneously weaken the movement in the formative period. From the mid fifties the involvement from both left and right parties enabled the movement to get transformed into democratic politics and bring ideological splits. The Diku-Non-Diku controversy itself got

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<sup>506</sup> W.Ekka & R.K.Sinha, 2000 'Documentation of Jharkhand Movement' (DOJM) pp-1-40, Anthropological Survey of India

<sup>507</sup> Pls see details in the political special files on Foreign Missionary Activities, file number 1815, 1947, BSA

<sup>508</sup> Pls see details in the political special section on the subject 'attributes of Jaipal Singh & others' file no - 270,1947, BSA

<sup>509</sup> He was criticized for being friendly with the Congress Party and being supreme in the selection of Mahasabha Party candidates, for reference pls see Ignes Kujur, 'Jharkhand Betrayed' in S.Basu Mallick and R.D.Munda Edited The Jharkhand Movement : Indegenous Peoples Struggle for the Autonomy in India, IWGIA, 2003, pp-16-30



transformed with the involvement of the *Sadans* and the nature of the demand has changed in a big way, such as the setting up of universities, SC, ST reservation, Jharkhand Planning Commission, Primary schools for different linguistic groups etc.<sup>510</sup> It was true that the rise of Jharkhand Party in the fifties brings some radical process in the movement. A pro Jharkhandi mentality developed with a broad based separation movement and later the process of radicalization reinforced within the rise of Sibhu Soren's Jharkhand Mukti Morch (JMM) Jharkhand Coordination Committee (JCC) and All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU) in the 80s<sup>511</sup>. These political parties also after having some success fragmented over different issues and becoming split-prone and opportunistic while most of this fraction tried to deal with the centre for separate states neglecting the emotional pursuits of the tribes.

The situation continues to threaten the hope of the separate state and further disadvantageous under many reasons in the course of the movement. There had been a remarkable growth of scholars' attention on the issue that during the movement probably after the independence, ethnicity got transformed into regionalism. One can locate a clear shift from 'community' to the 'region'<sup>512</sup> and nationalization of an ethnic regional movement ignoring the basic needs of the ethnic demands. Inevitably local issues subsumed within a greater understanding of parties seeking national attention. The fact can't be overruled that the demand of Jharkhand separate state was undergone different changes within the democratic politics, particularly after the rejection of the demand of separate state by State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) in 1956 on the issue that the proposed area comprising the districts of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana does not have a tribal majority, no common language etc<sup>513</sup>. However the rejection was implemented very cleverly. The members of the SRC considered only Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana which was a part of erstwhile Bihar to show the minority logic, and categorically put aside the entire Jharkhand area which inevitably infested with huge tribal population<sup>514</sup>.

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<sup>510</sup> Sajal Basu, 1994, op.cit., p-43, IAS, Shimla

<sup>511</sup> Pls see details in Ekka & Sinha, 2000, op.cit. pp-1-40

<sup>512</sup> The shift from a community based demand to regional demand not only created complexities within political ideologies of different parties, but also to a great extent subsumed many old demands into larger political understanding.

<sup>513</sup> SRC while visiting the area has rejected the demand because of the less ST population in the proposed Jharkhand, accordingly a major shift towards greater Jharkhand has been taken into consideration to overcome the problem

<sup>514</sup> See detail analysis on the subject in the introductory portion of 'The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples Struggle for the Autonomy in India (ed) R.D.Munda & S.Bosu Mallick, IWGIA, 2003

The above decision of the SRC was criticized later but the problem remains in the centre. Later it was consciously taken by the political leaders as a way to make suitable entry in electoral politics. The rejection of the demand turned out badly for the political parties. First, the movement has lost its indigenous character due to inclusion of non tribals and second the demand of separate state was fall in crisis because of the lack of decision making policies to capitalize the region's economy and to establish its popular base. Scholars have argued that none of the existing parties ever claimed the entire geographical area because only Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana have future in industrial development<sup>515</sup>. In 1977 Janata Dal demanded a statehood as it believed in smaller states. From 1980s the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which is considered by political critiques as the party of Hindu chauvinists and presently the ruling party in the centre has taken its agenda on Vananchal (Woodland) for two reasons. One, it clearly opposed to Jharkhand and adivasi and the other was to promote the non-tribals for greater interests in the region<sup>516</sup>. The new state was emerged in 2000 on 15<sup>th</sup> of November on the day of the birth anniversary of Birsa Munda but unfortunately the present area did not meet the actual demand and it finally succeeded with only 27% tribal's out of the total population. Recently there is slow but steady development of another movement targeting the reallocation of the forested area that has not been added with the main Jharkhand which lies most of the forested belt of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh that were left out<sup>517</sup>.

### **6.3 The Political dilemma in Jharkhand Movement: Contradictions and limitations**

Jharkhand movement was one of the movements in India started with its objective of separate state in the 1930s but having its origin dates back to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century during the Munda revolt against the British penetration in the region. It is one of the oldest movements in India having its root in tribal ethno-regionalism<sup>518</sup>. Many Jharkhandi protagonists have argued that the so called Jharkhand Movement was a continuation of the earlier tribal uprisings started since 1797<sup>519</sup>.

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<sup>515</sup> Such negotiation was one of the important context in the whole Jharkhand demand

<sup>516</sup> R.D.Munda & S.Bosu Mallick,2003,op.cit,

<sup>517</sup> ibid

<sup>518</sup> The term 'Ethno-regionalism' has been used by Stuart Corbridge to denote the region's perspective in the Jharkhand movement

<sup>519</sup> There were difference between scholars regarding the first movement related to Jharkhand Movement, it was believed by a section of Jharkhandi Protagonist that the first ever movement that produced pan-tribal sentiment was the Munda Uprising of Bundu in 1797

There were many other revolts and agitations during the period when Britishers followed the expansion policies. Early colonial administration has been succeeded over these tribal agitators and subjugated them with brutal encounter. Accordingly most of the tribal areas have been captured and forced them to escape to the other adjacent areas. However it was documented that these insurrections were launched to safeguard their traditional rights and preserves their traditional political institutions. It was considered as one of the political movement started by the poor and neglected tribals with aspirations of social, cultural and traditional rights. Jharkhandi protagonists have argued that the movement was taken place because of the long process of humiliation by both colonial and post colonial state functionaries<sup>520</sup>.

### **6.3.1 The ‘political’ roll of the early Christian Missionary Societies in Jharkhand**

Though the movements against the nexus of British, Zamindars, and Mahazans have been carried out exclusively by the tribes, but within a short duration it got its support from a Union of Christian Students founded in 1912 by J.Bartholmen. He was young and enthusiastic and was engaged with Anglican Missionaries of Chaibasa. At the early age when he was a student of St. Columbia College, Hazaribagh was formed the Union which was a branch of Dacca Students Union. The main objective of the union was to help the local poor Christian students. Later a branch was also opened in Ranchi under the auspicious leadership of Peter Heward<sup>521</sup>. There was a debate about the emergence of Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj (Chotanagpur Improvement Society). A section of Jharkhandi Protagonists believed that the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj was formed by reorganizing Union of Christian Students in 1915 to uphold the movement to address the painful situation of the local people. However Igenes Kajur who became an M.L.A of Jharkhand Party from 1952 to 1962 has different opinion regarding the emergence of the Samaj. He believes that the Samaj was established by Anand Masih Topno of Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church.<sup>522</sup>

The then DIG, CID, Patna in a letter to P.C.Tallents, Chief Secretary to Government wrote about the activities of Chotanagpur Improvement Society (Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj). He indicated

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<sup>520</sup> Pls see apendices section

<sup>521</sup> See Ekka & Sinha,2000, op.cit,p-16

<sup>522</sup> ibid, p-16

that the police were unable to identify the man called Peter P. Hurad or Peter Hurad who seems to be connected with G.E.L Mission, Ranchi. Probably he has come to the notice as publisher of a semi religious paper since 1927. There was another man named Pitar Hurad who was one of the chief speakers at a meeting of Munda in 1924 at village Tapkara, Torpa, in Ranchi district. The objective of the meeting was to enhance or improve the situation of the Munda tribes.<sup>523</sup> However at the early stage the formation of such societies categorically became the main platform for the assimilation of the tribes. These societies not only found its impressiveness among its workers but also refuelled to fight for improvement of the tribes. Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj was the first which demanded for separate state of Jharkhand in view of tribal homeland. When Simon Commission visited India Samaj submitted a memorandum claiming separate state for the adivasis. But the matter was not accepted by a section of people and became reluctant because they felt that the idea of separate state was a mere conspiracy of the missionaries. Chotanagpur Landholders' association was one of such institution who according to some Jharkhandi protagonists had submitted an alternate memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding rejection of the earlier demand for separate state. Therefore it should not be undermine that there were some section of the people who did not accept the leadership of the missionaries because they were treated as foreigners<sup>524</sup>.

Besides other political consciousness that took serious attention in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was confined itself with the rise and spread of missionary activity started in mid-nineteenth century. The dynamics of cultural change and conversion make the region a progressive one in regard to political dimensions<sup>525</sup>. The spread of formal education and Medicare was one of the principle factors getting the missionaries more closure to the tribal sentiment and opening up new road to mass education. Schools and few colleges were established under the direct guidance of the educated missionaries. Even of new teacher training schools have been established. After the status of provincial autonomy in Bihar in 1937 many friendly steps towards literacy have been adopted by the government that resulted a steady progress in school education. In the 1940s a number of industrial schools at Chaibasa, Dhanbad and Ranchi were opened, many colleges were

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<sup>523</sup> Confidential letter to PC Tallets by DIG CID, Patna, 1932, file no-344, BSA

<sup>524</sup> Ekka & Sinha, 2000, op.cit, p-16

<sup>525</sup> The conversion in a large number brought social and religious transformation in Jharkhand, in many parts of Jharkhand converted Mundas are well advanced and they are capable of using modern thought in their community, they possess different cultures which are different from non converted Mundas.

also opened at Ranchi, Bihar Institute of Technology, Sindri were established. This sort of expansion in the academic sphere virtually created the pan-tribal sentiments in the entire Jharkhand<sup>526</sup>. The roll of the Christian missionaries had been tantalized a series of surveys. It was assumed that despite of Christian and non-Christian controversy tribal people, particularly the Oraons and Mundas were keen to associate with the missionaries. Apart from an object of winning converts missionaries took some ground level agenda to include themselves with the demand of the adivasi and consequently many tribals have won their lost rights.<sup>527</sup> The success however in terms of appreciating the tribals towards greater autonomy, the missionaries actively participated in the local politics. This affinity towards the tribal problem vis-à-vis the participation in politics was neither been supported by the government nor been stopped on the philosophy of free India, where anyone can shows political aspirations. Hundreds of letters have been dispatched from the table from top to below officials to find out the activities of the foreign missionaries in the tribal movements. In those letters there were ample references of inner sympathy by the missionaries towards the separation movement.<sup>528</sup> Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi in a letter clearly indicated that during the visit of the excluded and partially excluded committee led by Thakkar Bapa in Ranchi in 1940s, many Christian Pracharakas organized a procession and made a demonstration for separation of Jharkhand<sup>529</sup>.

The growing political consciousness and the participation of the missionaries in adivasi agitation strengthening the idea of the govt.that missionaries are well attached with them. For an overall observance of the missionaries, many steps were taken. In order to combat with Missionary activities in support of adivasi agitation in Simbada and Gumla District<sup>530</sup> special observer was also recruited. However the tribes have strong affinity with the missionaries to such an extent that the construction of the aliens was sharpened through the ideas of the missionaries. It was documented that the Schools in different parts, particularly in Santal Pargana were the main

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<sup>526</sup> In many academic field studies it was recorded that due to mass education system the tribes are now slowly forgetting their culture, such as dance and songs in the Shikar festivals

<sup>527</sup> See details in Joseph Bara, 'Alien Construct and Tribal Contestation in in Colonial Chotanagpur, The medium of Christianity' in 'Tribal Movements in Jharkhand 1857-2007 (ed) Asha Mishra and Chittaranjan Kumar paty, 2010, pp-103-115

<sup>528</sup> There have been hundreds of letters shared between the police officials and the administrative officers regarding the influence of Christian Missionary, pls see GOB political Section special papers , file no-1815, 1947

<sup>529</sup> *ibid*

<sup>530</sup> File No- 418, 1939, Sub: Measures suggested by the Muffasil Publicity Officer for combating the adivasi movement.BSA

centers where the teachers in particular associated with the agitators. The Kairbani Mission of Kundaik, Chandrapura Mission, Muchidiha Mission, Benageria Mission are regarded as the arsenals of the adivasi movements in the 40s.<sup>531</sup> In the Chotanagpur division, there were three different Churches actively engaged in the adivasi movement, particularly the Grossner Evangelical Lutheran Church where it was recorded that all the missionaries and church workers are adivasi and was headed by Rev. Joel larka who has been seat of several processions and meetings of the adivasi Mahasabha<sup>532</sup>. However it cannot be overlooked that during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when India's freedom movement was in full swing under the banner of Congress, got tremendous support from this region. However at the early stage the spread of Christianity through the missionaries were criticized by the local congress workers and in many cases it was found that the local congress cadres did not support the affiliation of the missionaries. From this point of view the Bishop of Ranchi district criticized that the Congress Party always tried to undermine the work and influence of the missionaries and trying to make a split between Christian and non-Christian aboriginals as it persistently done through the govt. sponsored news paper the 'adivasi'<sup>533</sup>.

Historically the presence of the missionaries in the region not only brings some political construction in the whole story but also developed pro-tribal sentiments. The assertion of identities, the cultural construction of the image of a homeland was re-energized through the recall of golden age and the socio-cultural emancipation from the diku was framed by the missionaries. Missionaries were successfully managed to interlink the diku and the existential crisis. Sometimes the government has confused in the matter of the participation of the missionaries and also bothered about the worse factor that most of the missionaries active in the movement are becoming the center of the foreign espionage<sup>534</sup>. The situation is prolonged and virtually got severe attention of the civil administration in all the district of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana. On the eve of independence it has been uttered news that the missionaries bitterly felt the quitting of all European civil servants before the 15<sup>th</sup> august was indiscriminating

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<sup>531</sup> File No 1815, 1947, Political Special Section, Sub: Activities of the foreign Christian Missionary Societies in connection with the adivasi agitation in Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana.

<sup>532</sup> ibid

<sup>533</sup> ibid

<sup>534</sup> ibid

and undemocratic and opposed simultaneously<sup>535</sup>. Unfortunately there were serious misconceptions over the issues relating to the participation of missionaries in local politics.

To counter the activities, Govt had taken immediate action wherever there was news of so called 'misleading' the tribes and other such activities by the missionaries. After having a close look in the matter, random letters have been sent to many Missions asking the authenticity of the news of involvement. Almost all the mission replied that they were not involved in the separation movement except GEL Mission, Rev.J.Lakra taking full responsibility and perused open support to the separation movement<sup>536</sup>. The missionaries had clear cut obligations and suspicions that the Congress men were allegedly taking this matter to the government. In a letter to the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, Bishop of Ranchi claimed that most of the Christian were threatened and provoked by the congress workers that "Now Swaraj is coming, there will be no place here for Christians. This will become a Hindu raj..... if you became a Christian you will lose your fields, give up Christianity, become a Hindu and join the congress"<sup>537</sup> this sort of attitude towards the missionaries were criticized by the missionary societies.

It can be true that the hatred shown by the congress workers against the missionaries were in turn created a serious impact on the mind of the missionaries. In a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, the Commissioner of Chotanagpur admitted that missionary had shown a pronounced hatred of DIKUs and Hindus of Congressman in particular. Historical evidences proved that in Chibasa, a Belgian missionary of the Roman Cathelic Mission written some letters against the intrusion of the Diku into the Chotanagpur. He was associated with Satish Kumar, possibly a person interested in local politics. In view of the situation a special enquiry committee had been set up to investigate the matter. In another occasion it has been reported that some of the fathers of Roman Catholic Church at Samsera were taking fullest advantages of the illiteracy and ignorance of the adivasi to misguide them. Some of them forcefully converted 45 families of Oraons and mislead them saying that Congress government will take away all the lands but they could save them by joining the mission. This is however widening the gulf between the govt and the mission. Many Christian adivasi workers in several public addresses

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<sup>535</sup> ibid

<sup>536</sup> In his letter to Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi J.Larka accepted that he was associated with the adivasi separation movement, see file no 1815,1947

<sup>537</sup> ibid

criticized the congress ministry for making division between Christian and non-Christian. The communal tensions in this period is so high and there were evidences that Acuinias of the Catholic Mission, Porha Santal Pargana sent a grabbed report to Carl Duddenham, T.O.R. Mission of India, Loretto, Penna, USA regarding the attitude of the Hindu school teacher towards the Christian students. He was sure about the fact that there was impression that the congress govt in a position to drive out all the missionaries in the coming days. Another letter from the Heywards of the Hiranpur Hospital, Santal Parganas addressed to C.S.Milford, Indian Secretary, C.M.S London, clearly indicated the anti congress mentality of the missionaries. A serious attitude towards Congress and Hindus had been clear from a letter written by Bishop of Bhagalpur to H.F.Hasner, Taljhari Mission stating that they were not there to educate Hindus. So there is ample evidence that the missionaries had possessed sympathy towards the movements of tribes and also keep distance from the Congress workers because of the fear and tensions<sup>538</sup>.

Both for the British and the Congress however shows interests to bifurcate the missionaries by policy of containment, however the ruler did not overruled the possibility that the participation of the missionaries in the Jharkhand movement anticipated some of the cultural-human-economic possibility. It not only produced and succeeded in creating and conceptualizing a perfection and perception of ground reality through religious metamorphosis but also takes part actively in tribal agitation. Indeed this proposition had a longer historical perspective, however the participation of the missionaries accentuated in two ways, (1) it created considerable political attention and (2) it created sense of honour and dignity and distinguished them as the friend of aborigines<sup>539</sup>.

Historical evidence from the mid 1940s indicates the escalating participation of the missionary for the tribal demand and were suspiciously taken up accordingly by the govt and made several enquiries and warning to the suspected missions. Marpa Kothi Missions, Saldaha Missions are also desperately joined with the local politics. After having a close look at the situation a resolution was tabled by the Mr. Gouri Sankar Dalmia, an MLA of the assembly recommending to govt. to take steps for the missions who profoundly active in separation movement. He strongly pointed out that the missionaries do not have the right to associate with the local politics

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<sup>538</sup> File No-1815, op.cit

<sup>539</sup> It was documented that the closeness of the tribes with the missionaries is due to rampant change in socio-economic factors, and the acceptance of missionaries was relevance in this concept



in the garb of religion which is ‘detrimental to the interests of the people in general and non-Christian aboriginals in particular<sup>540</sup>.’ He also asked the govt to stop all the financial grants entitled to be dispatched for the missions. As the year passes the govt has decided to block all the grants paid by District Boards to missionary societies for running schools<sup>541</sup>. However as long as the movement passes, the controversy became intact with the foreign missionaries.

### **6.3.2 The emergence of Adivasi Mahasabha and the Congress-Mahasabha Dichotomy**

Following the years in the 1930s the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj as a whole taking the main responsibility towards the tribal question. Its objectives were propagated through a magazine ‘Adivasi’ which was published in English, Hindi and Mundari dialect. As we discussed in our earlier discussions that when the Samaj placed a demand for separate state to the Simon Commission under the leadership of Bishop Van Hoeck and Joel Larka the immediate response they got from the non-converts is a clear division. The non-converts formed a separate association called Chotanagpur Kishan sabha in 1931 under the leadership of Theble Oraon. Their manifesto was to deliberately address the problems of the peasantry. On the other hand in the wake of the political scenario the Catholics also decided to open their own organization for political activities. In 1928-29 under the leadership of Bonafice Larka and Igenes Beck Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha was established, in almost same year the Munda Sabha also formed. Later in 1938 all the three adivasi organization merged with Adivasi Mahasabha headed by a western educated man called Jaipal Singh<sup>542</sup>.

The emergence of Adivasi Mahasabha was the legal outcome of the fraction in different organizations of the Christian and non Christians. It was settled with its objectives of joint hands and evoked for separate state for the adivasi, though internal tensions and fragmentation was traceable in the course of the movement. Apart from all the biasness prevailed earlier, there were also seen a unanimity in the district board elections. It has to be keeping in mind that the

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<sup>540</sup> File No-1815, op.cit

<sup>541</sup> ibid

<sup>542</sup> L.N.Rana, ‘Political Consciousness in Jharkhand, 1900-1947’ Proceedings of IHC, 57<sup>th</sup> Session, 1996, pp-467-481, In my field visit to Ranchi, I have asked one rickshaw wala to take me Jaipal Singh Stadium, but most of them refuse to me on the ground that they don’t know the actual location, in the meanwhile an young boy come to to me and told me that I should mention the name Jaipal Singh Munda, interestingly one Rikshaw wala come forward and take me to the famous ground.

objective of the Adivasi Mahasabha as they perceived was a Pro-British and anti-Congress until India became independent<sup>543</sup>. However the anti-Congress approach was not free from criticisms which certainly determine the political progress. During the rise of Mahasabha, the activities of the Muslims were interesting. In the course of the movement the participations of the Muslims in the Jharkhand separation movement was relying on the principle that the tribes should separate themselves from the movement of Adivasi Mahasabha and find the way on its own. Though it was evident from the weekly confidential reports of the police administration that many Muslim League workers belongs to Singbhum district was friendly with Jaipal Singh. Amin Ahmed, the then president of Muslim League and Md. Hanif who was an owner of a petrol pump helped him with money and petrol<sup>544</sup>. In this controversial situation the paradigm has shifted quickly when Jharkhand Momin Union was established in Ranchi in 1946-47 under the vision to join adivasi in the Jharkhand Demand<sup>545</sup>. But their activity is only developed in Ranchi only. They were unable to find any hope in Chaibasa and Singbhum district. The leaders of the Momin Union are Abbas and Rahim Bux, both of them are office bearers of the union. Both of them delivered many speeches openly asking the adivasis to give up and disassociate from Jaipal Singh's movement for separation of Jharkhand. Both of them actually asked the adivasis to join congress one and all<sup>546</sup>.

Indeed it cannot be denied that the formation of the Adivasi Mahasabha in the year 1938 actually strengthen fight for separation of Jharkhand. However, though the leaders were optimistic but failed to address social injustice properly. It became harsher when they avoided the question of degraded forests and uncontrolled urbanization. It looks more urban centered and instead of counter of those genuine malaise, Mahasabha had taken some intellectual resolutions like the appointment of the lawyers as govt lawyers, employment of the tribals in government municipalities, boards, establishment of the degree colleges for tribal education, and social and economic upliftment of the adivasis etc. Interestingly the demand or self rule was became a

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<sup>543</sup> Usha Sharma, the background and nature of Congress Jharkhand merger (20<sup>th</sup> June 1963), IHC Proceedings, 59<sup>th</sup> session 1998,pp-699-703

<sup>544</sup> Political Special Section, op.cit, 1947

<sup>545</sup> File No 270(3), 1947, Political Special Section, GOB, Sub : Formation of Jharkhand Momin Union(Ranchi) for the separation of Jharkhand,

<sup>546</sup> File No-1815, 1947, op.cit

political aspirations followed by the changing nature of the demands itself<sup>547</sup>. After elected as a President of the Adivasi Mahasabha, Jaipal Singh submitted a memorandum to the then Prime Minister of Bihar describing that the goal of Mahasabha depends on the economic and political freedom of the aboriginal tract of India. He also endorsed and extends his full support in the movement led by Indian National Congress for the Independence<sup>548</sup>. He considered through this memorandum of the necessity of participation of the adivasis into the legislative assembly. Jaipal Singh's understanding of affiliation with the congress may be developed from certain ground reality. Theoretically it might come from certain assumptions that the demand for separation can only be achieved with the congress because they were in power. Though he profoundly objects the views of the Biharee Ministry because he thought that they had no experiences or had no connections with the adivasis and perhaps unaware of the fact of tribal situation in South Bihar<sup>549</sup>.

The movement for the separate Jharkhand was really consolidated because of some leaders of the adivasi mahasabha. In this phase of relentless struggle, many Jharkhandi leaders have raised their voices for Jharkhand in several public meetings. Yunis Surin, a leader of Adivasi Mahasabha asked the adivasi to shed blood for separate state of Jharkhand.<sup>550</sup> In 1947 a large meeting of the adivasi was held at Khunti Village. In this meeting Jaipal Singh demanded a separate state on the ground of 'the protection from the detrimental consequences of the amendment in the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act in respect of their korkar land, waste lands reclamation act, paddy levy order and reservation of forests in Chotanagpur which would deprived the tenants from the privileged of jungle products for their domestic purposes'<sup>551</sup>. However Jaipal Singh's addresses on the agrarian and environmental issues suddenly open up new dimension to the movement and accordingly the movement for jungle rights were suddenly got fuelled. Jaipal Singh advocated that the Jungle rights should remain in the hands of village Panchayat and taking adibasis side he announced that the govt should prohibited liquor in all Bihar but adivasi must have their traditional right of preparing Rice Beer (*Handia*) during religious and social performance. He strongly believed that the protection of '*Jahirasthan*' (Religious place) was necessary in

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<sup>547</sup> RCJM, p-21

<sup>548</sup> GOB, 1947,op.cit

<sup>549</sup> ibid

<sup>550</sup> ibid

<sup>551</sup> GOB, Special Section, file no-270,1947

Chotanagpur. Indeed it was suddenly a call for motivation in the realm of environmental crisis. In addition to the speech given by the veteran leader Jaipal Singh many other leaders like Lucas Kongri also endorse the legitimate demand of jungle rights. And seek redressal of all the social and economic distress. On the other hand Herman larka in a separate gathering focused on the concept of original homeland and created an imaginary of how the tribes through the historical process took shelter in the vast tract of jungle land. In this process the Adivasi Mahasabha anticipated some cultural-environmental practices also. During the movement it was reported that collection of 'Sup Dhan' (Paddy) for funds was very popular among the tribes.<sup>552</sup>

During the same time there were another two organizations developed and involved with the cry of separate Jharkhand province ideologically step forwarded with the Adivasi Mahasabha. One is Chotanagpur Seperation League and the other one is Chotanagpur Mine Owners Associations. But they did not succeed enough and both of the organization disappeared due to pressure of the government. However it was only Adivasi Mahasabha who continued to remain active in its goal. It was in the year of General Elections in 1945 the Adivasi Mahasabha contested its first electoral poll and could win only 4 seats whereas congress completely routed the Adivasi Mahasabha.<sup>553</sup> The result of this huge defeat was due to the emergence of Adim Jati Seva Mandal under the leadership of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sanatan Adivasi Mahasabha under the leadership of Theble Oraon.<sup>554</sup>

The tension over relationship with the congress was the crucial point in this whole historical period of autonomy movement. On contrary, Adivasi Mahasabha, in this situation completely rejects its collaboration with the congress ministry and openly criticized Bihar Congress for their incapability of addressing the demand of separate state. They believed that the congress ministry in order to keep their benefit out of the nationalist politics betrayed adivasis and promulgated anti separation mentality among the adivasis. Indeed it was the first phase of the Jharkhand Movement that came under the political influence and aspirations of the poor tribals who were neglected in thir own territory. Issues related to Jal, Jungle and Jamin were getting secondary

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<sup>552</sup> ibid

<sup>553</sup> Ekka & Sinha,2000, op.cit, p-27

<sup>554</sup> A.Ghosh, 1998, 'Jharkhand Movement : A study of the politics of regionalsim'p-40, New Delhi, Quoted from, A.P.Sharma, 'The Jharkhand Movement, A Critique', Social Change, vol 18, No-2, June 1988, p-60

impression and later were subsumed in a larger politics. The conflicts between Congress and the Adivasi Mahasbha were getting worse when in 1939 two articles were published in ‘Adivasi’ fortnightly news paper from Beni Madhab Press, Ranchi titled ‘*Bihari Bandar Nacho*’ (Dance Bihari Monkey ) and ‘*Nili Rang Bumi Se*’ (From the Blue Coloured land).<sup>555</sup> These two articles showed the extreme hatred possessed by the adivasi to the Biharis as well as the ministers. The paper ‘Adivasi’ was jointly edited and published by Julius Tigga, and Rai Saheb Bandi Ram.<sup>556</sup> Julius Tigga was an indisputable leader of the adivasi movement. Immediately after publication it was criticized as ‘objectionable articles’ by the govt. Some security measures were also taken by the government under existing Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act – Act XXIII of 1931.<sup>557</sup> The article has been treated as prosecutable because it shows scurrilous abuse of Biharis, Ministers, and Parliamentary Secretaries and others. It was evident that the purpose of the articles was to show the hatred between the Biharis and the Adivasis and strengthen the movement for separation. It was believed that previously an article was published in ‘Sentinel’ criticizing the leadership of Jaipal Singh; undoubtedly it was the reply to that article. Here are some of the lines of the English version which are also circulated along with Hindi<sup>558</sup>.

“O girl: the leaves of gram do not fill the stomach,

The Beharees have eaten them with their mothers-in-law and daughter-in-law.

Dance O idiot, dance: dance thathak thaiya

Flood comes in Bihar, people do not sleep.

Let us go to Nagpur where there is a bed of flowers,

Dance O idiot, dance: dance thathak thaiya

Let us carry to Bihar wealth and treasure

And give to Nagpur clouds of earth and stone

Dance O idiot, dance: dance thathak thaiya

Make chundi your left hand and the Christian your right,

Speaks ill of Jaipal by circulating false tales

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<sup>555</sup> GOB, Political Special Section, file no-429,1939, BSA

<sup>556</sup> ibid

<sup>557</sup> ibid

<sup>558</sup> ibid

Dance O idiot, dance: dance thathak thaiya  
Dance O monkey: your simple mother is coming,  
She will give rice in a plate and you will eat to your fill,  
Dance O idiot, dance: dance thathak thaiya”

Source: Govt of Bihar, Political Special Section, Subject: Articles under the Heading ‘Bihari Bandar Nacho and ‘Nili Rang Bhumi Se’ in the ‘Adivasi’, File No-429, 1939. This phrases was taken partially and it was published on 1st July 1939

This matter has been sent to court for judicial enquiry under the Press Act. Later both the editors were found guilty and thereby prosecuted and convicted and were sentenced rigorous imprisonment for one year<sup>559</sup>. There were also some growing discontents about the separation of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana from Bihar. Opposing the demand for separate state hood S.K Sahay, whose identity was not clear, he might be belonging to Hindu Society created a new platform called ‘Chotanagpur Progressive League’. It was aimed to bring peace and improve situation of all the residents of Chotanagpur. During this case some grievances has been made from the adivasi leaders that the Biharis used to call them ‘Kol’, which means pig, that in turn aroused bitterness and hatred against the Biharis<sup>560</sup>.

The faction in the interior politics of Jharkhand is no dough weakens the power of the masses. Neither has it created any positive will to fight for Jharkhand nor it has shown any right path for taking their demand towards success. Considering the weakness started since the activism of the missionaries<sup>561</sup> and the emergence of Jharkhand Party it was only a mere struggle between the North Bihar and the South Bihar. Political instability and groupism unfortunately diluted the indigenous people’s voice over different genuine issues. The hatred towards Bihar ministry continuously expanded and it was reflected in the various meetings held in the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana that almost all the leaders criticized the Congress led government for doing nothing but was not show any positive will.<sup>562</sup> On the other side, Adivasi Students’ of Jharkhand

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<sup>559</sup> ibid

<sup>560</sup> GOB, File No, 429, 1939, op.cit

<sup>561</sup> It was believed by the Jharkhand Protagonists, that as long as the foreign missionary active with the tribes for separation movement, it was not able to render its political will because of the religious shadow.

<sup>562</sup> GOB, File no 270, 1947 op.cit

in continuation have addressed a letter to the Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Vice-President of the interim Government about the negligence in the academic matter made by the leaders of Bihar proper. In other occasion Harman Larka, Agnes Kujur, Junas Surin, Hanna Bodra, Simon Tirkey, Samuel Bage and many others leaders openly criticizing Bihar Congress as outsiders and blamed them for doing injustice to the tribes of Jharkhand. Taking Congress stand in a big way, Harman Larka in a public meeting addressed that the Congress Govt and its minister did not even know how the agriculture was carried out in Jharkhand<sup>563</sup>.

Nonetheless in the movement of Jaipal Singh, what was broadly accepted that it tended to confine towards generalization with a common ideological platform. This is to say a common virtue in a plural society irrespective of caste, ethnicity, religion, rather for Chotanagpurians. In the same manner there were factions and questions emerged slowly against the veteran leader Jaipal Singh. In the debate of publishing article with Rai Saheb Bandiram Uraon in the 'Adivasi' news paper some section of the fellow supporters particularly the Lutherans criticizing Jaipal Singh on account of relationship with a non Christian<sup>564</sup>. Even when Jaipal Singh went to Delhi to attend the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the Lutherans also suspects him for having a touch with Dr. Rajendra Prasad whom he congratulated for being the permanent chairman<sup>565</sup>. On the other hand, Heyward, a reputed leader and the Political Secretary for Adivasi Mahasabha also keeping in touch with the Muslim League because of the untruthful attitude of the Jaipal Singh. Even later he had refused to work anymore with Jaipal Singh, on the other hand Jaipal Singh also step up against the attitude of Heyward; therefore there were some division within the Mahasabha and finally splits into two groups. Mrs. Hanna Bothra, Ignes Kujur was taking side of Jaipal Singh and the majority of the leaders and supporters were getting closure to Heyward. A CID group officer from Ranchi reported that in a meeting of Jharkhand Separation League which was held in 25.05.1947 where Jaipal Singh asked to Heyward and Julius Tigga to resign from the Adivasi Mahasabha on account of favoring the Muslim League. Considering the situation rose in the meeting, Julius Tigga resigns from his post though Heyward did not but continuously make challenges against Marang Gomke Jaipal Singh. The whole incidents was published in Sentinel

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<sup>563</sup> ibid

<sup>564</sup> GOB, File 429, 1939, op.cit

<sup>565</sup> ibid

in its Sunday issue under the heading “Mr. Jaipal Singh on his new politics” with some spice.<sup>566</sup> after some vigorous attempt to re-established the unity and reinforce Jharkhand Movement within the political domain it has merged with a new regional party, The Jharkhand Party under the leadership of Jaipal Singh and the preliminary objectives of the party was to collect support from all Chotanagpurias<sup>567</sup>.

### **6.3.3 The emergence of Jharkhand Party and the modern phases of Jharkhand Movement: An electoral game?**

After some years of continuous debate and dispute, the emergence of Jharkhand Party in 1949 was an example of moving from factionalism to a comparatively stable common ideological platform. As because of the huge allegations for communal image<sup>568</sup> by the leaders of the Mahasabha it was the crucial juncture where utmost emphasis has been put on envisioning past movements and accordingly steps were taken to get rid of the situation. There were two objectives of the Jharkhand Party, (1) To promote social economic and political advancement for the tribes of Chotanagpur and (2) To reconsolidate fragmented areas of Jharkhand, and incorporating all the areas into one Jharkhand State under the constitutional framework.<sup>569</sup> However the party has not been able to impress all the tribals in the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana and lost its ethnic character and took regionalism as the focal point of its existence<sup>570</sup>. The Congress workers who were stamped as diku have been predominantly hold their position within the party and convinced that language should be the basis of the Jharkhand Demand not ethnicity. After some assurance of the special status under the fifth and sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution of free India the leaders of the party have agreed to fight upcoming election and thus open another phase of electoral politics<sup>571</sup>.

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<sup>566</sup> GOB, File No 270,1947,BSA op.cit

<sup>567</sup> S.Narayan, 1988, ‘Movements, Developments, Police and Judiciary in Tribal World, pp-50-51, New Delhi, Inter India

<sup>568</sup> Some of the followers of Jaipal Singh criticized him because of the intimacy of Muslim League supporters. See details in file, 270, GOB, BSA

<sup>569</sup> Ekka et.all 2000,op.cit, p-27

<sup>570</sup> Arunabha Ghosh, 1998, op.cit, p-41

<sup>571</sup> ibid,p-41



It was accepted by all the Jharkhandi Protagonists that from 1950s the Jharkhand Movement was in its peak. Satisfactory steps were taken everywhere to consolidate the demand of the separate State. When Thakur Sub Committee visited Ranchi thousand of tribals placed their memorandum demanding separate state on the basis of unique geography, culture, language, society, administration, civilization and economy. But not much success has come out from the visit. Scholars like Stuart Corbridge has argued that the root of '*ethnoregionalism*' in the historical process in the fifties were developed clearly when the Jharkhand Party contested in the 1952 General Elections and bagged 32 assembly seats in Bihar and became the chief opposition to the congress.<sup>572</sup> He argued that the ideology behind such '*ethnoregionalism*' can be studied by three models, one is the 'sons of the soil' model<sup>573</sup> which seeks to dominate the region with hegemony to secure regional culture and rights, and the other model was perverse model. In this model the success of Jharkhand Party and the rise of '*ethnoregionalism*' were as he noted 'an appropriate response to the isolationist tribal policies of colonial power'. In the third account he noted that the rise of '*ethnoregionalism*' were the response against the 'internal colonialism' prevailed in Chotanagpur and Santal pargana<sup>574</sup>.

The result in the election to the assembly was stunning under the leadership of Jaipal Singh and the victory was not only received respect from other parties but also bring certain change in the ideology. In the same year Jaipal Singh nominated the name of Darbhanga Maharaj Kamaleswar Singh for the upcoming biennial election to the Rajya Sabha. While after election Maharaja forget all his promise and did nothing. It was the beginning as stated by Igenes Kujur that after Maharajas election many other men were also got tickets and completely betrayed Jharkhand. They imposed their decisions and emerged as dictators. That was harmful to the movement for separate state. The trajectories often been criticized by saying that the seats were sold to those person under the sole direction of Jaipal Singh for his own personal benefit. Jaipal Singh was accused for selfish attitude towards its fellow friends<sup>575</sup>. It was further aggravated during the 1957 elections because Jaipal Singh nominated another non party candidate Mrs. Jahanara Singh

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<sup>572</sup> Stuart Corbridge et.al, 2004, op.cit., p-18

<sup>573</sup> 'sons of the soil' model has been used by M.Weiner in 1978 in his book of the same name published from Princeton University, he actually address the very concept of the tribal uprisings occurred against the hated Dikus with this concept, the attachment of land and its periphery has been important for these movements.

<sup>574</sup> Corbridge,2004,op.cit

<sup>575</sup> See details in Ekka & Sinha 2003, op.cit, and also see Igenes Kujur 2003,.op.cit, pp-16-30

(Probably she was Jaipal Singh's second wife),<sup>576</sup> for the election. Harman Larka and the Maharaja also filed their respective names though they both were defeated. Harman Larka was expelled from party. The expulsion was condemn by Harman larka and criticized Jaipal Singh for being selfish and high-handedness. Harman Larka opposed the leadership of Jaipal Singh on the ground that he betrayed tribals of Chotanagpur when State Recognition Committee (SRC) visited Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana in 1954 by not signing the memorandum prepared by the MLA's. Later SRC rejected the demand of Jharkhand on the ground that Jharkhand Party did not win over majority seats in the 1952 election.

From this onwards there were clear slackness found to be steadily grasp the movement. Corruption crept into Jharkhand Party. In the 1962 election Jaipal Singh again put his signature on the name of a businessman A. Agarwal but tribal refused to accept any alien name. Later Jharkhand party win only 20 seats and that to some extent created the way to extinction.<sup>577</sup> The allegation over authoritarianism on Jaipal Singh has come up and complete erosion is taking place with the landlord dominated Janata Party led by Raja of Ramgarh which was later renamed as Swatantra Party<sup>578</sup>. One of the Jharkhand slogan for the election to the various offices of Panchayat Raj were '*Abua Daku Diku Senoa*' means Jharkhand is ours, the decoit will go,<sup>579</sup> similarly another slogan '*Hindu Muslim Sikhi Esahi, Sab Jharkhandi Bhai Bhai*'<sup>580</sup> completely counter the former. Scholars have argued that the antipathy of the Jharkhand movement lie strongly with the coming of the Diku. They were blamed for snatching away tribal belongings and put them in serious condition. But as we discussed earlier that, from the early 1950s the participation of the non-tribals brought ethnic, linguistic and political differences, that had a decisive role in the movement.

The failure to provide adequate sympathy and protection of cultural, social and economic concers, there was a sharp turn of the movement from its emotional base to an intellectual platform with faction, confusion and distress. Particularly in 1963 when the Jharkhand party was merged with the then Congress party the faction began to dominate all the way to the end, though

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<sup>576</sup> Sharma, 1988, op.cit p-701

<sup>577</sup> See Kujur, 2003, op.cit pp-16-30

<sup>578</sup> Sharma, 1988, op.cit, pp-700-703

<sup>579</sup> Narayan, 1988, op.cit. p-43

<sup>580</sup> Basu, 1994, op.cit. p-43

the movement went straightway to more radical platform after the merger. Before the merger there were some positive fundamental changes took in the Bihar cabinet. Sri Krishna Singha, the former Chief Minister of Bihar who was re-elected in 1962 election has appointed a tribal man S.C.Tubid as deputy minister. It was nevertheless a cherished dream for all tribal to have a tribal origin man as a deputy minister for the first time in the history of Bihar<sup>581</sup>. This would lead a further closeness among the leaders of both Congress and the Jharkhand party and later after the Indo-China war in 1962 when Jawaharlal Nehru visited Ranchi Jaipal singh in writing agreed to merge Jharkhand party with the Indian National Congress on the ground to save the nation ‘from the peril of China’ ‘unconditionally and unreservedly’<sup>582</sup>. This merger was to a large extent “a natural corollary of many processes’ and an understanding of shift from isolationist attitude (either ethnic or regional) to a more radical broad based politics under the banner of Indian National Congress<sup>583</sup>.

#### **6.3.4 The rise of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and the formation of the Jharkhand State**

Since 1963 to 1968 there are many organizational factions came up from the old Jharkhand Party. Some setback also came from the Santals as they were separated from the mainstream party and formed their own party named after Santal insurrection (Locally called Bul)<sup>584</sup>. Some urban educated tribals also formed Birsa Seva Dal as pressure groups on the demand of Job in Industries<sup>585</sup>. Within few years after the merger, the Jharkhand Party collapsed and set forever after the death of Jaipal Singh in 1970s<sup>586</sup>. It was assumed that the emergence of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (here after JMM) was formed in the wake of agrarian unrests and the factions of all Jharkhand parties<sup>587</sup>. The conscious efforts in the industrial belt as well as in the agrarian sectors popularize the party and accordingly it has succeeded in the following years. On the other hand Jharkhand Party did not contest in the 1977 Lok Sabha poll and bagged only one seat in the general election in 1980, while JMM bagged 13 seats and secured 3.88 lakhs of votes. Out of the

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<sup>581</sup> Kujur, 2003, op.cit, p-22

<sup>582</sup> ibid,p-22

<sup>583</sup> RCJM, op.cit., p-15

<sup>584</sup> ibid, p-16

<sup>585</sup> ibid,p-16

<sup>586</sup> Sharma,1988, op.cit.,pp-700-703

<sup>587</sup> RCJM, op.cit.,p-16

28 seats reserved for the ST, JMM has captured seven seats. Congress has got 14 seats, CPI and Dalit Mazdoor Kissan Party got nothing out the same. Out of the total number of seats which was 82, both JMM and Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) got 11 seats each and congress got 41 under its banner and became the major political party in Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana<sup>588</sup>. During the movement of Janata party in Bihar in 1974 under the influence of Jayprakash Narayan, the separate movement became kept in low, in spite of Jayprakash Narayan's own preference of creating smaller states. However due to reluctance Jan Sangh, Vishva Hindu Parishad, and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh freely penetrated into the region.<sup>589</sup>

**Table 6.1**

**Jharkhand Parties Electoral Performance in Bihar (1952-2000)**

1952	7,66,366	33	NA		3
1957	7,26,939	32	NA		5
1962	4,32,644	20	NA		3
1967	1,72,123	8	NA		1
1969	2,29,327	17	NA		NA
1971			1,91,818		2
1972	3,61,187	8	1,95,880		1
1977	81,277	1	11,133		NIL
1980	3,99,514	14	1,40,778		1
1984			4,16,205		Nil
1985	4,38,300	13	NA		NA
1990	11,52,503	20	NA		NA
1991		14,40,000	-4.86% of valid votes		6
1996		12,90,000	-3.76% of valid votes		1
1998		12,00,000	-3.16% of valid votes		0
1999		8,00,000	-2.19% valid votes		0
2000	12,88,238	12	NA		NA

Notes : (1) NA- no data available,(2) seats won refers to both reserved and non reserved seats, (3) 1980 election 1 seat won by independent candidate put up by Jharkhand Parties (4)Jharkhand parties contested from 1990 onwards are JMM-Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, JMM(M)- Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Marandi

<sup>588</sup> *ibid*,p-16

<sup>589</sup> Arunabha Ghosh, 1998, *op.cit.* p-54

Group, JMM(S)-Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (S), JKPP-Jharkhand Peoples Party, JKD-Jharkhand Dal, HJP-Hul Jharkhand Party, JKP-All India Jharkhand Party

Source: K.S.Singh, 'Ecology, Ethnicity, Regionalism and State Formation: An exploration of Jharkhand Movement' pp- 134, in Rajib Balakrishnan (ed) Jharkhand Matters: essays on ethnicity, regionalism and development, 2004, Council for Social Development, India

**Table 6.2 Election Performance of major and minor political parties in Bihar Assembly: 1952-2000 (Party wise)**

Year	Name of Political Party	Contested	Won	Votes Polled	Percentage	Vote % in seats Contested
1952	Jharkhand Party (JHP)	53	32	765272	8.01	38.75
	Chotanagpur & Santal Pargana Janta party (CNSPJP)	38	11	301691	3.16	26.38
1957	JHP	70	31	749021	7.08	29.84
	CNSPJP	119	23	829195	7.83	18.55
1962	JHP	75	20	432643	4.39	21.98
1967	Jan Kranti Dal (JKD)	60	13	451412	3.33	18.46
1969	Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand (PHJ)	14	05	56506	0.38	12.63
	Progressive Hul Jharkhand Party (Shibu) (HJS)	6	01	32631	0.19	17.16
1972	Jharkhand (JKD) All India Jharkhand Party (JKP)	42	01	90717	0.53	6.36
	Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand (PHJ)	45	03	149754	0.87	9.45
	Chotanagpur Bhumi Raksha Party (BRP)	15	02	90234	0.53	17.86
	Raksha Party (BRP)	02	00	1274	0.01	1.88
1977	BRP	01	00	902	0.01	2.71
	Jharkhand Party (JKD)	31	02	72303	0.42	6.92
	JKP	21	1	78406	0.45	12.05
	PHJ	05	0	14806	0.09	8.01

1980	Jharkhand Party (JKD)	26	0	31952	0.14	2.94
	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM)	31	11	380891	1.69	25.11
1985	JMM	57	09	443821	1.82	13.75
1990	JMM	82	19	1008174	3.14	15.20
	Hul Jharkhand (HJD)	09	0	13904	0.04	2.13
	Jharkhand Dal (JKD)	28	01	134827	0.42	6.83
	Jharkhand Party (JKP)	12	0	7481	0.02	0.72
	Marxist Coordination (MCOR)	11	02	70365	0.22	6.33
1995	JMM	63	10	803132	2.32	12.31
	Jharkhand Peoples Party (JPP)	33	02	116939	0.34	3.53
	Chotanagpur Santal Pargana Jan Seva Dal (CSP-JSD)	41	0	101050	0.29	2.38
2000	JMM	85	12	1306152	3.53	14.92
	Hul Jharkhand Party (HJKP)	01	0	621	0.00	0.79
	Jharkhand Party (JKP)	16	0	44187	0.12	3.36
	Jharkhand Peoples Party (JKPP)	12	0	10082	0.03	0.87
	Marxist Coordination (MCO)	09	01	104450	0.28	9.59
2005	JMM	18	0	76671	0.31	4.00

Source : Census of India, Statistical Report on General Elections, Bihar Legislative Assembly (1952, 1957,1962,1967,1969,1972,1977,1980,1985,1990,1995,2000,2005) see also 'Report of the First General Elections under the Constitution of India in Bihar, 1951-52', by Nandalal Sinha, Chief Electoral Officer, Bihar, 1953, RAR

Notes: JMM has considerably losing its credentials from 2000, on the other hand if we look at the Loksabha poll since 1952-2000 we can see that JMM actually emerged as a strong political contender since 1989. In 1984 Jharkhand Dal and JMM got nothing from the poll while in 1989 JMM has got three seats from Rajmahal, Dumka and Jamshedpur constituency. Again in 1991 JMM got 6 seats by contesting 14 seats. But from 1996 a clear downfall can be located because in 1996 JMM got only 1 parliament seat and from 1998 to 1999 it was all about BJP. In 1998 BJP got 13 seats and in 1999 BJP has got 23 seats. (Source Election Commission of India)

The nature of JMM was categorically defined as the most extreme leftist force and was popularize on the ground of militancy and violence<sup>590</sup>. At the beginning, JMM strongly applied the necessity of addressing the major problem of the adivasi interconnected with land and forests. Report of Committee on Jharkhand Matters, May 1990 (hereafter RCJM) admits that this phase turn around agrarian distress and articulation of more radical thinking accompanied with the former.<sup>591</sup> Thus it started its campaign with agrarian radicalism and cultural revivalism. Initially JMM took steps to recovered alienated land by force harvesting into those lands (*Dhan kati andolon*), it was spread like a fire in and around Tundi village of Dhanbad district. In order to give minimum education to the tribes and agricultural knowledge, JMM took initiative for cooperative farming and literacy programme<sup>592</sup>. Sibu Soren who is thye veteran leader and founder of JMM started literacy campaign in the village akhra, he also started campaigning *Kalali Toro, Jharkhand Choro* (Smash the liquor shops, quit Jharkhand) which was indeed very significant because the adivasis were highly indebted and their earning wages usually went to liquor shops<sup>593</sup>.

JMM took some other agenda directly related with tribal problem. Some of leaders wanted reallocation and proper compensation for the tribes who will be under threat of Koel-Karo River Valley projects, showing protest in the form of Jungle Katai Andolon against the illegal felling of trees valuable to tribal economy, etc<sup>594</sup>. This was also the era of rise of left and Naxalite movement in the entire Jharkhand<sup>595</sup>. Since its beginning as a major flag holder for Jharkhand cry it was associated with the Marxist Co ordination Committee led by A.K.Roy. A. K. Roy was an eminent person and the founder of Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union (BCKU) therefore JMM also gets solidarity from the industrial workers also<sup>596</sup>.This all round performance created a lot of hope for the separation of Jharkhand.

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<sup>590</sup> Narayan,1988,op.cit.,p-50

<sup>591</sup> RCJM, op.cit., p-16

<sup>592</sup> Asha Mishra,2010 Indigenous Movement for Separate State, Jharkhand during 20th century, in Tribal Movement in Jharkhand, op.cit, p-176

<sup>593</sup> Ekka & Sinha,2000, op.cit, p-43

<sup>594</sup> ibid, please see chapter four for detail

<sup>595</sup> ibid

<sup>596</sup> Ekka op.cit. p-41

In this period of rise of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, many social organizations were also revived. Such as *Kulhidrup*, the village council was renamed as *Atu Baisi*, Pargana the inter village council was also renamed as *Vichar Baisi* etc<sup>597</sup>. Tribal self government was partially revived. These initiatives were taken in order to restore traditional cultural of the tribes. However within few years or so factions also grasp the motive of the JMM. Many non-tribals belonging to Mandals, Kurmis were included within the party flag who suspiciously making trouble in the performance of the JMM. In the wake of the parliamentary election in 1980 one of the founder members Behari Mahato left JMM and found his own party JMM (B). He was taken this decision against the decision of fighting the upcoming election with the Congress by Sibu Soren, though he again rejoins his party after the killing of JMM president Nirmal Mahato by a Congress activist<sup>598</sup>.

Since the election of 1977 following the emergency Janata Govt came to power in both Center and State of Bihar. Within a very short period many other organizations were also emerged including Janata Dal and formed an All Party Chotanagpur Santal Pargana Alag Prant Sangharsh Samiti with an appeal for separation of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Division<sup>599</sup>. On the other hand to get them closure to the demand of separate state JMM successfully organized a party consortium under the banner of six parties namely Jharkhand Party, JMM, Hul Jharkhand, Birsa Seva Dal, Akhil Bharatiya Congress, and RSP. All the parties had submitted a memorandum to the central govt demanding 1. Local dialect should be incorporate as the medium of education. 2. Sal trees should not be replaced by Segun tree and 3. Appropriate wages, bonus etc should be rendered for those who are working under forest department<sup>600</sup>.

However the struggle for Jharkhand by the JMM was not succeeded enough and the return of congress in the power in 1980s again diluted the manifesto of the JMM. Sibu Soren maintained his proximity with the govt and gets himself out of the contact with his fellow mates. But Congress had maintained a good relationship with the JMM and it reflected in the 1985 election when JMM has bagged 14 seats in Bihar assembly. Congress in this period again got enough

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<sup>597</sup> A.Ghosh, 1998, op.cit. p-52

<sup>598</sup> *ibid*, p-54

<sup>599</sup> *ibid*

<sup>600</sup> *ibid*, p-54



support from many angels. But nothing positive is happened for the Jharkhand State, the movement in this period was clearly contained within memorandums, seminars. The leaders were becoming 'voiceless or plain 'yeas man' once they elected'<sup>601</sup>.

Post 1986 period of the Jharkhand movement was considered as the period of reconstruction of the movement. However the split within the parties were treacable in almost all the phases of Jharkhand Movement. In this era the students' of Jharkhand become consciously participated in the movement and formed All India Jharkhand Students' Union (AJSU) under the demand for separate state of Jharkhand. Many other parties such as Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee (JCC) and Jharkhand Peoples Party were also emerged as the major ally of AJSU in 1991<sup>602</sup>. The formation of the AJSU was directly opened up the platform for students' unity. It was radical in nature and opted for militant struggle to achieve the age old demand of separate state. The occasional upsurges, agitation, Bandha, Gherao were taken into account to achieve free Jharkhand within the jurisdiction of Indian Constitution.<sup>603</sup>. In the course of the movement the demand of 'No Jharkhand, No election' was taken as an agenda in its conference in 1986 at Jamshedpur<sup>604</sup>. AJSU collectively appreciated the demand with all the Chotanagpurians including non-tribals and submitted a memorandum to the then Prime Minister Rajib Gandhi focusing on linguistic, socio-cultural homogeneity of all the forests belt comprising the area of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana regions of Bihar, jungle mahal part of West Bengal, some forested belt of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.<sup>605</sup> The emergence of Jharkhand Coordination Committee also got refueled with the demand of separate state. Participants got themselves accustomed with view of other political parties emerged in the 1990s. Hundreds of other political parties, organizations were also emerged for Jharkhand cry. It was seen that different parties and their demands actually radicalized the process.

On the part of electoral process, the relative success in the Loksabha and in the assemblies particularly in West Bengal the Jharkhandi groups took its opportunity and widening the issue of

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<sup>601</sup> R.D.Munda & B.P.Keshari, 2003, 'Recent Development in Jharkhand Movement' in 'The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples Struggle for Autonomy in India, op.cit,p-220

<sup>602</sup> K.Singh,2004, op.cit, p-135

<sup>603</sup> A.Ghosh, 1998, op.cit, p-59

<sup>604</sup> Ekka, 2000, op.cit, p-55

<sup>605</sup> ibid,p-55

greater Jharkhand. The issues of greater Jharkhand in accumulating large number of tribes and non-tribes reside upon a large geographical area were taken surprisingly. In 1987 it was decided to extend the demand for separate state comprising 21 districts of West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.<sup>606</sup> But in the 1990s the JMM has decided to join hands with the BJP and confined them with the demand for separate state within the geographical area of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana for maximum support of the non-tribals and accordingly a Jharkhand Bananchal Area has been set up<sup>607</sup>.

Earlier, in the course of the movement, demand of Jharkhand state was suffered itself with the conflicting demand of geographical boundaries<sup>608</sup>. Apart from the perception that the area comprising Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana were the main centre of industrial capital, it shows a continuous reference of revival of past claims taken into consideration by the adivasi leaders. In order to legitimize the demand for so-called free Jharkhand including the area of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana and later the outward claim on the basis of inclusion of larger forested areas were taken empirically. The shift probably has come out from a notion of environment or ecological consideration. It would be pertinent to consider that Jharkhand Movement started more on the basis of ecological notion with economic and political consideration subsumed in it. In the case of Jharkhand Movement the ecological basis of the movement can be found in the traditional resource management inscribed in agricultural practices.

The JMM considered that the revival of the old system to a great extent realistic to achieve prime objective in the so-called homeland. However in the last couple of years the original question of land and forest rights remained unresolved which caused massive repression for the tribals. On other hand JMM rely on the agrarian issues to promote adivasi solidarity, thus the movement lived for another couple of years if JMM would have been consider only political or ethnic

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<sup>606</sup> A.Ghosh, 1998, op.cit, p-61

<sup>607</sup> ibid,p-61

<sup>608</sup> Here conflicts in demand refers to the actual area of Jharkhand, which was sometime created problems within some of the flag holders of different parties, Mr. N.E.Horo president of a truncated Jharkhand Party placed a memorandum to Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1973 with a bigger domicile area consisting of West Bengal, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh, but Jaipal Singh has left some parts which Mr. Horo demanded but included some more Jungly part of lower UP, Bihar and MP, for details pls see A.K.Roy, pp-79-80 who is the trade union leader and founder of Marxist Co-ordination Committee and a former member of Parliament ' Jharkhand: Internal Colonialism' in S.Bosu Mallick edited "Indigenous Struggle Movement for Autonomy in Jharkhand, op.cit.

considerations only then the movement would have stopped after the first General Election of India held in the year 1952 when JMM got majority or after the making of Jharkhand State carved out from Bihar. Economic and political contents of tribal movement were many a times appropriated by the non-tribals or the tribal aristocracy, leading the movement to a dead end. But as the ecological essence remained intact the tribal movements got refueled and rejuvenated.

The main argument on this would be that the demand of larger state, a 'greater Jharkhand' patronage the existing state of nature. On the other hand deterioration of the tribal number and the infiltration of the non-tribals in a large number into the region may be acted functionally behind such decision. In the meanwhile after some vigorous discussions and demands the emergence of Jharkhand Area Development Council bill in 1991 had been favorable to some extent because it added Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana division into a single unit,<sup>609</sup> which certainly open up the hope for greater Jharkhand. But again faction came into play as AJSU decided to support only sixteen districts from Bihar, not twenty five districts from four states.

In the last few years before the emergence of Jharkhand State the participants' political parties acted radically through meetings, rallies, dharnas, bandhs etc. In this provocative situation a Committee on Jharkhand Matter was set up peopled with different representative groups to look after the whole demand. In 1990, the committee in its report recommended the formation of Autonomous General Council (JGC) like Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in West Bengal and formation of a 'over all cultural development authority for the development of Jharkhand as cultural region'. It also claimed in its supplementary note that without a single political administrative unit in the form of Jharkhand State with the areas of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana in Bihar, and bordering areas of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh 'will not adequate to fulfill the aspirations of the people'<sup>610</sup>. According to the demand of RCJM the Bihar Govt formed Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) in 1995 under the Chairmanship of Sibn Soren, however most of the political parties stood against such decision because they wanted the status of a State. But later within few year it expires because of the reluctant attitude

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<sup>609</sup> A.Ghosh, 1998, op.cit, p-68

<sup>610</sup> RCJM, op.cit, p-50

of the then CM Laloo Prasad Yadav's govt<sup>611</sup>. After few dramatic ups and downs when BJP in the 1998 formed its allied govt (NDA) decided to carve out a Vananchal State. And accordingly on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000, the 28<sup>th</sup> State of Indian Constitution emerged. It was carved out from Bihar with an area of 79,714 sq km with a considerably less tribal percentage. It constitutes only 27% and most of the area in West Bengal and Orissa were left out.<sup>612</sup>

Before the formation of the Jharkhand state the area which was proposed by the functionaries of the movement was 1, 87,646 Sq Km with a population of 40 million.<sup>613</sup>

**Table 6.3 Proposed Jharkhand Areas**

Bihar		79,638 Sq.Km.
District :	Singbhum	13,447 Sq.Km
	Ranchi, Gumla	
	Lohardanga	18,331 Sq.Km
	Hazaribagh, Giridih	18,060 Sq.Km
	Palamou	12,667 Sq.Km
	Dhanbad	2,994 Sq.Km
	Santal Pargana	14,129 Sq.Km
	(Dumka, Godda, Deoghar, Sahebganj)	
West Bengal		26,864 Sq.Km
District		
	Midnapur	13,724 Sq.Km
	Purulia	6,259 Sq.Km
	Bankura	6,881 Sq.Km
Orissa		45,897 Sq.Km
District		
	Keonjhar	3,240 Sq.Km
	Sundargarh	9,675 Sq.Km
	Mayurbhanj	10,412 Sq.Km

<sup>611</sup> A.Ghosh, 1998, op.cit

<sup>612</sup> S.Bosu Mallick, op.cit

<sup>613</sup> S.Basu, 1994, op.cit

Sambalpur	17,570 Sq.Km
Madhya Pradesh	35,247 Sq.Km
District	
Raigarh	12,910 Sq.Km
Surguja	22,337 Sq.Km

Source: Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Memorandum to the Hon'ble President of India on 11<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1989, see also Jharkhand Movement, Ethnicity and Culture of Silence, Sajal Basu, 1994, P-2-3

There was a difference between figures 5.2 and 6.1 regarding the proposed and present area, the Jharkhandi leaders were not able to get all the proposed area they demanded while they have only achieved 79,261 Sq.km. successfully, the reason was partly because of the lack of coordination with other areas specially in West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh and partly because of the political stands taken by the selected states, that is why the state had less district of what the proposed is numbered.

**Table 6.4 Present Jharkhand Areas**

Present Area:	79,714 sq.km
Population	26,945,829

	<b>Districts</b>	<b>2001 Census</b>	<b>2011 Census</b>
1	Bokaro (183sq.km)	1,777,662	
2	Dumka (3714sq.km)	1,759,602	
3	Giridih (4854 sq.km)	1,904,430	
4	Deogarh (2478.61sq.km)	1,165,390	
5	Jamatra (1802sq.km)	Not available	790,207
6	Gumla (5327sq.km)	1,346,767	
7	Koderma (1500sq.km)	499,403	
8	Lohardanga (1490.80sq.km)	364,521	
9	Palamou (5044sq.km)	2,098,359	
10	West Singhbhum (5351sq.km)	2,082,795	
11	Ranchi (7574sq.km)	2,785,064	
12	Saraikela-Kharsawan (2727sq.km)	Not available	1,063,458

13	Chhatra (3706sq.km)	791,434	
14	Dhanban (2074.78sq.km)	2,397,702	
15	Garhwah (4044sq.km)	1,035,464	
16	Godda (2110sq.km)	1,047,939	
17	Hazaribagh (4313sq.km)	2,277,475	
18	Khunti (2367sq.km)	Not available	530,299
19	Latehar (3630sq.km)	Not available	725,673
20	Pakur (1806sq.km)	701,664	
21	East Singbhum (3533sq.km)	1,982,988	
22	Ramgarh (1389sq.km)	Not available	949,159
23	Sahibganj (1599sq.km)	927,770	
24	Simdega (3750sq.km)	Not available	599,813

Some of the districts were carved out after 2001. Therefore population data are only available in the 2011 census reports.

Source; census of India 2001& Map of India, See also Jharkhand govt websites

## 6.4 Conclusion

The politics of Jharkhand in its success of attaining separate Jharkhand State (Though it was not the actual area) was significant. Because it not only fulfil the cherished demand of separate statehood but also shows loyalty with the people of Jharkhand state. The success involed in strategic emancipation evolved through long period of political ups and down and finally succeeded with lot of criticism and significance. Probably the first question which came up with huge debate that why National Parties like Congress (I), CPI (M), BJP, CPI not supported the demand for separate state, it was argued that the CPI(M) actually not supported the movement because it shows a secessionist approach as well as gone through a communal approach.<sup>614</sup> In fact at the time of JMM and its extension programme at Purulia and Jhargram it consistently criticized the then West Bengal CM late Communist leader Jyoti Basu for his narrow Bengali chauvinism.<sup>615</sup> However it cannot be denied that the movement was lie within factionalism

<sup>614</sup> Santosh Rana, 'The Jharkhand Movement' in S.Bosu Mallick edited op.cit, p-117, please see chapter four for detail

<sup>615</sup> Amit Roy, in S.Bosu Mallik edited op.cit, pp-73-77

because it does not able to address the problem within the periphery of class struggle which could be developed under the participation of left ideologies.

Apart from the political aspirations there were other important issues which were dovetailed with the success of Jharkhand Movement. In a larger context, particularly in the context of environment and ecology it signifies that the emergence of new state has established the ecological prudence of the Jharkhandis as representative and authority. However in the entire movement ecological and environmental factors were subsumed in the electoral politics and even after the creation of separate state no such policies were rendered to meet the ecological questions raised by the movement. The question of forest rights, the agriculture and its associated culture were taken up as an issue in late 1970s particularly by the JMM. And was reflected in Singbhum in 1978 when tribal people, particularly the Hos reacted against the illegal destruction of forests by agencies of modernity. The movement was taken place against the implantation of teak (which is commercially valuable) instead of Sal tree. It was organized through clear felling of trees though it was symbolic. It was carried out with a view of ecological knowledge that nothing grew under teak, specially the bushes, grasses which was used to take as necessary food by the elephants. Therefore it curtailed the subsistence practice of the local wildlife.<sup>616</sup> In this movement JMM has succeed to develop and maintained a reciprocal loyalty to the demand of the aboriginals. It was substantiate through the notion of common treasure. Even though most of the activists allegedly defended the work of implanting teak and raised slogan ‘Sal is Jharkhand, Teak is Bihar’<sup>617</sup>. As we discussed in our earlier chpaters that in the early 1940s there were no clear cut environmental agenda, not even reflected anywhere in the memorandums. Ethnical problems were the main concern which may undermine the popular practices. But suddenly the environmental aspirations were largely incorporated in the seventies. The assertion of tradition of collective farming, preservation of jungle land and the egalitarian concept of land use became prominent and asserted forcefully<sup>618</sup>. However one may argue that, revisiting the past was taken as agenda to define a ritualistic approach towards the sympathy of the tribes and according to this notion many alternative action was taken place to render ecological revivalism.

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<sup>616</sup> Vinita Damodaran, 'Environment, Ethnicity and History in Chotanagpur, India, 1850-1970, Environment and History, Vol-03, Oct, 1997, pp-273-298, URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20723049> accessed on 02.09.2013

<sup>617</sup> Madhav Gadgill, Deforestation, Problems and Prospects, Society for Promotion of Waste land Development, 1989, p-765 See detail in [www.ces.ennet.in/biodiversity/sdev/mg/pdfs/mg087.doc](http://www.ces.ennet.in/biodiversity/sdev/mg/pdfs/mg087.doc)

<sup>618</sup> Damodaran, op.cit.

It cannot be denied that Jharkhand Movement had a very strong territorial association which could be traced back to 18<sup>th</sup> century when the adivasi rose revolt against the alien intruders for the sake of homeland. Though after a series of debate on the issue of 'Diku or 'Dikuization' of the whole movement, in practical the accent on the demand actually mixed up and converted to a larger hybrid platform and came out from the orthodoxy. JMM uses 'green colour flag' to show the ecological plurality of all the Jharkhandi adivasi and also chose its election symbol as sismandi, (A particular kind of fowl sacrificed to bonga)<sup>619</sup>. Not only JMM, other organizations like Jharkhand Buddhijibi Manch (Jharkhand Intellectual Forum) which was active from 1986 has also taken some environmental friendly agenda. The forum has decided to bring back the Sahrul, and Karam festival and it was celebrated in 1990 at Hazaribagh for the first time. About 5000 tribals have participated in the festival.<sup>620</sup> It was facilitated several seminars and criticized govt industrial policies and launched campaign for ecological sustainability through an environmental brigade<sup>621</sup>.

Even of as regards to the voting percentage in some area in general, depended upon the choices it shows that Jharkhand Party is leading with 42.5% from the congress and Jan Sangh whose voting percentage stood 32.5% & 25.86 consecutively. The majority of the tribals voted for Jharkhand Party because of their sacred Cock symbol (Domestic fowl). They refused to vote for other symbol.<sup>622</sup> Thus the use of symbol of sacred things became a monopoly during Jharkhand movement in order to popularize tribal culture. The assertion of symbols of traditional things and colours signifies the fights for virtue and against the evil. This is how the movement popularizes the environmental perception. One of the main reasons for the survival of environmental components despite of the electoral power structure was the memory, which played a vital role in constructing motivation for separate statehood. Thus the politics of Jharkhand did something which in contrary has been able to unite the factions long after the emergence of political consciousness.

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<sup>619</sup> *ibid*, p-291

<sup>620</sup> Ekka et.al.,2000, *op.cit*, p-116

<sup>621</sup> A.Ghosh,1998, *op.cit*, p-65

<sup>622</sup> L.P.Vidyarthi, 'An Appraisal of the Leadership Pattern Among the Tribes of Bihar, in K.S.Singh edited 'Tribal Situation in India' 1972, p-449



*CHAPTER-7*

**CONCLUSION**

## Chapter 7

### Conclusions:

**J**harkhand movement was a rational movement and formidable in southern Bihar since its inception. It was the major ethnic movement expressed through territorial integrity in many phases of armed struggle since the British penetration into the region. After years of armed struggle since 1930 the political consciousness started occurring to counter all the perils existed in Jharkhand. In the context of a large scale change to the traditional society tremendous efforts were constantly applied to heal the wounds of the tribal populations and to solve various maladies pre-existed in the region. Considering the situation of the Jharkhand and the miseries prevailed since long time it is far more difficult to accept a single cause of the movement, because the movement includes every common factor existed in a tribal society. Apart from deep sense of unity factions came when the movement began to forge the ideas into national level through electoral politics. In fact the search for a tribal homeland through numerous objectives had failed to achieve that goal.

The great final achievement came into existence when the separate state was created out of the so-called tribal district of Bihar. It was the 28<sup>th</sup> Province of the Indian nation state with only 27% of the ST population. After the formation of the new state it was labeled by the scholars as ‘The deformed Child’, because it not only failed to create dominant nationality on the ground of the less tribal population but also failed to address many regional problems directly related to Jal, Jungle and Zamin. The state was separated successfully however regional problems remained unresolved because the tribal policies formulated by the state as well as centre were misused and not coming in a proper way. Several laws which were enacted in both the period were not sensitive to the indigenous people. In the case of Jharkhand, several policies vis-à-vis laws are enacted separating tribal communities as a part of development process.

What we assumed from our findings that from 1930 onwards Jharkhand Movement took different approaches towards multiple questions in the course of the Movement. The leaders were flexible inspite of the fractions because they successfully incorporated all the factors such as Ethnicity, language, education, jobs, reservation, and environmental issues in the single umbrella under pro-Jharkhandi vision of new tribal state. In the wake of national interests,

Jharkhand demand was being taken as subject of electoral politics to perceive balance between regionalism and national politics which would uphold tribal integrity. On the other hand changing dimensions in the rural tribal belt through social transformation and economic situation the functionaries were guided by the vision of larger democratic compulsions opted for greater cooperation from the outsiders as well. They thought that for the separate Jharkhand it is necessary to mixed up different voices against state objectives. However there were serious obligations that the rise of the factions and ideological clash demoralizes the tribes Community.

The success behind such large scale mass mobilization towards a tribal state was in most cases productive in Jharkhand because of the historical legacies, regional environmental settings and the traditional components acted influential in contextualizing the present. Nevertheless those ideological resources dovetailed with modern day politics to secure win over the external agencies, vis-à-vis the state functionaries. But unfortunately the politics itself brings periodic tensions and skepticism in the region, alienated a large number of tribal communities from the original demand, indirectly helped them to accustom with the alien organization. All these transformation began with the Internal clashes, fragmentation and factionalism which appropriated the originality of the movement to a great extent. Sometimes social transformation due to large scale conversion never attained any political attentions due to factionalism and poor ideological stands, as a result in a broader context emotion converted into intellectualism by the presence of political animosity.

The rapid change in the Jharkhandi tribal society took swamped since the early decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. First, the tribes were converted by the Christian Missionaries and then it came into contact with other religions through large scale in-migration into the resource rich area. Within a few years there were large commensuration towards Hindu culture. In many parts of Jharkhand, material and non-material lives of Mundas and Oraons were changed because of the alien ruler, even the Munda community now forgets to observe propitiation of '*Singbonga*' by offering *Arwa* rice<sup>623</sup>. Traditional dresses have changed drastically, Mundas are used to wear Botoi (loin Cloth) and Gamcha (Coarse towel) but now they were using pain or colour paria<sup>624</sup>. They became

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<sup>623</sup> Sachhidananda, 1960, 'Cultural Change in Tribal Bihar : Mundas and Oraons', in Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, July, Govt. of India, p-8

<sup>624</sup> *ibid*, p-10

ecologically cornered because non converted Mundas never eat beef and pork because of the taboos, but converted Mundas and Oraons now like to eat pig<sup>625</sup>. The Munda and Oraons have lost their hunting practices, occasionally they used to go for *Phagu Shikar* (a customary expedition to kill a beast)) but now such expeditions completely changed. Even the hunting ceremonies which were considered one of the important ceremonies in the lives of the tribes of Jharkhand have lost its essence, now there were few ceremonies observed such as *Bishu sendra*, performed by Oraons, *Mukhiya Harai* is a drink party. They lost their cultural borrowings; they lost their traditional songs and dances because they thought that the traditional tribal dances are old fashioned<sup>626</sup>.

Ecologically they became seriously affected; we have seen the rise of Industrialization and the forests policies since the colonial time which were aimed to convert forest lands into agricultural lands became devastated in tribal economy which was part and parcel of tribal culture. They lost their customary rights and forced to migrate to other regions for alternative livelihood. The alienation from their own *khuntkatti* land produced a sharp cultural distance with those of the oppressors. To the outside observer the forests was mere a place for revenues but the eternal believes of the tribes have never seen forests as a mere commodity in the market. These clear environmental factors came as different exponent through different ideas before rapidly developing modern forces. But strikingly the Jharkhand Movement only reacted against such destructive attitude after 1970s. Probably since 1970s the composition of tribal traditional leadership in regional parties got increased than the left parties as well as than Congress, BJP and Janata Dal. More than 55% of the Munda traditional leaders are with the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and Jharkhand Party led by N.E. Horo. Around 45% of the Oraons and Santhals are the members of the JMM and 35% of the Oraons are the members of the JMM and Jharkhand Party<sup>627</sup>. Their number heavily influenced the followers which excites profound respect that actually helps the tribal communities for a better life through environmental movements. The orders of the post independence India by and large had coupled with the corruptions in forest

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<sup>625</sup> *ibid*, p-17

<sup>626</sup> *ibid*, pp-28-29

<sup>627</sup> Harimohan, 'Leadership and Development: A study of the role of tribal leaders in self governing institutions in Bihar' in 'Tribal Leaderships in Bihar' ed. By S.P.Sinha, The Bihar Tribal Welfare Research Institute, Govt of Bihar, 1991, pp-24-26

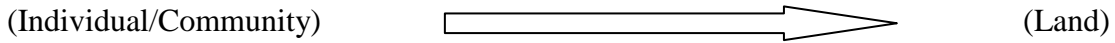
areas. Even after the state formation we had seen that illegal felling is still continued without any fear of police or administration.

The situation of the tribal communities, their traditional demands, social conditions and ecological understanding rapidly replaced by electoral politics because of the occurrence of the BJP in the regional politics. From there on Jharkhand parties accepted the smaller territorial area of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana. The existing politics forced them to leave four other adjoining states in the formation of the new Jharkhand State. This sudden change into the politics as well as in the old demand undermined the regional tribal politics. The emergence of the BJP and their electoral manifesto matters most which steadily alters the traditional demand because it came from a mature understanding of the area as well as politics. They successfully restrained the left ideology from further expansion and proved the other parties as average and unproductive. On the other hand Jharkhandi leaders along with the AJSU have failed to mobilize tribal demand against the BJPs publicity. However the movement started again for a greater Jharkhand with the adjoining states by the JMM.

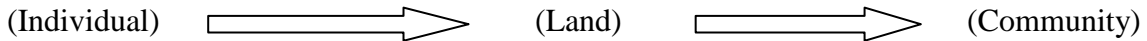
The movement for a greater Jharkhand has created many questions. To understand the mindset of the tribal leaders we take up ecological matters. Marx observed that the economic orientation of tribal communities was based on 'primitive communism'. The first form of landed property is tribal communal property. The word primitive communism refers a concept of egalitarianism, which is reflected in the practices of the tribes in the region, equal rights over forests, land and resources was the basic tribal law in the Jharkhand Region. In the Marxian analysis of primitive communism or tribal community the nature played a vital role. As Ferenc Tokei (1966) interestingly observed and explains that all the characteristics of primitive tribal form was retained in Asiatic Mode of Production (AMP). That is to say if we assume AMP to have existed in India, our example of Jharkhand tribal community then inherits continuity in the mode of production which originated from primitive tribal form. The traditional system of property ownership seems to be still continuing<sup>628</sup>.

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<sup>628</sup> Ferenc Tokei, 1996, 'Sur le mode de production asiatique' Budapest, Academiai



On the contrary, in the Germanic Society from where Feudalism and later Capitalism developed can be characterized like that:



Picture made according to Tokei (1966)

Now how this inter-relationship established the fact that in the Jharkhand Movement, the question of autonomy was based on acute ecological term and not for economic considerations. What we assumed from the above detail that, in the tribal community the individual rights are subsumed in the community rights and in the mainstream social structure that developed from Germanic form is opposite of the primitive form. So the individual accumulation was not present in the primitive society. This picture of tribal society encompasses the tribal beliefs that have been identical with tribal practices. The term Ecology has been in all form derived from the ancient memory of land and forest use.

It has been stated earlier that the Jharkhand Movement started more on the basis of ecological notion with economic and political consideration subsumed in it. In India so many peasant uprisings had taken place with the economic consideration and other considerations subsumed in it. To cite one example Tebhaga Movement in Bengal succeeded over its agenda and then the movement was over. But in the case of Jharkhand Movement the basis of the movement within which the agricultural practices were inscribed clearly manifested in the movement and the movement gained politically and succeeded in securing their so called homeland. However the original question of land and forest rights remained unresolved and perhaps this is why the movement and alienation from mainstream economy is still active in the region. If it would have been on the basis of economic or political or ethnic considerations only then the movement would have stopped after the first General Election of India held in the year 1952 when JMM got majority or after the making of Jharkhand State carved out from Bihar. Economic and political contents of tribal movement were many a times appropriated by the non-tribals or the tribal

aristocracy, leading the movement to a dead end. But as the ecological essence remained intact the tribal movements got refueled and rejuvenated. Though the form of leadership of the movement has changed with new political/ economic slogans but the same essence of ecological right to the tribal remain intact. Sustenance of the movement indicates that its essence is not located in economic or political consideration but ecological rights of the tribals.

Indeed there was a growing realization that the urbanization in tribal area caused identity crisis, job deprivation, hunger and ecological devastation. And it was accepted widely in the Action Plan on Climate Change 2013 that the Jharkhand state is vulnerable towards climatic change because of its climatic variability and to a great extent due to rapid urbanization and Industrialization. Since its inception, Jharkhand state have formed several administrative bodies to look after various sectors, such as Jharkhand State Pollution Control Board, Jharkhand Energy Policy, Jharkhand State Water Policy, Jharkhand Disaster Management Plans, State forestry Sector Initiative etc<sup>629</sup>. However these plans do not properly meted out because it refused to pay attention towards adivasi needs. Therefore policies towards Jharkhand needs proper understanding of tribal communal system and careful attention must be taken in account that the developments are for the benefit of the tribes.

Besides these social enigmas the current political activism ultimately gave birth to Maphiadom and this was happen through lumpenisation of economy. Till date the forests and land encroachment process is remain active in the region which disassociated the tribes from their home. Industrial developments to a great extent were carried out by curtailing tribal possession and rights they obtained through tenancy acts which casued expulsions from home and hearth. So to say, the material and non material lives of the tribes were thoroughly trampled. Besides this, it is really a heart rending fact that the govt do not cautious enough towards tribal policies. The policy of sustainable development has yet to adopt by the govt. Yes, as we noted that in Jharkhand development induced displacement, in such a condition, the compensation of the landless tribes or peasant has to be born within a stipulated time and they have to give prior opportunity to be a worker in the industrial sectors. Whenever the government took land for public purposes, the tribal people should be given alternative land as compensation and the adoption of policies needs sympathetic consideration as well. However apart from several

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<sup>629</sup> [www.jharenvis.nic.in](http://www.jharenvis.nic.in)

attempts by the government, in recent times land and forest rights becoming easy target of the private entrepreneur who have never bothered about the lives and culture of the indigenous people associated with local landscapes. Keeping in mind, that the land is highly sensitive to the tribal culture and thus needs to be handling carefully, otherwise it could be a disaster for the tribes in the coming future.

In the course of the study we have gone through many literatures broadly developed towards anthropological understandings, very few historical attempts have been made comprehensively to locate historical evolution of the Jharkhand Movement through the lens of tribal environmentalism. We believe that there are ample scopes for further empirical research on the part of tribal environmentalism and Jharkhand Movement which can be elaborately developed through historical studies of the region. The ecology and cultural understanding of Jharkhand tribes can be studied more through tribal knowledge of effects and sustenance. This can be done with adopting specific tribal communities, for example Santals are good agriculturist but Hos and Birhors are substantially depended on the ecological resources, there by the impact of forest reservation has a significant impact on Birhors and Hos rather than the Santals.



*CHAPTER-8*

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# Appendices

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This part of the thesis contains some of the rare memorandums submitted by the Jharkhandi Parties and Organisation during the Jharkhand Separation Movement. I have taken an exhaustive task to recover some old memorandums from Bihar State Archives, Patna which were almost mutilated and damaged. Special care has been taken to produce correct spellings, but some of the portion of the original memorandums is unreadable and thereby impossible to produce correctly. In this case I put some ..... which signifies that the letters are missing. These memorandums are original and true.

## **Appenxdix A**

### **Memorandums**

A meeting of the Adivasi Kisan Samaj, Kolhan and Porhat division was formed against the Paddy levi order of the govt at singbhum. It was formed under the leadership of Satish Chandra Kora and Mukund Ram, who are professionally teachers of Jagannathpur, the Head quarter of the AKS. In connection with the order a letter has been sent to Minister in charge of Supply and Price Control Department.

**To**

**The Hon'ble**

**Mr. Anurag Narayan Sinha**

**Minister**

**Govt. of Bihar**

**Supply and Price Control Department**

**Patna**

**Dated, 10<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1947**

Hon'ble Sir,

This is a humble deputation on behalf of the AKS, Kolhan and Porhat Govt estates in the district of Singbhum purporting to intrude upon your august self with the following in the hope of seeking redress at your generous hand.

That the district of Singbhum is a deficit area for paddy and rice and it was only due to the food grains from neighbouring states of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar during the war times its necessities for bare consumptions of food has to be met.

That as typical of the hilly and underdeveloped district the soil of this region is not so productive and its present's great contrast to that of Bihar proper. Approximately only few percent of the recorded land (Vide A.D Tuckey's settlement report 1913-18) being the really paddy growing one of the three classes of land, a) Gora, b) Bad, C) Bera comprise the total cultivable land, the

Gora and Bad form about 70 % of rayat holdings which produce cereals and paddy and even if paddy, consequent on the good rain to the extent of half as that of Bera land.

Added with these innate characteristics of the land, the absence of proper land really useful irrigation schemes and the few and seemingly useful minor irrigation schemes constructed during the war, totally failed for the last two or three years, and this year too in most of the parts the cultivated land was much affected due to drought and disease.

That in the background of all these prevalent state of affairs the imposition of paddy levy order by the popular govt needs a special study and considerations.

That in execution of this order the demand noticed paddy levy have been served upon many who do not own even 25 acres of land or 200 maunds of paddy. While it may be noted that in many cases the rayats who are said to be in possession of 25 acres the stand and minimum acreage for the basis of the order, actually got gross yield less than two hundred maunds at the end of the year.

That it is the custom among the Hos and the other tribes of singhbhum that the ancestral land is divided among the descendants by the Panchayat or mankis and Mundas since last surveyed and settled in 1913-18 by Mr. A.D.Tuckey , the then settlement officer of chotanagpur has undergone a divisions and sub divisions among brothers, sons and grandsons. This partition though without mutation by the rights of records is accepted by Kolhan Govt. as legal partition. Thus individually or jointly many who have been served with notices do not posses 25 acres of land or 200 mds. of paddy.

That such kisans who are not in possession of 25 acres of land or 200mds of paddy submitted petition of enquiry into the nature of their land, their gross produce if any; but the learned deputy commissioner rejected all such applications. A specimen of copies of rejected applications is annexed herewith for your honour's kind perusal.

That equally distinct as the land itself is , in its ruggedness unproductively and infertility from any part of North Bihar, its system of engaging labourers by the rayats of peculiar nature, which

is prevalent more as a convention and privilege rather than a adoption, handed down from generations. The rayats in general, engage their co-villagers and pay the paddy as daily wages after daily labour in the field. Thus whatever surplus found is disposed of and they are seldom with surplus whatever in the real sense of the term.

Besides it seems a mere riddle rather than a practicability when we look at the target fixed for this district so poor, undeveloped and hilly.

That to crown all , it is no gain saying the fact that this district is socially, economically and educationally backward mostly forested and favoured with hills. There are sheltered nooks and hilly tracts at places inaccessible where the natives live upon roots and fruits and there is no year that passes without a report of crop failure in any locality. As a matter of fact sir, it is simply inconsistent and unsounding to think in terms of paddy levy where semi famine conditions prevail some way or other and the hills and the forests around. We wonder such pre-posterous demand on the part of the popular govt is unwarranted and uncalled for without due probe and enquiry.

Under the circumstances, it is prayed that a general enquiry may kindly be made, into the amount of paddy and the acreage of land owned by individual kisans, who have been served with demand notices and the cases that do not come under this order after enquiry may kindly be withdrawn.

And for this act of kindness the kisans of singbhum in general and of kolhan and prohat in particular will ever pray as in duty bound for your prosperity and longevity.

We have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/Mukund Ram

Secretary, Adivasi Kisan Sanmaj, Kolhan & Porhat,

Singbhum, H.O jagannathpur (P.O)

Sri, Satish Kumar Kora

President

## **Appendix B**

### **MEMORANDUM ON BEHALF OF THE ADIBASI SABHA, PORHAT PARGANA, DISTRICT SINGBHUM (BIHAR) TO THE EXCLUDED AND PARTIALLY EXCLUDED AREA SUB COMMITTEE, CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, NEW DELHI.**

The humble memorial on behalf of the Adivasi Sabha, Porhat Pargana, District Singbhum (Bihar) most respectfully showeth:-

1. That your memorialists most respectfully claim that Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas (Bihar) be forthwith constituted into a separate PROVINCE OF JHARKHAND on the following grounds.
  - a) Thus racially, linguistically and culturally adivasis (Tribal people) of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas are quite a separate and distinct race from the Biharis or the Bihar Hindus.
  - b) That adivasi of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas have nothing in common with the Biharis or the Bihar Hindus to justify these tracts being permanently tagged with Bihar.
  - c) That for the preservation of their language culture and civilization for their due progress and all round development, in short for their very survival on earth adivasis must have a separate homeland a separate province.
  - d) That financially Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas can be a self supporting administrative unit as these areas are the richest in minerals wealth in the whole of India and according to some in the whole world. Iron and Coal the two most important minerals indispensable for the industrial progress of a country are found in abundance in the district of Singbhum and Manbhum in Chotanagpur. Besides such other minerals as copper, zinc, manganese, gold, china clay, limestone, soapstone, asbestos, mica and a lot of other useful metals are also plentifully available in Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas and no province in India existing or preservative can stand in comparison with these areas in mineral wealth. Moreover these areas are richest in forest products also. There is enough scope for agricultural development too. These natural resources when developed will immensely add to government revenue.



- e) That if independence is the birth right of India and all sections of Indian people are to enjoy the freedom, adivasis of Chotanagpur and Santal parganas must have a separate province to equally enjoy the same long lost freedom.
- f) That adivasis are the earliest settlers of India they are the only true children of the soil and as much in a free India adivasis have the first and foremost claim to enjoy freedom and to enjoy the same adivasis of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas must have a separate province.
- g) That the claim of the adivasis of Chiotanagpur and Santal Parganas is in every respect much more stronger than the demand of West Bengal, East Punjab and of the other proposed province of India.
- h) That the Indian National Congress in its Karachi Session (1931) has already recognized the principal of recognition of provinces on racial, linguistic and cultural basis.
- i) That geographically Chotanagpur Plateau i.e Chotanagpur and Santal parganas form a natural division by itself quiet separate and distinct from bihar and south Bihar.
- j) That the separation of the provinces of Orissa, Sind and frontier also justified the creation and constitution of Chotanagpur and Santal parganas into a separate province :-

	<u>Area</u>	<u>Population</u>
Orissa.....	13,706.....	53,06,142..
Sind.....	46,378.....	38,87,070..
Frontier .....	13,518....	24,25,076..
Chotanagpur Plateau.....	66,624....	1,44,51,044

N.B. :- the census figure of 1941 shows a total population of 97,50,796 of the Chotanagpur Division and Santal pargana out of which adivasis form 44,51,109 i.e. adivasis form 45 % of the total population of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas but the census figure of 1941 are misleading and unreliable as over whelming majority of enumerators and supervisors during the census operation were non-adivasis i.e. Hindus a number larger percentage of adivasis has been recorded otherwise and adivasis challenge the authenticity of the above figure and claim the adivasis in Chotanagpur and Santal parganas from 75 pc of the total population of these areas.

\*\* the census figure of Manbhum for 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 will clearly show beyond any shadow of doubt that the adivasi population in Manbhum in which it was predominant in the earliest days in the district has been gradually decreasing, and adivasis who once formed a majority population in the district have now become minority. This shows that adivasis have been recorded otherwise similar to these in other district of the province.

- k) That if the Muslim League demand of a sovereign independent Pakistan state is to conceded the adivasis rightful demand not of a sovereign independent Jharkhand but of an autonomous PROVINCE OF JHARKHAND within Indian union must for justice make be forthwith conceded.
2. That for the unification and consolidation of the tribal people (adivasis) your memorialists claim that such adjoining districts of west Bengal, C.P or Orissa or such sub-divisions or thana areas thereof or neighbouring tracts as are predominantly inhabited by adivasis and which can be conveniently added must be included in the proposed province of Jharkhand.
3. (a) That your memorialists claim that in the proposed province of Jharkhand, adivasis must have representation in the provincial assembly on population basis.  
(b) That experience has proved that general electorate with reservation of seats is vitally harmful to the best interest of the adivasis and your memorialists therefore most empathetically claim separate electorate in the provincial assembly of Jharkhand.
4. That as adivasis legitimate claims in higher administration of the province have been totally neglected and willfully disregarded your memorialists most empathetically claim adequate representation in the provincial cabinet of Jharkhand on population basis.
5. That as adivasis legitimate claims in the higher administration of India have been till now altogether callously neglected and disregarded your memorialists claim that adivasis of india must have adequate representation in the central legislature as well as in the central cabinet of Indian Union on population basis.
6. that in the past through the interference of non-adivasis it has been seen that adivasis have not been properly represented in the local bodies, your memorialist most empathetically claim that in the proposed province of Jharkhand adivasis must have representation in all local bodies on population basis.

7. That your memorialists claim that for the speedy uplift and progress of the adivasis sufficient funds out of the provincial as well as of the central revenue must be provided annually for the preservation and development of adivasi language, culture and civilization.

8. that agriculture is the only occupation of the adivasis your memorialists must empathetically claim that there should be statutory safeguards of the adivasis rights and the land of the adivasis must be inalienable and in no account should be passed to the hands of non adivasis.

9. That as adivasis are unrepresented or meagerly represented memorialists must empathetically claim that adivasis must be adequately represented in all branches of the provincial (Jharkhand) and as well as in the central government services.

10. That your memorialists are strongly of opinion that election to the proposed province of Jharkhand Assembly as well as the legal bodies must be on the basis of adult franchise.

Dated Chakradharpur

(Porhat Pargana, District Singhbhum)

The 12<sup>th</sup> May 1947

We beg to remain sir

Your humble memorialists

Sd/ Majhia Majhi of Petka

Sd/ Mahendra sey of Unehibita

Sd/ Haiki Munda Kerai of Duikasai

Sd/ Muma ram Sanad of Galeyalers

Sd/ Udai Majhi of Petka

Sd/lakshman Melgandi of Kasibari

Sd/ Rantu Rai Jamida of Arugundi

Sd/ Sukdeo Majhi of Petka

Sd/Bijay Singh Hembrom of Gajidih

Sd/Barkunwar Boipai of Petapoti

Sd/Majhia Majhi (jr) of Petka  
Sd/ nandlal Melgandi of Lupurghuti  
Sd/Supai Majhi of Petka  
Sd/Sagar Majhi of Petka  
Sd/Shiboharan Jamuda of Uligutu  
Sd/Ramdhan jamuda of Bainsa  
Sd/Ghanashyam Jamuda of Uligutu  
Sd/Golaram Hansda of Hadur  
Sd/ Bikram Korai of Dalki  
Sd/ Mangu Ram Samad of Beradore  
Sd/ bagun Ho of Bujusai  
Sd/ Gomeya Samad of Kenke  
Sd/R.C.Samad of of Dukri  
Sd/ Sainath Kerai of Darkada  
Sd/ Ramdo Samad of Goleyalore  
Sd/Ramlal Munda of Sarjamhatu  
Sd/ Meika Hembrom of Sarjamhatu  
Sd/Pardhan ho of Bujuaai  
Sd/Champai Bankira of Tilopada  
Sd/ Nandlal Kerai of Tilopada  
Sd/ Dooram Dangil of Nalita  
Sd/ Sunia Bankira of Arahanga  
Sd/ Chandra Mohan Sundi of Naranda  
Sd/ Chandra Mohan Purty of Jaldhar  
Sd/ Shibsankar Soy of Lepso  
Sd/ Ramlal Samad of Sarjamhatu  
Sd/Kartick Majhi of Kendu

## Appendix C

### JAI JHARKHAND

#### Adivasi Mahasabha Santal Parganas

#### Memorandum, Dated 3.6.47

To

The Members of Sub Committee, Excluded and Partially Excluded areas,  
Constituent Assembly, New Delhi

Sir,

We the undersigned members of the Adivasi Mahasabha, Santal pargana strongly demand that Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas and those parts of Province which could conveniently be joined to it should be separated from Bihar proper.

#### Reasons for separation:-

1. It has been neglected by every Government even by the Governors,
2. The Bihar Congress has no regard for our language, social customs and culture. They have been exploiting our natural resources and public finance is being appropriated for their own benefit. The cunningness have been left unfettered to rob us of our wealth.
3. We have no trust in the Bihar Congress Ministry. They would do us no justice.
4. We and our posterities must be allowed to enjoy freedom in free India, to have us opportunities for self-realisation.

#### Grounds:-

1. Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas have always been known as an aboriginal tract. It is the largest and most compact aboriginal area.
2. We the adivasi in Santal Parganas and Chotanagpur form more than 75% of the population.
3. It has been recognized as a separate and distinct administrative unit, calling it as a non-regulated area, even the authors of India Act of 1935 thought it expedient to keep it as a separate administrative unit and declared it as a partially excluded area.
4. The plateau of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas cover an area of 66624 square miles with a population of 15000000. It is bigger than each of the province of Orissa. North West Frontiers Province, Sindh, Delhi, Coorg, Ajmer and Baluchistan and its population is greater than each of the provinces.



## **Appendix D**

**Memorandum submitted to the sub-committee of the excluded and partially excluded areas for consideration of separation of the Chotanagpur Division and Santal Parganas along with such tracts which can be conveniently joined together to constitute a separate province named as Santalia or Jharkhand.**

That the Chotanagpur Division and the Santal Parganas are predominantly aboriginal area and quiet distinct from Bihar proper in all respect, ethnologically, geographically, historically, geologically, linguistically, culturally and economically and that the unequal and improper combination of the people of this tract with the people of Bihar with different origin, history, race, language, culture, customs, manners, habits and land tenure etc, was always in the past and at present and in future, is bound to prove detrimental to the welfare and progress of the aboriginals and that the majority of some aboriginal inhabitants of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas are hardly more advanced, it is essentially necessary that this compact area should be separated and constituted a separate province under a Governor.

### **Traditional Grounds**

Traditionally the Santals, Mundas, Hos etc, whom being outnumbered by the Aryas or Aryans entered the plateau of Chotanagpur and adjacent places. From that long long Hindu period the original people or adivasis wrongly termed as ab-original in foreign language made this tract of land called Chota Nagpur, their home land and gradually conquered the forests, cleared the jungles, reclaimed the waste lands, made it habitable and converted into a peaceful and blissful land.

### **Historical Grounds**

Historically Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas and the adjacent aboriginal tracts have never formed an integral part of the province of Bihar. The statement made by the Honourable Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, the Prime Minister of Bihar, in the Bihar Legislative Council on 8<sup>th</sup> February 193, on the resolution for the constitution of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas into a separate province that “The areas included in Chotanagpur Divisions have been an integral part of the province of Bihar from the earliest period of the Moghal rule in India” is not correct. The Hon’ble Prime Minister on that occasion quoted the observation of the Government of Lord Sinha, of Mr. L.S.S O’melley, the author of the Gazetteer of Palamou District, of Sir Maurice

Hallett, the author of the Gazetteer of Ranchi District, of Mr. Lister, the author of the Hazaribagh District Gazetteer, and finally Mr. Coupland, the author of the Manbhum District Gazetteer. The extracts he quoted within the Council Chamber clearly show that Chotanagpur, in the period under review, had a separate entity and was never fully conquered and annexed to the subah of Bihar. It was transferred from one Subedar to the other at Patna as a personal gift of Mughal Emperor at Delhi. Why had this area a different name and existence if Chotanagpur was in the Subah of Bihar and was its integral part? It is a fact that Chotanagpur for all practical purposes was always independent and self-governed, though nominally it acknowledged the supremacy of the Subedar at Patna directly or indirectly of the Mughal emperor by paying tribute occasionally. Such was the situation in Jharkhand during during the Mughal rule of little more than two centuries ago.

What exactly happened on 12<sup>th</sup> August 1765! Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor, without a kingdom and capital, gave the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. The occupation of Chotanagpur by the British was, however, nominal and it was not accomplished until seven years later when the first recorded British entry into Chotanagpur took place. This isolation of Chotanagpur from Bihar proper becomes all the more clear by the fact that in 1780 a district under the name of Ramgarh Hill Tract was formed including the present district of Hazaribagh and Palamou, parts of the Manbhum and Munghyr. Down to 1831 this vast area was administered as an “ordinary Regulation District” under a Judge-Magistrate Collector of Ramgarh who had his head quarters alternatively at Chatra in Hazaribagh and Sherghati in Gaya. Later on, whole of Chotanagpur including the Singbhum and Manbhum District was formed into a separate administrative unit under a new officer called the Agent to the Governor General with headquarters at Ranchi and with his principal assistance at different District Headquarters. In 1864 the Agency districts were formed into “Non-Regulation Division” under a Commissioner in control of the Lt. Governor of Bengal. These facts clearly testify that Chotanagpur had no administrative relationship at all with Bihar proper to the first hundred years of the British rule. As late as 1911 we find Chotanagpur being mentioned along with Bihar and Orissa. The Royal Proclamation on December 12, announced from Delhi that a new Lt. Governorship-in-Council was to be formed to administer the areas of Bihar, Orissa and Chotanagpur. The Simon commission on the basis of whose recommendations this area was partially excluded from the reforms of 1935, makes this fact still more clear. The report



empathetically says that “ the primitive tribes” in this backward area approximately amount to 75% of the population of the plateau and they nurse a resentment against the Hindu immigrants who as they consider, have robbed them of their ancestral land and this resulted Santal Rebellion in 1855. And so the five districts of Chotanagpur together with the districts known as Santal Parganas and Sambhalpur (Now in Orissa) are partially excluded from reforms. It was further declared that the administration of these areas, as of other backward areas will rest with the Government of India who will act through the Governor. The new province of Jharkhand is the natural, historical and logical sequence or culmination of the past development.

### **Cultural Grounds**

Culturally Jharkhand or Santalia is quite different from Bihar. It is primarily a land of aboriginals who are non-Aryans. The learned Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University, aptly observes in his book “Hindu Civilisation” that the west region comprising the Santal parganas and Chotanagpur together with parts of the Central Provinces, Orissa and Madras, is the seat of a separate primitive Santals, Mundas or Kolarian civilization continuing through the ages in its special features, absence of Caste system, worship by each man of its own presiding, spirit in trees by sacrifice, special codes of law, punishment of sins or offences by fines in the scape of tribal feasts and of serious one by expulsion, agriculture and the life.

### **Racial Grounds**

Basically Jharkhand is primarily a land of originals or aboriginals who offered stubborn resistance to the Aryan invaders and refused to be ruled by them and eventually, they preferred to remain in forests and jungles fastnesses of Jharkhand, is already stated above, the Simon Commissions Report testifies that “ the primitive tribes amount to 75% of the population of the plateau and they nurse a resentment against the Hindu immigrants, who as they consider, have robbed them of their ancestral land, but it is a fact “this statement makes it quite clear as to whose country it was and is now. It is a land of the Mundas, Uraons, Santals, Hos etc etc. the census was not taken correctly in the past in as much as many aboriginals where wrongly stated Hindus, and their number in the 1941 was stood at 6,194,620 out of the total population of 37,985,581 in Bihar. Moreover the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in his book “Uraon religion and customs” says that “ within the last few years efforts appeared to have been made by more than one Hindu organization to bring the Uraons into the official Hindu fold by giving

them “Sudhi” or ceremonial purification. Some propaganda work also appears to have been carried on by the Arya Samaj to convert the Uraons”.

The aboriginals have been successful in maintaining this large and compact area, a land primarily belonging to and occupied by aboriginals, even after so many visoisaitudes and mass migrations to the tea gardens of Assam and Bengal due to starvation. The census figure of 1941 will give a clear idea about the majority of two aboriginals:

Area	Total Population	Tribal Population
1. Chotanagpur	7,516,349	3,321,224
2. Santal Pargans	2,234,497	1,129,885
3. Saraikela & kharswan	205,424	109,781
4. States of Jashpur, Gangpur, Boai Bamra, Chattisgarh state agency	2,523,520	1,800,563
	12,479,790	6,361,443

Thus nearly ½ of the total aboriginal’s population in India reside in this tract-by far the largest concentration of the aboriginals in the whole country.

Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas can be very easily and conveniently made a separate governor’s province. If we can take into consideration the case of Orissa, Sind, North West Frontier Province of Assam, when separation of Bihar from Bengal, Orissa from Bihar and Sind from Bombay could be allowed without opposition, the same is applicable to this case also. Now let us compare the position of the provinces already made with the position of the proposed Jharkhand Province.

	Area	Population (census 1941)
1. Sind Province	48,136 sq.miles	4,535,008
2. Assam Province	46,951 sq.miles	10,204,733.
3. N.W.F Province	14,263 sq.miles	3,038,067
4. Orissa province	32,198 sq.miles	8,728,644
5. Jharkhand Cover	66,000 sq.miles	over 12,000,000
Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana alone	32,592 sq.miles	9,750,846

If with these areas and populations Assam, N.W.F and Sind and Orissa could be made separate governor's provinces, there is absolutely no justification in saying that Jharkhand cannot make up a separate province. Jharkhand people have a just claim and cannot be denied or further delayed.

The immediate necessity of having a separate province becomes more imperative due to step-motherly treatment meted out to the adivasis and other Jharkhand people by the Bihar government which can rightly be called the North Bihar Government and its hypocrisy.

In the affairs of agriculture (a) the adivasi most urgently need immediate legislation for the protection of their lands from alien Hindu or Diku and Muslim exploiters. The adivasi have already lost 96% of their Khuntkatti or exclusive proprietary right. And they apprehend the loss of the rest, and also along with it, everything they possess. The lands we have lost should be restituted and all our rights must be fully safeguarded. (b) In Jharkhand, the salami should be abolished and the landlords' privileged lands should be done away to with landless. Adivasi should be provided with lands under the patronage of the government, and thus mass migration to assam and Bengal tea gardens as mere poor coolies should be immediately stopped. (c) The adivasi depend mainly on agriculture, the success of which in its turn rests on monsoon which is often unfavorable. To avoid scarcity of water and to increase their productivity, intensive irrigation development is an immediate necessity. Till now, nothing has been done by the foreign or congress regime. (d) The govt. is to establish agricultural farms in the interior for propaganda and for the distribution of .....and good seeds.

In regard to industrial affairs, Jharkhand is rich and famous in iron and lac and other minerals products. The area has immense possibilities for its industrialization. Thus it needs central machinery for the systematic industrialization of the various minerals and products, and ultimately their nationalization. It is quiet fair and justified that preference in appointment to various branches is to be given to the man of the soil. Besides, mechanical and industrial institution, schools and colleges are to be started for giving training on the spot, and state scholarships are to be awarded to specialization foreign countries.

Jharkhand, as the name indicates is a forest tract. It contains thick forests which must be preserved not by brute force and not for foreigners, but with the cooperation with the adivasis who cannot live without or outside jungles. They are to be protected from alien destroyer like the Punjabis and contractors. The adivasis are to be allowed freedom under the village Panchayat

system, over a considerable portion of the forest areas, while the rest is to be under full protection. There is the urgent need for the establishment of a forest college in Jharkhand for giving thorough local and practical training in forestry. Besides, in the services in the forest department, whether lower or higher, aboriginals, it is natural deserve preference. In railway services adivasis are to be absorbed in large number as a matter of claim and right.

Jharkhand has been a land of illiteracy. The present development at in the education department is largely the result of the private enterprise. The Bihar govt. whether foreign or congress, has always neglected this area, there has no govt. college in this vast area till the last year, though there was in increasing demand for the same. Primary and .....middle school are to be started in rural areas imparting free education and some of the zilla schools should be converted into colleges with Arts and Science both. Sufficient scholarships and stipends are to be granted to the iadivasis in secondary schools and colleges and also for foreign study. Jharkhand needs science, Engineering, Medical, Agricultural and other colleges and institutions.

We the aboriginals affirm once again that we are original settlers in India in general and in Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana in particular, having a distinct and high class of culture of our own, we have our own customs, manners, languages, systems remains etc, etc, which must be preserved. There is a necessity of separate province where we want to live, to exist, we want our preservation and this can be done by ourselves alone. The govt in which we have no hand or no votes will not or cannot perform this gigantic task. These are our problems needs and requirements. We are quiet confident and sure that these cannot be achieved or tacked by present system of Bihar government. The task is immensely great. It requires one centralized solution and this inevitably requires immediately a separate administrative system. In short we claim and demand a separate province-the Jharkhand Province. We have been fully taught that our salvation lies in the separation from Bihar.

In his council speech, the hon'ble Prime Minister Mr.Srikrishna Sinha declared that Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana are district areas; we cannot admit it for a single moment. To say that it is a deficit area is a pure myth and a mere fabrication.

The separation movement has been started by the people of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas aboriginals. It is the cry and demand of the aboriginals (Adivasi) supported by Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Caste and all alike who have made their permanent homes in this tract. The demand has been made irrespective of caste and creed, demanding complete separation from Bihar;

therefore it cannot be said communal. And we have empathetically deny the hand of any other agency like the missionaries, or the Bengalies and so on.

Linguistically, the aboriginals of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas speak their own languages at home and they have not adopted foreign languages.

J.M. Choron Soren  
President, Jharkhand Committee,  
Giridih Sub-division.  
Dist. Hazaribagh

## **Appendix E**

### **ADIVASI STUDENTS FELLOWSHIP**

**Memorandum to**

**PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**

**VICE PRESIDENT, INTERIM GOVT.**

“Mainan Gomke”

We the adivasi students of Jharkhand have assembled here to pay you homage, love and respects. Years have elapsed since the sense of unity and independence has occurred to the minds of the Indians but, none of the great personalities of India ever thought in his sacred duty to grace the downtrodden adivasis of the hills of Jharkhand with a kind visit, and to encourage them on their way to progress.

Words fail to express your joys and gratitude at this momentous occasion of your visit. How we wish to offer you a befitting welcome, but we are unable to do the same, as we are at the mercy of the plains of Patna which are not our homes. “Mainan Gomke” we offer you the most hearty welcome.

Adivasis who are the most primitive settlers of India and whose problems are unique and peculiar have never has yet found champions for their cause among their better placed neighbors. Illiteracy is the great drawback among the adivasis-3748634 men out of 3788282 are illiterate and 3818818 women out of 3823521. Besides missionary efforts nothing worth has yet been done for the uplift of these people and they have been allowed to remain in a backward condition. The missionaries have been the bold pioneers to carry the torch of learning into the hilly region and jungles of Jharkhand and the light did spread rapidly. But university education has still remained a rare thing for us. The very few that are daring enough to make debts for their life long days and often to risk their lives on account of the unsuitable and therefore health declining places other than their Jharkhand. For instances Patna meet with numerous difficulties at the very first stage of setting root for university education. What then can be the solution to make these people more advance in learning, in social, political and economical fields?

An advisory board was constituted, a special officer was appointed, few scholarships were allotted, the welfare department was seated but these were high sounding phrases in document only, not in practice. May we draw your attention to some of our grievances that the adivasi students are mostly concerned with.

- (1) Freeships and Scholarships are never sanctioned in due time, so that many of us get discouraged because of financial difficulties and give up studying.
- (2) The state scholarships reserved for adivasis has not yet been awarded to any though three have been candidates for it.
- (3) Our students found difficulty in getting themselves admitted in colleges and in getting seats in recognized hostels.
- (4) There are about 25 colleges in the 10 districts of North Bihar, where as there are only 3 in the six districts of Chotnagpur and Santal Pargana.
- (5) The adivasis constitute 1/3 of the population Bihar but the governing bodies of Patna University, the syndicate and the senate which is larger body, does not possess a single adivasi.

And whereas the problems of aboriginals are unique and peculiar, the physical aloofness of their country, the district nature of the races that inhabit it, have nothing in common with Bihar and the people of Bihar. Special curriculum should therefore be drawn up on special lines for our studies.

So far as the management of the university is concerned it is entirely in the hands of 'DIKUS'(The non-adivasi). The people of Jharkhand have no share in the wise deliberations what are held at Patna Wheeler Senate House. They have no chance what so ever to guide and control the educational destinies of their country.

We went deputation after deputation but these were absolutely of no avail. We tried for an access to His Excellency, the Governor of the Province on deputation, who is the protector of the tribal areas of which our Jharkhand is one. It is he in whose hands lies the special responsibility of the administration of "Excluded" and "Partially Excluded" declared areas. Naturally we had cherished great hopes from him, but those too were shattered to pieces. We have seen that the cases of other communities have been considered but ours are thrown aside.

Sir, we do not want sympathy, we do not want to beg. We want fair play, we demand equal share. We, the primitive settlers of India demand free education. Our destinies are bound up with

the people of Bihar. Unless and until Jharkhand has its own university it can never make real progress in education.

“Mainan Gomke” we have been all along carrying for humanity and justice. We do not know whether it could reach you through the leaders of Bihar. We are hopefully looking forward for that better day when we the downtrodden and neglected tribal sects of India, who were the first human being to set up into the virgin soil of India, will have equal share in free India- Jai Adivasi

Thanking you

We are,

THE ADIVASI STUDENTS

OF JHARKHAND

18.01.1947



## Appendix F

### Memorandum

To

His Excellency

The Governor of Bihar

Patna

From

The Adivasi Sabha Thana Sabha, Pargana Barwe, P.S. Chainpur, District Ranchi, Bihar

Dated: Chainpur 1.5.1947

Sir,

As a result of the last world war, the world had to undergo numerous heavy losses, but despite all those events there is many a show on the screen of world political stage which cannot be looked but as for human benefit. The attainment of Indian Independence and the constitution of Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly to frame constitution for free India are no less beneficent for us the Indians. It is either the world political problems or the British generosity that has changed our dream of ages in to a solid reality, and now India has attained its long cherished goal. But in free India so long as every tribe and persons has not an opportunity of having a taste of real freedom, India cannot really be said free. Here it is not the question how far the taste of real freedom is or will be available to any Indian tribes whatsoever; but the original inhabitants of India specially those inhabiting Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas will be kept afar from this long wished taste of freedom unless the constitution of free India meets our following demands:

- I. The verbal name "Adivasi" or 'Aboriginal' has been attached to our tribe by some hindi speaking gentleman or by the English, which they have done rightly. We do take and accept it gratefully. By giving us this name they have acknowledge our tribes the primitive owner of India. And for this very fact, we aboriginals hold the right not only for the equal partnership but the first place in the administration of the county. These very aboriginal tribes have now mostly centered with a lifeful culture at Chotanagpur, Santal Pargana and in parts of the neighboring states, which in a word is called Jharkhand. therefore unless we be given reigns here at Jharkhand the

very aboriginals of India will be kept deprived of free taste of real liberty, and when at their own residence these famous tribes weep their fate what will be the state of other tribe, whom foreigners as well as their own historians have declared immigrants. So as long as one and a single cottage is deprived of the full light of liberty where and how can the canticles of liberty and peace can be sung ? therefore Jharkhand should be left freely at the mercy of its own inhabitants who have made it worth inhabiting, in a form of a new and separate province. The construction of a province, Jharkhand by name is a question of great interests and necessity regarding the solid liberty of India; because

- A. Jharkhand is forcibly left a part of Bihar utterly against the will of its inhabitants for this portion of country is absolutely different from North Bihar in Geographical, Historical, Cultural, Linguistic and tribal point of view.
- B. It is for the existence of this natural difference , Chotanagpur, though being a part of Bihar has been given its own and a separate tenancy act which under administrative powers of different nations have seen several useless changes wherein now we cultured aboriginals can no longer suffer to see any hallow reformation in future by non aboriginals.
- C. As regards population the lands of Jharkhand populated by a great majority of aboriginal's tribe. We are not satisfied by the number of last census wherein an incredible small number of aborigines is publicized. At the Ramgarh session of all India Congress Dr. Rajendra Prasad has declared it in a sentence that 'this portion of Bihar is inhabited with such tribes known as aboriginals of India'. further on in 1935 in the government assembly reports of Manbhoom, the then D.C.W.C Majumdar has recorded that 60 percent of inhabitants of Manbhoom are aboriginals, but the reality is that 75 percent of the Jharkhand population is of the aboriginals. Against it the ministers of Jharkhand. i.e Hindus, Mohammedans and others are recorded in great numbers. The minorities of Jharkhand have formed with us a Jharkhand Movement and are unanimously crying with us for a separate autonomous province of Jharkhand for Jharkhand basis within the Union. Therefore this portion of the country should be left utterly to that of Jharkhand basis.

- D. It is for these natural differences the govt. has put Jharkhand in excluded area. But it is a sad story to know that neither the .....nor the Bihar Provincial Congress government has ever exercised..... the rights of Excluded Areas. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at the Ramgarh Congress Session clearly said that the minor tribes will have their own rights of legislature and this cannot be possible as long the minority of Jharkhand be left a part of an unfaithful majority of Bihar.
- E. As the heroic and dutiful sons of mother India after being accomplished with every possible administrative skill has a strong determination of taking India from the British, so we people of Jharkhand see in ourselves every ability which is needed to solve our motherland, and at any cost cannot suffer any longer a foreign power exercised on Jharkhand which is prepared by our an our ancestors' sweat
- II. We would ask further that until the separation of Jharkhand and formation of new Jharkhand Province is effected, every power of administration over these portions of Bihar be exercised by the Governor himself.
- III. To freely exercise the rights of humanity we ask also for '..... Franchisee' throughout the country. We therefore presenting this memorandum to your honour hope that after a kind and just consideration these demands will in no case be taken as unheard and so in the road of Indian peace be no obstruction.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Johan Kalro

President, Thana Adivasi Sabha

1-5-47

Johan Kujur, The Adivasi Sabha, Secretary, Chainpur

## Appendix G

To

**The Secretary**

**Bihar provincial Governor**

**Patna,**

**The humble memorandums on behalf of the ‘adivasi branch sabha, Ginikera, P.S.Kobbira, B.Circle,S.D. Simdega, Ranchi’ most humbly begs to submit the statement of adivasidom grievances and separation.**

The first man to set foot on the soil of India is the Mundas. This tribe in great multitude migrated into India when there was no sign of mankind. They occupied the thickest forests of North Western India and ruled it for centuries. The discoveries of old articles show that their civilization is very old. On their very minority the barbarian Aryans came into India, and began to quarrel with them and also defeated them. The result was that they had to transfer their capital, and so they were scattered all over India. This is evidenced under the stone pillars and sasan-dirs which are found all over India.

After facing all those engrossing difficulties, they set their camp in Jharkhand. Jharkhand was the thickest forests they ever met. They cut open the jungles and made it suitable for cultivation. They speak Munda languages or collarian languages. They call themselves ‘horoko’ ‘horohonko’ ‘homundako’. They had democratic form of government.

Besides them were the Dravidians, who came successively after. Both the Mundas and the Dravidians lived ever after. They speak Dravidian languages classically they are Uraons etc.

The Kharias is acaste who speak kharia languages. It has near relationship with the Mundas

The adivasi have Mundari khuntkatti villages, Mundari khuntkatti lands, Mundari mokarri villages, khuntkatti, bhunhari and other rights which are made from the paternal side. All paternal side is saved completely by Chotnagpur Tenancy Act and will remain permanent. Tenure or cultivation is given from the paternal side in the service jagir.

Jharkhand is a plateau. It is surrounded by a series of mountain walls. It is separated from Bihar by mountain chains. In beauty it is matchless. Its history too is wonderful. These parts are inhabited very largely by those who are regarded as the original inhabitants of India. Their civilization differs in many respects from the civilization of other people. The discoveries of old

articles show that their civilization is very old. The adivasis belong to a different stock from the Aryans. Their ancient culture is preserved in these parts, perhaps more than elsewhere. The Bihar ministry has no sympathy to the adivasis. Its statesmanship has miserably ended in bankruptcy. He leads congress crusades against the poor adivasis making events in the history of adivasisthan. It reflects that the Bihar ministry seems to be the destroyer of adivasidom. Moreover it loots the properties of the adivasis. The adivasi will no longer survive on earth if Jharkhand remained under Bihar ministry.

Owing to all such circumstances there is no peace in Jharkhand.

Therefore, we should be bestowed a separate autonomous Jharkhand Province which was free from beforehand.

Yours obediently

Chairman Benjamin Baba, Baraibera

Vice-Chairman, Martin Tiru, Mamabhagina

26.04.1947

## Appendix H

### MEMORANDUM

1. **We the ladies of the Chotanagpur Mahila Sangh beg to submit their Memorandum to the Partially Excluded Area Sub-committee for consideration of our demand and for favour of framing rules for its betterment.**

#### HISTORY

2. In ancient times there ruled a king whose name Hindu. Hindusthan is named after his name. The places were named after the person who first inhabited the land. As for instance Nagpur was named after the king Nagu, Hira Nagpur after the king Hira and Chutianagpur was named after the king Chutia. After some year the British changed the name of Chutianagpur to Chotanagpur. Likewise the names of thousands of villages are being changed as for instance Indipiri to Hindpiri, Duranda into Doranda and Alachi into Ranchi. In this way the names of thousand of villages of Jharkhand plateau are being changed.

**JHARKHAND:** The adivasis always claimed Hindusthan to be their country but owing to quarrels they retired to the jungles for by nature, they are peace loving people and the present moment too they are retiring to the jungles for the same reason. Therefore it is the duty of the British Government or the Congress High Command or the assembly to see that the adivasis are put under a separate Governor's Province and under a separate ministry.

3. Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas and Janapa States, Kharswan, Saraikela, Banai, Bamra, Gangpur, Udaipur, Surguja, Korea, Changbhakhar, Jashpur and many other states are amalgamated in Jharkhand province.

The 1941 census figures are as below

Division of States	Area	Population	Racial Population
Chotanagpur	27112	7416349	3321224
Santal Pargana	5480	2234497	1129885
Sarikala States and Kharswan States	603	205424	109781
Jashpur state Gangpur State Banai State Bamra state Chattisgarh		2523520	1800553

The above figures will show that the adivasis are the original settlers of the place.

### **GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES**

4. Jharkhand is full of jungle, hills and dales. Other province like Bengal and Bihar are quiet different. The climate conditions of this province are altogether different from the rest of the provinces. Due to these facts the people of the land can never pull on together along with other provinces of .....race. Therefore the creation of a separate province of Jharkhand is a necessity.

### **BIRTH RIGHT**

5. the birth rights of the adivasis are quite different from..... Of the Aryans. Adivasis have themselves migrated in the forests. They have prepared lands for cultivation and with their own hands.....sweat. No other nation has given t6hem thing prepared by ..... Hence Jharkhand is their birth right and should be made a separate province.

### **MODE OF LIVING**

6. The mode of living of the adivasis in respect of marriage ceremonies, festivals, works and travellings etc, are altogether different. Therefore they can never live together with other .....

### **TEMPARTMENT**

7. Adivasis love to lead a simple life. They hate treachery ...and other vices. They always led an independent life and will .....live independently.

### **MODE OF GOVERNMENT**

8. All the adivasis are governed according to the rules of the .....in case any violation of rule is made by the Parha. In deciding case they took food together. They select from among them the..... for performing religious rites. The Munda is meant for deciding dispute and the Mahto for guiding people of the village. Everyone has equal rights in the village. The Aryans do not follow these principles and therefore there is constant quarrel for the beginning which will never cease. Therefore separate province a dire necessity.

### **DIALOGUE**

9. Adivasi call their language as Horo. They call other languages either Diku or Kero. The meaning of horo language is pure simple talk. Diku and other languages meant treachery etc. to teach ...basis the Hindi language but the adivasis are adamant to learn...language, Therefore to run a stable government Jharkhand be made a separate province.
10. In festival and in marry-makings, etc, the adivasis both men and women join together. There is nothing like that among the Aryans. Therefore both adivasis and non-adivasis look down upon each other. For this reasons the creation of a separate province is an absolute necessity else the living will be miserable.
11. For the sake of living calmly, quietly and separately, the adivasis are migrating in the forests and hills. But as it is no longer possible for them to go further it is desirable that they should be granted a separate province otherwise there will never be peace in the land.

### **OBJECTION AGAINST CERTAIN BIHAR MINISTERS AND LEADERS**

12. Certain sections of ministers and leaders of Bihar are objecting on the ground that adivasis are illiterate. They have no graduates. Jharkhand has not got enough fund. Thje province will go out to other nations' hands. They cannot govern the province etc. in this way they are deceiving the well-wishers and friends of the adivasis with unnecessary talks.



13. The adivasis say that we are able to govern ourselves. We have enough educated men. Our Jharkhand is the richest land in the world. We can govern the land happily and nicely than others. From the day we get the province of Jharkhand, it would be an ideal in the world. Therefore none should object for the separation of Jharkhand.

## **CONCLUSION**

From the very beginning the adivasis in order to live a free and independent life have retired to the hilly tracts of Jharkhand. The Aryans by their cleverness, selfishness, greediness and by force have occupied the land of the adivasis. Now the adivasis have become fed up with such deeds and no longer able to bear nor will bear in future. Therefore the separation of Jharkhand is but necessary and in doing so only the Jharkhand will remain the peace.

Leader – Miss. Sakey

President: Hanna Bodra

Vice President: Ashisit Minz

Miss. Ashrita Toppo

Miss Elish Lakra

Mrs. Hembram