### M. A Political Science IInd sem

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## **Jharkhand Movement**

The word *Jharkhand*, meaning "forest region," applies to a forested mountainous plateau region in eastern India. The term dates at least to the sixteenth century. In the more extensive claims of the movement, Jharkhand comprises seven districts in Bihar, three in West Bengal, four in Orissa, and two in Madhya Pradesh. Ninety percent of the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand live in the Bihar districts. The tribal peoples, who are from two groups, the Chotanagpurs and the Santals, have been the main agitators for the movement.

The tribes have been undergoing a variety of socio-political changes particularly for the last two hundred years. Emergence of certain socio-political movements is one of the variant of these factors. Since the beginning of the last century, tribal Indian has been witnessing an upsurge of social movements. These movements have been of different magnitude in their underlying reasons, origination, objectives, organizational activities and outcome.

Almost two centuries ago, Mundas took up arms against the local landlords and the British administration. The leader was BinsuManki. The reason of discontent is transfer of Jharkhand to East India Company in 1771. The movement confined to Bundu area of Ranchi district.

## GOAL:

Jharkhand movement repudiated the Nehruvian model of nation building by reinventing regionalism as the basis of state reorganization in India. The modern tribal movement for regional autonomy is a phenomenon after India got independence. Jharkhand movement too is such a phe Jharkhand movement repudiated the Nehruvian model of nation building by reinventing regionalism as the basis of state reorganization in India. nomenon. The main aim of the Jharkhand movement was the creation of a separate "Adivasi state". Before independence, it was the main issue. But after independence, decks were clear to orient the movement from ethnicity to regionalism. With this, Adivasi Mahasabha got affected since they were the champions for separate Adivasi state. According to 1941 census the "land" of Jharkhand had only 44 percent of tribals, thus the demand of having a separate tribal state could not be fulfilled. This resulted in the formation of a new regional party, 'United Jharkhand Party' in 1948. The Jharkhand Party declared to establish a separate state comprising of mineral belts of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. The demand for a separate state includes autonomy and preservation of tribal culture and language. This was made by 52 MLA's of Bihar Assembly, who were also in opposition in the Assembly under the initiative taken by DavendraChampia.

Failing to make Jharkhand as a separate state, there was a lot of contradiction within the Jharkhand Party. In 1963 a section of it joined the congress and with that the movement got slackened. Further disintegration the party resulted in losing the people's verdict for a separate statehood. A lot of parties

emerged after like BirsaSeva Dal, Jharkhand Peoples Party, Jharkhand Kranti Dal, Jharkhand VicharManchs and so on.

A new party Jharkhand MuktiMorcha (JMM) under the leadership of Sibu Soren came into prominence. The political dominance of Jharkhand MuktiMorcha was upon 1984. Then again a lean period in the process of the movement was seen. The verdict started shifting towards the non-congress national party as now they thought it would be efficient to have their members in the ministry at the centre. Thus BhartiyaJanta Party (BJP) emerged as a major political force. Their main aim was to assimilate the region in the national political system and came up with the proposal of making "Jharkhand" as "Vananchal". As BhartiyaJanta Party was a new party with high probability of being in or near centre , the people supported them freely. They were the first national non-Jharkhand party, who supported the issue of Jharkhand. And after the failure of Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) and the chargesheet of Sibu Soren and Suraj Mandal, JMM leaders, there was no choice for the people to vote for them. Thus in the 1996 general election, BJP made almost a clean sweep by winning 14 seats out of 16 Lok Sabha from this region. On August 2, 2000, the Parliament of India passed the Bihar Reorganization Bill to create the state of Jharkhand, carving 18 districts out of Bihar to form Jharkhand state on 15 November 2000. On that day it became the 28th state of India.

Thus the Jharkhand movement since its inception passed through different phases:

<u>First phase prior to 1920</u>- This phase saw the rise of institutions designed to introduce reforms and stimulate development among the tribes. The leadership came from Christian Missionaries with a motto to 'civilize' the tribal. Society like "Roman Catholic Cooperative Society" was founded in 1906.Inter denominational and tribal solidarity for socio economic uplift of the region found expression in formation of some of other societies. However this pan tribal sentiment weakened and later constitutional reforms led to demand for preservation of identity and protection of regional interests. A Munda led an inter-denominational body which voiced its concern in 1916 over the absence of security among the tribals and stressed the need for preserving tribal identity in the changing political context.

<u>Second Phase</u>- This phase lasted from 1920 to 1938. This phase saw the operations of Chhotanagpur Improvement Society which was led by tribal teachers it sought to secure employment for educated tribals, reservation in legislative bodies and formation of a sub state. However it remained an urban movement. This particular 'Samaj' or Society was able to focus attention of authorities to tribal problems and Simon Commission responded to it.

<u>Third phase</u>- This phase was from 1938 to 1947It saw the rise of militant movement under the Adivasi Mahasabha which was the consequence of the 1937 elections, where the Congress had swept the polls. Two factors contributed to this:

a. Bengali-Bihari controversy- The Bengalis felt that their interests were not safe in Bihar thus they should combine with the tribals to form separate state.

b. Muslim League politics- In 1940s they had the idea of forming corridors passing through tribal areas to link proposed areas which would constitute East and West Pakistan

<u>Fourth phase</u>- This phase lasted from 1949 to 1963, it saw the rise of Jharkhand Party. The 'Adivasi Mahasabha' wound up to form the Jharkhand Party. In 1951 Census like Census of 1931 showed that tribals were not a very large community in Chhotanagpur, it is then that the Jharkhand Party was thrown open to all Chhotanagpuris. There was thus a shift from ethnicity to regionalism as the formative factor of the movement

However late 1950s saw the decline of the Jharkhand party for a few reasons:

- a. There was growing impact of development programmes in Chhotanagpur
- b. Competition for better education, employment, for control over resources along with split among tribals and non tribals, the latter looking at Congress for support.
- c. Madhya Pradesh and Orissa both gave representation to tribal interests and the tribals were promised that their interests will be catered to only if they join the Congress.
- d. Jharkhand party did not have any agrarian program, the leaders had little feel for rural program.

<u>Fifth phase</u>- 1963 to 1975. The Jharkhand party was by now fragmented. This phase was interesting as there was a radicalization of politics which was a result of including agrarian factor in tribal situation. The alienation of land of the tribals had increased, construction of industries also led to their displacement. The radicalization was also due to Naxalite influence. Thus the political character of the Jharkhand movement became diluted, the agrarian aspects came into prominence, emphasis shifted to isolation, neglect and exploitation of tribals.

### Ideology :

According to Arunabha Ghosh, the Jharkhand movement lacked ideological bond over a period of time. In last quarter of 18th and throughout 19th century the fight was against British expansionism over tribal land and forest

In the first half of present century the struggle was for freedom against the colonial masters

The Jharkhand MuktiMorcha (1973) had Marxist ideology which included a demand for separate state as well as freedom from exploitation.

These series of changes within the movement with time reflected the confusion in ideology of the movement. Those who believed in socialism were not clear what they really mean, their ideas about communism varied, the leaders frequently changed their positions and all these led to the absence of any particular ideology.

Perhaps because of this lack of genuine ideological bond, in spite of leftist inclinations expressed sometimes, the result has been the emergence of new groups like the Jharkhand Liberation Front or the Jharkhand People's Party to complicate matters further.

According to A.L. Raj, the ideology of the Jharkhand movement has undergone a somersault from tribal aspiration of autonomy to reconstruct nationality on the basis of region.

Yet if the word 'ideology' is considered in other terms, it can be said that the Jharkhand Movement continued to be a struggle to resist the imposition of the ideology and dominance of non tribals. This was a classic example of subaltern movement against the dominant classes locked up in an ideological struggle for hegemony. The scattered and unorganized state of subaltern ideology provided the dominant group opportunities to penetrate it through a process of selection, misrepresentation and sophistication.

From self determination based on confident and proud self identity to imitative development as the goal of the movement is a significant concession on the part of the tribals in the war of positions between the two contending ideologies. This ideological transformation however did not take place in vaccume and was rooted in deprivation and dependence. The ascendency of 'development' over 'autonomy' of the tribal way of life, within the ideology of Jharkhand movement, also opened avenues for penetration of dominant ideological thinking.

#### **IMPACT OF Jharkhand Movement**

A tribal perspective from Jharkhand describes how the creation of the state, for the welfare of tribal populations, has only led to their exploitation and displacement. Demands for separate statehood for Jharkhand were first raised in 1914 by tribals. Tribal movement For separate state Jharkhand become a state on November 15, 2000. Jharkhand means "The land of forest, Tribal Land account 40% of the "Mineral Resources" in "India". <u>Ramachandra Guha</u> expresses commonly offered opinion when he states that: "Official acknowledgement of the history of adivasi suffering ... came through the creation ... of two states of the Union named "Jharkhand" and "Uttarakhand"

### Separate statehood for Jharkhand

Demands for separate statehood for Jharkhand were first raised in 1914 by tribals, as mentioned in the State Reorganisation Committee Report 1955-56. Tribal politicians vigorously took up the cause, supported by other indigenous communities. For long, the mineral-rich areas of Chota Nagpur and SanthalPargana had been exploited and the tribal people displaced in the name of development. Racial discrimination of tribals by outsiders, referred to as *dikus* in the tribal tongue, was rampant. The demand for separate statehood was not merely to establish a distinct identity but also to do away with years of injustice.

Tribal communities in central areas of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chhattisgarh have been exploited, displaced and dispossessed of their resources by the state. But the government has successfully created an illusory perception of 'development' that has alienated the middle class from the plight of the tribal's. As a result, the government ruthlessly exploits tribal populations, and does so almost unchallenged by other sections of society.

On November 15, 2000, tribal's, mostly from central India, had something to rejoice about. A demand articulated for over a century saw the birth of the state of Jharkhand. The demand for separate statehood was not merely to establish a distinct identity but also to do away with years of injustice

## Failure (All in the name of 'national interest')

The tribal population of Jharkhand realized very soon that they have become more insecure than ever under the banner of "Jharkhand state". In reality, all they got was .tribal Chief Minister and, a few reserved constituencies. In an interview with **Shoma Chaudhary fromTehelka**, in 2009, Home Minister **P**.**Chidambaram** made the following comment: "No country can develop unless it uses its natural and human resources. Mineral wealth is wealth that must be harvested and used for people." But who are the 'people' for whom mineral wealth must be harvested? The middle class and elites who own multinational corporations.

Under the guiding principles of liberalization, privatization, and globalization, the decision making system of the state was soon high-jacked by the corporate lobby. All the wonderful dreams for a more dignified and secure life in their own state turned into nightmares under the increasing looming threat of "development" activities. The tribal chief ministers enthusiastically signed dozens of MOUs with big industrial houses without ever consulting the poor tribals who would be uprooted from their lands to make way for the industrial or development projects.

According to reports of the Indian People's Tribunal on Environment and Human Rights, a total of 6.54 million people have so far been displaced in Jharkhand in the name of development. The displacement in the name of dams, factories, mining, etc goes largely unreported. According to a human rights report published by the Jharkhand Human Rights Movement (JHRM), the state government of Jharkhand has so far signed 102 MoUs which go against the laws of the Fifth Schedule. Vast tracts of land will be required to bring these MoUs to fruition.

# (CNT) Act

The Chota Nagpur Tenancy is one of several laws provided by the Constitution to safeguard tribal interests. It was instituted in 1908 to safeguard tribal lands from being sold to non-tribals. The law was meant to prevent foreseeable dispossession, and preserve tribal identity. Loss of land would naturally lead to loss of tribal identity as the issuance of a community certificate requires proof of land possession.

### Failure of Jharkhand movement to develop into a fully fledged regional movement

1.It appeal to the non-tribal sections of the chhotanapurist was small, because it was essentially a tribal party

2.It was past record of alliances with the force which had worked against national movements and remained "loyalist" cost it the sympathy and support of the large section of ruling elite.

3. Its structure contained many contraindications which sharpened and multiplied as cleavage between the Christian and non-Christian tribals deepened

4. The Region had always been exposed to the operation of pan-Indian forces.

The ethnic movement, therefore, could not Remain in a state of political isolation. The impact of development and macro- political system merger with the congress considerably weakened the demand for separate The Slogan of Jharkhand state has "However, not be given up"

#### Conclusion

Jharkhand finally tribal people got seprate statehood in the year 2000 but rearly very soon they realize in the name of Jharkhand people where displaced in the name of Jharkhand state

But the government has successfully created an illusory perception of 'development' that has alienated the middle class from the plight of the tribals. As a result, the government ruthlessly exploits tribal populations, and does so almost unchallenged by other sections of society.

Finally Jharkhand in the name success only reach separate state. But All in the name of 'national interest' the tribal population was displaced in the name state Under the guiding principles of liberalization, privatization, and globalization, the decision making system of the state was soon high-jacked by the corporate lobby. consulting the poor tribal's who would be uprooted from their lands to make way for the industrial or development projects. Finally tribal chief minister work effectively acts like Mou's, Cnt this act will effectively safeguard the tribal population.