



REPORT
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL MULTIPURPOSE
TRIBAL BLOCKS

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI
March 1960

(C)

INDIA HOME AFFAIRS (MINISTRY OF —) COMMITTEE
ON SPECIAL MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCKS (1960)

Letter of Transmittal

SPECIAL MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCKS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

New Delhi

March 30th, 1960

MY DEAR PANTJI,

I am sending herewith the report of the Committee appointed to study the working of the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks.

It is difficult to assess a situation that is now rapidly changing. Although most of the Blocks took a long time to get into their stride, the tempo has now greatly increased almost everywhere and while we have been critical of some of the things that have been done or have not been done, we feel that the experiment has succeeded sufficiently well for it to be continued and greatly extended during the Third Five Year Plan. We are, in fact, asking for a sum of about thirty crores of rupees as the Home Ministry's contribution to the Special Tribal Blocks to be opened in the future. At the same time we have suggested certain conditions on which this should be given, for unless these are fulfilled we consider that it will be better to stagger the scheme over a number of years.

We would not, however, like to see this done. We have been deeply shocked by the poverty of the tribal people, the exploitation that they still suffer, the lack of consideration with which they are all too often treated, the burden of fear and anxiety under which they live, the pressure on them of unfamiliar regulations, and the loss of many good elements in their own tradition and culture.

We feel that if any development is to be done in the tribal areas it must be done well. The tribal people must be brought out of their long isolation as soon as possible. The diseases untreated for generations must be banished. They must have enough to eat and be able to live without fear. We feel that all the tribes should advance together, and that is why we have advocated extending the special scheme over a much larger area.

Our report, I am glad to say, is unanimous and it is perhaps remarkable that a Committee consisting of two experienced administrators, an expert on social education, a tribal Member of Parliament and myself, each of us with a very different background and experience, should have come to a common mind.

We have, in some of our Chapters, put forward a rather novel point of view and we have sometimes had to be very critical. We hope that we will not be misunderstood and we have tried in our concluding Chapter to answer some of the misapprehensions that might arise.

(ii)

We are very grateful to all who have helped us and to the State Governments for the generous hospitality and assistance they gave us when we visited them. The recollection of your own deep interest in this problem and your anxiety to help the tribal people has been a constant source of inspiration to us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

VERRIER ELWIN

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant,
Home Minister,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Article 46 of the Constitution of India lays down that 'the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'. In accordance with this policy, large sums of money have been spent and a number of schemes have been prepared, one of which is a programme, jointly undertaken by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, to set up 43 Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks in the most undeveloped parts of tribal India. There has been considerable criticism of the work of these Blocks, which were slow in getting started and tended to introduce, unmodified, programmes devised for other parts of India with no special reference to tribal needs.

In its resolution No. 20/170/58-SCT-III of the 1st of May 1959, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India accordingly appointed a Committee to examine the work and programme of these Blocks.

The members of the Committee were—

- | | | |
|--|-----|-----------------|
| 1. Dr Verrier Elwin, Adviser for Tribal Affairs, NEFA, Manipur and Tripura. | ... | <i>Chairman</i> |
| 2. Shri R. C. V. P. Noronha, I.C.S., Commissioner, Raipur Division, Raipur (Madhya Pradesh). | ... | <i>Member</i> |
| 3. Shri N. M. Wadiwa, M.P., Secretary, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi. | ... | <i>Member</i> |
| 4. Shri R. R. Bahl, I.C.S., Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (representing the Ministry of Home Affairs). | ... | <i>Member</i> |
| 5. Shri M. C. Nanavatty, Director, Social Education (representing the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation). | ... | <i>Member</i> |

Shri O. K. Moorthy, Officer on Special Duty in the Ministry of Home Affairs, was appointed as Secretary.

All the members of the Committee have had extensive experience of the tribal areas. Shri R. C. V. P. Noronha was Deputy Commissioner of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh, one of the most important tribal areas in India, for six years and later, as Commissioner of the Raipur Division, has had several Districts predominantly inhabited by tribals in his charge.

Shri N. M. Wadiwa, a law graduate and a tribal belonging to the Gond community, has been doing social work for the last twenty-five years in association with non-official agencies. Since 1946 he has been a member of the Tribal Advisory Council for Madhya Pradesh.

Shri R. R. Bahl served in a number of Districts with tribal populations in Madhya Pradesh. He was an Assistant Commissioner in Bilaspur where the Pondi-Uprora Multipurpose Block is now located. He was S.D.O. in Seoni and Deputy Commissioner of the important tribal Districts of Mandla, Amraoti (which includes the Korku Melghat), Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, which now has a Multipurpose Block at Tamia, and Jabalpur with its large population of Gonds. He was Director of Tribal Welfare and Secretary of the Tribal Welfare Department in Madhya Pradesh for fifteen months.

Shri M. C. Nanavatty has been interested in social problems, including those of the tribes, for many years and, as Director of Social Education, has had occasion to visit most of the tribal areas during the last two years.

Dr Verrier Elwin this year completes thirty years of work for and study of the tribal people.

Our Secretary, Shri O. K. Moorthy has been concerned with tribal problems for the last twenty years and since 1953 has been concerned in the Home Ministry with schemes for tribal welfare throughout the country. He has toured in many of the tribal areas, including NEFA.

The terms of reference of the Committee were simple but covered a wide field. They were as follows—

- (i) To study the working of the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, and
- (ii) To advise the Government of India on how to implement the intensive development programme of the Blocks more effectively and give the programme a proper tribal bias.

Immediately on the appointment of the Committee in May 1959, we addressed all the State Governments, asking them to furnish necessary material about the progress of work and the physical and financial targets achieved in each of their Blocks. The Committee, however, was handicapped and its work delayed by the failure of most of the State Governments to supply up-to-date figures of expenditure in spite of repeated requests from the Ministry of Home Affairs. The figures received from the State Governments on different occasions varied considerably: in one case a report on the same Block for the same period showed a discrepancy of over two lakhs.

In view of the difficulty, therefore, of obtaining up-to-date and accurate information, we have had to standardize our statistics as up to the end of September 1959.

The Committee met on the 17th of May 1959 at Ranchi, on the eve of a Seminar (convened by the C. D. Ministry) of workers in the Special Multipurpose Blocks, and we had discussions with the Development Commissioners, Directors of Tribal Welfare, Project Executive Officers in the Blocks and other workers from Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Manipur and Tripura, on the progress of work and the difficulties encountered by them in the implementation of their schemes. We also discussed our programme of visits to the actual Blocks. The Development Commissioners and other officials urged that on account of the rainy season, most of the Blocks would be inaccessible at that time and that we should visit them only after October 1959.

The Chairman and Members of the Committee actively participated in the proceedings of the Seminar, which also gave us a good opportunity to hear the views of the field-workers on their difficulties in the actual

implementation of the scheme Shri Wadiwa, Shri Nanavatty and Shri Moorthy also attended the Seminar, convened at Pachmarhi in Madhya Pradesh in June 1959, of the field workers of the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks of Madhya Pradesh, Bombay and Rajasthan. Here, as in Ranchi, we contacted the Development Commissioners and other officers of the Blocks and discussed the progress of their work and our own programmes. Here again the officers held the view that no useful purpose would be served in visiting the Blocks before October 1959, on account of the rains. This is the main reason for the delayed submission of our Report.

Our Committee met again in Delhi on the 3rd of August 1959, and discussed a tentative programme of visits to the various States. We decided that further reports on the Blocks not visited prior to the submission of our Report to Government might be put up after such visits as desired by the Home Minister. We requested the Government of India to provide for our immediate requirements a Senior and Junior Investigator to assist the Secretary in compiling and tabulating the data received from the States.

During the following months we examined a very large number of reports and documents received from the States and recommendations made by previous Committees and Seminars, but our most important work was to visit the actual Blocks on the spot. Our members visited altogether 26 Blocks and would have visited several more had it not been for the lack of communications, the unusually wet weather and our own pre-occupations, for none of us were appointed on a full-time basis. The Chairman began his touring programme early and visited three of the Assam Blocks—Mairang, Saipung-Darrang and Dambuk-Aga—under conditions of some difficulty in the rainy months of June and July. He met the Development Commissioner and members of his staff for discussion on more than one occasion.

Shri Wadiwa and Shri Nanavatty visited the Tamia Block at the beginning of June. In September the Chairman visited Simdega, Bishunpur, Mahuadand and Manoharpur in Bihar and Raruan in Orissa. In the same month Shri Wadiwa and Shri Nanavatty visited the Kundahit and Borio Blocks together, and Shri Wadiwa visited Adhaura, though it was almost inaccessible at that time. Later, members of the Committee visited Bombay where they met the Development Commissioner and other officials of the State Development and Tribal Welfare Departments; the Chairman and Shri Wadiwa visited Mokhada-Talasari, and Shri Nanavatty and Shri Wadiwa went to the Sukhsar Block in Santrampur. Shri Wadiwa proceeded to Bastar and inspected the Narayanpur and Dantewara Blocks there.

During November the Chairman visited the Paderu Block in Andhra Pradesh and the Kashipur and Narayanpatna Blocks in Orissa. Shri Nanavatty joined him in Narayanpatna and went on to the Araku Block in Andhra.

During December the Chairman went to Aheri in the Chanda District of Bombay State and to the Narsampet Block in Andhra. He later visited the Rongkhong Block in Assam. At Hyderabad he had discussions with the Additional Development Commissioner and other officials concerned with tribal development and welfare. Shri Wadiwa went to the Bhimpur, Pondi-Uprora and Bharatpur Blocks in Madhya Pradesh and paid a second visit to Tamia during December 1959 and January 1960.

Before the Committee was actually appointed, Shri Noronha inspected the Narayanpur and Dantewara Blocks in Bastar District, and visited Dantewara in February 1960; Shri Nanavatty visited the Araku, Peint, Dharampur and

Tamia Blocks ; and Shri Moorthy visited the Araku, Bishunpur, Mokhada-Talasari, Narsampet, Tamia and Utnur Blocks.

The Chairman spent from January 21st to March 3rd, 1960 in Delhi and a long succession of conferences were held between members of the Committee at the Home Ministry. The Report was finalized after detailed discussions between the members themselves and as a result of interviews with a number of representatives of other Ministries and some distinguished non-officials, to all of whom we express our gratitude for their expert advice.

We wish to put on record our appreciation of the devoted and expert help given us by Shri O. K. Moorthy, Officer on Special Duty in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and to the Investigators, Shri C. G. Jadhav and Shri K. B. Murgai for their faithful assistance in collecting material and tabulating results. We are also grateful to the hospitality and co-operation given us by officials and non-officials in all the States we visited, particularly by the Block officials who found time, among their many onerous duties, to look after us very well indeed.

We are grateful to Shri D. M. Sen, Legal Adviser to NEFA and NHTA, for his assistance in preparing Chapter XXII on the Tribal Councils.

We have had the advantage of having before us two important documents relating to the tribal areas, which were produced in 1959. The first is Volume I of the Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes, on which we have drawn heavily and have referred to as the Renuka Ray Report, so named after the distinguished lady who was the leader of the Team. The second is a draft of a Report by the Inaccessible Areas Committee, appointed by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and headed by Raja Surendra Singh. This is mainly a study of agriculture and allied subjects and it has dealt with these vitally important subjects with such care and an expert knowledge, to which we can make no claim, that it has not been necessary for us to repeat its conclusions. The fact that we have not dealt at length with these subjects does not, of course, mean that we are indifferent to them; in fact, we have given them top priority in the programme for the Third Five Year Plan.

In addition to our general discussions and recommendations, this Report contains detailed notes on twenty of the Multipurpose Blocks, which give a fairly good sample picture of the situation.

VERRIER ELWIN, *Chairman*
 N. M. WADIWA, *Member*
 R. C. V. P. NORONHA, *Member*
 R. R. BAHL, *Member*
 M. C. NANAVATTY, *Member*

O. K. MOORTHY,

Secretary

New Delhi, the 30th March 1960.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION OF THE SCHEME

Among the special schemes undertaken by the Government of India for the development of the tribal areas, the most important and, perhaps, the most significant is the programme for the establishment of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks, which is in accordance with the principle of giving particular attention to hitherto neglected areas and populations in the country, as laid down in Articles 46 and 275 of the Constitution. The essence of these Tribal Blocks, which were based on the general pattern of the N. E. S. Blocks, and were to be, as far as possible, coterminous with them, was to bring about rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of the tribal people by selecting specially undeveloped but compact areas for multi-sided development. The object was to make their programme of development more intensive in character than that undertaken in the normal C. D. Blocks.

The Ministry of Home Affairs provided a sum of Rs. 6,45,00,000 under the Second Five Year Plan for the establishment of 43 such Blocks, at Rs. 15 lakhs each, in addition to the Rs. 12 lakhs each provided in the budget of the Community Development Ministry. These Blocks cover 23,540.58 square miles. Their total population is 16,85,325 of which 12,10,976 is tribal. The average coverage for each Block works out at 182 villages each with a population of 39,193 spread over an area of 547.45 square miles. Their distribution in the various States or Union Territories is as follows :—

ANDHRA PRADESH (4) :

1. Araku (Visakhapatnam).
2. Paderu (Visakhapatnam).
3. Utnur (Adilabad).
4. Narsampet (Warangal).

ASSAM (7) :

5. Dambuk-Aga (Garo Hills).
6. Mairang (U. K. & J. Hills).
7. Saipung-Darrang (U. K. & J. Hills).
8. Rongkhong (U. M. & N. C. Hills).
9. Diyung Valley (U.M. & N.C. Hills.).
10. Lungleh (Mizo Hills).
11. Murkong-Selek (Lakhimpur).

BIHAR (8) :

12. Bishunpur (Ranchi).
13. Mahuadand (Palamau).
14. Simdega (Ranchi).
15. Borio (Santhal Parganas).
16. Kundahit (Santhal Parganas).
17. Adhaura (Shahabad).
18. Nauhatta (Shahabad).
19. Manoharpur (Singbhum).

BOMBAY (7) :

20. Akrani Mahal (West Khandesh).
21. Sukhsar (Panch Mahals).
22. Mokhada-Talasari (Thana).
23. Khedbrahma (Sabarkantha).
24. Aheri (Chanda).
25. Peint (Nasik).
26. Dharampur (Surat).

MADHYA PRADESH (10) :

27. Dantewara (Bastar).
28. Narayanpur (Bastar).
29. Bagicha (Raigarh).
30. Bharatpur (Surguja).
31. Pondi-Uprora (Bilaspur).
32. Bhimpur (Betul).
33. Tamia (Chhindwara).
34. Alirajpur (Jhabua).
35. Barwani (Nimar).
36. Pushparajgarh (Shahdol).

ORISSA (4) :

37. Bhuyanpirh (Keonjar).
38. Kashipur (Kalahandi).
39. Narayanpatna (Koraput).
40. Raruan (Mayurbhanj).

RAJASTHAN (1) :

41. Kushalgarh (Banswara).

MANIPUR (1) :

42. Tamenglong.

TRIPURA (1) :

43. Amarpur Sub-Division.

When the idea of Multipurpose Blocks was originally conceived it was proposed that the programme of a normal C. D. Block should be modified in a number of ways :

- (i) The population and area coverage of the Tribal Blocks would be reduced considerably and would be far less than that covered by an existing Development Block.
- (ii) Public contribution would not be available in the tribal areas on the same scale as elsewhere. All that could be done would be to employ the available unskilled labour at rates which might be lower than the normal rates. We should not expect anything more by way of personal contribution from the tribal people.
- (iii) We would have to dispense with the loan item in their case, which would have to be given them by way of direct subsidy.
- (iv) Personnel would have to be specially trained for the tribal areas. For that purpose it would be necessary to select enthusiastic and devoted workers and give them carefully designed training through official as well as non-official agencies.

The Naini Tal Conference :

The whole subject was examined by the 5th Development Commissioners' Conference held in Naini Tal in May 1956 which prepared an integrated schematic budget for Rs. 27 lakhs for a period of five years as follows :

Scheme	M.H.A.	M. of C.D.	Total
1	2	3	4
(in lakhs)			
I. Project Headquarters			
(a) Personnel	2.50	2.00	4.50
(b) Transport	0.80	0.40	1.20
(c) Office equipment }			
(d) Project Office, etc. . . . .	..	0.30	0.30
(e) Staff quarters . . . . .	..	1.00 (Loan)	1.00
II. Animal Husbandry & Agricultural Extension . .	1.00	0.50	1.50
III. Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation .	0.33	3.50 (Loan) 0.17 }	4.00
IV. Health and Rural Sanitation	1.33	0.67	2.00
V. Education	0.50	0.25	0.75
VI. Social Education	0.50	0.25	0.75
VII. Communications	2.66	1.34	4.00
VIII. Rural Arts & Crafts	1.33	0.67	2.00
IX. Co-operation	1.33	0.67	2.00
X. Rural Housing	2.50	..	2.50
XI. Miscellaneous	0.33	0.17	0.50
	15.11 (say Rs. 15.00 lakhs)	11.89 (say Rs. 12.00 lakhs)	27.00

This schematic pattern was only to be used for guidance and plans were to be drawn up according to the actual requirements of the areas. The personnel pattern as compared to that of an ordinary C. D. Block provided the following additional staff :—

Assistant Engineer	1
Overseer	
Soil-Conservation	1
Extension Officer	1

Medical Officer	1
Compounder	1
Midwives	2
Head Clerk	1

Special emphasis was laid on schemes of irrigation and soil conservation, development of communications, health, education, village industries, co-operation and housing.

It was intended that as against about 66,000 persons covered normally by a C. D. Block, each special Multipurpose Tribal Block would cover about 25,000 persons or 5,000 families in an area of 200 square miles or so.

The Mussoorie Conference :

One of the Sub-Committees set up by the 6th Development Commissioners' Conference held at Mussoorie in April 1957, discussed how best to implement the work of these intensive development Blocks and made the following recommendations :—

(1) Formation of Forest Co-operative Societies should receive priority and Multipurpose Co-operative Societies, including agricultural and marketing societies, should be formed.

(2) The money intended for Communications should be utilised only for masonry work such as bridges, culverts, causeways and so on, earth-work being done through Shramdan; and whenever bridle-paths were taken up, the alignment should be made by engineers so that the same paths could be gradually developed into jeepable roads.

(3) The entire amount of Rs. 4 lakhs provided for Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation in the schematic budget should be an outright grant.

(4) In order to develop in the staff a better understanding of the culture and community life of the tribals, a genuinely multipurpose approach should be made to the programme and greater care should be exercised in selecting various items to be implemented.

(5) To ensure that all the members of the staff in the Multipurpose Blocks should acquire some basic understanding of every development Block, arrangements should be made to impart basic training in all the subjects at Extension Training Centres, in addition to the specialised training in their own subjects by making suitable modifications in the curriculum.

A Seminar at Kodaikanal, held in April 1957, decided that an Orientation Course of training lasting for a period of six weeks was necessary for the staff working in these Blocks. It was also decided that this training should be imparted at suitable places in the States where some good work for the welfare of the tribals had already been done.

The Balwantrai Mehta Committee :

The next important stage in the evolution of the programme occurred when the Balwantrai Mehta Committee (1957) went into the entire question of the Community Development Programme. The Committee recommended that it was not conducive to efficient planning and continuity of effort to have four stages divided more or less artificially as hitherto. It insisted that 'Development' has to be regarded as a continuous process and the transformation from the initial stage of National Extension Service to the

intensive phase should in fact be a natural process without any uncertainty about it. Secondly, the financial provision in the Post-Intensive Stage should not involve a sudden drop in activities, for this would lead to disappointment and discontent. On the basis of these recommendations the Government of India ultimately adopted a revised pattern from April 1958. According to this there would be only three stages for each Block :

(i) A Pre-Extension Stage for one year with a budget provision of Rs. 18,000 for doing only preliminary work. A skeleton staff of one Block Development Officer, one Agricultural Extension Officer and five Gram Sevaks was to be provided to do the spade-work for the agricultural extension programme.

(ii) Stage I with a budget provision of Rs. 12·00 lakhs for a period of five years without distinction between the Extension and Intensive Stages. During this period the provision for staff and so on would be the same as in the case of a normal Community Development Block.

(iii) Stage II, which corresponded to the Post-Intensive Stage of the old pattern but with a budget of Rs. 1·00 lakh a year. During this stage the staff of the National Extension Service pattern was to be retained on a permanent basis.

This new pattern was to be made applicable only to Blocks started in April 1957. The C. D. Blocks already in operation were expected to follow their own pattern and revert to Stage II after five years from the date of their original inauguration as National Extension Service Blocks. Besides these basic changes the organisation was strengthened by the addition of three Extension Officers—Extension Officer (Panchayats), Extension Officer (Animal Husbandry), and Extension Officer (Industries) as, in their absence, work in these sectors was found to have suffered.

The Estimates Committee :

The 48th Report of the Estimates Committee, 1958-59, examined the working of the Special Multipurpose Blocks, and made a number of recommendations :

(i) A skeleton plan should be prepared at an early date for opening additional Special Multipurpose Blocks during the Third Plan and suitable criteria for the selection of such Blocks should be established in advance so that they can be started immediately the Third Plan commences.

(ii) The State Governments concerned should be requested to examine the question of the coverage of population in Blocks where the existing coverage far exceeds the figure of 25,000, with a view to reducing it to a reasonable extent. Alternatively, the staffing pattern of such Blocks might be suitably augmented.

(iii) The benefits made available to the Scheduled Tribes in the Special Multipurpose Blocks should be extended to the Scheduled Castes.

(iv) The Programme Evaluation Organisation should be asked to evaluate the progress of the Special Multipurpose Blocks and submit special reports on them.

(v) It was regrettable that there had not been proper planning and correct assessment of requirements before starting the Multipurpose Blocks.

(vi) Immediate steps should be taken to attract and train the right type of men and women in time, in view of the fact that the lack of suitable

personnel was the main hurdle in achieving the successful working of these Blocks.

The May 1958 Conference :

The Annual Conference on Community Development, which met in May 1958, discussed the difficulties experienced in implementing the programmes of the Multipurpose Blocks and made the following recommendations :

(i) State Governments should give higher priority to the Multipurpose Blocks.

(ii) State Governments should again consider the feasibility of providing some incentive in the form of special pay equivalent to 25% of the basic salary as compensation for the difficult conditions of life in these areas.

(iii) Efforts should be made to complete the staff quarters either through the P.W.D. or departmentally during the year 1958-59. Until permanent quarters were built, at least temporary structures with mud or bamboo walls and thatched roofs should be provided for the staff immediately.

(iv) In order to encourage the staff in various departments to learn tribal dialects, special awards should be given to those officials who learnt and passed tests in them. To make it possible for the tribals to take an increasing interest in their own community, it is necessary to train local workers and leaders to assume responsibility for the programme of community development.

(v) The basic survey should be completed as early as possible in the case of those Blocks where it had not been done so that the programme might really reflect the actual needs of the area.

(vi) A special Orientation Course of 2 to 3 weeks duration in the problems of the tribal areas should be arranged during the year 1958-59 for the B.D.Os*, Village Level Workers and all Block Level Officers except Social Education Organisers, for whom special training is provided at Ranchi.

(vii) State Governments should examine the present coverage of each V.L.W. in relation to the population, area and number of villages and prepare proposals to increase their number where necessary up to a maximum of 20.

(viii) Where it was not possible for the tribal people to contribute even 25% as their share for certain items, the Development Commissioners should be authorised further to relax the quantum of contribution in special cases.

(ix) The subsidy for irrigation works undertaken from the Block budget should be not less than 50% and the subsidy for soil conservation schemes should not be less than 75%.

(x) Suitable measures should be undertaken to examine the problem of indebtedness among the tribals and legislation enacted to meet it. It was also suggested that credit facilities for purchasing minor forest produce at low prices should be introduced.

(xi) Efforts should be made to encourage voluntary organisations to take interest in the programme of development in the tribal areas.

(xii) In order to establish effective co-ordination between the Tribal Welfare Department and the Community Development Department at the

*The following abbreviations are used throughout this Report : P. E. O. for Project Extension Officer, B. D. O. for Block Development Officer, V. L. W. for Village Level Worker, C. D. Block means Community Development Block.

State level in promoting the programme of tribal welfare in Community Development Blocks inhabited by tribals, and specially in the Multipurpose Blocks, it was resolved that to enable the Tribal Welfare Department to implement its special schemes with speed in the Multipurpose Blocks and to fulfil its role of advising and guiding the Block staff in the special problems of the tribal people, a Joint Director should be provided in the Directorate of Tribal Welfare in those States where the Director was not in a position to carry out this duty.

(xiii) With reference to the need of implementing the earlier decision of limiting the population of tribals to 25,000 and to utilise Rs. 100 *per capita* for their development, as visualised in the original scheme for the Multipurpose Blocks, it was felt that the State Governments should examine this question and see whether the present coverage could be reduced. It was further felt that the question of population coverage should be fully kept in view at the time of establishing new Multipurpose Blocks.

(xiv) No separate cadre for B.D.Os. should be created by the States but I.A.S. and State Civil Service officers should actually work as B.D.Os for one year as part of their normal field training.

The Ranchi and Pachmarhi Conferences :

The field workers of the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks discussed their problems at two Seminars held at Ranchi and Pachmarhi in May and June, 1959. The more important recommendations of the Seminars are given below :—

(i) The tribal welfare programme should ensure the development of the tribal people according to their own genius and local environment.

(ii) A simple assessment of the needs of the people before the commencement of any developmental activities should be undertaken.

(iii) With a view to secure active participation of the representatives of the tribals in the planning and implementing the programme, it is essential that the co-operation of the existing tribal organisations such as Tribal Councils, Panchayats, Youth Clubs and so on should be actively engaged.

(iv) As many tribal people as possible should be employed in the Multipurpose Blocks. Frequent transfer of officers from one Block to another should be avoided. The number of V.L.Ws. should be varied in each Block in relation to the area and population.

(v) As tribal economy depends on forestry, a share of the income from forest produce should go to the tribals. The policy should be gradually to replace forest contractors by Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies.

(vi) The national policy of co-operative farming should be implemented through village co-operatives.

(vii) A survey of the nature and extent of indebtedness should be conducted and special legislation undertaken. Existing debts should be scaled down by a process of conciliation to a reasonable level and debts outstanding for three years or more may be made irredeemable.

(viii) Legal aid may also be provided to the tribals.

(ix) Basic schools with boarding facilities should be opened. Special emphasis should be placed on Ashram-type schools and, wherever required, mid-day meals should be provided.

(x) Primary health centres with their sub-centres should be speedily established.

(xi) It would be desirable to make it obligatory for doctors entering Government service to put in one or two years of service in the tribal areas. Attempts should be made to encourage tribal girls to get themselves trained as midwives.

(xii) The head of the Tribal Welfare Department should be given a requisite ex-officio status in the planning and development set-up to ensure proper administrative co-ordination.

It is thus evident that the Multipurpose Blocks scheme has attracted a great deal of interest; as a joint enterprise of two Ministries—the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation—it was bound to do so. Our Committee was appointed to discover whether all this thinking, all this money was paying a sufficient dividend in terms of the increased prosperity and happiness of human beings. In the Chapters that follow we will try to assess what has been done and whether it has been done in the right way.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF AN APPROACH TO THE TRIBES

One of the Committee's terms of reference is : 'To advise the Government of India on how to give the programme a proper tribal bias'. This advice has, in fact, already been given by the Prime Minister himself, in his Foreword to the second edition of Dr. Verrier Elwin's *A Philosophy for NEFA*, in which he says :

'We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

'It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles :

- (1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- (2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.
- (3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- (4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
- (5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

The Prime Minister has noted and elaborated these points on a number of occasions, and has spoken on the caution needed in developing the tribal areas. Pointing out the disastrous effect of the 'so-called European civilization' on tribal people in other parts of the world, 'putting to an end their arts and crafts and their simple ways of living', he has declared that 'now, to some extent, there is danger of the so-called Indian civilization having this disastrous effect, if we do not check and apply it in the proper way'. 'We may well succeed in uprooting them from their way of life with its standards and discipline, and give them nothing in its place. We may make them feel ashamed of themselves and their own people and thus they may become thoroughly frustrated and unhappy. They have not got the resilience of human beings accustomed to the shocks of the modern world and so they tend to succumb to them.' We must, therefore, be very careful to see that 'in our well-meant efforts to improve them, we do not do them grievous injury'. 'It is just possible that, in our enthusiasm for doing good, we may over-shoot the mark and do evil instead.' 'It has often happened in other areas of the world that such contact has been disastrous

to the primitive culture and gradually the primitive people thus affected die out.'

'I am alarmed,' he has said again, 'when I see—not only in this country, but in other great countries too—how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image or likeness, and to impose on them their particular way of living'.

Imposition and 'their own genius'

The first of the Prime Minister's principles has become the basis of the Government of India's policy for the tribes, everywhere applauded but little followed. We are to impose nothing and to allow the people to develop along the lines of their own genius and tradition.

'Imposition' has many implications. It is not confined to giving orders and forcing people to do things. The imposition of example can be equally injurious. The presence of a large number of officials, in unfamiliar and comparatively expensive dress, staying in houses of a type unsuited to the rural scene and climate and not adaptable to the tribal family or way of life, may cause the tribes to adopt a way of living that is too costly for them and which they will discover later is unsuited to their economy. It may cause them to despise their own arts, social and political institutions, and kind of life in a pathetic belief that to imitate a junior official is to be 'modern'.

Imposition by money is even more serious. It is possible to uproot the hill people from their hills by gifts of money, for the tribesmen do not often look ahead; it is possible to bribe them, quite cheaply, to accept all sorts of things, but the result is not an organic growth. To adopt new practices because you are being paid to do so is not to develop along the lines of your own genius.

And there is imposition by over-persuasion. Propaganda and education there must be, but sometimes Block officials, in their natural enthusiasm, almost force the people to do things which are not a natural growth from within.

The result is sometimes a kind of pauperization, often a loss of self-reliance; there is an uprooting which the Prime Minister has expressly condemned.

Land and Forest

The second principle is that tribal rights in land and forest should be respected. This principle, in effect, covers the entire problem of exploitation. There are areas where the tribal people are so strong, as in Assam, where there is little exploitation; there are other places, however, where even after nearly twelve years of Independence, this problem remains unsolved and many of our efforts to develop the tribes economically fail because they are enslaved by the moneylender, the rapacious trader, the liquor-vendor, and they are still dominated and impoverished by low-grade officials whose activities in the far interior it is so hard to supervise and check. In this Report we suggest various ways whereby these evil practices can be controlled.

Particularly, when we try to persuade the people to develop new land for cultivation, it is impossible to expect them to take up their work with enthusiasm unless they feel that the land is their's in perpetuity. Freedom

from anxiety is a basis for enthusiastic work. This too we will deal with later on.

The guarantee of land, adjustment of forest laws to tribal conditions, integration with the rest of the country, choice of the right officials are as necessary as any expensive schemes of development, and without them the schemes may fail. The right psychological climate must be created if enthusiastic and co-operative work is to be done.

'Their own team'

The Prime Minister's warning about the introduction of too many outsiders into tribal territory and his desire that we should 'build up a team of their own people' to do the work of administration and development has in general been greatly neglected in all the Multipurpose Blocks, except in Assam and Manipur.

This can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. The employment of tribal people, quite apart from the justice of doing so, has many advantages. They know the language and thus have an intimate relationship with their fellows that few outsiders can hope to gain. In most cases, though not always, they understand the tribal psychology, customs and manners and can adapt schemes for development better than outsiders—though some well-trained and sympathetic outsiders have been found who can enter into the tribal mind extremely well. The use of local tribal officials gives a sense of pride and confidence to their fellows and encourages them to hope that there may be similar opportunities for their children. A tribal official may be expected, though unhappily this is not always true, to stick to his job, to grumble less about amenities and to be happier in his own country.

Simplicity

The directive to avoid over-administration and not to overwhelm the people with a multiplicity of schemes is generally ignored. At recent Seminars on the Multipurpose Blocks at Ranchi and Pachmarhi, where the Prime Minister's Tribal Panchshila was strongly commended to the delegates by the Governor of Bihar and Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh respectively, the Conferences immediately proceeded to work out a fantastically elaborate programme, which even included the establishment of cycling clubs, on the principle apparently that if the tribals have insufficient bread they had better eat cake.

This really will not do. Not only are the people themselves in the undeveloped areas being confused, but the Block officials tend to go round in circles desiring to impress their superiors by the range and variety of their performance rather than by its depth. A tribal official of wide experience has written that one reason for what he regards as the failure of the Multipurpose Blocks may be due to the fact 'that all these multifarious programmes have been brought to the tribal people all of a sudden and too much in a hurry. Sufficient time has not been given to them to realise the value of all these programmes.' And another careful observer has remarked that 'it must be remembered that tribal people (and for the matter of that others also) are not capable of absorbing several ideas simultaneously. In my experience it is always preferable to concentrate on one idea at a time rather than to expend energy on the dissemination of several ideas at a time, many of which may not be completely understood.' It has been observed in a note

on the Bastar Multipurpose Blocks that 'we are wasting a lot of energy on non-essentials (Social Education, construction of unnecessary roads etc.) whereas we should concentrate almost exclusively on Agriculture and Public Health.'

And finally, we should take careful note of one of the recommendations of the Renuka Ray Committee.

'A basic factor that can make a substantial difference in the success or failure of a plan for tribal welfare is its simplicity. Our studies have clearly brought out that the danger of attempting too much is that little is achieved. In framing the recommendations, we have been largely guided by this overriding consideration of adopting a simple and direct approach to planning for the welfare and development of the tribes. Apart from the fact that sufficient personnel of the right type are not available to introduce, at this stage, every conceivable scheme of welfare and development, there is the danger of over-administration, as pointed out by the Prime Minister, which is resented and resisted by the tribal. Even if no active resistance is offered, the mere multiplicity and complexity of schemes confuse the tribal who is unable to assimilate all the advice that is directed to him. Further, it is now clear to any serious student of the working of plan schemes that overdoing or unduly hastening the process and pace of development often leads to passivity, a disposition to accept but not to do. We recommend that :

'The plans for tribal welfare need to be very simple. It is important, at least in the initial stages, to concentrate on a few selected programmes, that have a vital bearing on the felt needs of the people, so as to secure ready understanding and willing participation on the part of the tribals.'

This is all very well, but how is the policy of simplicity to be achieved? Everything is going the other way, towards more and more of what has recently been called complexification—a word as elaborate as the thing it describes. What should be left out?

In any plans for future Blocks in the tribal areas, irrespective of the amount of money to be provided, nearly all the funds should be allotted for Agriculture and allied subjects, for Health, and for Communications. Rural Housing is not a matter of priority : Social Education should consist of only two or three items. Rural Arts and Crafts should concentrate only on essential industries. Education could be left to the Education Departments, for there seems little point in introducing yet one more agency to deal with this subject. A lot of small things of doubtful utility in tribal areas, such as smokeless chulas for houses with open bamboo walls, village latrines and bathrooms which are rarely used, radio sets which are always going out of order, could be omitted. All our energies should go to the great basic things—food, water, healthy bodies, mobility.

At the same time, much more attention should be paid to such fundamental problems as ownership of land, amendment of the local forest rules, the revival of tribal self-government, relief of indebtedness, and the correct approach to the people, which will cost nothing but without which development schemes may fail.

One thing which confuses the Block officials is the endless stream of printed and cyclostyled documents which pours down from Delhi. On the

one hand, they are told to keep everything simple, on the other they are continually exhorted to take up every possible little scheme that the ingenious brains of the metropolis can devise. There should be some screening of this literature at the Ministry or State level to ensure that the P.E.Os do not get confused in this manner.

Rivals or Allies

We will consider later in detail the possibility of 'working through, and not in rivalry to the people's own social and cultural institutions'. This has become a matter of urgent importance in view of the new schemes of democratic decentralization and the introduction of Statutory Panchayats in the tribal areas. While these meet an essential need and attempt to fulfil a great ideal in the more developed places, we feel that caution is needed in introducing them at present among the tribal people. The decline of the traditional tribal council all too often means that in effect the control of local progress passes into the hands of the non-tribals, a process which even election does not seem to check.

The most characteristic systems of natural tribal education are actually destroyed by our education programmes which, in fact, would succeed better if they would regard the old institutions as allies and not as rivals and would work through them. Even the humble tribal medicineman can be enlisted as an ally to assist the progress of modern medicine. We will deal with these matters in the appropriate chapters and it will be sufficient to remark here that, though this policy is difficult, it is entirely possible (as has been proved in NEFA and other parts of north-eastern India) though it requires knowledge, sympathy and imagination. At present the indigenous institutions are being slowly killed by the development programmes and we feel that this is not healthy and much greater effort should be made to reverse the process.

The Danger of Money

'We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of character that is evolved.' It is Investment in Man that is important. This is everywhere agreed, yet the success or failure of a Block is still estimated by the amount of money spent or surrendered, the statistics of school enrolment, the number of fruit trees planted (it is seldom stated how many survive), the acres brought under cultivation, irrespective of whether more food is grown or not. Block officials are constantly worried about expenditure. We suggest later other yardsticks of progress that might be used, though admittedly this is a difficult matter.

The fundamental thing is to realise that twenty-seven lakhs of rupees can buy things but it cannot buy men. The progress of the Multipurpose Blocks largely depends on who goes to administer them. Money can encourage good workers; it can free them from domestic worries; but it cannot create them.

This undue stress on the spending of money, and the belief that the villagers have to be 'baited' to work at the improvement of their own life and living has been emphasized by Mr Carl Taylor. The result has been that, all over India and even more obviously in the tribal areas, there has been a reversal of the original spirit of the Community Development programme.

'An undue and unwise amount of material and financial assistance', he says, 'has been given "to motivate the people". This automatically has led to a lot of construction activities and thus programme operation became more and more a "work" or "construction" programme and less an extension programme. Gram Sevaks, the extension agents at the village level, have given more and more of their time to construction and supply activities.

'Because a large amount of government-provided materials and funds were required, accounting for and management of funds and materials became necessary. The result was the programme became more and more an administrative and an administrators' programme and less and less a community development extension programme. No one planned this line of programme evolution but the logic of the development was inevitable due to the relatively great emphasis on physical targets and relatively small emphasis on the development of the people. I believe it is correct to say that the programme in day-by-day operation has never become a "people's programme". It has been and continues to be primarily a government programme. I believe furthermore that it will continue to be a government programme until relatively (more emphasis is put on the skills of extension and relatively less emphasis on the skills of planning and administration.)

Any visitor to a Multipurpose Tribal Block will immediately appreciate the importance and the truth of this.

We may call one more expert witness, Mr Albert Mayer, whose study of rural development in Etawah (Uttar Pradesh) is, of course, far removed from tribal India, but whose observations are very pertinent, even more pertinent, to the tribal areas. He considers that, while much good has been done, on the whole, 'the N.E.S. projects are inadequate in systematic planning, thoroughness and follow-up. This is alarming. With the beginning of the N.E.S. and imperative orders to start a large number of projects on exact dates, regardless of the availability of trained and devoted manpower or established supply lines, a serious deterioration started to set in. Projects were started with the merest skeleton of personnel, often of quite inadequate character and understanding. Instead of catching up, we are falling farther behind..... We are perforce failing the people..... by not being able to furnish technical and semi-technical help. With all their enthusiasm, labour, and money they will be more frustrated because so many of their achievements are very poorly done.' The cumulative result, Mr Mayer concludes, is that less work will be done than should be expected for the effort and expenditure put in. That will be undoubtedly disappointing, but the real disaster will be 'that all the targets set will be achieved on paper by wishful reporting, and by wishful acceptance of reporting, punctuated by prepared visits into the field'. That we are fast moving towards a more universal frustration 'can be verified readily through impartial visits and discussions by someone not in the hierarchy. Someone to whom field people can talk freely without fear of being considered incompetent or inadequate..... praise or criticism by higher authority is becoming based on mechanical results : the upside-down fiscal criterion. How much money have you spent? How fast? Will you spend it by 31st March? The result of this is a false set of values'. Mr Mayer, therefore, believes that we are exceeding a realistic rate of expanding the C. D. programme, chiefly because, apart from the shortage of finance and supplies, it involves too many and too varied items both for the present quantity and quality of our personnel and for the

absorptive capacity of the village. The result is a greatly diluted reproduction of the substance and worth of the early prototype C. D. projects which only leads to cynicism among villagers and observers alike.

This was written about the situation in one of the more advanced places in India. How much more true it is of the long-neglected and isolated tribal areas!

A wide distribution of free gifts of money or materials may have an undesirable effect. In the agricultural field, it is important that we should avoid the danger of giving too many free gifts to the tribal. In the field of housing, we should not put up buildings for him, which he may actually do better for himself. He should be helped to utilise his own resources and this aid should of course be on a non-loan basis. But we should not do those things which he is perfectly able to do himself. In particular we would not recommend too much mechanised aid in the tribal areas. The tribal tends to become accustomed to governmental assistance, with the result that he cannot readjust himself easily when particular schemes come to the end.

In the past, there has been a commendable spirit of self-reliance among the tribal people. They have made their own paths, built their own bridges; when a house is burnt down, the whole village combines to erect a new one; the community comes together to help the old or bereaved to till their fields. In the Christian villages of Assam, there are large numbers of schools maintained by public subscription: many a Christian Khasi woman, for example, when she cooks her food, puts aside a handful of rice, which is later taken to the Church and sold for the upkeep of schools. In the Buddhist frontier villages, the people take a daily contribution of food to the Temple, where it is used for the maintenance of hostels for boys who go there to receive training in simple arts, literacy and moral and religious duties. In Manipur even High Schools, with reasonably well-paid teachers, have been maintained by the people without any help from Government.

Money quickly destroys this spirit. Today even the Buddhists demand grants and subsidies for their Temple-hostels; a group of Khasis suggested that the best way of using the Block funds would be to divide it up and distribute it to the people at so much a head. In Tripura at one time there was a belief that every tribal household was entitled to a grant of Rs. 500 simply because it was tribal. There is a general belief that there is easy money to be had for the asking, and Community Development is being regarded as a great charitable society, where you can get everything free of charge. There is little idea that the people will help Government to build a better India; all the stress is on what Government will do for the people.

Great Expectations

This tendency is aggravated by the unwise and unrealistic promises that are often made when Blocks are started. The people are assured that a new age is beginning, prosperity is just round the corner. In one village they were told that if they co-operated with the development programme they would soon be owning their own jeeps and even aeroplanes!

V.I.Ps and other visitors, who are often unacquainted with the realities of the situation, make matters worse by even more ambitious statements, and the continual investigations by evaluation teams and committees like our own still further complicate the situation. As a party of tribal folk remarked: 'So many important people come to look at us, all asking the

same questions, and nothing whatever happens.' One Block headquarters was visited, in the space of a few months, by members of the Renuka Ray Committee, the Inaccessible Areas Committee, a Border Areas Relief Committee, a sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare which was enquiring into nomadic tribes (which did not exist in the District) and our own Committee, as well as several high officials of the State.

The Staff and its Approach

Both the Renuka Ray Committee and the Inaccessible Areas Committee have criticised the quality of the officials employed in the Multipurpose Blocks and other under-developed areas. The first finds that the Block officials are not on sufficiently friendly terms with their people and seem to regard themselves as superior to them. 'A sense of awe, more than a feeling of friendly co-operation seems to prevail among the local tribals.' The second refers to the fact that service personnel of low calibre is all too often posted to these Blocks. 'Often enough official postings to such remote areas are deemed to be a form of punishment. Upon receiving posting orders, a common practice is to utilise all accumulated leave, and in the meantime, make every effort to have the posting orders cancelled. If such attempts are not successful, the official eventually takes up his duties as a last resort, and carries out their performance in a dispirited and uninterested way.'

Our own experience has been that the above observations are true to some extent but at the same time we would like to stress the fact that we have met a number of officials at all levels who were keen, enthusiastic and anxious to learn. Some of the V.L.Ws appeared to us extremely good and nearly all the present P.E.Os were carrying on their work with sincerity, and often with intelligence, in face of almost overwhelming difficulties, not the least of which was the fact that their status was not sufficiently high for them always to exercise the gift of leadership over their own team or to deal effectively with representatives of the State Departments.

At the same time nearly all the officials, including those who inspired our respect, were lacking in any intimate knowledge of their people and had very little idea of general policies for tribal development. Not one of those we interviewed had heard of such a thing as scientific jhuming, hardly anyone had taken the trouble to learn a tribal language or to read any books about his area, and there was general lack of interest in any kind of specialized approach to the tribes, except, of course, the importance of spending as much money as possible in the shortest possible time. Comparatively few of the officers have had any orientation training and even those who have had it do not seem to have benefited very greatly.

The general attitude and approach to the tribes has improved throughout the country : thirty years ago they were generally regarded either as picturesque 'museum specimens' to be collected or as ferocious savages to be avoided. Today there is a very wide measure of respect for the tribal civilizations and a recognition that these fine people have a real contribution to make to the rest of India and that, as they get opportunity, they will play an important part in her life.

But although some of the officials and social workers in the Multipurpose Blocks have been inspired with the new attitude, many of them have not. There is still all too common a tendency for officials to regard themselves as superior, as heaven-born missionaries of a higher culture. They

boss the people about ; their chaprasis abuse them ; in order 'to get things done' they do not hesitate to threaten and bully. Any failure is invariably placed at the tribal door ; in report after report, we have found the Block officials blaming everything on the laziness, the improvidence, the suspiciousness, the superstitions of the people.

Altogether too much fuss is made of the hardships of living in a tribal area, and officials seem to regard themselves as heroic martyrs who are carrying a burden far heavier than anything the white man had to bear. Yet there is surely nothing very dreadful in being sent to live in the quiet and lovely countryside, on a great and exciting mission, among some of the most friendly, hospitable, courteous and charming people in the country. Missionaries do it without a word of complaint ; forest officers give their whole lives to the hills and jungles with enthusiasm ; scientists clamour for permission to go to the backwoods and pay large sums of money to do so ; merchants and money-lenders go about among the tribal people, learn their language, endure conditions of the greatest hardship, with nothing but a smile. A complaint-psychology has developed in some of the Blocks which does not make for enthusiastic and efficient work.

This suggests that a wrong attitude has been created among officials. One way whereby this has been done is through the way we talk, which tends to increase subconsciously the sense of superiority. The word 'backward' is a very dangerous one. It is being used *ad nauseam* all the time--backward tribes, backward areas, backward classes. How then can we avoid thinking of ourselves as advanced, elevated, progressive and thus superior ? And how can the educated tribals, so constantly described in these disparaging terms, fail to develop an acute inferiority complex with all its unhappy consequences ? In any case, words like 'backward' and 'uplift' imply subjective judgements which are often based on a wrong sense of values. Who is backward--the simple honest tribesman or the merchant who exploits him ? Who is backward--the creative artist at her tribal loom, the gentle mother with her child among the hills, or the inventor of the atom bomb which may destroy her and all the world ? Are these self-reliant, co-operative tribes the really backward as against the self-seeking, individualistic, crafty products of our industrial civilization ?

The use of 'primitive' as equivalent to 'backward' is equally objectionable, and we comment elsewhere on the extraordinary suggestion that a list of tribes 'according to their primitiveness' should be prepared. The tribes were referred to recently in Parliament as 'these unfortunate people' and a recent publication by the Ministry of C.D. & C. classifies them in a single sentence not only with the Scheduled Castes but also with the blind, the deaf and the mute !

It is true that many of the tribals, like some people all over the world, are weak, impoverished, exploited and unfortunate. But most of their ills are due to the neglect and folly of the 'advanced' and not to anything inherent in themselves. And it is entirely wrong to apply a blanket description of this kind to the splendid hill people, some of the happiest and gayest in India, with their zest for life, their freedom of spirit, who have faced and overcome difficulties that would long since have overwhelmed the 'civilized'.

Another unfortunate term is 'Scheduled Tribes' which makes them sound as if they really were museum specimens and which is resented by

the educated. It is even more unfortunate that it is usually used in the expression 'Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes' and that both groups, which their totally different problems, should be associated together and dealt with by one administrative organization. This has undoubtedly lowered the social status of the tribes in public opinion.

Adaptation

It is not easy for the town-dweller to adapt himself to the country or for sophisticated modern man to adjust himself to the hard and simple life of the tribes. But of all the different techniques of adaptation, the first and most important applies to our own minds and hearts, a matter on which Shri Nehru has spoken frequently.

'We ought to be careful', he has said, 'about appointing officers anywhere, but we must be doubly so when we appoint them in tribal areas. An officer in the tribal areas should not merely be a man who has passed an examination or gained some experience of routine work. He must be a man with enthusiasm, whose mind, and even more so whose heart, understands the problem it is his duty to deal with. He must not go there just to sit in an office for a few hours a day and for the rest curse his fate for being sent to an out-of-the-way place. That type of man is completely useless. It is far better to send a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination, so long as he goes to these people with friendship and affection and lives as one of them. Such a man will produce better results than the brilliant intellectual who has no human understanding of the problem. The man who goes there as an officer must be prepared to share his life with the tribal folk. He must be prepared to enter their huts, talk to them, eat and smoke with them, live their lives and not consider himself superior or apart. Then only can he gain their confidence and respect, and thus be in a position to advise them'.

Someone once said that : 'The entire policy of the Prime Minister with regard to the tribal people of India may be summed up in one word—Humility.' We believe that this is true. Humility has been the dominant virtue of the most successful administrators of tribal areas throughout the world.

Humility is not a popular virtue and is not generally supposed to pay a very high dividend; it can, if insincere, be one of the most obnoxious of human characteristics. But if it is sincere, it will enable us to approach our task without fear of failure, save us from countless mistakes, and win us the true affection of many tribal friends.

This attitude expresses itself in very definite and practical ways. It is not expressed, for example, by keeping tribal visitors waiting for a long time outside one's house or office, and by not offering them seats. We have sometimes noticed that at community feasts officials have chairs to sit on, while the tribals squat on the ground. At meetings of Block Development Committees, officials and non-tribals nearly always have the best places, while the tribals sit almost unnoticed at the back. It is still all too common, in fact, at any meeting between officials and the people, for the former to sit on chairs and the latter to squat on the ground. Could not everybody sit down together, if necessary, in the old Indian fashion, on the ground? This may seem a small matter, but it is a symbol of something very big.

Now let us admit frankly that it is very easy to talk about being dedicated to the tribes or loving them or being one with them. It sounds wonderful on paper, but it is by no means easy to carry out in practice. When a Block official is first appointed, in the first flush of his enthusiasm everything seems simple, but as the months go by it becomes more difficult, for the tribal people are like people all over the world. Most of them are friendly, honest, hospitable, good, but just as anywhere else in the world, some of them are dishonest, mean, untruthful, treacherous. It is easy to love the friendly; it is not easy to put up with those who cheat or betray you and, in some cases, an official or social worker in the tribal areas, who has begun well, loses his enthusiasm and grows impatient with the people he is trying to serve. He becomes mentally hostile to them and feels that somehow he has been cheated. The hardships and loneliness of his life then begin to oppress him and what at first was a great adventure now becomes a rather dreary chore, and he applies for transfer or resigns. This is why it is essential that we should not be inspired merely by romantic sentiment, but build up within ourselves a store of inner strength, with an attitude based on knowledge and reason, so that when the testing days come we will not fail.

What are the qualities which the tribal people themselves, for they are the real Selection Board which passes the ultimate judgement, admire in an official or voluntary worker?

The first is something which is rather hard to define, but is generally expressed by the words 'personality' or 'character'. The tribal people do not generally take to a negative person, someone who is dull, peevish or flat. They like a clubbable man, to use an expression of Dr Johnson's. This does not mean that they necessarily prefer a 'hearty' character to a quiet one, indeed some very successful officers have been on the quiet and gentle side. They like the real, the genuine, the sincere far more than the back-slapper. But an officer must not be too shy, or his reticence will be mistaken for pride. A warm, generous, affectionate, positive but not too effusive, character is best. But if one does not have these estimable characteristics, it is no good trying to put them on. The thing is to be simple and natural, oneself.

Then again the tribal people are admirers of men and women who work hard. Indeed, the capacity for work holds a high place in their ethical code, and they always condemn the slacker in their folk-tales. They criticize an official who in his office or on tour does not fulfil his duties, of which they are becoming increasingly aware. They admire promptitude and punctuality in others even if they do not practise it themselves.

Many of them are strongly democratic, but others have a great respect for their Chiefs and for the aristocracy. They have a sense of genealogy and history. But both types are extremely sensitive to any assumption of superiority by outsiders. They like to feel that an official is a person of position, authority and dignity, but at the same time they expect him to mix freely with them on terms of equality: they expect him to be always accessible.

They appreciate any genuine interest in their customs and traditions and respond readily to expressions of admiration for their textile and other arts. They are delighted when an official puts on a tribal hat or coat, or if his wife wears one of their clothes or ornaments. Most of them like talking about themselves and appreciate an attentive hearing. They are apt to talk for a very long time, and patience is a virtue we have to cultivate.

In fact, patience and an even temper are qualities admired even by the most warlike tribes. They very strongly resent being shouted at or roughly treated. No one should ever, on any account whatever, strike or beat them. It is sometimes said that this is the best way of handling them, that they respect a 'man' who is not afraid of them, and that once they have been 'put in their place' they become devoted friends. Our experience is that such friendship is generally based on fear and that a blow is brooded over and resented for years.

To the tribal mind the family is one of the most important things in the world, and a married official with his wife and children who can establish a real home among them, and show them something of the beauty of family life quickly finds himself accepted in tribal society.

The people expect an official to act quickly and always fulfil his promises. They know nothing about red tape and, when they hear about it, think it very silly. This is why it is essential that there should be a certain flexibility in the financial and other rules governing work in the interior. 'Workers among the tribes', says Shri N. K. Rustomji, who as Adviser for NEFA and Diwan of Sikkim has had wide experience of them, 'must be men of adventure and elastic intellect. The mind must be constantly on the alert to discover ways and means of overcoming the hundred and one problems of administration in such unusual areas and amongst such unusual people. The successful administrator will be ever experimenting. For it is through experiment that, in the last resort, the most practical solution can be found to the knottiest problems. And if only a small percentage of the experiments meet with success it will be something gained. But the worker who plods along the beaten track, hesitant to undertake any venture lest it might not meet with immediate success, will be of little use for work in areas where the commonly accepted rules and practices are impractical of implementation and are a hindrance to the development and growth of the people.'

Very important to tribal psychology is the love of truth and a belief in justice. This is why sincerity in an official is more important than academic or technical qualifications. The people expect him to tell them the truth even if it is unpalatable and nothing causes greater trouble than for him to make promises which he cannot fulfil. The frank, truth-speaking type is thus more likely to succeed than the glib, the smooth or the slick. The tribal people are becoming aware of the large sums of money now allocated for their benefit and are demanding a high standard of integrity in their officers. They may be profoundly disturbed by a discrepancy of only a few annas, which we may hardly notice.

For the puritan they have little use; they dislike anyone who pries and meddles, who is always wanting to do them good, never happy unless he is showing something up. Despite the harshness of their environment, they have a zest for living, an immense capacity for enjoyment; they are affirmative, positive people, and they expect their officials to enjoy life with them.

Freedom from Fear

We have received from a P.E.O. in charge of one of the Multipurpose Blocks an interesting note on what he calls the 'fear complex' among the tribal people which has been created by the exactions of the low-grade officials and non-tribals who visit their villages. In general the voice of the

P.E.O. is insufficiently heard in Delhi or the capitals of the States. Some of them are now beginning to feel a deep affection and sympathy for their people, even though they may not yet have any great knowledge of their social and cultural background; they are in daily touch with them; and some are deeply disturbed by the things they see. In general, however, they do not feel it appropriate (as is perhaps natural in the case of Class II officials) to express their views freely. When they do, however, we should listen and pay attention to what they say.

We will, therefore, summarize this P.E.O.'s report. He points out that, however liberal and generous the policy at the higher level may be, the tribals are often governed at the village level by the worst kind of petty official. We have already mentioned the tendency to send development workers to tribal areas as a punishment. This is even more marked in the Police and Revenue Departments. It has apparently been assumed that, because there is so much poverty and little incidence of crime in the tribal areas, bad officials will have less opportunity for taking bribes and exploiting the people.

This, however, is unfortunately not the case. Supervision by higher officials is inevitably weak in the remoter areas; the tribal people are ignorant of the law and in any case they are unwilling to go to a District headquarters to make complaints and are terrified of being summoned to a court which may be thirty or forty miles away from their homes and to which, if a case is raised against them, they may have to go a dozen times. In one such case a tribal had to walk an aggregate of over 3,000 miles before it was settled.

The tribal people suffer from the exactions of minor officials in the three main administrative Departments—Forest, Revenue and Police.

Forest

In the Multipurpose Block about which we have received this report, it is estimated that every Forest Guard is paid an annual tithe of seven-and-a-half seers of grain by every tribal family in his beat as a sort of protection fee. This entitles the donors to free collection of fuel, fruit, gum, bamboos and thatching-grass from the forest without any interference. Should they need timber for building their houses, they obtain it by making additional payment in kind—a cow, chickens, ghee or wheat.

Some of the more enterprising tribals arrange with the local Forest Guard on a personal cash payment to be permitted to remove timber even from the Reserved Forests. If a tribal wishes to clear the forest for shifting cultivation he pays a fee of two rupees an axe. In some areas this fee, which is normally regarded as a kind of tax, is much higher. This, of course, is done on the understanding that if the tribal concerned is caught by the Ranger or the D.F.O. he will have to face the consequences and will not refer to the Forest Guard who has assisted him. The Forest Guards also make it their joint responsibility to provide the Forester of their beat with free food-provisions throughout the year.

Police

The incidence of crime is low, yet the unfortunate police constables have to live. Therefore, since crime is the most profitable source of income for a constable, crimes have to be committed. Non-official non-tribals of the locality help to 'frame' the tribals by putting up false complaints against

them, placing, for example, bottles of illicit liquor in tribal houses or the equipment for distillation in tribal fields, and then arranging to have them 'discovered' by the police.

In every village the Kotwar or Chowkidar is the official informer. He is never a tribal but usually a Harijan or member of one of the 'Other Backward Classes'. He too collects regular protection money from the villagers, of which he takes part himself and gives the rest to the police. This works out at about Rs. 2 for each family every year and is paid in cash. There are not very many policemen in the tribal areas and their food rations, when they visit a village on tour, are requisitioned from well-to-do tribals without difficulty. Sometimes it is arranged that the tribal will give hospitality to such an important person as a constable. In return the hosts are given preferential treatment by constables and Sub-Inspectors and this enhances their social position.

Revenue

The Patwari is the Revenue official who in many areas collects land revenue and recovers arrears. He is supposed to give regular receipts but very often he conveniently forgets to issue them and the amount is put down as arrears. These gradually accumulate and are then demanded in a lump sum later on.

The Patwari also prepares an annual report in which he records the boundaries of the land cultivated by various tribal farmers. It often happens that when a new Patwari takes over charge, he finds that some of the people have encroached on Government lands and have been cultivating them for a number of years. In such cases he has an excellent opportunity to collect suitable gratification in cash. Those tribals who do not pay are reported in the Tahsil courts.

The Patwari is paid his protection money both in cash and kind according to the ability of the cultivator and not on a flat rate for each house or family as in other cases.

The strongest weapon in the hands of village level officials is the threat of summons to a court and there are very few tribals indeed who can stand up against it. Quite apart from the waste of time and the economic loss on fines imposed, a tribal who is arrested and taken to court loses face and his social position is impaired.

Non-official non-tribals

The exploitation of the fear complex is not confined to officials. The non-official outsiders who live in the tribal areas cause even more disquiet to the tribal mind. Before the elections of 1951 those non-tribals who lived in the tribal areas were like Banias in any other rural part of India. Their rates of interest on loans and their other practices, fair or unfair, were similar to those elsewhere, but after the elections the situation changed.

Each political party needed representatives in the villages to canvass for votes. Such canvassers cultivated the most vocal members of a village to help them and these always were non-tribals, often persons without ordinary means of earning their livelihood. After the elections they became 'leaders' in the tribal areas and particularly if the party candidate whom they represented was elected, they gained a good deal of local power, and assumed the tradition of leadership of the village community. They were

able to do because of the influence of the party they represented and of the Government officials who did not wish to offend them. Where the villagers refused to accept them they became informers against them and worked up criminal charges against some of them. In the Panchayat elections that followed, which were fought on a party basis, these local leaders got themselves elected as party candidates.

Such people are often neither substantial land-holders nor the best cultivators or traders in the village. Yet they have as high, or even higher, standards of living than anybody else. The money that makes this possible has to come from somewhere and the P.E.O. declares that it comes as a result of a 'grand conspiracy' between the local 'leaders' and minor Government officials who create trouble for the people if they do not give them what they want.

Previously the whole village used to be disturbed when a Patwari, Forest Guard or constable visited it. Yet, after all, such visits were not very common and rarely occurred more than two or three times a month. During the day or two that the visit lasted the villagers were nervous and apprehensive, but once the visitor went away they felt relieved and peaceful again. But the new class of alien leaders has changed this. They are on the spot and the villagers are kept in a state of anxiety all the time. They feel that some one has his eye upon them. They fear that at any moment they may be falsely implicated in a case and this has made them jumpy and nervous.

The result of this has been to make the tribals uneasy and discontented with their lot. Their culture, their traditional tribal councils and even their way of thinking are being ruined, not by any activity of the development programme but by the invasion of low-grade, unscrupulous and ignorant non-tribals into their life. As a result some have themselves become selfish, crafty and money-minded. A new phenomenon has been created which was hitherto unknown, and these tribals have begun exploiting their poorer brethren in the same way as the non-tribals are exploiting them.

This situation, as reported by the P.E.O., will be familiar to any one who has ever lived in a tribal area. Hundreds of examples could be given, but we will be content with a brief description of what two of us observed during a visit to another Multipurpose Block in another State, where the activities of certain minor officials were brought to our notice. It was reported that shortly before our visit a vaccinator went to one village and took five rupees from the people for vaccinating them. He went on to another village where the people were afraid of treatment, and took six rupees apiece for not vaccinating them. Another complaint was about a junior forest officer who erected a number of pillars to mark the boundaries of a new reservation. He forced the tribal people to engage themselves without payment on this task, which in any case must have been most distasteful to them, and then made them give him two rupees for every pillar erected. Both in this Block and in other Blocks we heard many complaints that money was not paid promptly and that compensation for land taken for official buildings was not paid. We also received a report about some outsider who went into a hill village and declared himself to be an official of the Excise Department. He said that he had come to inspect the tobacco crop and, having done so, demanded ten rupees as tax. Although one of the village leaders told the people that they should not pay and the man was an impostor,

they were so afraid that they ran after him and begged him to accept the money. This sort of incident, which used to be common all over India in the days before Independence, should surely have come to an end by now. Nothing is more likely to dim the enthusiasm of the people for development schemes than not being paid promptly and properly, and any kind of illegal demand has a deplorable effect on them.

We do not suggest, of course, that all subordinate officials or non-tribals outsiders in the tribal areas are corrupt and oppressive. Some are kind, helpful and friendly : some are themselves disturbed by what goes on. But there are still far too many of the wrong kind.

We speak elsewhere in this Report of the heavy burden laid on the tribal people by Forest Laws, Prohibition Laws and the gradual advance of the rule of law in the realm of land possession. With the loss of their former freedom and their own simple and informal way of doing things, they have become bewildered in a world of red tape. It is said that every villager in a tribal area, if he is to survive, has to break some kind of law every day of his life. This results in lowering the respect for law in general and imposes a sub-conscious sense of guilt.

This is an important matter, partly because these children of India should not, on purely humanitarian grounds, be troubled in this way, partly because, as we stress in several places in this Report, people cannot do their best work unless they are happy. It is, however, difficult to do anything about it. It often happens that where a tribal reports his difficulties to a social worker or development official and the latter takes it up with the officers of the Department concerned, the tribal, out of fear, lets his would be helper down, denies that he ever made any complaint and even accuses his helper of inventing the case for some advantage of his own. We cannot blame the tribal for doing this, for if he does succeed in placing a complaint against an official, the latter may be transferred but his successor makes it his business to take it out of the complainant in order to ensure that he will not complain again.

If the Tribal Councils can be revived they will be a powerful instrument to check this kind of corruption and harassment. As education spreads in the tribal areas we may hope that the people will learn to stand up for themselves more vigorously. Already officers in the Multipurpose Blocks are, we are glad to say, generally strongly on the side of the tribals and their presence will help to ease the situation. The modification of the Forest and Land Laws, the establishment of rights to land, a general improvement in human relations between tribals and officials will all help. We suggest that not only development workers but officials of the Revenue, Forest, Police and Excise Departments should be given very careful briefing to create a new attitude: that there should be much stricter supervision; that Rasad books, as we suggest in Chapter Eight, should be introduced everywhere: and that superior officers should not resent complaints made by the tribals (who are almost always very honest in what they say and will never make a complaint unless they are driven to despair) and should take immediate and drastic action where necessary.

Whatever is done, it should be recognized that many of the tribal people are afraid of us and we will never integrate them fully with the rest of India or enable them to advance as we desire, unless this 'fear-complex' ceases to exist.

Adaptation to Tribal Needs

The suggestion that the programmes of development in the Multipurpose Blocks should have a 'tribal touch' or a 'tribal bias' has been sometimes misunderstood. It does not mean putting feathers in one's hair or going about with nothing on. It was first used when it became apparent that the adoption of stereotyped plans (admirable for developed districts) had generally been taken over as they stood for introduction into the tribal areas, and that there was no serious attempt to adapt the budget to tribal needs or the policy to tribal life. Today, although most of the schematic budgets have been revised in a more realistic way to suit local requirements which vary, of course, from Block to Block, very little has been done to implement the policy of developing the people along the lines of their own tradition and genius, which holds the first priority in the Prime Minister's Panchshila for the tribes.

The first and last problem of tribal India is poverty, and to give a programme a tribal bias means first that it must aim, if necessary to the exclusion of all else, at economic improvement, which itself may have to be quite different from that desirable in other parts of the country. Here indebtedness is a special problem because of the simplicity and innocence of the people. The ordinary agricultural programme may not always be suitable, for the tribal people eat different things (they often prefer the millets to rice, for example, and like meat and fish) and marketing of their saleable products is often impossible for lack of communications.

They are attached to their own culture, religion and way of life, and unless the development programme is very carefully adjusted it may do as much harm as good, destroying much that is of value and putting little in its place.

The 'tribal touch' or 'tribal bias', therefore, means that we must look, if we can, at things through tribal eyes and from the tribal point of view. We must find out what means most to them. We must see that they do in fact get a square deal : we must save them from the exploiters who still invade their villages, and ensure that in the future they will be in a position to administer and develop their own areas.

A tribal bias means that we recognise and honour their way of doing things, not because it is old or picturesque but because it is their's, and they have as much right to their own culture and religion as anyone else in India. It means that we must talk their language, and not only the language that is expressed in words but the deeper language of the heart. It means that we will not make the tribes ashamed of their past or force a sudden break with it, but that we will help them to build upon it and grow by a natural process of evolution. It does not mean a policy of mere preservation; it implies a constant development and change, a change that in time will bring unbelievable enrichment, as there is ever closer integration in the main stream of Indian life and culture.

Museum Specimens

Almost invariably, when anyone speaks about the need of developing the tribal people on scientific lines or of preserving their arts and institutions, the accusation is made that we wish to preserve them as museum specimens. This idea was first mooted over twenty years ago and it has been repeated ever since, although it is hard to see what possible justification there can be

for it. We might as well say that by preserving the sari we are keeping Indian women as museum specimens. We do not know of a single responsible person in India today who has the desire to hold back the development of the tribals in order to preserve them for study or as a picturesque enclave in our rather drab modern world. Even if anyone wished to do so, it would obviously be impossible under present conditions.

We feel, however, that in view of the fact that we are advocating the development of the people on the lines of their own tradition and genius, we should make it absolutely clear that we have no interest in any kind of artificial preservation of tribal customs or ways of living. Where these are good we should encourage them. Where they are less good we should try carefully to help the people to develop from within into something better. We fully recognize that as a result of our own recommendations great changes will come, not only in the comparatively small area which is at present subject to intensive development, but later throughout the whole of tribal India. We are suggesting for this purpose thirty crores of rupees for new Special Tribal Blocks. You do not keep people as museum specimens by spending very large sums of money on policies that are bound to cause far-reaching changes.

We would also stress the fact, again in order to avoid misunderstanding by those who may not take the trouble to read our Report, that there is no question whatever of isolating the tribal people. We have, in fact, placed the development of communications very high in the order of priorities and have strongly emphasized the need of opening up the entire tribal area. The unity of the hills and of the plains is as essential to the general national interest as it is to that of the hill and forest people themselves. At the same time we have stressed the need of caution, for too rapid a contact is not desirable and in the past, as a result of exposure to the outside world, some of the tribes have become psychologically maladjusted, culturally impoverished and grossly exploited by the outside world. We feel, however, that the 'middle path', suggested by the Prime Minister, of bringing the good things of modern life to these people and of proceeding with caution and by a system of planned contact and adjusted exposure, should ensure that the evils that have affected them in the past will not affect them in the future. We may indeed look forward to an enriching process of mutual fertilization : we have much to give the tribes and they have much to give us.

Conclusion

Some of the tribal areas have already made, and we hope that soon they all will make, sensational progress in material prosperity. Yet this prosperity may be positively dangerous unless there is a simultaneous ethical and spiritual renaissance. It is unhappily true that when a tribal enters our world of today he all too often loses the fine qualities that formerly distinguished him. India is a secular state and it would be improper for official, or even voluntary organizations that receive support from Government, to promote any particular religion or ideology. But the tribal people themselves have ideals which in their own way are good and beautiful. We must cherish these and help them to grow so that there will be no loss of those imponderable treasures that give dignity to the life of Man.

CHAPTER FOUR
STAFFING PROBLEMS

We have already said something about the type of official who should be posted in the tribal areas. We must now turn to some very practical problems.

There is a provision of Rs. 7 lakhs for project headquarters and staff out of the total provision of Rs. 27 lakhs in each Block. The additional staff over and above that provided in a normal C. D. Block consists of—

(i) Assistant Engineer	1
(ii) Engineering Overseer	1
(iii) Medical Officer	1
(iv) Compounder	1
(v) Midwives	2
(vi) Extension Officer (Soil Conservation)	1
(vii) Head Clerk	1
(viii) Class IV employees	1
(ix) Driver	1

This general staffing pattern seems to be adequate, subject to certain modifications which we will suggest immediately, and we find that in a number of Blocks where the area and population have exceeded that originally laid down, a suitable number of additional V.L.Ws have been engaged. In Andhra Pradesh eight additional V.L.Ws have been sanctioned for the Narsampet Block and there is a proposal to appoint five new V.L.Ws for Utnur. In each of the Multipurpose Blocks of Madhya Pradesh five additional posts of V.L.W. have been provided. The Bombay Government has appointed three local workers called Gram Karyakartas for each of their Multipurpose Blocks for a period of one year in the first instance, and Collectors have been informed that if they require additional staff of this category, Government will consider appointing up to ten of them in each Block. In Assam there is a proposal to increase the number of Gram Sevaks for the Murkong-Selek Block. Other States are taking similar action.

It has, however, been found in practice difficult to persuade the best men, and especially technical men, to go to or at least stay in the Multipurpose Blocks.

In view of the very special conditions of the tribal areas, the unusual problems that arise there and the urgency of developing them as rapidly as possible along the right lines, we feel that the post of P.E.O. in the future Special Tribal Blocks should be upgraded to that of a Class I officer. The remarkable success both in the development of the country and the emotional integration of the people with India as a whole in NEFA, in spite of quite extraordinary difficulties, has been at least partly due to the fact that men of sufficiently high calibre have been put in charge even of remote

administrative centres covering comparatively small populations. If we are serious in demanding the best men to solve this vital problem throughout India, we are more likely to obtain them for Class I posts.

Furthermore, as we have noticed again and again on our visits to these Blocks, if a man is to be the real leader of a team he needs to be of sufficient status to command its immediate respect and concurrence. Not all men are natural leaders and a Class II officer who has to control other officers of the same status sometimes feels it difficult to do so. Another difficulty is that a Class II officer, who has to deal with senior officers of other Departments, is often not in a sufficiently strong position to make himself felt or to ensure the co-operation which is sometimes regrettably lacking. Thus in order to obtain men of higher calibre, to ensure that they will be able to lead and direct their team of workers, and to help in obtaining proper co-ordination, it will be of considerable benefit if the P.E.Os have the rank of Class I officials. Although this will cost more money and may create certain difficulties, we feel that the problem is so difficult, urgent and important that its solution should be put in the hands of really good Class I officials, which may include members of the I.A.S. and State Civil Service.

We have suggested in the Chapter on Social Education that the formal aspects of social education, such as conducting adult literacy classes and the establishment of libraries, should be handed over to the Education Departments of the States and should form part of their general programme. We have further suggested that the post of Social Education Organizer (to whom we would like to give many new duties) should be upgraded to a Class II post and its designation changed to that of Cultural Officer. We feel that this delicate and important task should be entrusted to someone who has higher educational and other qualifications than a Class III official.

The majority of us feel that it would be useful to add to the Multipurpose Blocks staff a Forest Extension Officer (he might be a Ranger on the strength of the Forest Department) who would act as liaison officer between his parent department and the Block officers, look into the grievances of the people, help to organize Forest Co-operatives and generally promote the needs of the forest economy which is so important to many tribal groups. This post would not, of course, be necessary in areas where forest problems do not generally arise.

One of our members, however, feels that this official is not likely to prove effective.

It has also been suggested that a special Horticultural Extension Officer should be appointed, but we feel that in view of the need to keep the staff to a minimum this is not really necessary.

On the question of staff, however, there are two points of view represented on the Committee. On the one hand it is felt that it will simplify matters if the additional officials, over and above those provided in a normal C.D. Block, are borne on the strength of their parent departments. Thus the Assistant Engineer and the Engineering Overseer should work under the direct supervision of the State P.W.D., of course in collaboration both for planning and execution with the P.E.O. and the officials of the Community Development Department. Similarly, the Medical Officer, the Compounder and the two Midwives should be on the strength of the Public Health Department and the Extension Officer for Soil Conservation should be directly under the Agricultural Department. If this is done it will relieve the

P.E.O. of some of the many problems that distract him and will give him better opportunity to concentrate on his fundamental task of improving agriculture and allied subjects. Other members of the Committee, however, feel that there is a danger that if these officials are not definitely part of the Block team, some of the work at present done by them may go by default.

It has also been suggested that the post of a Mobile Medical Officer is unnecessary since, in practice, his work is ineffective. The majority of us feel, however, that medical coverage in the tribal areas is so inadequate that we should not, on any account, reduce it and some of us have seen Mobile Units doing very useful work in, for example, Andhra, Orissa and Assam.

The Employment of Tribals on the Block Staff

With regard to the appointment of tribals on the staff, the position is very unsatisfactory. A glance at the notes on individual Blocks appended to this Report will show how in Block after Block (except in Assam) there are very few tribals in any kind of employment except as Grade IV servants. It is reported, for example, from Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa that there is not a single gazetted officer of local tribal origin in any of their Multipurpose Blocks. There are four tribal V.L.Ws in the Araku Block of Andhra State and two in Paderu. The number of tribal V.L.Ws in Bihar is uncertain, but it is not large. There are only 10 tribal V.L.Ws in the seven Multipurpose Blocks of Bombay and only 17 in the ten Multipurpose Blocks of Madhya Pradesh. Other Class III officials of tribal origin come to one in Andhra Pradesh, three in Bihar and nine in Bombay. There are 142 tribal school-teachers in the ten Multipurpose Blocks of Madhya Pradesh, but only two other Grade III officials. The situation is much better in the Tamenglong Block of Manipur, where there are two tribal gazetted officers and 28 Class III (the total proportion of tribal to non-tribal employees being 55 to 10) and in Assam, where a number of the P.E.Os and a large number of other categories of official are tribal.

The excuse is generally made that the Block areas are so undeveloped that there are few educated tribals available, and even the few that are educated wish to get jobs in the towns and are unwilling to work in their own villages. But there has been education, at least among the larger tribes, for a long time now: even outside Assam there are a fair number of educated tribals—Gonds, Santhals, Uraons, Bhils and many others—and greater efforts should be made to recruit them. It has been reported that in Bihar a number of tribal girls are available and are employed in other scheme in the rural areas: in Assam there are large numbers of educated tribals who could be usefully engaged in Development schemes elsewhere.

If it is true that educated tribals are unwilling to work in their own areas, it is a sad commentary on our methods of education. But this may not be true everywhere. One P.E.O. observed that the scheme of employing tribals in the Blocks was aimed at depriving non-tribals of employment, and he openly opposed it. In another Block we were told that the tribals were afraid of coming forward, since when they did, they were threatened by members of the other communities.

We feel that insufficient attention is being paid to this problem. It can only be solved on a long-term basis, but if it is ever to be solved we should make a start now. In the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and in NEFA attempts are already being made to have a sort of aptitude survey of boys

in the schools. Wherever a boy, exceptional in character and intelligence, is discovered, he is given special attention and is helped from the Primary to the Middle School period and is then given every opportunity to develop according to his capacity, either as V.L.W. or school-teacher or as a future administrator or technician. Local officials, in other words, help a boy to plan his future at an early stage and then help him to achieve it. This should be the special responsibility of the P.E.O. and of the Collector or Deputy Commissioner.

It is essential, of course, that this should be done very carefully and that boys should not be told that they will be fit to become district officers or leading politicians. It is necessary to look far ahead and estimate the number of posts in the tribal areas that will need to be filled over a period of years and then try to arrange that there will be coming up sufficient doctors, engineers, agriculturists and administrators for the future.

It is equally important to ensure that there will be a steady influx of boys and girls who will be able and willing to work as nurses, compounders, V.L.Ws and teachers.

Methods of recruitment should be as simple as possible and candidates should not be asked to make long journeys for interviews. Where such journeys are necessary, T. A. should be paid to tribal candidates immediately and, after interview, information should be sent to them as soon as possible to inform them whether they have succeeded or failed. There have been cases where tribal candidates have waited for months hoping against hope that they have obtained a job and have never had any notification about it.

The method of recruitment through advertisement is not likely to succeed in the tribal areas for very few, even of the educated boys, see newspapers regularly and there should be some other means of informing them when there is a possible vacancy.

Transfers

Another problem concerns the length of time an official spends in his Block. In the tribal areas, success does not come in a hurry and one reason for the comparative failure of the staff to make contact with their people is the present system of frequent transfers. It is almost impossible to find an official at any level who has been in a Multipurpose Block since its inception. Some Blocks have had three or even four successive P.E.Os in charge of them, and doctors, engineers, agriculturists and V.L.Ws are continually changed. It is difficult to see how, under these circumstances, when he expects, or hopes, to have to leave in a few months, an official can come to know much about the people, get on really friendly terms with them, learn the language or indeed carry on his work with any hope of success.

Let us take one Block as a sample, for this will illustrate the situation more clearly than a table of statistics. In order not to discredit any individual, we will not give its name, but will call it Badlipet, and this in any case is an advantage for it will emphasise the fact that it is no solitary or unusual example but is typical, as we have found on our tours, of many others : it is certainly not the worst.

The Situation in Badlipet

The P.E.O. of Badlipet gave us a valuable note on the staff situation in the course of which he pointed out that, even if 'some willingness is shown

by a few in the beginning or at the time of posting, such persons after a short stay openly indicate their eagerness to escape at the earliest opportunity and start actively trying to achieve their object. Deliberate indifference towards duties, illness of self and family, difficulties about local languages, unhealthy climate, very difficult living conditions, the extreme backwardness of the area and great difficulties in achieving tangible results of work are some of the means and grounds used by the staff to get themselves transferred from this area. It is found that the special pay (25% of basic pay) sanctioned by Government in June 1958 for the staff of this Block is not serving as a sufficient inducement and no keenness is shown by them to stay on in the Block on that amount'.

It will be worth while going into some detail on this subject. The following examples will indicate the changes made in the staff and the unwillingness of the officials posted to Badlipet to remain there.

(1) *Project Executive Officer*.—Shri A was posted as Assistant Project Officer in November 1956 but he was found to have little interest in development work and was unwilling to continue. He was transferred in October 1957 and his place was taken by the present P.E.O. The Badlipet Block is actually fortunate in only having had two P.E.Os since its inception. At Narasampet there have been four P.E.Os; in Kashipur three; in Narayanpatna four.

(2) *Agricultural Officer*.—Shri B was appointed in June 1957 but soon afterwards applied for reversion to his parent Department. He was replaced by Shri C in January 1958 but the latter was removed soon afterwards for work in a Paddy Pilot Scheme, though he was excellently suited to Badlipet. He was succeeded by Shri D but he and his wife fell ill and left in April 1959. He was succeeded by Shri E who after only two months was taken back to his parent Department. The present Agricultural Officer took up his duties in July 1959.

(3) *Veterinary Extension Officer*.—The present incumbent of this post has twice applied for transfer elsewhere on the grounds of his wife's illness.

(4) *Co-operative Officer*.—The first officer to deal with co-operation was not posted until January 1957. In September of that year he was replaced by Shri F who was transferred to Badlipet as a punishment as he had got into trouble. Six months after arrival he was sent for training and did not return. Shri G was posted in his place but went immediately on leave, even before the leave was sanctioned, and he was reverted. Finally the present officer took up his duties in October 1958.

(5) *Social Education Organizer*.—Shri H was first posted and was almost immediately sent for training. After he came back he expressed his unwillingness to work in the Block. A substitute was specially selected and, though unwilling to come at first, he has now begun to like the place and is working well. He is almost the only official who is able to talk to the people, not indeed in the tribal language but in a regional language which a number of them understand.

(6) *Sub-Divisional Officer, PWD: Deputy Engineer*.—It was impossible to find an official to fill this post for a whole year after the inception of the Block. Shri I was first posted in December 1957. Since he was very unwilling to remain he was replaced by Shri J in April 1958, but the latter went on leave very soon after taking up his duties. In May 1958 the present incumbent was appointed but, though he seemed willing enough to

serve here at the beginning, he now wishes to be transferred owing to family difficulties and the problem of educating his children.

(7) *Overseer, PWD.*—In June 1957 Shri K. was appointed. He went on leave on grounds of health and applied for transfer and reverted to his parent Department in March 1958. He was succeeded by Shri L who remained in Badlipet for only ten days and then left for good without even taking permission. He was succeeded in turn by Shri M who almost at once applied for transfer and, since he was found incompetent, this was granted in July 1958. Another Overseer who came to Badlipet in December 1958 almost immediately applied for transfer and went away. Yet another post of Overseer lay vacant for a very long time but has now been finally filled in September 1959.

(8) *Medical Officer.*—Dr. N. was appointed to the Badlipet Dispensary but he refused to join his duties there and the order was subsequently cancelled. It was impossible to post any M.O. to take charge of the Primary Health Centre till September 1959.

The situation with regard to Gram Sevaks or V.L.Ws is equally revealing. There are ten V.L.Ws Headquarters in the Block and we will examine them one by one.

(1) Shri A was appointed in October 1956 and got himself transferred elsewhere in July 1957. Shri B was sent to succeed him on transfer from another Block, where there were complaints against him. He was transferred only four months later at his own request. Shri C came in December 1957 but, although he was a good worker, had to be transferred in April 1959, as there were various charges against him. The present V.L.W. joined in April 1959.

(2) The V.L.W. here is one of the few that has been for a long time in the Block. He joined his post in October 1956 and is still here, though he has now applied for transfer.

(3) Shri A worked from October 1956 to August 1957, but was then found unsuitable and transferred. His successor Shri B remained only for three months at the end of 1957, having been sent from another Block where he had been found unsuitable. He was then transferred from his own Circle to headquarters. Shri C, who joined in December 1957, having been found unsuitable in another Circle in the Badlipet Block itself, was given a chance to work in his own area. He did not do well and resigned his job. Shri D was temporarily posted for three months, when he was succeeded in October 1959 by the present incumbent, the fifth to work in this Circle in three years.

(4) Shri A was posted in October 1956 and remained for about eighteen months but was then replaced by an experienced worker from the Agricultural Department. From April to December 1958, however, a temporary V.L.W., Shri B, held charge until the agriculturist took over his duties in December 1958. He has done well but is likely to be reverted to his parent Department according to the present policy of Government.

(5) Shri A worked in this Circle from October 1956 to August 1957 and then applied for transfer. He was succeeded by Shri B who worked well from August 1957 to December 1958 but was then taken back to his parent Department according to Government's policy. Shri C came in March 1959, having been transferred from another Block where he was

found unsuitable. He almost immediately applied for transfer. He left in September 1959 and was succeeded by a new worker who is still there.

(6) Shri A remained in his Circle from October 1956 to May 1958, but was transferred as he was found unsuitable. He was succeeded by Shri B from the Agricultural Department but after four months he was taken back to that Department. Shri C then followed him for four months and was transferred. The present V.L.W. has been in the Circle since March 1959.

(7) Shri A worked from October 1956 to May 1958 but according to the report 'he was found unsuitable for the area and did not show any interest in development work' and was, therefore, transferred. One would have thought that he should have been transferred earlier if he was so unsuitable. The present V.L.W. has been in his post since May 1958.

(8) Shri A was transferred after ten months as he too was found unsuitable and lacking in interest and he was succeeded by the present V.L.W., who appears to be unwilling to remain as he has recently married.

(9) Shri A, after a little over a year in the Circle, expressed his unwillingness to work in the interior and was transferred. He was succeeded by Shri B who, after two years, has also declared that he was unwilling to continue to work in the Block and has applied for transfer.

(10) Shri A worked as V.L.W. here from October 1956 to February 1959 when he was transferred, as his health was poor and he took no interest in his work. The question arises that, if this was so, why he was not transferred earlier. Since February 1959 there have been three other V.L.Ws, two of whom were found unsuitable and transferred. The present V.L.W. is a tribal and knows the local language, but he too is anxious to get away.

These constant changes have a bad effect on the tribal people. While they may be relieved at the transfer of a bad officer, they are often greatly disturbed at the removal of a good one and, not being able to realise the whole situation, they tend to feel disappointed in the officer concerned and think he did not want to remain and work for them.

This is a very serious matter and one which has greatly slowed down progress in the Multipurpose Blocks. If it continues, real progress may exist only on paper. Money may be spent, glowing reports may be put up, yet the essential change in the people's outlook, a sense of integration with India as a whole, will be lacking. We recommend that Block officials should much more carefully be chosen and appointed six months before the Block is to be opened, no matter what the financial or administrative difficulties may be, so that they can begin their surveys and make a start on the language. They should be asked to give an undertaking on their part that they will remain at least three years after the Block has started and the State on its side should guarantee that there will be no interference with the posting (except where this may be demanded by inferior work or for disciplinary reasons) and it should be understood that an official who remains in a Tribal Block for the full term will be eligible for accelerated promotion and special commendation in his confidential records. He may be given a special increment in recognition of exceptionally good work for which there are unusually good opportunities in the tribal areas.

Special Pay

In view of the difficulty of maintaining two establishments, for only

a few of the Block officials are able to take their families with them (though every possible encouragement should be given to those who take their wives) we feel that special pay should be given to all officials working not only in the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks but in all tribal Blocks.

The present situation is that no special pay has been granted to officials working in the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks of the States of Assam, Tripura and Rajasthan, though in Assam some allowance is given to officials for working in most of the tribal areas. In Manipur a special allowance of Rs. 50 a month has been given to the B.D.O. in their Multipurpose Block but there is no allowance for other officials. Apart from a hill allowance in the Adhaura Block, no special pay is granted in Bihar State.

Bombay State gives a special grant of 25% of the basic pay to officials in their Multipurpose Blocks and Madhya Pradesh has similarly given a special pay of 20% to the staff in their's.

Andhra Pradesh has sanctioned a grant of 25% special pay in addition to the Agency allowance to officials employed in the Multipurpose Blocks of Araku and Paderu and in these Blocks a 50% increase has been allowed on the fixed travelling allowance.

In Orissa, in three of the four Multipurpose Blocks officials are granted a special allowance and the case of the fourth Block is said 'to be under active consideration'.

We feel that it would be advisable to regularize the situation throughout India, and we suggest that special allowances should be given not only to officials working in the Multipurpose Blocks but to officials working in all tribal areas, some of which are much more difficult and isolated than the Multipurpose Blocks themselves. It is important to ensure that these allowances should not only be given to members of the Block staff but to their colleagues in other Departments who are working within the Block area. Failure to do this naturally causes resentment and hampers co-ordination.

At the lower levels, 25% increase on pay comes to very little and has been found, in practice, to be insufficient to attract the best men and, while we do not like the idea of having to buy men and women for what is essentially a missionary enterprise, we recommend that at least 40% and if possible 50% extra pay should be given at all levels, and that wherever a wife is qualified to do any work within the Block she should be encouraged to join her husband by being given some kind of work and should be paid for it. If this suggested increase is regarded as too high, then at least every worker in the Blocks should be given a 25% bonus with a free house, and special scholarships should be awarded for all children who have to be kept as borders in the towns for lack of adequate facilities for their education locally.

Even though the allowance will be linked to pay, there should be some minimum allowance, except for Grade IV staff. At the very lowest, we should ensure that no one suffers financially by being posted in a tribal area: at the highest we should try to ensure that he gains some actual benefit.

The Inaccessible Areas Committee has suggested that officials of the Indian Frontier Administrative Service should be posted to some of the tribal areas throughout India at least for a time so that they could bring their special training and knowledge to bear on the situation. This suggestion has much to recommend it, for the officers of this cadre have been con-

spicuously successful in dealing with the tribal people in NEFA, NHTA, Manipur and Tripura, and even though this would involve enlarging the cadre, it would be worth while. We suggest that if such officers were to be appointed they should belong to the senior grade and be positioned as District Development Officers or Tribal Welfare Officers of parallel status to, but working under, the local Deputy Commissioner or Collector, their duties being confined to the development of the tribal areas in the District. Some of the more senior might hold similar positions in relation to the Development Departments or Tribal Welfare Departments of the States.

Above all, it is necessary to convince everyone that to be sent to a tribal area is an honour and not a disgrace. The Renuka Ray Committee, the Inaccessible Areas Committee as well as our own Committee have noticed that there is a tendency to send an official who has done badly elsewhere as a sort of punishment to a tribal area. The result is that the good men feel that some discredit attaches to them on their appointment and the bad men are resentful and in any case may be presumed to be unsuitable. It is essential that this attitude should change. In actual fact, it is surely an honour and privilege to be sent to the frontiers of civilization and a recognition that a man has special qualities if his superiors suppose that he will be able to stand the conditions of work there and succeed in spite of them. As we cease to think of or talk about the tribal people as 'backward' or unimportant and recognize that they are exactly the same as we ourselves; as we lay greater stress on their good qualities and discover more and more of the artistic and human contributions they can make to India, the general attitude may change and an officer going to a remote tribal village will do so in a spirit of adventure and a desire to meet the great challenge that such a place offers to his originality and creativeness.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRAINING

One of the major reasons why the development programme in the Multipurpose Blocks has failed to adapt itself to local conditions is the lack of adequate training of the staff in an appreciation of tribal life and culture. It is true that the very philosophy of community development recognises the importance of relating its schemes to the needs of the people for whom and with whose association it is prepared. In practice, however, a stereotyped programme has been developed on the basis of the schematic budget. The priorities for each individual village and each individual tribe have not been studied and recognised in terms of the prevailing needs. The content of the development activities has been more or less the same as in non-tribal Blocks. Even those field workers—and they are quite a few—who were aware of the need to individualise the programme were not sensitive enough to the real requirements of tribal life; they did not possess sufficient conviction to oppose the conventional demands of administrative uniformity; they lacked the necessary knowledge of the tribal background, and so could not adjust and relate the development programme to it.

There are three main types of training available to workers in the Multipurpose Blocks : (i) a one-year course in tribal welfare organised by the Tribal Welfare Department of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, which is in addition to a two-years regular course in social work with specialisation in tribal welfare; (ii) a three-months course in tribal life and culture given to the Social Education Organisers at the Social Education Organisers' Training Centre at Ranchi; and (iii) a short one-month orientation course in work amongst tribal people for V.L.Ws conducted by the Tribal Research Institute at Ranchi. Similar short courses are given at the Chhindwara Research Institute and by other State Tribal Welfare Departments.

It is not our intention to evaluate this training programme but simply to record certain observations that we made in the field. The States of Orissa, Bihar and Rajasthan are making use of the training facilities provided at the Tata Institute by sending their District Level Welfare Officers there, but we found only a few such trained officials working at the Block level, although there are Social Education Organisers trained at Ranchi scattered in different Multipurpose Blocks. We observed the curious fact that in some cases the trained S.E.Os were not deputed to the Multipurpose Blocks, but were posted in non-tribal Blocks in the same State. Except in Bihar there are hardly any trained workers working at the village level or in the V.L.W. circles with any orientation training. In view of the fact that very few tribals are as yet employed as V.L.Ws and Extension workers, this means that on the whole the officials of the Multipurpose Blocks have a very limited, if any, orientation to tribal life. It is, as we have already said, due to this gap in the preparation of the minds and attitudes of the workers that the development programme has not succeeded in fulfilling its objective in the Multipurpose Blocks. We would, therefore, underline the need for such orientation before sending any worker to a Multipurpose Block. If such workers are not available or if the training facilities cannot be expanded with the required speed, it would actually be better to stagger the further

programme of opening new Blocks in tribal areas rather than to develop it on a non-effective basis and then try to remedy it at a later stage.

The nature of this special training can be of three types :

(i) Orientation training of Extension workers in tribal affairs for a period of not less than three months. Our experience suggests that a short course of one month is inadequate. Training at this stage should not be too academic or be confined to anthropology and sociology. Its aim should be to make the workers conscious of the different stages in the development of the tribal people and the need to adapt the programme to their degree of receptivity. It should also create a proper understanding of the principles of tribal welfare, and should be related to the practical problems of life, explaining how tribal institutions and customs work in practice. It should, in fact, emphasise the main problems discussed in this Report, parts of which might be included in its syllabus.

(ii) Orientation training for V.L.Ws and other workers in the villages. The same type of training, although at a different level, should be given to the V.L.Ws as well as to Patwaris, Forest Guards and even police working in the villages. The period should be for three months at least and the training should be geared to the practical problems of the tribals with whom the trainees will be dealing.

(iii) Intensive training of one year for P.E.Os and Cultural Officers. As the P.E.O. is the head of the administration of a Multipurpose Block, he should play the major role in giving a tribal base to the development programme, but he will only be able to do this or guide his staff in the right direction if he is adequately trained himself. His training should include the theory and practice of social anthropology, sociology and tribal welfare.

Similarly, as we have suggested in another chapter, the Cultural Officer will have a vital part to play by understanding the social and cultural practices of the tribal people and helping them to relate them effectively to the changing conditions of life without any feeling of unhappiness, and for this he himself will require intensive training. This training can be given to him during a period of one year in addition to the training of the P.E.O. This officer should also have understanding of the various manifestations of tribal culture such as folk-songs, folk-dances and folk-lore.

As we have already said, it is not our intention to go into the details of the training programmes. We suggest that a Committee of experts in tribal welfare and administration should be constituted to examine this important matter. In addition, the services of the existing Research Departments and the Training Centres should be utilised effectively in promoting it. The Social Education Organisers' Training Centre, Ranchi which is at present confined to the training of Social Education Organisers should be extended to all Extension workers and the courses suitably adjusted. What is required is a proper co-ordination of the Research Institutes and the Training Institutes, so that the findings of research can inspire and enrich the training programmes.

Although we have recommended the organisation of orientation courses in tribal life and culture for all Extension workers, we would emphasise that this suggestion is only meant to meet what we hope will be a temporary difficulty—that the general training is not geared to tribal problems. In the final analysis, the 'tribal' training should be an integral part of the regular job training. In fact, all job training should be related to the life of the

people, no matter who they are. It is, therefore, necessary to emphasise that the training programme for all workers in the Multipurpose Blocks should be instituted in the tribal areas themselves—where the necessary atmosphere of tribal life prevails and the content of job training can be geared to tribal requirements. It would be altogether wrong to think of orientation training and job training as two different things. The very training for a given job should be rooted in tribal life, tradition and culture. For example, a V.L.W. will prove ineffective if he does not know how to gear his agricultural knowledge to the local traditions and practices. It is true that a knowledge of agriculture and how to improve it may be the same both for tribal and non-tribal areas, but its application will have to be in terms of the stage of development of the people, the existing methods of cultivation and the social or religious ideas about it. It is because of the lack of understanding of such ideas and practices that the programme of agriculture has not always been received by the people willingly and adopted enthusiastically. This also applies to other Extension workers. This matter needs serious attention if the programme is to fulfil the objectives of the Community Development movement. The P.E.O., as an administrator and co-ordinator of the programme, requires greater insight in tribal life and culture if he is to succeed in helping and guiding his staff.

To meet this requirement, we suggest that the existing training centres should attend specially to the training of specific functionaries to work in the tribal areas. In other words, these centres should be reserved for workers coming from the tribal areas and who will return to them. With the expansion of the programme of Community Development to cover the whole of rural India, including tribal India, by 1963, there will be an enormous demand for workers, and some of the training centres could be profitably converted for the training of workers in tribal life and culture exclusively. For example, the Orientation Training Centre at Ranchi which is giving training to Block Development Officers for their own job should enlist all the B.D.Os and P.E.Os who are to work in the tribal areas and adjust the training to the requirements of tribal life and culture. Similarly, the training centres in co-operation, industries, panchayat, animal husbandry, agriculture and so on, situated in and around Ranchi may be specially reserved for training these functionaries to work in the tribal areas. In some cases, the States which have large tribal populations may help to work jointly in providing such training. If they are to undertake this new responsibility, the present Training Centres may require : (a) an orientation of the present teaching staff itself in tribal life and culture; (b) some additional staff with advanced knowledge in social anthropology; (c) a research and study wing to develop the training programmes and relate them to tribal requirements. In addition, the existing Tribal Research Institutes will have to help these centres in the initial stage to adjust their programmes to their new responsibilities. This is a comprehensive approach and can only be developed gradually and on a long-term basis, but we must realise that if we mean business and really intend to fulfil the constitutional responsibility of guiding the tribal population through the difficult period of transition and change that now awaits them, we must take the subject of training more seriously, for it has had insufficient attention in the past.

But who will pay for this? It is obviously necessary to make some special provision, if the training programme is to be established on a sound and

permanent footing. The budget of the Multipurpose Blocks cannot spare much for it. Moreover, each Block budget has to be approved by the Block Development Committee or the Block Samiti and it would be difficult to get sanction for a training programme for each Block, and this would create a sense of insecurity and uncertainty among the officials to be trained. The necessary additional provision for training should be made in the Third Five Year Plan under the heads of different Ministries responsible for specific subjects, such as Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Health, Education, Industries, and so on. The Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation should provide funds for the job training of P.E.Os, S.E.Os and Mukhya Sevikas and orientation training for all community development workers. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture should provide the necessary funds for the training of V.L.Ws and Gram Sevikas. The Ministry of Home Affairs should help in establishing Tribal Research Wings at the different training centres.

CHAPTER SIX

PROBLEMS OF LAND AND AGRICULTURE

The basic data collected from the survey reports of the Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks indicate that more than 80% of the tribal people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The available Census figures (1951) reveal that out of a total tribal population of 2.35 crores, 1.73 crores are engaged in agricultural pursuits, while remaining are landless agricultural labourers. The highest concentration of Scheduled Tribe landless labourers is in Southern India (27.2%), Central India has 18.3%, Eastern India 10.5% and Northern India 1.7%. The land available is quite insufficient to provide a standard of living which bears any comparison to that enjoyed by other groups of people. Moreover, among the majority of the tribal people the practice is to have only one food-grain crop and that too through completely outmoded forms of cultivation.

The tribal is criticised for unauthorised felling of trees in forest areas for shifting cultivation, but he does so mainly because of unsatisfied land hunger. The availability of land is, however, strictly limited, particularly since in the national interest it is necessary to conserve the forest resources and take effective steps for checking soil erosion. However, all possible measures should be taken to distribute such land that is already available to the tribals in preference to others. In any such scheme of redistribution, land should be available under the following :—

(a) The Gramdan Programme.

(b) Surplus lands available with an imposition on ceilings and holdings.

(c) Lands available in the reclaimed and de-forested areas such as in Dandakaranya, or the Raima-Surma Valley of Tripura.

The economic stability of the tribals can be ensured only through agriculture and it is obvious that there can be no progress in agriculture without suitable land to cultivate. In some of the tribal areas such as Bastar, there seems to be no shortage of land at present but in many other areas there is real land hunger. The Renuka Ray Committee has studied the entire situation and, though we ourselves are concerned only with the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, we cannot emphasise too strongly that their circumstances cannot be considered in isolation and indeed, our conclusions should have a bearing on the entire tribal area, in view of the fact that we hope that it will be completely covered with Blocks during the Third Five Year Plan period.

The Renuka Ray Committee has pointed out that 'the extension of the rule of law in the field of land rights has resulted in the progressive extinction of the original rights of the tribals which were their's, at least by virtue of the first occupation', and in an important sentence, with which we are in the strongest agreement, it declares that 'even if it is not possible to reverse this process there should be no doubt or difficulty about arresting it and in restating the rights of tribal communities in land in unambiguous terms'.

Some of the tribal people are still in the position of sub-tenants and are subject to threats of forced eviction under the pretence of 'voluntary surrenders'. Some are regarded as only crop-sharers. Where land has

been allotted to them, as the Research Unit of the Renuka Ray Team discovered, although in Rajasthan each received more than five acres, almost 50 per cent of the settlers whom they examined elsewhere got less than two acres of land. The quality of land allotted was often poor.

Throughout vast areas of tribal India, the last hundred years present a melancholy history of encroachment, alienation and exploitation. Even today it is doubtful how far the legislative measures that have been taken in most of the States with large tribal populations have been really effective. 'Ingenious agents of exploitation' have all too often found loopholes to nullify their effectiveness.

In some of the Blocks visited by our Committee we had vivid evidence of the difficulty of making real progress in development so long as the land problem remains unsolved. In the Aheri Block, where we visited a fairly large number of villages in the interior, it was almost impossible to get the people to talk about development schemes. 'A school?' they would say. 'Well, yes, if you insist. A well? It is too much trouble—we have always had water to drink and, though it is not very good, we are still alive. Fertilizers? We suppose so, if you want to give them. **BUT WHAT ABOUT OUR LAND?**' The first, last and only word was LAND.

Similarly, we were informed that seventy per cent of the Koya cultivators in the Narsampet Block were in unauthorised possession of land, a fact which exposed them to petty blackmail by the low grade official staff and inspired them with a constant sense of anxiety about the future. Without possession of his land, no peasant will go to the task of improving it with enthusiasm. Many other Koyas are landless labourers or have very small holdings. The result is that the Koyas here are little more than a tragic parody of the Koyas of Bastar and Orissa. The constant encroachment of the forest boundaries has reduced their holdings and the ever-increasing number of animals has exposed what they have to the ravages of wild pig and bison. Independence, which has brought the glories and inspiration of freedom to millions, has given little to these poor people.

In Tripura the encroachment of refugees, which has presented the Administration with a problem of appalling difficulty, has, in spite of every effort, resulted in encroachment on the tribal land and here there has been no survey and some of the tribal people do not even know what land they have. In Paderu we received many complaints about the fact that there is still a Muttadar who controls 34 villages in which the people have no *pattas* and no proper right to their land. They frequently insisted that unless they could be given proper rights they would not be interested in improving their land, and feared that the opening up of communications might prove to be a curse rather than a blessing, for as more and more outsiders came into their territory they would gradually obtain possession of the tribal land. In the Bhuyanpirh Block the tribal people have no records of rights and they suffer from a similar anxiety. They are bewildered by the rapid changes all around them, and are apprehensive about their future. These are only examples of a widespread malady which demands urgent and effective cure.

We recommend, therefore, that :

(a) the States should take up as a measure of priority a survey of

- the tribal areas in order to discover the amount of cultivable land available and the extent to which the tribal people have no established rights in the areas they cultivate;
- (b) this should be followed by a vigorous and sincere attempt to establish the tribal people in their rights to the land which they have cultivated traditionally;
 - (c) Land Alienation Acts and similar protective measures should be carefully re-examined in the light of the present situation ;
 - (d) the aim should be to ensure that every tribal has at least two-and-a-half acres of wet or five acres of dry land which he can cultivate, and in the establishment of colonies or in any scheme of settlement this should be regarded as the absolute minimum.

The tribal people are bound to their land by many and intimate ties. Their feeling for it is something more than mere possessiveness. It is connected with their sense of history, for their legends tell of the great journeys they made over the wild and lonely hills and of the heroic pioneers who made the first clearings in the forest. It is part of their reverence for the dead, whose spirits still haunt the countryside. The land is the mother who provides for them in response to the labours of their hands and who, when supplies run short, feeds them with a hundred natural gifts. It is the setting of adventure, in love, in hunting and in war, which can never be forgotten. The land is the foundation of a sense of security and freedom from fear; its assured possession is a lasting road to peace.

In each Multipurpose Block, there is a provision of Rs. 1.50 lakhs for Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension, in addition to a provision of Rs. 4 lakhs for Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation, thus making a combined provision of Rs. 5.50 lakhs. While the provision for Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension in the schematic budgets remains Rs. 1.50 lakhs in the Special Multipurpose Blocks of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tripura, the average provision has been increased to Rs. 3.89 lakhs in Assam, Rs. 2.31 lakhs in Bombay, Rs. 2.5 lakhs in Madhya Pradesh and Rs. 2.93 lakhs in Manipur.

A study of the progress of expenditure on these subjects, however, reveals that only 35.41% of the total provision has been spent in all the 43 Blocks from their inception upto 30th September, 1959. In other words, out of a total provision of Rs. 98,36,421, only Rs. 34,83,728 has so far been spent. On the allied subjects of Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation, out of a total provision of Rs. 1,65,14,788, the expenditure reported upto 30th September, 1959, is Rs. 54,58,265, a percentage of 33.05. The highest percentage of expenditure recorded in any Block on Agriculture and Animal Husbandry has been in Tamia (69%) and the lowest percentage is in Murkong-Selek (12.03%).

Under the combined programmes of Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation, the Barwani Block in Madhya Pradesh has recorded an expenditure of 104.76% : Rs. 4.19 lakhs is estimated to have spent upto 30th September, 1959, against a provision of Rs. 4 lakhs. The Peint Block in Bombay shows a figure of 98.24%. The Sukhsar Block in Bombay has spent 80.74%.

On the other hand, the Bhimpur (Madhya Pradesh) and the Adhaura (Bihar) Blocks have only shown percentages of 1.19 and 0.60 respectively,

The Saipung-Darrang and Murkong-Selek Blocks (Assam) have only spent 3·16% and 3·96% respectively.

There is no need for us to discuss the details of these subjects. The programme has been carefully worked out by experts and has recently been examined, with special reference to the inaccessible and largely tribal areas by the Inaccessible Areas Committee. The chief thing now is to implement it.

A comparative study of the statistics for all the 43 Multipurpose Blocks given in Appendix II is revealing. The lowest percentage of expenditure is on Rural Arts and Crafts, only 20·20%; the next lowest is on Co-operation, only 20·34%. The highest percentage is on Social Education (48·71%) which does not demand priority in a tribal area. The next highest is on Block headquarters—44·35%. Expenditure on Animal Husbandry and Agriculture (35·41%) and Irrigation etc. (33·05%) is exceeded, not only by these items, but by Education (39·60%). Yet if greater attention is not paid to Agriculture there may one day be few to educate and none to house. That the allocation, even in the revised budgets, for Rural Housing (91 lakhs) which, as this Report shows, is not a matter of high importance, should be almost equal to that of Animal Husbandry and Agriculture combined (only a little over 98 lakhs) shows a remarkable indifference to real priorities.

In many Blocks, where there was scope for increased expenditure under Agriculture and Irrigation, the Block officers were reluctant to spend larger amounts as they felt themselves (quite wrongly) tied down as a matter of routine to the schematic budget. The statement in Appendix II gives the financial provision and the expenditure upto 30th September, 1959, and the percentage of expenditure on schemes for Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension, Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation. We regret that the P.E.Os have not adopted a bolder and more imaginative attitude. The scope for flexibility in the schematic budget to suit local needs has not been fully explored. We hope that in the new Special Tribal Blocks to be opened in the Third Five Year Plan, much greater attention will be paid to these subjects, so vital to the happiness, health and progress of the tribal people.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SHIFTING CULTIVATION

Shifting cultivation has been a matter of controversy for many years. It is generally agreed that this is an arduous and wasteful type of agriculture and that, where the population is large, with a consequent decrease in the period of rotation, it gives progressively poorer crops. It is everywhere agreed that we should try to introduce other forms of cultivation which will give a greater return for the labour expended and avoid destruction of the forests.

Shifting cultivation, however, has become a subject of more clichés than almost any other, and people who have never studied the subject or visited a *jhum* or *podu* area* invariably produce the same conventional arguments about it, some of which have now been abandoned by experts. All too often this attitude, which condemns it as a bad thing, almost as the essential tribal vice, creates a wrong mentality in officers and offends the people.

Yet there have been a number of experts in recent years who have taken an entirely different view. For example, in 1953 Shri M. D. Chaturvedi, who was then Inspector-General of Forests in the Government of India, made an investigation of forestry problems in Assam and came to the conclusion that 'the notion widely held that shifting cultivation is responsible in the main for large-scale soil erosion needs to be effectively dispelled'. He declared in a weighty passage;

'The correct approach to the problem of shifting cultivation lies in accepting it not as a necessary evil, but recognizing it as a way of life; not condemning it as an evil practice, but regarding it as an agricultural practice evolved as a reflex to the geographical character of the land. For too long, *jhuming* has been condemned out of hand as a curse to be ashamed of, a vandalism to be decried. This attitude engenders an inferiority complex and an unhealthy atmosphere for the launching of any development scheme seeking to improve the current practice.'

Again Shri M. S. Sivaraman, Adviser to the Programme Administration of the Planning Commission, observed after a visit to NEFA in April 1957 that :

'It is a mistake to assume that *jhuming* (the word used in Assam for shifting cultivation) in itself is unscientific land use. Actually it is a practical approach to certain inherent difficulties in preparing a proper seed bed on steep slopes where any disturbance of the surface by hoeing or ploughing will result in washing away of the fertile top soil. The tribal people therefore take care not to plough or disturb the soil before sowing. The destruction of weeds and improvement of tilth necessary for a proper seed-bed are achieved with the help of fire. Seeds are dibbled ahead of the onset of the monsoon so that these may not be washed away and this produces a light cover of protective vegetation which reduces erosion of the soil when the heavy rains begin. In most of the interior areas where communication is not developed and no sufficient land suitable for terrac-

*The word *jhum* is used in Assam and *podu* is used in Orissa for shifting cultivation.

ing is available, *jhuming* alone can be done for the present and as such every effort should be made to improve the fertility of the *jhumed* land.'

A third authority, the Director of Soil Conservation in the Belgian Congo, in a study prepared for the general FAO enquiry on the subject (published in UNASYLVA—Vol. IX, page 67 ff.—for March 1955) describes how his Mission, after intensive and scientific study and experiments, came to the conclusion that: 'shifting cultivation in the Belgian Congo is not today regarded as a necessarily unsuitable type of agriculture but rather as the inevitable outgrowth of various particular local factors. After an initial period when European settlers thought they could impose a European way of farming, the prevailing opinion has been that it is the only type of farming that conserves the soil, at least so far as present knowledge goes'. Conditions in Africa are, of course, different and this would not hold for India in general, but the author goes on to make a very important point from the human angle.

'It is always wise to avoid upsetting an agricultural system by the precipitate introduction of concepts too strange to the traditional mode of thinking. This is particularly so in the case of the native land tenure system, especially suited to shifting cultivation. It is difficult to integrate an intensive system of agriculture into this framework straight away. In other words, account has to be taken of the human factor, which can only be modified slowly and gradually.'

In many places the country is so mountainous and alternative land so scarce that shifting cultivation is virtually the only way by which the people can obtain food. It is very easy at a State Headquarters or in Delhi to lay down a programme for terracing; it is often extremely difficult to carry it out. Terracing involves heavy investment with very little capital. Many hillsides just do not lend themselves to terracing: the soil is not deep enough. There must be some significance in the fact that the Angamis round Kohima have been extremely successful in terracing, while their neighbours have not attempted it. Or while the Saoras of Ganjam have some of the most splendid terraces in the world, their neighbours have shown no interest in it. Terracing can only be practiced where the nature of the country, the soil and the water-supply permits and where the people themselves are unusually energetic and progressive. It is no good saying, as so many P.E.Os say, that the people are lazy and conservative. You cannot change a people's entire temperament and outlook within the five years of a Multipurpose Block.

Rice-cultivation is of great importance in areas where the tribal people eat rice. If rice is not their normal diet (and for many tribes millet or maize is more important) an undue and excessive emphasis on rice-growing may easily upset the whole balance of their economy. They may begin to grow crops mainly for export and a great deal of time and money is then wasted on exporting food for sale and importing food for consumption.

What then is to be done? Shifting cultivation is a major problem only in Eastern India, in Assam State, in Manipur and Tripura, in NEFA, the Naga Hills and parts of Orissa. Elsewhere it is now found only sporadically and cannot really be claimed to be a menace either to the rainfall or the forest wealth, as is so often claimed.

The important thing is to develop shifting cultivation on a scientific basis which will limit its disadvantages and promote the fertility of the soil. A number of different methods have been suggested at various times. For example, in the French and Belgian Ardennes there is a type of shifting cultivation, there called *sartage*, in the oak coppice forests which are grown to produce bark for tanning and small poles. Here the greatest care is taken to preserve the vitality of the stools by cutting them so that they will pollard readily, and not spreading over them any of the stuff to be burned. When the crop is weeded or harvested all damage to the shoots that come up from the stools is carefully avoided, so that after the cropping is over, they quickly shoot out branches and leaves and cover the soil, thus protecting it until the next clearing is due.

Taungia cultivation, which originated in Burma and has proved successful in parts of West Africa as well as in the Garo and the Mikir Hills of Assam, is a method of transforming *jhums* into regular forest. The cultivator is induced to plant seedlings in his clearing when he has done with it, thus creating a plantation at very small cost. But this does not improve the hillside cultivation but brings it to an end, and can only be practiced where there is alternative land available. The cultivation of rubber, cashewnut, coffee, cardamom and black pepper, in the clearings, though desirable where they are to be abandoned altogether and marketing facilities exist, is also not part of the programme to improve shifting cultivation for its aim is the substitution of a permanent cash-crop for it.

Some of the tribes have an old tradition of contour-bunding to prevent erosion, for which they use the larger trunks and branches of trees felled in the clearings, and this custom should be encouraged, and introduced where it is not known.

Scientific shifting cultivation will have two primary aims—to maintain the fertility of the soil and to check erosion. To achieve these, suitable crops will have to be sown in the clearings after the harvest has been gathered in the second year. The wattle *Acacia mollissima* has been suggested as ideal for this purpose. It is easy to raise, quick-growing, fixes nitrogen in the soil, and its bark is of commercial importance, for it has a high tannin content needed by India, which imports large quantities of wattle tan-bark from Africa. Unfortunately its extraordinary power of reproduction by root-suckers, which would make it valuable for clothing the unstable hill-slopes above the mountain roads so subject to landslides, renders it unsuitable for clearings to which the cultivators will be returning, for it can only be eradicated by deep hoeing which would disturb the ground and actually encourage erosion.

Shri M. S. Sivaraman, who has given a great deal of attention to this subject, has made the following suggestions in a note which, although originally written in regard to NEFA, can also be applied to areas throughout India.

‘It is no exaggeration to say that in NEFA (as in other areas where it is practised) life and developmental activities revolve round *jhuming* for which a practical solution has to be found if food production is to go up without detriment to local development. If the burden of work involved in cutting trees can be lightened and the fertility of the *jhumed* area improved we should have found the key to the problem of development of

backward areas of this type which are inaccessible and will continue to be inaccessible for many years to come.

'As *jhuming* overshadows every other activity I shall deal at some length with it and give my suggestions for tackling the problem of *jhuming* in a practical and inexpensive way.

'At present the restoration of soil fertility depends mainly on the decay of weeds, grasses and leaves and this level of fertility is greatly reduced in two years of cropping. In order to hasten the restoration of fertility, all weeds and grasses in such areas should be suppressed by leguminous cover crops which fix nitrogen in the soil and the nondescript trees which are not all leguminous should be replaced by leguminous shrubs which can be cut or destroyed easily.

'The above objects can be completely achieved by growing in the third year, when the *jhumed* land is left fallow, perennial red gram (*ahrar*) which may be dibbled by April, 12 inches apart along the contours of slopes and in rows four feet apart. In every acre about one to two pounds of seeds of *Calapagonium Mucunoides*, very fast growing leguminous creeper may be sown when the *ahrar* is about 3 to 4 weeks old. *Calapagonium* forms a thick matted growth within two months and prevents soil erosion completely and suppresses weeds and grasses. In 1952-53 I successfully introduced *Calapagonium* for putting down weeds and grasses in coconut, pepper and citrus gardens in areas of heavy rainfall like Malabar, South Kanara and the Agency portions of Vizagapatam District.

'The *ahrar* will provide extra food for the people, fix nitrogen in the soil and also improve soil-fertility by leaf-fall. *Calapagonium* dries up in December and January and can therefore be destroyed by fire before sowing other crops. Left to itself the seeds get self-sown and the plants fix very large quantities of nitrogen in the soil. A variation of this method will be to grow perennial *ahrar* and long duration cowpeas in the kharif season and a pea or gram crop in the rabi season or perennial leguminous shrubs like *Tephrosia Candida* or *Crotalaria Anagyroides* which are found to grow very well in Assam. All the legumes mentioned above will grow upto 4,000 feet and will suit the bulk of the *jhumed* lands. For areas above this elevation, the choice may be made from local legumes.

'Though prima facie these suggestions can be implemented even without conducting preliminary experiments, it is desirable that Agricultural Departments should carry out such experiments in selected *jhumed* areas so that the tribals are actually convinced of the merits of the recommendations. Yearly soil analysis from the first year of *jhuming* will throw light on the extent of decline in soil-fertility by cereal cropping and the improvement that takes place from growing legumes and this will help to fix the period of *jhum* cycle necessary for resuming cereal cultivation.

'While experimenting to determine the minimum duration for a *jhum* cycle, it should be possible to combine observations on the effect of growing legumes after complete destruction of the trees in a portion of the *jhumed* area by using an arsenical preparation like the Atlas tree-killer. This is a simple method of killing a tree and all that is required is to ring bark a narrow strip and apply the chemical to the cambium with a brush and the tree including the roots will be killed in due course. When trees are destroyed in this manner every care should be taken to see that those held sacred by the tribals are not interfered with. As and when the

tribals are convinced of the efficacy of the method of restoring soil fertility by growing legumes without waiting for years, it will not be difficult to restrict the use of the chemical to existing *jhumed* lands with a view to prevent large-scale destruction of trees in other areas. Ultimately the shifting of cultivation will stop and the *jhumed* land will be cultivated from year to year with cereals followed by legumes or a mixed crop of cereal and pulses. There is no doubt some loss of fertility by soil erosion when weeding is done; but this may be offset by incorporating into the soil composts or leaves of legumes at the time of weeding. When communications are more fully developed and marketing facilities are available, it may be possible to grow on the *jhumed* land valuable perennial crops like pepper, long pepper, rubber etc. and obtain food from outside in exchange. Such crops will help to reduce erosion but the possibilities of growing these crops will have to be shown in the Government farms.

'The suggestions which I have made, if followed, will help to :

- (1) improve the fertility of the *jhumed* land and produce more food;
- (2) shorten the *jhum* cycle and thereby enable larger areas to be cultivated in a year ;
- (3) help to grow a pulse crop of *arhar*, cowpeas etc. while the land is allowed to recuperate;
- (4) minimise soil erosion;
- (5) eliminate the cutting of trees and thereby enable the raising of a *rabi* crop and release more labour for other developmental activities;
- (6) convert the *jhumed* lands into areas of stabilised, permanent cultivation'.

A crop which has proved successful in Africa is the South American cassava or manioc (tapioca) which produces large storage roots rich in starch, the nutritional value of which can be greatly enhanced by proper methods of preparation. Cassava and non-climbing yams are sown in the African clearings in the second year of cultivation after the ordinary crop has been reaped, and are left to grow by themselves; since they can be harvested at any time from one to three years later, they serve as a valuable food reserve. It might be possible to introduce this in the Indian areas where shifting cultivation is practiced, and build up a reserve of food material with the cassava and yams that are already known in Assam, as well as with local varieties of tubers which grow wild in the forest and even now are a source of food for the population during the lean months of the year. These crops might well be grown in the clearings during the fallow period.

Even where a village has adopted permanent cultivation, it is sometimes necessary to allow it to do a certain amount of *jhuming* in order to grow vegetables and pulses. The most realistic policy, in fact, is to allow both permanent and shifting cultivation to continue for the present side by side, while progressively reducing the area under shifting cultivation.

There are, however, many problems, and every solution has its corresponding complexity. Contour-bunding, valuable as it is, encourages wild rats which attack the crop. Wattle gives nitrogen and tan bark, but is difficult to eradicate. Improved implements may break up more soil and thus cause more erosion than the simple dibbling-sticks of old. The food habits of the people (and all over the world food habits are very hard to

change) have to be considered: some tribes, for example, take very little in the way of pulses, but they are fond of roots, and the tubers are thus more likely to succeed than the grams. Before re-sowing an abandoned clearing, ceremonies might have to be performed which the people might regard as a financial burden that they could not afford.

The introduction of wet rice cultivation also raises its own problems. In the foothills of parts of Assam, it has been successfully introduced in a number of villages, and the people are delighted with the bigger crops they raise—but wild elephants, which never damaged the clearings, threaten the level fields. In Pasighat in NEFA the switch-over to concentrated rice-production has not everywhere given the people more to eat: they are more prosperous, certainly, but they sell their rice and the neglect of the clearings has meant some loss of the gourds and vegetables they formerly got from them. In Orissa the Saoras used to complain that, although they obtained better harvests in the regularly cultivated fields, they were exposed to exploitation by outsiders who were not, however, interested in their hill-clearings. In some places there is a strict taboo on using any land which has been struck by lightning. This did not matter when a *jhum* was struck, for the owner in any case would be leaving it before long, but there have been several cases where a cultivator, after clearing and preparing a field for wet rice with great labour, has had to abandon it as a result of the lightning taboo.

Another problem concerns possible changes in the tribal idea of land tenure. As we have seen, the system of shifting cultivation provides an excellent foundation for the co-operative communal farming towards which many parts of the world are moving. The introduction of permanent cultivation, however, is turning the minds of the people more and more to the idea of private ownership. We should be on our guard that the new individualism does not lead ultimately to fragmentation and litigation about land. It might be possible to develop wet rice cultivation and terracing on a communal basis through the Tribal Councils.

For the improvement of agriculture in the more hilly tribal areas therefore, research in agronomy and sociology must go hand in hand; the value of this is illustrated in Pierre de Schlippe's book, *Shifting Cultivation in Africa*. The important thing is to recognize that tribal agriculture is both a way of life and an aspect of culture, for culture has been defined (in one of its aspects) as the force of adhesion between the people and their environment. 'It seems to me', says Mr de Schlippe, 'of the greatest importance to acknowledge that a system of agriculture of a human group is an important although inter-dependent part of the whole culture of the group', and has the vital function of insuring its survival in its natural home.

If this is accepted, coercion by legislation or the mere introduction of isolated elements of progress will not take us very far. The essential thing is education in the widest possible sense, which is synonymous with guided social change or guided social adaptation. This is by no means easy, partly because it is difficult to persuade workers in the field to recognize agriculture as a cultural concept at all and partly because of the differences in environment from area to area. 'In every case social and agricultural research will have to precede community education in order to explore the existing level of the agricultural system'.

Above all our attitude and policy must be vigorously positive. Mr de Schlippe's warning about what has happened or may happen in Africa, should be borne in mind by all who want to 'reform' tribal agriculture by prohibiting its traditional methods.

Half a century ago leaders, amongst whom Lord Lugard was most prominent, launched a warning that the breaking down of local political systems, of local law and morals, however primitive, unjust and immoral they may seem, is fraught with the danger of creating a moral vacuum and political chaos. The first result of this warning was to reinstate the existing levels of the political systems under the slogan of indirect rule and to study them. The next step was to start modernizing African political systems by a slow and patient process of education.

'The same warning must now be sounded most vigorously concerning agricultural systems. There can be no doubt that the present attitude, of either expecting unguided adaptation to new economic conditions introduced by the civilized minority or of piecemeal legislation is breaking down the traditional agricultural systems without offering any better system in their place. If it is admitted that agriculture is that part of culture which is the main force of adhesion of a group to its environment, then this break-down has within itself the seeds of a disruption which may well spell the doom of many an African tribe.'

The Renuka Ray Committee has given emphatic support to three main problems of tribal agriculture; the restoration and preservation of the land rights of the tribal communities; the introduction of scientific shifting cultivation; and the improvement of agricultural practices for more and better production of food. The problem of shifting cultivation is indeed intimately related to the problem of tribal land. Although in some places there is plenty of land available on which to settle cultivators who hitherto have been living in the hills, there are many other areas where the pressure on land is causing intense economic and psychological distress to the tribal people. They are also very anxious about and resentful of proposals to bring them down from the hills they love and the land to which they are bound by many intimate ties of memory and religion. They fear that if they have to come down to the plains they will be involved in disputes with stronger and more progressive communities. At present many of them suffer from a sense of guilt and anxiety because they are continuing to practice their traditional methods of agriculture against the law and they are often subject to blackmail by minor officials.

The Renuka Ray Committee observes in its report that even if the full programme of rehabilitation is fulfilled, only ten per cent of the shifting cultivators can be settled in the next fifteen years. In the Second Five Year Plan a sum of two crores and 87·33 lakhs of rupees was set apart for the purpose. It goes on to say that : 'It should thus appear to be a costly and long-drawn-out process and the results do not promise to be commensurate with the effort or the outlay. Recently, however, experiments are being made to introduce scientific *jhuming* in order to preserve the fertility of the soil and prevent erosion. If the experiments currently in hand in NEFA prove successful, as they promise to be, we might strike at a golden mean which will result in greater food production without unduly interfering with the tribal way of life. In the absence of any such

approach, we are likely to be continuously beset with the present dilemma in which we can neither allow *jhuming* to go on unchecked nor do we have sufficient land, water and other material resources to offer an inexpensive and quick substitute. There are regions in or around tribal areas where land is available but has remained unallotted and in most cases even unsurveyed.'

Instead of forbidding shifting cultivation and thus causing a drastic disturbance of tribal life (for we must never forget that this method of agriculture is as much a part of tribal culture as anything else and is a real way of life for the people), surely a positive approach would not only be fairer to the tribals themselves but would have a greater chance of success. The tribals are shrewd and sensible folk. It has been found in NEFA that once they are convinced of the value of alternative methods of cultivation and where there is land available on which they can practice them, they take to them with enthusiasm. Instead of, first of all, forbidding the people to cultivate in the old way and of virtually forcing them away from their hills, it would be better to reverse the process and begin by starting really good demonstration farms in areas where there is plenty of land available near the hills.

The shifting cultivators could then be invited to come and see how the new methods succeed and when they themselves express their desire to come and practice them, they should first be given sufficient land for their present maintenance and future expansion and then they could be helped to build their own houses not in stereotyped colonies but in villages of the type to which they are accustomed. Vigorous attempts should be made to introduce terracing wherever the soil permits.

We feel on the whole that the dangers of shifting cultivation have been a little exaggerated in the past and we are supported in this view by a number of experts, even forestry experts. It is, therefore, advisable that we should proceed cautiously in weaning the people away from this practice. We may remember that even the weaning of children is not done in a single day.

It is too often supposed by those who have not studied the subject that the establishment of colonies is the only way to solve the problem of shifting cultivation. This idea seems to have arisen from the belief that shifting cultivation necessarily means shifting villages. This is not true. There are a great many villages in Assam, Orissa and other States, where shifting cultivators live in permanent villages that are hundreds of years old. It is true that there are a number of small tribal groups who change their village-sites from time to time. They move their villages as they change their areas for cultivation, and in such cases there might be some attempt to group these villages together (though this should always be done with the greatest caution) in order to introduce alternative methods of agriculture and provide the normal facilities of the development programme. But even for the purpose of settling shifting cultivators the establishment of colonies is often unnecessary. It is a very expensive method of dealing with the problem and if terracing, contour-bunding and other ways of improving the soil and lessening the danger of erosion are introduced, there is no reason why there should be any uprooting of the tribal people. We feel that the policy of bringing tribals down from the hills to the plains is undesirable and often unnecessary.

To sum up, while it is most desirable that there should be a change-over from shifting to more permanent types of cultivation, we should recognize that this cannot be done in a hurry, and certainly not in the course of a brief five years. The change will have to be preceded by cautious and tactful propaganda and there will be areas where no alternative land is available and where, therefore, this practice will have to continue for a long time to come.

In such areas we should concentrate on the scientific improvement of shifting cultivation in order to lessen its dangers and to maintain the fertility of the soil. We feel that it is most important that this should be taken up immediately along the lines suggested by Shri M. S. Sivaraman. This plan has recently been supported by both the Renuka Ray and Inaccessible Areas Committees.

Block officials should cease to speak of shifting cultivation as an evil or a very bad thing. They should recognize that it is a way of life for the tribal people and is often the only practical way whereby they can get their food. If they do not adopt a liberal and sympathetic attitude there is a danger of creating resentment and a division between the official staff and the people. Their attitude should be positive and confined to pointing out the advantages of the alternative systems.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. We are unanimous in our opinion that shifting cultivation is an arduous and wasteful method and in fact, even if all our plans for scientific improvement succeed, it will be better that the people should take to settled cultivation. We look forward, therefore, to the day when ultimately all the tribal people will be living on prosperous farms of their own with undisputed rights to their land. But until this is possible; until good land can be found within a reasonable distance of their original homes; until this land is properly surveyed and rights are given to the tribal people; until, in fact, they themselves are psychologically adjusted to this great change and themselves demand opportunities for a better type of cultivation, it would be wise to proceed with caution.

We should be very careful that in our enthusiasm for bringing shifting cultivation to an end, we do not injure the people psychologically or socially. We do not consider that to uproot them from their homes and move them to distant places will be a good thing. We should not think in terms of bringing hill people down from their hills. We are to recognize and respect the tribal people's rights in land and forest and also their right to settle their own destinies by evolution from within and not by force imposed from outside.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORESTS

In a great many reports about the progress of the Multipurpose Blocks sent to our Committee by the P.E.Os or B.D.Os there is reference to the fact that development is slow on account of the attitude of the tribal people. They are described as suspicious of Government's intentions and unwilling to co-operate. Even those who do co-operate often do not put their whole energy and enthusiasm into the development schemes because they suffer from a certain psychological maladjustment. In another chapter we refer to one of the causes for this—the people's anxiety about their land. Here we will consider a parallel difficulty, which arises from their conflict with the Forest Department and its rules.

We recognize, of course, the importance of preserving India's forest wealth and would pay our tribute to the scientific knowledge and the devotion of hundreds of forest officers, who live under conditions of great difficulty in the most inaccessible places and who have done so much to protect the trees which are among the great treasures of India. But no one can visit the tribal areas without feeling that there is a very serious conflict between the people of the soil and the officials who, in the course of their duty, have to administer laws and regulations which press very heavily upon the tribals.

The matter is complicated by the fact that the tribal people, who have lived for hundreds of years in the forest areas and in the past have enjoyed considerable freedom to use the wood, exploit the minor produce and hunt the animals, have an ineradicable conviction that the forest is their's. Some of them call themselves Pashupati, the lords of the wild animals, and believe that they have a peculiar power over them. Their folktales are full of such ideas. Animals and human beings intermarry; they make ceremonial friendships with one another; they live, eat and talk together. This is, of course, much more than a mere sentiment. The forest not only satisfies a deep-rooted tribal sentiment: it provides essential food. Although the larger and more progressive tribes are mainly cultivators, many of the smaller groups have an essentially forest economy and almost all the tribes have what we may call a dual economy of agriculture on one side and forestry on the other.

The gradual extension of the rule of law in these areas and the very natural desire of the forest officials to exercise ever closer control over the use of forest products has deeply disturbed the entire tribal economy and has introduced a psychological conflict which discourages the people from taking up development schemes with real enthusiasm. Let us glance the situation in three of the Multipurpose Blocks, in Narsampet, Paderu and Kashipur, for these will serve as samples of what is, from the tribal point of view, a very serious situation.

The Paderu Multipurpose Block

One of the great difficulties facing development work in these tribal areas is the existence of a number of forest rules which have come down to us from British times and are not adjusted to modern conditions. In the old days there was no problem of officials requiring fuel. There were no schools

for which timber was required. There was no development of cottage industries with its consequent demand for raw materials. At that time, therefore, the rules did not press too heavily on the public but today we are in a new world and the rules need to be revised and adjusted to suit the conditions created by large schemes of development.

For example, we now have in Paderu, and in a hundred other places, a fairly large body of officials stationed in the forest area. Under the present rules they cannot purchase fuel from the tribals who are allowed only to cut it for their own use. They themselves have no time to go and gather fuel and this puts them to continual difficulty. The establishment of Forest Co-operatives or of a depot (managed by the tribals themselves) where fuel could be sold would help to solve the problem.

Then again, buildings have to be constructed. Even for Government buildings permits for wood have to be obtained and it sometimes takes a long time for these to go through. I was told that in Paderu an official application for wood to fence the Block agricultural farm and garden had been pending for a whole year. In one of the Bombay Blocks the officials got so tired of waiting for permission to cut timber to erect a school that they did so without permission. The building was then attached by the Forest Department and the official concerned was fined. In Paderu it is so difficult to get wood from the local office of the Forest Department, although there is abundant forest everywhere in the vicinity, that timber has to be brought all the way from Anakapalli or even further for the rural housing scheme or for schools, hospitals and other official buildings. A truck-load of timber up to Paderu costs a hundred rupees a time. This is surely wasteful and unnecessary.

The forest rules also are a very serious handicap to the development of cottage industries. We met some Kond boys who had been trainees in a bamboo-craft section and found them sitting idle. They complained that it was almost impossible for them to carry on their craft because they were not allowed to cut bamboos without a permit. If a tribal wants to make a door (and the people here make very attractive carved doors) he first of all has to apply to the Tahsildar to certify that he is a tribal. Until recently he then had to obtain a stamp from some office in the plains, though this has apparently now been waived in the case of tribals. He then has to have a certificate from the P.E.O. that he is a beneficiary under the housing scheme. The application is then sent to the D.F.O. Visakhapatnam who forwards it to the Range Officer, who also lives in the plains, for his remarks. Finally, the Range Officer goes to the place and marks the tree which may be cut. It is obvious that this cumbersome procedure may take from six months to a year and the very fact of having to visit offices and wait about and perhaps to go two or three times, since the officer concerned may be on tour, is a sufficient deterrent to stop any young man from carrying on a craft which, in any case, needs a great deal of encouragement for its survival.

It is not the cost of obtaining a permit—in some cases the permits are issued free—it is the waste of time, the irritation that matters. Tribals are very easily discouraged.

There is a further difficulty that some of the best craftsmen in all these tribal areas are not tribal at all but either Harijans or belong to some other 'backward class.' In their case it is doubly difficult for them to obtain the wood or bamboo that they so greatly need.

Everywhere we have heard complaints on this score and we feel strongly that unless something is done to liberalize the rules it will be very difficult on a long term basis to revive cottage industries here. Could not for a start the P.E.O., who is after all a responsible person, be authorised to permit local artisans to take whatever wood or bamboo they need for the practice of their crafts?

The Narsampet Multipurpose Block

The greatest obstacle to progress and development in the Narsampet Block is the fact that it has been established within the boundaries of what is not only a Protected Forest but also a Game Sanctuary. This has meant that the forest rules which even normally press very heavily on the tribal people are here greatly intensified. The once proud Koyas, hunters and lords of the forest, roaming at will among the trees which were their home, are today forbidden even to enter the forest and are deprived of all the traditional privileges and rights they formerly had. They cannot hunt; they cannot get wood even on permit but have to purchase it from contractors; they cannot extract the grass which they have always used for making rope; they cannot collect honey, which would be such a valuable minor industry; they cannot make their own charcoal; they cannot even remove a few stones to pave the paths of their villages. They cannot fish in the lakes and ponds. A host of Forest Guards, housed in pukka houses totally unsuited to their surroundings, dominate the scene as petty dictators—a strange comment on the democratic decentralization which is being introduced in this State.

It is necessary, of course, to protect and develop India's forests; it is desirable to preserve, within reason, the wild game. But it does seem to us that some adjustment or compromise has to be made in the new world of Development that has come into being. Without some such compromise, development in areas like this will be a mockery. Both here and in the Aheri Block (where conditions are rather similar) we discussed their needs with the people of a score of villages. It was always the same. The only thing they would talk about was land and forest. We have rarely seen such misery and despair on the faces of tribal people as on these Koyas, Gonds and Marias, as they begged for some relief from the burden of poverty, exploitation and frustration under which they lived.

The gist of what they said in village after village was this: 'You ask us to improve our agriculture. How can we do so unless we have land to improve? You tell us to use better implements. How can we make them unless we have the teak which alone is suitable? You call our boys for training in cottage industries. But what is the use if they cannot get wood to make doors and windows, or bamboo to make mats and baskets, or grass to make ropes? You teach us to build better houses and of course we would like to, but how can we if we cannot get timber for the framework, or bamboo and poles for the roof, or even wood for fencing? And how can we live happily so long as we have no pattas or rights in our land, and all the time we are being threatened and abused, and have no say in what should be done with the country which once was our's?'

The enormous Game Sanctuary could with profit be reduced in size. It contains no rare species; there are no game wardens, it is unwidely and

unmanageable. There are far too many villages and people living within its main boundaries.

Fishing is not permitted in the Pakhal Lake or in any Lake within the Game Sanctuary or, in other words, within the Block area. Yet in these lakes, and specially in the Pakhal Lake, there is a wonderful potential reservoir of food. I understand that fishing is prohibited because of the alligators who need the fish. One can understand this, for alligators are charming creatures who must be cared for, but human beings also deserve a little attention.

Here is an explosive situation which could easily be exploited by political adventurers; here is a human situation which must excite compassion and active intervention, if necessary at the highest level.

The Kashipur Multipurpose Block

In this Block, the main problems concern hunting and shifting cultivation. Tigers are a very real menace here and we were told that over thirty people were killed by them every year. In the neighbouring Narayanpatna Block 46 persons were killed last year. In one Kond village we saw the place where only a week before a tiger had dragged away an unfortunate victim from less than fifty yards distant from his house. The result of this is that the Kond houses are all surrounded by pallisades of logs which make a village look rather tumbledown and dilapidated. You have to go inside the pallisades to see the small but well-built houses.

The loss of the ceremonial hunt, which even in British days was permitted, is a very serious matter, for many tribes believe that on its success will depend the success of that year's harvest. This may seem to us little more than a childish superstition, but it is not so long ago that farmers in England believed that if they worked on Sundays their crops would fail. In order to stimulate the tribal people to work hard in their fields they need not only human but divine encouragement and nothing should be done that would discourage them in any way. To stop the ceremonial hunt is one of the things that takes the heart out of these impoverished people.

Moreover, where there is a tiger menace, as there is not only here but in many of the forest areas in Orissa, surely to stop hunting by the tribes is unwise. With the increase of game comes an increase of tigers, and it would be better to allow the people to follow their traditional and greatly loved hunting, at least with bows and arrows. The Prime Minister has said that tribal rights in land and forest should be respected and of all the forest rights hunting is one of the most treasured.

At Siadimal village we met the Sir-Panch and the members of his Panchayat. It was interesting to compare the different demands of the tribals and the non-tribals. The non-tribals were keen on irrigation schemes, compulsory education, the development of communications and the introduction of a bus service. The Konds, on the other hand, regarded these things as of lower priority and were mainly concerned with the difficulties they were facing in *podu* cultivation, the menace of tigers and the improvement of their cattle. They said that even if there was alternative land available (which there was not) they would prefer to continue with their *podu* cultivation, as it was the method coming down to them from their fathers and because they got better crops of millet, to which they were greatly attached,

than they would on the level ground. The Konds, like other tribals in this area, are more concerned with their millets than with paddy. They complained that the officials of the Forest Department were constantly fining them for carrying on this method of cultivation and indeed, the payment of fines has come to be regarded by the people as a kind of rent.

Since large tracts of country are cultivated in this manner, and practically all the available flat land is already in the hands of other people, a large number of them non-tribals, there seems to be no alternative to allowing *podu* cultivation to continue. Many of the hillsides, in fact, have now become almost permanent fields where regular crops are raised. If soil conservation measures and scientific methods of *podu* cultivation, as recommended in our chapter on this subject, are adopted, would it not now be better to recognize that *podu* is inevitable at least for some time to come in certain areas, and to change the regulations which forbid it? Otherwise the people suffer from a burden of guilt and a constant sense of anxiety. They are always, they say, being threatened by officials that they will be prevented from cultivating on their loved hills by force, that they will be brought down from the hills and settled in the plains, and they look forward to a time of hunger and deprivation, whereas they should be expecting a future of hope. It is very important in all tribal communities, if they are to develop, to ensure that they are free from a sense of guilt and anxiety.

Modification of the Rules

It will be generally admitted that something has to be done about the forest rules. If, for example, instead of providing Rs. 750 or Rs. 1,000 for building a new house, a tribal is permitted to obtain easily the necessary wood, bamboo and thatching-grass this large subsidy will not be necessary and although there will, of course, be a certain loss to the Forest Department, it will cost the country much less than the present arrangement, and from the tribal point of view will be far happier.

For cottage industries it is essential that the people should be able to obtain the raw materials which exist in such abundance at their very doors without having to make long journeys to obtain permits, and these materials should be allowed to them even if they are going to make articles for sale. At present we take away with one hand what we give with another. Very large sums of money are being given not only under the Multipurpose Blocks budget but also by the All India Handicrafts Board and other organizations. At the same time, after training a boy in a craft we make it difficult for him (and in the case of a tribal what is difficult is generally impossible) to obtain the materials with which to carry on his craft.

Even the construction of Government buildings—a school, a house for a midwife in a remote village, a recreation centre—is often greatly delayed because of the local forest rules and the difficulty of obtaining orders to cut the wood and bamboo which is required.

One of the things that causes the tribals constant irritation is the sight of officials and well-to-do people from the towns coming for shikar to the forests in which they themselves are not permitted to hunt. They feel that if this traditional right is taken away from them it should not be given to anyone else and they complain that what they need for food is taken by outsiders for sport. They regard as irrelevant the fact that the latter have to pay for this privilege.

We recommend, therefore, that :

(1) Pattas should be issued immediately to all tribals, who do not have them, in predominantly forest areas in order to confirm their actual possession. This should be taken up as a matter of top priority if the tribal areas are really to make the progress we desire for them.

(2) Where there is insufficient land available, tracts should be excised from the less valuable areas of the Protected Forests and be given exclusively to the landless tribals. A minimum holding of five acres of dry or two-and-a-half acres of wet land should be ensured. This is little enough but it may be unrealistic to ask for more.

(3) Wherever there is a tank or other irrigation scheme, the land which can be irrigated should be allotted promptly and exclusively to the tribals.

(4) A Forest Extension Officer should be appointed on the development team to act as a liaison officer with the Forest Department and promote the establishment of Forest Co-operatives.

(5) The extraction of timber for housing schemes should be permitted on the authority of the P.E.O., who would of course maintain close co-operation with the Forest authorities.

(6) Wood and bamboo should similarly be allowed for the encouragement of cottage industries even if the final product is for sale. If this is not done, cottage industries (which can help to relieve pressure on the land and thus on the forest) will just not prosper.

(7) The present permit system should be abolished, or modified to allow the Extension Officers to act on behalf of the Forest Department.

(8) Minor irritations such as the ban on extracting grass or stones from the forest area, the collection of Mahua (*bassia latifolia*) flowers for food or seeds for oil should be removed. This brings little profit to Government and causes an altogether disproportionate resentment against the Forest officials.

(9) Hunting rules should be modified to promote greater freedom to the tribals, even if they are only permitted to use spears, bows and arrows and traps. Ceremonial hunts should in no case be interfered with. At the same time vigorous educational propaganda should be carried on to persuade the people of the value of preserving the game and of hunting only during the open season.

(10) Permission should be given to tribals to protect their crops against all wild animals who damage them, and not merely against those which are classified as vermin.

(11) Forest Protection will only be really effective when there is a mutual sense of trust and even affection between the Forest staff and the tribal people. For this a kind of public relations campaign is needed, and small exactions, irritations and unnecessary restrictions should be removed.

(12) It is desirable that forest officials at all levels should have some orientation training to help them to understand the tribal point of view and thus adopt a more sympathetic attitude. Perhaps even more than the actual forest laws the attitude of some forest officials, and especially of the forest guards, who often adopt a dictatorial attitude towards the people, should be changed. We recommend that there should be some lectures at the Forest Research Institute to inspire trainees with a new approach.

Administrative Problems

Let us now examine the problem from the administrative angle.

We feel that we should take a decision on certain principles. The first of these is that in predominantly tribal areas, the forest must be managed not basically for profit or for conservation, but with a view to further tribal interests. This is the principle accepted in NEFA (see pages 64 to 69 of *A Philosophy for NEFA* by Verrier Elwin). The consequences of accepting this principle should, however, be clearly understood so that there is no mental deception on either side. It means that revenue will not be the most important factor nor conservation itself. It means that where the demand for land for cultivation is acute, land more suitable for cultivation than for forest will have to be excised and given for cultivation. This point is a rather tricky one and unless individual decisions are very carefully considered, there is danger to the tribal as well as to the State. For example, the Forest Department is naturally reluctant to give up any land which grows really valuable forest. In some areas it is precisely this land, low-lying and fertile, which is most suitable for cultivation, while the hilly slopes and higher land are really more suitable for forest, although they will not yield as high a forest income. At the same time small isolated patches (below 400 to 500 acres) should not be given for cultivation if they are surrounded by good forest or even by land which requires to be afforested in the interests of soil conservation.

Refusal to give forest land for cultivation, even though it is contiguous to existing cultivation and eminently suited for the purpose, arouses the bitterest resentment amongst the tribals. Also, such refusal defeats its own purpose because the tribal invariably pollards or illicitly fells the forests adjoining the cultivated area until practically nothing exists. Our experience is that when this occurs the Forest Department withdraws its objection and the land is ultimately allotted for cultivation. Naturally such things further encourage the tribal to adopt undesirable methods for getting land.

The Tribals' Share

The second principle which we would offer for consideration is that the tribal must have a direct share in the profits of the forest. Unless this is done, he cannot identify his interests with those of the forest. There are several ways whereby this can be achieved.

We must minimise the inconvenience caused by demands for tribal labour in Forest Villages, and indeed in all villages, when such labour is required for cultivation. Very stringent precautions should be taken to see that Forest subordinates do not endorse their demands for labour in an unintelligent or unsympathetic fashion. Generally, the D.F.Os have accepted the principle that only one man per household in a Forest Village should be taken and that where there is only one man in the household, he should not be asked to come out for labour at seasons when the crops require his attention. Unfortunately Forest subordinates frequently ignore this principle and grab their labour wherever it is most easily available. Very adequate precautions should be taken to obviate such hardships.

When giving evidence before the Forest Policy Committee about five years ago one of our members said that Forest Villages were more or less forced labour camps. This is unfortunately true even today. Apart from

the petty harassment by subordinates (who often take supplies at ridiculously low prices), the forest villager has to provide *begar* for carrying the bedding of Forest Guards from one place to another and is reduced to a stage of servility which is shocking. We are fully aware of the stock argument that the Forest Department requires labour for its operations. This is an argument that could equally well be applied to the reintroduction of slavery, but we suppose no one would seriously advance it for the purpose.

Until such time as Government takes a decision to abolish Forest Villages, the Forest Department should prescribe a schedule of rates for supplies in such villages and enforce it rigidly. Surprise verification by superior officers should be frequent. Secondly, a Rasad (receipt) and services note-book should be maintained in each forest village and every Forest, Revenue, or Police official who takes supplies or services for personal needs (transport of luggage etc.) from the village must be compelled to enter the supplies or services taken and the amount paid. The note book should be maintained by the Headman of the village and scrutinised once a month by the D.F.O. personally. It should also be made compulsory for any Forest official who visits a village, even without taking supplies or services, to make an entry in the note-book stating that he has taken nothing. When *begar* was rampant in Bastar District this system was introduced and within a couple of years the evil was practically eliminated. Apparently people are reluctant to record the lie-positive, and the compulsion of making an entry in the Rasad note book has a salutary effect.

The tribal should be given a share in the profits of the forest : one way of doing this is to relate wages to profits, another is to reserve really remunerative coupes for allotment to Tribal Co-operative Societies on a fixed upset price, which should be calculated so as to allow a substantial margin of profit. The Co-operative Society should be confined to tribals and no outsiders should be permitted to become members. The entire financing should be done by the State through interest-free loans recoverable in ten years. The Society should be made responsible only for cutting and transport and the sale of timber should be done by auction at the most suitable forest depot by the Forest Department and the proceeds handed over to the Society. It would be fatal to entrust such Societies with marketing and in fact the failure of numerous Societies in the past has been due to this. Pending a decision by Government on the question of finance, D.F.Os might select, provisionally, at least one coupe in each range in the tribal areas for experimenting with this system. The coupe should be close to the villages which are likely to provide the membership of the Co-operative; it should be definitely remunerative; there should be no very serious transport difficulties involved; and the upset price should not exceed about Rs. 20,000. If these Co-operatives succeed, there is no doubt that the tribals will come forward in large numbers to form similar Co-operatives in all Forest Divisions.

Nistar

The question of Nistar (the right of tenants to the use of certain forest products) is not receiving what we might call rational treatment. On the one side there are a number of highly exaggerated and futile complaints from members of the public, while on the other there is a certain lack of imagination on the part of the Revenue and Forest authorities. A typical

example will illustrate this attitude. An *ad hoc* felling series coupe was taken out near a village called Taurenga in Madhya Pradesh where there was absolutely no demand from the tribals for timber. On the other hand there was tremendous demand from another village, Deobhong, and this demand could not be met from local sources. It did not occur to the authorities concerned to permit the Deobhong people to take their requirements from the surplus timber at Taurenga. What is needed is a rational approach to the problem by both Departments. If there is no timber available, it cannot be given. But if timber is available at one place, where there is no demand, then people from areas where there is a significant demand should be permitted to purchase it at concessional rates, slightly higher than those applicable to the people of the area where it was cut. The difference in rates is important because there is danger of people from outside the area exhausting the supply of timber with consequent hardship to the local people, if a slightly higher rate is not fixed as a deterrent.

We recommend, therefore, that :

(a) Forests should be managed essentially in the interests of the tribals who inhabit the areas, subject to minimum safety precautions in regard to erosion and the national interest which must, of course, take priority.

(b) (i) Daily wages in the forest areas, whether paid by the Forest Department or by contractors, should be fixed on the basis of what they would be if free and fair competition existed and should be related to the most favourable wages in the area. We feel that it is as essential to have a Forest Minimum Wages Act as it is to have an Agricultural Minimum Wages Act. The very fact that there is no such Act at present suggests the comparative indifference throughout the country towards the interests of tribal labourers.

(ii) Taking into consideration the tribal psychology, some share of the profits derived in a particular area by the Forest Department should be ploughed back in the form of increased wages if there is departmental working. This direct share in the profits would convince the tribal that his interests were linked with those of the forest; whereas contributions in the form of indirect benefit such as roads or schools will not convince him of the identity of interests.

(c) Precautions should be taken to avoid hardship to forest villagers arising from demands for their labour at a time when they are themselves busy with agricultural operations.

(d) Under existing circumstances and conditions, it will soon become impossible for Forest Villages to fulfil the labour supply function. In due course the exploitation of forests may have to be entrusted to a semi-autonomous organisation like a State Trading Corporation. This organisation would undertake exploitation only and the function of the Forest Department would be limited to the technical aspects of the working of the forest and indicating the timber to be cut. If and when such a Corporation was set up it would become essential to have a standing labour force such as is even now maintained by private commercial concerns. The setting up of a standing labour force, based on the average labour requirement of all the forests within a particular zone (which might be conveniently made to coincide with the Forest Division) would ultimately solve the labour problem.

(e) A Rasad (receipt) and services note-book should be maintained in each village (whether a Forest Village or an ordinary revenue village). The

requirement of making an entry in this note-book should extend to employees of all Departments including the Police. Minimum rates for daily essentials, such as are generally required by Government servants on tour, should be laid down by the Collector, separately for each tract, keeping in mind the prevailing standard of prices.

(f) The principles indicated above regarding Co-operatives may be accepted and details regarding selection of coupes should be worked out well in time, so that Government's orders may be obtained promptly. Similar Co-operatives should be organized for the exploitation of minor forest produce.

(g) In regard to *ad hoc* felling series, either (i) they should be departmentally worked or (ii) if they are to be auctioned, all materials needed locally by villagers should be departmentally felled and extracted and then only the remaining material auctioned.

(h) Where forest produce in a particular area is in excess of local requirements, this fact should be intimated to the revenue authorities who should then make available such surplus in the first place to the people of adjoining areas outside the zone. These materials would, however, not be available free, but would have to be paid for at half the market rates applicable to the area. After such demands were met, then only would the remaining produce be auctioned or disposed of commercially.

The Forest Co-operative scheme in the tribal areas of Bombay State is widely known and is gradually being copied in other States. A variant, less known but perhaps even more practical, has been proposed in Madhya Pradesh, and we give in Appendix V an outline of it for general consideration.

One of the main objectives of development in the tribal areas is to make the people, so long isolated from the rest of India, fully integrated with it, and to help them to feel that they are full citizens of the great country to which they belong; we want them to be aware of their rights and to insist on them. If these rights are continually frustrated then, as the people inevitably grow in political consciousness, there may be considerable political agitation in the forest areas.

Public Relations

We have made many suggestions, but there is one more which is of considerable importance. There is still insufficient awareness among the tribal people as to why there is such a thing as a Forest Department at all. Much more education is required. We suggest, as we also suggest in another chapter, that when forest officers go on tour they should, whenever they have opportunity, give talks to the children in the schools about the value of trees, both to India as a whole and to themselves in particular, and on the need of cherishing the wild life of the country. The establishment of little zoos or aviaries, the keeping of animals as pets in the schools, might also help to create a greater sensitivity towards the wild life. A Forest Officer should also meet the Block officials from time to time and there should, in general, be a greater co-operation between the workers in the two fields of development and the Extension Officers themselves should have sufficient knowledge of forest problems; they should talk to the people about them and help them to understand the situation. If there can be sufficient

modification of those forest laws which interfere with the people's progress, if the irritations caused by the malpractices of forest guards can be removed and if education of this kind can be extended, there is no reason why in future there should not be a much happier psychological climate with the result that the people will work more vigorously.

The religion of the tribes leads them to believe that there are many spirits living in the trees and forests. There are special sacrifices to the forest gods; in many places offerings are made to a tree before it is cut and there are usually ceremonies before and after hunting. Tribal folktales often speak about the relations of human beings and the spirits of the trees and it is striking to see how in many of the myths and legends the deep sense of identity with the forest is emphasized. Here is a possible line for education of the people and we recommend a careful study of tribal folk literature to officials who have to deal with the subject. It will help them to understand the tribes better (for such literature should never be regarded as merely a collection of stories—it is very serious business) and may give them many points for educating them and gaining better relations.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The Renuka Ray Report rather plays down the importance of animal husbandry in schemes for tribal development on the grounds that the use of animal power in agriculture is a novelty for most of the people and that the sacrificial killing of cattle is not conducive to the promotion of animal husbandry. It is true that, in some places, cattle given to shifting cultivators when settled elsewhere, have been used for food, but if we take the overall picture of tribal India the number of tribals who still eat beef is today comparatively small. A large number of them, either as a result of propaganda by their neighbours or through a desire to rise in the social scale, which they feel will be effected by abstinence from this important article of diet, have abandoned the practice. It is also not entirely correct to say that most of the tribals are unaccustomed to the plough. Cattle are used for agriculture by them over vast areas of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and elsewhere. Yet again, the animal husbandry programme is not concerned only with the care and upgrading of cattle. Other animals, such as pigs, goats, sheep, fowls and ducks play an important part in the tribal economy.

Even here there are in some places semi-religious movements, generally stimulated by the tribal people themselves, to bring to an end, for example, the eating of fowls; and the keeping of pigs is taboo to some, but not very large, tribal groups.

Yet, in the main, all these domestic animals are kept and used for food, and to improve the stock is one of those very practical and straightforward things which may bring great benefits and can do no possible harm.

In fact, since India is mainly an agricultural country animal husbandry has an important role in its life in general and for the tribal people in particular. The tribals reside mostly in the forest and hill areas when it is natural that animal life should be as important as human life. With the development of new scientific methods animal husbandry has a direct concern with daily life. Animals are utilised for the carriage of goods, and for ploughing and cultivating land. Well-irrigation is done through bullocks. Cattle not only serve as draught animals, but provide dung for manure and fuel. Recent scientific progress has even obtained gas from cowdung, which can be used for heating and cooking. Milching cattle give a fair share of milk. Hides and skins apart, bone-meal and other subsidiary industries in the form of leather factories have come into being. In most of the Block areas the cattle population exceeds the human population. If sufficient attention is paid to this aspect of tribal life, economic conditions can be greatly improved.

There is no need, however, to say very much about this subject, for most of the problems involved are technical—the provision of qualified staff, the purchase of animals and the supply of instruments. We may, however, briefly examine the matter under various heads.

Education :

Animal Husbandry, like Rural Housing, is primarily a matter of education. The tribal people generally are fond of animals; they like keeping

pets, and animals and human beings often live together in a single compound as one family. They do not, however, always look after their animals very well. The cattle-sheds and pig-sties are often badly constructed and are very dirty without proper floors. The people tend to overwork their cattle and are sometimes cruel to them. They do not pay nearly enough attention to feeding them and some scheme for developing fodder is very important.

Green grass is available during the monsoon season, when there is ample supply of water, but during the fair weather and summer when the streams and rivers go dry, there is a scarcity of water and there is nothing which can be used as fodder, leading to untimely deaths of cattle on a large scale. To supplement fodder during the dry season is essential, but no schemes for fodder preservation have yet been evolved. The tribals in general are not accustomed to stall-feeding of their cattle but proper training will make them take to this and it will do a lot to meet the shortage of fodder during the dry season. Dearth of fodder is further due to the fact that more and more land is being brought under cultivation of grain and money crops and naturally grass is grown over a smaller area, which is inadequate as compared to the number of cattle.

We recommend that all extension workers should be briefed to spread modern ideas about the housing and feeding of animals and the prevention of cruelty to them.

Upgrading of stock :

The cattle, pigs, goats and fowls kept by the tribals are usually very sturdy but rather small. To upgrade the stock will, therefore, be of very great value. But we feel that it should be done with caution. It has often happened that the introduction of such splendid cattle as Hariana, Sehibal, Tharparkar, Malvi, Kenkhatha or Gaolao are unsuitable just because they are a little too splendid. The same thing has happened for fowls and goats. It might be possible to obtain new animals which are of good breed but which are not too large.

Many of the new cows, pigs, goats and fowls, that have been taken into the more elevated and inaccessible areas, have died, partly because they have been unable to stand the unfamiliar climate, partly because they have not been properly looked after. Veterinary services should if possible precede any attempt to improve the local stock, for it is essential that these delicate and expensive V. I. P. animals should have every possible care. If animals have to be imported for breeding purposes to places of higher elevation they should be gradually acclimatized, just as mountaineers are acclimatized in two or more stages.

It is no use introducing animals for breeding without a survey of the local ideas on the subject. Attempts to improve poultry will not succeed among a tribe which has a taboo on the eating of fowls. There are sometimes similar taboos on the keeping of pigs and to many tribes that do keep pigs the colour is sometimes important; for example, some tribes like white pigs, others black. The introduction of Yorkshire pigs may be unsuccessful among a tribe which regards a white pig as unlucky.

Without providing a proper number of stud-bulls, the castration of the local bulls must be done with caution, for if it is done on a large scale without a simultaneous introduction of proper stud-bulls it will check the

growth of the cattle population and this will produce an adverse effect on the minds of the people.

Artificial Insemination :

In the hands of an expert this scheme can be a great success, as it has been in Narsampet. The main difficulty at the moment seems to be that of obtaining refrigerators and implements and the lack of communications which prevents sera and vaccine reaching the insemination centres in time. The attitude of the local people varies. Some of the tribes object to the practice and consider that it will bring bad luck on their animals. In some cases cows have died after being subjected to insemination and this has naturally had a discouraging effect on the tribal mind. Other tribes, however, have become enthusiastic about it after seeing how successful it can be.

We feel that some priority should be given to the tribal areas with regard to the distribution of refrigerators and implements which at present, of course, are in short supply and strictly controlled.

Veterinary Services :

All other schemes for improvement of the cattle wealth of the tribes will fail without energetic and efficient veterinary officers and it is essential that they should be provided with all the vaccines, sera, medicines and instruments that they require. Veterinary dispensaries and hospitals should not be opened in the Block Headquarters but should be placed in the interior, after a survey to establish the areas where there is the greatest concentration of cattle and other animals in tribal hands.

Fisheries :

Fisheries are of great importance, for practically all the tribal people like fish and enjoy fishing. Some of them have ceremonial fishing expeditions which are preceded and followed by religious rites. Fish are generally dried and stored against a rainy day. There are plenty of rivers, tanks, reservoirs, and the supply of fish, so important as domestic food as well as for sale wherever there are available markets, should be taken up much more seriously than at present.

General :

In some of the tribal Blocks the development of sheep-rearing is important. This is specially so in the higher and colder areas where a good income can be made by selling wool and there are possibilities of encouraging the valuable cottage industry of spinning and weaving it into cloth.

In general the veterinary coverage is inadequate. One Primary Centre and three Sub-Centres cannot deal with all the domestic animals of a Block. One Sub-Centre may have to serve about 50 square miles and has to deal with about 15,000 cattle on an average. Looking to the staff provided under the scheme, it is next to impossible to deal effectively with the cattle, milch as well as draught, as well as other animals, in the area. The number of Goshalas and Gosadars are also inadequate.

We have noticed that in some of the Blocks the non-tribals seem to get an exaggerated share of the animals and birds imported for breeding purposes. This is because it is difficult to take them into the real interior and the people living near the Block Headquarters, where all too often there is a large majority of non-tribals, get their claims in first. P.E.Os should watch

this carefully and ensure that the poorer people far away should get their full share of this important benefit.

We recommend as follows :

(1) In order to better the conditions and to develop milch and draught cattle, cattle-consciousness should be produced among the tribals by means of audio-visual units, exhibitions and propaganda.

(2) The incentive to improve the condition of their domestic animals should come from the tribals themselves and this can only be achieved if Government takes effective interest by spreading facilities in the Block areas by providing the outlying dispensaries with medicines, instruments, medical staff and creating a congenial and enthusiastic atmosphere.

(3) Facilities for educating men and boys in animal husbandry and veterinary training should be enlarged by including this subject in schools and colleges, or even by opening special schools. Local tribal boys should be given training as stockmen, veterinary compounders, and vaccinators-*cum*-compounders. This need not cost very much, yet it will surely go a long way in enriching the cattle population and developing poultry-farming, pigeons, pisciculture and so on with a beneficial effect on the general economic condition of the tribal areas.

(4) Officials employed in the Special Blocks should be mainly selected or recruited from the tribal areas themselves, for this will create a rural and tribal setting and there will be less need to draw trained veterinary personnel from the towns.

(5) The present practice of dealing with the diseases, castration of bulls and other so-called crude methods in treating the animals can only be changed by a proper atmosphere and the introduction of educational facilities by Government.

(6) It is important to develop Co-operatives to handle and market dairy products, fish, eggs and so on and to provide them with working capital.

CHAPTER TEN

COMMUNICATIONS

The opening up of the tribal areas by a carefully planned system of communications is the basis of all development.

In the tribal areas (apart from NEFA and NHTA, where there are a number of landing strips or dropping zones) roads are the only practicable means of communications at present. These roads have utility (a) for marketing of produce, (b) for personal travel and (c) for the ingress of ideas. So far as (a) is concerned, the value of tribal production increases considerably when communications are improved. Timber rises in price; so does agricultural production in general; and the per-capita income of the inhabitants increases. In regard to (b) the problem is not very pressing because there are comparatively few occasions on which the tribal needs to leave his own area, but circumstances are conceivable in which roads would be vital for the quick movement of technical (*e.g.* medical) personnel. Such circumstances could arise during floods or epidemics. Under (c) we would classify all knowledge conducive to progress. The mere existence of easy communications tends to the increase of knowledge. This is particularly so in an area where literacy is negligible; knowledge has to be spread through personal contact.

Our own experience of tribal areas indicates that the order in which (a), (b) and (c) have been placed above is, roughly speaking, the order of priority. The economic prosperity of the area depends on the easy marketing of produce, distances are generally very great and transport by bullock cart is often ruled out. The most important roads must, therefore, be roads linking major centres of production with major markets, and these should as far possible be all-weather truckable roads.

Even after three years, however, there are Blocks (such as Adhaura in Bihar) where poor communications are still a major impediment to progress. Let us pay a brief visit to two such Blocks, for what we will see there vividly illustrates the difficulties which Development Workers have to face.

The Narsampet Block :

Let us go first to the Narsampet Block in Andhra Pradesh. Here, where much good work has been done, the one sensational failure is under the head of Communications, on which only Rs. 13,338 was spent to the end of November 1959. The result is that even now the majority of the villages are cut off from the Block headquarters for about half the year. There are three serious bottlenecks, one near Ashoknagar, another near Tanapar, where the lack of bridges creates insuperable obstacles, a third where the two parts of the Block are divided for long periods by an unbridged river between Narsampet and Eturnagaram. We would have thought, if a Multi-purpose Block was taken at all seriously, these bridges would have been taken up in the first year of the plan. In the same way, the creation of main roads at least to open up the distant areas should surely have had top priority.

It is not easy, however, to get roads made here. The local people are good at forest work but they are unaccustomed to digging and moving earth. The import of outside labour, even if it was desirable, would be difficult, for the distances are so great that it would be hard to feed them and they would be unlikely to come. Contractors are equally unwilling to take up work of this kind in the interior. There are abundant opportunities for them to make money in the towns or the more accessible Blocks, and they see little point in going into the remote forest and working under considerable hardship. One contractor, who came to inspect a possible project on the way to Eturnagaram, was caught by a sudden flood and was unable to return to Warangal for a fortnight. He naturally abandoned the scheme. In some places there are no villages for ten to fifteen miles and the organization of labour to work in such places is difficult.

There are already roads under the Forest Department running like arteries throughout the Block area. These are little more than jungle tracks. We drove for many miles, actually to the limit of what was possible and found most of the tracks in a deplorable condition. There seems to be a rather curious rule that they will be maintained by the contractors who use them for the extraction of timber. But as this involves a heavy overhead charge on the contractors' profits, they do not seem to do very much about it. If, at the very beginning of the Block period, officials of the Forest Department, the P.W.D. and the Block itself had been able to decide on a joint co-ordinated effort, the position might have been very different today. It is still not too late for something of the kind to be done. Out of the very large sum of money still available, could not, for example, the forest roads be taken over by the Block people and made properly jeepable? It is surely much more important to develop the main lines of communications than to spend a lot of energy on making branch roads to individual villages, which seems to be the present plan. The skeleton roads are there. They simply need a considerable amount of improvement.

The Rongkhong Block :

From Narsampet to the Mikir Hills of Assam is a long journey, yet the only really difficult part of it is the last twenty miles. The headquarters of the Rongkhong Block is a place called Dongkha, which is reached by a road running from Nowgong to Hojai, a thriving commercial centre in the middle of what has been called the granary of Assam. Up to Hojai, which can also be reached by train from the District Headquarters at Diphu or from Gauhati, the journey is easy. Thenceforward, however, the road rapidly deteriorates and is almost impassable during the rains. The first stage of the journey is to Tumprong on the far side of a fairly wide river called Kapili which, owing to the absence of a proper ferry, cannot be crossed by car. From Tumprong to Dongkha is another seven miles covered by a PWD road which was in shocking condition even in the middle of December. While the headquarters of other Blocks are frequently cut off from the villages in the interior, the headquarters of this Block is also cut off from the main current of life of Assam for about half the year. This is perhaps the main reason for the very slow progress which has involved an expenditure in three years of only a little over six lakhs of rupees, for communications are so bad that officials do not like to be posted here and it is only with

extreme difficulty that the materials for development can be brought up to Dongkha, generally by bullock-carts.

The situation here exposes in a vivid way one of the great difficulties of the present scheme of Multipurpose Blocks. There is a great deal of money available, for out of an allocation of three and a quarter lakhs of rupees for communications in Rongkhong only Rs. 41,065 have been spent in the past three years. Here are three problems—the road from Hojai to Tumpreng, the ferry at Tumpreng and the road from Tumpreng to Dongkha—which urgently need to be solved; indeed if the Block had been taken really seriously these should have been solved at least two years ago. It is apparently not possible to use some of the ample funds available under the Block budget because the first road is outside the Block area, the second road is in the hands of the P.W.D. and the provision of ferries is not included in the scheme of the Central Government. But surely this is one of the things about which we should be much more flexible. Unless the approach to the headquarters is made easy it will be impossible for this Block to make much progress and, of course, there can be no question of spending the allotted money within the five-year period. The progress of a Block is more important than adherence to the rules, and we strongly urge that these should be liberalized and that some portion of the Block funds should be diverted to improving these roads and also to providing a proper ferry capable of carrying cars and trucks at the earliest possible moment. The local Mikir leaders and members of the Block Development Committee were unanimous in giving this top priority above all other aspects of development.

Expenditure in the Blocks :

The financial statistics reveal a rather curious situation. While some Blocks have done very well and have clearly taken the matter seriously—Araku, for example, has already spent 97.56% of its allocation for Communications, Akrani Mahal 96.20%, and Tamenglong nearly two lakhs of rupees, other Blocks, particularly those that are in most need of roads, have made very slow progress.

Utnur has spent only Rs. 6,967 or 1.74% of the four lakhs in its schematic budget; Borio, which has used Rs. 3,73,354 on the items under Project Headquarters, has spent only Rs. 20,528 on roads; Rongkhong has used only 12.64%; Bagicha only 9.57%; Kundahit 12.11% as against 99.88% on Education; Amarpur, where communications are unusually bad, has used only Rs. 70,915 for roads as against Rs. 87,421 on Social Education—surely an odd reversal of priorities, repeated by Narsampet, which has spent Rs. 8,757 or 2.19% of its four lakhs available for Communications but Rs. 34,835 or 46.45% on Social Education. Sukhsar has spent only 20.93% on roads but 102.40% on Housing. Bharatpur has spent 5.20% against 68.50% on Social Education: Dharampur has used 12.93% against 51.84% on Housing. Kushalgarh too has spent only 15.73% on roads, but 72.42% on Housing. Aheri has spent only 8.93% and in its revised budget has cut this item from four to three lakhs, although there is no Block where there is greater need to open up the interior.

Yet everyone agrees that Communications are far more important than Social Education, Arts and Crafts and, above all, Housing.

We recommend accordingly that first priority should be given to the construction of Class I roads, even though these will be bound to be comparatively few in number in view of their much higher cost. We are confident that such roads will pay for themselves in a relatively short time, through the indirect benefits which they will bring to the area. Here will be something of obvious and tangible benefit, about which there can be no dispute and where expenditure can usually be carefully controlled. The cost of the main roads, and certainly those linking the Block with the District headquarters should be a charge on the general State budget.

Our colleague, Shri Noronha, who has had considerable practical knowledge of conditions of the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, feels strongly that there is little advantage 'in wasting time over second and third class roads, usually of the fair weather type, which are almost useless for heavy truck traffic and which merely serve the purpose of making movement by jeep and car a little easier for those who are fortunate enough to possess such conveyances. If the tribal is to be helped, he needs all-weather roads which will transport his produce at cheap rates, which will be usable by buses throughout the year and which make movement cheap.'

Shri Noronha, therefore, feels that there is little point in constructing Class II and Class III roads in the tribal areas. If it is felt, in the circumstances of any particular area, that some type of communication is essential even though an all-weather road is not practicable, then he suggests 'very narrow (4' wide) metalled roads suitable for fast cycle traffic in emergencies and for pedestrian traffic in all weathers.' From what he has seen of the Multipurpose Blocks 'any kind of *kaicha* road is a waste of money. There is no provision for its maintenance and up-keep and such roads being in the remote interior cannot be effectively supervised or repaired by the P.W.D. They fall into disuse within a very short time.'

While the other members of the Committee agree that this policy would be the ideal, they doubt whether it will be altogether practicable. It is obvious, of course, that it is most important that every Block headquarters should be connected with a main highway by a good Class I road. It is astonishing that this has not yet been done everywhere. In good time before a Block is opened there should be a survey to ensure that such a road is planned and started; this will be particularly important if our suggestion of pushing the headquarters of the Blocks further into the interior is accepted.

But it will take a very long time to construct Class I roads throughout the whole area of a Block—and it is, as we point out elsewhere, just the inaccessible and difficult areas that we must reach if we are to bring the benefits of development to the really poor people. If we are to rely on Class I roads, only the more developed tribal folk near at hand will benefit.

We agree, however, that to attempt to cover the entire area with inter-village motorable roads may well be a waste of time and money. In practice, the tribal people themselves very rarely use the roads that are made for them, for they prefer their traditional foot-paths which, though often more difficult, are generally shorter. Sometimes they prefer to go by a foot-path through a difficult area in the hope of obtaining some game, and to pick leaves or gather firewood on the way home.

Every Block area should, therefore, be carefully and imaginatively surveyed very early, and only those Class II and Class III roads which will be of direct advantage to the people should be constructed. Officials

will have to forget their own touring requirements. For example, it is more important to make roads linking the interior of the hills with the plains than to unite remote villages with one another or with the main road.

Culverts, bridges and causeways should be taken up first along the roads that are aligned, and for the present we will have to be content with making them as well as we can. Even if they are open only during the favourable months of the year, much will be gained.

We should not only think of motorable roads for touring purposes. Bicycles should be used much more in future than they are today, for this useful velocipede can be carried over streams and rivers and is, in fact, used very widely by the merchants and others who go into the tribal areas. Bullock-carts, as suggested elsewhere, can also be usefully employed by officials, and ponies and even elephants might well play a bigger part in all tribal development schemes than they do at present. This, of course, raises problems of upkeep, yet they should not be unsurmountable.

Funicular Railways

We consider that in places where transport of produce is essential to the economic development of a tract, and where an all-weather road cannot be built with the financial resources available, the possibility of funicular railways should be investigated. We understand that although they are slow, they are relatively cheap and the maintenance cost is very little. We have seen fairly long railways of this type used in mines and we understand that they have proved successful for cheap transport of non-perishable commodities over distances up to 30 miles. There are, of course, in view of import restrictions, difficulties about this, but the matter deserves consideration.

Finance

The Inaccessible Areas Committee has made the important point that the cost of road construction in the more difficult tribal areas is abnormally heavy and that, therefore, normal formulas of financial justification of road construction will need special exemption. Since this Committee is making recommendations regarding each area separately we need not do more than emphasize this point and express our agreement with it.

Even within the area of a Multipurpose Block, if important roads or highways have to be built, it is desirable that funds for them should be allotted from the general sector and not be a charge on the Block budget.

Labour Co-operatives

It has often been pointed out that the season during which the tribal people are available for work on construction is short. Sometimes they are not very happy about working on the roads at all and in actual fact, most of them live a fairly busy life and are as anxious to observe their festivals, weddings and funerals as anybody else. On the other hand, it is not desirable to bring in too much imported labour. A plan followed in NEFA is to allot to every village along the alignment of a road so many furlongs or miles and to place the construction and the maintenance of each bit of road in the hands of its Tribal Council, which serves as a sort of labour co-operative and distributes the money received.

We may sum up our recommendations as follows :—

(1) Road-planning for the entire Block area should be taken up at a very early stage and should ensure, in the first place, that the headquarters (which should itself be in the heart of the Block) will be connected by an all-weather motorable road to some main highway and secondly, that one or two main Class I roads should run through the entire area of the Block.

(2) Culverts, bridges and causeways should in the first place be made to cover all the obstacles in the roads that are planned and while many of these will have to be fair-weather roads in the first instance, there should be a carefully considered plan for progressively transforming them as soon as possible.

(3) It is more important to make roads linking the interior of the hills with the plains than to join remote villages in the interior with one another.

(4) It is essential that some provision for the maintenance and progressive improvement of roads should be made, for otherwise they may fall into disuse and much effort and money will be wasted. We cannot rely on the tribals to maintain the roads themselves for, in the first place, they have not the resources to do so and, secondly, they may not be particularly interested unless a road is of really vital importance to themselves.

(5) The Co-operative Extension Officers should make it their special care to organize the tribal people into labour co-operatives to whom construction works will normally be given. Contractors should be eliminated as far as is humanly possible. This policy has been successful in the Araku Block and in parts of Assam.

(6) The resources of the C.P.W.D., the State P.W.D., the Local Board and the Forest Department should be pooled for the planning, construction and maintenance of roads, and schemes should be drawn up on a ten-year rather than a five-year programme.

Roads, of course, can be a curse as well as a blessing to the tribal people. In some places they have been the means of corruption and exploitation. They have brought new diseases, moral decline and cultural decadence. They have made it easy for the money-lender, the rapacious merchant, the liquor-vendor, the lawyer's tout to penetrate deep into the hills and forest. They can bring money in, but they can also take money out. They have helped to destroy the hand-loom industry by the import of cheap bazaar cloth; they have brought vulgar and inferior goods to the very doors of the people. Difficult though it will be, we must try to ensure that this does not happen any longer and that every road is a pilgrim's way to a better and richer life, bringing health, food and enlightenment to the villages it serves.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

HEALTH SERVICES

The organisation of health care in the tribal areas is bound to be much the same as for other rural districts throughout the country. In view of the special circumstances of the tribal areas, however, the method of execution will naturally vary, in relation to the local cultural pattern, customs, habits and environment. For example, the tribals often live in small and widely dispersed communities, and it is thus necessary to have mobile services, so that medical services can be carried to their very doors.

It is essential to have a survey of the area to ascertain the health problems and thus give priorities for effective development of the programme. Past experience has shown that certain specific diseases are specially common in the tribal areas and naturally high priority should be given to them.

Primary Health Centres

The Primary Health Centre is a unit whence integrated health care has to radiate into the homes of the tribal people. Its location should be decided by the Block Development Committee after taking into consideration the following criteria.

- (1) Service to the maximum number of people ;
- (2) Health problems of the area as revealed by a survey ;
- (3) People's participation; and
- (4) Easy accessibility for referral services.

Construction of Buildings

The buildings of the Primary Health Centre should be simple and inexpensive. They should be constructed as far as possible with locally available material (but there must be a really *pucca* Operating Theatre) and the design should conform to the local environment. The main criterion should be its utility and capacity to offer service. The establishment of sub-centres should also be of a similar pattern.

Basic Services

These consist of :

- (1) Medical relief;
- (2) Maternal and child health care including family planning and training of Dais;
- (3) School health ;
- (4) Health education;
- (5) Control of communicable diseases, with priority for malaria and small-pox ;
- (6) Environmental sanitation—with high priority for safe drinking water; and
- (7) Collection of vital statistics.

Medical Relief

Medical coverage in almost all the Tribal Blocks is extremely inadequate and even when there is money and sometimes even when buildings

for hospitals and dispensaries have been erected, doctors, nurses, compounders and midwives are unwilling to come and serve in such remote places.

It is true that in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan there are medical officers in all the Multipurpose Blocks, and it is only in Nawhatta (Bihar) that the first appointment was made as late as July 1959. But in other States the position is serious and disappointing.

In Assam although in Lungleh, Saipung-Darrang and Mairang the posts were filled in good time, by the middle of 1957, three of the seven Blocks are still without their own doctors and no doctor was appointed to Dambuk-Aga until 1959.

In Bombay, the situation is even worse, although the Multipurpose Blocks here are in the main conveniently located and have made good progress in other ways. The following facts are significant.

Aheri : No doctor appointed until September 1959.

Akrani Mahal : No doctor appointed until August 1959.

Dharampur : The post has been occupied for only two months (October-December 1959) during the whole progress of the Block.

Khedbrahma : A doctor has been appointed.

Mokada-Talasari : A doctor was first positioned in November 1958, but left after two months. A second doctor worked from January 1959 until the middle of April of that year, but since then the Block has been without its own doctor.

Peint : No doctor has yet been appointed.

Sukhsar : No doctor was appointed until April 1959, but did not join his post. Another doctor was appointed in December 1959, but he too did not take up his duties.

In Madhya Pradesh there are ten Multipurpose Blocks, and doctors have been appointed to only three of them, and even then very late : Bhimpur did not get its doctor until January 1959, Pushparajgarh until September 1958, and Dantewara until March 1960. The remaining seven Blocks have never had a doctor on their staff at all.

In the Tamenglong Block no appointment was made until the 28th October 1959, but the doctor concerned had not taken up his duties even by the end of March 1960. In the Amarpur Block of Tripura a doctor was appointed in November 1958, but resigned in June of the following year. By March 1960, the Block was still without a medical officer, though an appointment letter has now been issued.

This does not mean, of course, that the Block areas have been entirely without medical coverage. Doctors of the State Health Departments, missionaries and voluntary organisations have sometimes filled the gap. But it is disconcerting to find that where there are so many posts provided in the Block budgets, so large a proportion has been left unfilled.

In order to meet this very serious shortage of medical staff we suggest that, as in Andhra Pradesh, there should be a certain period of service in a tribal area for all doctors as a condition of promotion, crossing the efficiency bar or for being sent for higher studies in India or abroad. Those doctors who serve well should receive special commendation in their Character Rolls and be considered for accelerated promotion.

Mobile Units should be placed as a matter of routine in centres at some distance, where practicable, from the main Health Centre and the Block

headquarters. The value of these Mobile Units has been questioned, but we feel that in many Blocks they have done useful work and that provided the doctor or compounder attends regularly at specified places, specially if this is done on bazaar days, a lot of good can be done.

We, feel, however, that it is unrealistic to provide these Mobile Centres in the tribal areas with ambulances or large vans which often cannot get along the rough roads or tracks even in the fine weather. An ordinary jeep is quite sufficient to take a doctor with his staff and medicines to a number of outlying villages. Serious cases can easily, by a little ingenuity, be accommodated in a jeep and brought back to hospital. It might even be considered whether an improved type of bullock-cart could not be sometimes used by the Mobile Units; in NEFA these Units have to move about in the most difficult country on foot, and doctors there have performed successful operations under the most impossible circumstances in village camps without any assistance from motor transport. Special financial provision will, of course, have to be made for this type of touring, as we have suggested elsewhere.

Medicine Chests

Medicine chests should be provided at the rate of at least one for each V.L.W. circle. These chests can be kept under the charge of the V.L.W. or school-teacher. The most important thing is that arrangements should be made to refill these chests and maintain them properly.

Maternal and Child Health Care

These are the essential services and deserve highest priority. In view of the difficulty in getting women to go to these areas, short training courses should be started for tribal women who are carrying out domiciliary midwifery at present. This training should preferably be carried out on the spot and will require a mobile team of a health visitor and a trained midwife. It is essential for the staff to be fully conversant with the existing practices and beliefs in relation to maternal and child-health care, so that service training can be integrated with them. This scheme must always include health education for the improvement of nutrition, environmental sanitation, control of communicable diseases and improvement of other personal health services. For its effective development it may be necessary to enlist the active help and participation of the local Mahila Samithis and Health Committees.

School Health

Children of school-going age form a large section of the population and it is necessary to inculcate healthy habits and hygienic practices among them. A comprehensive programme for the medical examination of school children with adequate arrangements for the correction of defects, immunisation, improvement of environmental sanitation, supply of drinking water and provision of mid-day meals, should be developed. Kitchen gardens and orchards (as in Orissa) should be developed in every school.

Control of Communicable Diseases

The National Malaria Eradication programme is already in operation in those areas where it is a problem. In addition, steps should be taken for

the eradication of certain other diseases like leprosy, yaws, goitre, small-pox, V. D. and so on wherever they have a high incidence.

Drinking-water

The provision of drinking-water wells is a subject which is beyond controversy, one which can do nothing but good, and which is of incalculable benefit to the tribal people. While it would be an exaggeration to say that most of the people have to walk three or four miles to get their water, there is no doubt that they do have difficulty in getting a supply of really clean drinking-water and we urge that this programme should be given very high priority. In some places the people are not used to wells and prefer to draw water from running streams. Here cisterns, such as have been built in Orissa, can be a valuable substitute.

We feel that the cause of health and sanitation will be better served by concentrating on wells at present and since it is the general policy to simplify the programme, the erection of latrines and bathrooms which in any case are rarely used, can be postponed for the time being, as we have suggested in Chapter Sixteen.

Health Education

This is one of the most important items of every basic health service.

To accomplish his goal the health educator should be familiar with the nature of the culture and the way of life of the people, their values, beliefs, traditions, customs and taboos about health and illness. He should understand the objectives for which the people are willing to strive, and conversely, the aspects of life that mean very little to them or they are as yet unable to understand. He should know what the people can understand and what they will reject. Having once learned these facts he can work with the people in planning and using educational measures which will harmonize with their life and character.

One of the great difficulties about spreading the use of modern medicine in the tribal areas is the existence of the local priests or medicinemen in whom not only the tribal people but a large number of the Indian peasantry retain considerable faith. Some doctors resent the existence of these tribal practitioners; their work is sometimes held up to ridicule in cultural shows and there is a great deal of propaganda against them. We suggest that a more positive attitude might have better results. In parts of North America, Indo-China and very widely in NEFA a policy has been adopted of looking on the tribal doctor as an ally rather than as a rival. His prayers and incantations do, in actual fact, have a psychological value in freeing a patient from a sense of guilt (which sometimes is the actual cause of an illness) or from anxiety and for promoting the will to live. Doctors in the tribal areas might well enlist the assistance of the tribal medicineman and encourage him to perform his sacrifices and prayers, while he himself gives regular treatment of the modern kind to his patient. This is not so revolutionary as it may seem, for even in the developed civilizations of the West it is a common practice to call the priest as well as the doctor in a serious illness. Moreover, there are many natural remedies, decoctions of forest herbs or healing lotions known to the tribals and, where these are found effective, are by all means to be encouraged.

The new ideas and concepts which health education introduces will give good results only if they can be integrated with the existing values of the people. For the worker in the field of health education, as in any other programme for human development, the importance of good human relations cannot be over-emphasised. The field worker must remember the value of first impressions; the method of his approach should make him acceptable—it should be friendly and human and he should be ready to work with the people; he has to be exceedingly patient and should be able to talk to them in a 'language' they understand.

Collection of Vital Statistics

The Health staff should have accurate statistical data based on surveys conducted by the Department of Health or by other departments as its disposal which will give a fairly accurate picture of the local health problems. On the basis of this, the Medical Officers can plan their programme.

Progress in the Multipurpose Blocks

A great deal of good work has undoubtedly been done wherever it has been possible to position an adequate medical staff. The tribal people are beginning to realize the value of modern medicine and although at first they were unwilling to come to hospitals or dispensaries they are now doing so in ever greater numbers.

In so far as figures of expenditure are any guide, most of the Blocks have used from thirty to thirty-five per cent of the allocation of two lakhs of rupees for Health and Rural Sanitation in their schematic budgets. Orissa, for example, has used 63·76 per cent of the total allocation for its four Blocks and Bihar has used 45·71 per cent for its eight Blocks. Some of the individual Blocks have done better than this. Araku has spent nearly 50 per cent; Kundahit, 68·25 per cent; Kushalgarh, 60·38 per cent; Akrani Mahal, 52·88 per cent; Paderu, 54·32 per cent; and Tamenglong, 54·42 per cent of the money available.

On the other hand, the progress of some other Blocks has been very poor. Aheri has only used Rs. 25,349 or 10·35 per cent out of an increased allocation of Rs. 2,45,000. Mokhada-Talasari has spent only 12·07 out of a total budget provision of four lakhs. Peint, which has done very well in other subjects, has used only 22·24 per cent on Health as against 89·40 per cent on Housing. Sukhsar has spent Rs. 29,794 or 15·28 per cent on Health Services but Rs. 46,979 on Social Education and Rs. 51,962 on Arts and Crafts. Utnur has spent 15·35 per cent, Narasampet 23·60 per cent and Pushparajgarh 29·37 per cent.

Amarpur has only spent Rs. 36,063 on Health but has used Rs. 87,421 on Social Education. Adhaura has only spent Rs. 10,765 on Health, but two-and-a-half lakhs on its Project Headquarters.

Orientation

In view of the special nature of the work in the Multipurpose Blocks, it is essential that all the members of the health staff, and specially the doctors, should undergo orientation training in the basic philosophy of the general programme as well as in the special health problems of the locality. They must learn the latest developments in extension method and how to work with the tribal people.

Conclusion

Tribal India offers a unique challenge and unparalleled opportunities of experience and service to our doctors and nurses. It will not perhaps give them very much money : for some years to come they will have to work under conditions of discomfort and loneliness ; they may have to travel over bad roads in an unkind climate ; they have to break down centuries-old prejudice and suspicion. But for them there is all the thrill and adventure of being pioneers of modern science, the privilege of extending the healing, friendly hand of modern India to her most neglected people in her remotest villages.

CHAPTER TWELVE

EDUCATION

The fundamental problems of education in the tribal areas are not very different from those in other rural areas and so much has been written on the subject and so many admirable policies and high ideals put forward (not always with very much result) that it is not necessary for us to repeat what has already been discussed so frequently.

Moreover, the Renuka Ray Committee has already made a number of important recommendations regarding the pattern of education, the importance of not alienating tribal students from their own cultural milieu, the necessity of imparting instruction at the primary level in the tribal languages, the problem of the choice and training of teachers (it urges that there should be at least one woman teacher in every tribal school by the end of the Third Five Year Plan). It suggests that tribal education should be primarily dealt with in the Education Departments of the State Governments in collaboration with representatives of the Departments of Tribal Welfare. Details of this Committee's recommendations will be found at pages 146-150 of Volume I of its Report and we ourselves agree with its recommendations and support them.

We will quote one passage from this Report which sums up the present situation in the Multipurpose Blocks.

'The main question is about the pattern of education. Have we been able to evolve a pattern of education, which, on the one hand, will not create a wide gulf between the educated tribals and their own way of life and, on the other, provide an adequate basis for further social and economic advancement of the tribal communities? Our studies reveal that two altogether different patterns exist in the country. In some States it is an exclusive pattern for tribals with separate schools on the Ashram pattern, a different syllabus and a separate system of examination. It is claimed that an attempt was made in these Ashram schools to provide education suited to the tribal ways of life. The other pattern is more similar to the general system of education prevalent in the country. The emphasis is on a literary type of education altogether unconnected with the texture of tribal life. In some States one finds an ineffective combination of the two patterns. The schools are located in tribal areas. They have an Ashram-like atmosphere but the courses offered are the same as in other general schools. The examinations are also common. Provision of instruction in one or two crafts such as spinning and weaving and a little practice on the attached farms no doubt form a part of the routine in the schools. But they are not included as subjects for examinations. The arrangements made for instruction in these crafts and agriculture are very often far from satisfactory and the standard of proficiency attained by students is not adequate enough for them to take to their indigenous vocations with any better competence. There are instances which carry this inadequacy to the other extreme. More than half the time is spent on craft education, leaving little or no time for general education. Apart from the fact that these students remain weak in general subjects, their proficiency in the craft is not of a very high standard either. Little, if any, use is made of the skills acquired in the occupational life of a living school'

In the tribal areas education thus presents two distinct problems. The first is to provide a type of education which will produce young men and women who will either remain in their own districts as leaders of their people or be elected to the State Assemblies or to Parliament, and to provide administrators, doctors, engineers, agriculturists, teachers and others who will be able to take the place of the outsiders who at present work in the tribal areas and who often find the life there difficult and frustrating. Such men and women will not, of course, be confined to the tribal areas and we may hope that in time we will find them occupying responsible posts in other parts of India as well. But the fundamental need is, as the Prime Minister has said, to build up a team of tribal people who, with a broad and liberal outlook, will be able to administer their own areas and fill the posts which are at present occupied (all too often reluctantly and for a short time) by non-tribals.

The second problem, which is rather sharply distinguished from the first, is to provide a type of education for the mass of the people who will be likely, for many years to come, to continue to live by agriculture in the hills and forests and for whom a very simple and practical type of teaching is required.

For both types there is a fundamental need to create a real love for the village in order to prevent the ever-increasing drift to the towns. That this is happening has been reported from many places. When parents in the Tamia Multipurpose Block were asked why they did not send their boys to school, they replied that it was because they invariably left the village permanently after the termination of their education. From Bastar it is reported that in areas where too many secondary schools of the general type have been opened they are being faced with the problem of the semi-educated tribal boys or girls who do not want to go back to their villages and for whom an adequate number of jobs cannot be found elsewhere. In one of the Assam Multipurpose Blocks a Jaintia declared that for many years education had been regarded as the door by which young people could escape from the dullness of village life into a more exciting and progressive life in urban surroundings. Similar instances could be given from many other parts of India.

The result is that it is becoming almost as difficult to find, except at the highest level, tribal officials willing to return to their own villages to work for them as to obtain outsiders. The Tamia Report says that 'from the point of view of the tribal people themselves as well as from the point of view of the larger interest of the nation, it is vital that the consequences of education should not take away the best human element in the village to outside areas'. In the case of the most intelligent tribal boys and girls, whom we may expect to become leaders, technicians and administrators, this may be expected, at least for a time, and may not matter greatly provided the type of education they have received is such as to create a pride in their own culture and their own homes, but in the case of the semi-educated the results can be disastrous. In towns and cities the condition of migrants from villages (and not only tribal villages) is often deplorable. They are not sufficiently qualified to obtain jobs that will make them economically self-sufficient. They live in slums or in miserable rooms in back streets which are far less healthy than even the poorest huts in the hills. They become rikshaw-pullers, coolies, inferior domestic servants or even,

in some places, sweepers. The semi-educated boy, who has been given inflated promises as to what will happen when he has passed through school, becomes frustrated and resentful; he is a ready field for the sowing of the seeds of political discontent. This is even more of a problem in the tribal than in other rural areas in India. For generally teachers and others, in order to persuade tribal children to go to school, give them an exaggerated idea of the possibilities of education. The contrast between the hard life in the hills and forests and what appears at first to be an easy and comfortable life in the towns is very sharp and there is no doubt that the boys and girls are tempted by it, even though it means a loss of so many things that they hold dear and no real enrichment of their economic life.

There are many reasons for this. In spite of the laudable sentiments that are now so common, schools at the lower primary stage in the hills are seldom adapted to the rural scene. The buildings, when they are *katcha*, are extremely bad and when they are *pakka* are so elaborate and unfamiliar that the children who study in them subconsciously develop a sense of superiority to their parents and friends. There are still far too many untrained teachers, especially in the private schools which have sprung up in their hundreds in some districts. Although, in Assam, nearly all the teachers are local tribal people, in many States there are few teachers who know the local language and there are few, if any, text-books in these languages. The words used, the stories told, the ideas presented in text-books, and the general teaching are unfamiliar to the children. They are seldom taught their own traditional games and dances and are introduced to other games which involve expense and are not normally played in the villages. The class-rooms are dull, without pictures or decoration, and the artistic soul of the tribal child rebels against the drab and ugly. Even now in many schools, particularly private schools, there are no crafts, no teaching of art; and gardening, to say nothing of agriculture, is neglected. Some schools are used for political or religious propaganda which confuses the local people. On going to school boys and girls almost inevitably change their style of dress, the way they do their hair, and acquire sophisticated habits which create additional needs and they thus become an additional economic burden on their families. Where there are local institutions, such as the Naga Morung, the Muria Ghotul or the Adi dormitory, once a boy goes to school he too often looks down on them and no longer attends them, in defiance of the traditions of his tribe. In a word, the majority of schools in the tribal areas are alien to the local culture and tradition and, in some places, alien even to the fundamental culture of India.

The result is that there is great variety in the demand for education. In the Kushalgarh Multipurpose Block only three per cent of the total population is educated. In the Lungleh Block in the Mizo hills of Assam about ninety per cent of the people are said to be literate. The percentage varies greatly between these two extremes in the other Blocks. There is a very strong demand for education wherever missionary influence has penetrated and it is here that the majority of the private schools are started. There is a similar demand, though on a lower scale, in other areas also. At the same time, however, many tribal parents regard the spread of education with apprehension, for they feel that their boys and girls will be turned into 'sahibs' and 'mehsahibs' with new and expensive habits which

they can ill afford and that when they have left school they will leave their homes.

What can be done about this? One of the most important needs is to preserve a real simplicity in the style and equipment of the schools. A report on the Bastar Blocks has observed that the majority of schools are too highly urbanized or westernized.

'The boys learn to sit on chairs and use desks, they are supplied with costs in the hostels, and on the whole they have a very much easier time than they would have in their own homes. This is one of the main reasons why such children are unwilling to return to their villages after their education. It is also one of the reasons why tribal parents are reluctant to send their children to schools.

'The tribal school should reproduce as far as possible the village atmosphere. The children should do all their own work and except for fetching water, no domestic servants should be employed. They should be taught a disciplined life which merely means that they should do more or less what they would do at home (civilised people could learn a lot from the atmosphere of a tribal home; if this atmosphere could be duplicated in urban areas we would have no student problem).'

A policy of simplicity is recommended, in the first place, for the architecture of the buildings. We find that there are two points of view about buildings of this kind. One, based on the PWD outlook, is that they should be *pakka* buildings with cement floors and CGI roofs in order to avoid the expense of maintaining them. The other is that it is perfectly possible to put up good buildings in the local style and that if they are properly built, they will last for a reasonable time and will not involve too great an expense on maintenance. The great advantage of having local-style schools is that they grow out of the landscape and are not alien to it. They do not have the psychological result of making the children feel superior to their own families and villages. With a real simplicity in equipment—a mat to sit on and a low desk in the traditional Indian style—the children study in school in the same manner as they live at home. If the teacher, instead of sitting above his pupils on a high chair and dominating from them from a high table, sits with them on the ground as the old Indian gurus sat with their pupils, the sense of distinction between the teacher and the taught is avoided. Another advantage is that the school building can be made a model building which may by example improve the condition of housing in the entire village. If the school is built of materials not obtainable locally, it is regarded as a Government building and few people are inclined to copy it. If it is made in the familiar local style, but with a better tiled or thatched roof, with walls of bamboo more carefully woven or of mud more carefully plastered, well ventilated and perhaps with carved doors made by local craftsmen, it can certainly inspire the local people to improve their homes. Where the walls are made of mud they can be carefully washed with red or white clay. The children themselves can make designs in clay on the walls or paint them with local materials.

This is being done for official buildings in the Narsampet Block and the result is startlingly successful. Another excellent example is the Umaria Nursery School in the Tamia Block. It will be indeed a positive

advantage if some maintenance has to be provided by the villagers for a school building and compound, for this will help them to feel that the school really belongs to them and is not something imposed by Government. From time to time the men can repair the roof, the women can wash the floor with cow-dung and the walls with white or red clay and they can help the children to decorate them in traditional style. The entire village should join together to make a school a success.

The present tendency to put up school buildings, with cement walls and floors and CGI sheet roofing, designed on a type-plan prepared in some distant town, has had deplorable effects in certain areas. Particularly in Orissa the school buildings are not only hideous but far too small, as is inevitable when the size of a building is dependent on the cost. If, instead of putting up these ugly and peculiar buildings, we could be content with substantial houses in the local styles with local materials, they could be made much bigger at the same expense. In some States, owing to the fact that the buildings have to be so small, there are often three or four classes being taught by more than one teacher in one room at the same time.

Another matter against which it is essential to protest is the universal tendency to judge the progress of education by statistics. School-teachers and their Inspectors almost invariably praise or blame a school according to the size of the enrolment and the average attendance. They forget that even if there are only ten boys in a school one of them may be a future President of India. Teachers are far too concerned (often as much for their own reputation as for the children's good) in forcing boys and girls to go to school to swell the numbers with the result that a conflict arises with the parents who are thereafter less inclined to co-operate with the development programme in other fields and the children themselves do not attend regularly. The same tendency leads to the enormous wastage which is noticeable in most of the tribal areas. Children who have been forced against their own will and that of their parents to go to school drop out as soon as they can find a reasonable excuse. It would be better to let education grow naturally, without forcing the pace and without any kind of compulsion.

We feel that there should be great caution in starting compulsory education in the tribal areas. It was recently introduced in the Tamia Multipurpose Block and forty-five matriculate teachers with no knowledge of the local language and no orientation to tribal life suddenly arrived and began their work. How can education forced upon at least partly unwilling people be successful under these circumstances?

Compulsory education must, of course, come in the end. But so far as the tribal areas are concerned, we urge that it should be delayed until it can be done properly. For this we must first have a sufficient number of either teachers recruited locally or experienced and well-qualified teachers who are completely familiar with the local language. It is equally necessary to have Inspectors oriented to the tribal outlook and way of doing things. We should then ensure that there are text-books in the tribal languages for the lower classes and books for the more advanced classes specially prepared with reference to tribal needs. Perhaps more important than anything else is that, before compulsory education is brought to these areas, an educational policy suitable for them, which will be implemented at every stage and by every organization which is dealing with the subject,

should be properly worked out. At present there is a great deal of confusion, for often several different agencies are conducting schools in the same area. In one village there may be a school which is teaching the philosophy of Bhoodan. In the next a missionary school may be teaching the exact opposite. In a third there is a school managed by the Tribal Welfare Department; in a fourth the school is run by the Block officials; in yet another village a school is looked after by the District Council or some similar organization. Surely the control of such a vitally important matter as education should be entrusted to the experts and not to miscellaneous official or private agencies. There should be one policy, implemented by the State Education Department.

It should not be impossible to make a school a real function of tribal life. Beginning with the architecture of the building and the type of furniture, there are many ways whereby school, teachers and children can contribute to the life of a village.

School holidays should be adapted to the local festivals and no child who absents himself for a wedding or funeral should ever be rebuked. It must be remembered that there is a full rich life in the village which is not planned on the stereotyped schedules of the Education Department and it would be wise not to bring the two into conflict. It is also important that the holidays should be spaced out so as to allow part of the boys' time being spent in the school field (about 1/4th) and the rest at home, where they can help in the family cultivation. In Bastar, holidays are not given in the hot weather but at the time of harvest, sowing, and weeding.

Wherever there are local tribal institutions, which in their own way have always provided some sort of education to the village children, they should be used if possible, and on no account should the school and the local educational institution become rivals. The Ghotuls of Bastar, the Naga Morungs, the Garo Nokpantes, the Adi Moshups, the Uraon Dhumkurias have for centuries been providing a simple basic education. They are the centres of community services, for the boys in them provide a sort of labour force which can be called on by villagers who need help and they may go as a body to repair the home of some old widow or to rebuild a house that has fallen down. They have their functions at weddings and funerals and they often provide certain services to visiting officials. They learn self-reliance, co-operation among themselves, and the service of the larger community. Since there is a rule that these institutions must be kept clean and that younger boys must see to this, they also receive education in cleanliness. Some of them at certain festivals go on what would be called hiking trips, dancing from village to village. These institutions are also centres of tribal art—dancing, singing, wood-carving—and the elder people sometimes come to teach the younger useful crafts like basketry and mat-making.

It is most important that these valuable institutions should not fall into decay as a result of the introduction of ordinary education. Unhappily, it is reported from a number of places that this is what is happening. For example, Dr B. S. Guha reports from the Uraon districts in Bihar that :

'The Dhumkuria system, which had a recognised place in the tribal life, as the centre of festivities and amusement, where young unmarried boys and girls used to mix freely, has suffered a set-back due to its being

frowned upon as an institution of questionable morals both by the Christian Church and Hindu leaders. Fortunately, there are signs of its revival now and the efforts of Shri Julius Tigga may be commended in this connection. The place and importance of amusements in tribal life such as folk-dancing and music is very high. It not only gives them a balanced view of life but acts as an outlet for the surplus energy and vitality of the people. No alien moral ideology should interfere in suppressing this healthy institution.'

In some parts of NEFA a sort of conflict has arisen between the school-boys and the dormitory-boys. In the Naga Hills, school-boys who have changed their religion are not permitted to attend the Morungs. In the Dambuk-Aga Block it was said that the Garo Nokpantes were disappearing in the neighbourhood of its headquarters at Baghmara. From the Narayanpur Block, it is reported that with the opening of schools, the boys are deserting the Ghotuls. Every effort should be made to check this tendency and to encourage these institutions and work through them as is being done in Bastar. This has often been recommended and some such policy was accepted at the recent Seminars in Ranchi and Pachmarhi, but few officials seem to have taken the matter very seriously.

An important reason why the schools do not fulfil their real function in tribal society is the astonishing indifference on the part of educationalists to the local languages. The Estimates Committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs noted in their report for 1958-59 that :

'The policy of the Government of India is to encourage the tribal dialects as it is desirable that instruction in the primary schools should be imparted to the Adivasis in their own mother tongue as far as possible. But one of the greatest hurdles in teaching the Adivasis in their own language is the absence of a script of their own and consequent absence of primers and text-books. The State Governments in such cases have, therefore, been encouraging either the Devanagari script or the regional script. The Committee suggest that the teaching of Hindi be encouraged after the primary stage in tribal areas, and the task of preparing text-books in tribal languages in Devanagari script be tackled vigorously in the States concerned where the Adivasis have no script of their own.'

Yet only in a few States text-books have been prepared. Long ago, under the inspiration of a distinguished anthropologist, a few Gondi text-books were produced in the Adilabad Multipurpose Block area. There are text-books in the local languages in all the Autonomous Districts of Assam (except the Mikir Hills) and here the local language is used as a medium of instruction almost everywhere, for the teachers are all local tribal people. But in other places the situation is rather disappointing. In the Narayanpur Block in Bastar, although it is reported that 80 per cent of the teachers are local tribesmen, it is at the same time stated that Gondi is nowhere the medium of instruction and there are no text-books in this language. In Narsampet it is reported that twenty Koya teachers are to be trained but this plan remains in the future. The preparation of text-books in the local language, with illustrations which will be familiar to the children and adapted to the local background, should be given high priority everywhere.

The class-rooms are often very drab. There are usually either no pic-

tures at all or else just a few posters issued by the Ministry of Community Development which, though doubtless admirable for other parts of India, are often unintelligible here, for they show people and scenes which are unfamiliar to the tribal children. There is one poster about cleanliness widely distributed in the tribal areas, which shows a bearded Punjabi gentleman smoking a hookah with the caption that it is unhealthy to pass it on to someone else. Pictures of horses, ships, or the sea, to take another example, which illustrate posters and text-books in areas where the people have never seen these things, are also unsuitable. Here is an enormous scope for artists and photographers to prepare suitable pictures of local scenes and subjects which will decorate the schools and make them more familiar. Where there is a tradition of wood-carving, the pillars of a school might well be carved and doors too might very well be carved where this art is known.

It is important to develop the children's pride in their own history and their own leaders. In the Aheri Block in Chanda, for example, where Gond kings ruled for centuries and where there is an imposing fort and many tombs of the old rulers, there is not in any school the slightest attempt to remind the children of their not undistinguished history. There are pictures of other parts of India but not a single picture of the Chanda fort. There is a special device of the Gond kings which might certainly be introduced as a decorative element in architecture and reproduced on the covers of books and as a design-motif in weaving.

In some schools there is little attempt to integrate the people psychologically with India as a whole. One of the great dangers of the development of the tribal areas is that of creating a separatist mentality. It has been found that this xenophobic attitude does not generally arise in areas which have been left alone. It comes up in places which are visited by large numbers of outsiders and, unless the growing consciousness of the people is carefully guided, there may be political movements of a separatist character in the future. Every school should have really attractive pictures of the national leaders, and we would specially commend a charming coloured picture of Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi sitting and laughing together. All too often where there are such pictures, the national leaders are made to appear grim and inhuman, with expressions hardly likely to appeal to the happy laughter-loving tribal people.

Many school-teachers throughout the country seem to feel it their duty to change the dress, ornaments, style of hair and general appearance of a child directly he joins a school. This has the unfortunate effect not only of destroying something which is often attractive, but of creating two classes in the village—boys and girls who have gone to school and boys and girls who have not. This is most undesirable and emphatic directives should be issued by all States Education Departments that, while the children are, of course, free to dress and decorate themselves in any way they like, no pressure should ever be put on them to change their own style and, in fact, they should be encouraged to retain all that is good in it. In some places, prizes have been awarded on special occasions for the boy or girl who is best dressed and decorated in traditional style. With the very general decline of weaving it is difficult to introduce a hand-woven blazer with traditional designs as has been done in NEFA. But this idea might be explored and adopted where it is possible.

Basic Schools

On the face of it, basic education seems to be the ideal method for the tribal people, especially for those in the remoter areas though it will, of course, have to be considerably adapted to local needs; only in very few areas, for example, could spinning be adopted as a basic craft; and the difficulty of obtaining instructors for other crafts in sufficient numbers makes agriculture the only feasible basis for instruction.

There is, however, a certain difficulty. The criticism has been made by the more advanced tribal people that basic education is a deliberate attempt to keep them backward. They ask how many high officials or politicians in their State send their own children to Basic Schools. They point out with considerable force that practically all of them send them to schools where they get a good English education. There is a common pun that a Basic School is a *Bāsik* School, where you don't learn anything. Even the children criticize the agricultural programme in relation to their school by pointing out that they themselves and their parents know a great deal more about agriculture than their teachers. So deeply entrenched is the belief that a school is a place where you learn to read and write and, in fact, is a place where you are freed from the burden of labour in the fields, that it may be difficult to build up basic education on agriculture in the tribal areas. This does not mean it should not be tried but it can hardly be said to have succeeded in other parts of India, and some of the educated tribal people feel that they are being used as guinea-pigs in an experiment which has failed elsewhere. In spite of this we feel that an attempt should be made to introduce a carefully-adapted form of basic education, with a special syllabus, such as has been done in Bastar and NEFA.

We are not concerned with the question whether these criticisms are right or not, whether basic education has succeeded or failed, we are simply giving the tribal point of view, which we have found in many of the Blocks we visited.

But at the same time it will be essential to have a number of schools where a first-class modern education can be provided.

Clothes are often given free to the children in schools and these are not always of the most appropriate kind. It is better not to give white clothes, for they so soon begin to look shabby and dirty. In some of the Orissa schools uniforms of an attractive green colour have been given. Similarly girls should not be dressed up in frocks of the western style, but there should be some attempt to dress them at least in Indian fashion if there is no suitable tribal dress available.

It is important to maintain the spirit of self-reliance in the schools. There is a danger that we may make education too cheap; in the desire to attract boys and girls to school everything is given free. This has not been a tradition in the past. In the Khasi hills, for example, there are hundreds of schools maintained by public subscription; every Christian woman puts aside a handful of rice whenever she cooks a meal. This is then collected and sold and the proceeds used for paying the teachers or feeding the children. In the Buddhist areas, where there are hostels attached to temples as in the Khampti area of Lohit, each house in the village contributes food regularly to feed the boys. In many missionary boarding schools, the boys support themselves and do all their own work.

Schools with Agricultural and Forestry Bias

It has been urged that all primary schools in tribal areas should be based on agriculture and forestry. At least two days in the week should be set apart for practical training in these subjects. Every school should have at least half an acre of land for practical work, and this land should not be used for gardening but for the growing of the common crops of the area. No hired labour should be engaged. There should also be an attempt to relate the programme to basic forestry.

It has been suggested at a high level that we should not at this stage at least open too many secondary schools in the tribal areas, for they tend to produce large numbers of boys and girls whose only desire is to get away from their villages and obtain clerical jobs in towns. We do, however, need a few really first-class secondary schools, as we have already said, to train up the brightest boys and girls to be the leaders of the future. Other secondary schools should aim at agriculture and vocational training; they should aim at turning out proficient technicians and not merely boys who have some smattering of agriculture or of a trade. These boys and girls, when they leave the secondary school, should be capable of earning a fairly good living by working at the trade they have been taught. It has been pointed out that for the next fifteen or twenty years at least the welfare of the tribal will depend entirely on agriculture and it would be wise to concentrate on this subject rather than on general education. Under agriculture, of course, would be included such veterinary knowledge as is necessary for the cultivator—the proper protection of cattle, selective breeding, timely inoculation and so on.

Orchards

The Orissa Government is making orchards of fruit-trees in the compounds of all their schools, the idea being to have about fifty trees attached to every school. This is a most admirable idea and we recommend that it should be followed with enthusiasm throughout the country.

Libraries

Some minor points may be suggested. Though we should not waste money on libraries in villages where everyone is illiterate, more attention should be paid to secondary school libraries, which should not consist only of publications supplied free by the Ministry of Community Development. Indeed, it will be hard to imagine a more unfortunate method of creating the habit of reading than to provide boys with literature of this kind. There should be books of adventure, children's stories, books about animals and birds, books about other countries—simple well-illustrated books that will catch the eye and attract the attention of the child. This will be expensive, but if we are to have education at all in the tribal areas, it *ought* to be expensive.

Literature should not only be for the young, but also for neo-literates, where possible in their own language.

Scholarships

The machinery for the award of scholarships has frequently been criticised. We suggest that :

(a) scholarships should be sufficient to cover all expenses while at school and college, and not merely part of those expenses. Most tribal boys have no private resources;

(b) such scholarships should be available to a boy at least a fortnight before he actually joins the school or college, so that he may have the funds to join;

(c) at present the quantum of the scholarship in college particularly is very inadequate, and payment is usually made after 8 or 9 months' delay. The result is that usually only those tribals who have private resources and who do not, therefore, really need scholarships, can afford to go to college;

(d) for the next five years at least all tribal boys and girls who wish to go forward with their education should be given opportunities to do so provided they pass the necessary examinations, irrespective of the marks they may obtain. Every attempt, however, should be made to persuade boys and girls to take up technical rather than arts subjects, for otherwise we may well produce a large number of unemployable Matriculates or Graduates who will suffer distress and frustration later on.

In the schools also there is considerable delay in receipt of the scholarships but here it is possible for the local authorities to make arrangements for loans etc. to tide over the lean period before governmental assistance becomes available. Unfortunately all local authorities do not render such assistance. We do not blame them, because a fairly heavy financial expenditure is involved. In one case, a person had practically to stand surety for a loan of several thousand rupees so that a Vanwasi Sewa Mandal school could continue to function until its grant was received.

Art

The teaching of art is greatly neglected. In some ways this is perhaps fortunate, for the low-level art teachers, who would normally be available, can do much more harm than good, and it has been found in India itself as well as in other countries that the stiff and formal drawing and painting instruction commonly given has deplorable results. On the other hand, provided plenty of raw materials are provided, such as drawing-paper and paints or crayons, the development of free drawing and painting among tribal children has immense possibilities. This has proved successful in Africa and Australia and in recent painting competitions in NEFA, where the teachers were asked not to interfere in any way but to give their pupils full scope for their imagination. The children were given a number of subjects such as agriculture, dancing, religion, hunting or village life and asked to illustrate them in any way they liked. The results were often first-class.

Pets

An experiment, which has been tried in Tripura, is to encourage the children to keep pets in their schools. There may be only two or three birds or animals, but the task of looking after them does create some sense of the need for the preservation and a love of animals. Since wild life in the tribal areas of India is in danger of being exterminated, this is a matter of importance.

Little Plays

Some of the tribes have a remarkable facility for producing completely informal little dramas or one-act plays, as we may call them. They always represent something familiar to them—sometimes they show an oppressive official demanding free food and being rebuffed ; sometimes they represent a quarrel over land; there may be a hunting scene or a parody of a wedding ceremony : the essential thing about such dramas is that they are not and never should be written down. The dialogue is always spontaneous and, because of this, is fresh and exciting.

Talks by Officials

More attention should be given by touring officers of all Departments to visiting schools and giving talks on their own subjects. It is still all too common for a visitor to confine himself to asking the children 'What are you going to be?' and in some schools a regular technique has now been evolved whereby, before the arrival of a visitor, the children decide what they are going to say, allotting ambitions to each other in due proportion with a view to pleasing him. If agriculturists, doctors, forest officers and others on tour could give talks *according to a regular plan*, it would considerably assist them in their own propaganda work. This is already being done in some places, but it is generally too haphazard, and insufficient attention is paid to it. It should be recognized that the entire administration in a tribal area is engaged in one great task of education. Education, in fact, is far too important to be left to the educationists; a school should be the concern of everyone.

Ashram Schools

In areas where villages are small and widely separated from one another, there is scope for transforming some of the schools into inter-village schools or Ashram schools. Ashram schools, however, should not be of a puritanic type and the children should not be over-strained by being asked to get up very early in the morning for prayers and so on. Tribal children, indeed all children, must be thoroughly happy in their schools if they are to do them good. Sometimes the hours are too long, even in day-schools, for tribal children, most of whom have to work very hard when they are at home.

It is of great importance that the crafts introduced in the Ashram schools should be those which the boys and girls are likely to carry on in later life and which will be of real economic value to them. In many of the schools spinning and weaving is adopted as an important craft. Unhappily, there are many tribal areas where weaving is taboo and though this may gradually be broken down, it is unlikely that it will succeed to any great extent. Moreover, is there any point in turning out boys by the hundred to be professional weavers? There is no point at all introducing spinning in Ashram schools in areas where cotton is not grown. A boy may spend several years becoming an expert spinner but he is almost certain (as even the teachers and managers of these schools whom we interviewed admitted) to abandon this craft once he has left the school. The universally valuable industries for the Ashram schools are agriculture, horticulture and vegetable and flower gardening. About these there can be no dispute, but if this is to be of any real use it is essential to have teachers who are well

trained in these subjects. Otherwise, the boys will say, as they have said so often in the past, that they can learn better from their own parents than from teachers who, being so often town-bred, really know nothing about agriculture.

Another important point which arises in some areas is the question of caste. As the tribal people come more and more into contact with the outside world they tend to take from our society its bad rather than its good points and to adopt the very things which India as a whole is eliminating from its life. There is an increasing emphasis on caste distinctions. In Orissa particularly, whereas ten years ago you would never hear a tribal speak of himself as an Adivasi or of a Dom as a Harijan, today these expressions are all too often used. In nearly all the otherwise admirable Ashram schools in this State the parents of the tribal boys refuse to send them as boarders if Harijans are admitted. At present this seems to have been accepted and there are quite a number of schools where there are only tribal boys in the hostels and if Harijans boys are to go to school it must be as day-scholars. This is a rather serious matter and needs very careful consideration.

Another policy which may well be questioned is that of having residential Ashram schools in the actual villages from which the boys are enrolled. It is a question whether it is a good thing to take boys away from their homes and keep them twenty-four hours in a school which is actually in their own village, for it is very expensive and creates a drastic distinction between school and home. It is another matter where there is no school for a long distance and the boys have to go as boarders. It is another thing too when there is a school of a very special kind to which boys intended to be future administrators and technicians will be sent. It is argued that it is only by taking the boys away from their homes that they will learn better habits and ways of cleanliness. If this is true, it condemns the vast majority of tribal, indeed of all village children, to an insanitary way of life. Surely, it would be equally true (and indeed this has been proved in many cases) that a boy who learns lessons of discipline and cleanliness at school takes it back and improves his own home.

There is a further danger in this type of school. It creates snob-values, separates the school-boys from the other boys in a village and will undoubtedly make it more likely that when they grow up they will want to go away from their villages and homes: there is a danger that it may make them soft. Moreover, it will obviously be impossible to spread this type of education throughout the country, for it is far too expensive.

Many parents do not like these schools and complain that they teach their sons to look down on them and to treat their elders with disrespect.

A special problem arising in many of the hostels maintained by private agencies concerns the food of the boys and girls. In a great many cases the voluntary workers who manage these institutions are themselves vegetarians and we must recognize and respect their convictions. It is doubtful, however, whether it is wise to insist on vegetarianism for boys and girls whose own traditional practice is to eat meat and fish. They are likely to revert to this diet after leaving school and when they do so they may suffer from a subconscious sense of guilt and feel that they have betrayed the high ideals taught them by their instructors. Some of them may become lifelong vegetarians.

We feel that it is not even desirable that the tribals should be deprived of a very important aspect of their diet. The Community Development programme gives a fairly high place to the improvement of poultry, goats, pigs and other livestock and it seems rather inconsistent that on one side the tribals should be encouraged to breed these animals, either for personal use or for sale, and on the other should be taught that to eat them is wrong.

Conclusion

A carefully worked-out programme of tribal education, adjusted in some such way as we have suggested in this chapter, would be a great adventure, original if not unique, and might do much to save the younger tribals from the frustration and disappointments that have been experienced by the preceding generation. While on the one hand we will ultimately have well-trained tribal officers to develop their own areas, a process which is bound to continue for many years to come, we will have on the other a contented and enlightened peasantry who will not be ashamed to work with their hands and who will see in the farmer's life one of the ideal professions.

SOCIAL EDUCATION IN THE TRIBAL AREAS

The programme of Social Education in the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks has been more or less the same as in non-tribal areas. Although some effort has been made to relate it to the prevailing social and cultural practices, this has been of a poor standard. The general emphasis on Social Education activities in the Multipurpose Blocks has simply ranged from folk-dances to youth activities and literacy classes to the opening of libraries and reading-rooms. It was at least hoped that Social Education would be a forerunner of other programmes which would be closely related to the tribal culture in all its aspects. This hope, by and large, seems to have been unfulfilled.

If Social Education is to be taken as education for life in society, it should have been adjusted to the prevailing social practices of the tribal people among whom, for example, the sense of community life is more deeply ingrained than in so-called civilised people. In fact, the individual self-assertion that is found so strongly among non-tribals is still not greatly developed among the tribes, as a result of the conditioning process of community-living in their families and groups. They do most of their work and share their joys and sorrows together. Their children are conditioned from the very beginning to belong to a community and work and live for it. Where the system of youth dormitories (*ghotul or morung*) exists in its original form, their members, through informal activities and association, are taught their own role in the life of the tribal community, its cultural practices, its deities and religious ideas, its mythology, its system of values, the importance of children and their training, and many other matters. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that socially the tribals are more educated than some of the non-tribals.

In such communities, the programme of Social Education, therefore, should take a different approach and have a different emphasis. It should first recognise the prevailing practices at home and in the tribal community, the conditioning of the child to social values which involve him in the life of the group through folk-songs and folk-dances. It has rightly been said that 'a man's culture is what he has, the totality of his life and interests'. He expresses his culture through his dialect or language, religious ritual and mythology, social institutions, art, song, dance, story-telling and so on. Only after becoming sensitive to this entire complex of culture can a Social Education Organiser relate his programme to the life of the people. This is specially true of the tribal people, because they are still not so much exposed to outside influences as to have blurred the undercurrent of their own native culture and to have acquired the superficiality of a uniform way of life.

A New Orientation

In view of this, we feel that the whole programme of Social Education should be given a new orientation. It should not follow the uniform pattern adopted in non-tribal areas. To begin with, it should relate the programme with the prevailing folk-culture. It is necessary to realise that this is a more difficult thing than to introduce songs and dances of a non-tribal type, which

in any case is not desirable. It has been observed more than once that whenever efforts have been made to introduce the subjects of development in tribal folk-songs and dances, they not only lack their traditional vigour and tempo but they fail to have a genuine touch of folk-life, and became dull and tedious. This needs to be avoided at any cost. Unless the worker is made sensitive to the folk-life of the tribals and is taught to enjoy it through participation, he is not likely to prove effective. His first effort should be to encourage the tribals to take a pride in their own life and then gradually help them to adjust themselves to its changing conditions.

Along with this, the worker should give attention to the institutional and organisational life of the tribal people and emphasise their practices of socialisation. As we have already said, if a tribe has a youth dormitory, it needs to be recognised and promoted. If it is in a decaying condition, it needs to be revived with care. Wherever the system of Natyagharh is prevalent, it may be used to promote group life. The institution of the village god gives an excellent opportunity to relate the interest and energy of the villagers to the welfare of their village. If new social changes are to be introduced, and this is bound to happen with increasing outside contact, the social changes should be slow, at the pace of tribal receptivity and in harmony with the prevailing outlook and practice. Gradual exposure and conditioning through participation should be the two main tools to be used for bringing about social change rather than the imposition of an outside way of life. This is a difficult task and needs to be handled with care.

Adult Education

The programme of Adult Education, specially literacy activity, needs only a little comment. Most of the tribes have their own languages or dialects. Therefore, if any activity of language is to be introduced, it should be related to the prevailing dialect. We observed during most of our visits to the Multipurpose Blocks that the Adult Education teacher rarely knew the local dialect, with the result that he invariably proved ineffective in stimulating the interests of the tribals towards the formal learning of *any* language. In fact, in practice his activities were actually harmful, as he was a 'symbol of imposition', in this case of a non-tribal language. This is very unfortunate. It cuts at the very root of our claims to promote the development programme on a tribal basis, and should be avoided under all circumstances. The Adult Education worker should know the local dialect, encourage the tribals to speak it themselves and slowly and gradually relate the interest of the youths and adults to written words. There are very limited, if any, books for adults written in local dialects, for most of the books available are in Hindi or the State languages. This is another area of imposition that we need to avoid. Efforts must be made to get books for neo-literates published in the tribal languages.

In addition, the programme of literacy has to be an informal programme of learning and literacy itself may be a by-product. This is true for all adults, but even more so for tribals. It is too early to impose the programme of libraries and reading-rooms on the tribals; they should be introduced gradually after sufficient people have become literate. Let the tribals grow into a love of language and gradually learn the value of reading. A judicious use of audio-visual aids may prove more effective than the use of written books. At the same time it has to be strictly judicious, as experience shows

that these aids—specially films and public-address machines—have been used as instruments of imposing outside ideas unadapted to local conditions. This cuts once again at the very root of our claim to relate the programme of development to the pace of receptivity and to suit the genius of the people.

A Cultural Officer

While considering the nature of the services of the Social Education Organiser, we have come to the conclusion that its present grade is unlikely to attract people with the necessary imagination, sensitivity or knowledge. It requires a man of good academic qualifications, wide reading and with a fresh and original mind to handle this delicate and responsible task of relating a programme of cultural development and social change to the existing tribal situation. We recommend, therefore, that this post should be upgraded from Class III to Class II: to avoid any kind of rivalry with the P.E.O. (who is also Class II unless, as we have suggested, he is upgraded to Class I,) the incumbents should normally be junior men, which is in any case desirable.

Part of the Cultural Officers' work may be transferred. The programme of formal Adult Education in literacy, reading rooms and libraries should be the responsibility of the Education Department. Along with the work of primary education, the village teacher should be entrusted with formal Adult Education work; he should be given additional remuneration and should be supervised by the Education Department. He would naturally, of course, work in close co-operation with the development workers, including the Cultural Officer.

We suggest that the designation of the officer in charge of the cultural and social programme, whose upgrading we have recommended above, should be 'Cultural Officer'. This is not meant to imply any change in the department to which he will belong. The change of designation is only suggested to emphasise the need of understanding the cultural life of the tribals and the degree to which it has developed. It will not mean that the officer will be removed from the parent department to which he belongs at present as a Social Education Organiser.

These Cultural Officers may be, but need not necessarily be, sociologists. Their task should be to study and encourage all aspects of tribal culture which have survival value for the tribes: they can arrange dance festivals, record the songs and music, myths and folk-tales, stimulate the other arts, encourage the tribal institutions, and generally inspire their colleagues with an interest in the subject.

Artists and Photographers for the Tribal Areas

There is also need for artists and photographers, who could be supervised by the Cultural Officers. All States employ them, but there are many demands on them, and we suggest that special posts should be created expressly for the tribal areas. They could prepare illustrations for text-books in the tribal languages, illustrations which would be of things familiar to the children. They could prepare calendars, and pictures for schools, charts and posters with the local background, as has been done very efficiently elsewhere. Photographers could produce pictures of the local people and scenes, which could be enlarged and used to decorate schools, hospitals, and government institutions which at present are so drab and lifeless.

Social Education, as an education for social change, should be to some extent the responsibility of all development workers. Every new item introduced is an instrument which will effect some change or modification of tribal life. Even unconsciously, every development worker, by his very presence, plays this vital role. Therefore, it is necessary for every Block official to realise that a wrong attitude on his part may result in a wrong development of the tribals in terms of their social practices and attitudes to life.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

WOMEN'S PROGRAMMES

In most tribal societies woman holds a high and honourable place. She goes proudly free about the country-side. In field and forest she works in happy companionship with her husband. She is not subjected to early child-bearing : she is generally married when she is mature, and if her marriage is a failure (which it seldom is) she has the right of divorce. The lamentable restrictions of widowhood do not await her : should her husband die, she is allowed, even enjoined, to remarry; and in many tribes she may inherit property. Her free and open life fills her mind with poetry and sharpens her tongue with wit. As a companion, she is humorous and interesting; as a wife, devoted; as a mother, heroic in the service of her children. Her brave, laborious, faithful life is an inspiration.

Yet the women's programmes of Community Development have not been received by the tribal people with any great enthusiasm. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the conventional and stereotyped schemes of the Mahila Samaj, with its emphasis on sewing, knitting, embroidery and the singing of bhajans, have not excited the interest or met the requirements of the tribal women.

The life of these people is very hard. The majority of them live in mountainous or forest regions or in the deep interior of the great plateaux. With little education, without any kind of maternity service, deprived by poverty of any special diet, the tribal mother has to struggle hard to bear and preserve her child. It has been noticed that while tribal girls are usually strong and vigorous, they age far more quickly than other women, for they have to work too hard on insufficient food. Under these circumstances, economic and health programmes must be given the highest priority. It is much more important to have a healthy baby than to knit a jumper. A clean home, nourishing and well-cooked food, a knowledge of simple rules of health to be followed before and during childbirth and of what to do during the critical months that follows it—these are the essential things at which the Gram Sevika should aim. She has the great task of holding age at bay and keeping the tribal women young.

Instead we have seen all too many girl workers who seem to have little interest in these things, who are confused and puzzled about what they should do, and are content to introduce sewing (which is useful but not essential at the present time), embroidery and knitting (of doubtful economic value) and rather formal social gatherings which have little appeal.

And again, is it really desirable that the women's programme should form a separate unit in the general scheme of Community Development? Surely it should be an integrated scheme of economic development, the improvement of health, and social and cultural life for the family and tribe as a whole.

For in tribal society men, women and children do everything together. There is, it is true, some differentiation in function : there are taboos on certain activities for women; there are also taboos for men. In the north-eastern areas, for example, weaving is confined to women, in parts of cen-

tral India only men may touch a plough. But generally, whether it be in collecting forest produce, in the hard long labour of the fields or in the happy dances after the day's work is done, men, women and children share the common burden and relax, not in separate groups but all together.

Men and women dance together without any inhibitions; when children dance, the elders, men and women alike, delight to join in the general merriment.

And then women workers drawn from the towns, where still men and women work in different spheres and often enjoy their recreations separately—even in Delhi parties you will notice the ladies and gentlemen tending to gather in separate groups—devise completely separate recreational programmes for the men and women. The women are collected in Mahila Samitis and are taught to sing unfamiliar songs in an unfamiliar language, when they would much prefer to be dancing and singing with their menfolk. There is a danger that the women will gradually come to feel that mixed dancing is wrong, and the healthy practice of social inter-relationships, which should not only be continued but encouraged, may disappear. The tribals are ahead of us in many ways and we have to be very careful that we do not push them back.

If the truth of this is acknowledged, it means that there should be drastic changes in the approach and methods of the women's programme. The Gram Sevikas and Mukhya Sevikas should develop it in the home and family, basing it on the free and happy life of the tribes and the actual needs of their homes.

Another reason for the comparative failure of the present programme is the lack of well-qualified and well-trained Gram Sevikas; most of them have not the slightest idea of any kind of policy. They go into the tribal villages as reformers and quick-changers; they introduce new garments such as petticoats and brassieres, teach the girls to do their hair differently, bring in cosmetics, change their ornaments and even sometimes persuade the girls not to wear any ornaments at all. They destroy the old beauty and give cheap plastics in its place. They seem to be quite unaware of the essential priorities needed for the tribal home.

Proper selection and training is thus essential. This can be done in two ways, either by selecting tribal women and training them to become Gram Sevikas; or, by selecting intelligent and sensitive non-tribal women and orienting them to tribal life and culture besides training them to assume their responsibilities for a given job. We endorse the recommendation of the Pachmarhi Seminar that in order to enable the Gram Sevikas to function effectively, it is necessary that their work-load should be reduced and that they should be given charge of one Centre each with a radius of three to four miles. In addition, proper residential accommodation should be arranged for them. While the Gram Sevikas can help the women in their domestic crafts, the P.E.Os should, wherever possible, work out schemes in consultation with the Industries Department to introduce and promote really useful crafts which can provide a supplementary income.

The tribal system of looking after children is in itself a subject of study and admiration. The whole system of educating the child in tribal customs and traditions through the conditioning effect of the family and household gods, the village gods, the dormitory and other systems of joint living are in themselves the very essence of education. This requires to be understood

and appreciated before new forms of education for the promotion of child welfare and family welfare are introduced.

The Balwadi programme has proved effective in bringing children together to learn lessons of cleanliness and corporate living. This activity, however, needs to be geared to the corporate way of life already in existence. For example, the conditioning effect of the Balwadis should be in harmony with the conditioning effect of the tribal family and the tribal community for corporate living. This requires further study in the dynamics involved in learning through the process of conditioning through situations. After such research is made, the Gram Sevikas may become sensitive to this situation and promote, as far as possible, the educational process through participation and through situations.

The question of the formal education of tribal girls is of importance. Wherever Ashram Schools have proved useful, efforts should be made to get girls to attend their primary classes. For the children attending Middle Schools, there will be need of separate dormitories for boys and girls. From some of these students who show promise of leadership, recruitment should be made for further training in preparing for the job of Gram Sevika. The responsibility for finding the right kind of girl or woman should rest with the Mukhya Sevikas, the senior Block officials and the Collector. When they are found, they should be given systematic training at every stage so that eventually they can become good workers who will be happy and at home in tribal society. This is a long-term programme and needs to be worked out accordingly.

In conclusion, we suggest that the whole approach to the women's programme requires reorientation. It may be advantageous to ask well-qualified and sensitive Mukhya Sevikas and Gram Sevikas, after their orientation to tribal life and culture, to experiment with different types of programme and thus determine the kind of activity that will be most suitable. The most important thing is to cut out the frills and concentrate on the less spectacular but far more vital problems of maternity, child-care and clean and happy homes.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RURAL ARTS AND CRAFTS

The substantial sum of two lakhs of rupees has been allotted in the schematic budget for the development of rural arts and crafts, but it must be admitted that not very much progress has been made in the tribal crafts and hardly any in the tribal arts.

The real progress of Arts and Crafts cannot be estimated in terms of finance, for a Block may put up a very good report on money spent which has actually been used on expensive and unsuitable buildings, non-tribal trainees or unproductive crafts. But, speaking financially, many of the Blocks have done reasonably well in this subject, having used a quarter to a third of their funds in the first three years. In the Araku Block of Andhra Pradesh and the Akran Mahal Block of Bombay 57.47 per cent and 37.96 per cent respectively of the allocation has been spent, but the financial record of some of the other Blocks is hardly satisfactory.

For example, the following Blocks show a percentage of expenditure in three years that falls far below the average.

<i>Block</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Amarpur	18.67
Bagicha	12.01
Barwani	18.28
Dha-ampur	16.04
Kashipur	8.47
Narayanpatna	0.84
Pushparajgarh	9.57
Raruan	4.66
Saipung-Darrang	1.02
Tamia	14.05

In the Rongkhong Block, nothing has been spent on this subject in three years, though there are now ambitious plans to release a lot of money for it—we hope it will be done wisely. In Kushalgarh in Rajasthan, the home of the arts, only 8.75 per cent has been utilised and plans for the future seem singularly uninspired.

At the same time, in some Blocks far too much is being spent on the erection of elaborate buildings. For example, in one Block Rs. 44,000 is proposed for an industrial school and in another no less than Rs. 82,000 is to be used for an elaborate cottage industries centre which will be situated in a non-tribal village.

The Decline of Tribal Industries

The difficulty is that although the tribal people are essentially artistic and creative in temperament, their arts and crafts have largely perished due to a number of inimical factors. Poverty, which raises saints to heaven, destroys the beauty of life for ordinary men and women. 'The one poem needed by the masses,' said Gandhiji, 'is invigorating food.' But man needs also art, poetry, music, the zest of creation if his spirit is to rise above his surroundings.

It is often difficult for the tribal people to obtain the raw material for their crafts : forest laws have done a great deal to discourage them, for even if wood, for example, can be had free for the purpose on obtaining a permit, few are willing to make what is often a long and weary journey to a forest office to obtain it. There are sometimes vexatious restrictions on cutting the shrubs from which bark-fibre for weaving and rope-making can be obtained. The extraction of cane and bamboo for baskets, or even grass for brooms, is sometimes controlled.

Painting (except on walls with natural materials) has never developed because the people cannot afford or obtain paints and paper.

Lack of patronage and encouragement has also had its effect, and in the inaccessible areas there is little possibility of marketing tribal produce on a commercial basis.

Another restricting influence comes from the people themselves. There are taboos on the practice of various crafts. In most areas outside Assam, weaving is forbidden to the tribal communities; sometimes bamboo work is regarded as the monopoly of a Hindu caste; iron-work can only be done by certain small groups which are regarded as taboo and dangerous. Among some Nagas, the human figure may only be carved by someone who has taken a head, the image of a tiger only by someone who has actually killed a tiger.

Research

It is most important that two types of survey should be made in regard to cottage industries. One is to discover what arts or crafts already exist, the other is to assess how these can be developed and what crafts can be introduced on an economically sound basis. This might be the responsibility of the State Directorate of Industries in co-operation with the Tribal Research Institute.

Research in economics has been badly neglected in all the Multipurpose Block areas and schemes are put up and started which no intelligent businessman would even consider. It is vital, before large sums of money are spent on erecting buildings for institutions or enlisting large numbers of trainees at considerable public expense, that everything to do with cottage industries should be carefully examined : to discover what kind and what quantity of articles can be consumed locally, and what can be exported. It will not always be possible to secure sales for tribal products on largely sentimental grounds and we cannot continue subsidising craftsmen for the rest of their lives.

For example, it is necessary to know whether local materials are available for the promotion of certain crafts. It is questionable whether it is worth while introducing spinning in places where cotton is not grown, though of course it should be vigorously encouraged in cotton-growing areas. Then the possibility of obtaining markets must be examined. It is no good starting an industry for export in a place which is likely to remain inaccessible for several years. Export-industries should follow and not precede the building of roads. Even if it is likely that the roads will come up after a few years and we introduce industries which aim at an outside market but cannot export the products from the beginning, the artisans are likely to get so discouraged that they will abandon their craft altogether. We also have

to ensure that we will not create too many craftsmen of a particular kind in one place. At present most of the attention being given to cottage industries is in the neighbourhood of the Block headquarters. Far too many of these institutions are established in non-tribal villages and a large proportion of the trainees are non-tribals. If we turn out too many carpenters or too many tailors in a particular area, the trainees, in view of mutual competition, either will not carry on their crafts for long or they will drift to the towns. It is necessary also to go carefully into the question of whether any particular product is likely to have to compete with similar products made by hereditary craftsmen in the neighbourhood or with cheap machine-made products imported from the cities. It is no use whatever spending a great deal of money training young people and raising their hopes that they will be able to secure a good income by exporting their goods, unless this is really going to happen. Otherwise there will simply be frustration and disappointment. It is, of course, quite a different matter where boys and girls are taught to make things on a part-time basis which will be useful for their own homes or for which they can get a sale in their immediate neighbourhood or to make things for the sheer joy of creative work.

It is also necessary to approach the subject from the sociological side. In many Ashram Schools the boys and girls are taught to spin and weave. It is no good teaching boys to weave in Assam, for this is a craft which is strictly confined to women. Nor is there any point in teaching tribal boys and girls to spin and weave in Orissa and some other areas, since it was freely admitted by the managers of the Ashram Schools, where these crafts were being taught, that the boys and girls would not carry them on after leaving school. To give an example from another field : the Central Jail in Jagdalpur used to have many Marias and Murias serving life-sentences for homicide. The one craft taught was weaving, and in the course of ten years or so some of these tribals became expert weavers. Yet after their release they never touched a loom again, for it was taboo to them. If they had been taught gardening or carpentry, they could have settled down to earn a comfortable income. It is a mistake to combine carpentry and blacksmithery in one course, for to most of the tribal people blacksmithery is a taboo craft and can only be carried on by members of special groups. The combination of the crafts either means that the carpenter-cum-blacksmith will later only practise carpentry and thus the time and money spent on the learning of iron-work is wasted, or boys who would be quite willing to come for training as carpenters will be put off by the fear that they will also have to become blacksmiths.

The Distribution of the Arts

We found a great deal of ignorance on the part of the Extension officers regarding the actual arts that existed in their Blocks. For example, we were informed that there were no arts in any of the Andhra Blocks and we were told specifically that there was no wood-carving in the Paderu Block. Yet within ten minutes of visiting the first village in this Block some excellent carved doors were discovered and it was found that this was a craft widely practiced and one which was earning the craftsmen a certain subsidiary income by sales to their neighbours. If this had been known, why should not such doors have been manufactured for official buildings and

schools, which would have greatly encouraged the craft? In the same way, in Narasampet it was reported to us that cloth with unusual and beautiful designs was woven in the interior. Yet during our visit we were unable to see a single specimen, and the Weaving Centre had no example. In Mokhada-Talasari we were informed similarly that the people had no arts. Yet again within half an hour we discovered that one of the tribes was making unusual and striking masks for dances out of paper-pulp and wood. When asked why in their reports they had given the exact opposite of the real situation, the Block officials replied that they did not think it necessary to refer to these forms of art as they were so 'crude'. Just so might a Victorian dowager have spoken of an exhibition of Picasso's painting and sculpture.

In actual fact, the artistic urge is there and it only needs a little encouragement to revive it. The distribution of the arts is uneven and sometimes a lot of exploration is needed to discover what may be taken up, even on a very small scale at first. For example, it was discovered that in the whole of the Garo Hills there is just one man who can make beautiful little model baskets in brass by the *cire-perdue* process; there are perhaps half a dozen Aka families who can do poker work on the picks of looms, bangles and combs; a few Juangs and many Marias and Murias can make combs of unusual charm: decorated tobacco-boxes are made in the Bishunpur area. When the makers die their art will die with them, unless we can arrange that they pass it on to younger people.

As the 'Field Research and Survey' on the Tamia Block, prepared by Dr B. H. Mehta and a team of his students, observes:

'Tribal people living in many tribal areas are highly artistic; a number of crafts prevail, hereditary skills exist, and there is a demand in the Community for articles produced by artisans. Tribal arts originated in animism, and the production of many articles centred round this spirit atmosphere; and then gradually artisans produced commodities to satisfy the needs of small village communities, and the weekly village markets. Absence of communications naturally restricted the scope of production. As money economy hardly prevailed, and the satisfaction of the spirit world came fourth in the list of priorities after food, ornaments and housing, the contribution of tribal arts and crafts to material economy was extremely limited. Most tribals have highly developed sense organs, and finer skills and dexterity prevail extensively amongst the youths and adults. Learning by observation and initiation was the rule. As a barter economy often prevailed, crafts were developed on a basis of self-sufficiency. The origin of arts and crafts in animism, the recreational basis of arts and crafts, and the emphasis on family self-sufficiency are three factors that must be taken into account when planning the development of tribal arts and crafts.'

Arts and Crafts for Local Use

We should not think only in terms of trying to sell things. If we do that it will mean the final extinction of the tribal arts. For it is true that in many cases the tribal people cannot compete and are not likely to compete with their more expert neighbours. It has been reported from Madhya Pradesh that in that State cottage industries, except for purely local consumption, are of doubtful utility to the tribals. They are not sufficiently skilled, there are taboos on the undertaking of some handicrafts, which in any case would

have to compete with the products of the very highly skilled craftsmen in the settled areas. For example, the quality of bamboo work turned out by the tribal people of Mandla cannot possibly compete with the bamboo work turned out by Basors in Panagar and Jabalpur. The Mandla craftsman is a part-time worker and can never really afford enough leisure to become an expert. In Panagar and Jabalpur, on the other hand, the Basor is a highly specialised craftsman and can almost work miracles with bamboo. It has, therefore, been suggested that not much effort should be spent on cottage industries in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh. We should aim at producing just sufficient for local consumption because marketing outside will be impossible.

Yet even the production of sufficient articles for local consumption is of the greatest importance. The NEFA Administration has in fact gone rather cautiously in attempting to sell the products of its area through emporia in the towns, placing its priorities as follows : first to enrich the people themselves so that they can wear their own hand-made dress, use their own carved masks for dances and to adorn their temples, decorate their own institutions with beautiful pictures and designs. Secondly the surplus local products should be purchased by the Administration itself to furnish their own offices and institutions—for example, locally-made blankets are being bought for hospitals and school hostels, hand-woven coats are being made as blazers for school-boys, tribal curtains are being obtained for offices and Circuit Houses. And only thirdly, when the people become proud of wearing and using their own things and local needs have been supplied, is it planned to sell goods on any large scale outside. In Manipur, whence textiles are exported all over India, the weavers tend more and more not to wear them themselves but to put on cheap mill-cloth instead. This involves an impoverishment of the artistic and cultural sense of the people.

Dr B. H. Mehta has observed in the Tamia Survey that 'under no circumstances should be commercialization of artistic values be encouraged.'

As in other matters, money should not be the only criterion. It will, of course, be a great encouragement to the people if their best products can find outside markets, and their subsidiary industries will give them additional economic support. But it will be fatal to the progress of the arts if the people develop a habit of thinking only in terms of sales and only make things when they can get a market for them. They should be encouraged to make things for religious purposes, for their dances and festivals, to decorate their own houses with carved doors, wall-paintings and pictures, to weave so that they can wear their own textiles and not have to buy them from outside. In this way the creative spirit will grow and flourish.

Local Materials

The Development Commissioners' Conference at Mussoorie urged that, for Cottage Industries :

'While chalking out the programme, consideration should be given to the locally available raw materials, skill and marketing facilities. It will be wise to plan largely on the basis of consumption in the area itself and self-sufficiency.'

And indeed it is essential that cottage industries should be related to the local economy and should, as far as possible, be promoted by the local

tribal people themselves. For example, it is unrealistic to start a cane industry in the Manoharpur Block, since cane does not grow in the area but has to be imported from Assam or Bengal. Similarly, at one time cane-work was started in a cottage industries centre in Pasighat (NEFA) and, since it did not grow there, supplies were flown in by the Indian Air Force. Bee-keeping was introduced in one Block where there were not enough flowers from which the bees could gather honey, and in a whole year only two pounds of it were collected. The total cost of introducing fifty bee-keeping boxes with an Instructor and a peon and their quarters amounted to Rs. 11,550 in a single year. This, observes Dr B. S. Guha, 'is an example of introducing fancy things without ascertaining the potentialities of the industries, with enormous waste of money.'

It is also advisable to use the local people as teachers wherever possible. There is little point in introducing as an instructor some young man from a town to teach the tribal people basketry or other work in cane and bamboo which they already do expertly. Particularly in Assam some of the tribal people are unmatched in the way they make the walls of their houses or weave cane into hats or bamboo into baskets. Then the instructors come from outside and at once, although the quantity of production may increase, the quality comes down. The ideal thing would be to search for and employ local artisans, even if they are quite illiterate, who already are experts in an art. It may be questioned, however, whether there is any point at all in teaching crafts which are already perfectly familiar to the people. There is no point in teaching people to do badly what they already do well. A great deal of public money is being wasted in this rather unrealistic enterprise, which may look excellent on paper and in reports, but is of no real advantage to the people themselves. Here, as we note later, we should concentrate on production rather than training centres.

Machines

We should not at present introduce too many expensive machines. Dr Guha has pointed out that a training centre (at Banjhi near Sahibganj) trains a dozen Pahariya boys every year in rope-making with the help of machines and he observes that as there is no possibility of their buying these machines and using them for rope-making purposes in their homes, the training given is useless, except in so far as a few of the boys can be employed in the centre as workers. The same holds for the rope-making machines introduced in the Birhor colonies. A report from Bastar has also recommended that we should not give 'too much mechanised aid' in the tribal areas. For the tribesman 'tends to become accustomed to governmental assistance, with the result that he cannot readjust himself easily when particular schemes come to an end.'

And again, with specific reference to Cottage Industries, the Development Commissioner's Conference at Mussoorie recommended that :

'Rapid introduction of machine and higher techniques in tribal areas should be discouraged. The techniques in these areas should be an organic development. Every effort should be made to ensure that the culture and tradition of the people do not suffer any jolts in the process of the introduction of improvement in their style and standard of living.'

An interesting example of what may happen when there is too rapid an introduction of complicated machinery comes from a tribal village where a diesel pump was provided and the tribals were taught how to work it. One day, after it had been started, the man in charge was unable to make it stop and finally in despair he thrust a heavy log of wood into the fly-wheel which effectively stopped the machine but naturally put it out of action for months. The villagers then gathered round the pump and made sacrifices to such a potent source of energy.

Special Arts

There are a number of arts which do not warrant full-scale training institutes and for these we suggest some such scheme as has proved successful in north-eastern India. For example, the art of painting in the Kameng Division of NEFA showed signs of dying out. There was, however, one really expert painter at Bomdi La and a scheme was evolved whereby a number of boys could be attached to him as his disciples. They live with him and assist him and are now rapidly becoming experts themselves. This artist went to Delhi for the Republic Day Celebrations in 1959 and took his boys with him. As a result, he was able to produce an elaborate and attractive tableau. It is similarly planned, wherever an expert iron-worker or wood-carver can be found, to attach a few boys to him. They will be paid a stipend just as if they were in a cottage industries centre, but will learn in a homely and natural way. In other places too, for example in the Santal Parganas, where an art of superb wood-carving is rapidly dying out, a group of boys might be attached to one of the existing wood-carvers: they would live with him and learn the art. There is one brass-worker in the Garo Hills and he too might have his disciples who would thus learn the art and preserve it.

The revival of wood-carving, at present almost entirely neglected, has great possibilities both for the development of the creative artistic spirit and for sale. There is a constant demand from tourists and others for something unusual and the ornaments and carvings on sale in most emporia are too often stereotyped and conventional. If the strength and originality of tribal carving can be preserved and revived, it will be possible to get a very ready sale in what we may call the luxury market.

Wood-carving is in the blood of many tribes, though it has begun to decline partly because of the general lack of enthusiasm and partly due to the difficulty of getting wood from the forest in modern times. The Baigas and Gonds of Madhya Pradesh carve wooden doors. The Murias of Bastar carve the pillars of their dormitories and sometimes make masks. The Santals have a quite remarkable art of wood-carving which is too little known, and make marriage-litters and musical instruments, nearly all of which would be treasured by any museum in the world. The Uraons carve village emblems, mostly animals. In the Tamia and Paderu Blocks good carved doors are made. In Assam the Garos carve the beams and pillars of their dormitories with originality and Naga wood-carving is famous. The Thangkhol Nagas of Manipur used to decorate their houses with very fine designs carved in low relief. A number of tribes make striking masks for use in dances. Careful survey will discover many other places where wood-carving has been known in the past and lingers on, even though it may now only be practised by a few individuals.

If it can be revived by the people themselves—it is doubtful if instructors from outside will succeed—this craft has great potentialities.

Methods of Encouraging Production

For the encouragement of the village arts a system of competitions might well be useful. For example, rewards might be given to people who can bring their best products in wood, brass, ivory or textiles to the exhibitions which are now held regularly in all the Blocks. It will be important, however, to assure the people that they will not be expected to sell these things. For they are often greatly attached to them and do not like to expose themselves to the importunities of would-be purchasers. Instead of this, some arrangement might be made that when visitors see articles which attract them, the original maker might make them a copy on payment which will be sufficient to encourage him to do so.

Another very important matter is that the Forest Departments of the States should encourage, and not frustrate, the tribal desire to follow their own arts. At one time in Madhya Pradesh the white clay, which was used to keep the village huts clean and beautiful, could only be obtained after taking out a license from the local forest office at half an anna a basket and as a result the practice of keeping houses clean by this method was at one time disappearing. Fortunately, however, when the matter was brought to the attention of Government, the rules were changed.

Similarly, in all too many areas the art of wood-carving has declined as a result of rules compelling the people to take out licenses before cutting the necessary trees. As late as 1957 the Mundas, Hos and Uraons were considerably frustrated in a useful cottage industry—rope-making from the sabai grass which grows largely in the Government Reserved Forests. This could not be removed without special permission.

The Bihhors in the Bishunpur Multipurpose Block have a traditional craft of carpentry, making wooden tubs, mortars and pestles, but before they can cut the wood, they have to take a permit from the local forest office on payment of eight annas a tree. It is difficult for these very simple people to get the permit and a great deal of their time is wasted not only in going to and from the office but also waiting to be attended to. Anyone who has ever seen poor tribal people waiting outside Government offices for hours will sympathise with them.

The cultivation of lac in the Bishunpur area is also somewhat hampered by the fact that trees are leased out to the people by the Revenue Department on a crop basis. That is to say, every year they have to take out new leases for six or twelve months. But as the yield of lac decreases from year to year and continuous infection is detrimental to the trees, it is essential that they should be infested in alternate years instead of annually in order to lessen the strain upon them and ensure a greater yield. It would be a good thing, therefore, if the people could be permitted to take leases for a period of three years at a time.

We suggest that special enquiries should be made in all the Multipurpose Blocks as to how far the existing forest rules militate against the development of cottage industries and that, if they do, the State Governments should immediately institute a simple, and more liberal procedure.

In the main, the cottage industries being introduced in the Multipurpose Blocks are strictly utilitarian. Even in the Kushalgarh Block of Rajasthan,

the only industries for which training centres are proposed are soap-making, leather-tanning, basketry and pottery. In any case, we suggest that it would be better not to introduce leather-work as an industry for the tribals. Although untouchability is officially banned there can be no doubt that the traditional 'untouchable' crafts still involve their practitioners in a certain amount of social degradation. At a time when we are trying to build up the tribal people into a good social position, we should not involve them in any work that will hinder the process.

Bricks and Tiles

The manufacture of bricks and tiles has received far too little attention and yet as part of the housing as well as of the cottage industries schemes, it is of the first importance. There is nothing more necessary than to provide tribal houses with fire-proof roofs. These houses are sometimes built close together and fire can rapidly spread through an entire village. The present tendency to import corrugated iron or aluminium sheets is not altogether satisfactory. They are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. They have to be imported from a long distance at a high cost; they are ugly and do not fit in to the village scene. It will be very difficult for the villagers later on to repair or replace them. Investigations should be made to test the quality of the soil and, wherever it is suitable, peripatetic units to teach the local people to make their own bricks and tiles should be started. There is no need here for elaborate buildings or to spend a great deal of money. Manufacture is not difficult and provided some enthusiastic workers can be found, the whole face of the countryside and the entire housing situation could be transformed from within at comparatively little cost.

Weaving

In north-eastern India the supreme craft, both for utility and art, is weaving but unfortunately, in most other parts of tribal India this valuable industry has disappeared, partly because of the competition of mill-cloth in the bazaars and partly because the people themselves have built up taboos on its practice, possibly as a result of propaganda by the established Hindu and Muslim hand-weavers who wanted to obtain a monopoly for their products. It should, however, be possible to revive hand-weaving in some of the tribal areas and attempts are being made to do this in all the States, though it is usually the Harijans who are taking up the craft. Remarkable success has been achieved, however, in reviving weaving among the tribal Gallongs and Noctes of NEFA, although it had almost completely disappeared in favour of bazaar cloth. Much more intensive propaganda to revive it in the Multipurpose Blocks should be made.

If, however, this is really to succeed, exclusive attention should not be given to the introduction of the fly-shuttle loom. At present, attempts to revive or 'improve' weaving in the tribal areas are almost everywhere made through the introduction of this type of loom.

There is, of course, much to be said for the use of these looms which greatly increase output, but if weaving is either to remain or become a general home-industry the traditional loom or the handy Assamese loom seem to have a better chance of success. In Assam State, NEFA, NHTA, Manipur and Tripura the loom is used in almost every home and the

most beautiful designs are made 'on it. The work is naturally slow but the final product has a unique charm and value.

On the whole, attempts to improve weaving through official agencies have been successful in increasing output, but have undoubtedly lowered the quality of the products. A Chief Minister declared that the official weaving schools had almost destroyed the beautiful traditional designs (not in this case tribal designs) of his State. In the tribal areas attempts to 'improve' designs have nearly always led to their degeneration. There is a great variety of colour and design, especially in north-eastern India, and there seems little point in changing these designs and adapting them to conventional patterns which can easily be obtained elsewhere. It would be better to study and adapt them, even where such new kind of textiles as table-cloths, bed-sheets, curtains or neck-ties are being made, rather than to try to tidy them up and change them. There is an architectural quality about a genuine design : it is built up bit by bit logically just as a house is built and to change it may merely spoil the ultimate result.

In places where the handloom has disappeared there is, of course, a special problem about the kind of design that should be introduced. Here careful research is needed, for in some cases it is possible to discover in museums or old books specimens or pictures of the cloth that was made long ago, and these patterns and colours could be revived. For example, there are some beautiful Garo designs which have largely died out, but in the Dambuk-Aga Block no attempt is being made to discover them and a rather inferior type of Manipur design is being introduced in the Weaving School at Bagmara. Where no specimens of the old cloth can be obtained, designs representing a development along the lines of the people's own genius can sometimes be found in their bead-work or even in their basketry patterns. In the Nocte area of Tirap a number of beautiful designs have been elaborated from the patterns of the bead head-bands and necklaces still made by the people. Among the Murias, where there has been no tradition of hand-weaving, similar patterns could be devised from their very elaborate bead-work. In the Garo Hills there are many attractive designs used to decorate the Nokpante dormitories. These might be transferred to textiles. In a number of Blocks, for example, Paderu, Raruan and Narsampet, remarkable designs are made by the tribal people on the walls of their houses. Many of these could easily be adopted for use in textiles just as traditional Saora wall-paintings were used for saris, table-cloths, curtains and so on by emporia in Bombay and Calcutta and sold very well throughout India.

A lot of trouble is being taken to teach women and girls the arts of knitting and embroidery. Knitting is an expensive craft and it may be doubted how long it will survive once it ceases to be subsidised. In one low-lying Block, where the climate is decidedly warm, girls were knitting thick woollen socks, pullovers and caps which would be very suitable for the Himalayas, and they complained that they could not get a local market for them. Embroidery should be excellent provided some attention is paid to the kind of things needed and designs employed. We have never once seen any attempt whatever to introduce tribal or traditional designs in any of the Women's Welfare Centres. The idea just does not seem to have occurred to anyone. Instead, standardized patterns, which are drawn up in the State capital to be used by everybody—urban, rural, Harijan or tribal, are issued and are blindly followed. Yet a little research and imagination could, as in

weaving, produce many beautiful patterns based on wall-painting, carving, bead-work and so on. We feel that those responsible for Women's Welfare Centres require orientation to the tribal background even more than the ordinary Block officials, and that it is essential that steps should be taken to ensure this. We also suggest that designers with some artistic gift should go into the matter of discovering things that are natural to the tribal people for use in embroidery.

Stipends or Wages ?

A special difficulty facing many training institutes is that boys and girls often join them not from any real desire to learn a craft, but because they are attracted by the stipend. When the period of training is finished they tend to regard themselves as 'trained' and sometimes think that they are now superior to working with their hands and they apply for jobs as peons, dak-runners, chowkidars and so on. In fact, we find repeated in the cottage industry centres the very same sort of thing that happens in the schools. Once you are educated, even though you are educated in a craft, you want to escape from manual labour.

We agree with the suggestion of the Renuka Ray Committee that the present system of paying stipends to trainees should be replaced by a new system of paying wages, even from the very beginning. A new trainee need not be expected to earn a full wage on the basis of his output, even less on the basis of the quality of his goods. In Bihar this plan has been adopted and there is a sliding scale of wages which rises as a trainee becomes more expert. This seems to us to be a better plan than the payment of the stipend which all too often attracts boys and girls to come for the wrong reasons, sometimes simply to escape from a difficult domestic situation or to have some kind of holiday in a small town.

To create the correct psychological atmosphere, the same kind of method might be adopted as in schools. The actual institutions, where boys and girls are trained, should resemble, as far as possible, their own homes. A cottage industries centre, in fact, might very appropriately be built up as a model tribal village in which the buildings will be made entirely of local materials but more carefully constructed, with better ventilation, a better type of floor and roof (of wood, tiles or bamboo shingling) and improved technique in the making of the walls, whether they be of mud or of woven bamboo. The workshops should be made in the same simple style, except that a blacksmithy should be made fire-proof. The hostels should be of the traditional dormitory pattern in areas where such institutions exist or be built like a large local house where they do not. If the boys and girls grow up in these simple surroundings, they are less likely to look on themselves as sahibs or memsahibs when they have finished their training. Their institution, which presumably will be visited by their parents and friends, will also set an example to the villagers as to how a village and its homes can be improved.

The Follow-up Programme

Another most important matter, which is often neglected, is to issue immediately the tools and equipment with which the trainees will carry on their craft at the completion of their training. It often happens that there

is a long gap between the end of the training and the receipt of equipment and this tends to discourage the trainees. Sufficient raw-materials, such as yarn, iron, wood and so on, should be ensured for a period of at least six months in order that they may make a good start. It would be a good thing too, whenever a batch of trainees finishes its course, if a sort of passing-out parade could be held at which some senior officer of the area should be present and should distribute the tools and give a talk about carrying on the work.

The Renuka Ray Report has already made practical suggestions on the follow-up programme and the establishment of Co-operatives.

'Many of the cottage industries schemes provide for a provision of a cash subsidy, or an interest-free loan or free supply of equipment, tools and implements. Somehow every successful trainee does not get assistance out of this provision or if he does, there is no follow-up to discover whether he has actually settled down in his trade. If the efforts at settling the successful trainees individually in their respective trades are somewhat infructuous, those at rehabilitating them through organised Co-operatives are much more so. It is not as though there are no good Co-operatives functioning for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes or Other Backward Classes. There are many instances ranging from forest labour co-operative societies to housing co-operatives. But in the field of handicrafts and village industries, one does not, as a rule come across successful Industrial Co-operatives'.

This Committee has made the following recommendations which we endorse.

(i) Financial assistance should be made available to the successful trainees or to their Co-operatives in two parts, non-recurring and recurring.

(ii) The cost of non-recurring equipment should be given as an outright grant and the provision for recurring expenses should be advanced as a loan on easy terms.

(iii) The terms of financial assistance should be so regulated that net profits go to the Co-operative societies and not to the Government, as is the case with regard to certain types of Forest Co-operatives in some parts of the country.

(iv) No schemes of a commercial nature should be started unless arrangements for raw material and marketing are secured in advance. A survey of the demand for the particular commodity or service should be made to ascertain the marketing possibilities.

One of the great drawbacks of the present way of doing things is that the cottage industries institutions become tied down to certain centres, generally a Block headquarters, which all too often is in a small non-tribal town. This means that it is very difficult to get trainees from the interior and even when they do come it is as a result of a great deal of cajolery and extravagant promises. There will thus inevitably be a surplus of trained artisans round the Block headquarters. In Bihar a very good plan has been adopted whereby in the Multipurpose Blocks the training centres are located in hired houses which are rented at ten or fifteen rupees a month. Although this does not look very good in the financial returns (how much better it would look if the Block authorities could say that they had spent Rs. 50,000 on a large building!) this is a very sensible idea.

for it is planned that after a few years, when a sufficient number of artisans have been trained in a particular area, the institution will be shifted to another place and again located in a hired building. In this way a large part of the Block area will be covered in the course of years. Again if the proposal to put up only *kutchas* buildings for the cottage industries centres is accepted, they could be shifted when they have outlived their usefulness and rebuilt at no very great expense elsewhere. The possibility of peripatetic units has been largely neglected hitherto but is a method of teaching which is likely to be much more effective and more economic. It is essential, however, that the travelling instructors should be sufficiently well paid to make this rather difficult enterprise practical. We gather that it is far from easy on the present rates of pay to obtain craft instructors who will be willing to travel from village to village and to live with the people.

There are many ways by which unnecessary extravagance on cottage industries can be prevented. For example, in the Reports on individual Blocks there is a description of an elaborate pottery school that has been established at considerable expense in the Paderu Block while at the same time in Narayanpatna excellent results have been achieved at very small expense by sending a few potters for special training in a particular centre and then encouraging them to return to their villages and teach their own people.

The Importance of Production

We need not emphasize the importance of production and indeed, it has already been suggested that instead of speaking of training-*cum*-production centres we should call them production-*cum*-training centres. All the training should be organised with a view to the manufacture of beautiful, useful or saleable goods. There should be a few regular employees who would organise production to meet demands and all overhead charges should be taken into account in settling the price. These production units should be self-sufficient and profitable within a few years and it should be regarded as a serious failure if this does not happen. In this way the training programme may become more realistic. We recommend that 50 per cent. of the amount allotted for Rural Arts and Crafts should be reserved for the production side. We should not, however, speak of production *centres*, for this implies that everybody must come to work in some sort of building. We should rather speak of production *units*, through which men and women living in their own homes will be encouraged to produce more through the supply of raw materials and marketing organisations.

In the programme for Rural Arts and Crafts, though money is needed, money is not the greatest need. The real foundations must be built on good taste, imagination and a business-like approach.

RURAL HOUSING AND COLONIES

The large sum of two-and-a-half lakhs has been allotted for rural housing. In some States a substantial proportion of this has been used for the erection of buildings for the staff. The remainder is spent or will be spent on the erection or improvement of so-called model houses for the tribal people.

This scheme has been rather strongly criticised from several different points of view and indeed, it cannot be said that so far it has been very successful—or very necessary—in the tribal areas. Criticisms concern the wide use of imported materials and the unsuitable type of house that is commonly designed according to conventional type-plans.

Use of Imported Materials

On this subject there are some excellent notes in the Survey of the Tamia Multipurpose Block prepared by Dr B. S. Mehta and his team of workers, from which we extract the following:

‘The problem of housing in tribal areas has its historical background, and the future of rural housing must be based on sound philosophy, sounder economics, and artistic and cultural values. The leadership for initiating new rural housing programmes often belongs to urban minds, who do not have adequate knowledge of the variety, strength and durability of materials available in tribal areas. They are unaware of the efficiency and expediency of local methods, and they do not appreciate the rhythm and beauty of rural architecture. The tribals have lived in forests for centuries; they have a developed aesthetic sense including a sense for beauty, form and colour; and they have both imagination and skill. The consequences of discontinuance of the use of local materials; and introduction of ideas, methods and techniques foreign to the nature, genius, capacity and culture of the people need to be understood and studied.

‘Urbanisation has some advantages, and it has well-known consequences on the psychology, economy, social organisation and culture of a community. The introduction of brick, mortar, and cement in a region where other raw-materials are abundantly available creates serious consequences.

‘The future prosperity of a people living in simple and natural surroundings must lie in a simple life where the abundant enjoyment of it is possible in production economy, social harmony, and cultural achievements attained in harmony with Nature. Future prospects may lead these communities to change their patterns of living, but at present there is hardly the need or justification to introduce changes which are not warranted by economic and cultural considerations.

‘The introduction of brick, mortar and cement has to be carefully examined, and the future should be guided by what has happened in the past. The brick and cement small houses with no architectural stamp to speak of entered the tribal areas because they were used by the few exploiters of the area who were non-tribals. The beneficiaries from forest contracts, money-lending and shop-keeping laid the foundation of what is known to sociology as “pecuniary culture”. The Government also followed the pattern of the

wealthy, mainly in the name of durability and functional expediency. The Rest-Houses for officers and travellers, and the school and hospital buildings adopt the brick and cement philosophy and concept of planned development. Curiously enough, the Community Development Project authorities also begin the development of "pukka" houses for their own Departmental staff, temporary as they are, mainly to set the pace of the high standard of living which is supposed to follow the prosperity that the Project will create.

'This construction programme precedes the economic prosperity, uproots the old rural architecture, and divides the community socially and psychologically.'

It will be generally agreed that these points are sound and realistic. The Rural Housing programme does indeed depend far too much on the import of materials from outside.

In the Araku Block, for example, it is proposed to construct hutments with asbestos-roofing, cement-concrete flooring and mud-walls plastered over with cement-mortar. In other areas large quantities of corrugated iron-sheets are being imported for roofing. It is difficult to see what ultimate advantage the people will gain from this. On one page of a Report we are told that they are miserably poor, on the next page we are told that expensive houses based on imported materials are being erected in order to stimulate them to copy buildings which in architecture and materials are entirely unfamiliar and far beyond their means. A tribal Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes has noted :

'It has been an initial mistake to indicate to the tribal people that there can be improvement and progress only by means of things brought in from outside—CGI sheets for roofing, cement for ring wells, tube wells, or pipes, etc. Even the Project Headquarters buildings could have been built as far as possible by means of materials available in the area without going for expensive materials which have consumed huge sums of the funds which could have been utilised for welfare work and it has also created a feeling of autocracy by living in such quarters.'

Even if the whole of the two-and-a-half lakhs allotted for this purpose were to be spent, only a small proportion of the population could be housed in these special buildings. Since it is unlikely that the other people will be able to copy them, there will be in time a social and psychological distinction between those who live in the new type of house and those who prefer or can only afford the traditional type.

In some Blocks large numbers of CGI sheets are being supplied on payment to selected families while Government meets the cost of transport. In one Block the cost of such transport involved an annual expenditure of half a lakh of rupees, though the scheme has now been postponed for further consideration. This raises more than one of the problems mentioned in the Tamia report. Is it really a good thing to spend such a large sum of money to import unfamiliar materials which cannot be produced locally? Is there not a danger that the tribal people, who usually all live in the same kind of house, will suffer a psychological change, which is inimical to their democratic spirit, and now be divided into rich and poor, privileged and under-privileged, by the very appearance of their homes? What will happen when the Block is normalised and these large subsidies are no longer available? Only a part—perhaps only a comparatively small part—of the

total population can be put under CGI sheets (the use of which is more or less confined to Assam and the adjoining areas). These sheets have the further disadvantage that they make small houses hot in summer, cold in winter, and are very noisy when it rains. When they rust and begin to leak, it is extremely difficult to repair them in the interior.

It is noticeable that there is seldom any provision in the housing schemes for paint with which to make CGI sheets aesthetically pleasant and to prevent rust. If we are to have these sheets, it is essential that an appropriate paint, preferably green, should be supplied in ample quantities. This should be done in every place where CGI sheets are provided. They should be left alone for a year so that they can be sufficiently weathered and should then be painted as a matter of routine.

The trouble is that everything must be done in a hurry. Otherwise, such new types of roofing as improved thatches, bamboo shingling, or wooden roofs could be taught. But this takes time, and time involves the deadly sin of surrendering a little money.

In many areas there is no need whatever to change the type of architecture or the materials used. The Garos, for example, in the Dambuk-Aga Block build admirable houses. Some of them are 100 to 150 feet long. They are raised well off the ground and are thus healthy and ventilated. The Garos make good floors, weave bamboo expertly, keep their houses spotlessly clean and though they do not have windows, they do have doors all along the walls and these can be opened to admit light and air. Mikir houses too are often very good. The same may be said of many Gond houses in Madhya Pradesh or Mayurbhanj, Bhagata houses in Andhra, Kond or Jhoria houses in Orissa, which are usually well-constructed with thick mud-walls on which the people model or paint designs and pictures. Santhal and Saora houses are substantial and pleasant, even though rather dark, and the same may be said of tribal homes in many other places. It is really only among certain small tribes who frequently shift their habitations that the houses are very poor.

Some of the tribes like to have a big house with a central hearth round or near which they can sleep. Some of them, especially in eastern India, prefer to raise their houses off the ground. Others build on a plinth of stone and mud plastered with clay. Some tribes attach a religious importance to certain parts of the house. There is a rule that the head of the family may only sit on one part of the hearth, a visitor at another, women at another. Part of the building is dedicated to the household gods. The Saoras make sacred wall-paintings which it is taboo to touch. It is very difficult for these traditions to be maintained in the new type of cement and concrete building with a different architectural lay-out.

The people like to make additions to their houses and alter them from time to time. It is impossible to do this in a house with cement walls.

Cement floors are particularly unsuitable for people who sleep on the ground and who are likely to continue to sleep on the ground for many years to come. The new houses, in fact, throw an additional economic burden on the people by compelling them to purchase beds, chairs and tables since they find the new type of floor uncomfortable and cold. Surely, the right approach would be to let the people, first of all, feel a need for these things and then encourage them to build a house to accommodate them. In a remote tribal village, where no member of the family can read or write

and where so much of life is spent out of doors, there seems to be little point in spending a lot of money on a new type of home which is not adapted to their needs.

In general, the new houses are far too small, inevitable when expensive materials are imported. Necessary alterations cannot be made; they are not in any way adapted to the life of the people. In one area new houses of this kind were built at considerable expense and at the wish of the people, but when they actually went to live in them they found them so small and uncomfortable that they put up houses of their own style next door and used the expensive concrete houses to store their grain or accommodate their cattle. They said: 'These houses are for pigs, not men'. It is desirable to improve accommodation for animals, but it is surely a little expensive to put up pigsties at Rs. 750 a time !

Aesthetically these houses generally do not fit into the picture and where there are only one or two of them in a village they stand out, ugly and privileged, among the rest. They are also sometimes badly built. In a number of villages the residents have expressed their apprehensions about what they will be able to do in the way of repairing buildings made of cement and other unfamiliar materials when they begin to collapse.

The Type Plans

There seems to have been little research into the kind of houses that the tribal people like the lay-out of their villages or the economics of the business. Houses in the Multipurpose Blocks vary enormously from the leaf-huts of the Birhors or the tumble-down sheds of the poorer section of the population everywhere, to the very good houses of the more enterprising.

It is, therefore, important to help the poorer people to build better houses but it is equally important to ensure that these are of a type with which they are familiar. Although there are various ways by which there can be improvement, most of the States have put up new schemes on the lines of stereotyped plans prepared, one is inevitably compelled to assume, by architects who have never seen a tribal house and have never studied the lay-out of a tribal village. The normal plan on which the Block officials are working produces a village in two straight lines facing on to a street on a piece of level ground. The houses, which vary in cost from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,400, are generally designed like the houses for the poorer sections of the population in towns. There are two or three rooms and a veranda in front. In some States they are built in rows of four, six or even ten with common walls. They generally have too many doors and too many, and too large, windows. Even where they are built independently, they are often too close together for the establishment of good kitchen gardens. The cattle are neglected and only seldom will you find a cattle-shed erected behind the building. The houses invariably face on to a street.

Now this kind of building and planning is not altogether unsuitable for a few tribes. The Konds of Orissa, for example, lay out their villages in the form of long rectangles and the houses are in rows with common walls and face on to a large central compound. But this is seldom known in other parts of tribal India, where perhaps the most common arrangement is one in which each family lives in a little cluster of buildings. The tribals usually like to build a house on a hillside where the rain-water is quickly carried off and the buildings face on to a small central compound : it is

extremely rare for the veranda to open on to a street. These little clusters of buildings are very homely and one side of the compound is often occupied by a cattle-shed, for the people like to have their cattle in their immediate custody. This is not, of course, the only plan of a tribal house. In other cases houses may be established in the middle of fairly large kitchen gardens and there may be one, two or three buildings composing the whole. But whatever they may be, they are rarely arranged in formal streets and very rarely have common walls.

A serious weakness in a normal tribal house is the lack of windows. The people generally claim that this keeps the houses cool in summer and warm in winter; that it keeps out mosquitoes and other stinging insects; that it prevents evil spirits getting in; and that since the walls rarely go right up to the roof they do in fact get sufficient ventilation. Furthermore, we must not think of a tribal house as if it was a kind of building where a great deal of light is required. At present few of the people read, they do not have files to examine or letters to write and, in fact, most of their life is lived out of doors and the house is a place for cooking, sleeping and for meetings after dark. Windows, of course, should be introduced but they should not at first be too large. The walls of some of the buildings erected under the housing schemes consist of more doors and windows than they do of actual wall, and this creates an atmosphere that is very unfamiliar to the people. They feel exposed to the wind and rain and they miss the privacy which they greatly treasure. It is not surprising, therefore, that in many places we found the majority of doors and windows blocked by bamboo mats, bits of cloth or even walled up altogether. In one colony of thirty houses every single window was blocked up. The scheme of introducing ventilation would be more likely to succeed if we did not try to do too much at once. Small windows (always, of course, with shutters) would be more acceptable and more likely in practice to be kept open.

There is a curious belief among some tribals and most architects that a house built on the ground is more 'modern' than a house built on posts. Actually it is the most primitive houses that are built on the ground and certainly in north-eastern India—in Assam, Manipur, Tripura, NEFA and NHTA as well as in the South—it is the most 'modern' houses that are raised well above it. Raj Bhavan in Shillong is built in this way and so are the Chief Commissioners' houses in Manipur and Tripura. There is one great advantage in raising a house above the ground, where the rainfall is heavy, in that it is protected from the damp and it should also be possible by following methods adopted by the tribal people in the hills to make it comparatively rat-proof. But all buildings, even in Assam, erected under the housing programme are taken down on to the ground and there is often not even a raised plinth. The best tribal houses in other parts of India, where the rainfall is less, are not usually raised on poles but are built on plinths made of stones covered and plastered with mud (which may be from two to three feet) above ground level.

We have noticed that in the new houses this is very rarely done. We feel that it is important that wherever the local style of building is to raise the houses on poles this should be followed and that in other places the plinth of the house should always be fairly high to protect from damp.

A serious weakness of the housing scheme is that in practice the beneficiaries are often just the people who do not need new houses, while those

who are living under really bad housing conditions do not seem to be benefited. One of the reasons is that in some States security has to be given for that part of the expenditure which is regarded as a loan. The poor and landless who need houses cannot produce this security and as a result it is the well-to-do who are helped. In other cases new houses are put up which are completely unnecessary and you get the impression that they are being built simply because the money is there and the PEO is expected to spend it. Let us, for example, look at some of the villages in the Paderu Block, a Block which in other ways is among the best in the country.

The Paderu Multipurpose Block

It is planned to build 250 houses, mostly with imported materials, all on the same model with a plinth area of 203 square feet and consisting of two rooms—one 12'×6' and the other 7'×8'—and a small veranda of 9'×4' in extent. The roof is 9 feet high. The estimated cost is Rs. 1,400, of which Rs. 1,000 is given as a subsidy and the remaining Rs. 400 is to be provided by the beneficiary's labour. Here no security is required. These houses, therefore, are to all intents and purposes a bakshish for the people and it is little wonder that there is a good deal of demand for them. These housing schemes were visited in several villages. They were all constructed in exactly the same way in two parallel straight lines, severely formal and facing inwards towards each other. They were far too small for the usual tribal needs.

Now the existing houses in Paderu are, with the exception of a few inhabited by the depressed groups, exceptionally good. Some could take prizes for neatness of construction and decoration. In Santhari village one house was a real work of art. It is rather hard to see why so much money is being spent on something that is not really necessary. The tribal houses here are substantially built with thick mud walls raised on a plinth, sometimes as much as three or four feet above the ground, and they have strong and sometimes well-decorated doors. The walls are washed with cowdung and then with clay and all the houses visited were beautifully clean. There was little ventilation of the ordinary kind but this could easily be remedied. We saw two places where it was planned to remove the tribal people from their existing houses into new houses which were built a couple of hundred yards away. This seemed completely unnecessary, for the original houses were, if anything better, certainly more aesthetically attractive and generally more appropriate than the new houses with their cold cement floors. One man was proposing to leave his home which had a splendidly carved door for a house which had a cheap and conventional one. It also seemed to us that houses were being given to people who were already comfortably accommodated. A Muttadar and three members of his family, all comparatively well-to-do, were getting four of the new houses in one settlement.

Another criticism of the scheme is that if Rs. 1,400 are spent on each house it can only cover a fraction of the population.

Housing an Educational Problem

What should be done about all this? The first thing is to recognize that the improvement of rural housing is an educational, and not a constructional, programme. A great deal can be done at very little expense,

as has been achieved in some of the Orissa Blocks. In the Raruan Block we saw quite remarkable improvements in the houses which had been achieved entirely by propaganda. The people have been persuaded to make windows in their homes, taught how to put murrum in their compounds, make drains which will carry off the water in the rains, and inspired to improve their cattle-sheds. In another Block in Orissa, in Kashipur, an example of what can be achieved in the way of improving rural houses is illustrated in a really model village. It is a Kond village at a place called Maikanch. No new houses have been built but by careful propaganda the people have been persuaded to make their homes so pleasant, clean and decorative that they are a delight to see. The village is arranged, in the usual Kond pattern, as a long rectangle, with the boy's dormitory at one end and a little house for the gods in the middle. Before the latter stands a tall decorated pillar. The only 'official' item is a cement drain running down either side of the central compound, which itself is regularly washed with cowdung. A good kitchen garden has been started at the back of each house.

At another village, Lakhrish, a colony has been established and this is how a colony (if we are to have these expensive innovations) should be made. There has been no shifting away from the original village site but the new houses have been built to match the existing ones and the people are gradually moving from the old into the new. When this process is complete the old houses will be removed and a village will come into being which will be not unlike the admirable Maikanch which we have just described. A tank has been made near the village for the development of pisciculture. There is an irrigation scheme above the village and the people have plenty of land. There is a great advantage in making a place of this kind on the actual site of the old village, for the Konds, like other tribes, are greatly attached to their traditional lands and village sites where, they believe, the gods and the spirits of their dead abide.

Even in the very remote Pailibo hills of NEFA, not far from the Tibetan frontier, great improvements were made in the local houses (which were formerly very bad) by this means without spending a single pice. As a result of discussion with officials, the Pailibos are now making good plank-floors and using logs or planks for the walls of their houses and thatching them much better than they did before. In some cases, they are even providing windows, though they do not really like them, since they admit mosquitoes and other stinging insects and destroy the privacy which is an important matter in a crowded village.

It is now being generally recognized that in many villages it will be better to improve the existing houses rather than to provide large sums of money to build new ones.

Improving the Existing Houses

The first thing to do is to provide a fire-proof roof. For this, programmes for tile production have already been put up in a number of Blocks and if they can be vigorously implemented there will be the advantage that houses can be improved with local materials, that the tribal people will earn money by making them and that the new houses will fit into the picture. A system of double-roofing will ensure ventilation and carry off the smoke.

We have already referred to the windows which can be made by local carpenters and inserted in the existing walls. The compounds of the houses and the surroundings can be improved by stress on cleanliness and by spreading murrum on the ground. Where murrum is not available some sort of paving should not be impossible. A simple drainage system can also be provided.

Wherever the walls are of mud the people might be taught, if they do not already do so, to plaster them carefully, wash them with white or red clay and paint attractive designs upon them. Quite a number of people do this already and the result is aesthetically very pleasant.

Priority, in short, should be given to the improvement of existing houses. New houses need only be provided under special circumstances.

The Renuka Ray Committee considers that housing for tribals 'need not receive a high priority in the schemes for tribal development', and envisages only three situations in which it will be required. These are as follows :—

- (a) when tribals carrying on *jhuming* cultivation are allotted land for permanent settlement;
- (b) when nomadic tribes have to be settled permanently at a particular place; and
- (c) when tribals have been deprived of their house-sites, houses and land on account of the construction of dams, industrial plants or other development projects.

If the above suggestions are accepted, the housing programme will apply only to the very poorest and weakest section of the population. In view of this, it will be necessary to revise considerably the existing rules, which require either some sort of security or some kind of contribution from the beneficiaries. The poorest people will not be able to provide either. We suggest, therefore, that in such cases both security and contribution should be waived, that the amount of assistance in each case should be greatly reduced in order to spread the benefits over a wider field, that timber and bamboo should be made available without any restrictions, that the people should do the work themselves and be permitted to build where they like and not according to any type-plan whatever either for the architecture of the house or the lay-out of the village, and that there should be a careful system of education and propaganda to help them to build better houses on their own lines which would, at first at least, only introduce a few elementary improvements and gradually grow, by an organic evolution, into ideal tribal homes.

The Forest Rules

One great difficulty in the improvement of housing along traditional or indeed on any lines arises from the rules imposed by the Forest Departments with regard to cutting timber. This is normally permitted for building one's own house but, as in the case of materials needed for cottage industries, there is often a rule that the villager must obtain a permit or pass to do so (even though he may not have to pay for it) and generally a forest official goes to decide which tree or trees may be cut. This involves considerable delay and constant irritation to the tribal people who not only have to make long journeys to and from the forest offices but

are, even today, not always treated with much consideration when they arrive. They are kept waiting for long periods; perhaps the officer entitled to give passes is out on tour; and they have to go and come two or three times before they can get their pass. Sometimes they have to bribe the local forest guard or chowkidar before they can see the officer at all. This involves the people in a waste of time (and today if the development programmes are to succeed there is no time to waste for anybody) and expense and a psychological irritation which divides them from Government.

In any case, a great many trees are cut illegally and this is a bad thing, for it creates a sense of indifference to the law and antagonism to the Forest Department.

We suggest that these rules should be abrogated and that, if necessary, where this permission is abused, more stringent punishment should be awarded to defaulters. We feel, however, that provided the Forest Department and the people can achieve more friendly relations and can understand each other, this trouble may not arise at all.

Latrines and Bathrooms

The architecture and positioning of latrines is another matter of some importance. It is in a way rather ridiculous, when we consider the insanitary habits of people in the cities, to put up latrines at all in the hill and forest areas. Such latrines are rarely used and when they are used they soon become so insanitary and malodorous that the people do not go near them.

And further, in the lay-out of official quarters, schools and other institutions in the tribal villages, we have been constantly distressed by the geographical prominence given to the latrine. You go to visit a school and the very first thing you see in a pill-box latrine standing erect against the sky-line. In one place these little monuments to a fundamental human need defaced the entire scene; we remember three of them, long fallen into disuse, standing in company and leaning towards each other like a group of tipsy dowagers engaged in a little gossip. If latrines must be built far away from the buildings to ensure that the user gets thoroughly wet when it rains, could they not somehow be concealed with bushes or placed at least where they will not be the most obvious feature in the landscape?

In a few Blocks, cement bathrooms are being erected. It is hard to see the necessity for these. For centuries the people have been bathing in the open without self-consciousness and to erect bathrooms, which are presumably intended to further a sense of modesty, is likely to have the opposite effect. It will make the people self-conscious about their bodies, which is undesirable, and may easily lead to the creation of a class of Peeping Toms. In South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi once rebuked some of his followers for trying to create this sense of artificial modesty.

This is one of the many totally unnecessary schemes which confuse and overload our programmes and are due to local officials taking an urban approach to tribal problems.

Official Buildings

Official buildings in the Multipurpose Blocks, and indeed all over rural India, are generally of a kind that tend to separate their occupants from

the local people. The architecture is unfamiliar, the colouring is strange, they look like police lines and sometimes even like public lavatories. They suggest that the official is a separate and superior being and the people are often afraid to approach him.

They are also often very ugly : a Block headquarters should not look like a third-rate mental home, yet in all too many cases the plans of the buildings, unimaginative and inconvenient, make no attempt whatever at adaptation either to the tribal or even to the rural setting. This is not true everywhere and in some places attractive buildings have been made, especially where tiles are available or where someone has had the imagination to paint a CGI roof an attractive green.

We do not suggest that officials should live in tribal houses. It is necessary, in order to persuade officials to come to the Multipurpose Block areas, to make them comfortable but their general appearance should fit in with the surroundings. This is particularly true of houses for V.L.Ws or others posted in interior villages away from a Block headquarters. The style of house that is normally put up for them (and it is often the only building of the kind in a village) is inartistic and incongruous. Both from the aesthetic and social points of view it is important that this matter should be carefully considered.

We have already stressed the importance of ensuring that members of the Block staff should live in reasonable comfort and have attractive homes to which they can bring their families and develop vegetable and flower gardens, but we cannot help feeling that an exaggerated amount of money is being spent on them. In many Blocks materials for buildings of a certain category have to be imported from outside and the type-plans of others are unsuited to the tribal or even the general rural areas. On the other hand, we have seen in many places very attractive houses put up with local materials in which officials are living perfectly comfortably.

The more educated of the tribal people criticise the fact that, all too often before anything is done for them, priority is given to *pukka* accommodation for the staff and they feel that too high a proportion of the funds available under the schematic budget is spent on the Block headquarters. Wherever else there may be a shortfall, they point out, plenty of money will be spent on the needs of the staff. This is not altogether fair, but we would do well to bear it in mind. We recommend, therefore, that in future Blocks the allocation for buildings in headquarters should be reduced and that efforts should be made, wherever practicable, not only to adopt the general architectural pattern to harmonise with the rural scene but as far as possible to use local materials in construction. Tiles, where these are made, could be used for the roofs, and the walls and floors could be made of locally obtained wood. If this is done with imagination and skill, just as pleasant accommodation will be provided at lesser cost.

It is obviously important that officials should have good homes, but let them be homely where their tribal friends can feel at home.

Colonies

A special aspect of the housing problem is the establishment of colonies, both by the Tribal Welfare and Development Departments and under the Block budgets. Although there have been a few successful colonies,

these schemes do not, as the Renuka Ray Committee has pointed out, seem to have been successful in their object of settling the tribals.

'There are instances of colonies habitable but lying unoccupied, for example, in Biganpandar in Keonjhar District, Orissa. There are also colonies which have been deserted wholly or partly, after the initial occupation. Again, there are colonies in which the houses have begun to fall either because they were very poorly constructed or because of negligence, for example, in the Adarshnagar and Sundarnagar colonies in the Banswara District, Rajasthan.'

With a few exceptions, the colonies that have been established suffer from serious defects which account at least in part for their failure.

The Lay-out

In the first place, the lay-out of the colonies is often unsuitable to the tribal areas. Most of the tribals are hill people and they like to have their houses on the side of hills and do not usually arrange them in their villages in geometrical patterns. There are few tribes such as the Konds, however, as we have already pointed out, who do build their villages in the form of long rectangles and with the houses joined together. In Orissa some of the colonies made for Konds have been built in their own style and have included a boys' dormitory and small temple and such settlements have proved successful, for they have maintained a genuine tribal atmosphere. In other places the building of colonies in long straight lines with the houses joined together is completely opposed to the local tribal way of doing things. Indeed, most of the tribes like to group their buildings and place them among trees on the hillsides. The transition to the strict and the stereotyped model is unpopular. Most tribes like to have a house standing in the middle of a kitchen garden and this is impossible in nearly all the colonies that are made, for the houses are built far too close together. In one Block the criterion for choosing the location of a colony than the availability of land or water,

was that the ground should be flat. This seemed to be more important

The architecture of the houses and the materials used are often not only far too expensive but inappropriate. We have already discussed this at length.

Land

Then again, even when the land allotted to the people is scattered over a wide area the houses are all built close together in a colony. This is contrary to tribal custom, for the farmers naturally like to build their houses as near their land as possible. Some colonies have been built at considerable expense without apparently any thought or investigation as to whether there is land available for cultivation in the immediate neighbourhood. The tribal people, like any other people, dislike having to go long distances to work and there is the further difficulty that they generally have to spend a great deal of time in their fields at certain seasons in order to protect them from wild animals and birds. In one Block the colonists were given land whose ownership was disputed and even after two or three years quarrels are continuing and they cannot put their heart fully into their work because they are not certain whether they will be permitted to possess the land in perpetuity.

The Danger of Imposition

And again sometimes in their enthusiasm for stopping shifting cultivation, Block officials put far too much pressure on the people to come down from their hills and this has caused a good deal of opposition. The tribal people are greatly attached to their traditional lands. The Paharias of the Santal Parganas declared that : 'Our gods live in the hills. The spirits of our dead live here. The land has been our's for centuries and we would rather face the guns of your police and die than go down from our hills into the lower country.' Konds in Andhra and Orissa expressed the same fear that they would be forced to leave their hills and settle in the unfamiliar plains. In the establishment of colonies the element of imposition is clearly evident. It may be said that no force is used but constant propaganda or bribery through promises can involve as much imposition as the actual issuing of orders, and in some cases minor officials threaten and bully the people to go and join a colony. The attitude is clearly seen in a report from the Kushalgarh Multipurpose Block. Although, it says, colonies will be established on a wide scale, 'the tribals *will also be allowed* to have independent houses on their farms'. To say that the unfortunate tribals will be *allowed* to build houses on their own land and where they like, surely suggests an attitude of mind very different from the policy of the Government of India.

The colonization scheme almost entirely ignores the desires of the tribal people as well as their psychology, religion and social arrangements. If people like to live on hills instead of in the plains, why should they not do so? Even where villages consist only of three or four houses, if we are loyal to the idea that we should not uproot the people or impose our ideas upon them, we must ask *why* they prefer to live like this. One reason is their fear of quarrelling with one another and with other communities if they live too close together. The Paharias like to live in small groups in their hills so that they can avoid disputes with the Santhals. One reason why the Birhors lived as they did was because of the traditional hostility with which the Uraons regarded them. Mishmis in NEFA have said that although by living in very small groups they lose the benefits of community life they do gain the advantage of having fewer people to fight with. More important is the desire of the people to be near their land. Even if they come down from the hills and stop shifting cultivation they will still want to live as near as possible to their own fields and the putting up of colonies in an area which has not been chosen by the people themselves thus goes against their own inclination.

The chief motive for establishing colonies was to settle the people in the lower areas and bring them down from the hills in order to stop shifting cultivation. The second reason is that when you gather a lot of people together in one place it is easier to provide such facilities as schools and wells than when they are living in scattered settlements. This is naturally convenient for the Block officers and saves them from having to walk too much. In one Block we were told that vaccinators could not climb up a hill (which was not more than a thousand feet high) to treat the people and this was given as one of the reasons for bringing them down to the flat land. In another place we were told that once you had the people in a colony 'it was easier to keep control of them, for you have them under your hand.' This again sounds very unlike the declared policy

of the Government of India, and yet it is a rather common attitude among officials in the tribal areas.

We feel that, in view of the very considerable expense involved in setting up of a colony whether by the Tribal Welfare or the Development Departments, in view of the fact that it uproots the people and tears them away from surroundings to which they are tied by bonds of sentiment and religion, in view of the moral dangers implicit in artificially concentrating people together in this way, no more colonies should be opened for the time being, either by the Multipurpose Block officials or by the Tribal Areas Departments in the various States. Let us see what happens in the existing colonies. It would surely be better to wait for a couple of years to see whether a scheme can succeed or not rather than to go ahead and waste a great deal of public money on something which just may not work. The Prime Minister has said: 'We should not overdo it, but should be cautious in our approach. Every step taken should be watched carefully for its reactions so that our next step may be a wiser one'.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

INDEBTEDNESS AND CO-OPERATION

(a)

INDEBTEDNESS

The problem of indebtedness among the tribals is a major cause of their exploitation. The tribal is so much in debt to the money-lender that he may stake his own life and the life of his family in his service for long periods of time. In the old days of barter, there was not much opportunity for a tribal to fall into debt for non-productive purposes, but with the introduction of a money economy the incidence of debt has increased. Today the tribal falls into debt for his daily requirements of life such as seed, food, salt, clothing, and so on, and in order to fulfil social obligations such as marriage, festivals and death ceremonies. There are also long-standing ancestral debts to be paid. In spite of the hazards that he has to face at the hands of the money-lender, he continues to associate with him because he acts as a helper at all times. The tribal can go to him at any hour of the day and ask for assistance. He gets his money immediately and ungrudgingly without extensive procedural difficulties. Besides, the money-lender stays in his own village, often speaks his own language and establishes personal human contact with him. All these factors make the tribal remain under obligation to the money-lender from generation to generation.

The question is how to help him to get out of the clutches of the money-lender. The present efforts to improve his economic earnings through the development programme has not resulted in achieving this. In actual fact, the increased earnings of the tribal simply go into the treasury of the money-lender. The credit-worthiness of the tribal borrower is slowly on the decline on account of the increasing burden of debt and the gradual and certain process of dispossession of land. Loans are very often taken for purposes of maintenance. The burden of debt becomes heavy and unbearable and is nowhere commensurate with the source of income. The tribal borrowers are, therefore, born in debt, live in debt and pass away in debt. The allegiance of the debtor to the crafty money-lender is so constant that the little produce that he cultivates is sold to the creditor at a nominal rate, thus depriving him of even the little that he is entitled to.

The Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare recommended in October 1957 to the State Governments that all debts of the tribal people which were more than three years' old should be written off and debts of less than three years' duration should be scaled down after allowing interest at the minimum rate, but not exceeding 6%. They were further requested to take appropriate steps to help the tribals through Co-operative Societies. From a study of the reports received from the State Governments, it is evident that the matter has not received the attention it deserves. Some have stated that the existing debt-relief legislation provided sufficient protection to the tribes, while others have intimated that they had proposed some debt-relief legislation which was to help everyone and would include the Scheduled Tribes also. A few have ordered that a sample survey be conducted.

Although it does not come within the Multipurpose Block areas, the socio-economic survey recently carried out by the Punjab Government with special reference to indebtedness in the Lahaul and Spiti area is very relevant to the situation all over tribal India. According to the survey, 70% of the families are under debt. Of these, 12% have debts older than 10 years. Nearly 27% incurred debts during the last year, but could not repay them. The total estimated debt in Lahaul is Rs. 13 lakhs owed by 1,300 families at an average rate of Rs. 1,000 per family. The survey further reveals that there are 229 families with total debts of Rs. 1.8 lakhs which are older than 10 years. The average debt per family comes to Rs. 786. There are 1,066 families who have such debts outstanding which were incurred during the last 10 years excluding the last year. They in all owe about Rs. 9.5 lakhs and the average debt per family in this category comes to about Rs. 900. The debts incurred during the last one year accounts for about Rs. 2 lakhs and the number of families involved is 521. About 70% of the debtor-families possess an income less than Rs. 1,800 a year, which is less than the average worked-out for the area as a whole. 42% of the loans was incurred for unproductive purposes, while only 14% was for agricultural improvement. Though there is no Multipurpose Block in the tribal area of the Punjab, we have given these details as this is the only State which has conducted a systematic survey into tribal indebtedness. Its example should be widely followed.

The Paderu Block has estimated a debt of Rs. 1,08,000 among the tribals. The Adhaura and Borio Blocks (Bihar) have estimated the incidence of indebtedness at Rs. 4 lakhs and Rs. 2,12,000 respectively. The Alirajpur Block (Madhya Pradesh) has estimated a debt of Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 for each family. The Narayanpatna Block (Orissa) has estimated a total debt of Rs. 4,34,000, while the Kushalgarh Block (Rajasthan) has estimated an average debt of Rs. 258 a family.

We suggest therefore a five-sided approach.

(i) Enactment of social legislation, and effective enforcement of it, to prevent money-lenders practising their profession among the tribals, at least in the Scheduled Areas. Various State Governments have taken legislative and executive measures to regulate money-lending and to provide relief to the indebted but they have not met with any measure of success and the money-lender continues to remain as powerful as ever. It now seems necessary that the Centre should examine the various types of legislation already in existence and prepare a model Act for enforcement by the States.

(ii) Effective legislation for the liquidation of tribal debts of more than three years' standing.

(iii) Effective machinery for conciliation and settlement even under the existing legislation.

Before these measures can be enforced, it is necessary to make a survey of the nature and extent of tribal indebtedness. The law should provide for an effective implementing agency. In case the effort for conciliation does not bear fruit, it will be necessary to provide legal aid to the tribals to face litigation, so that their poverty may not stand in the way of getting justice and their claims may not go by default.

(iv) An effective system of giving credit to the tribals, both for productive as well as non-productive purposes.

(v) Effective promotion of Social Education among the tribals to en-

courage thrift, to preserve their earnings through small-scale Savings Societies, to look ahead. Women can be a powerful force to prevent their men-folk from extravagance.

We endorse the following recommendations of the Pachmarhi and Ranchi Seminars.

'Before money-lenders can be removed from the scene, it will be necessary to provide an alternative source of credit. Government-sponsored credit institutions should be encouraged to give loans in suitable cases for unproductive purposes, such as marriage and funeral ceremonies. In particular, loans should specifically be made available for the purpose of redeeming old debts. Existing debts should be scaled down by the process of conciliation to a reasonable level (within the paying capacity of tribals); debts outstanding for three years or more may be made irredeemable.'

'The Reserve Bank of India may be requested to give loans to the Co-operative Societies of the tribal people who cannot by themselves alienate their lands.'

The establishment of Tribal Co-operatives and Finance and Development Corporations in each State, with adequate provision for primary institutions of Co-operatives to act as agents at the village level will do much to help.

The problem of indebtedness will not be overcome unless an all-sided attack is made through legislative measures, administrative enforcement and the development of public opinion. This should be the responsibility of the development agencies and the Tribal Welfare Departments. It is imperative that the present vicious circle should be broken as soon as possible. It is also necessary to make further studies of the problem to determine other suitable measures for solving it. This should not mean any postponement of the implementation of the measures we have suggested, but should re-inforce them while simultaneous action is taken.

(b)

CO-OPERATION

Most of the tribes have a very strong social sense and it would not be too much to claim that every village is in its own way a co-operative society. Each household, each clan, each hamlet thinks, lives and works as a single unit. In the old days of war the people used to meet together and go out to fight as a united body. Today when peace has come to them many still retain an almost military unity and discipline. Before starting the long routine of cultivation they meet together and (if they are shifting cultivators) decide, with the help of their priests and elders, what part of the forest is to be cleared, the date on which they will set fire to the fallen trees and bushes and when they will sow their seed. They all go to work at the same time and usually in the same general area. Later, they again by common agreement begin to weed and, still later, to reap the crop. Although individuals may go on their own to set traps or to hunt and fish, all important hunting or fishing expeditions are undertaken on a community basis. In daily life the sorrows of one are the sorrows of all and, should somebody die, the whole village may be placed under a taboo. Should a house be burnt down, or a widow be unable to cultivate her field, the community comes together to give relief.

The same spirit shows itself in the Tribal Councils, which are in a very real sense tribunals of the whole population and express its will. The dormitories for the youth of the tribes which have them serve a valuable purpose in organizing the boys and girls for the service of the community.

There is thus a very strong tradition of co-operation among the tribal people. In the past it has been confined within the circle of the village, the clan or the tribe, but today there are signs that this spirit is spreading so that a group of villages comes together and the tribe rather than the clan becomes important. In time it will be the nation, and then all humanity, that will be the unifying ideal.

In spite of this the Co-operation programme has not succeeded among the tribals, and has not yet been able to plant its roots in their life. What is the reason for this? It can be traced to four factors.

(i) The workers who took the programme of Co-operatives to the tribals did not know of their corporate practices and could not relate the formal programme to them.

(ii) The rules and regulations for the formation of Co-operatives were far too complicated and unsuited to the understanding and the acceptance of the tribal people, with the result that even where they have become members of a Co-operative, the management is generally in the hands of a non-tribal. In fact, the Co-operatives have become one more way whereby the non-tribals control the economic and social interest of the tribals.

(iii) The tribals find it difficult to pay the share capital, even though the minimum is as low as ten rupees. Many are unwilling to risk even a payment of one rupee.

(iv) The value of the societies promoted by the Co-operative worker is more a matter of his own convenience than an integral part of tribal life. This the tribal mind could not appreciate.

These and many other reasons came in the way of the success of the programme. The Ranchi Seminar of Multipurpose Block workers recorded that the Co-operative movement had had a poor history in the tribal areas and, unless efforts were made to undo its past reputation, the people might not take to it.

At the same time, in some of the Multipurpose Blocks good workers have succeeded. For example, in the Araku Block in Andhra Pradesh 18 Co-operative Societies are functioning with a membership of more than 2,500 and a share capital of Rs. 14,737. These Co-operatives were advanced loans of Rs. 47,000 and the amount and value of agricultural commodities marketed through them has amounted to Rs. 28,688. Similarly, in some other Multipurpose Blocks Co-operatives are gradually finding acceptance. But, by and large, the movement has not yet had much impact on tribal life.

A disconcerting tendency became evident during our visits to the Multipurpose Blocks. The tribals seem to acquire by association with non-tribals some of the anti-social practices of the latter. In two Multipurpose Blocks in the same District we observed that in the first Block, where the members of the Co-operative were all tribals, they returned 80% of the loans in spite of poor rains that year; whereas in the second Block with more or less the same physical and environmental conditions, the Co-operatives with a mixed membership did not pay up the loans to any reasonable extent. The non-tribal members apparently did not consider it wrong

to fail to return their loans and the tribals associated with them had acquired this complacency about their responsibilities to the State. But the tribals in the other Block, who had not suffered any exposure to non-tribals, returned their loans as a natural duty. This sort of thing, of course, cuts at the very root the value system of self-help and co-operation that the Co-operative movement claims to promote.

There is an urgent need to set up an adequate number of marketing societies in all the Multipurpose Blocks as rapidly as possible to procure and sell perishable commodities such as fruit, potatoes, and commercial crops on behalf of the members. These Co-operatives should make advances to the members until the commodities are sold in the market. The requirements in each area for transport, storage and purchase should be studied and different Societies dealing with different commodities may have to be set up in different areas. Assistance will have to be given in the form of working capital, for which funds could be made available from the budget under 'Co-operation'. In addition, assistance in the form of trained official clerks or managers to look after the accounts will be necessary until some trained tribal members of the Co-operative can take over.

There are two other areas of work that require our special consideration. They are: (a) the formation of Forest Co-operatives; and (b) the formation of Sale and Marketing Corporations.

The Bombay State has succeeded in developing Forest Co-operatives which enable the tribals to obtain contracts for the exploitation of forest coupes, thus preventing exploitation by contractors. This is not to say that all practices and procedures adopted in Bombay State are acceptable: some of them require examination and suitable amendment. But the spirit and approach is excellent and should be followed by other States. Unhappily, this programme has not yet met with any measurable success elsewhere, for if its objective is to be achieved the policy of forest development must itself be changed. It is true that forests are an important part of the national wealth, but at the same time, the forest economy should be related to the tribal economy. This subject has already been dealt with in detail in Chapter Eight.

Andhra Pradesh has done some pioneering work in the formation of Sale and Marketing Corporations for the purchase of goods from the tribals and storing them to be sold later in the market when they will fetch higher prices. The set-up here, however, is too heavily centralised. It would be better if each Co-operative in a tribal village became the agent of the Sale and Marketing Corporation to purchase goods from the people and forward them to the Corporation godowns. The Andhra Pradesh scheme, in fact, requires further consideration and modification. At the same time, we recommend the formation of Sale and Marketing Corporations in each State for the sale of minor forest produce on behalf of the tribal Co-operatives.

With regard to the question of loans to be given to the tribal Co-operatives, an important point arises about loans given for unproductive purposes. One of the reasons why the money-lenders cannot be eliminated is the fact that they are able to make advances for such purposes, and unless we can do the same it will not be possible to save the tribals from their clutches. This is really a programme of Social Education. But unless facilities for providing loans for unproductive purposes are made available, the tribals will continue to remain in debt. In fact, experience shows that

tribal borrowing for so-called 'productive' purposes indirectly contributes to the repayment of debts incurred for unproductive purposes. This vicious circle needs to be broken and assurance given to the people that they need not go to the money-lenders for their loans. This is a formidable task, and the present resources available for granting loans may not meet the demand.

In conclusion, we endorse the following recommendations made by the Pachmarhi Seminar.

(a) A great deal of primary extension education work should precede the formation of Co-operative Societies.

(b) Care should be taken to see that the rich or the influential sections of the people do not dominate the Co-operatives and monopolise their benefits.

(c) 'Service' Co-operatives should be formed as quickly as possible so as to serve the largest number of tribal people. The Multipurpose Co-operatives already formed can serve the same purpose with slight modifications wherever needed.

(d) The procedure for the advance of loans from these Co-operative Societies and the objects for which they are given should be suitably simplified and amended so that the tribal members can depend upon them and not have to look to the money-lenders.

(e) The sale and marketing of the produce and supply of the tribal people's requirements at reasonable prices should receive special attention through Co-operative organisations.

(f) Special concessions in the form of State participation in share capital, construction of godowns and provision of managerial staff is necessary.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

TRIBAL CULTURE

At a recent Conference, during a discussion on ways to be adopted to develop the tribal people along the lines of their own genius, a delegate remarked: 'How can we develop them along the lines of their own genius, when they haven't got any genius?'

On a superficial view there is, of course, something to be said for this. For many of the tribal people have become so assimilated in the surrounding population and have lost so much of their own culture, language and art in the process that there is little to distinguish them from their neighbours. Yet a more careful enquiry will show, as it has shown in the Tamia Multipurpose Block, that even those tribes, which at first sight appear to have nothing of their own, have their own fine culture and way of looking at things. In particular, their psychology and the nature of their approach to people and problems is distinctive and nearly all of them retain a pride in their history, a desire to revive their own language, and a determination to preserve their own social customs.

It is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, to generalise about the tribes and this is, in fact, one of the difficulties of the Multipurpose Block schemes. There is all the difference in the world between a nomadic Bihor living a hand-to-mouth existence in the forest and the great tribal communities of eastern India with their fine houses and highly developed civilizations. Many of the tribal people of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh have nothing distinctive in their way of dress. Other tribal people in Orissa and Assam remain beautifully dressed in hand-woven cloth of their own traditional design. Some tribes have highly developed judicial and administrative councils through which they manage their own affairs and settle their disputes. Others have almost completely lost them. Some tribes have communal dormitories which serve as centres of community service and give a kind of basic education. Other tribes have never had them or have lost what they once had. Some of the tribal people are Buddhists, other Christians, some Hindus, others follow their traditional religion. There is an endless variety in economic status and degree of cultural development.

The result of this has been that the Multipurpose Blocks have had an equally varied success. Where they have been opened in the more advanced and accessible areas they have made fairly good progress. In other places, where the people are still far from being able to respond adequately, progress has been slow.

But the fundamental needs of the tribal villagers are everywhere much the same and hardly differ from those of other villagers. The greatest need is the development of that form of culture which we call agriculture. Another is to provide sufficient medical facilities to ensure that they are strong and well. Yet another is to break down their age-old isolation by opening up communications.

In this Chapter, however, we are concerned with what is usually known as culture in the professional sense of the word. A man's culture is what he is, the totality of his life and interests. The tribal people express their culture in their social organization, their judicial and youth institutions, their

religion with its attendant festivals, their language, their architecture, their art—song and dance, dress and ornamentation. Their culture grows out of the soil and is based on Nature herself. It gives a high place to women. Its society is divided, it is true, into clans and tribal groups, but it has no idea of caste. It is free, independent, natural and distinctive.

It must be admitted, of course, that in many places tribal culture is in a state of decay. Contact with the outside world has tended to shake the people's faith in themselves. New religions have competed for their allegiance, new taboos have been introduced. There are many things in the development programmes which cannot easily be adjusted to the old way of life. Some bad things have disappeared, but many good and vitalising things are disappearing as well.

The policy of Government is to encourage and develop everything that is good in tribal culture, but although this has been accepted enthusiastically by the higher officials and politicians, it must be admitted that at the Block level only sporadic attempts have been made to carry out the policy. Tribal culture can be encouraged and developed firstly on the negative side by not doing anything that will discourage or destroy it. We are not to interfere, not to impose customs and ways of living that will make the people a second-rate copy of ourselves. We have to achieve a difficult policy of non-interference in one way and yet helping them with technical improvements, wise and tactful guidance in the other. There is, of course, no idea anywhere that the people should stand still. But it is our policy that their development should be organic, the growth of a tree rather than the building of a house.

Block officials can do much by banishing from their hearts any sense of superiority and from their lips the use of patronising expressions. By showing a sympathetic interest in the art, dress, ornaments, songs and dances, festivals and religion of the tribes they can save them from the development of an inferiority complex towards the things they know and value. By learning the tribal languages themselves they will do much to maintain and develop them. The holding of dance-festivals has had an excellent influence on the revival of dance and song which, in some places, was, and indeed still is, in danger of dying out. The holding of competitions for the best house, the best dressed boy and girl, or for painting, wood-carving and other arts has, wherever it has been tried, been also successful.

Not nearly enough attention has been paid to the revival and development of tribal culture, the dances and other arts, the languages and stories, the songs and music. The Minister for Community Development, speaking of the work of the Art Consultant, Shri Sehgal, in his Ministry, has said that for six years this artist has struggled almost single-handed 'in this prosaic atmosphere of Delhi to establish the fact that Community Development cannot thrive permanently unless its foundation is built on art and culture indigenous to the soil for which the programme is meant'. Shri S. K. Dey has also declared that it was high time that we did some basic thinking on the question of art and culture. 'for we as a people are beginning to forget that no progress in India in any field was ever recorded except through the impulse of art, song and poetry'. He has further said that 'regardless of all we may do economically or socially, our efforts will not go far, unless we can restore art, song and poetry in work as used to characterise our villages through the ages. People are considered wise and vital if they

can seize their miseries and transform them into blessings. Our poverty in the villages has not yet destroyed the native art and culture, the song, drama and music in which the village people still continue to revel. The appeal to the purse is the poorest of appeals to native India. But appeal through art and music is something totally different. We must understand and recognise this peculiar trait of our people and try accordingly to mould our entire outlook for future growth.' This is admirably said and although Shri S. K. Dey was not thinking particularly of the tribal areas, his remarks apply to them with special force.

It now remains to take practical action to implement this point of view.

The Social Education programme should be one that will study and build up the essential values of tribal culture. Unhappily, this is not happening and in practice the programme is all too often having the opposite effect. New forms of recreation are being introduced which are destroying the old games and dances. Official buildings are plastered with posters unintelligible to the tribals : libraries are opened in villages where almost everyone is illiterate. The Social Education Officers rarely have any genuine appreciation or knowledge of the tribal culture. A reorientation course of a few weeks, which in any case is often too academic for Grade III officers, does not seem to have very much effect.

One of the most disconcerting results in practice of this programme is the definite, though, of course, unintentional, onslaught on tribal songs and music. In the Bhajan Mandalis the music, the instruments and the songs introduced are usually of a non-tribal pattern and the people as a result become ashamed of their own songs and music and learn to despise their former instruments. When our members attempted in these recreation centres to persuade the tribals to sing some of their own songs they professed themselves unable to do so. They had become ashamed of them. Furthermore, a definite religious bias was all too apparent in a number of these centres, which should surely be of an entirely secular character.

In some Blocks the harmonium is being introduced. This abominable instrument, which has had a deplorable effect on Indian music generally, came to India from the Protestant conventicles of the West and was mainly intended to accompany hymns. It has been banned by All India Radio, and is totally unsuitable for the accompaniment of tribal dancing or music, but since it is regarded as 'modern', wherever it is introduced, the people tend to take to it and abandon their own old instruments. Yet these instruments—the flute, the drum, the Jews' harp, string-instruments of various kinds—are by no means to be despised.

Another way in which tribal music will ultimately be destroyed is by the use of the loud-speaker or megaphone to amplify gramophone or broadcasting programmes. Its use has been strictly controlled in a number of cities and in Assam, for example, there is a Bill before the State Legislature for this purpose. It seems extraordinary that the megaphone, which is one of the most distressing aspects of urban civilization, should be introduced to the peaceful villages of tribal India. It distorts the music and, specially when set up in a small village, makes any other kind of activity impossible for the time being. The megaphone is also the perfect symbol of imposition. If we are to take another culture to the tribals it should be done quietly : we should whisper, hint or suggest changes, not try to dominate the people by shouting at them.

The megaphone is usually not even necessary. A gramophone with a fairly good needle is quite sufficient to entertain assemblies of villagers unless they are very large indeed. What we have generally noticed is that an evening broadcast programme is attended by a handful of people while the noise that is made for their entertainment might easily overwhelm several thousands.

Not nearly enough money is being given for the revival of tribal culture. Research and cultural activities were at first allocated Rs. 15,000 out of a total of Rs. 27,00,000. In the Tamenglong Multipurpose Block this amount has been raised to Rs. 33,000 for research and Rs. 20,000 for cultural activities. Under the heading of "Miscellaneous" the Andhra Blocks have allotted Rs. 50,000, but in Narsampet only Rs. 4,500 was specifically given for cultural activities. Even from the meagre sums allotted, hardly anything has been spent.

The Prime Minister has said, 'I am anxious that the tribal people should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguishes them in many ways.' And then the Multipurpose Block budgets put this subject under 'Miscellaneous' and allot to it the smallest of all the sums in the schematic budget.

All Block officials, including the V.L.Ws should have careful briefing on the importance of tribal art and culture. They must learn to look for it and not to assume that it does not exist because it is not immediately evident. A P.E.O. from Bastar has reported that there are no folktales among the Murias. In fact, this tribe is exceptionally rich in its legends and stories. Andhra has reported that the people have no skills in any of their four Blocks, which suggests that the P.E.O's have not examined the problem with care or imagination.

Although no one would question the policy of encouraging song and dance and in some States a great deal has been done, in others there has been failure, partly because of lack of enthusiasm, partly because a realistic approach has not been taken. A dance-festival at the headquarters of a District will not succeed if the dancers have to walk many miles to attend it and if, when they arrive, there are no arrangements for their accommodation or food. It is necessary, in order to make a success of such a festival, to allow the people a reasonable sum of money to cover their travelling expenses and to arrange generously for their food, to provide them with comfortable quarters for their stay, and to award handsome prizes for the best dancers.

A curious and unexpected obstacle to the encouragement of tribal dancing arises from the inferiority complex which has been created by the drastic and sudden contacts with the rest of the world. Today some of the educated tribal leaders are trying to stop dancing among their own people, which is partly due to a quite mistaken notion that 'upper class' people do not dance. There is in particular a move to prevent dances being laid on to entertain visitors, and it is urged that tribal women should not dance before officials and others, since these do not allow their women to dance in front of the tribals. This is a reasonable enough point of view, but the objection could easily be met if officials and especially their wives joined from time to time in the tribal dances. This is done very widely in north-eastern India and gives great satisfaction to the people. It is particularly desirable that the

wives of officials should dance with the tribal girls, for this is a very quick and effective way of winning the tribal woman's heart.

In fact, few things have raised the reputation and position of the tribals in public opinion so much as the appearance of their dancing parties in New Delhi or at dance festivals in State capitals or District headquarters.

Many of the social education workers seem to feel it is their duty to try to 'improve' the tribal dances and other recreations. It is hard to see the point of this. It is with their dance, song and music that the tribals can make a very important cultural contribution to India as a whole, but if these things are so 'improved' that they become undistinguishable from what is done elsewhere, the tribes will no longer have this contribution to make. The tribal dances are of great variety, vigour and beauty and it would be a great shame to spoil them.

In particular the S.E.Os should be very careful about dressing up the dancers in unsuitable garments. A dance party from the Aheri Block, which went to Delhi in January 1959, was dressed up in a way which bore no resemblance whatever to anything in its own culture. In the Rongkhong Block, girls, who did a dance at a 'cultural show,' had their faces painted with chalk or powder and were heavily rouged, sometimes in the wrong places. Instead of wearing their own beautiful hand-woven cloth they were dressed up in western-style frocks. In another Block a party of boy-dancers met one of our members with their faces painted white and their lips and cheeks a dreadful mauve. The people themselves sometimes decorate their faces and hands with turmeric of their own accord, but it is surely not the purpose of the Community Development programme to make boys and girls look like clowns.

The suggestion is sometimes made that Social Education Officers should try to persuade the people to be more, much more, economical in the celebration of festivals, marriages and funerals. Although this may be a good idea for the towns, where there is so much alternative entertainment, there is a danger that it may bring the festivals and dances to an end (for the tribes are very sensitive to discouragement) and they will be deprived of the few occasions that bring merriment and colour into their lives. Even as it is, their festivals are not extravagant, except in food, and why should we grudge these poor people a good feast a few times in the year? Moreover, generally, the festival or marriage feasts are provided by the more prosperous people and shared by all, they give a chance to the poorer folk to enjoy good meat meals.

In the words of the Tamia Survey Report.

'Non-tribals do not know about the real content, richness and values of tribal culture. The tribals have emotional qualities, an aesthetic sense, and artistic skills which are often far superior to what can be given by the Social Education Organiser. The culture pattern of the tribal community has to be discovered, preserved and enriched; and it should be the task of the Social Education Organisers to remove impediments and create opportunities for tribal cultural activities; and help to acquaint non-tribal communities about the true nature and values of tribal culture.

'Art and culture should remain the true experience of the life and spirit of the individual and community; and special care should be taken to avoid new introductions leading to undesirable acculturation.'

CHAPTER NINETEEN

RESEARCH

There is a very general agreement about the importance of research to provide a sound basis for programmes in the tribal areas. If this is done properly, it should not only help the local officials to understand their people better but should also inspire them with a proper respect for them and for their civilization which is sometimes regrettably lacking.

The Cultural Research Institutes

Cultural Research Institutes have been set up in Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The Department of Anthropology of the Government of India and the Anthropological Departments of some of the Universities have also undertaken practical surveys or academic research in a few of the Multipurpose Block areas. A full account of the work of these institutions is given in the latest Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

In his Report for 1956-57, the Commissioner has some admirable paragraphs on the functions of the special Research Institutes.

'The Cultural Research Institutes have a great task to perform in the gradual adjustment of the tribes to the changes taking place all over the country. They should collaborate with the State Governments, in an advisory capacity, in all matters relating to the welfare of backward communities. Their role at the planning stage is extremely vital. All well-planned schemes require a certain amount of factual and statistical information and the Cultural Research Institutes should chalk out their programme in such a way so as to furnish the necessary data. My intention is not to limit the scope of researches at the Cultural Research Institutes but to suggest that they should be of a selective and intensive type motivated to purposive action. It is noticed that some research bodies receiving grants-in-aid from the Government of India are conducting anthropometric surveys and collecting serological data for the purpose of tracing the history of the tribals, their origin and migrations and their racial affinities. This type of study may be important from an academic point of view, but has no objective value in the tribal welfare programme. I would, however, have no objection if studies are undertaken regarding the conditions of the health and vitality of the tribals, the effect of nutrition on their pattern of growth and resistance to diseases etc.

'Each Cultural Research Institute should have an evaluation section to assess the effect on the personality structure of the people as a result of changes in their cultural pattern and the impact of economic development. While conducting such enquiries, the Institute should proceed with a truly independent and unbiased outlook, which is characteristic of all scientific investigations. These enquiries will also throw light on the shortcomings of the present welfare schemes and afford rich experience for all future programmes.'

It cannot be said, however, that these institutions have so far had any very great impact on plans for development or have done much to guide their progress. In Ranchi, however, the Tribal Research Institute has pre-

pared a number of important notes and has conducted training courses for V.L.Ws. The Tribal Research Institute in Chindwara has done some useful work and in particular has recently produced a Bulletin called 'The Changing Tribes of Madhya Pradesh' which contains some interesting information. But in the main these potentially valuable institutions have had very little influence in helping Development officials to adapt their programmes to the social and psychological needs of the people. This is not altogether the fault of the research people. There seems to be insufficient co-ordination between the Development Departments and the Research Institutes, and the latter sometimes complain that they are not kept properly in the picture.

It is important to bear in mind that research in the tribal areas should not be confined to anthropology. In a number of Blocks where the people are comparatively advanced, the need is for sociological rather than anthropological research. One of the most important subjects, which is greatly neglected, is research in economics. Agricultural schemes, especially those concerning the promotion of cash crops, are started without any proper investigation into the possibility of finding markets and selling the crops on a commercial basis. Proposals, such as to start small factories for the bottling of fruit-juice, to take another example, are being made in quite a number of places without any thought as to whether the markets for such a product might not be over-stocked. In the field of cottage industries, research in economics is of particular importance. In industries for which raw materials are not at hand, large numbers of trainees are enlisted without any consideration whether the area will be able to absorb them, and particular crafts are started without any idea as to the possibility of marketing the finished goods.

It is equally important to arrange for research surveys to discover and study the possibilities of developing the local arts and designs, of which there is sometimes a rich stock, but of which the Block officials sometimes have no idea. There is need also of a proper study of children's recreations, a matter which is generally rather neglected by the Extension Officers. At present there is practically no attempt at all, except in Tamia, to discover what the local children's games are and to introduce and encourage them in the schools.

Above all, the most important subject for research concerns the problems of change, and the tensions that may arise as a result. At this juncture elaborate academic enquiries or research into the racial characteristics of a tribe, important as these are, may be postponed. We need to know what is actually happening to the people as a result of development; what are their psychological reactions; whether they are developing a separatist mentality and, if so, why; whether they are suffering any moral decline; whether individualism is replacing the old co-operative spirit; whether their self-reliance is weakening; whether they are beginning to suffer an inferiority complex in face of the technological skill of their instructors; whether change is coming too rapidly for them to support the many alterations in their circumstances and environment.

We recommend, therefore, that the work of the Tribal or Cultural Research Institutes should be greatly intensified in a practical direction; that the publication of material should be accelerated; that the Development Departments should keep the research officers fully in the picture, consult them more frequently and at least consider what they say; and that they

should be given their proper status as scientific bodies with freedom to express their views freely and dispassionately.

We suggest that every State with a large tribal population should have a Tribal Research Institute which should deal both with cultural and linguistic matters. These institutes might later be used, as in Ranchi, for giving orientation courses to development workers which should be very practical and to the point. Long-drawn schemes of academic research should not be taken up at the moment.

There is also need for some co-ordinating body, perhaps a cell in the Home Ministry, to give these institutes advice, generally supervise their work, and ensure proper co-ordination. This would also serve as a clearing-house for information at the national level.

Publications

The recent Seminars of field workers in the Multipurpose Blocks held at Ranchi and Pachmarhi, suggested the production of short booklets (of not more than 150 pages) on the different tribes. There are already a good number of monographs on the tribes of India and a large number of articles and papers in learned journals. Most of these are heavy and complicated, are out of print or were written very long ago and, even where they can be obtained, the ordinary field-worker may find them difficult to understand. There is a good deal of useful material in Census Reports and District Gazetteers but these are virtually inaccessible to officials in the interior. There is a need of well-printed and well-illustrated, but simply written and very on-the-spot booklets about the tribes which can be of really practical use to officials.

Such booklets and other research material might be prepared by the following agencies—

- (1) The Indian Universities which have interested themselves in research of this kind, as for example, Saugar, Lucknow, Patna, Baroda, Gauhati and Delhi.
- (2) The Tribal Research Institutes, the Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal, the Rural Higher Education Institutes of Sriniketan, Udaipur, the Rajasthan Department of Research and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay.
- (3) Individual research scholars, whether from India or abroad, who are interested in cultural change.

There should be no lack of funds for this purpose, which might be obtained from the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Publications Division), the Ministry of Community Development, which has its own budget for booklets of this kind, the States budgets or, in certain cases, the budgets of the Multipurpose Blocks.

The booklets might be prepared originally in English and then (if they are good enough) should be translated into Hindi, the regional language and, in some cases, into the tribal languages.

It has been suggested that these booklets should be divided into two parts. Part I might contain factual information dealing with the historical background, the environment (physical and economic), social relations, social customs and institutions, religious beliefs and practices, tribal law, systems of land tenure and so on, and Part II might deal with social, cultural and

economic practices which could be related to the Community Development Programme with suggestions for suitable priorities, and a description of the results of contact with the outside world.

It is not only important to prepare new books; it is equally important to obtain existing books and to ensure that they are read. There is a very large body of literature about the Indian tribes but since, as we said, it is nearly all out of print, we suggest that it would be quicker and more practical to reprint some of the existing books and make them available to all officials dealing with the tribal areas which they describe than to depend on the production of new books which, to be quite realistic, may take several years to publish. Although some of these books are now not only out of print but out of date, the best of them could still prove of value even today. For example, the pioneer works of S.C. Roy on the Uraons, Birhors, Mundas and other tribes in Bihar would still be of considerable help in giving officials a background for their work and inspiring them to make their own enquiries. Even where customs and ideas have changed it will be an exciting and interesting task to compare the situation as outlined in the older books with what is happening now. There has been for some time past a proposal to reprint some of the older books on the tribes of Assam. There is a work by Playfair on the Garos which could surely be financed from the Dambuk-Aga Block budget. The same thing could be done for Stack's book on the Mikirs from the Rongkhong budget and Gurdon's book on the Khasis out of the Mairang and Saipung-Darrang funds allotted for the purpose of research which so far have not been touched. There are similar books, parts of which at least might be reprinted, for most of the tribal people.

That this is necessary may be seen from the fact that not a single Extension officer in the Mokhada-Talasari Block had read the useful book on the Warlis by Shri K. J. Save and no one in the Aheri Block was even aware of the existence of the late Sir W. V. Grigson's accounts of the Chanda tribals in the second edition of his *Native Tribes of Bastar* and his *Report on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*.

Many of these older books fall into three sections, one dealing with the anthropological and social aspects of the tribe, one with linguistics and the third containing a collection of folktales. It might simplify matters if, in reprinting, the section on folktales was omitted and printed as a separate book which could be used as supplementary reading material for schools. In addition, there are a very large number of tribal folktales already published in separate volumes. Most of these were recorded some time ago and many of them are probably now forgotten. They could be translated back into the local languages and would be greatly appreciated by the people. Selections from them could also be republished as books in English for the use of more advanced students.

Philology

Another very important subject of research is philology. Every State with a large tribal population, and especially where Multipurpose Blocks have been started, should have a trained linguist attached to it to study and encourage the local languages. Scholars in the Universities might be asked to 'adopt' a Block for this purpose and be paid an honorarium for doing so.

It will of course, be impossible to preserve every little dialect and a beginning should be made with the most important tribal languages. Khasi, which was formerly divided into a number of mutually almost unintelligible dialects, has now been unified as a result of the translation of the Bible at Cherrapunji. The local dialect of that place has now become the literary language of all the Khasis and Jaintias, and today, in spite of small varieties of dialect, they can all understand one another. The same thing has happened among the Lushais, and the Nagas of Kohima. If the tribal languages are to survive at all we will have to persuade the people of a dialect-group to agree to one fundamental dialect, at least for literary purposes. In the case of very small tribes—and there are some of only 1500 to 3000 individuals—it may not be possible to do anything officially to encourage their languages. In some cases their dialects are very close to those of more substantial neighbouring tribes, and for literary purposes the language of the smaller will, on purely practical grounds, have to be assimilated with that of the larger group.

The work of the philologists would be mainly of two kinds—first, the building up of a people's literature and secondly, the encouragement of officials in learning the tribal languages.

There is still a very wide field of collection and research in the oral literature of the tribal people. Nearly all of them have a rich store of songs, myths and folktales. There are already substantial collections from such groups as the Santhals, Baigas, Murias and the Orissa tribes. Some of these are in English but can quite easily be retranslated into the local languages. The heroic epics of the Pradhans need collection as early as possible, for it is reported that they are being rapidly forgotten. The *Jadu Patua* stories, so popular in the Santhal Parganas, also need collection and attractive booklets could be made if the *Patua* scroll-paintings were used to illustrate them. The ancient *Adi* epics, the folk literature of Manipur and Tripura and indeed, the traditional stories and songs of the whole of tribal India need to be recorded quickly or an aspect of culture, at once fascinating to the scholar and of value for the morale of the people themselves, will be lost for ever.

It will be obviously impossible for one or two philologists to undertake this enormous labour but, beginning with the Multipurpose Blocks, from the budgets of which funds might be made available and gradually extending to all the Blocks in a State, the collection of songs and stories by educated tribesmen or by the local officers who might undertake the work in their spare time could be organized. Neither trained anthropologists or philologists are necessary for this, though they may be required to supervise it. It has often been found, however, that unless an official has a very high devotion to tribal culture he is not likely to do such work without some incentive and we suggest that some bonus or reward of at least Rs. 250 should be given to everyone who produces a collection of a reasonable size and standard and a proportionate reward to those who produce smaller collections. In this way a peoples' literature may be created which will preserve their historical traditions, their religious myths and their fairy stories and will stimulate a pride in themselves, their culture and their past.

Learning the Tribal Languages

The Estimates Committee for 1958-59 of the Ministry of Home Affairs

has recommended as follows—

'In order to understand the tribal problems in their proper perspective, the Committee consider it desirable that non-tribal officers and staff working in the Scheduled and Tribal Areas should learn the tribal languages. They suggest that Government may evolve a suitable scheme to encourage non-tribal officers and staff to learn the tribal languages.'

Yet although this matter has been emphasized over and over again at Conferences and in reports and directives, both from the Centre and the State Governments, it cannot be said that progress has been very encouraging. A great deal of fuss has been made about the difficulty of learning the tribal languages, but we should remember that the missionaries seem to have overcome the difficulty satisfactorily and it is indeed owing to their enthusiasm that many of these languages were first put down in writing through translations of the Bible, prayer-books and hymn-books. Even merchants have gone ahead of officials in learning these languages, for they know that by doing so they have a much better chance of extending their trade. In Margherita, for example, on the borders of the Tirap Frontier Division of NEFA, there are merchants who know two or three different tribal dialects; the result is that when the people come down from the hills to trade they automatically go to the shops owned by those merchants with whom they can talk and bargain freely. If missionaries and even merchants are able to overcome their difficulties, officials should be able to do so too.

It is no excuse to say that the tribal languages have no script. They can be written down in Devanagiri or in the regional or even roman script if necessary.

In places, where Hindi or some regional language has become widely known, there is a particular danger in neglecting the tribal languages. There is an impression in such areas that there is no need for officials to learn them because they are able to carry on some sort of conversation with the people in the local lingua franca. But it would be well to remember what Mr C. G. C. Trench said in his *Grammar of Gondi*, which refers specially to the Betul District, where we have a Multipurpose Block.

'It is true that every Gond, as far as I am aware, can speak Hindi, or Marathi, and many of them both. But allow him to transact business of whatever kind, from a tiger-beat to a revenue case, in his own tongue, and he will at once show not at a disadvantage as struggling to express himself in what he calls (pathetic and pregnant term!) "Mahajani Parsi," but at his best. He becomes confidential, communicative, more truthful and more open to reason. To work or play, for him or with him, is a pleasure. Even his frequent lapses rather amuse than irritate.

'Hindus resident in Betul District have grasped this principle most thoroughly. Thousands of them, from wealthy money-lenders to humble Kotwars, are fluent speakers of Gondi. As a Teli owner of a large estate put it, "It pays me to know their language." District officers, for higher reasons than the Teli's, will find that it will pay them too.'

And very often, even where the men understand the regional language, the women do not, and women's programmes, of such vital importance, will not make real progress unless they are conducted in the tribal dialects.

But officials need a good deal of encouragement. They need guide-

books of the same general kind as Victor Hugo's 'French Self-taught' or other 'Easy Ways' of learning the European languages, which have been of help to generations of tourists. Such Phrase-books, which could contain a skeleton grammar, a list of useful words and a number of phrases in common use arranged under suitable headings, would be of immense value to officials and social workers. At a later stage regular Grammars and Dictionaries should be prepared.

There are in fact a large number of books published during the last few decades on the various tribal languages. Many of these have been produced by missionaries and are practical hand-books to help their workers to learn the local language quickly. One such book is Canon G. S. Patwardhan's *Manual of the Gondi Language* as spoken in the Chanda district. There is another valuable book on Gondi as spoken in the Betul area by C. G. C. Trench and yet another on the Gondi of Bastar by A. N. Mitchell. Thus for one tribal language we have practical manuals available for three of its most important dialects, and the task of reprinting them might be taken up immediately. Problems of copyright would, of course, have to be solved but if the matter is pressed forward urgently, this should not take too long. We should not grudge the expense if we have to pay a certain amount of money for the purchase of copyright. But this does need to be done soon.

Money should also be made available for the starting of classes or to pay instructors who will coach officials both in Block headquarters and in isolated villages.

The System of Rewards

The giving of rewards to officials who can pass an examination in languages other than their own goes back to British times, the rewards being usually adjusted to the pay of the officer concerned. Proposals for the extending of such rewards in modern days have been made again and again but either nothing has been done or, where the rewards are given, they are, when applicable to the lower staff, so small as to give little encouragement.

At present there is great variety in the attitude of the different States to this subject.

In Assam, Rs. 500 is given to officers belonging to the All India and Provincial Services who are under the employment of the State Government, if they pass a test and it is proposed to enhance this reward to Rs. 1,000. This scheme needs to be extended generously to all categories of official. In Bihar there is a scheme of compulsory examinations in the principal tribal languages which Government servants of certain categories posted in the main tribal areas have to pass within eighteen months of joining their duties. If they fail to do so, their increments are liable to be stopped. Provision has also been made for suitable rewards varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 1,000 to Government servants who pass a tribal language examination, the approximate annual expenditure involved being Rs. 45,000. In Bombay, there is no scheme for rewarding officers for passing a language examination, but as much as a lakh of rupees has been proposed for the printing of general literature and text-books in the tribal dialects for inclusion in the Third Five Year Plan. These books will be printed in Devanagri script and it is expected that they will materially assist the learning of the language by members of the staff. In Madhya Pradesh it has been decided to reprint useful older books, to prepare simple guide-books or text-books, and to

train a few instructors. In August 1959 a scheme of rewards was started, but this applies only to the staff working in the ten Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks in the State. Officials have to pass a test in Gondi, Halbi, Korku, Bhili or Uraon and if they do so within a year of their posting to the Block they will receive a reward of Rs. 100. This is hardly sufficient. In Orissa, examinations are conducted in Kui, Santhali, Uraon, Mundari and Saora and awards are made of Rs. 600 to Class I, Rs. 400 to Class II Gazetted Officers and Rs. 300 to Class III non-gazetted officers. The State Government is considering the question of including some other tribal languages in the scheme. Government has further laid down that employees of the Tribal Welfare and Research Department must have a certificate of proficiency in a tribal language before they cross the efficiency bar and are confirmed. In Tripura the Administration has two schemes—one which was implemented in the first year of the Second Five Year Plan to give grants to non-tribal teachers in primary schools to help them to learn a tribal language, and the other, which is being implemented from this year, to officers generally to acquire proficiency in more than one tribal language. We understand that there is to be some scheme of rewards.

No special scheme for encouraging the learning of the tribal languages or for rewarding those who do learn them exists in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan or Manipur. In Manipur the reason given is that there are as many as twenty-nine dialects in the hill areas and that the Meitei language of the valley is a general medium of communication. But many of these dialects are used by the various sub-clans of Kukis and we suggest that at least the main Naga dialects spoken in the Ukhrul and Tamenglong areas should receive encouragement.

The North-East Frontier Agency has laid down that there will be two exams, one a preliminary and the second of a higher standard which requires proficiency equal to that of an interpreter. The rewards for passing these examinations are as follows :

	For passing a preliminary Examination	For attaining Interpreter's standard
Class I Officers	Rs. 500	Rs. 1,000
Class II Officers	Rs. 350	Rs. 650
Class III Officers	Rs. 200	Rs. 300

This system of rewards should be standardised throughout the country and should be particularly generous to Grade III officials. For it is the V.L.W., the Social Educational Organiser, as well as the doctors or the P.E.O. himself, none of whom are very highly paid and who thus can claim only a modest reward (in relation to their pay) when they pass an examination, who really matter from this point of view. They are the officials who are in real touch with the people and if they cannot express themselves freely it is impossible for them to get their message across. An Agriculture Officer confessed that owing to his lack of knowledge of the language he had inadvertently given the people completely wrong instructions about the use of chemical fertilisers, with the result that a crop was destroyed instead of being improved. We suggest that, in the first place, wherever rewards are not given for passing an examination in the tribal languages, these should be instituted without any further delay. We further suggest that these rewards should not be linked to pay as hitherto but that they

should be sufficiently substantial to encourage officials, even at the V.L.W. level, to take the matter up with enthusiasm. After all a Development Commissioner, who under the old scheme would earn a substantial reward, does not really need a tribal language nearly as much as a V.L.W. or S.E.O.

One of the greatest barriers to the learning of the tribal languages is not laziness or lack of interest, but is the sense of uncertainty that exists among all officers due to the constant transfers that are made. It is obviously unlikely that an officer will go to the trouble of learning a difficult language if he expects to be transferred elsewhere within six months or a year, and this seems to be perhaps the fundamental reason why so little progress has been made in this direction. We recommend elsewhere that the present habit of constant transfers should come to an end, for once an officer knows that he has three or even five years to look forward to in any one language area, he then has a real inducement, which is far more powerful than any monetary consideration, to study the local language.

Text-books for Schools

Another very important matter is to prepare text-books in the local languages for schools. It has been laid down by Government of India that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in the primary stage. This will be impossible unless text-books are available. Such text-books generally exist in Assam (except in the Mikir Hills), where education is almost entirely in the hands of the tribal people and where there has been nearly a century in which to produce them. But in other States the production of text-books is still lagging far behind and every effort should be made to get them prepared quickly. The text-books should also be illustrated by pictures which will be familiar to the tribal children. It is no good in books for the very young, for example, putting in a picture of a horse or elephant for an area where the children have never seen one. Similarly special school text-books at the primary stage should be prepared so that the words used and stories told should be familiar to the children. At present text-books prepared for urban children are being imported into the remotest tribal areas. Local folktales should be used instead of stories from the European or classical Indian tradition and these books should be brought into harmony with the rural and tribal scene. Within a few years over a hundred text-books in thirteen different tribal languages have been produced by the NEFA Administration with a small staff, and if this is possible in NEFA it should be possible anywhere.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE BLOCK SURVEYS

During our visits to various Blocks, we have observed that very little, if any, importance has been given to the study and survey of the social and economic conditions in the tribal villages. Wherever surveys have been conducted, they have been mainly confined to an examination of physical conditions. In most Blocks, some sort of survey was conducted in the pre-extension phase but no further systematic study was made when they were converted into Multipurpose Tribal Blocks.

An analysis of the type of survey conducted in the Multipurpose Blocks before their inception may be of interest. In two cases, Akrani Mahal and Tamenglong, there was no survey at all. In nineteen cases a survey was conducted according to the prescribed proforma which was approved by the Mussoorie Conference. In fifteen other cases it is reported that there was some sort of general survey to examine the conditions of the Block area, and in six cases, in Araku and Paderu, in Manoharpur and Bishunpur, in Mokhada-Talasari and Peint, there was a detailed economic survey. In Tamia a complete book, to which we refer later in this Chapter, has been produced. It is an excellent example of the way a Research Institute can study and inspire the course of tribal development.

Except, therefore, in certain cases, the surveys have been generally inadequate. Although it is agreed on all sides that the development programme in tribal areas should be based on the prevailing social and economic situation and should suit the needs and desires of the tribal people, there is little indication that this essential condition of development has been implemented in practice. A survey offers a useful opportunity to the development workers to become aware of the actual conditions of life in their villages and to relate the development activities to them. In fact, it provides the ideal condition for determining a tribal base to the programme.

It is not only the result of the survey that we desire to emphasise. The survey programme provides a mechanism which will enable the development workers to become sensitive to the special social and economic conditions of the tribal people, which are often so different to those elsewhere. It is important, therefore, that they should undergo this *exercise* of conducting the survey, first at the very beginning of the scheme, and thereafter by keeping the survey records up to date from year to year. It is necessary for the Project Executive Officer to become aware of this important aspect of the programme and to get the survey conducted by all development workers, including the Extension Officers and the V.L.Ws. Unless the P.E.O. becomes convinced of the importance of this, the programme is not likely to be built up on a suitably adjusted foundation.

With regard to the nature of the survey, there is scope for experimentation, and its contents may differ from place to place. Some of the preliminary surveys can be conducted by the development workers themselves after they have been given some orientation in the culture and social practice of their people and some training in the matter of collecting the data required; other types of advanced surveys should be conducted by workers of the Tribal Research Departments.

The surveys can be of three types :—

- (a) a preliminary survey,
- (b) a basic survey, and
- (c) a specific survey.

The Preliminary Survey

The preliminary survey should, of course, be carried out by the P.E.O. and his staff at the very inception or even before the inception of a Block. It should be of an elementary character, rapidly conducted, to discover and to acquaint the Block officials with the main features of the area in which they are to work. It should include (a) figures of population and its distribution by age and sex, (b) the main characteristics of the physical environment with special attention to any obstacles to the development of communications, (c) elementary data regarding the basic and supported economy of the villages, (d) existing living standards, (e) some information about the tribes and sub-tribes as well as the non-tribals living in the Block and (f) the existing facilities for medical relief, education and welfare services. Even at this stage there should be an attempt to discover which is the most undeveloped part of the Block and where the poorest people are living.

The Basic Survey

As soon as possible after this preliminary survey there should be a basic survey which should also be carried out by the P.E.O. and his officials. The point of this is not to submit reports to Government but to serve as a kind of education or training which will enable the Block officers to understand the difficulties of their area, the needs of their people and to allot priorities in their work. It should include some general information regarding the economy, social organisation, religion and daily life of the tribes. It should also study the general condition of the non-tribal population. It should obtain statistics for each family and its individual members in the village community. It should also take up such definite problems as the nature of the tribal arts and crafts and the possibility of developing them and finding a market for them. No cottage industries training centre should be started until this has been done. It should discover the possibilities of developing irrigation schemes; examine what kind of improved breeds of animals could be introduced, having regard to the elevation and climate; the possibilities of introducing cash crops, with reference to the nature of the soil, the rainfall and possible markets. Above all, it should make the staff sufficiently acquainted with the problems of communications so that their plans will be on a thoroughly realistic basis. This will involve a great deal more than mere paper-work, for the P.E.O. and his staff will have to tour throughout their entire area.

We cannot put too heavy a burden on the Block staff and in our chapter on methods of reporting we have suggested a number of items which may be included in the Annual Reports. Reporting on these matters will be closely linked with the basic survey and will give an impetus to the Block officers to continue it from year to year. This is a very important matter, for we have been struck on a number of occasions by the astonishing ignorance of some officials, even after they have been a couple of years in a Block, about the actual customs and ideas of the people they are trying to serve.

The Specific Survey

What we have called the specific survey should be the task of the Tribal Research Institutes, the Research Sections of the Universities or any other recognised research societies. It will be a more thorough and extensive study and should deal with the specific problems of the village communities. It will be specially concerned with the problems of adjustment of the tribals to the development programmes. It should go in detail into the question of indebtedness. It should study the people's food habits in relation to their food resources in order to discover ways of improving the standard of diet; the living conditions and problems of tribal children; the role of the younger generation in the development schemes; social problems that may affect the health and the morale of the community or which may interfere with its economic development. It should examine the land situation; how far forest rules can be adapted to tribal needs: the possibilities of improving tribal houses. We do not wish to lay down too closely the scope of this final survey, which will be naturally closely related to the general programme of tribal research which we have discussed in the last chapter.

As we suggest in that chapter it is most important that the State Governments should try to make available to the Block workers any literature on the area and its tribal people which has already been published. It might be possible to get important sections of rare books cyclostyled and distributed to officials. Other books will, we hope, be reprinted.

The most important survey of a Block area that has yet been done is the preliminary survey of the Tamia Development Pilot Project conducted by a team of students from the Department of Tribal Welfare of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay and led by Dr B. H. Mehta. This is an important sociological document, but if our research workers are to give us information about 300 Blocks it cannot serve as a model, for their work will have to be much simpler. At the same time, the future research student can learn much from it and it should be in the hands of every P.E.O. now and in the days to come.

In suggesting a series of surveys, it is not our intention to imply that the development programme should be delayed till they are completed. What is necessary is to recognise that the programme of survey is a continuous programme of understanding both the tribals themselves and the work done among them and should, therefore, be integrally woven into the development programme. Workers of the level of V.L.W. and Extension Organisers, of course, can only carry out the early preliminary survey after having some training in the method of collecting statistics and themselves becoming sensitised to the culture and life of the tribals. It is at the same time desirable to acknowledge the role of trained investigators in conducting the basic and specific surveys. The nature of the survey conducted and the study made in the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks should be taken as a proof of the conviction, purposefulness and sincerity of the development workers in giving a tribal foundation to the development programme.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

METHODS OF REPORTING

It is agreed everywhere that a merely statistical evaluation of the work of the Multipurpose Blocks is insufficient. At present most of the reports submitted by the Project Officers are tabulated records of expenditure and physical achievements. To know that ten cinema shows have been given provides a check on the work of a Social Education Officer but does not tell us whether these shows have had any real impact on the people or done them any good. Statistics about the number of acres brought under certain types of cultivation are very well but, quite apart from the fact that such statistics may not always be correct, they do not tell us whether better crops are being obtained, or what the people's reactions to the new methods are. Reports on expenditure can be even more misleading; the whole point is whether the expenditure is wise. At the Seminar on the Multipurpose Blocks held in Ranchi last May it was resolved, therefore, that this Committee should prepare a list of subjects on which the P.E.Os should be asked to note in their Annual Reports. This will not only be of use to the Ministries and State officials concerned but will also be a reminder to the local officials of the values whereby they should estimate real progress among their people.

We suggest, therefore, that there should be a section of every Annual Report in which the P.E.Os should attempt answers to the following questions :

- (1) How many (a) local and (b) other tribal people are employed at different levels in your Block at present ? What is their percentage in relation to the total number of staff at each level ? Has there been any increase in the number employed during the past year ? If the percentage is low, is there any special reason for it ?
- (2) How many members of your staff have passed a Language Examination in the past year ? How many others have at least a working knowledge of the language which enables them to carry on a conversation on their own subject with the local people ? How many have received rewards for proficiency in the language ? How many are still unable to make themselves understood by the tribal people and are unable to understand what they say ? How many members of the Block staff have had orientation courses during the past year and what kind of courses did they attend ? Has the result of this training made any appreciable difference to their work ?
- (3) What social education activities have been carried on and what sort of success have they really had ? If a library, for example, has been opened, how many (a) officials and (b) local people use it ? What kind of books and magazines do they prefer ? Do audio-visual activities have any real effect ? Which aspects of this programme have the greatest appeal ? What kind of films have been selected ? Has any attempt been made to ensure that these will appeal to the tribal people or have any relevance to their needs ? Do the officers supervising film-shows explain the films properly

- before-hand and discuss their message with the people afterwards? How far is the propaganda carried on by the Block officials having any real impact on the outlook of the people?
- (4) What use is being made of tribal institutions, such as boys' dormitories or tribal councils, for development purposes? Are the indigenous tribal institutions decaying or has there been any progress in reviving them?
 - (5) Are money-lenders as active as they were last year? How are the Block officers attempting to solve the problem of indebtedness? Is local economy developing in a way that is lessening the burden of indebtedness?
 - (6) Do the people show signs of becoming more and more dependent on Government help? Are they losing their self-reliance or are they beginning to show an independent spirit and really taking up the task of self-development even if they are not paid to do so? How far are you finding real co-operation from other Departments of Government?
 - (7) How far have the people themselves contributed actual ideas and suggestions in the past year that you have been able to include in the Block programme? Do you feel that they are satisfied with what is being done? Have they made any criticisms and if so, what are they? What signs are there that a genuine people's movement is coming into being in the Block area? Do the tribal members of the Block Advisory Committees play any significant role in their deliberations?
 - (8) Have you discovered in the past year any urgent needs of a new kind that might be dealt with for the benefit of the people?
 - (9) Has there been any real progress in reviving the arts and crafts of the people? Has the quality, as apart from the quantity, of their products improved during the last year? Are the people dancing and singing more, or less, than formerly? Have there been any obvious changes in the customs and conduct of the people? Are they observing their religious festivals in relation to agricultural and other practices or are these beginning to die out? Have any new food-taboos been introduced?
 - (10) Where new agricultural methods have been introduced, are the people happy about them? Or, do they still desire to continue their traditional shifting cultivation where this exists? Have Forest Co-operatives been started and if so, how are they progressing? Are there any non-tribal members and if so, what positions do they hold?
 - (11) Where there are Statutory Panchayats, are the tribal people adequately represented and in general, how are they working? How many of the Sir Panchas are (a) tribal (b) non-tribal?
 - (12) What is the morale of the officials in the Block? Do they want to be transferred elsewhere or have they now begun to settle down and feel enthusiastic about their work? What are their relations today with the local people and has there been any improvement during the past year?
 - (13) What evidence is there that today the people are better fed, enjoy a richer cultural life and are happier than when the Block started?

We feel that if our P.E.Os keep these points in mind and realize that it is on progress in such matters as these, even more than on progress in the achievement of physical targets or in the spending of money, that their success or failure will be judged, it may inspire them to work better and along the right lines.

A report on these matters once a year will not impose too heavy a burden on the Block officials. We feel at the same time that every effort should be made to reduce paper-work in the Block headquarters. The P.E.Os and indeed all members of the staff, are tied down far too much to their offices and in general, they do not spend enough time on touring, without which they cannot give adequate supervision or sufficient inspiration to the V.L.Ws and others working by themselves in the interior.

We may, of course, be accused of inconsistency, for we have stressed the importance of regular surveys and the submission of self-evaluation reports outlined in this chapter. What we have suggested, however, is not ordinary paper-work. What we are anxious to ensure is that there should be a continuous process of self-education which will sensitize members of the Block staff to the tribal situation and will progressively acquaint them with the people's ideals and aspirations.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE TRIBAL COUNCILS

'The foundation of any democratic structure in India,' says Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, 'must be in the village, which is the oldest unit known in the country and has survived through many centuries.' He quotes Sir Charles Metcalfe, who wrote, of 'the little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of foreign relations: they seem to last where nothing else lasts. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.' Shri Krishnamachari goes on to say that in spite of the factions, caste tyranny and stagnation which undoubtedly existed, it was 'owing to the life in the village communities and the measure of autonomy they enjoyed, that we achieved social cohesion and stability and succeeded in preserving our traditional cultural values over many centuries. This survival of our values during long periods of foreign dependence is certainly due to the continuity of the village organization. We must, therefore, recognize that modern democratic government can have a solid foundation only in village democracy.'

One of the ways whereby this can be achieved in the tribal areas is by reviving and strengthening the existing Tribal Councils along the lines of the accepted policy that we should work through, and not in rivalry to, the traditional village institutions. The matter, however, has been complicated by the introduction of the new Panchayat Acts which have the same democratic basis but are not rooted in the tribal tradition. At the Ranchi Seminar of May 1959, our Committee was asked to examine this problem and see what could be done. Our enquiries have shown that throughout the whole of tribal India every substantial village has some kind of machinery for the settling of social and religious disputes. Sometimes this machinery has grown a little rusty and it may be difficult to start it working again with full efficiency. In some cases, as in NEFA where the tribal councils function within the general framework of the Assam Frontier and Administration of Justice Act (Regulation of 1945), the councils are powerful and are working with considerable success in both the development and judicial fields. The same may be said for the tribal areas of Assam generally, and in the Utnur Block of Andhra the bodies formed under the provisions of the Tribal Area Regulation have considerable powers. In the Tamenglong Block of Manipur the Tribal Councils have long been recognised.

The Tribal Councils

We give below a summary of the answers to a Questionnaire issued by our Committee in June 1959, supplemented by our own investigations on the spot.

In a fairly large number of Blocks there appears to be little more than a simple and informal arrangement whereby the village elders meet together under the leadership of the headman to settle disputes of a social and religious character. They naturally also deal with general matters affecting village life, but they are not organized in any way and with the introduc-

tion of the Statutory Panchayats are likely to lose what little influence they have. This seems to be the situation in the Paderu, Adhaura, Mahuadand, Nawhatta, Dharampur, Khedbrahma, Mokhada-Talasari, Peint, Sukhsar, Bagicha, Bharatpur, Dantewara, Bhimpur, Narayanpur, Tamia, Kashipur, Narayanpatna, and Kushalgarh Multipurpose Blocks. Our information on the situation in these Blocks, however, is not altogether satisfactory for we have noticed that in all reports statements declaring that, for example, 'there are no arts in this Block' or 'there are no Tribal Councils in this Block' are usually inaccurate and misleading. For example, it may well be true that in the neighbourhood of a Block headquarters the Tribal Councils have almost disappeared, but it may be equally true that among the more characteristic populations of the interior of the same Block they are powerful and well developed. This is a matter that requires careful investigation by research workers and we suggest that all the Tribal Research Institutes should be asked to investigate this matter as early as possible. We do not need detailed academic investigations but a general picture of the situation in all the Scheduled Areas.

In the Assam Blocks in the hills the situation is quite different, for here under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, District Councils, of which all but a few nominated members are tribals, have been established and naturally manage the affairs of the District in the interest of the tribes and to a considerable extent according to their customary laws and functions. Statutory Panchayats have been introduced in the Autonomous Districts.

Below these Districts Councils there are village or tribal councils which deal with local disputes. We will summarise the reports received from the P.E.Os in these States.

Dambuk-Aga Block.—Under existing conditions and circumstances the traditional tribal way of administration by Tribal Councils in each village, which deal with all disputes and differences among the peoples, is very simple and effective and checks wastage of money and property in litigation.

'The powers and functions of the Tribal Councils are to maintain peace and tranquility and to settle petty disputes by simple tribal ways. The introduction of Statutory Panchayats, which are foreign to the people, will complicate the present administration by a simple tribal method.'

Diyung Block.—The village elders dispose of disputes according to their customary laws.

Lungleh Block.—Formerly all the tribes except the Chakmas were under their own Chiefs. The Chiefs with their selected village elders administered the village through a Village Court. They could impose fines to the extent of Rs. 40. Now after the District has attained autonomy the villages are administered by an elected Village Council which sits both as a Council and as a Court.

Mairang Block.—There is a Durbar of which all male adults of the village are members. Decisions of these Darbars are binding on everyone living within their jurisdiction and disobedience is punishable with fines or expulsion from the village. These Darbars actually direct and guide the whole social and administrative functions of the village. Above them there are Syiems' or Chiefs' courts which regulate their affairs and hear appeals.

Rongkhong Block.—A form of Government exists which is concerned with religious, social and judicial matters. The earliest system of Govern-

ment was that the King (Lindokpo) was at the apex. Under him there were 25 Pinpomers (religious devotees and administrative agents) and under them again there were 30 Habais, each Habai being in charge of a few villages. The Habais still have considerable influence and even now the people usually settle petty disputes themselves with their assistance.

Saipung-Darrang Block.—A democratic form of Government has existed among the tribals of this Block from time immemorial. Each village has its own Darbar (Council) where important decisions are taken on matters affecting the general interest. Petty cases of dispute are taken up for settlement by the elders before any reference is made to a statutory court. A group of villages form an Elaka with a Dolloi as its head. The Dolloi is elected on an adult franchise basis with, however, the provision that only members of certain clans are eligible to contest as candidates. The Dolloi performs both executive and judicial functions in his Elaka, besides collecting house-tax and land revenue on behalf of Government. Under the autonomous set-up of administration for the Hills Districts of Assam, Village Courts have been formed by the District Council in each Dolloiship to assist the Dolloi in the trial of cases referred to him.

From other States we have received detailed accounts of the situation in a number of Blocks which we summarise here.

Andhra Pradesh

Araku Block.—Formerly there was the Mustajari system of administration throughout the Agency, according to which the Muttadar, or headman of a certain number of villages, exercised such powers as the collection of land revenue and settlement of disputes. He was assisted by a Chalan and a Bariki. Since the abolition of the Mustajari system of administration, the villagers are forming Village Councils consisting of the Naikes or headmen, trained Gram Sahayakas and men of public spirit for the settlement of their disputes, the most common being quarrels over land or 'mogonali' cases (matrimonial disputes arising from elopements). The tribals rarely seek the help of the courts. There are at present no Statutory Panchayats here.

Narsampet Block.—The following interesting account of the Koya Tribal Councils comes (slightly abridged) from the Aiyappan Report of 1948.

'Koya society is controlled by an extremely democratic organization, the Kula Panchayat. The village is a unit of administration and over it is a Pinna Pedda. This office is hereditary but a democratic principle is applied to it. When a Pinna Pedda dies, his heir is usually elected in an assembly of village elders, but if the heir is unfit due to minority or incapacity, the villagers elect a regent to officiate for him. Above him is the Kula Pedda or Patel who is recognized by the Government; the office is hereditary corresponding to village munsifs elsewhere. The Government also appoint Talaris but since they appoint only a small number, one for seven or eight villages, each village appoints and pays for its own Vetti.

'A group of some ten or twelve villages forms a Samutu in the Koya country. Over the Samutu presides the Samut Dora, Kula Dora or Pedda Kapu, but he is only a chairman of the Council and has to be guided by the opinion of his colleagues. The Samutu is appealed to against the Pinna Pedda or the Patel, who is also liable to Tappu (fine) like any ordinary

citizen. The introduction of a Government-paid hereditary Patel appears to have created a confusion of functions but the democratic will of the Koya is strong enough to bend the Patel too to be a mere president over debates.

'In Kula Panchayats, the fines are levied in three equal parts as Kula Tappu, Guru Tappu and Raja Tappu or the fines payable to the community, to the religious head and to the State, each being Rs. 6, totalling Rs. 18. There used to be a 'guru' who was a Jangam. The Reddis are Saivas. There is no more any Raja. Therefore, all the Rs. 18 are appropriated by the commune. It is used for tobacco and drink. The money is divided among the Kula Peddas. Since the elders of several villages assemble, the division is immediate. There is a Kula Pedda above all Peddas. Pedda means an elder.

'All disputes in a village are settled by the Kula Pedda whose decision is normally final. The fine is usually utilized by the whole community for drinking. The fine may sometimes be heavy, amounting to Rs. 100 in cases in which violations of social restrictions are involved. Social boycott is the sanction of the society against a person who refuses to pay the fine imposed. It is reported that the Panchayat conducts its enquiries in an orderly and dignified manner. To quote Shri Durba Venkattapayya : 'I have witnessed several enquiries by these Panchayats myself and have got great regard for the manner in which questions are logically put and answered and the enquiry done in a judicial manner and have no hesitation in saying that the Panchayat system, as it now exists among the tribesmen, is a glorious survival of the ancient Hindu Panchayats. It would be a very great blunder if this Panachayat system is in any way disturbed except in the matter of the utilization of the fines which are collected. It has got a healthy tone for discipline over the entire community. They are a very tenacious people. Though they appear very meek, they are very sensitive of any outside interference with their rights or regulations. All the surrounding Koya villages will join in one voice at the whistle of the Pedda Kapu and will put up a fight and will not tolerate any remark against their womenfolk or seizure of their grains or occupation of their lands. So they have needed so far no courts of law to assert and enjoy their rights.'

Utnur Block.—At the village level the custom of holding a particular individual in respect still continues, and he is generally the Patel (headman). He is usually consulted and his advice respected in matters of individual or group interest. On occasion he may call a few other individuals to consider the matter along with him as an informal Panchayat. Tradition requires that any differences or disputes should be settled in the village itself.

But when this is not possible or parties to the dispute belong to different villages, the matter is brought before the Tribal Panchayat, which is a statutory body formed under the provisions of the Tribal Area Regulation.

The Tribal Panchayats, which are four in all, covering about 40 villages each, are vested with criminal jurisdiction for certain offences, and revenue jurisdiction in respect of certain sections of the Revenue Laws.

These Panchayats can inflict fines up to Rs. 50 but no kind of imprisonment. Verbal orders or notices can be issued by them and the proceedings of the Panchayats need not be recorded in writing. They can be authorised under the Regulation to spend the income realised from fines for such purposes as they may deem fit, including compensation payable to the aggrieved party.

The jurisdiction of these Panchayats in respect of different laws is, in terms of the Indian Penal Code :

Section	159	Affray
..	510	Misconduct
..	269/270	Negligence
..	277	Fouling water
..	289	Negligent conduct with respect of animals
..	294	Obscene acts and songs.
..	428	Mischief by killing or maiming animals
..	494	Marrying again during life-time of husband or wife

They also have jurisdiction under other Acts.

The Panchayats can exercise this jurisdiction provided both the parties in a case are tribal. In practice, however, the Panchayats do not exercise all these powers, but deal mainly with matrimonial cases and to a lesser extent with cases of misconduct and negligence.

Till recently there were only three Statutory Gram Panchayats, each having charge of one village and without any criminal jurisdiction. As such there has been no overlapping of jurisdiction and the Tribal Councils have continued to function in their own way. Now Gram Panchayats have been formed very recently for all the villages of the Project, each having jurisdiction over a small group of villages, but they have yet to start functioning.

Bihar

Bishunpur.—Every village within this Project area has a system of traditional government. Each Tribal Council has a Pahan or Baiga, Mahto, Choukidar, Pan-Barah and some other members. They decide socio-religious cases, and generally impose fines on the culprits, which are readily paid. The fine money is mostly spent on a special feast. The Statutory Panchayats do not clash with the Tribal Councils, because the former mostly decide civil, criminal and revenue cases and assist in developmental activities.

Borio Block.—The unit of tribal administration is a village, of which all the adult male members form the Village Council. It is presided over by the Handi Manjhi. He need not necessarily be, though he often is, the village Pardhan who is responsible for the collection of revenue. The Manjhi is assisted by the Jog Manjhi, the Naiki the Paramik and the Godet. The Paramik officiates in the absence of the Manjhi. The Jog Manjhi has important functions to perform during marriages and is generally in charge of the morals of the young boys and girls. The Naiki is the priest, while the Godet is the village messenger.

Meetings are presided over by the Manjhi and are convened to determine all sorts of important matters and disputes in the village. A decision to fine or inflict any other punishment must be strictly obeyed. If there is any failure in this the person concerned suffers a social boycott. When a fine is realised, it is used to purchase salt or a goat and the entire village is entitled to an equal share. This is the old traditional Santhal way of village administration. The Village Councils, however, nowadays are not powerful as they used to be. Any person dissatisfied with the decision of the Council generally

takes the matter to the Panchayat or to the courts. The Panchayats have, to some extent, already weakened the Tribal Councils.

Manoharpur Block.—There was formerly a Munda Manki system of Government among the tribals. The Munda was the head of the village and he or the Mukhi tried even murder cases. In short, they were in charge of maintaining law and order among the tribal people.

After the introduction of the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, their powers were largely curtailed, but they were in practice maintaining some of their powers till very recently. Moreover, they were entrusted with the collection of land revenue, on which they received a commission, which they are doing even uptill now.

By the introduction of Statutory Gram Panchayats all the traditional powers have been taken away, except the collection of land revenue. In some of the Panchayats the elders have been elected as Mukhias and accordingly they are retaining some powers but naturally have to work under the provisions of the Gram Panchayat Act.

Simdega Block.—In the tribal areas there is a Mahto or Pahan (headman) for each village. When there is any sort of trouble, it is referred to them and their decision is binding on all the people involved. Thus in one village, where there are Mundas, Kharias, Uraons and so on, the Mundas have their own Pahan and the other groups have their own Pahans or Mahtos. If there is any friction between two groups, it is referred to the Parha Raja (President), whose decision is binding on the tribal groups of all the villages involved in the trouble. Thus for a group of villages, the Mahto and Pahans elect their President, who is locally known as Parha Raja. This President is helped in his administration by a Dewan (Secretary) and a Kotwar (peon).

But the presence of these old traditional councils has not materially affected the position of the Statutory Gram Panchayat, for the former deal primarily with the religious and social affairs of the tribals, and do not take any special interest in development work.

Bombay

Aheri Block.—There is a Tribal Council in every tribal village, which looks into its affairs. The head of the Village Council is called the Gaita. There is another Council with jurisdiction over groups of from 50 to 70 villagers which is called the Patti, its head being the Gumashi. It consists of the representatives of the Gaitas of the Village Councils. Above this Patti there is a sort of Supreme Council consisting of representatives of the Pattis. And finally the Ex-Zamindar, himself a Gond, is the ultimate authority to whom matters are referred for decision when no agreement can be reached for he is considered to be the religious head of the Zamindari area, which consists of about 500 villages. All matters regarding social life and customs are dealt with by these Councils and the Zamindar, and decisions taken by them are binding.

Akrani Mahal Block.—There exists a Karbhari system, whereby a village headman is appointed whose word is obeyed by the villagers, and who settles their disputes. If there is a dispute between two villages, Karbharis of both the villages settle it between them.

These Karbharis, however, do not settle disputes which come within the

purview of offences under the Penal Code, confining themselves to those of a religious and social character. Such settlements by Karbharis do not involve any written work. The Karbharis only exercise a moral influence upon the offender, relying on traditional sanctions.

Madhya Pradesh

Bhawani Block.—In each village there is a traditionally recognised headman, called the village Patel, who plays a very important and peculiar role in the tribal life of this area. He is the natural and hereditary leader of the entire village community, and is the symbol of tribal government, his orders and instructions being binding on the entire village community as a result of a very old convention.

He is generally the arbitrator in various kinds of disputes—civil, criminal, social or religious—between two villages or groups. The tribals here rarely seek the help of the police, or the Courts (including the Nyaya Panchayats constituted under the Panchayat Act), but try rather to settle their disputes through the Patel.

The Patel, however, invariably consults certain important and influential persons of the village before he issues any instructions or takes any decision. The persons he consults include the Pujara or priest and some other natural and traditional village leaders who usually represent different *falias* or groups of huts.

In case of disputes between the inhabitants of two different villages, the Patels of both the villages and their counsellors assemble together and the dispute is settled through a long process of discussion.

The Patel, as well as his counsellors, are paid fixed 'fees' for their services as well as a 'tax' for performing certain functions such as marriages. The Patel of Silawad in the Block area enjoys a position superior to other Patels. He is a sort of appellate authority to whom disputes which cannot be compromised by the Village Patels are taken for settlement.

The Statutory Panchayats, which cover all the villages of this Block, have yet to establish themselves actively and effectively.

Pondi-Uprora Block.—This Block is in an ex-Zamindari area. The Zamindar belonged to the Tamar-Chhatri tribe, which claims its origin from the famous Rajput king Prithviraj Chauhan. There are both tribal and village Panchayats. The tribal Panchayats deal only with their own problems and sometimes cover a group of villages. They impose fines in cash or feasts, failing which the defaulter is excommunicated.

The tribal Panchayats have great influence, but their jurisdiction is limited. The village Panchayats deal with problems affecting all the inhabitants of a village, which here are generally mixed. They are run by the village or tribal elders as the case may be.

'The influence of the Statutory Panchayat has been almost nothing and the traditional Panchayats still hold their ground. The new ones are almost inactive owing to the ignorance of the people and the lack of enthusiasm and mismanagement by the office bearers.'

Pushparajgarh Block.—The headman of the village is the Gaontia. He is assisted by a Dewan and a Kotwar, who generally works as a messenger. The orders of the Gaontia are generally respected by all. 'This system of village administration has been working very successfully, but there are signs

of disintegration as a result of detribalization and the mixing of the tribal and non-tribal populations. In the mixed villages the cohesion and homogeneity of single-tribe villages is lacking'.

Orissa

Bhuyanpirh Block.—The traditional type of tribal Government is still in existence in all the tribal villages, in each of which is a Mandaghar, Darbar or community hall. Here all the elderly persons of the village assemble to discuss important matters concerning the village. In each Mandaghar and Darbar a fire is kept burning continuously. This they use for lighting their pipes, essential accessories to judicial deliberations. Petty disputes and small thefts are brought to the notice of the elders and they discuss the matter and give a judgement which is always accepted by the person at fault. The headman sometimes imposes fines for petty offences and thefts, and the fines thus collected go to a common fund. The strength of these organisations, however, is gradually becoming weaker as a result of the introduction of the Gram Panchayats. The headman of the village (Pradhan) is disqualified from being a member of the new Panchayats. The Statutory Panchayat and its members are, therefore, coming more into prominence than the headman. Even then the unity of the village as a whole has not been lost and offences such as petty thefts, quarrels, disputes with regard to the produce of a particular tree or a piece of land are almost always settled by the headman and the members of the village Darbar. Disputes about partition and inheritance of property or the amount of dowry which a groom of one village has to give to the bride of another are still all settled here. 'The Statutory Panchayat comes to the picture when more important questions are to be settled, thus weakening the traditional form of tribal administration.'

Raruan Block.—The main tribes in this Block are the Hos and Gonds and each has its own system of tribal Government. The Hos elect a sort of President called the Marang Gonke from the villages of a particular area and he, assisted by other headmen, regulates the religious and social practices of the tribe. This Council fixes the dates of religious functions and marriages, dances and festivals. In the case of any matrimonial irregularity it steps in to prevent or penalize it. It has recently taken up the question of abolishing the dowry system which presses very heavily on the poorer people. It is also encouraging literacy among the Hos.

An annual meeting of all the village headman under the chairmanship of the Marang Gonke is held every year at which social affairs are discussed and directives are issued. The offices of the village headmen and the Marang Gonkes are not hereditary but depend on their continued influence or popularity among the people.

The Gonds, with their different tribal organization, manage things a little differently. They are divided into six classes according to their *gotras* (clans) each of which is believed to have descended from a different stock. Each *gotra* has its own Council under a headman who belongs to a family which is believed to have founded the clan. This office is hereditary and the family is generally known as Bara Bansa, the oldest family. Annual meetings of all the six groups are held, in which offences involving any breach of social custom are discussed and decided. If anyone is dissatisfied with the decision of this general meeting, selected members from all the different clans are summoned to what is known as a *Desa Loka Darbar* and are

invited to review the matter and their decision is final. Members of the Darbar are not elected, but hold their position through their education and influence. Whichever member is outstanding among them naturally assumes the leadership. It is evident that there is scope for the development of these institutions, for they seem to have considerable influence and the Hos are already taking up social reforms and the spread of literacy through them.

Manipur

Tamenglong Block.—The traditional tribal Government differs in the case of the Nagas and the Kukis. Among the Kukis, each village has a Chief, whose position is hereditary and he is succeeded only by his sons. The eldest son succeeds his father and if a Chief has no male child the Chieftainship goes to the nearest relation who may be from another distant village, not necessarily in India but even from Burma. In theory, the Chief is all powerful: all the lands and everything within them rest in him. His house is the village court and he presides in all matters. He has a group of elders nominated and retained by him at his pleasure, though in this selection he gives a fair representation to the various clans living in his village. His court has all powers to decide any case. The punishment inflicted is a fine ranging from a jar of rice-beer or a pig to mithuns or expulsion from the village. In a case of murder the amount of the fine is sufficient to compensate the bereaved family. The village elders meet as often as the Chief desires. In this group the village priest is an important member of the tribal council.

Among the Kabui Nagas the Khumbu, who is the founder, or descendant of the founder, of the village, is the Chief, his office being hereditary but powerless. The real power is exercised by the Khulakpa who is chosen by a body of village elders called Thoupei. The Khulakpa so elected often continues for life and is succeeded by his son if the latter is approved by the Thoupei, which is the administrative body and also sits as a court. The observance of ceremonies, taboo (genna) days during which the people are to abstain from work, is left to the Khumbu to decide. The punishment for crimes is the same as among the Kukis. The land of the village is regarded as belonging to the community, within which there is individual ownership.

There were no written rules for a long time about the village administration in tribal areas. The village customs and precedents which are compatible with modern concepts of jurisprudence were adopted. In 1947, a Regulation was enacted by the then State Government which did not give details of the village administration. In 1956, the Hill Villages Authorities Act was passed by Parliament but has not proved effective. The tribal village administration still continues in the same manner as before.

Tripura

Amarpur Block.—The tribals here live in small villages known as *paras*. Each *para* has a traditional leader—the Sardar—who has considerable influence and under his guidance and control the communal activities of the villages are carried on. He is responsible for the observance of the customs and laws of tribal society. This traditional leadership is, however, disintegrating rapidly owing to external influence. So far Statutory Panchayats have not been introduced in Tripura.

The Statutory Panchayats

Into this admittedly rather confused situation, legislative measures have been enacted to establish local self-government through Panchayats by the following Acts :

State	Legislation
1. Andhra Pradesh	The Andhra Pradesh Village Panchayat Act, 1959.
2. Assam	The Assam Panchayat Act, 1959.
3. Bihar	The Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1947.
4. Bombay	The Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1958.
5. Madhya Pradesh	(a) The Bhopal State Panchayat Act, 1946. (b) The C.P. & Berar Panchayat Act, 1946. (c) The Vidhya Pradesh Gram Panchayat Act, 1955. (d) The Madhya Bharat Panchayat Act, 1953.
6. Orissa	The Orissa Grama Panchayats Act, 1948.
7. Rajasthan	The Rajasthan Panchayat Act, 1953.
8. Tripura	The United Provinces Panchayat Raj Act, 1947.

The Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Rajasthan Acts all provide that they shall come into force in such areas in the States concerned as their respective State Governments may appoint. In other words, there are provisions in all these Acts, whereby the State Government concerned is empowered to exempt from their operation such area or areas as it may consider necessary or desirable. The Bombay Panchayat Act, however, is unique in having no such provision. On the other hand, under para 5 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution, the Governor has the power to direct that any Act shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof or shall apply to such area or areas or part thereof subject to such exceptions or modifications as he may specify. Thus, if the various Panchayat Acts are required to be abrogated or modified with regard to their application to most of the areas comprising the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks or any other Tribal Area, there should be no legal or constitutional difficulty involved. Incidentally, out of the 43 Multipurpose Blocks, 28 are in Scheduled Areas, 6 in Tribal Areas (Assam), and 9 in non-Scheduled and non-Tribal Areas.

Functions of the Statutory Panchayats

The functions of the new Panchayats are administrative, economic, social and judicial and it will be worth-while enumerating them—

(a) *Administrative Functions :*

The functions allotted to the Panchayats under this head generally consist of the following :—

- (i) Construction, repair, maintenance, cleaning and lighting of streets.
- (ii) Sanitation and conservancy.

- (iii) Opening and regulating burial and cremation grounds.
- (iv) Supply of water for drinking and domestic use.
- (v) Construction and maintenance of public drains, bunds, tanks and wells.
- (vi) Disposal of unclaimed corpses and cattle.
- (vii) Construction and maintenance of public latrines.
- (viii) Measures to prevent the outbreak, spread or recurrence of infectious diseases.
- (ix) Prevention of water-logging.
- (x) Control, regulation and development of grazing-grounds, village common lands etc.
- (xi) Control and regulation of property transferred to it for maintenance.
- (xii) Planting of trees and their maintenance.
- (xiii) Establishment, maintenance and management of cattle pounds.
- (xiv) Destruction of stray and ownerless dogs.
- (xv) Removal of obstructions or encroachments in public places.
- (xvi) Control, maintenance and regulation of fairs, markets, minor hats, bazaars and slaughter houses.
- (xvii) Village watch and ward.
- (xviii) Rendering assistance in extinguishing fires.

(b) *Economic Functions :*

The functions allotted under this head generally include :

- (i) Construction and maintenance of minor irrigation works.
- (ii) Maintenance of records regarding population, cattle etc.
- (iii) Registration of births, deaths and marriages.
- (iv) Programmes for improving agricultural production and assisting the development of agriculture.
- (v) Organising labour for community works.
- (vi) Provision of agricultural finance and measures to relieve rural, indebtedness.
- (vii) Bringing under cultivation waste fallow-lands.
- (viii) Preparation and conservation of manurial resources.
- (ix) Establishment and maintenance of nurseries and stores for improved seeds.
- (x) Improvement of cattle and cattle-breeding.
- (xi) Promotion of cottage and village industries.
- (xii) Encouragement and development of co-operation.

(c) *Social Functions :*

Functions included under this head generally include :—

- (i) Layout and maintenance of playgrounds and public gardens.
- (ii) Medical relief.
- (iii) Reclaiming unhealthy localities.
- (iv) Maternity and child welfare.
- (v) Encouragement of human and animal vaccination.
- (vi) Construction, repair and maintenance of roads, buildings, waterways, drains etc.
- (vii) Construction and maintenance of dharmasalas and rest houses.
- (viii) Maintenance of public roads, radio sets and places of recreation.
- (ix) Establishment and maintenance of libraries, reading rooms etc.
- (x) Spread of education.

(xi) Control and regulation of fairs, pilgrimages and festivals.

(xii) Promotion of social and moral welfare.

The Rajasthan Act provides for the encouragement of family planning.

(d) *Judicial functions* :

All the Acts, except those of Kerala, Madras and Mysore, provide for the vesting of civil and criminal jurisdiction in the Panchayats or bodies specially constituted for this purpose. In the former Andhra area of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, the former Punjab area of Punjab and Rajasthan, the Panchayats themselves are allotted this function. In the other States bodies known as Adalati Panchayats or Nayaya Panchayats, as the case may be, are established.

The Panchayats or the Nayaya Panchayats, as the case may be, are generally authorised to try minor civil and criminal cases. The main function of these bodies is to effect a compromise between the plaintiff and the defendant and bring about an amicable settlement.

Sources of Revenue

The Panchayats have access to varied sources of income *e.g.*, taxes, cesses, fees, fines, grants, contributions, loans etc. In some of the Acts, as for example those in force in Bihar and Mysore, tapping of some of the sources has been made compulsory, while other sources may be utilised if their financial needs so require. In Punjab a Panchayat may, with the previous sanction of Government, levy any tax which the State legislature has power to impose. In Himachal Pradesh the Panchayats may impose such taxes as may be approved by the State Government.

The taxes which the Panchayats are generally empowered to levy are :—

- (a) taxes on imovable property;
- (b) taxes on professions, trades and callings;
- (c) taxes on vehicles other than motor vehicles; and
- (d) taxes on agricultural land, etc.

Panchayats in Bihar, Bombay and Kerala are empowered to levy a pilgrim tax.

Panchayats in Assam, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh are empowered to levy a tax on fairs, festivals and entertainments.

The Assam Act provides for a Health Tax.

The Assam, Bihar, Mysore, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Tripura Acts provide for a tax or rate for the supply of water.

The Panchayats in Assam, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Tripura may collect a sanitation or conservancy tax or rate.

A unique feature of the Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh Acts is the labour tax or the compulsory impressment of labour for developmental works. In Rajasthan this takes the form of a special tax on all adult male members of a community for the construction of any public work. A person liable to be taxed may be exempted from the payment of the tax if he does voluntary labour.

A major source of revenue available to the Panchayats is the income accruing to them from leases of property vested in them.

Other sources of income are—

- (a) duty on transfer of property;
- (b) cesses on land;

- (c) fees or cesses on commercial crops;
- (d) revenue from fisheries and ferries;
- (e) tolls;
- (f) Octroi;
- (g) revenue from the licensing of merchants in local markets.

A recent trend to augment the income of the Panchayats, is to allot to them a portion of the total land revenue collections. It is 15% in Assam, 6¼% in Bihar, 25 to 30% in Bombay, 30% in Mysore and 10% in Punjab.

In Bihar, out of the total income derived by the State from kender-leaf leases, 50% is given as outright grant to the Gram Panchayats in kender-leaf growing districts.

The Adimjatiya Panchayats

A significant fact emerges from the Central Provinces and Berar Panchayats Act of 1946, as subsequently amended by the Madhya Pradesh Act XVII of 1950. Prior to the amendment, the provisions of this Panchayats Act were generally applicable to all areas. When, however, certain areas with predominantly tribal inhabitants were added to Madhya Pradesh following the merger of neighbouring Indian States, it was found that the general provisions of the Act were unsuitable in their application to the Schedule Tribes. Accordingly, provisions were made for the constitution of Adimjatiya Panchayats for these areas, with a much simpler form of organisation. There was another departure in that the Sir Panchas for the Adimjatiya Panchayats were to be nominated by the State Government, and not elected as for the other village Panchayats. This highlights the question whether the elective principle should be followed in constituting Panchayats in the tribal areas.

Revival of the Tribal Councils

The above material suggests two possible ways of solving the problem of tribal self-government. One is to keep in being, strengthen and, where necessary, revive the existing tribal machinery; the other is by the introduction of Statutory Panchayats. The latter have, in fact, already been introduced in the several of the areas covered by the Multipurpose Blocks and although in some cases we have found that they have not supplanted the existing Tribal Councils, this is bound to happen in the course of a few years.

The advantage of the introduction of the Statutory Panchayats is that they will introduce a uniform system of village self-government throughout the country; the elections to them will serve as a kind of training in citizenship, whereby the tribal people will learn to exercise their votes on the wider national field; and that they have been very fully worked out after a great deal of thought.

On the other hand, the advantage of working through the Tribal Councils is that they have evolved naturally out of the conditions of life in tribal India and they command a ready allegiance from the people, who will be more willing to co-operate with institutions which have an established position among them through long use and convention. There is a danger that the introduction of the new Panchayats may defeat the very object of having them, for they may come to be looked upon as alien institutions, something superimposed on tribal culture and not evolving naturally out of it.

If this happens, the people's co-operation and support may be restricted and this will have a general hampering effect.

Many of the functions which are to be entrusted to these Statutory Panchayats could well be discharged by strengthened and revived tribal councils and, in fact, this has already been done in NEFA, whose Tribal Councils have been elaborately described by Dr Verrier Elwin in *A Philosophy for NEFA*.

Moreover, in view of the fact that the tribal people have many customary laws which differ to some extent from those of other people and they have always liked to settle their own affairs within the borders of their own community, it will not be easy for mixed Panchayats to give proper consideration to the tribal point of view. This will not be doubted by anyone who has ever attended a meeting, for example, of a Block Advisory Committee in the interior where the non-tribals sit on chairs and dominate proceedings, while the tribals all too often squat on the ground behind them, do not understand what is going on (for the proceedings are almost always in a non-tribal language) and make very little contribution to the proceedings.

There is a further danger that even in areas where there is a majority of tribal people they will elect as Sir Panchas the non-tribals on whom they are economically dependent. This is already happening; in the Narsampet Block of Andhra State, out of 28 Statutory Panchayats, 22 of the Sir Panchas are non-tribals. In the Aheri Block of Bombay, 12 out of 13 are non-tribals. In the Kshipur Block of Orissa, 7 out of 10 are non-tribals. This is not the case everywhere, but these examples do give a reasonable picture of the over-all situation. It will be a long time before the tribal people, at least in the more undeveloped areas, become sufficiently awake and powerful to compete on equal terms with the non-tribals settled among them.

On psychological grounds there is a great deal to be said for reviving and using the Tribal Councils instead of imposed Statutory Panchayats. They derive their authority from ancient times and the fact that they are the expression of the will and power of the whole people. They are supported not only by social, but also by supernatural, sanctions and to give false evidence, for example, may call down the vengeance of the gods as well as excite the scorn of men. Sacrifices are commonly offered to avert supernatural dangers, to implore the divine blessing on a Council's deliberations, and to bring peace between the contending parties.

The Tribal Councils are genuinely democratic bodies, for they are generally attended by all the people in the village and everyone, including women, can have a say. Although at present the work of many of them is confined to the settlement of social and religious disputes or the arrangement of minor details of administration, there is no reason why they should not be organized and developed to take over most of the powers and duties now given to the Statutory Panchayats. Throughout Assam and the north-eastern area, bodies of tribals, who are much less developed than those in other parts of India, are performing these functions with conspicuous success. Throughout India development workers are organizing Youths' Clubs, Young Farmers' Societies and other similar bodies, and if it is possible to organize these it should be possible to give some shape to the existing tribal methods of village self-government.

The principle of election is contrary to tribal tradition in most places and the core of the Tribal Councils depends on certain recognized leaders of the village who in practice listen to anybody who cares to attend their meetings. The whole principle of election to judicial bodies is, in fact, contrary to the Indian tradition and indeed, is scarcely known except in America. The introduction of the elective principle to local bodies among the tribes will certainly create rivalries and jealousies, it will break up the strongly co-operative and disciplined tribal village and will introduce other corruptions of the electoral machine. The attempt to introduce elections to village councils in the tribal areas of Manipur through the Village Authorities in Hill Areas Act of 1956 failed to win the co-operation of many of the tribal people, and the matter is now under consideration.

We realize the difficulties of the situation, especially in places where the Panchayats have already been started. But according to all our reports they have so far made very little progress and we suggest that in all homogeneous tribal areas, they should be withdrawn and a serious attempt should be made to re-establish the Tribal Councils, revive and strengthen them where they are weak, and recognize them where they are strong.

The Tribal Councils have great potentialities. Established in history and tradition, supported by social and religious sanctions, expression of a genuine democracy representing the co-operative and communal temperament of the people, they can be used not only to support law and order but also to further the progress of development throughout the tribal areas.

We recommend, therefore :

1. That in all homogeneous tribal areas, where the new Panchayat Acts have not been introduced, taking advantage of the provisions in these Acts (excepting Bombay) whereby the Governor can exempt a specified area or areas from the operation of the Panchayat Acts, they should not be introduced, but a serious attempt should be made to use the existing machinery instead.

2. If, however, the Panchayat Acts have been introduced in the tribal areas of any State it is a matter for consideration whether the Scheduled Areas should not be exempted from their operation by virtue of the provision in the Act concerned. In the State of Bombay, recourse could be taken to para 5 of the 5th Schedule of the Constitution for this purpose.

3. The above action may be taken in consultation with the Tribal Advisory Council constituted in each State.

4. In each tribal village, which is inhabited by people of one tribe, the existing machinery for settling disputes and administering the affairs of the village should be organized, in the first instance, into a simple Village Council, care being taken that at least one member of every clan in the village is represented. The Chairman should be the traditional headman of the village and if custom so directs the village priests or other traditional elders should also be represented.

5. Where there are members of more than one tribe in a village the same policy may be followed but it should be ensured that at least one member of each tribe should be represented.

6. Tribal group councils should be formed for groups of 10 to 15 villages and one representative should be chosen by each village as a member of the larger body. These simple councils should not be by formal election

but should consist of the elders who have traditionally managed village affairs. The Chairman should be the leading Chief or headman.

7. In the event of any dispute, the Chairman of the council should be nominated by the Deputy Commissioner/Collector.

8. In view of the fact that in many places the machinery for judicial and administrative work in tribal villages has fallen into disrepair, powers should be given to these Councils on a progressive basis. They may first be given various aspects of development work and the managing of ordinary or forest Co-operatives, and they should be encouraged to settle village and inter-village disputes without having recourse to the ordinary courts.

9. We further suggest that as these Councils show their capacity for managing their own affairs they should be given more and more of the powers enumerated in the various Panchayat Acts until finally they can take over all their functions.

10. Wherever a Tribal Council exists at present in an organized form it should be recognized immediately; where, however, it still has to be revived and developed, the Deputy Commissioner on the advice of the PEO, should recommend its recognition when he is satisfied that it is ready to take over statutory powers.

11. In areas where the tribal population is in a minority and the population is a mixed one, it is evident that any Tribal Council that may exist cannot be vested with the powers of the Statutory Panchayats so far as they affect the non-tribal population. In such areas, if a village Panchayat is to be instituted, provision should be made to ensure that a fair proportion of the members is from the tribal groups. In areas where, although the tribals are in a majority, there is a substantial proportion of non-tribals, or in areas where the State Government feels that it would be difficult to abrogate the provisions of the State Acts that may have already been enforced, steps should be taken to ensure that the Panchayats recognize in their membership the constitution of the villages, and the Sir Panch in such cases should be a tribal to be nominated by the Deputy Commissioner.

THE PLACE OF NON-OFFICIAL AGENCIES

It has been widely recognised that specialised welfare services are among the most important characteristics of a Welfare State. In a democratic set-up the contribution of voluntary effort has been responsible in no small measure towards achieving this objective. A democracy working for social ends has to be broad based on the willing assent of the people and not merely on the sanctions behind the administrative set-up of the State. The willing co-operation of the whole population backed by strong public opinion has, therefore, constituted the principal force and sanction behind all plan programmes. Implementation of welfare schemes by non-official agencies which enlist public co-operation will lead to all citizens acquiring a significant awareness and sense of partnership in the fulfilment of plan objectives. As a Report of the Congress Planning Sub-Committee has said: 'It is necessary in a democratic framework that a large measure of the constructive activity of the nation is done under non-official auspices. These activities can satisfy the urge of the normal human being to be of some use to the community in his spare time and give some benefit of his special ability to those who are in need of it. These activities can also become the training ground of social service workers on a mass scale.

'We feel that such organisations should receive all encouragement. The Social Welfare Board is doing its best in this direction. Care should be taken that their character as voluntary organisations is not impaired in the process. It is possible to meet the deficiencies of training facilities for the voluntary and salaried personnel of these agencies and also to make some arrangement for co-ordination of their administration and accounting functions. It is important, however, to give them a turn in the direction of the fulfilment of social objectives and especially in the case of those where they come in contact with those who have no work or capacity for work to give them a bias in the direction of producing goods and services.'

When the late Harold Laski was asked in a group discussion how he would test the value of a democracy, he replied that he would do so by the amount of voluntary activity within it. 'The more voluntary activity there is, the more real democracy and true democracy there is.'

The framers of the First and Second Five Year Plans, while rightly recognising the significant role played in development activities by voluntary organisations, made adequate provision for strengthening, extending and improving the activities of existing bodies working in the various fields of welfare activity.

Welfare programmes among the tribal people have to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions and appreciation of their social and economic problems which are intricate in nature and consequently need specific methods of approach. It has been increasingly realised that the best people to do this are those with special aptitude and devotion for social service. For instance, a number of attempts to settle the tribal people on land by providing them free houses and facilities have been rendered futile because of a lack of proper understanding on the part

of the personnel executing the schemes. The approach of a non-official towards such a programme might be more humane and consequently more successful.

Some of the best known non-official organisations which have been doing welfare work among the tribal people in India are the various Christian Missions, the Central Social Welfare Board, the Servants of India Society, the Adivasi Seva Mandal, the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, the Kasturba Smarak Nidhi, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Vanvasi Seva Mandal. Some of these organisations have been in receipt of financial assistance from Government but many of them have been conducting their activities and maintaining themselves through popular support, thus depending as little as possible on official subsidies. All these organisations, however, have been maintaining their voluntary character under non-official auspices. It has been felt that the specialised nature of the services that they render to the under-developed sections of the community could be best maintained only if they are independent of Government interference. Moreover, the voluntary organisations will be handicapped if they are subjected to undue restrictions and regulations as in a Government department.

The Central Social Welfare Board has undertaken to set up welfare extension projects in each of the Community Development Blocks. The efforts of the Board in bringing to the project areas specialised extension services for the welfare of women and children are commendable. In each of the schematic budgets of the 43 Special Multipurpose Blocks a provision has been made for an expenditure of Rs. 60,000 on programmes for women and children. The Board has also undertaken to set up six training centres for training Gram Sevikas to work in the various Tribal Blocks. The Board's programme envisages the recruitment of women from the tribal areas, even uneducated women provided they have an aptitude for social work, for intensive long-range training and ultimate absorption in their own area's.

The Servants of India Society and the Adivasi Seva Mandal have been implementing health and economic programmes in tribal areas. The Vanvasi Seva Mandal has a programme of running primary schools in the tribal areas, and a scheme of training workers. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh has a net-work of branches and affiliated institutions for conducting welfare centres in various parts of the country. They have a body of life-workers who are pledged to devote their entire life for work among tribal people and in tribal areas. The Khadi Commission has a programme of popularising the use of the Ambar Charkha among the tribals. The Sarva Seva Sangh have their activities mainly in Orissa with the object of rehabilitating the tribal people residing in the Gramdan villages on Sarvodaya lines. The centres run by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Kasturba Smarak Nidhi undertake economic programmes for women and children.

The Ministry of Home Affairs gives grants to non-official organisations of an all-India character directly, while they subsidise 50% of the expenditure on grants given to organisations of a local character, the remaining amount being made up by the State Government or the organization concerned. While some of the all-India bodies, by virtue of their record of service and importance, get cent per cent grants from the Centre

on certain terms and conditions, others are required to contribute a certain percentage which varies from 10 to 20 towards the total expenditure.

On the question of official contributions to non-official organisations, our Committee is generally in agreement that a measure of Government help by way of subsidy is essential for their growth and development but, however anxious we may be to promote non-official effort, the initiative and enthusiasm of these agencies should not be retarded by making over-generous grants and reducing too far their own duty to help themselves. When an institution is not able to find even a very small percentage, say 5% or 10% of the amount that it spends, it can hardly be supposed to have any hold on the sympathy of the public to satisfy them that they are necessary. If they are only spending authorities, the need for this will disappear and demoralisation may set in. An institution is entitled to live so long as the people want it to do so. We feel, therefore, that too great dependence on Government will tend to weaken the initiative of the voluntary organisations.

We recognise, however, that public contributions to non-official effort are dwindling for various reasons. We feel that non-official organisations which are implementing certain programmes such as Ashram Schools or Forest Labour Co-operative Societies as *agencies* of Government should receive the total cost of the schemes for non-recurring items, their own contribution taking the form of supervision and providing trained workers who have knowledge and enthusiasm.

Government should also ensure that the various non-official organisations should avoid duplication of activities not only as amongst themselves but also with those undertaken by Government in the same area. To achieve this, the scope of work of each non-official organisation and its field of activity should be clearly defined in an integrated and phased programme carefully planned in advance. Government should also ensure that an adequate accounting staff is provided to each of these organisations for the proper maintenance of accounts, which should be periodically audited by Government auditors. Without disturbing the continuity of the programmes, non-official organisations should be assured well in advance of the funds that will be made available so that they can assess the scope of the work that they can undertake.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

It is difficult to assess a fluid situation. We have figures of expenditure under the different heads of the Schematic Budget up to the end of September 1959, but it will not be fair to the Block officials to judge them by these, for there is little doubt that the picture is changing rapidly.

Several things have happened to change the picture. Allocations of funds have in many Blocks been redistributed more suitably and realistically within the schematic budget; communications have improved; unsuccessful P.E.Os have been removed and better men found in their place; the field staff has been strengthened by the appointment of additional V.L.Ws and the development schemes which started very slowly have now achieved a new tempo which by the end of the Second Five Year Plan period will result in a very different pattern of expenditure and achievement.

There have, however, been many criticisms both of the planning and execution of the Multipurpose Block scheme and we may refer briefly to them here, for there is much to be learnt for the future from what has happened in the past.

When the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks were started, the basis of coverage was an area of 200 sq. miles with a tribal population of 25,000 and *per capita* outlay of Rs. 108. In actual practice most of the States have ignored this provision and considerably increased the coverage to an average population of 39,193, an area of 547.45 sq. miles and a *per capita* outlay of only Rs. 68.

In many Blocks the proportion of non-tribals to tribals is far too high. Out of their total population of 16,85,325, only 12,10,976 are tribals and the non-tribal population of 4,74,349 is, of course, also benefited under the special programme. The Ministry of Community Development laid down that 80% of the total population of an area should be tribal if a Multipurpose Block was to be established in it. This, however, was not followed by some State Governments, as the following Table shows.

<i>Name of Block</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Non-Tribal</i>
Narsampet (Andhra)	43,852	16,206	27,646
Utnur (Andhra)	59,404	25,000	34,404
Kundahit (Bihar)	60,416	22,354	38,062
Nawhatta (Bihar)	26,120	5,847	20,273
Simdega (Bihar)	65,687	35,687	30,000
Kashipur (Orissa)	1,07,700	48,469	59,231
Raruan (Orissa)	64,357	33,647	30,710

In the Murkong-Selek Block of Assam the proportion of tribals to non-tribals is 13 to 15.

In their 48th Report for 1958-59 the Estimates Committee of Parliament commented adversely on this and pointed out that there was no justi-

fication for financing a Block, in which only a small percentage was tribal, from the funds earmarked for the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, for this was bound to mean that the scheme would primarily benefit the non-tribals rather than the tribals. Moreover, there are still large undeveloped areas with strong concentrations of tribals that have not been covered, and the Multipurpose Blocks should have been opened in them instead of in places with mixed populations or in areas with a low percentage of tribal people. Moreover, these Blocks are financed out of the grants made available to the State Governments by the Government of India under Article 275 of the Constitution, wherein it is specified that the money shall be earmarked specifically for the development of the Scheduled or Tribal Areas or for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

In the preliminary planning for the opening of any Special Tribal Blocks in future, the State Governments should ensure that the specified area of 200 sq. miles and the prescribed population of 25,000 tribals are not exceeded. Political considerations should not weigh in determining the location of a Block, but as far as possible, first preference in opening future Blocks should be given to the most undeveloped areas. We have received complaints from a number of people that the programme of development of the Multipurpose Block areas has not primarily benefited the tribals but others. All economically distressed people in a Block need our help, but the tribes must have their proper and special share.

Closely connected with the question of non-tribals deriving too high a share of the benefits from tribal welfare programmes in the Multipurpose Blocks is the problem of the dilution of coverage due to the excessive population. In several Blocks the total is over 60,000 or even 1,07,700, as in Kashipur. In such cases the very purpose of providing funds for the intensive development of the tribal people has been defeated, first by the very large population and, secondly, on account of the fact that only 50% or even less belong to the tribal communities.

Some of the Blocks are far too big. For example, Kashipur is 969 square miles in extent, Murkong-Selek is 1,134, Lungleh is 1,230, Aheri is 1,100, Narsampet is 1,500, Bharatpur is 1,224, Bagicha is 1,052 and Tamenglong is no less than 1,872. In view of the fact that these are just the Blocks where communications are bad, it is obviously impossible to develop them properly and more especially to give adequate help to the tribals living in the far interior.

We noticed that in several places the headquarters of the Multipurpose Blocks were located in non-tribal areas and the beneficiaries naturally were mostly non-tribals. We, therefore, recommend that while opening future Blocks the location of their headquarters should invariably be in the heart and not on the outskirts of the area to enable the tribal people to get the maximum benefit of the programme.

It is not easy, however, to select areas for the location of Multipurpose Blocks. What is to be the criterion? Is it inaccessibility? Some of the happiest, most free, and comparatively well-fed groups are quite inaccessible. Is it poverty and exploitation? Have we sufficient research experts in economics to decide where this is worst?

A remarkable decision, as unscientific as it is fundamentally patronising, was taken at a recent conference in Delhi to the effect that 'a list of the Scheduled Tribes should be prepared according to their primitiveness'.

This is presumably to assist in future plans for the location of special development schemes. But how is this to be done? What is primitiveness? Generally speaking, 'primitiveness' (although there is not really any such thing in India today) means self-reliance, community work and a spirit of co-operation, artistic creativeness, honesty, truthfulness, hospitality, a highly organized society. If such criteria are used, there is no objection, though it seems to be almost impossible to make enquiries, the answers to which must be largely subjective. But it is likely that 'primitiveness' will be taken to mean wearing one's own clothes, living in one's own type of house, worshipping one's own gods in one's own way, and in general following one's own traditional way of life.

But surely these should not be factors that decide the location of a Block. It is economic need, the lack of communications, an underdeveloped system of agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandry, an unhealthy environment, rather than such anthropological considerations which should decide.

If, however, the suggestion (which we will make in the next chapter) of covering the entire tribal area with Special Tribal Blocks is accepted, this problem will not arise.

Let us turn now to a consideration of other difficulties and criticisms.

The Schematic Budget has, in practice, proved an obstacle to the adaptation of the programme to urgent tribal needs. Although the State Governments have been empowered to transfer funds from one head to another within the same Block in any manner they consider necessary to meet local requirements, this power has not been used with sufficient imagination and knowledge. There are also rules which prevent, for example, any transfer of funds from certain subjects such as Rural Arts and Crafts, though this has now been rather grudgingly allowed. As the Renuka Ray Committee says, these powers have not been used freely or appropriately by the State Governments. The schematic budget tends to set a rigid pattern, which results in lopsided expenditure. Even though the P.E.Os have been told again and again that they should be flexible in their approach, what we may call a psychological paralysis has been created by the very existence of a 'schematic' budget.

In the first two or three years the percentage of expenditure on Block headquarters is bound to be the highest but the proportion obviously will come down by the end of the five-year period. But it is disconcerting to find that Agriculture and Animal Husbandry occupy only the fifth place, the overall average being 35.42%, and that Irrigation, Reclamation of land and Soil Conservation take the seventh position in the progress of expenditure. Among the villagers themselves, in the experience of both the Renuka Ray Committee and our own, Agriculture, Education and Public Health have rated very high in the scale of preference and it has been found that educational services have been utilized by 59.2 per cent, public health by 57.6 per cent and agriculture by 50 per cent. Rural Housing and Rural Arts and Crafts take the lowest place, being only 2.9 per cent and 0.36 per cent in the order of utilization.

There has been little attempt to build the programmes on a tribal foundation; there is practically no idea at all in most Blocks of developing the people along the lines of their own tradition and genius or of giving any attention to the other main points stressed by the Prime Minister in his Panchshila for tribal development. Except in Assam, an astonishing-

ly small number of tribals have found employment in the Multipurpose Blocks, other than as Class IV servants. There is little attempt anywhere on the part of officials to learn the local languages and this has meant that there is a considerable gulf between them and their people and is perhaps the primary reason why most of the latter have very little idea of why the Blocks have been established or what they are aiming at.

The psychological effect of so much money available and the difficulty of spending it creates a sense of guilt and strain among the Block officials and often incites them to put up schemes which appear to be based not so much on the actual needs of the people as on the feeling that the money must be spent at any cost. Far too much is being spent on the construction programme and elaborate buildings are being erected, partly to get rid of the money available, where much simpler and more economic buildings would do. An even more serious consequence is the growth of what an experienced officer has called 'a chain of falsehood', whereby far too optimistic reports are submitted from the V.L.W. to his immediate supporter, from him to the Development Commissioner and the State and from the State to the Ministries concerned.

One Development Commissioner, in the course of discussion about the Multipurpose Blocks, exclaimed that they were marked by 'too much misguided goodwill, too much money, not enough care in drawing up programmes, excessive zeal, theoretical and amateurish pressure from the top, and the destruction of self-reliance.' 'Are we', he asked, 'simply to spend money in a hurry or do we really want to fulfil our basic aims?'

Another weakness of the present Multipurpose Blocks scheme is that it creates a sense of jealousy in neighbouring C.D. Blocks which do not receive anything like the same amount. The tribal people are particularly subject to this psychology of rivalry. If one village has a school, the next village must have a school also, not because it is particularly keen on education but simply because the other village gets prestige by having it. In some places there is considerable resentment that such and such a tribe or such and such a group of villages has so much more money allotted to it.

Moreover, surely the tribal areas should advance as a whole and it is rather undesirable that one tribe or part of a tribe should go so much further ahead than the people of the same tribe living only a few miles away. And there is no point, for example, in banishing a disease like yaws in a Multipurpose Block area if parallel action cannot be taken in the surrounding areas whence the infection may well return into the Multipurpose Block. So also in the Multipurpose Blocks where there is so much more money to be used, there is a danger that a surplus of trained craftsmen may be created, while in an area, twenty miles away, there may not be any artisans at all. This is likely to cause a serious dislocation of the tribal economy. Special attention to research, extra pay to officials, rewards for passing a language examination should not be confined to only some of the tribal areas in a State, but should apply to them all.

The Renuka Ray Committee has remarked that 'it is now clear to any serious student of the working of plan-schemes that over-doing or unduly hastening the process and pace of development often leads to passivity, a disposition to accept but not to do'. It is no use trying to hustle the tribal areas. However desirable it may be that they should rapidly develop along with the rest of the country, experience has shown that this just will

not happen, and it would be better to be practical and realistic and accept the fact that however much money may be provided, progress that may well be expected in an already developed area within five years will take ten or fifteen years among the tribes. This does not mean, however, that we should not attack the tragic problems of malnutrition, exploitation and disease by every means in our power and as speedily as possible.

The programme has been too elaborate, and much time and energy is even now being wasted on non-essentials, sometimes even on things that go contrary to the fundamental policy. The late Governor of Assam, Shri S. Fazl Ali, used always to insist that development programmes should cut out the 'frills', as he used to call them, and concentrate on essentials.

These considerations suggest that the entire tribal area should go forward, not piecemeal but together; that there should be a much greater attention to real priorities such as Agriculture, Health and Communications; and that it would be better to spread our resources over a wider area than to concentrate them on pockets which may be wrongly selected.

We may now turn to more specific reasons, at the Block level, which may show us why things have not gone better in the first three-and-a-half years of the plan period, for even if we only rely on figures of expenditure there are many serious shortfalls, not least in such vitally important matters as agriculture and communications.

In the first place, many of the Blocks were slow in starting. Some Blocks were opened without even a P.E.O. to supervise the work. In others there was no Medical Officer or no one to look after Cottage Industries, Co-operation, Social Education and so on until after two or three years. Schemes were not ready, sanctions were often delayed. In several cases there were disputes about the location of the Block headquarters and in one place the site was twice changed before the Block officials settled down to their permanent home. Members of the staff, many of whom came from urban surroundings, found themselves confused and lost in the unfamiliar setting of the hills and forests.

Then the tribal people themselves, neglected and isolated for so long, did not always welcome the new-comers. In one Block they threatened to kill the development officials and for a long time refused to give them any place for their buildings, since they were afraid that the entire scheme was based on some sinister plot to alienate the tribal land and to introduce permanent settlers. In two Blocks in Madhya Pradesh it has been reported that the people begged the officials to go away and leave them alone. There was a very general atmosphere of bewilderment and even suspicion at the sudden invasion of so many officials, for it seemed to the tribal mind incomprehensible that after so many centuries of neglect, Government should suddenly take an interest in them.

The matter was complicated by the fact that most of the officials were town-bred, wore unfamiliar dress, erected houses of an urban pattern and lived in a different style. Worst of all, hardly any of them spoke the local language and even where there was some sort of *lingua franca*, they did not have the advantage of being able to create those intimate relations quickly which generally depend on a knowledge of a people's real language. Then again, although in too many cases the Block headquarters were started in small non-tribal towns, others, which were opened further in the interior, suffered badly from lack of communications and there was

inadequate planning to make road to ensure a regular inflow of materials and equipment. Moreover, most of the officials were accustomed to tour with the help of motor transport and it was a shock to some of them to find that they had to walk. Even if the headquarters itself was well-connected with the outside world, there were usually very few roads to take them into the interior. Lack of proper allowances for touring on foot made the situation worse. The staff at first had no houses to live in and these took some time to come up. All these distracted the attention of the officials and lowered their morale.

Proper surveys were only made in a few cases on any scientific basis. Most of the staff had no idea of tribal life or of how to adapt themselves to it and unsuitable schemes imposed from above and their own lack of knowledge proved a very serious hindrance.

Then having started, progress was still further delayed by the frequent transfers of officials, by the idea that to be appointed to a tribal area was discreditable, if not a punishment, and by a general sense of uncertainty about the future, which undoubtedly prevented them from learning the language or giving their full enthusiasm to their work.

It also soon became clear that without a favourable psychological climate it was difficult to inspire the tribes to take a real interest in the development of their area. In some places they were worried about their land and showed little inclination to develop it until they got regular rights for its possession. In other places there was a conflict with the Forest Department and its rules. In yet other places political movements absorbed the attention of the people and sometimes led to antagonism towards Government.

The large number of different programmes confused the P.E.Os and their staff and they tended to go round in circles trying to make up their minds what to do first : indeed, the P.E.Os still have so many distractions that they find it difficult to concentrate on making a success of a few really essential schemes. Some of the programmes had little appeal to the people and others proved impractical in execution. Medical coverage remains completely inadequate and there are Blocks which even today have no regular medical officer. It is almost impossible to get nurses to go to these areas. In a good many Blocks the development of cottage industries has been poor and much of what has been done is frankly a waste of money, for many trainees give up their craft as soon as they leave their institutions. The housing scheme has been largely misdirected. In the realm of research and cultural education practically nothing has been done. Animal husbandry has not yet found its feet.

On the other hand, a great deal of good has been done. Large tracts of hitherto inaccessible country have been opened up, at least for part of the year. In some Blocks Agriculture and Irrigation have had an almost spectacular success. Doctors, even though they are few, have extended the healing hand of science to many who have never in their history known the benison of modern medicine. Suspicion of the outside world, doubts about the intentions of Government and the tendency to shrink within themselves in fear of the outsider have disappeared or are disappearing rapidly among the tribes. There is a new sense of integration with India as a whole and a growing awareness among the tribals of their status as citizens of a great country.

The experiment has not failed. Valuable experience has been gained and in the light of it the Special Tribal Blocks which we recommend in the next chapter should be able to avoid many mistakes and implement their programmes more effectively and with greater wisdom.

THE FUTURE OF THE SPECIAL TRIBAL BLOCKS

What now of the future? It is obvious that a fairly large number of the existing Multipurpose Blocks will be unable to spend the 27 lakhs allotted to them within the Five Year period. We suggest that in such cases the life of the Block may be extended by a period up to two years, commensurate with the money unspent, in order to enable its funds to be used wisely. This is, in fact, the normal policy followed for Phase I of the ordinary C. D. Blocks. On no account should the State Governments transfer to other schemes the money unspent at the end of the Five-Year period or surrender it.

We recommend that those Blocks which have spent their 27 lakhs in time should receive 5 lakhs of rupees for Phase II from the Home Ministry in addition to the 5 lakhs they will receive from the C. D. Ministry for this period. Otherwise, the sudden drying up of financial support may create serious problems, for the simple tribal people will not understand the situation. This money should, of course, be used to extend and complete the existing schemes and not be used to start new ones. Those Blocks which cannot spend their allocation in time may receive for Phase II the extra 5 lakhs when they have used up the money given them for Phase I and the period for spending this additional money may be similarly extended.

With regard to the opening of Special Tribal Blocks in the Third Five Year Plan period, we feel that the present experiment, although it suffers from the defects of all pilot projects, has been sufficiently successful to justify its extension. There may, however, be various modifications.

We feel that, in the first place, there has been a little too much money to be used wisely and profitably within five years, at least in the more inaccessible and undeveloped Blocks, which are of course the very areas we most want to help.

We suggest, therefore, that the Home Ministry's contribution to each of the new Special Tribal Blocks to be opened in the Third Five Year Plan period should be reduced from 15 lakhs to 10 lakhs, in addition, of course, to the 12 lakhs which will be contributed by the Ministry of Community Development. We further recommend that in Phase II of these Blocks the Home Ministry should contribute 5 lakhs in addition to the 5 lakhs which we hope will be provided by the Ministry of Community Development. We expect that the Block authorities will be able to spend usefully the reduced sum of 22 lakhs of rupees within the five-year period and that it will not be necessary to extend it as is being done at present. We must recognize, however, that development in the tribal areas is going to take a long time and we earnestly hope that some special assistance will continue to be given for the Special Tribal Block areas for a period of fifteen to twenty years.

We further suggest in view of what we have said in the preceding Chapters that development should be equal throughout the whole of tribal India. The entire area will be covered by C. D. Blocks by 1963 and this scheme will apply not only to the Scheduled and Tribal Areas but to all areas. In the Scheduled and Tribal Areas alone there are still 72.5 lakhs of tribal people who have not been covered by the Multipurpose Tribal

Blocks scheme, but we do not see any reason why it should in future be confined only to the Scheduled and Tribal areas. Even at present nine of the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks are outside these special areas. This will mean that there will be a large number of Blocks with predominantly tribal populations covered in the Third Five Year Plan.

Let us, for the sake of argument, estimate that about 300 Special Tribal Blocks will be required to cover all the predominantly tribal areas. We suggest that if each of these Blocks receives from the Home Ministry ten lakhs of rupees instead of 15 lakhs it will be possible to spread the benefits of intensive development over all of them. Instead of giving 15 lakhs to each of, say, 100 Special Tribal Blocks the Home Ministry might give 10 lakhs to each of 300 new Blocks. This will mean an expenditure (above the C. D. Ministry's contribution) during the Third Five Year Plan of Rs. 30 crores, which is surely not too much to meet a problem of such magnitude.

We recommend that these new Blocks should not be confined to the Scheduled and Tribal Areas but should cover areas, wherever there is a tribal population of 55 per cent of the total, anywhere in India, provided the overall coverage for each Block is not more than 25,000 individuals in an area of 200 square miles.

In view of the fact that the provision of a schematic budget has caused what we have called a sort of psychological paralysis and that expenditure has not always been adjusted to the more urgent requirements of the Block areas, the 22 lakhs available for the new Special Tribal Blocks in the Third Five Year Plan should not be tied down too much. We recommend that there should be no regular schematic budget for the Tribal Blocks in future, but that expenditure should be divided into three sections—

Schemes for economic development	...	60%
Communications	...	25%
Social services	...	15%

This, of course, will be in addition to the provision made in the general budget of the State for the development of communications as well as social services in these areas.

Top priority should be given to Agriculture and the allied subjects of Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation, and not less than 10 lakhs should be spent under these heads.

We suggest elsewhere that funds available under the Education programme should be administered by the Education Departments of the States and we hope that sufficient funds will be available from other channels to further schemes for Education in the Block areas. At present the amount allocated under the schematic budget for Education is more a token grant than anything else and we feel that it would be better if a special provision is made outside the Block budget for this subject. It will also be more effective if Education is handled by a single agency.

We consider, however, that if this is to be done and this large sum of money allotted, certain conditions must be fulfilled.

(1) First and foremost, the State Governments should take the whole matter of developing their tribal areas much more seriously. They should ensure that planning is done well in advance and sanctions issued expeditiously. They should insist that all Departments should co-operate generously and enthusiastically with the P.E.Os in implementing the Special Block

plans. They must realize that money is of little use unless it is made usable.

(2) Block officials should be chosen and appointed at least six months before the formal opening of a Block and they should spend their time in surveying the area, learning the language and assessing priorities for development.

(3) State Governments should not transfer any official who has been so appointed and trained, unless he proves a failure, for at least three years. No official, at any level, should be posted to a tribal area as a punishment; in fact, the best officials (including members of the I.A.S. and P.C.S.) should as a matter of routine, be appointed as part of their general training, for at least a year.

(4) The State Governments should follow the suggestions made with regard to both the area and the population of the Blocks to be opened.

(5) There should be a really serious attempt to relate the programmes and the way of doing things to the tribal background.

We suggest that in future the designation of the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks might be changed. It is too elaborate and after all every Block in the country is a multipurpose one. These special Blocks only differ in having more money to spend and a small additional staff. They are, in fact, no more multipurpose than any others. We suggest that they should be called in future Special Tribal Blocks, which should be sufficient, for this is exactly what they are.

There is also the problem of the very large tribal population which is not included in the Scheduled or Tribal Areas. Out of 2,25,00,000 persons who come under the classification of Scheduled Tribes, only 98 lakhs live in the Scheduled or Tribal Areas. The others are very widely scattered all over India and fall into two groups. The first and by far the largest consists of the tribals who are mixed up with other people to such an extent that it is not possible to classify the places where they live as Scheduled Areas. The second consists of small pockets of tribals living in the deep interior of a District among the hills or forests, who are not sufficient in numbers to come within the Scheduled Areas scheme or to qualify for a Special Block to themselves.

The first group needs our help perhaps more than any other. In the Tribal Areas of Assam, for example, the people are strong and independent and any one who tries to take advantage of them does so at his peril. In the mixed areas, however, the tribes have been shockingly exploited. They have lost their land on a scale unknown in the more homogeneous areas; they are culturally impoverished; they cannot stand up for themselves. They need drastic measures for their protection, and earnest and intelligent care to teach them how to protect themselves.

The little pockets of tribals scattered in the distant hills and forests are often less developed than any others, for they have in the past largely escaped attention, settled as they are on the remote outskirts of large non-tribal populations, with little or no means of communication with the rest of the country. So far, many of them have had few of the advantages of the main development programmes and while, owing to their isolation, they are not greatly exploited by merchants and money-lenders, they do suffer from the exactions of low-grade police, revenue and forest personnel, and they are usually very poor.

Some scheme, therefore, is needed in the Third Five Year Plan to ensure that something more is done for both these groups of people. At present they are looked after by the Tribal Welfare Departments in the States and we suggest that they should, in the first place, carefully examine the problem and prepare careful reports of where these people live and how they are doing, and then that special grants adjusted to the population should be made for a very few special schemes. All these tribes will be included inside the ordinary C. D. Block scheme by 1963 and it might be possible for the Home Ministry to give special grants to the Blocks where such people live to be used exclusively for them, in addition to the grants that they would in any case receive under the normal Block budgets and the general funds of the State. Such assistance might in one place be entirely confined to Communications, which would immediately solve half the problem. In others it might be confined to Communications and Agriculture. If there are tribal people living in a very unhealthy forest area which the rest of the population avoids, the stress might be entirely on Health. But whatever it may be, we are anxious that what is after all the majority of the tribal people in India, who will not be covered by the Special Tribal Blocks scheme, should in no way be neglected or fall behind their brethren who will receive so many additional benefits.

If this is to be achieved we feel that the Blocks should be the units not only of development but also of administration. As far as the Scheduled Tribes residing in the ordinary areas are concerned, it will be beneficial to channelise all development activity through the Block administrations. In order to co-ordinate such a programme for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes, the additional funds earmarked by the Ministry of Home Affairs to supplement normal development activity for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes should be placed at the disposal of the Block authorities. The normal C. D. Blocks should be able to implement additional programmes out of grants made available by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

During the Second Plan period, out of a total provision of Rs. 47.65 crores for Scheduled Tribes, the Home Ministry's contribution for the Special Multipurpose Blocks was only 6.32 crores, while the remaining Rs. 41.32 crores was spent for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes through 'non-Block' programmes. Only a few State Governments such as Orissa and Bihar have implemented such 'non-Block' programmes for Scheduled Tribes through the Block Development Officers. We are of the view that the balance of advantage would lie if schemes were channelised through the Block Development Officers.

We have observed that in almost all the Blocks the most progressive and prosperous tribal people are, perhaps naturally, receiving the majority of the benefits of our development schemes. Although this is understandable, since it is obviously easier to give help to people who are willing to receive it and to assist those who are more readily accessible, it is undesirable that in any Block that section of the population which most needs development should not be getting it. Indeed, it is the poorest people living in the remoter areas who should receive the chief attention of the Block officials.

There are three ways in which this difficulty may be met. The first is that the headquarters of the Blocks should, on no account, be located in small towns or in the centre of a non-tribal population. They should be

pushed into the interior as far as is practicable. It is obvious that so long as a Block headquarters is not located in the midst of the most undeveloped and characteristic part of a Block those people who really need help will be largely deprived of it. One reason why there has been a tendency to place these headquarters in more accessible areas has been the need to import a large quantity of building materials. If our suggestion of putting up houses for the staff in a more simple style, using for the most part locally available materials, is accepted, this difficulty need not arise.

Secondly, in order to reach the more inaccessible areas it is necessary to make the conditions of touring easier. At present in many places an official on tour receives either no allowance or a totally inadequate allowance for moving his goods. In order really to effect progress in the remoter parts of a Block it may be necessary for an official to go out on tour for two or three weeks at a time. Since it is often impossible to obtain supplies locally he will have to carry enough stores to maintain himself; he may have to take audio-visual equipment or medicines; and he will have to take his bedding and in some places a tent. He cannot possibly pay for this out of his T. A.

If any official wants to know his people and succeed in his mission to them he will have to *walk*. Most officials are prepared to do this, but it is generally difficult to obtain porters, quite apart from paying for them. The very old custom of taking porters by force and often without payment has created a strong reaction against the practice among many tribes. At some times of the years the people, even if they are willing to carry loads, cannot afford to do so: they are too busy in their fields. Among other tribes it is considered below their dignity, as indeed it is, to carry loads for officials.

We feel that a Project Officer ought to spend at least twenty days a month outside his headquarters and that he should not confine himself to visiting villages which can be reached by road. There is a tendency for the officials at headquarters to dash out into the villages in the early morning and to return the same night. They will not really come to know their people or have any real impact upon them unless they live with them, sit with them in the evenings and share their life to some extent. It is specially necessary for officials to meet the people in the evenings for they are often so busy during the day that they either do not come to meet officials at all or, if they do, they have a sense of grievance that their work has been interrupted.

We suggest, therefore, that arrangements should be made to equip every Block with a number of good bullock-carts with tyre-wheels, ball-bearings and so on and provide also a number of small tents. Such bullock-carts will be able to reach many places inaccessible to ordinary motor transport. Where this is impracticable we suggest that ponies should be provided and for shorter visits there should be a number of bicycles available. Payment for these things should be suitably provided.

There is far too general a tendency to rely on motor transport. Splendid cities were established and great civilizations developed a thousand years before the invention of the jeep, and it is most important to encourage officials to use other and more practicable forms of transport so that they can reach the people who need them most.

We are not in favour of establishing any kind of means test to determine which of the people most deserve economic benefit. In the first place,

any kind of survey of this kind will take a long time and it is unlikely that the investigators will discover the truth. In the second place, such enquiries may discourage the people from developing their fields or from building better houses. In some areas we have found that through fear of increased taxation the tribals are unwilling to improve their fields, for there is a deep and almost ineradicable objection among them to paying out money. They prefer to have a poor crop on which they will not have to pay anything to getting a better one which may involve payment of some sort of additional tax. Even a well-to-do person feels a certain nervous tremor when he is presented with a Wealth Tax form, and the simple tribal people are deeply suspicious of any attempt to assess their economic condition.

It should be perfectly easy for any P.E.O. who knows his area to point out, without too many enquiries, what are the most undeveloped and poorest villages in his charge. On them we should concentrate with special sympathy and care.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

EPILOGUE

Our Report must be read in the light of the great deal of study and many recommendations made by other bodies. We have frequently referred to the outstanding Reports of the Renuka Ray Committee and the Inaccessible Areas Committee. Elaborate suggestions were made by the Seminars of workers in the Multipurpose Blocks held in Ranchi and Pachmarhi in the middle of 1959. Many recommendations affecting work in the Multipurpose Blocks have been made by the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare and in the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is the reason why our Report may seem rather overloaded on some subjects and rather lightly loaded on others. But this does not mean, of course, that we are in any way indifferent to the subjects we have not treated very fully. We have simply felt that, since there are already before Government and the public so many studies of and recommendations on these subjects, it is unnecessary for us to do it all over again. We have tried rather to fill in certain gaps which have not hitherto been so fully considered. On indebtedness, for example, and Forest Co-operatives, there is now little more to say except to recognize their urgency and to insist that the action already proposed should be implemented as soon as possible.

In the same way we have not attempted a very full evaluation of the success or failure of the Multipurpose Blocks. The time for this will come at the end of the Second Five Year Plan period. At the present moment statistics, which are in any case a little uncertain (we have had, for example, no fewer than four different sets of figures covering the same period for a single Block), are not likely to give an altogether fair picture. We have had to standardize our figures for the period ending on September 30th 1959. During the subsequent five or six months the picture has undoubtedly changed and we have been assured by all the States that it will be entirely changed by the end of the Second Five Year Plan period, even though it may take them another two years to spend all their money. This is to be expected, for the tempo is everywhere, and often rapidly, mounting and already many things have been done, some of them as a result of our own suggestions on the spot, to ensure better progress. We have felt that it is even more important to consider how things should be done than what actually has been done.

A Report like this, which adopts a novel approach to a number of subjects, is liable to be misunderstood by those who may not take the trouble to read it carefully. It will be as well, therefore, to remove any possible misconceptions about our views. The first point that we would like to make clear is that a number of our recommendations have been made in reference to the immediate situation and are not intended to be regarded as a blue-print for all time to come. For example, we have deprecated the introduction of too many elaborate machines or implements in the fields of both agriculture and minor industries. This does not mean that we are unaware of the importance of mechanized farming and, in fact, we look for-

ward to the day when the tribal people can have fully mechanized farms along with other farmers throughout the country. It is obvious, indeed, that there is no other ultimate way of solving the problem of food. But we feel that today, in view of the isolated character of most of the tribal areas, the fact that the peasants are only just beginning to learn new ways of cultivation, in view of the lack of expert technical personnel, it will be wise to go slowly with the introduction of mechanized equipment which will be beyond the means of the tribals to purchase and beyond their skill to repair. We have seen far too many such machines lying unused or fallen into disrepair. In these remote areas it may take six months to a year before a broken machine can be put right. But the day, we hope, will come when even the tribal areas can have the benefits of mechanized agriculture.

In our chapter on Education we have stressed the importance of schools with an agricultural or forestry bias. We must also face the fact that in some areas, as for example, in parts of the Chotanagpur Plateau, many tribals will be swept into the great river of industrialization and a special type of education will have to be devised to prepare them for this drastic change from everything with which they are familiar. Already thousands of tribals are going to the mines or factories as unskilled workers and some of them, as in the TISCO Works at Jamshedpur, are proving successful as skilled workers. This problem is still some years in the future, but we should think about it and be ready to face it to when it comes.

In advocating the establishment of Tribal Councils we are not, of course, thinking in terms of keeping the tribes separate for ever, even in their administrative or judicial institutions, from other people. We advocate them today because we feel that, on the one hand, their development will give a great psychological encouragement to the people and, on the other, that this is the best way of ensuring them a square deal. We look forward to a casteless, classless and triballess society in which every citizen or group of citizens will bring its own special contribution to the common fund, but will not be divided by any artificial distinctions. We look forward to the day when it will be no longer necessary to use the word 'tribal' at all. At present, however, it is necessary to do so in order to ensure that these people get their rights and to build them up into a position of sufficient strength, confidence and knowledge to enable them to stand on equal terms with the rest of the population. We must also hope that in the future, although India will be classless, it will not be uniform, smoothed out into a dull and colourless mediocrity. India's beauty lies in its power to combine unity with difference in a 'rich and varied tapestry'.

In our chapter on Housing we have been critical of the present programmes. This does not mean that we are indifferent to the importance of ensuring that every tribal, and indeed everyone in India, should have adequate and attractive shelter. But we feel that the situation in a village among the hills and forests is rather different from that in a town. The majority of the tribal people, in their physical strength and energy, make fairly good homes. They are not like our homes, but they have been adapted by long experience to the physical conditions of the environment and the people's domestic needs. Provided wood and bamboo is made easily available, there is no reason why any tribal family should not have a fairly good house simply by working hard at it and we feel that by paying these people to build their own houses and specially by employing contractors to build

houses for them, we are putting a premium on laziness. In any tribal village which has not lost its discipline and spirit of co-operation, the villagers join together to help the poorer people to build their cottages. As we have said, improved housing in the tribal areas is more a problem of education than of construction.

We have put forward a rather unusual point of view about shifting cultivation. There is, of course, no idea of sentimentalising about it or of desiring to perpetuate it. We have simply faced the facts. In some areas there is no alternative land. In others the transfer of the tribal people from the hills to the plains will only intensify the land-hunger that exists. Shifting cultivation is a wasteful and harmful practice but it may be possible to reduce its disadvantages and increase its productivity. All we have urged is that we should recognize the reasons why the tribal people have adopted and are still attached to this type of agriculture, which for them represents a considerable advance on the old methods of hunting and food-gathering; that we should be gentle with them and not impose burdens that they cannot bear; that we should take a positive approach, teaching new methods and providing facilities for them rather than forcing them to abandon lands to which they are attached so greatly. We hope that some way will be found whereby the hill people can continue to live in their hills, but more prosperously, and by new and scientific methods of hill cultivation.

In urging that the Tribal Research Institutes should concentrate on practical and immediate problems, we do not of course intend to qualify the importance of the academic aspects of anthropology and sociology. The study of racial characters, the biological nature of Man or the profound and still little-explored depths of his psychology, the complexities of his social organization is of fundamental value and must not be neglected. But we feel that for the next few years, there is an urgent need for all students of the character and life of Man to throw themselves into the human and practical task of helping the Development Officers to solve the immediate problem of tribal progress.

We have already referred to the infantile criticism that any one who shows an interest in tribal culture is trying to preserve the people as museum specimens. Nobody accuses the cultural leaders of India, her artists, poets, musicians and scholars of doing this when their work grows out of the ancient tradition of their country. This particular accusation is a sign of a sub-conscious sense of superiority towards the tribal people. What difference is there between our attitude and that of Gandhiji himself when he wrote about the whole of India ?

'I have pictured to myself an India continually progressing along the lines best suited to her genius. I do not, however, picture it as a third class or even a first class copy of the dying civilization of the West.'

The Need for Action

It is very important that sincere, speedy and generous action should be taken on the many recommendations that have been made not only by us but by the other bodies to which we have referred. It is extraordinary how often such recommendations are ignored in practice. It would not matter so much if a State Government replied that such and such a Committee was talking through its hat and that it was wrong. This, however,

seldom happens. Instead, a recommendation sinks into the soulless obscurity of an official file and is heard of no more. There are excellent suggestions in the Aiyappan Report of 1948 about tribal education, which we have had to repeat here because they have never been implemented. Little notice has been taken of Sir W. V. Grigson's important Report on *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*, published as long ago as 1944. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has more than once complained that his recommendations are ignored. Admirable suggestions by the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare have often received only partial implementation or none at all. We earnestly hope that the many suggestions that have been put forward by various Committees of the last year or two will be at least very seriously considered and if not acceptable, may come up for further discussion.

Conclusion

Of the many tribal problems the greatest of all is poverty. There were once tribal Rajas and Zamindars controlling vast estates; there are still powerful Chiefs in the north-eastern hills; but the majority of these people are among the poorest peasants in the world. Some have no land at all and are little better than serfs; some have no rights over the fields they cultivate; many have been robbed of their land; the rest struggle with primitive tools to scratch a living from an unfriendly soil.

They are poor in knowledge and much of their splendid energy is wasted as a result of doing things the wrong way. Many of them are today psychologically poor: they have learnt to despise their own culture; they live under a constant shadow of anxiety and fear; what little they have is taken from them. Some are losing those virtues—truth, honesty, self-reliance, unity—which were formerly their greatest treasures.

Children die young in fear and pain; girls lose their beauty many years before they should; the young men, strong and with a zest for living, grow frustrated and disappointed and premature old age soon breaks their spirit. The harsh struggle to survive becomes too great a strain, and life itself seems nothing much to lose.

And much of this is the fault of us, the 'civilized' people. We have driven them into the hills because we wanted their land and now we blame them for cultivating it in the only way we left to them. We have robbed them of their arts by sending them the cheap and tawdry products of a commercial economy. We have even taken away their food by stopping their hunting or by introducing new taboos which deprive them of the valuable protein elements in meat and fish. We sell them spirits which are far more injurious than the home-made beers and wines which are nourishing and familiar to them, and use the proceeds to uplift them with ideals. We look down on them and rob them of their self-confidence, and take away their freedom by laws which they do not understand.

All this must stop—and soon. Each man is his brother's keeper and we must all atone for our long neglect and our wrong attitude. Mankind is one and the tribes are a very precious part of mankind. We must give our best administrators, our keenest doctors, our expert technicians, our scholars and inspire them with a sense of the tragedy and the opportunity that faces them in tribal India.

Mere money cannot solve anything. It is because of this that we have only asked for a trivial thirty crores of rupees which, spread over difficult and widespread areas, is actually a very modest sum. The fear has been expressed that this will involve too rapid a progress, too complicated a programme, the employment of *inferior men*. This need not be so. We agree that we should 'hasten slowly', advance with caution, give the tribes a breathing-space to adapt themselves to the new world. Whatever we do, that world will come upon them and they must be ready for it. Hunger, disease, exploitation, ignorance, isolation are evils whose cure cannot be delayed; they must be treated rapidly and efficiently.

We believe that in the programme of the Special Tribal Blocks, if it is planned wisely and implemented sincerely, India has an effective instrument to save her tribal people from poverty and fear, and develop them along the lines of their own genius.

Take physic, Pomp.

Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,

That thou may'st shake the superflux to them,

And show the heavens more just.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

REPORTS ON TWENTY MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCKS

NOTE

In the following pages we reproduce detailed notes, arranged in alphabetical order, on twenty of the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. These notes express the views of the individual members who wrote them.

Statistics have been standardized to the end of September 1959.

THE AHERI MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

What was formerly the Aheri Zamindari in the Sironcha Taluk covers 2,600 square miles of the Chanda District, which was once part of the Central Provinces but is now in Bombay State. Out of this, with its headquarters at Aheri itself, a Multipurpose Block covering 1,100 square miles has been established and has been in existence since the beginning of October 1956 or a little over three years.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin (who was accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner, Shri K. G. Badlani and the Divisional Forest Officer for part of the time) in December 1959 and he has made the following observations.

History and geography contribute to raise special problems in this area. Six centuries ago the Zamindari was granted to Manau Bapu, ancestor of the present ex-Zamindar, a Raj Gond, by one of the Gond Rajas of Chanda. Perhaps the most distinguished of the Aheri rulers was Bhimrao, who established a great reputation during his rule from 1770 to 1818; his widow Lakshmi Bai carried on the same tradition and ruled firmly and well until 1861. Chanda was a Gond kingdom for nearly eight centuries and the Gond Rajas have left striking monuments of their rule in the great walls, tanks, gates and tombs of Chanda town. The Gazetteer praises the Gond regime, pointing out that when at length it fell under the impact of foreign conquest it left, if we forget the few last years, 'a well-governed and contended kingdom adorned with admirable works of engineering skill, prosperous to a point no after-time has reached.' Grigson has similarly praised the administration of the tribal Zamindars and points out that they protected their people from money-lenders and that under them there was a steady expansion of permanent cultivation. To the tribals the Zamindar of Aheri was one of themselves. 'The fact that his Raja, as the tribal will always term his Zamindar, whether or not Government recognize the title, is like him a Korku, a Gond, a Halba or a Maria, has great psychological significance; not all of his tribe are excluded from the seats of the mighty and a Gond may even rule over a Brahmin, and be the final arbiter in the social disputes within his estate not only of his own tribe, but even of Hindu castes.' The fact, therefore, that Aheri and indeed the whole of Chanda, has a history in which the tribal people played the major part is of great importance and even today the people turn to their Raja, as they still call him, for advice on every point.

The other factor which has greatly affected the work of the Block is the character of the country. It is little more than one vast forest, very flat except for the low hills that rise towards the Bastar border, very hot (going up to 118°) in summer, divided by countless streams and rivers. The villages are scattered; many of them are small and generally at a considerable distance from one another. During the rains it is almost impossible for the Block staff to penetrate to the interior and owing to very slow progress in building roads it is difficult to get about even in the dry weather. The result is that the benefits of development are rather unequally distributed, the greater part of them going to places round Aheri while the interior villages tend to be neglected.

The population of the Block area is 31,516, of which 21,380 are

tribals. The main tribes are—

Gonds	...	13,400
Marias	...	6,100
Naik Gonds	...	1,100
Pradhans	...	330
Halbas	...	250
Gowaris	...	200

The non-tribal population of 10,136 consists of the usual caste-Hindus, Harijans, 'Other Backward Classes' and Mohammadans. The proportion of tribals to non-tribals is approximately two to one. The main languages of the area are Gondi, Maria and Telugu.

The Gonds are members of the great and famous tribe that is widely dispersed throughout Central India. The Marias are an anthropological puzzle. Most of them bear little resemblance to the true Marias of the Abujhmar in neighbouring Bastar, though I visited two villages where they lived and dressed as they do. Some are exactly like the Bastar Marias : they have the same kind of ornaments and dance in the same way. Others have no resemblance at all either to Marias or even to Gonds. As Grigson rightly says, the word 'Maria' is 'unprecise and unscientific'. The matter needs careful investigation by research students, among whom should be an anthropometrist.

Very little has been written on the Gonds and Marias of Aheri, but there is an important chapter on them in the second edition of Sir W. V. Grigson's work *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, and many references to them in the same author's report *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar* (1944).

The State Bureau of Economics and Statistics, whose members do not seem to have visited the District, gave the Aheri Block the lowest marks of all the Multipurpose Blocks in Bombay both for expenditure and for physical achievement. The following Table will give details of the annual expenditure since the opening of the Block :

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	6.63	0.03	0.60	1.19	0.50	2.32	35.01
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	2.65	..	0.06	0.24	0.08	0.38	14.41
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.10	..	0.19	0.69	0.18	1.06	25.78
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.45	..	0.02	0.13	0.10	0.25	10.35
Education	2.47	..	..	0.003	0.24	0.24	9.90
Social Education	1.00	..	0.02	0.18	0.09	0.29	29.23
Communications	3.00	..	0.003	0.16	0.10	0.27	8.93
Rural Arts and Crafts	2.50	..	0.08	0.34	0.20	0.62	24.64
Co-operation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural Housing	2.20	..	..	0.006	0.03	0.03	1.59
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Suspense	..	..	..	0.22	0.01	0.23	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.03	0.97	3.17	1.53	5.70	21.12

From this it will be seen that the work of the Block only really started in 1957 and that we have to estimate it in terms of two rather than of three years. Even so it cannot be denied that progress has been slow, though this may largely be condoned by the extreme difficulties under which the Block officials have been working. The first of these has been the indifference of the people, who are so anxious and distressed about the problems of land and forest that it is hard to interest them in anything else. We shall return to this later.

A second difficulty is in communications on which only Rs. 26,786 was spent by the end of September 1959, astonishing in view of the fact that in an area like this nothing can be done until there are sufficient roads. A third difficulty is over language and a fourth is the frequent changes in staff.

Communications

Communications, on which only 8.93% out of a proposed allocation of Rs. 3,00,000 has been spent, are very bad, with the result that the remoter parts of the Block, which are precisely those which need attention, are inevitably neglected. I was told that if the large sum remaining to be spent was to be properly utilized, it would take at least another three years. Contractors are unwilling to go to this unrewarding area : local labour is difficult to obtain; the working season is only four or five months long. Had this subject received proper attention in the opening year of the Block's activities, development would have been greatly accelerated. However, there are plans to go ahead vigorously now.

Agriculture

Although it is fashionable now-a-days to describe the tribal methods of cultivation as crude, old-fashioned and unproductive, they sometimes excited the admiration of earlier writers. For example, the very 'primitive' Marias developed a skilful irrigation technique entirely on their own, which was described a hundred years ago by Lucie-Smith in his *Chanda Settlement Report* of 1860.

'To construct a *gatta*, a miniature valley with gently sloping sides, through which a stream flows, is chosen. The space between the banks of the stream is built up in the hot weather with trunks of trees, having their thinner end towards the point from which the current flows, and across these are fixed smaller logs and brushwood. The upstream face has thus a gentle slope to the front, while the rear face is almost perpendicular, and is sometimes strengthened by vertical stakes. The barricade is carried from four to eight feet above the level of the banks, and is then heaped with earth. As soon as the first rains have softened the ground, sods, about fifteen inches long by twelve broad and five thick, are dug with a heavy teak implement and with the sods wing embankments are built. These are run out in continuation of, and level with the log barricade, until the rise of the valley reduces their height to about a foot, when they are sloped off to the front and flanks; and wooden pipes are put through. Similarly *gattas* are constructed at convenient distances at other points of the stream, and if the situation be favourable, twenty of these *gattas* may be seen spanning the valley in regular series. Surplus water passes round the flanks of the *gatta*,

and sometimes in floods, the stream tops the dams and cascades over. Rice is planted in the wet ground above the dam, and, where there is a succession of *gattas*, water, if required, is passed from a higher to the lower level through the wooden pipes in the embankment. Some of the *gattas* rise to twenty feet above the stream bed, and are very substantial structures, flooding large areas.'

Similarly D. Lakshmanswamy in a later Settlement Report, on Sironcha and Garhchiroli, wrote in 1922-24 :

'Agriculture in parts of these Zamindaris is as thorough as in the most advanced Khalsa tracts. One has simply to look at the extensive rice fields and *gattas* of the Marias to admire the almost mathematical levelling of their field embankments. The Maria Gond has a genius for rice-cultivation. He selects the best *zilan* position area, and with an intuition for irrigation lays out his fields one below the other so as to utilize water from the field above to that lower down. A natural stream or spring of water is generally never allowed to go waste by him. He so embanks and diverts the supply by a system of well-arranged water-channels as to utilize the whole supply for his rice area, however distant it may be. Even in the remotest parts of the Zamindaris agriculture has now developed beyond the domestic stage and assumed the commercial stage. The aboriginals constituting the greater part of the population of these Zamindaris mostly live on the early rice, small millets and beans, while the heavy rice grown in the big *gattas* and embanked areas is exported to the markets'.

I wonder if any attempt has been made to develop Maria techniques along the lines of these traditions.

Today's agricultural programme is on the usual lines, but less progress has been made than might have been expected on account of the universal complaints about land. 'How can we grow more and better crops,' the tribals say, 'unless you give us something to grow them on?' If there is to be any substantial development, it is essential that certain tracts of comparatively unremunerative forest should be deforested and given to the people for cultivation. Especially, wherever there is the possibility of an irrigation scheme—or the repair of an old tank—the land which would be benefited should be released for use. In such a large area of 1100 square miles five more V.L.Ws are required, and another Agricultural Extension Officer; the existing staff cannot possibly cover these scattered villages, especially when communications are so bad. More grain banks should be established and placed under the control of the Service Co-operatives. Above all, much more propaganda needs to be done, and for this long-serving officers who will learn the local languages are required. The Gonds and Marias have still not grasped the principles of Community Development and are still unwilling to co-operate. They are often slow in accepting fertilizers or even loans and subsidies. The large number of peasants who have no *pattas* or rights in their land are further deprived of many benefits since they cannot give security, and we thus have the old story that the well-to-do get the advantage while the really poor, who need our help, are deprived of it.

When Grigson visited this area towards the end of the Second World War, he found that the chief grievance of the people was the prohibition of shifting cultivation. On my own visit, fifteen years later, I did not hear anything about this, but in every village the only topics of discussion concerned

the forest rules, the exactions of forest guards and the lack of land. I went very far into the interior, over atrocious roads as far as the roads would go, and met the people in over a dozen villages. It was almost impossible to get them to talk about development schemes. 'A school?' they would say. 'Well, yes, if you insist. A well? It is too much trouble—we have always had water to drink and, though it is not very good, we are still alive. Fertilizers? We suppose so, if you want to give them. BUT WHAT ABOUT OUR LAND?' The first, last and only word was LAND.

Closely connected with land was the question of forests. In the old days, the Gond Zamindars kept some control of their forests and did something to extend an interest in permanent cultivation, but their rule was far easier than the restrictions of today. Now the tribals complain that even their normal *nistar* rights are in practice checked by the swarm of forest guards who are posted in almost every village, that the requirement that they should take a permit before cutting wood even for their own houses is tantamount to denying them the wood altogether, since they may well have to make a journey there and back of eighty or more miles to reach a permit-vendor and even then may not find him, and that, although by the terms of their contracts, contractors are required to sell a certain amount of teak at a fixed rate to the tribals, this is seldom done in practice.

In the Aheri Block, Forest Co-operatives are quite essential, and it is rather puzzling that this part of Bombay State should be still without a single one of them. A difficulty is, I believe, that there has to be some sponsoring agency, who is normally a social worker. But why should not the PEO himself be the sponsoring agency? He will in fact probably fulfil the task better than anyone else.

Irrigation

Good progress has been made under the heads of Irrigation and Reclamation. As I have already shown, many of the tribals are keen on irrigation and this is one of the few subjects in which they are enthusiastically co-operating. Loans for thirteen irrigation wells have already been given and ten other wells are planned. Others are being repaired. In one village there was a very strong representation from the Gonds that they should be allowed to repair a tank which would irrigate a fairly large area in the neighbourhood. The Forest Department, however, was unwilling to surrender the land which was included in the area under their control. If there is some liberalization of the Forest rules, there will be a rapid improvement in the lot of the tribals, who are at present miserably undernourished.

Health

Owing to the fact that no Medical Officer for the Primary Health Centre was posted until the end of 1959 there has naturally been very little progress in the field of public health and only Rs. 25,349 or 10·35% out of a provision of Rs. 2,45,000 has been spent. In this whole 1,100 square miles there is only one modern dispensary at Aheri itself, though there is another maintained by the Forest Department at Alapalli to serve its own workers. There are proposals to open four Ayurvedic dispensaries, but it is doubtful how far the tribal people will respond to them as they are not generally popular. Two sub-centres have been opened but cannot be said to be working very satisfactorily and a third is being delayed as it is not possible at present to get sufficient trained midwives and it is generally found that when

they are posted they, like other members of the staff, almost immediately apply for transfer. A Leprosy Survey has been sanctioned but, owing to the lack of trained workers, has not yet been taken up. Construction work on twenty new drinking-water wells has been started, but many more are needed.

The Primary Health Centre at Aheri, where it is accommodated in buildings donated by the ex-Zamindar, Shri Visheswar Rao, is now running very well and the Medical Officer, who has only been there for three months, is full of enthusiasm. It must be admitted that the medical coverage in this Block is totally inadequate. It is ridiculous to suppose that tribals will come eighty or a hundred miles to Aheri for treatment when they are ill. A Mobile Health Unit has been promised but still after all this time the van has not yet been positioned. A second Primary Health Centre in the interior seems to be an absolute necessity if there is any serious desire to improve the health of the people. In Aheri town itself there is a great need of pure water and a good tubewell worked by a wind-mill would be a valuable innovation. In the town also some public latrines need to be erected. It was generally agreed, however, that in the villages latrines are not likely to be used and are unnecessary. In my opinion, this also applies to the bathrooms. In Govindgaon I saw an imposing cement construction beside the well which is to serve as a bathroom. This seemed to me not only inappropriate but one of those extravagant and unnecessary things which are included simply because they occur in some official list. For thousands of years even the highest caste people in India have been bathing on the banks of rivers and tanks and they have always had a high reputation for cleanliness. To produce these silly shut-in bathrooms for tribals is completely unnecessary. What would be useful would be a cement platform beside the tank where the people could bathe and wash their clothes with a plentiful supply of water near at hand. This would be at once more realistic and practical and would be more likely really to help people to be clean.

Education

Education and social education have accounted for an expenditure of Rs. 24,456 and Rs. 29,228 respectively. There is no attempt under either heading to adopt educational schemes to tribal or local needs and Grigson's description of a school in the Aheri area in 1945 still, I am afraid, holds good. He is speaking of one of the Vidya Mandirs which had been introduced in the Central Provinces of the time.

'The masters of these institutions bear the time-honoured designation of *guru*. Here, too, no caste Hindu had been forthcoming and the authorities had had to draw on the Depressed Classes to find a *guru* who was a town-bread Mahar, know no language but his Marathi mother-tongue and was utterly ignorant of aboriginal life and customs, though twenty-two of his thirty-three boys were Maria-speaking aboriginals. The boys were doing some listless spinning, a useless craft in an area where no cotton is grown. The raw cotton for spinning has to be carted from Chanda, miles away: not one of the boys will spin in after-life. I asked if they could sing: the *guru* switched them from spinning on to droning out in a dreary, nasal tone a Marathi song which meant nothing to them. Helped by their parents, I tried to get the boys to sing a Maria song and danced a Maria dance, but their spontaneity had been so quenched by the alien ideas of the Vidya Mandir that even with their parents' help they, were too shy or shamefaced

to attempt their own wonderful tribal songs and dances. There was nothing in their whole curriculum which bore any relation to their tribal culture or appealed to the tribal imagination. Even the Vidya Mandir fields were so far from the village that the boys never visited them or learnt modern agricultural methods from the Jamadar in charge, who merely grew rice to meet the cost of this useless institution. It was worse than useless, for it was detribalizing the boys, making them ashamed of their own way of life, and giving them nothing in return.'

There is no Missionary Society working in the Block area. The Harijan Sevak Sangh has recently deputed a propagandist and he is working in the villages round Aheri town. The Bharat Sevak Samaj has taken over the task of running an Ashram School at Aheri, but it has not yet really established itself and the Samaj is not carrying on any other activities. The Ashram school, which I visited, had little of the atmosphere of an Ashram. It was just a rather bad ordinary school with a small hut where a number of boys slept at night. Vegetarian food was provided and the boys were taught spinning, which is of no use whatever in an area of this kind. There was no attempt to adjust the type of education or the decoration of this, or other, schools to the tribal background. There was a large picture of Shivaji but no picture to stimulate the Gonds' pride in their own not undistinguished history. In the schools could there not be some pictures of the old Gond kings, even if these have to be painted specially and drawn perhaps largely from the imagination? There might also be in the schools and other institutions photographs or paintings of the Chanda Fort and some of the tombs of the old Gond kings. These will not only be more appropriate to the setting but they will have a valuable psychological effect in inspiring the Gond boys to try to live up to their ancient traditions. There is an old device of the Gond kings, representing a Singh or griffin destroying an elephant, which can be found on the walls of the Chanda Fort. I suggest that it would be appropriate to popularise this device and have it included in the designs of buildings in the Block area and used wherever possible. It is very simple and every child should know how to draw it as well as how to draw the Ashok pillar. Flags carrying this device might be made to be used by dancing-parties.

Co-operatives

There seems to be considerable difficulty in the promotion of Co-operative Societies; although quite a number have now been registered, the membership is very small and the share capital deplorably low. In view of the lack of co-operation with the Block programme on the part of many of the tribal people, this is not surprising. There is a Branch of the Brahmपुरi Bank in this District and it is suggested that it should open a Branch at Aheri so as to facilitate quick disbursement of loans when the agriculturists actually need them. The rate of interest levied by the Bank, however, is very high and the various Co-operative Societies have found it difficult to afford its loans. The whole question of Co-operatives in this Block clearly needs full investigation and reorganization.

On this subject, nothing at all seems to have been spent up to the end of September 1959.

Rural Arts and Crafts

The tribals of this Block have only a few cottage industries. They

prepare rope from *sum* grass, mats and baskets of bamboo and brooms of *kusal* grass and these things find a ready market in the local bazaars. Weaving is generally taboo, but the Marias have a certain amount of wood-carving. They make very attractive little combs and show some ingenuity in carving wooden pillars which they erect in commemoration of the dead. The Gonds paint the walls of their houses with attractive designs.

The Block has so far spent a rather large sum on rural arts and crafts —not less than Rs. 61,603, which is considerably more than its expenditure on agriculture and animal husbandry combined, and is getting on for three times as much as has been spent on the vital subject of communications. A cottage industries training and production centre has been set up in Aheri itself and naturally caters almost exclusively for boys and girls in the neighbourhood.

There is a section here for tribal girls where they are taught embroidery, knitting and tailoring. Although a few of their products are bright and pretty, none of them bear the slightest resemblance to anything in their own culture. There were some dolls dressed in a style that was not only not tribal but did not resemble anything to be found in the whole of India, and the designs and general atmosphere, though well-intentioned, revealed no attempt to develop these arts along the lines of the people's own genius. Similarly, in the weaving section, which in this part of the world is attended only by men, there were some very bad and uninspired designs. Out of eight trainees who have passed through the course I was told not one was now practising his craft.

In the carpentry section four or five boys were making the kind of objects, furniture and so on, that would be useful for a Sahib's house. When I asked why these things were being made and there was so little stress on tools and implements, doors and window-frames that would be useful in the villages, I was told that 'we must do what we are ordered to do by Government'. Some elaborate tools which the trainees would be very unlikely to be able to obtain later on were being used. Blacksmithy is, unfortunately, throughout Bombay State combined with carpentry. This shows an ignorance of the attitude to iron-work in the tribal areas. It is regarded more or less as a taboo craft, spiritually dangerous, and a tribal who does not belong to one of the iron-working groups is often excommunicated if he takes to it. My book *The Agaria* might well be consulted about this. It would be much better to separate carpentry from blacksmithy and then both crafts would go forward more successfully.

There seems to be no attempt at a follow-up after the period of training is over, no tools or raw materials are given to the trainees, on the grounds that they could not give any security. There seems to be little point in spending such a lot of money in training rather unwilling tribal boys and girls in crafts which they are only likely to continue with difficulty, unless there is a proper follow-up and some tools and raw materials to enable them to make a start are provided. They should either (as in Bihar) pay gradually for their tools out of the things they make during the training period or the demand for security should be waived.

Since the Marias have some wood-carving they might be taught to make toys, and a small but profitable industry might be started for making the traditional combs (of which many designs will be found in my book *The Muria and their Ghotul*), for these might sell well in emporia in the

cities. Some of them are real works of art and, being small, cost of export would not be heavy.

Designs for textiles could be adapted from the often striking wall-paintings or from the Maria bead-work.

Making of tiles should be taught and promoted, for these would be valuable for the housing scheme.

Colonies

I visited a Colony near Aheri which had been established by the Tribal Welfare Department. The houses were small and arranged in strictly parallel lines. There was no attempt to adapt the lay-out or house-designs to the local pattern. Every single one of the windows, which were far too large, was kept tightly shut—another example of the rule that if you try to do too much you achieve too little. Worst of all, there was no land available near at hand. The proposal was to give each family five acres but this was only to be found at a distance of two or more miles. The tribal people did not like this and they had to be almost forced to occupy the houses.

In establishing a colony, it is essential to see that there is ample land near at hand, and that people really want to come and live there. Otherwise, after a lot of energy and money has been spent, they may gradually drift away.

Tribal Representation

There are Tribal Councils in all the villages which look after local affairs and settle social and religious disputes. The head of the council is called the Gaita. There is another council called the Patti of which the head is the Gumashi which consists of representative Gaitas from 50 to 70 village councils. Above this again there is a sort of supreme council consisting of the representatives of the Pattis, and the ex-Zamindar is the final authority to whom matters are referred for decision. These councils are still working and the establishment of Statutory Panchayats does not seem to have affected them very much.

The representation of the tribal people on the Block Development Committee is very low. Out of 27 members 13 are officials and of the 14 non-officials only two are tribal, one of them being the ex-Zamindar himself. Out of 13 Gram Panchayats, there is only one tribal Sir Panch. There is only one tribal employee, apart from the Grade IV staff, in the Block. I was told that the Regional Tribal Welfare Officer attempted last year to obtain Gond workers but had no success. There are, however, about three million Gonds and an appreciable number of them are now educated and want jobs. I cannot believe that more vigorous effort could not produce suitable Gond youths to fill up many more of the available posts.

I met members of the Block Development Committee in Aheri. Like all such committees they insisted that there should be no people's contribution at all and that more subsidies should be provided. One useful suggestion was made that there should be some kind of arrangement to take the members of the B.D.C. round the Block for which they are responsible so that they could inspect its activities. The members pointed out that they themselves could not afford the cost of hiring conveyances for this purpose and suggested that once or twice a year the P.E.O. should arrange excursions.

to take them round and show them the work. The Block Development Committees are generally very ineffective and little interest is taken by the members. This might help to inspire them to do more.

Language and Culture

There has hitherto been virtually no attempt whatever to adapt the work to the tribal culture. Gondi, which is an important language spoken by over a million people, is not the medium of instruction even in the early stages. There are no text-books in the tribal languages. Not one of the officials has passed any language examination, though one or two of them who know Telugu are able to carry on some sort of conversation with the tribal people. It is pathetic to see how completely cut off from their people the official staff is, for although some of the tribals know a little Marathi or Telugu they are not happy with these languages. There will be no real progress until members of the staff are kept in the area for sufficient time to know their people and until they really take up seriously the task of learning the local languages.

As I have said, there is only one Government employee, a Gram Sevak who wants to go away, of local tribal origin, though what is still called the 'menial staff' consists mostly of tribals.

No official of the Block had read Grigson's book *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* which in its second edition includes a long and important chapter on the history, culture and economics of the Aheri area. My impression was that no attempt had been made by any members of the staff to study or understand the ideas and customs of the people and perhaps this is not surprising in view of the fact that they are so frequently transferred and so few of them have any idea of staying on for an appreciable time. Most of them are doing a job, a tedious one, and there is no point in their trying to do it well.

The Gondi language is spoken over a very wide area and has a number of dialects, the Chanda dialect differing, for example, from that spoken in Betul and described by Trench in his *Grammar of Gondi*. If the Block officials are to learn this language (and it is vitally important that they should, for otherwise they will never be able to get their message across to the mass of the people), three things at least are necessary. The first is that frequent transfers should be avoided and that everyone going to work in a Block should look forward to at least three years' service there. The second is that some arrangement should be made and funds provided for teaching the staff. It is no good telling people to learn a language in a vacuum. Local tribals should be employed and classes arranged. Thirdly, some literature, though not absolutely necessary, is of very great assistance in helping to learn any language. There is already in existence a useful *Gondi Grammar and Manual* by the distinguished Indian Missionary, the late Canon S. G. Patwardhan of the Church of Scotland Mission at Aheri. It was published by the SPCK in 1932 and would be well worth reprinting. The same author also prepared a Gondi-Marathi-English Dictionary at about the same time and this still remains in manuscript. I met his son, who is now working in the Block area, and he said that he would gladly assign the copyright of both these books to Government, but asked that some remuneration should be paid to Canon Patwardhan's widow, which seems entirely

reasonable. I suggest that the reprinting of both these books should be taken up as early as possible and should be pushed through the press quickly.

Conclusion

Although the work of this Block has been much criticised, we must remember that it has only recently, with the appointment of Shri K. S. Chandorkar, a fine and sincere worker, as Prant-cum-Project Officer that any real progress has been made. The early period was largely wasted, and it will be essential to extend the life of the Block by at least another two years. There is need, as in other Blocks, for greater co-operation between the Development and other Departments of the State Government; need for choosing officials more carefully and to avoid transfers wherever possible; need for closer contact with the people through a knowledge of their language, customs and ideas; and need for some additional staff in order to cover the remoter villages of this great and unwieldy area, so much larger than that originally laid down for a Multipurpose Block.

THE ALIRAJPUR MULTIPURPOSE BLOCK

The Alirajpur Multipurpose Block, with a total population of 38,010 and an area of 234 square miles, is located in the Jhabua District to the north-west of Madhya Pradesh. The majority of the tribals are Bhilalas but there are a certain number of Bhils and what are described as 'tribal Harijans' who are Kotwals. There is a non-tribal population of about 10,000, which includes 7,739 people living in Alirajpur town.

The Bhils and Bhilalas have now settled down to a regular village economy; they have given up shifting cultivation and taken to ordinary agriculture. Although most of them are not in daily touch with the outside world, they cannot be said to be living in isolation, as no village in the Block area is more than ten miles from a good road and the people visit the bazaars in the towns in large numbers and many of them now go to take tea in hotels and visit cinemas and theatres. Their trade with the towns is mainly in cattle, for they sell their own products in their village markets. They are reported to be still wearing their own dress and ornaments and observing their traditional religious and social customs.

The people here have very little in the way of cottage arts or industries. Some of the Kotwals weave small pieces of cloth which are used as loin-cloths. Some of them make baskets and mats. A few have recently taken up the professions of carpentry and masonry. The Bhilalas have no weaving but there is a certain amount of wood-carving. At a wedding they paint designs on the walls of their houses. They dance on ceremonial occasions. Some of their songs have been taken down but are not yet published.

Tribal disputes are settled by the Patels (headmen) with the help of the village elders and heads of families. The P.E.O. reports that Statutory Panchayats have been introduced but are not functioning satisfactorily and the tribals do not normally take their disputes to them.

The situation with regard to schools and the local language is the same as in so many other Blocks. There is no special curriculum or text-book for the schools and the tribal language is not used at any stage. It is said

that most of the Block staff can carry on conversations with the people in their own language. There are very few tribal boys employed on the Block staff, the reason given being that so few are educated. There are, however, a great many Bhils, and some effort might be made to recruit Bhil workers from other areas where there has been education for a longer time.

The tribals here seem to be heavily indebted and it is said that on an average every one of them is burdened by a debt from four to five hundred rupees, the rate of interest being up to fifty per cent calculated at compound interest. The Money-Lenders Act and other measures to check exploitation have had little effect so far. Twelve Multipurpose Co-operative Societies have been established in the Block during the last two years with a membership of 916, but this is not very many out of a fairly large population.

There are no social service organizations working in the Block area, but there is a Christian Missionary Society with two centres which offer educational and medical facilities.

The annual expenditure of the Block to the end of September 1959 is shown in the following Table.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Bud- get	Expenditure in				1959-60 up to 30-9-59	Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expen- diture to Bud- get
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59				
Project Headquarters	6.75	0.32	1.12	0.88	0.48	2.80	41.55	
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	2.50	0.005	0.30	0.86	0.06	1.23	49.25	
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	0.39	0.50	0.74	0.08	1.71	42.68	
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	0.09	0.93	0.38	0.03	1.43	71.73	
Education	0.75	0.02	0.32	0.16	0.02	0.52	68.68	
Social Education	0.75	0.05	0.23	0.18	0.01	0.48	64.24	
Communications	3.50	0.09	1.34	0.11	0.02	1.56	44.67	
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	..	0.11	0.26	0.10	0.47	23.45	
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.35	0.47	..	0.82	40.80	
Rural Housing	2.50	..	..	0.44	0.07	.51	20.28
Miscellaneous	0.25	..	0.01	0.01	..	0.01	4.78	
TOTAL	27.00	0.97	5.21	4.49	0.87	11.54	42.75	

Over fifteen lakhs of rupees thus remain to be spent in the next two years : the period will obviously have to be extended. There is an ambitious programme for covering ninety per cent of the cultivated area with improved seeds and to bring the whole of the irrigated area under fertilizers. Field-

embankments are not practicable in view of the terrain, but contour-bundling will play an important part in the next two years. The target for irrigation is, however, only 570 acres, for apparently it is not easy either to make irrigation wells or to discover sites for minor irrigation works.

There is a general scarcity of fodder, but there are considerable difficulties in increasing the area under grass or the making of silo pits.

There is no artificial insemination centre in the Block, but a good deal of money will be spent in the next two years in attempts to improve the condition of the cattle and poultry.

The health and rural sanitation programme has not so far made very good progress (although a lot of money has been spent on it) since there has been great difficulty in obtaining medical staff. Under Social Education, instructions have been received from the State Government to concentrate only on three items, youth organisations, the welfare of women and children and the holding of training camps for Gram Sahayaks.

It is proposed to spend a great deal of money on various cottage industries centres, including centres for training in tailoring, manufacture of bricks and tiles, lac utilization, blacksmithy, masonry, Ambar Charkha, match-splint making, bee-keeping and one centre for training in footwear and another for flaying and bone-digesters. This is a very ambitious programme in a Block where the improvement of agriculture should surely be given the chief attention and we suggest the reconsideration of some of these items, especially the footwear and flaying centres (if these are intended for tribals).

The B.D.O., Shri M. W. Moghe, has made some interesting suggestions with regard to the Block programme. He and his staff consider that too many items have been included, a fact which comes in the way of the V.L.Ws, the Extension Officers and the people concentrating on fundamentals and showing definite results. 'Implementation of the minimum programme becomes a burden and it mostly remains only on paper.'

The programme, he reports, does not take into consideration the exploitation of the tribals by the money-lenders, which is a very great problem in this under-developed tract. 'However much production may increase, the condition of the tribals is not going to improve unless their exploitation is checked.' Organisation of Co-operatives may to a certain extent solve the problem but availability of easy credit without any cumbersome formalities is likely to attract the people towards the Sahukars for a long time to come and some programme for putting a check to this exploitation is necessary.

The Money-Lenders Act, the Usurious Loans Act and other Acts to protect the people from exploitation are not being strictly implemented, but this is surely essential if there is to be any genuine development.

'No consideration is given to the exploitation that is caused due to the ban on movement of *mahua* from one Tahsil to another. It is an open secret that the *mahua* produced in Alirajpur Tahsil is smuggled to other places and the middlemen get huge profits, while the poor tribal people do all the work. If this ban is removed, the tribals will get even more subsidiary income from this source than they are likely to get from improved agriculture. This point so vital to their economic improvement cannot legitimately be omitted.

'The crime situation is another important factor. The laying of orchards, growing of vegetables, keeping of good bullocks is not being taken up, because of the fear of thieves. This vitally affects the production prog-

ramme and has to be taken into consideration in an overall effort to improve the condition of the tribals.

The programme under Education is confined to opening schools, constructing school-buildings and holding of training camps for primary teachers. The courses of study, the selection of text-books, the language of the text-books, the method of teaching, the method of approach and so on is all the concern of the Education Department. It will be readily agreed that if expenditure on education in the tribal areas is to be saved from going to waste, a totally different line of work will have to be adopted. Different courses of study, different text-books, modifications in vacations and many other changes will have to be brought about. Ashram-type hostels will have to be opened rather than the introduction of compulsory primary education in the traditional way.

'The Education Department', says the B.D.O., 'has not moved in the matter so far and is not likely to move unless the Development Department presses for it.

There should be, therefore, some provision whereby questions vitally effecting the interests and welfare of the tribals can be taken up by the Development Department whether they are included in the programme or not and whether they concern it or not.

The construction programme, whether it be on a full-cost or grant-in-aid basis, has been given a disproportionately high percentage in the Block budget and the anxiety of the B.D.O. not to lag behind in expenditure compels him to forced spending and to devote much of his time to construction works much to the detriment of the real extension work. This, moreover, engenders social and personal friction in the villages which renders the whole atmosphere unsuitable for constructive work of a basic nature.

Taking up of these works, before the people have been brought to feel the necessity for them and before a proper climate for them has been created, causes a lot of worry to the Block staff in securing sufficient people's participation.

'The provision of huge amounts in the budget', the B.D.O. continues, 'tempts the Block staff and the V.L.Ws to get something done simply by spending money. The people also get accustomed to it and the programme does not take root. It remains on the surface and withers away when monetary help is withdrawn. On the other hand, it increases the dependence of the cultivators on the Government for taking up any new activity and in the long run proves detrimental to the spirit of Community Development. The work, therefore, should be based on self-help and Government help should be given only where it is absolutely necessary.

The real change that has to be brought about in the tribals is in their outlook and attitude of mind which is more of a psychological nature and can be created only by hard, continuous, patient and sincere work. It is, therefore, more necessary to spend money on increasing workers at the village level than to use it on machines and buildings.

'The people have to be persuaded to take to hard labour which can only be achieved by extension methods, for which there is a very limited need of money.'

We have quoted at length from this Report, for the B.D.Os are too little heard, though they are the people who can give us the most realistic appreciation of the state of affairs.

V. E.

THE BHIMPUR MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Bhimpur Multipurpose Block lies to the north of the beautiful Bhainsdehi Tahsil of Betul District in Madhya Pradesh. It is 363 square miles in extent with a forest area of 69,248 acres and cultivated fields of 60,638 acres. There are 157 villages, of which 19 are Forest Villages, and two are deserted. The largest village in the Block is Chunalohama with a population of 1,296. The Block headquarters at Bhimpur, however, is only a small place with 575 inhabitants : doubtless it will soon grow. The total population of the Block is 33,847, of which 29,309 or 86 per cent is tribal. There are 1,813 people in the 18 Forest Villages.

The main tribes in the Block area are the Gonds (who speak their traditional Gondi language) in the eastern and the Korkus (who also have their own tongue) in the western part of the Block. Hindi, however, is spoken and understood throughout, though it is doubtful whether women generally understand it. The tribal people here are not greatly isolated since the Tahsil headquarters is within fifty miles and the country is fairly open. The Gonds and Korkus, however, do not carry on very much trade with their neighbours. Most of them still wear their own dress and ornaments and continue to observe their traditional customs, festivals and religion. There have not been any significant social changes since the Block opened, except that the position of the Bhumka, the tribal medicineman, is decreasing and new leadership is coming forward. The people have, to a very small extent, begun to appreciate the importance of national festivals.

The main occupation of the people is agriculture but there is no shifting cultivation here. There are a few families of cobblers, and some Basors who make a living from basket-making. In some villages, of which a place called Piparia is most important, a sizeable number of Gaolies are doing fairly well by dealing in milk and milk-products such as ghee or curds. A Co-operative Dairy Farm might be of some value here.

The average rainfall is 44 inches but the soil is poor and the agriculturists, who concentrate mainly on the millets, locally known as *kodon* and *kutki*, find it hard to get a sufficient livelihood from their land. The lovely Tapti River runs through the Block and the soil in its valley is comparatively rich. There are few irrigation facilities and so far very few irrigation wells have been made.

Tribal arts are reported as having almost disappeared. There is some clay-modelling on the walls of houses, but although there is no actual taboo on crafts like weaving, pottery or basket-work, they are little practised. The tribals dance well but mostly on ceremonial occasions. Since a tape recorder has now been received, attempts will be made to record songs and folk-tales.

The children in the early stages are not taught in the tribal languages, and there are no text-books in either Gondi or Korku. The excuse is that there is no need of them, since Hindi is spoken all over the Block area. Most of the Gram Sevaks, however, have picked up a little Gondi and Korku.

As in so many places, where Hindi or some regional language has become widely known, there is a particular danger in neglecting the tribal languages. The impression here, as elsewhere, is that there is no need for officials to learn them because they are able to carry on some sort of conversation with the people.

Only one Gram Sevak is of local tribal origin. However, in a few of the schools there is at least one teacher who is a local tribal. Candidates of tribal origin for other posts are said to be unavailable. It is hard to believe that the great Gond tribe, the largest in India, could not produce a number of suitable workers, provided sincere efforts were made to find them.

There is only one Social Education Organiser ; he has received orientation training at Ranchi.

There are no Missionary societies or social service organisations working in this Block.

The general programme and, to some extent, the achievement does not differ from that in other Blocks in Madhya Pradesh. One of the most important things is to push forward with the provision of a good water-supply. During the summer there is a general shortage of water both for men and cattle, but we find that only one new drinking-water well has so far been constructed and only ten are being repaired. In fact the target fixed is only forty. This is surely insufficient and it would be better to go ahead vigorously with well-making instead of going in for the very dubious programmes of making urinals (for which there is a target of 6,000, out of which fortunately only 16 have actually been made) or *pakka* bathrooms, of which 400 are planned. The urinals and bathrooms are not only totally unsuited to tribal conditions but they do not, since they are so rarely used, succeed in their laudable sanitary object. It would be much better to divert money from such trivial schemes to things of major importance.

The B.D.O. reports that the main needs of the area are the improvement of agriculture and cattle, the removal of indebtedness, elimination of the causes of exploitation, raising of the economic standard and the provision of occupation to landless labourers through the development of small industries.

'Minor forest produce like gulli, chironji, harra, honey, tendu leaves and the like can very easily be used to the advantage of the landless peasants, of whom an appreciable number can be brought into the co-operative fold and thus provided with occupations.'

At present minor forest produce is collected by the tribal people and brought to market for sale. It is purchased at very cheap rates by the businessmen there and they in turn sell it at rates prevailing in the urban areas. While a tribal gets very little for his labour, the businessman earns incredible profits. The unfortunate aspect of the whole thing is that the tribals do not know that they are exploited. In order to put a stop to this type of exploitation of the poor people, it is proposed to set up a Co-operative Marketing Society to deal with the available forest produce in the area. The main task of the Society will be to purchase forest products from the people at fair rates, store the purchased goods at the headquarters of the Gram Sevaks in their charge and to sell the stored materials at places like Betul.

Examining the entire scheme and progress of work the B.D.O. further observes very sensibly.

'A tribal area must be developed slowly and trying to go very fast with people who are primitive in their habits, ways of living and methods of cultivation may be abortive. Experience with the tribal people and their way of working and their desire to switch over to new practices and usages has been very disappointing, because it is so difficult to make them believe

in the utility and advantages of improved techniques of cultivation. Their faith in the efficacy of the ways of living and cultivation is inborn in them from generations past and presents an almost insurmountable barrier. The extension philosophy to persuade them to deviate is generally found to fail.

'It will thus be seen that we shall have to go cautiously with the people yet meaning to develop them. We have to utilise and make the best use of local resources rather than attempt to introduce practices unknown to them.'

In line with this the B.D.O. has made a realistic suggestion.

'In order to increase the area under cultivation cultivators must be persuaded to extend the maximum area of cultivable land. This will have to be done very gradually, because it will not be possible for the cultivators to bring all their land under cultivation at once because of their poverty. Every cultivator should be persuaded to cultivate an additional area of half an acre to an acre every year so that in due course all the land he holds can be cultivated. For this a few cultivators may need monetary assistance for the purchase of plough-cattle, seeds or the preparation of embankments and irrigation channels. This will necessitate priority being given for loans under the Agriculturist's Loans Act and Land Improvement.'

In the same spirit of realism the B.D.O. considers that it is risky to use chemical fertilizers purely as a matter of routine. He suggests that their use should be confined to the irrigated areas where they can be introduced, at least in the beginning, under careful supervision. There is a constant danger in non-irrigated areas that fertilizers will be applied in excessive doses and will do more harm than good.

In this Block a cautious attitude has very rightly been taken to social education, of which only four main items have been adopted—Village Leaders' Training Camps, Youth Clubs, Mahila Mandals and other women's activities, and Exhibitions including Kisan Melas and rallies.

A sum of two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees had been allotted for rural housing but the B.D.O. has questioned whether this scheme is worth taking up in view of the fact that it will not be possible to sanction grants to the tribals according to the space and dimensions of the houses which they are generally used to live in. If it is possible to devise a good simple tribal house on the same plan and with the same general appearance as the traditional one, but with suitable improvements, it would be worth while. It is not likely, however, to succeed, just as it is not likely to succeed elsewhere, if some conventional building is erected.

The expenditure from the inception of the Block up to September 1959 is shown in the following Table :—

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in			1959-60 up to 30-9-59	Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expen- diture to Bud- get
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59			
Project Headquarters	6.75	0.10	0.67	0.90	0.91	2.58	38.21
Animal Husbandry and Ag- ricultural Extension.	2.50	..	0.91	0.25	0.13	1.29	51.62

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in			1959-60 up to 30.9.59	Total up to 30.9.59	Perce- ntage of Expen- diture to Bud- get
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59			
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	..	0.01	0.03	..	0.05	1.19
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	..	0.08	0.08	0.15	0.31	15.57
Education	0.75	..	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.13	17.92
Social Education	0.75	0.002	0.04	0.13	0.01	0.18	23.74
Communications	3.50	..	0.04	0.14	0.006	0.18	5.19
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	..	..	0.06	0.02	0.09	4.26
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.09	0.12	0.31	0.52	26.00
Rural Housing	2.50	..	0.06	..	..	0.06	2.33
Miscellaneous	0.25	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.10	1.94	1.76	1.59	5.39	19.99

The Bhimpur Multipurpose Block was visited in January 1959 by Shri N. M. Wadiwa, who has made the following report on its progress.

Staff.—The Block is provided with all the staff except—

- (i) One Assistant Medical Officer
- (ii) One Compounder
- (iii) One Health Visitor
- (iv) One Extension Officer (Soil Conservation).

The late appointment and shortage of staff has naturally affected the Block work. The previous two B.D.Os who were transferred within a period of two years, could not made much headway.

Agriculture.—The area is 2,32,441 acres in the Block out of which 69,248 is covered by Forest, 60,638 acres is under cultivation and the rest is barren or under water. The double crop area is 6,348 acres. The main crops of the area are kodon, kutki, maize and juar. There is paddy cultivation in about 4,000 acres and wheat and gram is also grown. The area under double crop has increased since the opening of the Block but is not sufficient as few irrigation schemes have been carried out.

Fertilizers.—Chemical fertilizers are being distributed and compost pits constructed in some places. There are demonstration plots in about 32 vil-
lages. Green manure is not undertaken. The Block has taken up bunding of the fields but even this is slow. The people are not readily taking to improved methods of cultivation. In such cases only a gradual and slow approach and perserverence can make the Block successful. The people, being poor, have not taken to chemical fertilizers in right earnest.

Animal Husbandry.—Two improved stud-bulls were distributed but one was killed by a tiger. The work under Animal Husbandry is unsatisfactory. There are 47,000 heads of cattle in the Block area which has sufficient pasture for grazing. The Block has done preventive work in the form of inoculations

but this is not sufficient. In the poultry scheme about 1,000 eggs have been distributed but no fowls. In piggery the Block has just imported two couples of pigs for rearing and they will be distributed when they are ready. There are possibilities of developing Dairy and Milk produce on an organised scale in some villages of the Damjipura Gram Sevak Circle when the Veterinary primary unit is established there. Another outlying Veterinary Dispensary is to be opened at Chandu.

Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.—No minor irrigation scheme has been undertaken because of the undulating nature of the terrain. There is also little scope for well-irrigation as there is no water level and there are few perennial sources of water. Of course some new wells are constructed and some repaired. This has facilitated the supply of drinking water but still there are many villages where there are no wells. The Block has not undertaken any reclamation. For soil conservation they have taken up only two bunding operations and no other scheme has been undertaken.

Health and Rural Sanitation.—Only 15.57 per cent of the allocation has been spent on Health for want of medical staff. There is an Ayurvedic Dispensary run by the Janpada Sabha. A Primary Health Centre is situated at the Bhimpur headquarters and for establishing sub-centres contributions are being raised from the public. So far no sub-centres have been opened. For purposes of Rural Sanitation the Gram Sevaks undertake the cleaning of wells. To prevent malaria in the area a Malaria Unit is necessary. Unfortunately this section of the Block work is unsatisfactory and inadequately worked for want of personnel, buildings and other necessary equipment. The Block is supplied with a Mobile Health Van but it is out of order at present.

Education.—Since the Block is in a Scheduled Area the Tribal Welfare Department runs all the schools. The number of schools before the opening of the Block was 30 and now it is 41, including three Middle Schools. There are no girls' schools although there is a growing demand for more schools. As in general in the Tribal and Scheduled Areas there are difficulties regarding the attendance of the boys and girls. Co-ordination between the Tribal Welfare Department workers and Block workers is essential and there is ample scope for schools being extended in the area. The education to be imparted should have a basic bias towards agriculture and forestry. Because of the inaccessibility of the area many of the schools are not properly supervised. Want of conveyance facility is one of the reasons given for this.

Communications.—The area is cut off during the rains, there being no first class roads near about. The Block area is traversed to some extent by forest roads which are passable during the fair weather. There is a dire necessity of giving more attention towards developing communications. No appreciable progress has been made in constructing all-weather roads. To help the people in the area to market their forest produce much more stress should be laid on developing roads for their economic benefit. Only Rs. 18,160 or 5.19 per cent was spent up to the end of September 1959.

Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries.—Under this head a tailoring centre at Ratanpur has been started wherein 12 students have been enrolled and are being trained. They are taken from the Block area and a scheme is formulated whereby they will be employed or their finished products will be sold through a Co-operative on the lines of a production-cum-training centre. Schemes for blacksmithy and carpentry are being formulated. A brick-

making scheme is also in progress. There are no special tribal arts in the area, but if the Block pays more attention to work in bamboo which is available in large quantity in this area it will be useful to the tribals. Some schemes regarding utilization of forest produce should be adopted by the Block as the forest is abandoned. Small-scale decoration of the tribal houses is worth noting, for if properly nurtured this can develop the artistic sense.

Co-operation.—Under this head the Block has been able to start eight Multipurpose, two Credit Societies, four large-sized Societies, and one Better-Farming Society in Dhanora village. No grain golas have been established, but a scheme has been sent for sanction. Twenty-five Panchayats have been established, out of which eight are dormant. One Forest Labour Co-operative Society is also envisaged, which will be a boon to the tribals. Under Co-operatives some shares have also been raised for running the Multipurpose and Better-Farming Co-operative Societies. There is still much to be done in this sector of the development plan.

Rural Housing.—There is no programme of this, because there is no question of shifting cultivation. But a plan for building new houses has been submitted and 333 are anticipated by the end of the Plan period.

Miscellaneous.—A preliminary survey was undertaken before the opening of the Block; some socio-economic study was undertaken in about 45 villages, out of which three were intensively dealt with : the rest of the villages are also to be surveyed.

The Block has two tribal employees in Class III and four in Class IV.

General.—The Block has not been able to make much headway (by the end of September 1959, it had only spent 19·99 per cent of its money) because of the frequent transfers of the Block Development Officers. It should be a policy of Government to keep these officers for the whole Block period unless and until some administrative or disciplinary cause demands their transfer : the Block only submitted the working plan complete when the third Block Development Officer joined it on the 11th August 1958. And this is the main cause for the lack of progress. Two more years at least are needed to achieve the targets. Moreover, in addition to the Block budget the Tribal Welfare Department is spending about a lakh of rupees on the teachers and other staff. The area, which is mainly under forest, can well be developed if the agricultural economy of the tribal is allied to the forest economy and full advantage is taken of the abundant natural resources of the locality. If such a Block is to fulfil any useful purpose, the personnel should be drawn either from the tribals themselves or from persons who have been domiciled for a long period in the tribal area.

In short the Block is slow but will do good in the long run, if all the facilities are made available at the right time and if there is proper check and supervision.

THE BISHUNPUR MULTIPURPOSE BLOCK

Introduction

The Bishunpur Block covers an area of 237 square miles with a total population of 23,160, of whom 92 per cent or 21,351 are tribals, 484 are Harijans, 845 belong to the so-called 'Backward' Communities and 480 are outsiders who have migrated into this area for various purposes. The

headquarters is at Bishunpur in the Gumla Sub-Division of Ranchi District and the Block, which functioned as an NES Block from October 1956, became a Multipurpose Block on the 23rd May 1957. There are altogether 68 villages, some situated on the Neterhat plateau, others in the plains. The P.E.O. is Shri K. B. Srivastava.

Dr Verrier Elwin, accompanied by Shri F. Ahmed, Additional Development Commissioner, Bihar, visited the Block from 11th to 13th September 1959, and has made the following observations.

There are a number of different tribes in the Bishunpur area—Uraons, Mundas, Asurs, Birhors, Birjias, Kherwars, Kisans, Nagesias, Chika-Baraiks, Malars, Lohar-Mundas and Parahiyas. Of these the 13,132 Uraons and 2,176 Mundas are the most progressive. They have always been good cultivators and are interested in rearing cattle and in trade. The Asurs (1,629) are traditionally iron-smelters, but they have now mostly taken to cultivation. They live on the high ground of the Neterhat plateau where the soil is very favourable for such crops as maize and potatoes. The Birjias (357) are very similar to the Asurs in their culture and pattern of living, but possess less land. The Birhors (147) were till recently a nomadic people who made a living from the spinning of rope, a little wood-work and the capture and sale of monkeys. The Kherwars (1,734) live below the hills and are regular cultivators. They try to intermarry with the Rajputs and their leaders like to be called Rajputs. The Chik-Baraiks (610) are weavers. The Lohar-Mundas (719) are the blacksmiths of the lower country and dispose of the dead cattle belonging to the Uraons and Mundas.

Although this part of the country is largely homogeneous in population, the tribal people have had a good deal of contact with the outside world; even some of the Birhors have been to the Tea Gardens of Assam and Roman Catholic missionaries have been working here for many years.

Only a very few of the people have practiced or still practice shifting cultivation. Before the establishment of Private Protected Forests the Birjias used to follow this method, but they are now finding it difficult to find forest to cut, and are beginning to settle to regular cultivation. The small groups of Nagesias, Kisans and Parahiyas also practice shifting cultivation on a small scale; it is reported that the total area so used is not more than 30 acres.

In this area there are 1,004 Tana Bhagats, 992 Bishnu Bhagats, 354 Mahadeo Bhagats and 54 Bachidan Bhagats. These are Hinduised Uraons, teetotallers and strict vegetarians. They have the images of Vishnu, Mahadeo, Parvati and Lakshmi in their houses. They do not take any food that has not already been offered to the family diety, a practice followed by orthodox Hindus. They also wear the sacred thread and leave a tuft of hair on the head, locally known as *chundri* (pig-tail). The Tana Bhagat movement is both religious and political. Their leader, Jatra Uraon, an inhabitant of Chingri village, at a distance of four miles from the Block headquarters, started a private non-co-operation movement in the second decade of this century and subsequently the Tana Bhagat Movement was associated with the non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. They not only protested against the established religious and social customs but also against the Zamindars and the foreign rulers. In pursuance of this they stopped paying rent to the landlords and the Chowkidari taxes to the Government. They became habitual wearers of hand-woven and hand-

spun cloth. They still stick to their old principles and code of conduct, and even today object to paying taxes.

The Roman Catholic Missions have had considerable success among the Uraons and Mundas, though the stream of converts has now largely dried up: there are said to be 1,699 Christians in the Block area, but I suspect that this figure is on the low side. The Roman Catholics are liberal in their attitude towards tribal culture. They have never interfered with their dancing and festivals or even with the drinking of rice-beer. Many Christians first celebrate a marriage in the Church and then later repeat a ceremony according to their own traditions. It is reported that the local missionaries have been exceptionally co-operative in plans for development.

There are five main markets in the Block to which the tribal people bring vegetables, baskets and other local products for sale. Indebtedness is said to be low, affecting only about 5 per cent of the population. To meet it there are thirty Multipurpose Co-operative Societies and three Industrial Co-operatives. There is a Vyapar Mandal Co-operative Society and a Joint Farming Co-operative Society which at present are in a preliminary stage. No Forest Co-operatives have yet been started. The tribal people here dislike taking loans either from the money-lenders or even from Government and when they do take a loan from an official source they repay it as soon as they possibly can. They are reported to be exceptionally honest and prompt about this.

Although each of the tribes in this area has a different language they are able to talk with one another in Sadari. This dialect of Hindi has been adopted as the medium of instruction in schools and the text-books are in Hindi written in Nagri script. In villages, where there are mixed populations, this is probably the only way of doing things. But in any homogeneous areas, for example, where the great majority of the people are Uraons or Mundas, I feel that the general policy of the Government of India to give instruction at the L.P. stage in the mother tongue should be followed.

As in all areas where a convenient lingua franca has been developed, there is a tendency to ignore the tribal languages as being unnecessary. I was glad, however, to hear that five small books in Munda had been written and were to be published.

The P.E.O. has passed the tribal language examination (higher standard).

There are fifty-six members of the Block staff, of whom eighteen (mostly Class IV) are of local tribal origin. The tribal boys are said to be keen to obtain jobs as teachers. VLWs and compounders and it is claimed that whenever any suitable boy appears he is appointed. Training of the staff seems to be going forward satisfactorily. This is natural in view of the proximity of Ranchi, where there are some of the most vigorous and successful training centres in the country.

There are a number of voluntary organizations at work in the Block. The R.C. Mission is the oldest institution here. It have done laudable work towards the spread of education among the tribal people during the past 40 years, and is now maintaining five schools. The next in point of seniority is the Adimjati Sevak Sangh, which at the moment is running seven schools and one bee-keeping training-cum-production centre. Two

of these schools are residential schools for the Asurs, having provision for accommodating 30 students in each. The Welfare Extension Project, under the executive control of the Project Implementing Committee, is running a number of institutions. A Sarvodaya Ashram was established some time in 1954, through which some lands for Bhoodan have been collected and distributed.

This Block has been the subject of a good deal of research. It has been visited by workers of the Tribal Research Institute at Ranchi and recently Dr Narbadeshwar Prasad, the Head of the Department of Sociology in Patna University, brought a party of sixty students who surveyed the Bishunpur and Mahuadand Blocks.

In appearance the tribal people of this Block have lost a great deal of their distinctiveness. It is true that they continue to dance, and dance extremely well. They are a cheerful and independent people. They are fond of painting the walls of their houses, especially at the beginning of spring. Women do not weave, but they do not seem to have other taboos on the practice of various crafts, except that only Lohar-Mundas and Asurs can work as blacksmiths. Many of them maintain their religious customs and festivals.

On the other hand, the P.E.O. reports that 'with the opening of the Block a great cultural change has taken place. The Scheduled Tribes have started dressing themselves in the manner of the persons from North Bihar'. It is rather hard to understand why the opening of the Block should cause this drastic change in dress, which is certainly undesirable.

There are communal dormitories and Akhras (places for dancing and discussion), but they are slowly dying out.

Expenditure

The following table shows the expenditure, year by year, up to the end of September 1959.

Heads (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in			Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expen- diture to Budget	
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59			
Project Headquarters	7.00	0.17	1.11	1.66	0.51	3.46	49.38
Animal Husbandry and Ag- ricultural Extension.	1.50	0.29	0.27	0.24	0.10	0.90	59.87
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	0.64	0.45	0.85	..	1.94	48.50
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	0.04	0.22	0.43	0.11	0.80	39.98
Education	0.75	0.06	0.03	0.39	0.02	0.50	66.86
Social Education	0.75	0.08	0.17	0.21	0.05	0.52	69.02
Communications	4.00	..	0.40	0.61	0.02	1.04	25.99
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	..	..	0.36	0.14	0.51	25.36

Heads (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 up to 30-9-59		
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.20	0.30	0.02	0.52	26.25
Rural Housing	2.50	..	0.10	0.51	0.16	0.77	30.89
Miscellaneous	0.50	..	..	..	0.08	0.08	16.90
TOTAL	27.00	1.28	2.96	5.57	1.22	11.04	40.97

This table is far from revealing the actual progress made for, as in other Blocks, considerable sums of money have been made available from other sources. One striking example may be given.

The sum of only half a lakh, out of a provision of two lakhs, appears to have been spent on arts, crafts and industries. This does not seem very much, yet in actual fact a great deal is going on, the cost of which is borne by other organizations. Under 63-B, there are training-cum-production centres for :

- (1) Tailoring
- (2) Carpentry
- (3) Durree-weaving
- (4) Blacksmithy and tinsmithy
- (5) Knitting and embroidery.

But then in addition, the Tribal Welfare Department provides funds for a basket-making centre and a weaving centre. The Adimjati Sevak Sangh maintains a bee-keeping centre. The Welfare Extension Project pays for two knitting and embroidery centres and, finally, the State Khadi Board gives funds for four Ambar-Charkha Parimsharayalas.

It is rather hard to see why, when the Block authorities cannot spend the money given to them, so many other organisations should contribute extra funds to what is already in excess.

There are many other works, in addition to those paid for out of the Block Budget, which account to some extent for the shortfall.

Under the Tribal Welfare Department of the Government of Bihar 22 drinking-water wells, seven Grain Golas, nine houses for tribal families, a hill-pathway, and two colonies for the Birhors have been taken up. The hill-pathway has shortened the distance from Banari to Netarhat by eight miles. Agricultural subsidies have been given to 18 families. A Vaidya Centre has been established. The Welfare Department is also running two residential schools through the Adimjati Sevak Sangh.

The Welfare Extension Project has also intervened to look after the women, the children and the sick, and has thus saved the Block Budget a lot of money. Gram Sevikas are running eight centres. Eight Balwadi Classes, 10 night centres for adult-literacy, 2 craft centres and a midwifery centre are now established and a trained Dai is attending to post and pre-natal

care of expectant mothers. The sum of Rs. 60,000 is being contributed from the Block Budget towards the cost of these activities.

Let us now turn to the details of material progress.

Agriculture

Although expenditure under 63 B on agriculture, of only Rs. 49,000 in three years, is on the low side, other funds have also been available for its development.

The people are reported to have accepted the improved agricultural practices whole-heartedly. During the summer the cultivators now utilise to the full all their water resources for the cultivation of vegetables and summer paddy : this is strikingly illustrated along the river Jori, starting from Kechki and going up to Barkadohar. The tribal people have long known the use of manure and they utilise every bit of cow-dung for their fields. They also practise green-manuring with leaves. They are, however, not yet fully convinced about the ultimate benefit of such chemical fertilisers as ammonium sulphate, and fear that they may ultimately burn their fields and destroy the fertility of the natural soil in course of time.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry, on which over Rs. 40,000 have already been spent, follows the usual pattern, and has certainly been appreciated by the people. So far 13 Harijana bulls, a Murrah-buffalo, 32 Yorkshire boars and sows, three Jamunapari bucks, 519 improved birds (Rhode Island Reds and White Leghorns) and 2,368 eggs have been supplied for the improvement of the local animals and birds. The unfortunate local cocks have been almost eliminated. Extensive inoculations and vaccinations have been done, and epidemics have been reduced. There is a Class I Veterinary Dispensary at the Project headquarters and two sub-centres where animals and birds are regularly treated. Kit-boxes have been supplied at 17 centres for first-aid treatment. A Poultry centre, complete with incubators, foster-mothers, runs, brooder's house and poultry house has been started at the Block headquarters whence pedigree birds and fertilised eggs will be supplied to the villagers. Eight Sifo pits have been constructed. 1,701 local bulls have been castrated to make room for the improved Harijana bulls. Cattle-shows and fodder demonstrations of napier and para grasses, lucerne and berseem have also been held.

Irrigation

The Bishunpur Block has been remarkably successful with its irrigation schemes, for which it has spent nearly two lakhs of rupees. I saw some of the bunds on the Netarhat plateau and the wonderful crops that were growing on previously barren lands. I saw great fields of paddy which formerly had been lying waste. The soil conservation scheme has also made excellent progress.

In terms of statistics, one medium irrigation scheme has been completed by the Revenue Department, and three by the Agriculture Department. One scheme has been completed, two others are well under way, and twelve more are planned from the Block funds. Fifty-six aharas, bunds and pynes have been constructed from the 63-B funds and 27 other schemes of the same kind have been constructed from the 54-Famine (Relief) funds. 162 irrigation wells have been constructed, and are in great demand.

Education

Reports show that three buildings for Junior Basic Schools have been constructed; six new Schools have been opened; furniture has been supplied to nine existing Schools and equipment has been given to 31. Two Middle School buildings have been improved. Books have been supplied to 20 existing School libraries, and 21 Primary School Libraries have been improved.

Scouting has been started in five schools and there have been three educational excursions. Eighteen schools have been supplied with first-aid-kit boxes. Equipment for games and sports have been given to 23 schools.

1,654 boys and 428 girls are attending school in the Block area, out of 2,025 boys and 1,627 girls of school-going age between 6 to 11 years. 52 Teachers are at work. Nearly half a lakh has been spent in the past three years.

These figures are not particularly impressive, and what little I saw of the schools at work was disappointing.

I visited a Basic School near Bishunpur. About thirty depressed little children were sitting in rooms in which there was no conceivable article or picture which could inspire them. The children sat on the floor : the teacher had a very large table towering above them. It is a good thing in these village areas for children to sit on mats before low desks in the traditional Indian style, but a man does not become a Guru by elevating himself above his pupils. When I asked what was 'basic' about the school the teacher said that the boys were doing gardening and spinning on the takli.

Would it not be better to give up altogether this humbug about basic schools? A school does not become 'basic' by doing a little gardening. Any good school throughout the world will have carpentry classes, gardening, some agriculture, painting and other crafts, but the essential foundation of basic education appears to be little understood and even when it is understood to be little practised. The Bihar Government has now decided to speak of Elementary Education, which will combine the good points of both the traditional and basic methods.

Health and Rural Sanitation

One Static Hospital and three Health Sub-centres are functioning. The Medical Officer in charge of the Mobile Sub-centres attends each twice a week. Eight drinking-water wells have been constructed out of the 63-B funds. 30 old wells have been repaired, 110 soakage pits and 38 dug-well latrines have been constructed. 210 Magan Chulhas are being constructed and 15 have been completed.

There is a great demand for drinking-water wells. I was told by one Uraon that he had himself dug a well up on the Netarhat plateau which had gone down forty-two feet without finding water. It may be that in certain circumstances the allotment of funds should be increased if the nature of the soil demands it, and I believe this is already done in rocky places. There was also a useful suggestion that in this Block there should be some plan of making reservoirs or tanks from which the water could be piped down to the villages where it is needed.

Social Education

Thirty-nine Social Education Centres are functioning. Six community halls are under construction, and two have been completed. Four library

buildings are under construction. 13 information Centres are functioning. Five Children Parks have been laid out. Five Gandhi Chabutras are under construction. Three tours of village farmers have been organised. Two Vikas Melas have been held. 19 Bhajan Mandlis, two village leaders' camp and 41 Youth Leagues have been organised.

The people enjoy cinema shows, especially if the pictures show their own people and have a background with which they are familiar. They are frankly bored with many of the improving and uplifting documentaries supplied officially.

There is need for the building up of libraries of general literature, both in Hindi and English, in the headquarters of every Block to help keep the staff intellectually alert.

The tribesmen do not seem anxious to have adult education. The younger people are very keen on schools but the elder ones say that they are tired in the evenings and cannot see much advantage in learning to read and write. Their sons and daughters will be able to do this for them.

In a discussion with some of the Uraons a point was made by them that there was generally insufficient propaganda or publicity. They felt that while they were all keen on new methods of agriculture, these were insufficiently explained to them and that the co-operative schemes, about which they were still hesitant, needed a lot of careful propaganda if they were to prosper. This, of course, will apply to every Block throughout the country and, without greatly increasing the staff, which is not desirable, there is probably not very much that can be done. Yet all Block officers should bear in mind the need of constant discussion and explanation. For this a knowledge of the language is often very necessary.

Co-operation

So far, a sum of Rs.52,500 has been spent on Co-operation, and there is nearly a lakh and a half to go. Thirty Multipurpose Co-operative Societies have been set up, with 1095 members. A sum of Rs.3,054 has been raised as share-capital, and Rs. 17,153 has been advanced as loan. One Marketing Society has been formed, with 21 members and a share-capital of Rs.20,417, plus Rs. 14,250 advanced as loan. Rs. 950 has been realised so far from out of the loans given.

A Joint Co-operative Farming Society has been formed with 24 members and a share capital of Rs.24. It has 150 acres of land, and is just beginning its work. A Weaver's Co-operative Society has also been formed with 33 members and share capital of Rs.230. Five other types of Industrial Co-operative Societies with 73 members and Rs.310 as share capital have been formed. A total of Rs.1,000 has been advanced as loan. There is clearly much scope for the development of this important subject.

Communications

Communications are still poor, though there are excellent roads connecting the Block Headquarters with Gumla on the way to Ranchi on one side and up to Netarhat on the other. In three years a little over a lakh has been spent, but out of an allocation of Rs.1,30,400 for 1958-59 only Rs.61,166 were utilized, showing a shortfall of just over Rs.69,234. 61 miles of *kucha* roads have been constructed; 20 miles yards of *kucha* roads repaired; and 282 culverts and causeways have been constructed.

Rural Arts and Crafts

In the field of cottage industries a number of small centres have been set up in villages round Bishunpur. The weaving of durries, carpets and textiles, basket-making, carpentry, tailoring, bee-keeping, tile-making and so on are all being encouraged through small training and production centres, whose trainees are expected to form themselves into Co-operative Societies later on. Trainees in these centres are paid a daily wage on a sliding scale from 75 nP. or a rupee to one-and-a-half rupees. The people themselves had previously practiced most of the industries taught, as well as some pottery, the carving of wooden combs and a little work in brass, which get a ready sale in the local markets. The Ambar Charkha has been introduced and one batch of trainees has finished the three months' course. Subsidized machines are given to each trainee when he has passed.

I have already referred to the various organizations controlling the Cottage Industries enterprises. In the Block institutions 84 persons have completed their training: and 186 are at present being trained. Goods worth Rs.7,612 have been produced and Rs.3,584 worth of them have been sold. Ex-trainees have produced goods worth Rs.2,746. Under the State Aid to Industries Act, the sum of Rs. 7,500 has been advanced, and a further sum of Rs.16,850 has been sanctioned for them by way of subsidy. Additional part-time employment has been provided to 175 and full-time employment to 15 persons. Six Industrial Co-operative Societies have been organised and 106 members have been enrolled: Rs.540 have been collected as share-capital. Forty looms have been distributed among the members of the Weavers' Co-operative Society, Bishunpur. 110 hive-boxes with stands have been distributed among the ex-trainees of the Bee-keeping Centre free of cost.

Cottage Industries schemes are being pushed forward with enthusiasm but here as elsewhere, there is little attempt to relate them to the art of the people. In an area where bazaar competition has almost destroyed the handloom industry and where few of the people wear their own quite pretty handwoven cloths, I feel that the stress should be more on textiles than on carpets. In the textile centre, where there were only three tribal men, the designs bore no resemblance whatever to the local tradition, and the cloth produced was very elaborate. It is difficult to work out genuine tribal designs in this area but it should not be impossible with a little research. Designs on pottery, baskets, the walls of houses, in the carving of combs or tobacco-boxes might all provide material for a designer. I suggest that the Director of Industrial Designs, Patna should seriously take up the exploration of these tribal areas (and it does involve a considerable amount of exploration) and try to work out designs that should be more in keeping with the people's tradition.

Another point which must be borne in mind is the danger, not of over-production of goods, but of over-production of craftsmen. At the present rate a large number of tailors, carpenters, durree-makers and so on will be produced and it may well happen that the numbers will be beyond the capacity of the area to absorb.

The Asurs are the traditional iron-smelters and blacksmiths of this part of the world. They are probably one of the oldest iron-working communities in India. I first visited the Asur villages of Netarhat eighteen years ago and at that time there were a good many smithies and kilns.

The people were remarkable for their energy, their happiness and the beauty of their dress and decoration. I must admit that on this visit I was a little disappointed. The smelting and smithy industry has almost entirely disappeared. The Asurs have changed their way of life and in no way for the better. They now look dirty and shabby in conventional clothes. Surely, where iron is in the blood of a small tribe, efforts should be made to encourage it. The Asurs seem to have given it up when their forests came under official control and they could no longer obtain sufficient wood for charcoal. If this could be straightened out, they might take to their ancient craft again, at least as a subsidiary industry, for here is something that is already there.

The Birhor Colonies

The Birhor colonies in the Bishunpur Block have excited a great deal of controversy. Accusations have been made that the Birkhors were virtually forced to leave their original settlements and go to places where the water-supply at certain times of the year is unsatisfactory and which are too far away from the forests and hills on which they depend for a living. It has been stated that land belonging to the Uraons was given to them and this has caused constant conflict. The type of houses and lay-out of the settlements has been criticised. It has been pointed out that since the people depend for their livelihood on products for which there is not a very great demand, it was a mistake to form such large colonies and when I visited Beti this was the main criticism made by the Birkhors, and even though I was told that the Forest Department has now agreed to buy in all their rope, they find it difficult to sell their products. It has been said too that different groups of Birkhors have been more or less forced to live together in one village and this has led to disputes and a confusion in the leadership.

I visited both the settlements, at Beti and Jahangutua. These have cost over Rs.1,30,000 and I think it must be admitted that at present they are not a very good advertisement for the policy of uprooting the tribal people from their own habitat. The colonies have been formed and there is no point in discussing further whether this was a wise plan or not. Certain initial mistakes were, I think, made. There was no particular point in moving the Birkhors from the sites of their traditional settlements to places which, though more convenient for the Block officers, were less convenient for them. The Birkhors have now to make long journeys to get the fibre for their rope, or the honey and the monkeys which they sell. In Jahangutua there is undoubtedly a shortage of water at certain times, though an excellent well has been made. Bullocks, ploughs and seed were not given for about two years after the colony was founded and this meant that after nearly four years, although the Birkhors have now started cultivating on quite a considerable scale, they still have not established their economy. I found no store of food of any kind in their houses and they were literally living from hand to mouth. The men go out to gather wood and other forest products in the early morning, come back at night and if they have been able to find something their families have some food. The situation, of course, will improve after a month or two and in future years we may expect that it will improve greatly. But in the meantime, as a result of rather bad planning, the transitional period from one way of life to another has been made unnecessarily difficult for them.

It was difficult to obtain the facts about the Birhor land. The anthropologists say that this land was formerly the property of Uraons who had reclaimed part of it. The P.E.O. says that the land was given to the Uraons a month or two before the colony was started and that before they had time to do any work on it, it was taken back from them and given to the Birhors. In the settlement itself I was told that the land was used by the Uraons for grazing their cattle. In any case, there seems to be no doubt that there is a certain amount of bad feeling on the part of the Uraons towards the Birhors and that from time to time they drive their cattle into the Birhors' fields to damage them. In fact, a Birhor headman expressed his fear that one day one of his people would be murdered and that they would all run away.

The Birhors formerly lived in small but warm and comfortable houses made of leaves plastered with mud. These were not nearly as bad as they sound. For one thing they were perfectly water-proof and the Birhors were so proud of their houses that they would fine anyone whose roof leaked. The layout of the Birhor settlement was closely connected with the family and social system and it was thus possible when many of them went out on their hunting or food gathering expeditions, for other members of the family to remain to take care of their property.

In both the colonies the houses have been built in long streets in formally straight lines, facing one another. They are comparatively large with high roofs and are divided into two or three rooms and a veranda in front facing on the street. Behind the house there is a curious little compound, very small, with a wooden gate. There are large windows and a number of doors. The transition from the warm and cosy nests of tradition into these rather forbidding buildings was a difficult one for the Birhors. Moreover, the houses themselves are badly built and unusually unattractive. The design is unsuitable and was clearly made according to some specifications prepared by someone who had never seen a Birhor. The people in this part, for example, do not have verandas opening on a street but facing inward on a compound to give them privacy and protect themselves from rain and wind. The new houses are cold and the roofs leak. I found that some of the windows were stuffed with cloth or straw and some of the doors closed with bamboo walls. The people complained that they did not like a two-roomed house but would much prefer to have the inner partition removed. There is no cattle-shed provided, with the result that the cattle spoil parts of the house. Some of the houses were dirty and nearly all were dilapidated and the Birhors expressed their apprehensions about what would happen when the tiles broke and the walls fell down. There has been little attempt to plaster the walls and wash them with clay as is done so admirably by the Uraons in the vicinity.

At Jahangutua there is a Primary School and a craft-shed where machines have been provided to enable the Birhors to increase their output of rope. In both settlements, at the time of my visits, these elaborate machines were out of order. The school, instead of being placed in a position where it would be a natural function of village life, is at some distance and is in a completely different and very ugly style of architecture. The craft centre has been made in a quite unnecessary pompous building, far too expensive, and constructed in such a way that no one can work in it when it rains. In actual practice I found that even now, although all the Birhors

in the settlement have been trained, they are carrying on their rope-work in their own homes. I was told that the Birhors are now economically much better off and if this is true I cannot imagine what they were before. They are still miserably poor; their houses are unsuitable, dirty and untidy; their health does not appear to be good, and I noticed that the children were very dirty and some of them were suffering from various eye-diseases, their eyes being bunged up with pus.

However, here the colonies are, and the thing to do now is to make them good—and take warnings for future ventures of the kind. Since Government has started giving the people houses, it should now see that they are habitable. The windows, at present stuffed with bamboo and cloth to keep the wind out, should be made smaller; the walls should be properly plastered and clay-washed; cattle-sheds should be erected behind the houses and the little purdah-walls should be removed to a greater distance to allow a proper compound behind the building. The partition between the two rooms should be removed. Medical attendance should be regular and a real attempt should be made to help these poor people to live an economically secure, clean and healthy life. The greatest care should be taken not to turn them into a community of beggars which at present is, I feel, a real danger.

The Birhors have been a free and independent people; today they appear a little crushed. Will we be allowed to do this or that, they ask: must we have co-operative cooking as well as co-operative farming? They should be made to realise that they are free men and women, and that it is not the policy of Government to impose anything on them.

Rural Housing

The policy for rural housing in the Multipurpose Blocks in Bihar State, according to a letter issued in January 1958 from the Development Commissioner's office, is that the entire money available under the schematic budget of Rs. 2.50 lakhs should be spent on construction or improvement of houses for Scheduled Tribes only. Priority should be given for such families as are practising shifting cultivation, the second to such families as may have been allotted agricultural lands either by the Revenue Department, by the Bhoodan Samity, or who may not have a house of their own, or own a house which would require improvement.

The total cost for the construction of a new house should not exceed Rs.1,100, of which 20 per cent is to be met by the beneficiaries themselves in the shape of labour or materials. Plans, estimates and specifications for the construction of houses for Scheduled Tribes under the centrally sponsored housing scheme are to be followed in regard to the construction of houses in the Multipurpose Blocks. The letter, however, says that there would, however, 'be no objection to bringing about such modifications in the plans and specifications as may be considered necessary by the Block Advisory Committee to suit local conditions, provided the cost does not exceed the ceiling fixed for each house, and the houses are certified to be reasonably sanitary by the Executive Engineer, In charge, National Extension Service/Community Development who is attached to the Commissioner's office. New houses should be constructed or the improvement carried out by the beneficiaries themselves or through the agency of the village Panchayat. In

no case, a contractor should be employed for the construction or improvement of any of these houses.'

There is, apparently, a standard plan, prepared at the State capital, for rural houses, which is to be followed in all parts of Bihar. The letter, from which I have quoted, allows for some modification, but its terms, so solemn and elaborate, are not likely to encourage it; a more human and simplified directive is needed.

A good deal of money has been spent in the Bishunpur Block on rural housing and out of a total allotment for the five-year-period of two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees, Rs.77,203 have already been spent, and 117 buildings have been constructed. My chief criticism of the scheme is that the houses are put up for the people by Government. The result is that there is little attempt to adapt their architecture to the local pattern and, as one Uraon said, the people feel a little uneasy in them because they are 'not their own.' In some cases, as the people themselves said, the walls are too thin (the local method is to make very thick walls) and sometimes collapse in storm. The windows are far too big. It is desirable to introduce better ventilation into the tribal houses. But to place too large windows in them may defeat its own object. Even we ourselves, in such tiny buildings, would not care to have so much ventilation. The result is that the people block up the windows and even some of the doors with pieces of woven bamboo, and this is not only expensive but also admits the wind. The houses are aesthetically very poor in comparison with many of the Uraon and Munda buildings.

I feel that wherever it is proposed to help people out by giving them houses, the best method would be to provide them with raw materials—in this case, with bricks, tiles and wood—and then allow them to build the houses themselves according to their own wishes, with tactful suggestions for improvement. This would lessen the danger of pauperization and would probably have better results. In the housing scheme there is far too much evidence of the urban mind at work.

One of the ways in which an urban pattern of housing is imposed is in the PWD rules that houses provided for the villagers must be in rows of four, ten or even more joined together with a common wall. I saw some houses in the Bishunpur Block in which two houses for separate families were joined together with a common veranda. Apart from the fact that the Uraons do not like verandas of this kind and that there are far too many doors and windows, the placing together of two houses with a common wall is entirely contrary, in most places and especially here, to tribal tradition. Where even longer chawls are put up for the tribal people, it is naturally even more unsuitable.

Building in straight rows, such as I saw also in the Simdega Block suggests some sort of institution and, though the custom is not unknown among some tribes, it is unfamiliar to most of them.

Throughout the whole of the beautiful tribal countryside, official buildings look unfamiliar; they do not grow out of the landscape.

The staff buildings at Bishunpur, for example, are some of the ugliest I have ever seen. The defacing of the Indian countryside by these architectural abortions is one of the most distressing aspects of the community development programme. Looking at them, the words of Blake came to me.

'What immortal hand or eye

Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?'

The Economics of Knitting

In an Asur village on the Netarhat plateau as well as in a number of other places I saw the young ladies employed by the Social Welfare Board teaching knitting and embroidery to village girls. Both these crafts are useful but I wonder whether they are entirely desirable in the more backward tribal villages. Here surely the important thing is to teach the girls to weave. The trouble about knitting and embroidery is that they solve no economic problem but rather create one. The materials have to be purchased and are expensive; the girls are introduced to exotic garments such as petticoats and pullovers which they do not generally wear. In this way their needs are increased and where they do not have enough to eat they are inclined to spend all the money they have on non-essential goods which help in the process of detribalization. The revival of weaving, however, means that the people can produce cloth for themselves and thus keep the money, which they would otherwise spend on mill-cloth, in their own villages. It is possible, of course, that the girls can sell their embroidered and knitted goods, but this is always a little problematical and they would be equally likely to sell their textiles if they were of good, and especially of tribal, design.

Tribal Music

Tribal music is often beautiful, but all too vulnerable to attack. Today, under the impact of the radio, the gramophone and the introduction of alien instruments, it is rapidly disappearing. All India Radio is doing what it can to encourage and preserve it, and I suggest that much more should be done by way of making gramophone records. Every Block should have a tape-recorder which could be used for this purpose.

I do not want to leave the Bishunpur Block on a note of criticism. Expenditure has been a little slow, but it has been wise. The enthusiasm and devotion of the Block staff cannot be disputed. The tribal people are responding well. Provided we do not try to force the pace in an unrealistic attempt to spend large sums of money within a certain time, I have no doubt that great good will be achieved.

I am only worried about three matters. Insufficient attention is being paid to the tribal languages. There is little attempt at building up the new life on the basis of the old, and a comparative neglect of the vivid and exciting aspects of tribal art and culture without which the programme may fail to touch the people's hearts. The housing policy needs careful examination and revision.

But the problem of the other great human needs—water, food and health—is well on the way to a solution.

THE BORIO MULTIPURPOSE BLOCK

The Borio Project is a part of the Rajmahal Damin-i-koh with its hill territory governed by special rules and regulations. The inhabitants are mostly Santhals and Paharias. The total population of 62,323 was reported to consist of 33,022 Santhals, 12,071 Paharias and 17,230 non-tribals including Telis, Khetouris, Haris, Moulis, potters, blacksmiths, Halwais etc. The tribal population forms 74.06% of the total population, the non-tribal population being 25.94%.

The Block was started as an N.E.S. Project in October 1956. It became a Multipurpose Block in October 1957.

The total area of the Block is 151 square miles, with 12 V.L.W. Circles, each with 16 to 20 square miles on an average.

There are 530 villages in the Block area. On an average, there are 44 villages per V. L. W.

The expenditure on the various items in the schematic budget is shown in the following Table.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.00	0.39	1.10	1.32	0.92	3.73	53.34
Animal Husbandry and Ag- ricultural Extension.	1.50	0.13	0.06	0.13	0.04	0.36	23.87
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	5.00	0.08	0.47	0.53	0.53	1.61	32.16
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	0.02	0.25	0.34	0.10	0.71	35.48
Education	0.75	0.02	0.04	0.004	0.006	0.07	9.01
Social Education	1.10	0.12	0.08	0.24	0.02	0.46	41.44
Communications	3.00	..	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.20	6.84
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	..	0.04	0.29	0.15	0.48	24.06
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.01	0.05	0.07	0.13	64.23
Rural Housing	2.00	..	0.04	..	..	0.04	2.35
Miscellaneous	0.15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Suspense	..	0.03	0.07	0.10	0.11	0.31	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.79	2.26	3.05	2.00	8.10	30.02

The Block was visited by Shri N. M. Wadiwa and Shri M. C. Nanavatty in September 1959 and they have made the following observations.

Programme of Development

(a) *Agriculture.*—The main crops in the Block are paddy, maize and jawar. Earlier, very little of rabbi, vegetable and cash crops were grown. As a result of the development programme, the Japanese method of paddy cultivation, line-sowing and use of fertilizers have been introduced. Rabbi is reported as being sown in increasing areas every year and improved seeds of paddy, maize, barley etc. are being increasingly used. Efforts were also

made to use sugar-cane and potatoes as cash crops. Due to the rocky soil and long summer drought, the programme of horticulture is not proving successful.

The Block has planned during the schematic period of five years a 40% increase in agricultural produce. A survey of the existing crops was made earlier, which discovered that 18,000 acres of land were cultivable, out of which 4,000 acres were previously under irrigation. Through the efforts of the Block staff, some 900 additional acres have been brought under improved seeds and 60 tons of fertilizers have been distributed. During our visits to various villages we observed, however, that the V.L.Ws were not giving enough attention to the use of compost-pits. We noticed that an increasing number of tribal people were taking to the line-sowing method of cultivation. In a selected area three soil conservation schemes have been also introduced. The Agricultural Extension Officer reported that more than 2,000 demonstrations were given during the period. He, however, felt that the tribal people were slow in adopting the various improved methods of cultivation. He was however, hopeful that the programme of Gram Sahayaks' Training Camps, which has already trained 2,500 villagers, will help in promoting the programme. There is no seed-farm in the Block, and we were told that this was due to the unwillingness of the tribal people to give land for it. The Administration plans to develop a seed-farm in a group of Blocks rather than in one Block.

The Agricultural Extension Worker seems to have no contact with the Forest workers in developing the tribal economy, although the Forest Ranger was reported to be a member of the B.D.C.

(b) *Forestry*.—Only the Paharias living on hill-tops practice shifting cultivation, the approximate area so cultivated being 6,000 acres. No specific survey, however, has been made to determine the extent this practice and no alternative form of agriculture such as terracing or wet rice cultivation has as yet been taken up. A colonization scheme to bring down the Paharias from the hills and settle them in the plains is being planned. Thirty houses for them are being constructed in Murgahani village and each family is being provided with two acres of land, besides cattle, ploughs and seeds. Discussions, both with the staff as well as with voluntary workers, revealed that this scheme has had a mixed reception. Some felt that the whole programme of rehabilitation was a long-term programme of five to six years of persistent education; whereas others felt that if the right approach was made, especially to the tribal leaders, and they were helped to understand the purpose of the scheme, it might prove successful. The scheme, however, requires to be further considered in terms of its effectiveness for the rehabilitation of the tribals.

Although various enquiries were made about the programme of relating the forest economy with the tribal economy, no definite measures seem to have yet been taken. There were no specific schemes either of providing the tribals with a monopoly for the exploitation of minor forest produce for their own welfare or of establishing Tribal Forest Co-operatives.

(c) *Animal Husbandry*.—The Block has a Dispensary in charge of an Animal Husbandry Extension Worker and three field dispensaries under one Live-Stock worker. In addition to curative treatment, various preventive measures are being taken through inoculation against infectious diseases. With regard to the programme of development of Animal Husbandry, the Block had ten Hariana bulls, two bucks, six rams, and fourteen goats. In addition,

185 cocks have been distributed. Previously there was an artificial insemination centre attached to the Block. Due to the poor response and various technical reasons, the centre was withdrawn.

The local draught animals are small in size and of very limited capacity. The cows are of short stature and there is no system of milking them and using milk and milk produce. The Santhals are, however, taking to the programme of promoting boars and sows, hens and fowls, goats and rams. It was reported that 90% of the bulls are not castrated, but the Project is taking measures to do this.

(d) *Irrigation*.—Fifty-four irrigation-well projects have been undertaken out of which seventeen are completed. In addition, two medium schemes resulting in 500 and 700 acres of additional irrigation land have been executed and 116 schemes of minor irrigation giving an addition of 1,000 acres are planned. Due to the rocky area, the programme is facing many difficulties.

Out of a provision of Rs. 5 lakhs only Rs.1,60,819 had been spent on all these subjects up to the end of September 1959.

During discussion with the B.D.C. we discovered that the tribal people were not in a position to pay 50% of the cost towards the Irrigation schemes, and they urged the contribution should be lowered. Many of the working schemes, including that of Irrigation, are entrusted to the Panchayat and Co-operative Societies but none have sufficient resources to meet 50% of the cost.

(e) *Communications*.—The Block headquarters is connected with the Sub-Divisional headquarters by a P.W.D. pukka road of 25 miles in length. Five Halkas are reported to be connected with the Block headquarters by an all-weather road and seven by a *kacha* road. 125 villages out of 500 are accessible by jeep.

Out of the total budget of Rs. 3 lakhs, only Rs. 20,528 have been spent towards communications for the construction of seven culverts. The Assistant Engineer has been in position for the last one year, although during the Block period two incumbents were changed. It was reported that a programme of construction of 60 more culverts has been taken up. There did not appear to be any specific plan for systematic communication of V.L.W. circles with the Block headquarters. A large number of work projects were sanctioned by the B.D.C. and entrusted to the Panchayats and their Mukhiyas, who were not, for one reason or other, executing them. This also raises, besides the problem of proportionate contribution, the question of how much the Panchayats can undertake with their limited capacity and how much of the programme should be executed on its own. With regard to the people's contribution, it was felt that the tribals were not in a position to give the required percentage even in the form of voluntary labour.

With regard to the total requirements of Communications in and outside the Block, it may be desirable to co-ordinate the resources provided with the P.W.D., the District Board and the Block administration, and work out a systematic plan of a web of communications. This, however, should not imply waiting till all the plans are completed. The immediate problem of constructing culverts in and around various villages so that they could be made accessible, should not be lost sight of. Anyway, the programme of communications is very weak; and because of this weakness the other programmes of development suffer. Highest priority requires to be given to this programme.

(f) *Health and Water-supply.*—The Primary Health Centre was opened in October, 1957. One doctor was stationed for six months. After three months, another doctor was appointed. The present doctor, however, has been in position for some time. The static Health Centre was started recently after the District Board dispensary was entrusted to the Block. The Mobile Health Centre has been functioning since October 1957. In addition, three sub-centres have been started. There is no lady health visitor, although a post has been sanctioned, due to the non-availability of personnel. Bihar State has also introduced a system of three male workers in place of compounders. They were doing additional work of compounders, dressers etc. The mobile van was used for visiting the three sub-centres which are situated on the main road, the doctor going to each sub-centre twice a week. In all the Centres out-door patients are given treatment, but there is no provision for indoor services. A survey of leprosy and T.B. was conducted earlier and it was found that only 3% leprosy prevailed. The prevalence of T.B. was about 5 to 6%, mainly among the Paharias. The area is considered to be highly malarious, and the National Malaria Control Board has undertaken an intensive programme of spreading D.D.T. During discussion in the B.D.C. however, it was felt that some of the villages were not treated. This may possibly be due to the non-malarious nature of the surroundings in their case. It is, however, necessary for the Block Administration to get in touch with the Divisional Officer in charge of Malaria Control to check up the prevalence of malaria. There seems to be no large-scale infection either of yaws or V.D. The doctor felt that the main problem was mal-nutrition, especially among the Paharias.

The rate of fertility among the Santhals is only 3 to 4 per couple. Therefore, there is no urgency about family planning. It was reported that the rate of birth among the Paharias was going down. This requires further study.

The Block has introduced a school health programme of having a health check-up of all school-going age children once a year. The doctor of the dispensary and the workers of the primary health centre have been placed in charge of this programme. It was, however, felt that due to the limited provision of medicine, the follow-up programme could not be introduced. The school health programme is a special feature of the State and deserves special recognition.

Out of Rs. 2 lakhs for Rural Health & Sanitation only Rs. 70,961 were spent by the end of September 1959. In view of the need as well as the demand for more health and sanitation programmes, it was felt both by the Block Administration and by the members of the B.D.C. that a higher provision deserved to be made for them. Part of the provision made for Arts and Crafts and Housing programmes, which were not proving popular among the tribal people, might be diverted to Health.

It was suggested that it would be desirable to convert the static dispensary and the Primary Health Centre at the Block headquarters into a ten bed hospital and place it under the charge of one doctor who may devote all his morning time to the hospital and, if possible, keeping in view the availability of communications and transport, may utilise his afternoon services for three sub-centres. The services of the other doctor may exclusively be utilised for the mobile health van visiting each V.L.W. circle on specific days in a month.

(g) *Education*.—In the Block there are 55 Primary, two Middle, one Government Senior Basic, one Government Junior Basic, one High School and four Santal Pargana Sewa Mandal schools. The jurisdiction of the Sub-Inspector of Schools is confined to the Block and he is placed in the Block as a member of the development team. This is a special feature of the State and requires to be acknowledged. In this way, the education programme has been made part of the development programme.

With regard to the use of the tribal language—especially Santhali—as the medium of instruction in primary schools, it was stated that there were not enough Santhali teachers available. However, the local M.P. held a different opinion. He felt that the Santhals were not given adequate opportunities. There are no text-books in Santhali in the primary schools. However, the principle of utilising the mother tongue as a medium of instruction was acceptable to all. The Welfare Department has a programme of promoting basic residential schools specially for the tribals. There is one residential school in the Block, but no follow-up programme is carried out systematically by the school authority of the children who have completed their Middle School education here. This should be undertaken.

The tribal schools in the early stage might be recognised as special schools where the minimum qualification of a teacher who knows the tribal language may be lowered. The Education Department should be involved in opening the school and supervision be maintained by its staff. Efforts should be made gradually to provide facilities for higher education to tribal teachers employed in the schools, so that eventually, through a systematic programme of development they can be brought to the standard of ordinary schools. In this way the programme of education can be effectively promoted among the tribals.

(h) *Social Education*.—The programme of social education includes organisation of night-schools and promotion of cultural and social activities. There is no youth dormitory among the tribals here.

A programme of cultural activities, specially tribal dances, was presented to us on two occasions. Special care needs to be given to promote the traditional dances so vigorous and full of life, and the adaptation of these dances to modern styles should be discouraged. It would have been desirable if regular cultural festivals were organised in each V.L.W. circle in the first stage and in the Block at a later stage annually. Assistance from the Tribal Welfare Department should be given through their cultural officers to promote cultural activities through these festivals.

(i) *Women's Programme*.—In view of the fact that there was neither a lady S.E.O. nor a Gram Sevika, there is no women's programme. This is one of the weakness of the development programme. This requires immediate attention.

(j) *Rural Housing*.—The housing scheme has not made much progress in the Block. Out of a total provision of Rs. 2,00,000 only Rs. 4,700 were spent towards the construction of 15 houses. Experience, however, proved that tribal people did not respond favourably to the scheme. Some of the houses were left unattended and collapsed. It was felt that the tribal people's economic condition has not reached the stage when they consider facilities of good housing as essential. There is need for a programme of education before introducing the scheme. The scheme, as visualised at present, did not seem to suit the tribal requirements. Efforts should be made

towards the improvement of the existing houses and providing models which are nearer to their early practices so that they can develop similar houses on their own rather than introduce a scheme of housing based mainly on urban architecture. Some of the members of the B.D.C. stated that the provision made under this head might be shifted to other programmes of importance such as Communications or Health.

In a meeting of the B.D.C. the members emphasized the fact that the tribal people were not willing to move from their own homes in the hills. What they want is help in constructing better houses and other social service facilities in their own villages. The officials felt that with a great deal of persuasion they might be willing to come down, but it is questionable as to how far pressure should be put on the tribals to do something which they are not willing to do, a policy which approaches dangerously near to the 'Imposition' which has been so strongly condemned by the Prime Minister.

(k) *Cottage Industries.*—We visited four Training-cum-Production Centres started in the Block. These included bee-keeping, carpentry, bamboo-work and rope-making. Bee-keeping and carpentry are liked by the tribal people, for there are marketing facilities for them. But rope-making and basket-making are not progressing satisfactorily. The economies of these two industries were not clear in the mind of the Industries Extension Officer and the craft teacher. The follow-up programme is not systematically introduced in the centres with the result that after the completion of the course, the trainees do not begin to harness their training in production. This requires immediate attention. Care needs to be taken to introduce cottage industries which have raw materials available in the Block and easy market facilities. It is not desirable to introduce a cane-industry in the areas where cane does not grow. Besides, the bamboo-industry can only survive if it is developed more as an art than as an industry. Some of the trainees appeared to have come only because of the stipend. The machinery provided for the rope-making industry was not kept in good order. Some of the machines were not functioning. Considerable energy as well as expenditure appears to have been wasted due to inadequate planning.

(l) *Co-operatives.*—Fifty-six Multipurpose Co-operative Societies were reported to be functioning. Rs. 1,27,322 has been given as agricultural loan out of which Rs. 77,313 has been realised. It was stated that loans were given only towards productive items and not towards 'unproductive' requirements such as marriages etc. The main stress is on Credit Co-operatives. With regard to the Industrial Co-operatives it was stated that only three out of 11 were functioning.

There is also a proposal to have one Vyopar Mandal in each Block in Bihar to provide a marketing organisation. With regard to the measures to be taken for making the co-operative programme more successful, the Co-operative Extension Officer felt that the admission fee to the Co-operatives should not be more than four annas and the share capital may be secured through many instalments, in addition to the simplification of the Co-operative rules.

(m) *Indebtedness.*—Closely connected with the programme of co-operatives is the problem of indebtedness. A survey has indicated that the tribals have suffered debts to the extent of Rs. 2 lakhs. In the budget of the Multipurpose Block there was a provision of Rs. 50,000 for wiping out debt. The State Government, however, is not allowing the use of this amount as there

are possibilities of its misuse and development of increasing dependence of the tribals on Government. Some other solution needs to be found.

During discussion with some of the members of voluntary agencies we noted that the prevalent system of money-lending by Mahajans was eating up all the economic improvement from our development schemes. One of the tribals suggested that a strict Act should be enacted and executed against money-lending to tribals in addition to the provision of Grain Golas and other co-operative facilities to give them loans and other assistance. Unless an all-sided attack is made to remove the prevailing indebtedness among the tribals, it was feared that the efforts made towards development may not result in improving their condition.

(n) *Panchayats and Tribal Councils.*—There are 23 Panchayats existing in the Block. Each Panchayat covers on an average 2,500 to 3,000 population. During discussion with the Panchayat Extension Officer it appeared that he concentrates mainly on inspection. He was not aware of the extension work that he should carry out in promoting the Panchayat as a vital organisation for the development programme.

The question of developing the village councils into Panchayats was discussed with members of the voluntary organisations. Some of them felt that if proper guidance was given, the Tribal Councils could take up the responsibilities of the Panchayats.

Forests and Grass

In a discussion with the Deputy Commissioner at Dumka, some important points emerged.

With regard to the question of relating the forest economy to the tribal economy, it was pointed out that there was no special programme of associating tribals through Co-operatives in the exploitation of major forest produce. The forest coupe contractors were free to employ tribals on wages. There is no provision or control of the Government on use of tribal labour or on fixing wages. In addition, it was pointed out that there was no monopoly given to tribals for the use of minor forest produce. With regard to the grazing facilities, it was said that there was enough grazing land both in the forest and in the villages. Thus, there was no problem for the tribals to secure grazing facilities.

With regard to the question of sabai grass, it was said that in earlier days there were about 30,000 acres of land covered by sabai grass specially around Borio. These lands were owned by the Paharias. As sabai could not grow without proper weeding, it was necessary that proper care be taken by the Paharias. Unfortunately, due to their slackness this was not systematically maintained with the result that the crop suffered considerably. Without proper weeding it was not suitable for the production of paper. Earlier, the Mahajans used to get the weeding done by the Paharias. Due to the campaign against the Mahajans' exploitation of Paharia labour, the Mahajans began to lose interest in the work, and in some cases they withdrew from the trade, with the result that the production of sabai grass suffered considerably. The produce came down from some lakhs of maunds to a few thousands. Recently the Government had a discussion on the subject with the owners of some paper mills and the representatives of the Paharia Society. Various alternative proposals were considered, including—

(a) Giving a permit to a paper mill for the purchase of sabai grass

for a period of five years, the Paharia Society acting as agent for securing sabai grass from the Paharias to the mill.

(b) Re-introduction of the Mahajan system with greater control by Government through the appointment of Welfare Officers.

Various proposals are at the stage of consideration. Government is eager, however, to provide greater benefit to the Paharias in growing sabai grass, thus providing it for the paper industry.

Conclusion

We may sum up our observations on this Block by saying that while the programme of Health and Sanitation has made good progress, that of Communications is poor, and that of Irrigation and formal and informal Education is weak. The problem of indebtedness is acute and the Block programme offers only limited relief.

Although the P.E.O. has some understanding of the tribal life and culture and is able to speak the tribal language, the existing programme does not show any specific adaptation to tribal life and culture, whether through the relation of forest economy to the tribal economy, the employment of more tribals working through tribal institutions, or attempting a solution of the problem of debt.

THE DAMBUK-AGA MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Dambuk-Aga Block, with its headquarters at Baghmara, lies to the south-east of the Garo Hills District of Assam and is about seventy miles by road from Tura, the capital of the District. The area of the Block is much larger than was originally reported, being now 117 square miles and the population, distributed in 262 villages, is 24,109. The Block was opened on the 2nd of October 1956, and is thus nearly three years old. Until recently, the P.E.O. was Shri P. S. Ingty, a brilliant young Mikir (tribal), borrowed from the State Forest Department. Since May, when he was transferred, Shri J. N. Borogohain, an A.E.O. of wide experience, has been officiating. Both speak Garo fluently.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin in July 1959 and he has made the following observations.

The majority of the inhabitants of the Block area are Garos, people of Tibeto-Burman stock, who have a tradition that they originally came from Tibet. Their language has certain points of resemblance to Tibetan; they have gongs of various kinds and use yaks' tails for ceremonial purposes. They are scattered throughout the Districts of Kamrup and Goalpara but the majority are in the Garo Hills District, which in 1951 had a population of 2,42,075 individuals, of whom 1,90,702 were Garos. Other inhabitants are Rabhas (tribal people of Bodo affinities) and Koches, some Bengalis and Assamese, and merchants in the small towns.

Some of the scheduled flights between Dum Dum and Gauhati pass immediately over the Dambuk-Aga Block and as the traveller looks down from the aircraft he can see the general lay-out of the country, a great bowl filled with low hills which are in the main thickly wooded. He will see comparatively few villages except along the banks of the rivers and in the foothills or plains area immediately adjoining Pakistan, where most of the population is concentrated. Particularly, along the beautiful Someswari river there are a fair number of Garo villages which are inhabited mostly by the Atong section of the tribe.

The District is not very high in elevation; Tura itself is only 1,300 feet above sea-level and Baghmara is even lower. Rainfall is heavy and the climate is generally warmer than in the other hill areas of Assam. The District is divided into ten Mauzas, of which four are Hill Mauzas and six Plains Mauzas. The most neglected is Mauza III: the Dambuk-Aga Block covers most of Mauza I.

This is not actually the most undeveloped part of the District, which is to be found in Mauza III. Baghmara and its immediate neighbourhood, in fact, is a rather sophisticated area; it is in the plains and close to the boundary dividing it on the one side from Goalpara and on the other from Mymensingh in East Pakistan. It was, however, chosen as a Multipurpose Block because of the insecurity and the economic collapse caused by Partition. As in the Saipung-Darrang Block, many of the Garos here used to depend for their livelihood and for what was a very real prosperity in former times, on trade with Pakistan. This meant they concentrated on cash crops such as oranges, pineapples and pan leaves, but after Partition their fruitful markets were closed to them. In view of this, it was felt necessary to raise the morale of the people and to better their economic condition. Had it not been for this, the area would probably not have been given priority for a special allocation of additional funds.

The annual expenditure of the Block from its inception to the end of September this year will be seen in the following table.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.30	0.39	1.56	1.73	0.59	4.27	58.45
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	4.32	0.18	0.19	0.25	0.36	0.98	22.68
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	2.90	0.006	0.08	0.34	0.05	0.48	16.60
Health and Rural Sanitation	3.21	0.03	0.29	0.22	0.14	0.68	21.24
Education	1.00	0.03	0.30	0.26	0.02	0.61	61.39
Social Education	0.79	0.06	0.19	0.20	0.02	0.47	59.48
Communications	3.35	0.05	0.73	0.35	0.13	1.26	37.75
Rural Arts and Crafts	1.53	0.006	0.14	0.12	0.06	0.33	21.68
Co-operation]	1.00	..	0.03	..	0.08	0.11	11.00
Rural Housing	1.60	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.75	3.52	3.47	1.46	9.20	34.07

Altogether a little over nine lakhs has been spent in nearly three years and, although I do not suggest that financial statistics should be the main yardstick of progress, this expenditure does not suggest that altogether satisfactory progress has been made. More than three lakhs, or almost half the

total sum, have been spent on staff. This is a very large share given for staff as against the amount spent on the people, when it is remembered that it has been spent over nearly three years. Expenditure under the most vital subjects of all—Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Rs. 98,010) and Soil Conservation, Irrigation and Reclamation (Rs. 48,098) is very poor. So also, is the sum of Rs. 33,204 spent under the head of Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries.

Yet although it cannot be claimed that progress has been altogether satisfactory in the Dambuk-Aga Block, there are a number of serious difficulties peculiar to it. In the first place, the Block area borders, as I have said, on Pakistan and this has given the people and officials a certain sense of insecurity.

Then, as anyone can see from an aircraft flying over the Block, geography is against development. There is just not enough flat land to develop wet rice cultivation on a sufficient scale; the country is divided by rivers; and the many hills interrupt communications. I understand too that the soil is unsuitable for terracing and is often of a rocky character which makes any cultivation difficult. The low-lying fields are subject to disastrous floods. The wide-spread forests are full of wild animals, and elephants frequently destroy the crops raised with such pains and even break down houses in the villages; bears raid the pineapple plantations and rob them of the fruit.

The traditional system of land tenure also appears to cause difficulty. Most of the flat land lies under what are called the Akhing rights of the Nokmas (village headmen) and although in most cases a Nokma allows other people to cultivate his fields on the payment of a nominal fee, the thought of putting in a great deal of labour into land that does not belong to himself naturally discourages a peasant from taking up reclamation work. I understand that the District Council is to be moved to introduce certain amendments in the present land system in order to meet this difficulty.

Officials complain that the supply of seeds and animals is inadequate and that seeds, in particular, often arrive late. Sanctions for expenditure also are often delayed by the complicated procedure through which all proposals must pass. Here they are even more complicated than elsewhere, as they have to go before the District Council in addition to the other bodies who examine them. There were complaints that the staff was inadequate, though on further enquiry I found that only one Overseer and one Upper Division Assistant had not yet been appointed to sanctioned posts. There is, however, no P.E.O. and an A.E.O. has been functioning for some time. The latter has no assistant and is greatly tied down to his office. This seems to me undesirable, for unless the P.E.O. can tour constantly (I would personally say for at least twenty days a month) his schemes are not likely to be progressed satisfactorily.

As everywhere else, there is difficulty in getting the right type of men to fill the various posts, even though in the Garo Hills there is a special hill allowance: it took nearly three years to get even one doctor. I think that there does seem to be a case for providing more V.L.Ws one of whom has to look after a population of 13,227 and others have to cover areas of 60, 72 and 96 square miles respectively. It is hard to understand how young men, who are not very mature or highly trained, can possibly improve cultivation over such a large area all by themselves.

The greatest difficulty, however, is in the mentality of the people. I discuss elsewhere the deep economic conflicts which have come from the loss of the Pakistani markets. To this must be added a further psychological disturbance caused by too many promises made both by the Block staff and by visiting V.I.Ps. In addition to the 27 lakhs of rupees allotted for the Block, considerable other sums of money are available—grants from the Tribal Areas Department, from the Border Relief Committee, from the District Council, and from various welfare institutions. The people are well aware that this money is there and are constantly clamouring for a share of it in the form of subsidies. While in Mairang I often heard the term 'manure-minded'; in Dambuk-Aga the usual expression was 'subsidy-minded'. At a meeting of various Garo leaders in Baghmara there were many complaints about the non-receipt of subsidies, for which I believe thousands of applications are being made. I could see no trace whatever of any idea that Community Development was a people's movement which would encourage the villager to do things for himself. It has become regarded here as a sort of charitable society which will hand out large sums of money to individuals for various projects irrespective of whether the money is used for the purpose intended or not. The previous P.E.O., Shri P. S. Ingty, has summed up the situation very well in the following words :

'A self-governing, self-propelling village institution of the village people, such as can continue running the village development programme on its own without the major initiative flowing from the Government, is yet to come. Our panchayats, our co-operatives and village institutions have been torn with internal strife and self-centred motivation. Our villages in the olden days were bigger with more than a hundred households staying together, *jhuming* together co-operatively with a strong 'Nokpante' (youth dormitory) in place of the weak schools of today, giving practical lessons to the young. Our villages were self-sufficient, people were of independent spirit, not as at present seeking Government help or subsidy—believe it or not—for even keeping their own houses and compounds clean.'

Agriculture and Food

The Garos cultivate, in the main, by the *jhuming* method and, as Major Playfair said long ago, although a Garo's methods of cultivating his fields are primitive 'the soil is rich, he does not demand too much from it and he, therefore, usually obtains excellent results'. Since, however, the Garo population in their own District has risen from 1,03,538 to 1,90,702 in the past fifty years there is much more pressure on the land than there was : the *jhum* cycle has been reduced from ten or twelve to four or five years, with an inevitable loss of fertility. The Garos grow rice but the land suitable for wet rice cultivation has always been largely in the hands of the Rabhas and Koches, and is in any case not of great extent. To the north millet is common and, along with millet and rice in the first *jhum* year, maize, job's tears, chillies, melons, pumpkins, yams, sweet potatoes, ginger and indigo are also grown. Fifty years ago attempts were made to grow potatoes but this was not successful, though attempts are being made to revive it today. Orange-trees were also planted at this time in a number of villages and gave an excellent crop.

The Garos do not seem so fond of hunting as other tribes and it is curious that they rarely use the bow and arrow; where they do hunt they

generally depend on traps. They are, however, very fond of fish and Garo villages are not, as so common elsewhere in Assam, situated on the tops of hills, but in the valleys and nearly always close to streams or rivers. This proximity to water in a warm climate has meant that the Garos are a clean people, do not bother about many clothes and have become expert fishermen; they trap the fish, spear them and also poison the rivers. The Garos have few taboos on food and in the interior eat every kind of meat, though they avoid the flesh of the tiger. Like other tribes they do not drink milk, which they look on as a sort of excrement. Yet their strong stocky bodies and vigorous temperament suggest that, despite their poverty, their diet is not unsuited to their needs.

This diet receives an important supplement from the rice-beer, which is prepared from rice, millet, maize or job's tears, which is rich in essential food-values. Happily, the Garos have not taken to distilled spirit. Though the Churches ban the use of rice-beer on pain of excommunication, the rule is now often ignored.

The food-values of rice-beer have been analysed by the Department of Anthropology. It found that, while the alcohol content is small, the beer enriches the nutritive value of the tribal diet approximately by 10 per cent of calories, 5.5 per cent of protein, 5.3 per cent of calcium, 11 per cent of phosphorus, 29 per cent of iron and 8 per cent of niacin, with the result that it has been found superior to the food of the average Indian peasant in all important nutrients.

Although rice or millet beer consumes a rather large quantity of the grain available, it may—in view of its nourishing qualities—be regarded as a food, as a sort of palatable and stimulating soup, rather than a vice or an indulgence.

In the Block area, it is even more difficult to improve the food situation than in other parts of the District. The total requirement of food in the Block has been estimated at about 6,000 tons, against which at present the production is only 3,300, thus leaving a deficit of 2,700 tons. Even if all reclaimable areas were brought under cultivation and fully cultivated, it is said that only 900 tons more of foodgrains could be raised. This will leave a gap of 1,800 tons which will have to come from outside. Despite optimistic official reports, I was assured by local officials that this was more or less the real situation.

The actual achievements of the Block in this field are not very impressive. Up to April this year, 50 mds. of sali paddy 'P' seeds, 144 mds. of ahu paddy seeds, 74 mds. of hill paddy seeds, 67 mds. of boro paddy seeds, 160 mds. of potato seeds, 26 mds. of cashewnut seeds and 200 fruit seedlings and 24,900 arecanut seeds have been distributed. Not all have been successful.

81 mds. of ammonium sulphate, 60 mds. of superphosphate and 7 mds. of bonemeal have been distributed. The people have dug 90 compost pits. For the protection of the crops, 4,481 lbs. of hexidole, 961 lbs. of guesarol and 18 mds. of gamaxane have been distributed. During the last rains, a supply of 887 grafts and plants to the villagers was 'arranged'.

Only about 70 acres have been reclaimed and cultivated by the people so far: there are also some other areas which have been reclaimed but not yet brought under cultivation.

Irrigation canals benefitting 106 acres have been dug over a total length of one mile and 770 yards.

Boro paddy cultivation has increased from 100 acres (originally) to nearly 330 acres at present (June, 1959). Due to shortage of irrigation water further development has not been possible. With the bunding of the Kharukol, Rompa and Rongdik rivers, however, boro paddy cultivation should be considerably increased, and the Garos are anxious to take this up.

In spite of these statistics the general view of the people was that there had been very little improvement. Wherever I went I asked one question: 'You have now had a Block for nearly three years. Are you getting more to eat than you used to and have you got more money in your pockets?' This was invariably treated with derision and complaints that the situation had not improved in any way. Since the Garos generally went on to demand subsidies this attitude may not be altogether fair to the Block officials, yet it did seem to me that progress in agriculture and allied subjects were still far below standard.

It also struck me that in view of the fact that there was insufficient land for the development of wet rice cultivation, an important aspect of the programme should be the intensification and improvement of *jhum* cultivation. I have so far not found anywhere any attempt to do this on the lines suggested by Shri M. S. Sivaraman, described in Chapter VII of this Report. In fact, I have not yet met anybody in the Multipurpose Blocks who is even aware that such recommendations had been made. Even in areas where there is sufficient alternative land (and these are not many in the Assam Hill Districts) it will be a very long time before the people move from their *jhums* on to level ground and I suggest that Shri Sivaraman's recommendations should be widely circulated. He might be requested to write a small leaflet setting these out for the benefit of Block officials.

Animal Husbandry

The original plan of the Animal Husbandry and Veterinary scheme of the Block was to divide the area into three zones and help 'in saturating each zone with improved birds and animals by giving these on loan to the village people on the basis of return of the young ones'. The work could not proceed at the pace planned due to the fact that improved breeds of birds and animals were just not available. However 26 birds and nine pigs have been distributed so far (June 1959). Two breeding-bulls of the Haryana breed have been bought for the improvement of the local cattle. This is still far from 'saturating' the villages!

Incidentally, it is important to ensure that when pigs and other animals are distributed in the villages some arrangements should be made for feeding them properly. At Siju I saw a pair of Yorkshire pigs who were looking rather dilapidated and, although their housing arrangements were quite good, they were thin and were obviously getting insufficient nourishment.

Two thousand grass-cuttings have been introduced and a fodder farm has been started at Baghmara for multiplication and distribution.

1,500 veterinary cases were treated, 270 castrations performed, and 780 vaccines were given up to April 1959.

The Veterinary Dispensary at Baghmara has been completed and two outcentres are to be opened this year.

Expenditure under this head came to only Rs. 26,557 up to the end of June 1959.

Soil Conservation

A Soil Conservation Demonstration Farm has been started at Dambuk-Aphal with an area of 25 acres, of which actual cultivation has so far covered 15 acres.

This year, besides the cultivation of potatoes and vegetables in winter, ahu, hill paddy and sali paddy are being cultivated in the terraces, and are reported to be doing well.

In addition to the Farm, Soil Conservation works are being taken up in different villages. About 45 acres of land were terraced last year and the people are growing ahu paddy by dry cultivation on them: this year about 25 acres of land have already been terraced in different villages.

Also 1,000 cuttings of black pepper vines were introduced to the villages last year and another 5,000 cuttings have already been distributed this year.

In areas where terracing is not possible, the villagers have been advised to plant cashewnuts and accordingly five maunds of seeds have already been distributed to the villagers this year.

No Soil Conservation protection works have taken up so far, as no sanction for any regular scheme has yet been received from Government. The amount spent in nearly three years is only about Rs. 18,000. In a Block where this subject is of major importance, this suggests rather poor progress.

Communications

There are several difficulties in the way of developing communications. The terrain is difficult. Secondly, the people themselves do not at present see any very great advantage in having roads since they themselves seldom use bullock-carts, have no motor-transport and thus hardly go on roads at all. I drove right through the Garo Hills from one corner to the other and I have rarely seen roads that are less used by the villagers. It is naturally difficult for them to realize that there may be ultimate value to themselves in these roads. At present they think of them as merely for the benefit of the official staff.

There seems to be some muddle with the P.W.D. who do not wish the Block people to open roads along the alignments which they have laid out and which they expect to take up in future years.

Finally, there is a difficulty which has arisen all over the tribal areas. Roads are being made within the Block by the P.W.D., the District Council, the Border Relief Committee and the Multipurpose Block officials. In the case of the first three the people are paid at full rates, but roads constructed out of the Block budget are paid for at a considerably reduced rate to allow for the people's contribution. Now here, where there is practically no idea that the people should contribute to the Government but always that Government should contribute to the people, this system is resented and the villagers are rather unwilling to help in the construction of 'self-help' roads. It would not matter very much if all the villagers were engaged on the same terms but in practice, one village near the alignment of a Border Relief or P.W.D. road will get the full rate whereas another village near the Block road will only get half the amount. To the simple tribal mind this seems unfair. 'Why should such and such villagers get twice as much as we get', they ask, 'for what is exactly the same kind of work?' I feel that this is a matter which

should be very carefully considered. Either everything should be done on a people's contribution basis or everybody should be paid the full amount.

In spite of these difficulties, however, a number of works have been completed. The road up to Mahadeo has been made jeepable, and the first portion up to Panda has been taken over by the P.W.D. On the northern side the road from Rongrenggiri to Simsanggiri completed last year has been extended up to Rongbinggiri. An extension from the Forest Department coal-field road from Darugiri to Daranggiri is being made towards Siju: it is already jeepable upto Badri-Rongsarawe.

Two roads were taken up under the border relief scheme in March 1959—Mahadeo-Moheshkhola (4 miles) and from Baghmara to Siju. On the Siju side the road has only been possible up to Kharukol with the money available but it is expected that now that a further amount is sanctioned it will be through to Siju this winter.

One 'self-help' road from the P.W.D. road (33rd mile) to Silkigiri and another linking the P.W.D. and District Council roads at Sibbari has been taken up.

Health

In the Dambuk-Aga Block the subject of Health does not seem to be receiving sufficient attention. Before the Block started there was already one doctor positioned in the whole area and one other doctor has only just been appointed out of the Block budget. That it has taken over two-and-a-half years to find a doctor willing to go and serve even in Baghmara, which, after all, has some of the amenities of a small town, illustrates one of the greatest difficulties of making progress in the Multipurpose Blocks and indeed all tribal Blocks. Qualified technical men just do not want to go to them. Even the newly-appointed doctor at Baghmara was already talking of taking long leave.

There are a number of compounders, some of whom are Garos, in out-centres, and the Block plan envisages the appointment of others (I understand that the Block will be content with the one doctor already appointed). Through these out-centres 1,767 persons were treated during the year 1958-59. 92 maternity cases were attended to by the Block midwives during the same period. It seems to me that at least one other doctor is needed who will be more or less continually on tour for, as in all tribal areas, people are reluctant to make the long journeys to headquarters when they are ill. At present the (non-Block) doctor from Baghmara goes once a week on market days to a place called Sibbari, 18 miles from the headquarters to attend patients. Fortunately, an ambulance is already in position and he is able to go about in it. But this is surely not enough for such a large area.

There is a good deal of leprosy in the Block area but, apart from some pills distributed by a private organization, hardly anything seems to have been done for the sufferers from this tragic disease. The Garos regard a leper as, quite literally, an untouchable: they insist on his living in a hut outside the village and traditionally (I do not know how far the custom is still followed) it was a rule that no leper should be allowed to die a natural death. As he approached his end he was carefully watched and when his relations saw that he was breathing his last, they set fire to the hut. Otherwise, they believed that the disease would spread to them and other inhabitants of the village.

In view of the difficulty of obtaining proper medical staff, I am doubtful if the allocation under Health can be spent during the prescribed period. Could there not be established a really good colony for the lepers which might be built in the form of a Garo village, just as in NEFA the H.D. Sanatoria are built as tribal villages in a simple homely way? It seems to me as a general principle that it would be better to spend some at least of the money available on definite tangible institutions which will last, rather than to dissipate it in various schemes which may or may not bear fruit.

Education

At least in the Assam Districts, it is difficult to assess the work of the Multipurpose Blocks in a vacuum, for it should often be considered in relation to the work being done elsewhere. *Jhum*-control, for example, cannot be confined to one small area, for what happens in one part of the District has its reaction in what happens in another. The same applies particularly in the case of education.

Although there is a positive clamour for education in some places, in others the Garos do not seem very anxious to send their boys and girls to school. A typical remark by a village elder was that: 'If we send our boys to school they are lost to us. They cut their hair in a different style, remove their ornaments and refuse ever to work in the fields again. They develop wants which we cannot supply. They require all sorts of new things which we cannot afford.' There is also the fear among some of the Garos that by going to school their boys and girls will automatically change their religion.

Another obstacle to the spread of education is the very scattered nature of the hamlets which are sometimes very small, as in the Mishmi hills of NEFA. There are now about 2,500 hamlets, some of them consisting only of two or three houses, for a population of about two lakhs. This means that it is very difficult to supply schools or indeed anything else for all the villages. Two ways have been suggested for dealing with the problem. One is to group the small hamlets within the main village boundaries. This will not mean an uprooting of the people and transplanting them many miles away into an unfamiliar territory, as has been done with such bad results in other States. It will not disturb the traditions of land tenure and it will be easier to advance in every way with development activities and also to check *jhuming* to some extent by settling the people near the better land in their own area. But it is important that such grouping should be within the traditional village or clan boundaries. The idea is that every village should consist of at least fifteen houses.

Another way of dealing with the problem is to start inter-village schools even at the L. P. stage. Hostels could be started and free food provided at least in this District. I would not recommend this generally, but the Garos really are poor and if education is to make progress among them, some assistance of the kind may have to be given.

Another important thing will be to try and lessen the gulf between the educated boys and what we may call the village boys. At present two completely different worlds co-exist side by side in the Garo hills. On the one hand are the sophisticated boys and girls, nearly all Christians, who have had some kind of education. Except for their language there is nothing to

suggest that they are Garos. In a Variety Show of twenty items in aid of the Tura College on the 16th of July this year there was not a single item illustrating the Garo dance or Garo music. Garo songs were sung to American tunes. Dances were performed in the American style. Although one Garo boy played his flute very beautifully, the chief items in the Garo orchestra consisted of a violin, a fiddle, a mouth-organ and a harmonium. Throughout the entire performance, except for a skit on a Garo peasant being cheated by an outsider, there was no attempt at all to show any performer in the typical Garo dress. The entire atmosphere was American rather than Garo or even Indian.

I suggest that school-masters should be instructed that when boys and girls go to school they should be not only permitted but encouraged to maintain their own fashions of dress, ornamentation and hair-style. In every school the local games and the local dances and music (especially drumming and playing on the flute) should be encouraged. Collections of traditional Garo songs and stories, both in original and in translation, should be made. Gramophone records of Garo music, as prepared by All India Radio, should be widely distributed. A good museum, not merely a room attached to a cultural centre, should be established at Tura to exhibit and encourage Garo traditional crafts.

Schools might be decorated with enlarged photographs of the Garo countryside and of Garo festivals, dances and villages in order to relate them to the general life of the people. Posters with a Garo background might be made.

Unless something is done to harmonise village life and school life there is a danger of a complete division of the people into two classes.

It is most important to push forward with higher education in this area. In the whole District there are nearly 25,000 boys and girls attending 766 L.P. schools but only 2,500 or almost exactly one in ten, go on to the M.E. stage and even fewer to the High Schools.

Although so many thousands of boys and girls have been receiving education for a long time past, there are today only a dozen Garo graduates and there are very few Garos represented in the higher ranks of Government. In the Dambuk-Aga Block there are four M.E. schools, one of which, at Baghmara itself, is continuing classes up to the eighth standard. Everybody agreed that there was urgent need of more High Schools for the Garos and I suggest that a High School should be established as soon as possible at Baghmara from the Block funds. Unless this is done and higher education receives far more attention than it has had in the past, it will be impossible to fulfil the ideal of using the local tribal people as officials in our development schemes.

In the Dambuk-Aga Block all the V.L.Ws are Garos. So are most of the L. P. school teachers. There is a Garo agriculturist but the other posts including the post of P.E.O. are occupied by non-Garos. This is not, in any way, the fault of the State Government as the Garo leaders themselves admit. It is simply due to the fact that a sufficient number of Garos has not yet reached the necessary technical standard. This is a serious matter and suggests that a larger allocation of funds should be given to education in the Block area and indeed, in all the Blocks throughout the District. Apart from the outstanding personality of Captain W. A. Sangma, the Minister in

charge of the Tribal Department of the Assam State, there are few other Garos to act as their leaders.

Since there are already so many schools, many of them of admittedly low standard, in existence, the Block authorities wisely decided to concentrate on improving the schools they had rather than on opening new ones.

Accordingly four L. P. Schools and two M. E. Schools have been regularly helped by a recurring grant from the Block. One of the L.P. Schools has recently been taken over by the District Council and hence another is being started in its place.

Twenty-two permanent L.P. School buildings have been constructed by the award of non-recurring grants. Non-recurring grants to the Baghmara H. E. School and for a hostel attached to the Baghmara M. E. School have been given.

A hundred and five maps, sixty blackboards and two almirahs have been distributed to the schools to increase the efficiency of the teaching.

A successful teacher's seminar has been held at Baghmara with the active co-operation and help of the District Education staff.

Cottage Industries

The main difficulty about the promotion of cottage industries is the lack of markets for locally-made products. Now that the Pakistan markets are closed, goods have to be taken a very long way before they can be sold. It might be possible, however, since wood-carving is in the blood of the people, to develop an artistic wood-carving industry for toys and ornaments which would gain a tourist's market in Gauhati and Shillong or even in Calcutta. It would be essential, however, that such carvings should be in the traditional style, as conventional carvings would not be likely to attract would-be purchasers.

Pottery is known and already some of the people make useful pots for their own use. There is plenty of the right kind of clay and this industry might certainly be developed.

Carpentry should also be encouraged among the people, who have a real genius for building. At present, although some of the wood-work for official constructions is done by local Garo carpenters, most of this industry is in the hands of outsiders. Bamboo and cane-work is already known in every village and does not require instruction but there might be some way of organizing greater production. Garo baskets are strong, waterproof and of an attractive shape and design.

Fifty years ago there was a handloom in every Garo house, but during the last few decades weaving has died out almost entirely, for the markets in the plains are so close and cloth is so cheap and so readily available. Already, however, as a result of the Block schemes, a number of girls have been taught to weave and some of them are taking fly-shuttle looms to their homes, where special sheds will be constructed and other girls too will join in weaving. I gather that most of the weaving girls are Christians and they prefer the fly-shuttle loom as they want cloth broader than the narrow traditional Garo skirt. It would be good at the same time to encourage the loin-loom in the interior villages, where for some time to come the women will probably be content with the fairly narrow skirt. Alternatively, they could be taught to do what the modern Adis do and join two narrow strips together to make a wider piece.

Cotton has always been of great importance in this area but it is short-stapled and rather coarse in quality. It might be possible to start a rug or blanket industry in which the cotton would be used to make blankets or rugs of the type known as the Abor-jin. These attractive blankets, which are made on a wide scale in the Siang Division of NEFA, could with a little trouble be introduced to the Garos and since there is such an abundant supply of cotton, might well be marketed profitably. They could be purchased by Government institutions such as hospitals or school-hostels and experience has shown that they have a ready sale outside. I suggest that a start might be made in the Dambuk-Aga Block.

The Garos have traditionally cultivated lac and in 1904-5 nearly 7,000 maunds were exported. Lac, however, is not cultivated everywhere, as many Garos believe that it is unlucky and their rice crop will fail if the insect is reared anywhere near it.

There are also a number of artistic crafts which are rapidly disappearing but might still be salvaged. I was shown in Tura two beautiful brass bowls made in the shape of Garo baskets and decorated with various designs made by the *cire-perdue* process. The making of these has almost perished, but there is one man who knows how to make them. Similarly, there are a few really good wood-carvers, especially those who carve the pillars of the Nok-panthes. There is one lame man, John Marak, at Baghmara, for example, who does excellent work, and there is another man who can make quite remarkable bowls of flowers out of bits of tin. I suggest that some sort of search should be made, not only in the Block area but throughout the District, to find any skilled artists of this kind and that a provision should be made to attach to them a few apprentices who might receive a small stipend. Otherwise, what is likely to happen is that when a particular craftsman dies, his art will perish with him and the Garos will lose yet one more aspect of their creative culture.

Special encouragement should, in fact, be given to artists and skilled craftsmen wherever they can be found.

Trade

Exactly fifty years ago Sir Bampfylde Fuller noted that money was much more plentiful with the Garos than with other hill tribes of Assam, and Playfair's book of this period gives a picture of a people who were by no means poor but had plenty of food and showed every sign of a possible advance to substantial prosperity.

Today, however, the Garos are one of the poorest tribes in Assam. One reason is the decline in the fertility of the *jhums*, due to the ever-decreasing cycle required by a rising population. Another is the uncertainty of the cotton crop and the possibility of selling it and, of course, more recently the loss of the Pakistani markets.

The Garos here have always been interested in trade. Their country has not been favourable to the development of ordinary cultivation and instead they have concentrated on the growing of cash-crops and maintenance of gardens which involve them in work which is light in comparison to that demanded by the *jhums* and fields. Now that they have lost their markets, they are finding it very difficult to adapt themselves to the new situation. Many of them are not used to heavy work in the fields and certainly not to such arduous labour as is required for terracing or the clearing of land for

wet rice cultivation. They still hope that the neighbouring markets will one day be restored to them and this is, of course, a possibility.

One result of this has been an outlook which will always prefer to sell your own things and buy something else with the money rather than use your own produce for food. The Garos here have local products of the greatest dietetic value. They have plenty of milk, which they will not drink; even those who have given up the taboo on milk prefer to sell it and will take curds twenty miles away to sell at three annas a seer. They have a plenty of delicious fruit—melons, pineapples, jackfruit and so on,—but they prefer to sell it at fantastically low rates in the bazaars rather than use it to supplement their own diet. They have an abundant supply of fish, some of which they dry and which is sufficient for the whole year round. Even so, they prefer to selling this fish to eating it themselves. Tapioca grows abundantly but the talk is always of exporting it rather than using it as a valuable addition to their diet as is done in Africa. The result is that it is hard to inspire the people to grow cereals which they have for generations purchased from the money gained by their cash crops. There is, moreover, nothing more difficult than to change the food habits of a people and it may be difficult to persuade them to take more milk, fruit, fish, tapioca and so on and to use less cereals which are so difficult to obtain.

Government, however, is doing what it can to arrange for the export of cash-crops and is encouraging the growing of such things as pepper, cashewnut, pineapple and even coffee. There are plans to build an airstrip in order to lift out these and other products and a fleet of trucks has now been provided from the Border Relief Fund to export some of them by road. At the moment boats carry a certain amount of produce down the Someswari river and on bazaar days they may be seen, loaded with fruit and other commodities, making their way to Baghmara.

In order to fill the gap caused by the loss of outside markets the Block authorities have started seven Co-operative Societies, of which four are reported as working—the Baghmara Community Co-operative Store, the Baghmara Co-operative Bank, the Baghmara Women's Weaving Co-operative and the Sidkigiri Weaving Co-operative. Among newly registered societies are the Baghmara Multipurpose Co-operative, the Mendikisri Credit Society and the Nekora Credit Society. Two Societies which had been registered before the establishment of the Block, the Baghmara Industrial Co-operative and the Baghmara Credit Society, are now defunct. It is planned to spend a lakh of rupees from the Block funds on this subject, but if this is to be done in two or even four years a great deal more attention will have to be paid to it.

Housing

The Garos are excellent builders. Even the little houses perched high in trees, which are so characteristic of their countryside, are admirably constructed and the buildings in their villages are often far better than those put up by other tribes or even by people in the plains. They are neat, well constructed, generally clean, and attractive to look at. It may be questioned whether a large sum for rural housing is thus really necessary among a people whose homes are already good and whether the money could not be more usefully spent in helping them to get more food.

Improvement may be of two kinds : the height of the walls and thus of the roof might be raised by one or two feet, and small windows with wooden shutters might introduced. This could be achieved by propaganda and need not cost anything.

Some attempt was made in the early days of the Block to improve Garo housing by trying to persuade the people to put up an altogether different type of house with the help of a subsidy of Rs. 500. This scheme has been a complete failure. For the Garos, like many other tribal people, like to have big houses; some of them, even now, are 100 to 150 feet in length. On Rs. 500 they can only put up a little pill-box, especially if it has to be of *pakka* construction. There is no room to place the central hearth which is so important for drying meat and fish and which actually has an almost religious purpose, for rules govern who shall sit on various sides of it and what activities should be carried on at them.

I noticed a few so-called model houses that have been erected officially. These were of thatch and bamboo, and what struck me was that they were in no way an improvement on the traditional Garo construction. The technique of the weaving of the walls was poorer, they were not erected on piles above the ground and thus went completely against Garo tradition and as a result they were less dry and, therefore, less healthy, and they were far too small.

The problem of rural housing in the tribal areas needs be very carefully examined, for my own experience has been nearly always, where the traditional design has been abandoned, the result of 'improvement' is something that is worse and not better than the original.

The Problem of Small Villages

Fifty years ago Major Playfair wrote : 'In former days, Garo villages were of considerable size and used to contain as many as two or three hundred houses. Liability to attack by a neighbouring village made this necessary, and the danger was further guarded against by sowing the approaches with sharp-pointed bamboo stakes called *wamisi* in Garo, but better known as *panjis*. These presented a very formidable obstacle to an enemy, and effectually prevented a sudden attack. Nowadays, when every man is at peace with his neighbour, the necessity no longer exists for large collections of houses, and the difficulty of finding sufficient land close to big villages for the support of their inhabitants, has resulted in their being broken up into small hamlets situated perhaps as much as four or five miles apart, which however, in most cases, retain the name of the parent village. In order to distinguish them there is added to the name of each hamlet the name of its Nokma, or headman.

'Garo villages now occupy the same sites for a much longer time than was formerly the case, and are not moved oftener than once in twenty or thirty years.' They certainly cannot be called a 'Nomadic tribe'.

Today the process of fragmentation of villages is continuing and I was told that in the entire District there were some 2,500 hamlets for a Garo population of less than two lakhs. The fact that this process has been going on for such a long time suggests that the Garos like living in small groups rather than in big villages and they naturally find it more convenient for their special type of cultivation. They spend several months every year

in their *jhum*-huts which are more solidly and better constructed than the little huts erected in the *jhums* by other tribes. They even spend quite a lot of time in their tree-houses which are also very well built.

It is obvious, however, that this custom puts special difficulties in the way of developing the area and it is now proposed that an attempt should be made to persuade the Garos to come together again in larger settlements of at least fifteen houses. This will make it possible to have schools in these villages; it will enable the Development Officers to give them good facilities for drinking water; it will be simpler to develop permanent forms of cultivation and, in fact, the entire development programme will be accelerated.

There are, however, certain dangers in such a policy. In some States the people have been practically forced to come down from the hills, which they love so well, and settle on lower lands. This goes against the Prime Minister's instruction about 'no imposition', for imposition can take many different forms and strong persuasion by a large number of officials can involve as much imposition as an executive order. Moreover, I feel it is a bad thing that hill people should be removed from hills.

Then again, in some places the tribal folk have been moved long distances into unfamiliar areas and sometimes even been allotted land which belongs to other people with a consequent heritage of frequent quarrels and litigation. The tribal people are greatly attached to their ancestral lands, which are generally believed to be blessed by the dead who have been passed away there. I understand that in the Garo Hills the proposal is to build up larger settlements strictly within the territory belonging to the local clan and that there will be no interference with the tradition of ancestral land and the people will not be moved to different areas.

Then again, it often happens that when something of this sort occurs, the village institutions, such as the men's dormitory or the funerary monuments, disappear and that the new houses built are of inferior quality to the old ones. I hope that if this plan goes through in the Garo Hills, every attempt will be made to have a good Nokpanthe or boys' dormitory in the middle of the village, that the people will have their Kime memorial posts with them and erect them as usual before their houses, and that the excellent architecture and techniques of traditional Garo building are preserved.

If the above conditions are followed, this scheme can do nothing but good. But we should always remember that even the tribal people are human beings, who have their own preferences and dislikes for where they live. Someone may just prefer to live in a house in the middle of his own field. Another may prefer to live on the top of a hill which, however inconvenient for the Block officials, is perfectly convenient to him. Some may like to live among trees, others in open country. Some may prefer to be near a stream, others away from it. We should always make allowance for the infinite variety of human nature, whose values are not always those of the Community Development planners.

Tribal Government

The Autonomous District Council, which has a fine Secretariat in Tura; has a controlling voice in all development activities in the Garo Hills District. It has 34 members, of whom 20 are Garos, all of them Christians. Two members are nominated by the Governor: the rest are elected.

Under the District Council are 50 village councils, each of which controls a group of villages in the Hill Mauzas. Soon after the area was brought under administration and Lieutenant Williamson posted at Tura in 1869, the British Government appointed a number of Laskhers, local leaders of influence and authority, who were given third-class magisterial powers. These Laskhers continue to act as village magistrates and each presides over a village court, two members of the village council being elected from the Council-members to assist him. The village councils themselves consist of from 5 to 12 members according to the number of villages they cover and the idea is that they should be elected, although no elections have so far been held; membership at present is arranged by general agreement, and generally consists of the leading Nokmas or village headmen. The village councils as such do not settle disputes or have any judicial functions, for this is the task of the village courts; their main duty is to decide on and to progress development activities.

The P.E.Os consult the village councils in their Blocks and take their proposals to the District Development Council, of which the Deputy Commissioner is Chairman, with all the members of the District Council and the P.E.Os as members. Suggestions are discussed, plans are made and proposals are then submitted to the State Government: the appropriate Department vets the proposals from the technical angle.

I was told that the Garo village councils are working reasonably well, though I feel that probably more attention should be paid to their views and they might be represented by some member of the public as well as by the P.E.O. on the main Development Council.

The District Council is a most important body, a cause of pride and self-confidence to every Garo, and it has roused the people and stimulated their desire to advance, as any degree of self-government is bound to do.

The Tribal Foundation

Although, naturally, in a District where the tribal people themselves are largely autonomous, there is a tribal basis for everything that is done or has been done, there is little in the actual development schemes or institutions that can be said to have a 'tribal touch' or a tribal bias. Schools, as I have pointed out, are alien to the life of the people in their architecture, decoration, games, dances and music. It is only in language that happily a strong link is retained. Officials, for example, seem to learn Garo with more enthusiasm than in some other places. The Deputy Commissioner is able to make speeches in this language and all the P.E.Os I met seemed to have a good command of it.

Land and forests are largely controlled by the District Council which is a Garo body. On the other hand, the official buildings, especially since nearly all of them have plain C.G.I. sheets unpainted, are foreign to the landscape and stand out as strangers in the beautiful countryside. It is true that in the main hall of the District Council Secretariat at Tura pillars have been carved with tigers in the Nokpanthe fashion and there are other adaptations of Garo carving. The Information Centre at Baghmara is built like a Nokpanthe with traditional carvings and decorations. But in an area where there is a tradition of decorating buildings with attractive wood-carvings, what a great opportunity has been lost! Surely, by now every school

and every important village institution might have been decorated in some such way. The Baghmara Centre should be widely imitated.

There seems to have been no attempt made by the Block authorities to encourage or revive Garo culture. There are no dance festivals, nor has anything been done so far to collect and publish little books of stories and songs or to adorn the various official buildings with pictures of local scenes or people. Everything is strictly official and conventional.

As I have suggested for the Khasi Blocks, I feel that there is a need of a rather high-powered Cultural Officer for the Block and here he would have a greater chance of success, for there is still a lot on which to build. Though a Garo writer has written with regret of the 'senescence' of his culture, it is not dead yet, but it soon will be unless active steps are made to revive it. Not only is Hindu and Christian influence making the people uncertain about their culture and robbing them of that element of enthusiasm for it which makes all the difference, but the general influence of so many outsiders, and the Bengali and Assamese population on their borders, as well as the presence in their midst of other tribes such as the Rabhas and Koches, has tended to put Garo culture into a state of decline.

As a leading Garo said to me, 'We have lost a whole civilisation', yet that civilization is still there in the villages and, I believe, is capable of a more effective revival than among some of the other tribes. In the first place, only a small proportion of people have changed their religion and even some of those who have are proud of their heritage. Then the Garos are artistic and imaginative. Their wood-carving, their pottery and work in metal, their weaving, could be revived and would introduce a new interest in life and also be of some economic value.

The important thing is to see this culture, which is admittedly of a simple kind, in its true meaning and to build up the new Garo world on the foundations of the old. This new world will not be a mere hybrid or, in the words of the Prime Minister, 'a second-rate copy of something else' but will be a real adaptation of the Garo genius to modern conditions. Girls and boys of the new generation, who are destined for official jobs or to go abroad, will, of course, in their appearance and way of life change greatly. But we may hope that the prosperous agriculturists of the future in the hills will not lose the things that have made life worth living in the past. If, however, these things are to be developed, much greater efforts will have to be made.

Out of 27 lakhs, I can only find a sum of Rs. 2,000 provided for the development of Garo culture, and Rs. 1,000 for the translation and printing of books in the Garo language!

Conclusion

The Garos are a most attractive people. They are gentle, courteous, with an inner store of essential goodness. They show great potentialities for progress. The development of leadership through higher education of the right kind, the rebuilding of their historic civilization, the lifting of the burden of economic distress are their greatest needs. If these can be met they have a wonderful future before them.

THE DANTEWARA MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Dantewara Multipurpose Block is situated in the south of what used to be Bastar State and is now the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh,

and its headquarters is in the small town of Dantewara itself, where there is a famous temple. It covers 225 square miles and has a population of 55,000 distributed in 121 villages. The main inhabitants are Marias, of whom there are 42,000, and 2,000 Halbas. There are 11,000 non-tribals and the proportion of tribal to non-tribal inhabitants is approximately 80 to 20.

The Marias, commonly known as the Bison-Horn Marias from their distinctive head-dress, are an enchanting people, good to look at, with a magnificent type of dance (which won the first prize at the Folk-dance Festival in New Delhi in 1960) and, on the whole, are industrious and clean. They are rather violent by temperament and the jail at Jagdalpur has, for many years, had a high proportion of Marias serving sentences for homicide. Compared with some other tribes they are comparatively well-to-do and have numbers of cattle and other domestic animals. They live mainly in large huts of thatch and bamboo. Although they carry on a certain amount of trade with their non-tribal neighbours, they have not come under much outside influence. They still wear their own dress and ornaments and continue to observe their own religious customs and festivals. It is reported that there has been no significant social change among them since the opening of the Block.

The Marias and Halbas do not practice shifting cultivation, but they have a system of rotation which is practised on the hill-slopes, as well as a permanent type of cultivation in the valleys and plains. There is a certain amount of terracing and wet-rice cultivation, which is being encouraged.

The Marias have a few cottage industries such as basket-making and the making of brooms and reed-mats mainly for their own use, though their products find a good sale in Dantewara and other local markets.

The Marias are good wood-carvers and make tobacco-boxes, combs and other things. Their fine funerary pillars are, however, generally carved for them by non-tribals living in the locality. They have a taboo on weaving and pottery, which are regarded as the professional tasks of certain Hindu castes.

Unlike their neighbours, the Murias, the Marias do not have communal dormitories. School-children are not taught at any stage in the local languages, for there are no text-books and the teachers do not generally know Gondi. None of the Block officials have passed a language examination. The main language is Gondi, but Halbi is widely known at least by the men, and for many years past has been regarded as a lingua franca, which means that officers are generally able to communicate with their people without an interpreter. The Marias, however, are very attached to the Gondi language and it is essential that text-books should be prepared and that the Block officials should take up the study of this language without further delay. Work among women will make little progress until they do.

There is only one Gram Sevak of local tribal origin, though there are four others who are tribals from other parts. It is stated that it is very difficult to find local boys to come forward as teachers, Gram Sevaks and compounders, for there has been very little education in Bastar in the past. Not a single officer in the Block area has had any kind of training in reorientation for special work in the tribal areas.

The tribal people here do not suffer from indebtedness and, in fact, it is their custom not to borrow from outsiders and they do not come

forward readily to take loans from Government. They do, however, take loans of seeds during the sowing seasons from their fellows and repay them after the harvest at one-and-a-half to twice the original quantity.

There are no Social Service Organizations or Missionary Societies working here.

There are two books on the area and people of the Dantewara Multipurpose Block. One is Sir W. V. Grigson's *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (the second edition should be read by those who have only seen the first); the other is *Maria Murder and Suicide* (second edition) by Dr Verrier Elwin.

The annual expenditure under various heads from the inception of the Block to the end of September 1959 is given in the following Table.

Heads (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters . . .	7.15	0.06	0.99	1.68	0.40	3.13	43.80
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	2.50	0.10	0.09	0.86	0.19	1.24	49.56
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	3.60	..	0.46	0.50	0.23	1.19	33.02
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	..	0.08	0.11	0.03	0.22	11.23
Education	1.15	..	0.21	0.36	0.02	0.59	51.43
Social Education	0.75	..	0.08	0.10	0.10	0.28	37.96
Communications	3.10	0.01	0.52	0.99	0.11	1.63	52.65
Rural Arts and Crafts	2.00	..	..	0.02	0.14	0.16	7.89
Co-operation	2.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural Housing	2.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	0.25	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.16	2.43	4.63	1.22	8.45	31.29

The Block was visited by Shri N. M. Wadiwa in October, 1959, and by Shri R. C. V. P. Noronha in February, 1960. Shri Noronha's inspection note is given below.

The Block started in October, 1956. The present position regarding staff is as follows :—

Block Development Officer.—Sanctioned one, in position one, since November, 1956.

Agricultural Extension Officer.—Sanctioned one, first posting November, 1956 and three changes since then, two by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Raipur (transfer) and one by the Director of Agriculture (promotion).

Soil Conservation Officer.—Sanctioned one, first posted in July, 1959 after three years.

Veterinary Assistant Surgeon.—Sanctioned one, first posting January, 1958, resigned, and replaced June, 1958.

Social Education Organiser (Male).—Sanctioned one, posting November, 1956.

Social Education Organiser (Female).—Sanctioned one, first posting January, 1959 after three years, sent for ten months training and has just returned in January, 1960.

Co-operative and Panchayat Inspector.—Sanctioned one, first posting February, 1958, two transfers since then by the Registrar, Co-operative Societies.

Extension Officer (Industries).—Sanctioned one, first posting January, 1959, transferred December, 1959, recently replaced.

Sanitary Inspector.—Sanctioned one, first posting June, 1958.

Assistant Engineer.—Sanctioned one, first posting October, 1958.

Overseers.—Sanctioned two, first one posted November, 1956, second, October, 1958.

Overseer (Irrigation).—Sanctioned one, first posting December, 1958.

Midwives.—Sanctioned five, first two posted in October, 1958, next three in September, 1959.

Gram Sevaks.—Sanctioned 16, 10 posted in October, 1956, 4 in October, 1959.

Gram Sevikas.—Sanctioned two, one posted in January, 1959.

The present vacancies are—Agricultural Extension Officer 1, Gram Sevaks 2, Gram Sevikas 1, Stockman-cum-Health Assistants 2, Lady Health Visitor 1, Compounders 2, Midwife 1, and Medical Officers 2.

There are two points to be noted from this state of affairs. The first is that before any Multipurpose Block is opened all the staff should be earmarked and placed in position. If this is not done the work of the Block inevitably suffers and for a substantial part of its life no progress is made. The second point is that in Multipurpose Blocks where there is continuous demand for transfer, no transfers should be made except for unavoidable reasons. In regard to this point, an extract copy of this paragraph should be sent to the Deputy Director of Agriculture, the Director of Veterinary Services, the Director of Public Health and the Director of Public Instruction with the request that no transfers from the Multipurpose Blocks should be made without consulting me. I am afraid some at least of the transfers which have been made have been the result of string-pulling at lower levels.

Irrigation.—A total amount of Rs. 3.6 lakhs has been earmarked for Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation. This includes some amounts obtained by reallocation. Eight works have been sanctioned, all consisting of remodelling of old tanks so as to convert them into irrigation tanks, and the total cost is Rs. 2.79 lakhs. The area to be irrigated is only 1,039 acres, and it seems to me that the total cost per acre, if we include the present cost of the tank as it stands, will be pretty high. However, it is too late to change the scheme since seven works are in progress and an expenditure of Rs. 72,777 has already been incurred. I would like smaller irrigation works, preferably the erection of regulators over Nalas to be investigated urgently. The cost per regulator should not exceed Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000. The balance of allocation under Irrigation together with any savings which may be made

on sanctioned works should be diverted to these Nala-bunding schemes. We want to spread the benefits of the Block over as wide an area as possible and not to concentrate them in particular areas.

The Assistant Engineer of the Block has been doing a good and enthusiastic job.

Soil Conservation.—The scheme is to bund and terrace 500 acres per year at a total cost of Rs. 50 per acre out of which Rs. 37.50 np. will be the subsidy. Work has been programmed in two Gram Sevak circles, Gama-wada and Molasnar, where the problem is the worst and sanction was received on 20-11-1959. Schemes of this type only touch the fringe of the problem. I would much prefer demonstration of anti-erosion measures over a wider area, if necessary free of all cost. Thereafter the people of the one village should be covered, when they are convinced of the benefits of the work and organised as a loose type of Co-operative to work in rotation in each others' fields, so that they merely exchange labour with each other and get the work done without any actual expenditure. A definite programme should be worked out, so many acres per year (keep it as low as is practicable) and all the people should act together and achieve this target each year. We had done something on these lines in the Kondagaon and Bastar Blocks and I feel that it is the only long-term solution of the problem of arousing interest in the subject. We cannot possibly subsidise anti-erosion measures over the entire area.

Another Project which should be investigated is for the supply of cement concrete pipes to drain off flood water and prevent breakage of bunds. Small pilot schemes should be worked out for this purpose.

Agriculture.—I am sorry to say that there has been no real work done in the agricultural field nor has there been any proper guidance at any level. The new B.D.O. who is being posted should make agriculture his personal responsibility. He should go through my instructions on model cultivators and demonstrations and see that the job is properly done. I would not advise introduction of the Japanese method on a mass scale in this hilly tract. The items which should be stressed in each demonstration plot are—proper levelling and bunding, at least two ploughings before sowing, selection of suitable seed (looking to the soil), either *biasi* with gap filling or drilling in rows 8" apart (this is for lighter soils), two weedings, green manuring at 10 cart-loads per acre, 40 lbs. superphosphate to be applied on the first ploughing, 20 lbs. ammonium-sulphate to be mixed with the seed and sown, second dose of 20 lbs. ammonium sulphate to be applied after *biasi* or just before flowering, when the fields are full of water.

I do not want deviations from this prescription.

Buildings.—The total allocation is Rs. 1.25 lakhs, and expenditure of Rs. 1.24 lakhs has been incurred. Almost all the buildings are completed and the Assistant Engineer deserves congratulations.

Communications.—We have successfully wasted about 1.5 lakhs on road-building so far and propose to waste a total amount of Rs. 3.10 lakhs. The programme is to construct 64 miles of 2nd class road and about half the work has already been done. The trouble, of course, is that no one will look after these roads when the life of the Block is over. I would like the B.D.O. to make a reference through the Collector to the Planning and Development Department stating the maintenance grant that will be necessary for these roads when the Block period ends and asking that

the Department concerned (probably the Forest Department) who will take over these roads should make budget provision for maintenance at least one year before the actual date of handing over. It is very important that this should be done forthwith, since there is hardly a year left of the life of the Block.

I would much rather have had this money spent on agriculture.

Veterinary.—Here again the schemes are mostly on paper. Two cattle-breeding centres have been programmed, but the bulls have not yet arrived. The equipment for the artificial insemination work has not been received. The D.D.V.S. should look into the matter urgently and set things right. I would suggest trying the Khamgaon breed instead of Hariana. They are more suitable for this climate.

Poultry.—The Poultry Farm consists of 16 hens and 18 newly-hatched chickens, which is somewhat less than I had in my own house. Ten hens and one cock have been supplied free to eleven families and it is programmed to repeat this performance with a total of 200 families. I would much rather concentrate our attention on a really good poultry farm with at least 2,000 hens. This will ensure a steady supply of birds to the rural areas, but I would like such supply to be on an exchange basis against local birds. We must not encourage the tribals to expect something for nothing all the time. The B.D.O. should look into the matter and consult the D.D.V.S.

For some obscure reason the working-plan envisages the distribution of 50 Yorkshire boars, a breed which I would have thought singularly unsuitable for this area. So far 26 boars have been distributed, but none of them have bred except two. Out of these two, one has produced a litter of just two piglets from a local sow, both rather poor, while the other produced a litter from a local sow of which all the piglets died.

The trouble about this pig-breeding scheme in tribal areas is that our pigs are bred purely for meat and are about as capable of looking after themselves in the jungle as human beings who have been bred exclusively for money-making. I do not think this scheme is either practicable or very well thought out. I would prefer it to be dropped and the money diverted to poultry. The B.D.O. and the Collector should please examine whether this can be done.

Fisheries.—This is another half-baked scheme. Two lots of 50,000 fries each have been put in three tanks, but the local fishermen have not been very successful in netting. I would prefer that one tank should be selected to begin with, local fishermen properly trained and energies concentrated on this tank until we are in a position to expand further.

Subsidised distribution of fry to cultivators who have small private tanks is being done. This is a good scheme and should be expanded.

There is a fodder development scheme which should be dropped forthwith. There is plenty of fodder in the Dantewara area which is in fact a cattle-breeding centre.

Social Education.—My only suggestion is (1) youth organisations should hold competitions for the best calf, best poultry, best field of paddy and small prizes (Rs. 10 first prize, Rs. 5 second prize) should be awarded to the winners. This will increase the interest of the younger generation in these things. The S.E.O. should, however, see that proper guidance from the Gram Sevak and the Agricultural Extension Officer is available to them.

(2) Amongst women I would like money-making activities to be orga-

nised, in particular kitchen-gardens (supply free seed) and manufacture of pickles and so on for sale. These should be strictly spare-time activities. In this unpopulated area the women are very busy with field labour.

Co-operatives.—Four Multipurpose Co-operatives have been organised, a waste of time.

A Forest Co-operative Society with a Government contribution of Rs. 30,000 has been organised and this is a step in the right direction. The Manager of the Society is a retired Forest official and I have suggested to him that he should try to persuade cultivators, who are willing to sell timber from their fields, to sell it through the Co-operative. Furthermore he should take suitable coupes at upset prices from the Forest Department, but he must be very careful to see that they are good coupes.

Industries.—There is training centre in which carpentry, blacksmithy, masonry, cane and bamboo work and brick and tile manufacture are taught. This Centre was started only in the current year and it is too early to make any comment except that I noticed a couple of Sonars who looked to be about 12 to 13 years old pretending to learn carpentry. We must guard against the danger of trainees coming only for the Rs. 30 stipend. The B.D.O. should screen applications rather more carefully.

I would suggest setting up of a Co-operative Marketing Society in connection with these training schemes. This Society will advance money to the trainees for raw materials and will market their produce. The B.D.O. should work out details in consultation with the C.P.I.

There is only one year left of the life of this block. I would like the whole of it to be concentrated on agriculture.

THE KASHIPUR MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Kashipur Block covers a great tract of hilly country, 969 square miles in extent, to the south of what was formerly the Kalahandi State. The headquarters, at Kashipur itself, is 3,000 feet above sea level. Population figures given in the Block headquarters are as follows—

Konds	—	29,085
Jhorias	—	14,538
Pengus	—	4,846
		<hr/>
TOTAL		48,469
		<hr/>
Scheduled Castes	—	16,157
Other Backward Classes	—	26,921
Others	—	16,153
		<hr/>
TOTAL		59,231
		<hr/>

This means that the proportion of tribals to non-tribals is about 9 to 11, and they are thus in a minority in the Block area. This large population of over a lakh is distributed in 613 villages.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin (who was accompanied by Shri B. B. Misra, Assistant Director of Tribal Welfare, Orissa) in November 1959 and he has made the following observations.

There can be no doubt of two things. The first is that this is a very undeveloped area and that it was well chosen as the site of a Multipurpose Block. The other is that it is far too large, even though the staff has been considerably expanded to meet the demands upon them. There are, for example, twenty-one sanctioned posts of Gram Sevak and two posts of Gram Sevika, of which four are at present vacant. There is a proposal to divide the Block in two, though it seems rather late in the day to do this now. Something of the kind, however, might be done after the Block has entered its second phase.

Kalahandi is not a Scheduled District, but there certainly seems a case for giving this status to some at least of its P. S. circles, including those in the Kashipur Block area.

The following table gives the annual expenditure since the inception of the Block up to the end of September 1959.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in					Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1955- 1956	1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.06	0.80	0.42	1.06	0.96	0.27	3.51	49.78
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.26	..	..	0.10	0.30	0.06	0.46	36.62
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	3.50	0.04	..	0.01	0.30	0.09	0.44	12.58
Health and Rural Sani- tation.	2.09	0.19	0.26	0.05	0.61	0.02	1.13	53.79
Education	1.22	0.03	..	0.14	0.30	0.07	0.54	44.66
Social Education	0.73	0.04	0.13	0.12	0.20	0.05	0.54	73.87
Communications	4.00	0.11	0.05	0.03	0.68	0.003	0.88	21.95
Rural Arts & Crafts	1.64	..	..	..	0.14	..	0.14	8.47
Co-operation	2.00	..	..	0.26	0.24	0.22	0.72	35.95
Rural Housing	2.27	..	..	0.10	0.20	..	0.30	13.22
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	25.77	1.21	0.86	1.88	3.93	0.78	8.66	33.60

These figures show a rather disappointing lack of enthusiasm for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. In the first place, only Rs. 1,26,055 are allotted under this most urgent head, of which no more than Rs. 46,159 have been spent up to date. For Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation, for which three-and-a-half lakhs of rupees have very properly been allotted, less than half a lakh has so far been utilized. Yet at meetings

with members of the Block Development Committee there was unanimous insistence that Irrigation should have top priority of all the schemes.

This area is singularly lacking in proper communications and the existing roads are bad. The road from Kashipur to Rampur is one of the worst I have ever travelled (it took 3 hours to do 25 miles) and even in Kashipur town itself, the roads are very poor. It is said that there has been difficulty in getting contractors and the staff has not shown any great enthusiasm. Yet out of four lakhs less than Rs. 90,000 have so far been spent and over three lakhs remain to be utilized in the remaining eighteen months.

Rs. 30,000 has been spent on Rural Housing and only about Rs. 14,000 on Rural Arts and Crafts.

Members of the Block Development Committee interviewed in half a dozen villages gave top priority to Agriculture, Irrigation and Communications, the three subjects on which a comparatively low proportion of the available funds has been spent. A new B.D.O., Shri P.V.R.A. Narsaiah, however, has just taken up his duties and his approach to the problem is realistic and flexible. He has had three predecessors in three years, and the constant change is one reason for the slow progress here.

There is a great deal of *podu* cultivation, covering about 110 square miles in the Block area, and it cannot be said that there has been very much progress in diverting the interests of the people from this traditional method, to which they are greatly attached. The introduction of soil conservation measures and the starting of two forest colonies have succeeded in freeing the hills of *podu* for about 200 acres, but this is not very much. Here, however, it is essential that a positive attitude should be taken towards this type of cultivation and that a sense of guilt and anxiety should not be created among the Konds. Subordinate officials of the Forest Department are reported as threatening them and sometimes taking money from them.

Cottage industries do not greatly flourish here. There is the usual basketry and mat-making, a little iron-smelting and blacksmithy, pottery and rope-making. Some of the tribals are expert in making brooms which they sell in the local markets. Almost the only form of art is the painting on walls. Very little has been done so far to encourage cottage industries except in the field of improved oil-presses. One of the most important things is to raise the production of tiles. Only Rs. 4,400 has been allotted for this, while over Rs. 82,000 has been put aside for an Industrial School with elaborate buildings in a non-tribal town.

I hope that, until a proper economic survey has been made of the possibilities of the profitable development of cottage industries among the tribes here, too much money will not be spent on expensive buildings. In any case, as explained elsewhere, it will be better to make a simple village atmosphere so that the trainees will work under home conditions.

The clay in this area is reported as being unsuitable for making toys or any kind of artistic pottery. There is a suggestion to introduce weaving and leather-work. I am afraid that weaving is unlikely to succeed here, partly because of the competition of the mill-cloth imported into the local markets and partly because it is a hereditary craft of the despised Doms. Leather-work and shoe-making should not be introduced to the tribal people since these crafts are unhappily still associated with untouchability and to introduce them may have unfortunate social consequences for the tribal people who adopt them. In view, however, of the large number of Harijans

in this Block there might well be special training centres for these non-tribal groups who would be willing to take the matter up.

There are the usual village councils which for generations have settled disputes between individuals and villages in a very informal way. They do not have regular membership or regular office bearers but are genuine courts of the people on which every tribal has a right to give his opinion. In the past, they fined offenders in cash or kind which was used by the entire village or community in a feast which always follows the settlement of a dispute. The introduction of the Statutory Panchayats was looked on with suspicion at first. At present seven out of ten of the Sir Panchas are non-tribals but there is a proposal to break up the existing Panchayats into smaller units, each of which will cover a population of 2,500 and this may mean that a greater share of leadership will go to the tribal people. At present it cannot be said that these Panchayats are working very well and they have not so far given much opportunity to the tribals to run their own affairs or to establish themselves in their own self-respect by taking the lead. I noticed that in village meetings the non-tribals always had the best seats and tribals sat at the back and only expressed their opinion when they were specially asked to do so.

Most of the Kond villages have dormitories for boys and girls, who gather in their own buildings in the evenings for recreation. These houses are now being used for recreation centres and for development activities. No attempt is made anywhere to teach the Kond children in the Kui language even at the lower primary level. There are no Kui text-books; not a single officer in the Block has passed a language examination; nor does anyone else know the local language except for one Gram Sevak, although many of the tribals understand simple Oriya. This is surely a most unsatisfactory situation, especially as school-teachers, whether employed under the Block budget or by the Education Department, are equally ignorant. Kui is a widely spoken and important language and it is hardly creditable that it should have been so neglected all these years and that, in spite of the frequent directives at the highest level, it should be equally neglected today.

Not a single member of the staff is of local tribal origin, though two of them are tribals from other parts of Orissa. This means that out of 78 Government employees only two are tribal. This hardly suggests that much interest is being shown in building up the people to manage their own affairs. Only one official has had a special orientation course for work in the tribal areas.

There are several markets in the Block area and a good number of merchants come to buy in the local produce and to sell their own goods, naturally at a very high profit to themselves. The opening of communications has meant that many more such merchants are coming into the area and unless very great care is taken, a new type of exploitation may lower the economic standards of the very people we are trying to help.

A number of Co-operative Societies have been started. There are ten Grain Gola Co-operative Societies which are working with some difficulty, and four Weavers' Co-operative Societies which are not working at all. There is a Branch of the Madanpur-Rampur Forest Produce Co-operative Society which deals mainly with the collection of brooms. It might also well take up the collection of the medicinal herb called *Rauwolfia Serpentina* which is available in plenty here and is of considerable value. Best of all would

be to develop the societies on the lines of the Bombay Forest Co-operatives.

There have never been any missionaries in this area and the only private social service organization functioning is the Dalita Jati Sangha which has an Inspector here, but it is reported that his work is purely nominal.

It is said that the people have become enthusiastic about modern medicine and that the only difficulty in going forward with a complete health programme is the lack of doctors, nurses and compounders. There are, however, two doctors at present working in the Block, though a third post remains unfilled. An Ayurvedic dispensary is being opened but members of the Block Development Committee urged strongly that they should have an Alopathic dispensary instead. There has been so much quackery associated with Ayurvedic practitioners, and Alopathic medicine has earned such a good reputation in the last few years, that I am doubtful whether it is a wise thing to try to introduce Ayurvedic medicines in the tribal areas, though these may well succeed in the plains.

The work of this Block would have been far more profitable if a proper survey had been made at the very beginning. There is an almost complete ignorance among the Block staff even now about the tribal people and their customs; there has hardly been any attempt to adapt the programme to tribal needs or culture and, although Orissa has a Tribal Research Section in the Tribal Welfare Department, its officials are reported as having given no help at all to this Project.

Schools

The school buildings in this Block, on which a good deal of money is to be spent, are some of the ugliest I have ever seen. Indeed, all the official buildings are aesthetically as bad as anywhere in India. They seem to have been erected according to some type-plan from the State capital. School buildings, of which the walls and floors are of cement and the roofs of corrugated iron, are very expensive, far too small and entirely inappropriate to the rural scene. Would it not be better in an area where really good mud-walls are made and where tiles are available, to make the school-buildings much bigger with a raised earthen plinth, mud-walls and tiled roofs? They would then fit in better and it would be easier for the tribal people to feel that these buildings belong to them. Psychologically, the existing school-buildings cannot fail to create the impression that a school is something alien, something belonging to Government. The village women could be organized to wash the walls and the floors periodically with cowdung and coloured clay and either they or the boys themselves could be encouraged to make paintings on their walls. This would mean a little work for the village-women but surely they could be inspired to do something for their own children. A great deal of ugliness is being created as a result of the Community Development movement and we should all try to cry halt to this: even though the promotion of the spiritual values cost a little more, we could surely afford it.

An Ashram School

I visited the Ashram school at Gorakhpur. Started in 1953 this has grown into a first-class institution. I do not think I have ever seen such a good school garden, so beautifully kept, so clean and so fruitful. There is a poultry farm, and various crafts are being taught in addition to gardening.

The garden extends over about ten acres and is run entirely by the seventy boarders in the school who study up to Class VII. Most of the boys are Konds.

This school, which has the real atmosphere of an Ashram, is so good that the visitor only desires that it should be a little better. The class-rooms and dormitory are rather drab and everything needs painting in bright colours. There are very few pictures on the walls and they are hardly inspiring. There is a need of charts with a tribal background and in general more apparatus.

Every boy has to spin for an hour a day and there is also a weaving section with two large shuttle-looms on which cloth with rather inferior designs was being produced. No cotton is grown here and the teachers and other officials admitted that it was most unlikely that any of the boys would continue to spin and none of them would continue to weave after they leave school. If this is true, and I think, from my knowledge of the Konds, that it undoubtedly is, is it worth while spending a whole hour a day on teaching a craft which will be of no use whatsoever later on? Could not this hour be given to some more fruitful form of study? The trouble is that if a school is called an 'Ashram', it is automatically assumed that spinning and weaving must be an important part of its curriculum, but surely, at least in a tribal area, we need not be tied down by these conventional ideas. The boys work at their studies for five hours a day and at their crafts for three. This seems to be a very heavy programme of work for little boys and most of the boys are hardly more than children. The diet badly needs improving. The boys get meat once a fortnight and fish once a week and they also receive daily a certain amount of powder-milk. The quantity of meat and fish should certainly be increased. I was told that the total grant to cover everything—clothes, books, medicines and food—was only Rs. 20 a month. This hardly seems sufficient. The great problem of these tribal areas is malnutrition and at least in boarding schools the boys ought to be fed, if they are going to be fed by Government at all, very well.

The chief criticism of this otherwise excellent school is that only tribal boys are admitted as boarders, though a dozen or so non-tribals, mostly Harijans, are allowed to come as day-boys. I understand this is the practice throughout Orissa, and there is only one Ashram school in the Koraput District where tribals, Harijans and caste Hindus all live together. It seems to me that this is a very serious matter. I was told that the parents of the tribal boys would not send their children as boarders if Doms and other Harijans lived and ate with them, but surely to give into this is to go against everything that modern India is trying to achieve in the way of social reform and although it may be said that things may get better in future we have here a school that has been running for six years and still no liberalization of attitude on the part of the parents has been observed.

When I was working in Orissa twelve years ago, I never heard the words 'Adibasi' or 'Harijan' on tribal lips. Now they have become far too common. A snobbish tribal is worse than a Brahmin! It would be tragic if the belief in untouchability, already strong in some tribal areas, were to grow and infect a type of people who have long been famous for their freedom from social taboos.

Colonies

A number of colonies are to be opened in this Block, some under the

Block budget, others by the Tribal Welfare Department. I visited the Kond colony at Kashipur itself and except for the fact that I could not quite see what it was for, it left a very favourable impression, in striking contrast to that left by other colonies I have seen. The houses, which are simple and wisely not made of cement, are arranged round a large rectangle which is actually the traditional Kond method of laying out a village. Youth-dormitories are being erected. Each house has a kitchen garden and the people have come into the colony from very near at hand and most of them retain their own traditional lands. This is one of the few colonies I have seen where I have not felt a sense of uprooting and imposition. The women gave a lively dance and the atmosphere was simple and homely.

As in other parts of Orissa, there is a system of the adoption of villages by one of the Extension Officers and here the system seems to be working very well. I suggest that there should be an attempt to encourage the people to decorate their houses, as is being done in the Raruan Block in Mayurbhanj. By offering prizes for the best house the whole appearance of the colony could be altered for the better. Painting is in the blood of these people and there is no need to call for some art instructor from outside. Let them develop their own creative instinct and I believe something very good might come about.

Not all the colonies, however, are up to this standard. I saw one for Doms, some of whom are regarded here as an ex-criminal tribe, which seemed to be rather miserable. The buildings did not appear appropriate and nothing was going on very well.

Housing

I was glad to hear that it has now been decided that the main idea in the housing programme is to provide water-proof and fire-proof roofs for existing houses and to introduce small windows in the walls. In a great many cases it is not really necessary to build new houses and the introduction of tiles will mean that the benefits of the housing scheme can be applied to a much larger body of the population.

An example of what can be achieved in the way of improving rural houses is illustrated in one of the best villages I have seen during my tours. It is a Kond village at a place called Maikanch. No new houses have been built but by careful propoganda and persuasion the people have been persuaded to make their homes so pleasant, clean and decorative that they are a delight to see. The village is arranged, in the usual Kond pattern, as a long rectangle with the boys' dormitory at one end and a little house for the gods in the middle. Before the latter stands a tall decorated pillar. The only official item is a cement drain running down from either side of the central compound which itself is regularly washed with cowdung. Good kitchen gardens have been started at the back of each house.

At another village, Lakhrish, a colony has been established and this is how a colony (if we are to have these expensive innovations) should be made. There has been no shifting away from the original village site but the new houses have been built to match the existing ones and the people are gradually moving from the old into the new. When this process is complete the old houses will be removed and a village will come into being which will be not unlike the admirable Maikanch. A tank has been made near the

village for bathing and the development of pisciculture. There is an irrigation scheme above the village and the people have plenty of land. There is a great advantage in making a place of this kind on the actual site of the old village, for the Konds, like other tribes, are greatly attached to their traditional lands and village sites where, they believe, the gods and the spirits of their dead abide.

Wells

The Konds of this area do not like ordinary wells. They regard the water in a stagnant pool as bad and dislike having to pull it up by a bucket. A number of spring-wells have, therefore, been made which are an interesting and attractive innovation. The result is that the people always get fresh and running water.

Shops and Co-operatives

As everywhere, there were complaints about the complicated rules governing Co-operatives and marketing societies were considered by the Block staff as being important. Possibly something like the Finance Corporation established in Andhra Pradesh might be also introduced in Orissa.

I saw one Government shop at Lakhrish which had been established for the benefit of the colony there. This is a very good idea but two things occurred to me. The first is that we might well imitate the professional merchants in the lay-out of their shops. They attract people not only by their goods but because the actual buildings are homely. There are places for the customers to sit and talk and goods are displayed in an attractive manner. The Government shops, on the other hand, are terribly official little buildings, and this is one reason why many customers prefer to go to the merchants even if they have to pay more.

The second thing is that when Government itself imports goods into a tribal area it should try to ensure that they are of good quality and in good taste. This specially applies to textiles. The Kond women love bright colours. They are now beginning to wear saris, many of which are in attractive patterns and designs. In the Lakhrish official shop, however, though there were a number of saris for sale they were all white in colour with a narrow border. The import of white cloth into tribal areas (except in places where custom demands it) is not very desirable, for it quickly becomes dirty and looks shabby and ugly. Let us bring as much colour as we possibly can into these areas.

Staff

I found to my astonishment that not a single one of the existing staff had been in the Block since its inception. There have been four B.D.Os and officials at all levels have been constantly changed. This is one of the reasons, I think, why better progress has not been made here. I feel that in any future Blocks officials should be much more carefully chosen and should be chosen well ahead so that they can get their training before and not during the working of the Block. They should start on a study of a language even before they take up their duties and it should be impressed on them that if come they come for a period of three to five years and must adjust their minds and their affairs to this idea. It will be impossible to get officials to learn the tribal languages if they think they are going to

be only a year or two in a tribal area. Much of the success of the former British officials among the tribal people was due to the fact that they stayed among them for a long time.

But if this is to be ensured service in the Tribal Blocks must be made sufficiently attractive. The officials here and in Narayanpatna do not receive the additional bonus (20 to 25 per cent of their pay) which officials in similar Blocks in some other States receive. I feel that the business of giving special pay to workers in Tribal Blocks should be unified throughout the country.

There is very little attempt to adjust the schemes to the existing tribal culture. Indeed, as in so many other Blocks, the idea hardly seems to have occurred to most of the Extension Officers. The singing and music bear no relation to the local music and this has never been recorded by All India Radio or anybody else. Yet some is of haunting beauty and deserves to be preserved. Gramophone records should be prepared; folktales should be collected and printed; dancing should receive more encouragement by giving really good prizes at the national festivals. The arts of the people should be discovered and receive much greater encouragement.

But this neglect of tribal culture and even of awareness of it is common in most of the Blocks throughout India and is the most serious defect of the entire 'Multipurpose' scheme.

I have, I am afraid, made a good many criticisms, but these must be taken against a background of real progress. The officials, so frequently changed, have had to face unusual difficulties, but many of them are working well, and the new B.D.O. is a man of exceptional talent and genuine enthusiasm for the tribal cause. I have no doubt that we will see the situation transformed during the next year.

THE MAIRANG MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Mairang Multipurpose Block lies to the west of Shillong and is roughly parallel to the main Gauhati-Shillong road, from which it is separated by the narrow strip of the very successful Bhoi NES Block, which is now normalized. Located in the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills District, it is 450 square miles in extent, and consists of the Nongkhlaw, Jairang, Nongspung and part of the Myriaw Siemships. It is populated by 25,495 Khasis living in 177 villages. Apart from the few officials and about 800 Rabhas in the north, there are no non-Khasis in the area. The Block was officially started on the 2nd October 1956, and the present P.E.O., who has been there for the last two years, is Shri K. M. Roy.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin in June 1959, and he has written as follows. The financial statement, however, has been standardized in terms of expenditure to the end of September 1959, and figures for various physical achievements will, of course, be actually larger than those given here.

The headquarters of the Block, Mairang, is about twenty-five miles away from Shillong by road, though as the crow flies the distance is not more than five or six miles. Until two years ago, the journey had to be made on foot or by pony, but there is now a good PWD road, fifteen miles in length, uniting Mawngap (on the main road from Shillong) with Mairang. The road passes through beautiful country, and Mairang village itself is unusually pretty. In fact the whole Block is a delight, with its low hills

either grass-covered like the English Downs or covered with pines, its fertile valleys and the little streams which keep the countryside fresh and green. A hundred and thirty years ago, these now pacific valleys were the scene of a guerilla war when U Tirot Singh, the Siem or Chief of Nong-khlaw, successfully defied the British arms for four years; he was finally captured and died in jail. There is a hideous memorial to him in Mairang village, and the local Khasis look back to the incident with deep satisfaction and still quote his famous rejoinder when he was offered his freedom and restoration of his dignity if he would submit to the paramount power: 'I would rather die in jail than be a king under alien rule'.

This spirit of independence and dislike of outsiders has continued until recent times and was the greatest obstacle that the Block officials had to face when they first went to Mairang. Although so near Shillong, the Khasis of this area have always kept to themselves, though they have long traded with the State capital and have been under missionary influence for many years. Their greatest fear, stimulated by what they have seen happening to Khasi land in Shillong, has been that outsiders would invade their territory and repeat the process of expropriation there. In actual fact, this fear is groundless, for no land can be alienated without the express orders of the District Council, an autonomous body of Khasis. But when the Block officials first went to Mairang, they met with strong opposition, for the people feared that they were an advance party in search of land. This was the time when the demand for a separate Hill State was very strong, and the P. E. O. had to give the Village Council a promise that no official would be permitted to settle permanently in the area. It was even suggested that the Block officials should wear a distinctive label, for it was feared that the people might otherwise attack them. Even today some of the Khasis come at night to the P. E. O. and beg him to tell them the real reason why the Government is spending so much money—there must, they feel, be something behind it. Perhaps in return Government will start taxing them.

But gradually, under the persuasive influence of the P.E.O., himself a Khasi and a leading member of the Church, the people came round and, though it is still very difficult to get any land for official purposes—it needed an immense amount of persuasion to get even the small tract of land for the Block headquarters—they are now co-operating very well.

The new road too has made a lot of difference. Buses now ply regularly to and from the capital where there is a ready market for Khasi goods, and the people themselves have half a dozen jeeps and trailers to take their things to market.

There is still, however, considerable opposition to the appointment of non-Khasi officials. All the V.L.Ws are Khasi and so are all or nearly all the school teachers. There are a certain number of non-Khasi officers—doctors, engineers and other technical people—but it was recognized that this was only because the Khasis themselves have not yet developed a sufficient number of technical men able or willing to fill the posts. All the nurses are Khasi though, curiously, the compounders are non-Khasi which suggests the greater effort should be made to persuade Khasi students to take technical and scientific rather than Arts courses.

The Khasis of this area are industrious, temperamentally conservative and keep themselves very busy. Their houses, which were formerly oval

in shape, are now pleasant little buildings, even though they are sometimes built of CGI sheets or old kerosine tins. They long ago abandoned their hand-woven dress and the illustrations in Gurdon's book on the Khasis, which was published exactly fifty years ago, suggest that even at that date they had largely adopted their present fashions. The women wear a great deal of cloth, now almost entirely purchased in the bazaars, of which the most prominent feature is the shawl worn over their shoulders. The men put on a motley assortment of European garments but some of them wear turbans. They keep sheep, goats, pigs and fowls and get a good market for them in Shillong. They do not have very many cattle, for they do not use bullocks for ploughing and, like other tribes in Assam, object to drinking milk.

It is impossible to assess the situation in the Block without some reference to the Church. The Mission which has had a profound influence throughout the Khasi Hills is the Welsh Presbyterian Church, though the Roman Catholics have recently also begun work in the Mairang area. The Khasi Branch of the Presbyterian Church is now entirely autonomous and any missionaries coming from Wales are regarded as 'gifts' from the Mother Church, coming to serve the self-governing body and not to rule it. About thirty per cent of the Khasis are Christians and the Church Council has a far-reaching influence even on the non-Christians. There is an excellent tradition that no Christian should take a case to court until the Church Council has considered it and tried to make peace between the contending parties. The Khasis contribute very generously to their Church and before the opening of the Block it was the main instrument of development and progress. There are over a hundred schools in the Block area, of which about eighty have been started by the Church and they are still maintained almost entirely by the local Christians, who contribute approximately one lakh of rupees a year. This has promoted a spirit of self-reliance which is surely admirable. Education has not been made cheap and easy. Food, clothing and text-books are not provided free of charge and the result is that the people regard the schools as their's and take a great pride in them. At Nongkhlaw I visited an M. E. School, which has not yet been recognized, which has half a dozen teachers, all paid by the people, and a devoted Headmaster who gives his services free of charge.

Another way in which the influence of the Church has been to the good is that it has forbidden the use of distilled spirits on pain of excommunication.

On the other hand, there is a danger that the strongly orthodox attitude of the Church may make village life so dull that educated boys and girls will want to move to the towns. When I asked why there were not more Khasi boys coming forward to work as officials in the Block I was told that not only are the non-Khasis afraid to come to this area but that the educated Khasis themselves do not like to work there, because village life is so boring. And a tribal village which has abandoned its traditional culture is dull. The Church has even forbidden its members to take part in the archery contests which have been described as the 'national game' of the Khasis. This is possibly because spells are sometimes uttered to divert an opponent's arrow from the mark, or because archery leads to a certain amount of betting. The Khasis now bet on horse-racing instead. The Christians must not dance or sing the old songs. Sunday has become a

taboo day, as it was in nineteenth-century England or America. I myself had an interesting example of this, for I was actually requested to leave Mairang on a Saturday evening, though I had intended to stay till the Sunday, as I was told that the Christians would resent my travelling on a Sunday morning. There is a rule that on a Sunday one may visit a friend or go out of his house except to go to Church. No work should be done, a typewriter must not be used and when the P.E.O. goes to his office on a Sunday he is careful to close the windows so that no one will see that he is working. This is an interesting example of how the 'genna' or taboo idea has come into the Christian Church.

The influence of the Church has been felt also on the non-Christians, who are progressively abandoning their old customs. They no longer erect the monoliths which are such a feature of the Khasi countryside, and the traditional festivals are being slowly robbed of their splendour. On the other hand, there is none of the social bigotry that divides Christian and non-Christian communities in Manipur or the Naga Hills. In a single family living happily together under one roof there may be a Presbyterian father, a non-Christian mother and a Roman Catholic son. And it was missionary effort which unified the Khasi language, for the translations of the Bible and hymn-books caused the Cherra dialect to be used everywhere. There has, moreover, been no attempt to interfere in the matrilineal system of inheritance.

Nor has the Khasi system of tribal government been affected. Khasi political and judicial institutions are of some complexity and I will only refer here to one of them, which is of special importance for the work of the Block.

Every village is traditionally governed by a Darbar which consists of all the adult male members of a village. There are no elections, except that the Darbar chooses its own office bearers. The Darbars have recently been recognized by Government through an Act passed by the District Council and they have power to inflict fines up to Rs. 50. They sometimes, however, go beyond this and very recently there was a case in Mairang itself where a man was fined Rs. 450 and paid up, since otherwise he would have been excommunicated by the village community. The Darbars see to everything; they co-ordinate every aspect of Khasi life, settle disputes and have always looked after the forests, the water-supply and such community services as the making and repairing of roads. All development work in this area is done under their advice and with their co-operation. No scheme is adopted until it has been put to the Council and approved by it. Here the principle of people's participation is a reality.

Expenditure

The following Table gives the annual expenditure since the Block was started.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	6.80	0.24	0.86	1.47	0.69	3.26	47.93
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	4.05	0.01	0.23	0.53	0.20	0.97	24.05

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-50		
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	3.50	0.10	0.55	0.04	0.08	0.77	21.99
Health and Rural Sanita- tion.	2.95	0.05	0.05	0.20	0.42	0.73	24.67
Education	0.75	0.02	0.10	0.15	0.07	0.35	46.57
Social Education	0.70	0.004	0.09	0.03	0.008	0.13	18.64
Communications	3.25	0.03	0.37	0.31	0.06	0.77	23.80
Rural Arts and Crafts	2.00	0.01	0.30	0.10	0.01	0.43	21.42
Co-operation	1.00	..	..	..	0.003	0.003	0.31
Rural Housing	2.00	..	..	..	0.16	0.16	8.00
Miscellaneous . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.48	2.55	2.83	1.71	7.57	28.06

Communications

People in Mairang urged that top priority should be given to Communications (for the promotion of trade) and Education (for which there is a universal demand). There is a Khasi tradition that no one may object to a road being made through his land if it leads to a bazaar, and the difficulties which the Block Officers have experienced in obtaining land for their institutions have thus been greatly modified for the making of roads. The people are coming forward willingly to co-operate in road-making and already there is a net-work of roads branching out from Mairang which will, within a couple of years, make the entire Block area accessible, at least during the open season. A road planned to link Nongkhlaw with the main Shillong-Gauhati highway will be a major instrument in opening up the Block area. There is still a very great deal of work to be done in widening the roads and making them permanent, but a good beginning has been made. The general rule is that, as elsewhere, the people themselves do the earth-work and Government contributes the culverts and bridges.

Education

I have already mentioned the extraordinary desire for education on the part of the Khasis. I feel that a larger contribution should be made by Government in the way of grants-in-aid to the existing schools. At present I was told Government gives Rs. 15 a month to 17 L. P. Schools, and Rs. 100 to Rs. 125 a month to 4 M. E. Schools. Admirable as it is for the Khasis to run their schools at their own charges, the result is that the buildings and equipment are inevitably not up to standard. I think that in all established schools, which have been recognized, sufficient money should be given at least for the improvement of buildings and the provision of pictures, library books and play-grounds.

The Khasis are not in favour of Basic Education, which they think is silly. 'Our boys already', they say, 'know as much as, or more than, their teachers about agriculture and local crafts. We want a straightforward education that will get us through our exams. and enable us to compete with the rest of India.'

There are 29 adult Education Centres which function for four months in the year, to which a small sum of money is contributed from the Block Funds. This may not seem very much, but I was told that the Church is the real centre of adult education. Once a Christian man or woman learns to read a little he then continues his reading through the Bible and hymn-book in the Church and thus gradually acquires proficiency: if he cannot read his Bible he feels ashamed.

There is an important point relating to the general programme. I was told that the people in Mairang were anxious to have a High School and with over a hundred L. P. Schools and five M. E. Schools there is surely a case for one. Without a High School there must be considerable wastage, for only a few boys can afford to go to Shillong for higher education. But I was told that the Education Department had turned down the proposal for a High School in the Block because they were not sure whether they would have sufficient funds to carry on the school after the Block was normalized. This suggests that in some ways the allocation of a large sum of money for only a short period can actually delay progress. Should there not be some scheme whereby, when an institution whose utility is unquestioned, is started in a Block, it can be carried on at a later stage? There is a strong case, I feel, for starting a High School in the Mairang Block (I think it should be a Government School) and some provision should be made for carrying it on until the regular Administration can take it over.

Agriculture

No Soil Conservation Officer has yet been appointed and little or no money has yet been spent under this head. There is not, however, a great deal of *jhuming* (shifting cultivation) except in one area, where the cycle is about five years, and it is interesting to note that the Khasis do not like cutting down trees. They are, however, very keen cultivators and almost every square yard of cultivable land is being put to use. The valleys are used for wet rice cultivation: there is a lot of terracing and there is considerable scope for the development of permanent agriculture on the gentle slopes of the hills. Many hills were completely denuded of forest long ago and I saw rice growing on the hillsides as well as pumpkins and other crops and in all Khasi areas there is a flourishing potato industry. The Khasis grow their potatoes on long strips running vertically up and down the hills. There is some effort being made to change this custom and to persuade the people to grow potatoes horizontally, but the Khasis feel that this results in the accumulation of water with a subsequent rotting of the potatoes. The main trouble here is the blight that attacks the potato crop and for this reason additional forest land has sometimes to be cleared to provide alternative plots. Potato cultivation is very old and in 1847 Major Butler wrote:

'In the Khasi hills a large supply of potatoes is annually raised and sold in the Gauhati market, realizing to the Khasis no inconsiderable profit. The effect of this traffic being to promote a more frequent intercourse with the people of the plains, it is hoped that in course of time the Khasis may learn

the value of peaceable commercial pursuits, and become a prosperous and civilized race.'

Everyone says that the Khasis are very 'manure-minded'. Large quantities of bone-meal and chemical fertilizers have been sold at a 25% concession and there is an old tradition that all natural manure should be collected and every household has several compost pits. Pesticides are now becoming popular and are sold at a 50% concession. The Khasis are also keen on irrigation schemes, though at first, after they had taken money for this purpose, there were cases of their returning it because they thought that there would be some strings attached. There is a story of an old Khasi woman who accepted some fertilizers. A sign-board was put up on her land to show that her's was a Demonstration Plot and this so affected her with the suspicion that Government would claim the land that she fell seriously ill. The P. E. O. has now ordered that no such sign-boards should be put up anywhere and I suggest that this very sensible rule should be followed in all the tribal areas.

There is scope for the development of plum, peach and orange trees and this is being taken up. There are plans for popularizing flower-gardens.

A regular water-supply programme has not yet begun, though the Block has been granted two lakhs of rupees from the National Water-supply Scheme. On the whole, however, the Khasi villages are well supplied and traditionally village councils have always looked into the matter of clean drinking-water.

Animal Husbandry

A capable and popular Ao Naga is in charge of animal husbandry and veterinary activities. He is accepted by the Khasis as a fellow hillman and, although at first the people were unwilling to bring their sick animals to him, he has succeeded in breaking down their opposition and is getting busier every day. There is a considerable incentive to the keeping of animals for sale since there is a constant demand from Shillong and the keeping of poultry is virtually a subsidiary industry. Rhode Island Red cocks and hens are being distributed at the rate of one cock and two hens to each unit on the condition that six fowls of not less than six months old will be returned later. This scheme seems to be having some success.

There is a good Sheep-Farm at Mawnai in charge of an Assamese manager who is assisted by a small Khasi staff. Romney Marsh rams were introduced even in the British days and they have recently been supplemented by the import of a number of Bhutan rams. Already there is a noticeable improvement in the size of the sheep and in the quality of their wool. This Sheep-Farm will, we may hope, lead to an upgrading of the sheep throughout the Block and will also persuade the people to shear their sheep, for when they see this being done successfully and without causing any mortality among the animals at Mawnai, the Khasis, who are very sensible and intelligent people, will be sure to follow suit.

The Khasis keep a good many pigs for which there is a ready sale in Shillong, but there has not yet been any attempt to upgrade the breed, although this is planned for next year. One difficulty concerns the colour of the imported animals, for the Khasis do not approve of any but black pigs. The flesh of a white pig is believed to be lacking in flavour and

there will probably be, as there has been in other tribal areas, an initial objection to, for example, the white Yorkshire pigs.

We should not dismiss these colour prejudices as mere tribal superstition. The Colour Research Institute, which advises the billion dollar advertising industry in the USA, has emphasised the importance of colour in every branch of business. A woman's eye, for example, is held to be most quickly attracted by a package wrapped in red, a man's to one wrapped in blue. During the last war it was found impossible to introduce food substitutes unless they were of the same colour as the original commodity: margerine had to be coloured yellow before it could even begin to compete with butter. All over the world, the most developed nations are very conservative about colour values in food.

Health

There is a hospital at Mairang with twelve beds, of which two are reserved for maternity cases. When I visited it there were nine in-patients in the hospital. There are also four dispensaries with two doctors. I was told that the health of the people generally was very good. There is hardly any T.B., and leprosy is confined to one or two villages in the northern area round Jirang. Malaria is common in the thickly-wooded hills of the north, but an anti-malaria team will soon be starting work there. The people, like tribal people everywhere, were at first unwilling to go to the hospital, but they have now overcome their suspicion and are coming in ever-increasing numbers. There is need for a Mobile Unit with an ambulance (which I believe is already provided for) directly the roads have been improved. This could also take serious cases to the hospitals in Shillong. The main obstacle here is the lack of doctors willing to serve in the tribal areas. It was felt that, since Shillong was so near, elaborate apparatus such as an X-Ray plant was not necessary.

No Khasi has ever worked as a sweeper and sweepers are not generally employed in the hills. At Mairang there is one sweeper at the Hospital but the P.E.O. feels that in future all official buildings should have deep-pit latrines which would eliminate the need of employing outsiders of this kind. It is obviously undesirable to introduce sweepers into any tribal area.

The Danger of Drunkenness

Nearly every non-Christian house has a small distillery and the amount of drunkenness is serious. Formerly the Khasis made rice-beer which did them little harm and once even a leading missionary doctor, when asked why it was that the non-Christian Khasis in the Bhoi area were so much better in health than the Christians, said that it was because the former drank rice-beer. A good number of the Christians also, in spite of strict rules forbidding them to do so, take rice-spirit. There are about thirty legalised liquor shops under the Siem but hundreds of unauthorized ones in individual houses. Fifty years ago, Gurdon noted that 'this cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and more restriction of its use would be welcomed by many.' On the other hand, rice-beer is nourishing and far less intoxicating, and a double propaganda to restrict distilled spirit but encourage rice-beer in its stead might be the best compromise.

In the P.E.O's office I saw a ferocious poster demonstrating the evils of drink. A realistic devil with horns and tail assists a snake to drop its poison into a bottle. A second picture shows a stout Hindu gentleman beating his wife. Other pictures show the condition of the gentleman the following morning; at breakfast he refuses his food and demands another glass of liquor. He goes to office and sits miserably with a dreadful hang-over. Drink brings all sorts of evils and even leads him to the degradation of card-playing. He finally suffers an early death and is carried off by demons to hell. This, I was told, has proved very effective. I felt, however, that it would be even more effective if such posters as well as health and other propaganda posters could be done with a local tribal background, when they would be likely to appeal very much more to the tribal mind.

Cottage Industries

There is not much scope for the development of cottage industries and in fact only 21.42% of the allocation has been spent on it. Although long ago Khasi women used to weave their own cloth, the loom has almost entirely died out as a result of bazaar competition. There is no need to teach work in cane and bamboo, for already every Khasi is an expert maker of baskets and mats. I noticed some boys going fishing with beautiful little baskets for keeping their bait: I saw a man with an excellent rain-coat woven with cane. The Khasis of this area export to Shillong a large number of skins, but they are not likely to take up the making of bags or shoes in leather. For a long time now Khasi women have been using metal vessels for carrying water and for cooking, and earthenware pots would not be popular. There is thus little scope for the introduction of pottery. The smelting and working of iron has long been a traditional craft, but even fifty years ago showed signs of dying out, for market iron was already cheaper, and the disappearance of the forests made charcoal difficult to get. Today the iron used by the present day blacksmiths is all imported. There is room, however, for improving the techniques of the local blacksmiths.

The Khasis are quite good carpenters and the wood-work of most of the official buildings and all their own houses has been done locally. No training, however, has yet been given to carpenters and, since this craft is in the people's tradition, I think that is one which might well be encouraged.

I am doubtful whether it is worth trying to revive the weaving of ordinary textiles in cotton. There has been little or no weaving done by the Khasis for a great many years and bazaar competition in the State capital, so near at hand, is very strong. The men now do not wear any kind of traditional dress and the women are able to get the kind of shawl they like from the bazaars. There is in Mairang itself a small weaving centre with two fly-shuttle looms, but little progress has been made and I am doubtful whether there is much scope for reviving the art.

On the other hand, there is a great possibility of starting a wool industry. There are large numbers of sheep in the area, of which many are taken to the Shillong bazaar to be sold for food. The sheep farm at Mawnai has made an excellent start. Unfortunately, at present the local Khasis refuse to shear their sheep as they believe that they will catch cold and die if they do so. This prejudice, however, is being gradually broken down. If the people can be taught to process, spin and weave their wool into blankets and to knit

woollen caps, pullovers and socks, this will become a profitable and useful home industry in an area which is very cold in winter. I doubt if there would be a large market outside, but even if the people could be self-sufficient in their woollen articles it would be of great profit to them.

In the north of the Block there are about 800 Rabhas. They are interested in sericulture and sell about Rs. 30,000 worth of cocoons every year. They formerly made a certain amount of money by growing lac but the industry has declined with the fall of prices in the market. Some development of sericulture, including the spinning and weaving of the yarn, might be attempted in the Rabha villages and if a suitable market for their lac products could be found it would obviously be of benefit to them.

I feel that with regard to cottage industries in this area we should avoid overwhelming the people with a multiplicity of schemes. On no account should we waste time and money on trying to introduce crafts (such as cane and bamboo work) which the people already do better than any instructor is likely to be able to teach them. I suggest we should concentrate on the work in wool, carpentry and perhaps blacksmithy. The Khasis, especially the women, are extremely busy and industrious people and, in any case, have very little time for subsidiary industries.

Rural Housing

The Khasis live in permanent villages and are generally fairly well-housed. A few villages, however, in the north shift their locations from time to time, following the *jhum*-cycle. The P.E.O. has managed to establish one small village, and spent about Rs. 16,000 on improved housing. The interesting suggestion was made that if we wish to settle the comparatively small number of Khasis who do move from place to place, the best thing would be to erect a good Church on the site where it was desired to settle them. The Khasis will then gather round the Church and are not likely to move.

Official buildings, like many of the Khasi houses themselves, are roofed with CGI sheets but these are either unpainted or painted in a cacophonous red. Would it not be better to paint them a good green, as in Gangtok and parts of Shillong? I suggest that whenever CGI sheets are provided under the Rural Housing Scheme, an additional sum should be provided for painting them. This will not only have an artistic effect but will help to preserve the sheets.

In the Base Hospital at Pasighat in NEFA, the inside walls have been painted an attractive shade of green as recommended by, I think, the WHO. This certainly has a very soothing effect and I suggest that, even though it is slightly more expensive, the inner walls of hospitals should be painted or washed in this colour. This is particularly advisable in the tribal areas where the dead white, with which the walls are usually washed, creates an atmosphere very unfamiliar to the people.

It is important to make every Block headquarters a model village. When people from the remoter areas of a Block come into headquarters they are not likely to be inspired if the central village itself is dirty and undeveloped. In Mairang itself the streets are in a very bad condition and the place is rather messy. The P.E.O. told me that repairs would be taken up shortly,

but I suggest that, as a general rule, priority should be given to making all the streets and paths in a Block headquarters (which should always be a tribal village in the interior) really good. Attention should be given to persuading the people to surround their houses with flower-gardens, and flowering plants and trees should be planted, not only among the official buildings, but in the village.

Recreations

An important thing to be done here is to make village life more interesting. As I have said already, various factors have robbed the Khasis of many of their traditional festivals and recreations. The result is that educated boys and girls, who have tasted life in the towns, do not care to come back to their villages, for there is so little to do. In Manipur and the Naga Hills dancing, which had been formerly forbidden by the American Baptists, has now revived in quite an astonishing way. I do not know what would be possible among the Khasis. At Mairang there is not even the rather tepid pleasure gained from official films provided by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. There is a cine-projector but so far no one has been found to operate it. Surely some bright young Khasi could be trained for this purpose; it does not take very long, and regular shows would help to build up something of interest in the villages. There should also be some really good cultural centres, where little dramas and variety shows could be staged.

Something more might be done to revive traditional tribal games in this and all the tribal areas. I suggest that someone should be appointed to collect and write up an illustrated booklet on the "Games of the Hill Areas of Assam" on the lines of Miss Pugh's useful *Games of NEFA*, and that in any case copies of her book (it only costs one rupee) should be distributed to all the Multipurpose Blocks.

Staff

The headquarters of the Mairang Block is situated outside the village in singularly pleasant surroundings, on elevated ground in the centre of a wooded valley. The houses for the staff are not pretentious and yet not too small and the architectural design of the officers' houses is good. Some of the designs of store-buildings, however, are rather ugly and might well be improved. When the houses have their flower-gardens and flowering trees and shrubs planted round them, the headquarters should look very attractive indeed and be a pleasant place to live in.

I feel it is important that there should be a really good club-building and a good library which need not be stocked only with official publications. The Prime Minister has recently urged that, wherever officials are posted in lonely and difficult areas, they should be supplied with books, magazines and newspapers. I personally feel that far from too much money being spent on the staff and their amenities, we are not spending enough to keep up the morale of officials, which is obviously of the very first importance. When I visited the Mawnai Farm I noticed that the Manager, a young Assamese who does not yet know the local language and is thus very much cut off from

everyone (and there are hundreds like him living all by themselves in the tribal areas), did not get a newspaper; he had not got a radio and in fact, there was nothing to broaden his mind and keep him abreast with the thought and life of the world. I suggest that there should be some scheme of circulating newspapers and magazines as well as a number of selected books to officials, including school-teachers, in the Blocks.

The question of giving special allowances to officials working in the tribal areas has been raised on several occasions. I personally feel that in order to attract the best type of man, including the best type of tribesman, to work in this Block it will be necessary to make some sort of allowance. Officials in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have a special case for grievance in that their colleagues in the other autonomous districts, as well as in NEFA and NHTA, receive a handsome additional allowance. The Social Education Officers, who are Grade III in status, told me that their TA/DA cannot cover their actual expenditure and all the officers pointed out that the present portage allowance, in view of the high cost of porters (now three rupees a day) is quite insufficient and every tour involves expenditure from their own pockets. There is nothing more important than touring in a tribal area, especially in places where there is suspicion of Government's intentions, and I suggest that serious consideration should be given to the possibility not only of paying a special allowance but also of raising the travelling and portage allowances. This has been done in NEFA and NHTA and the results are good.

There has been continual insistence that we should not overwhelm the tribal people with too many officials. It will only be possible to fulfil the ambitious plans of the Multipurpose Blocks and, indeed, of all planning in the tribal areas, if two conditions are fulfilled. The first is that the officials should be free of anxiety about their own affairs and should have the amenities of which I have already spoken. The second is that the officials themselves should not be overwhelmed by too many distractions. In the Mairang Block, so easily accessible from Shillong, there is a danger of the officials and particularly the P.E.O. being unnecessarily diverted from his work by too many visitors, some of whom come admittedly without anything very much to do. A second great distraction is the amount of paper-work that is required. The P.E.O. particularly should spend every possible moment among the villagers, yet he is often tied down to his headquarters by the necessity of making endless returns and reports—including, I must confess, those required by our Committee. It was suggested that a quarterly, instead of a monthly, progress report might be sufficient and that care should be taken to avoid duplication of returns.

There are also continual demands from various Ministries and organizations for the collection of statistics—statistics about crops and the number of pigs and fowls in a village, human statistics, statistics about income and expenditure. I once saw a proforma which wanted to know the number of cups of tea the people drank every month. Such demands and enquiries not only distract the Block officials from their proper work but are also liable to cause misunderstanding among the tribal people. Questions about crops or animals are risky, for the people may suspect that they are leading up to new forms of taxation. Other enquiries merely irritate them, for they consider that the amount they pay to their servants or the prices they get by selling fowls and pigs are their own business. In NEFA, the Administration

has succeeded in greatly simplifying all such questionnaires and has in a number of cases got excused from making them at all.

The Mairang Block is an example of what can be done when the Project Officer and the majority of the official staff are themselves drawn from the tribal community which they are serving. The people naturally feel that the Block belongs to them when their own people are running it. They are able to talk to them in their own language. Suspicion of Government's intentions is naturally lessened.

And perhaps the greatest achievement of this Block is in the psychological field. There is less intolerance now ; there is a new hope of progress ; there is growing up a greater sense of oneness with India ; treated with respect and honour, the Khasis are beginning to feel that they have a part to play in the greater community.

Everyone emphasised that there was already a rise in economic standards. There were new markets for local produce ; there was a hope that there would be more produce to market. A sure sign of increased prosperity is to be found in the fact that labourers and servants are now much more difficult to find. Crime has decreased : the number of murders, which at one time was alarming, has gone down greatly in the last two years. Even drunkenness is less a menace than it was and visitors no longer come drunk to the P.E.O's office in the morning.

It is still difficult to attract technical personnel to serve in this and similar Blocks, and I feel that conditions of service must, if possible, be made more attractive.

On the whole, I do not think that the fears that progress is too slow are justified. I have described the very great difficulties that faced the staff when the Block was opened. The realistic and cautious spending of money does not mean that no progress is being made: it suggests rather that the work is being adjusted to the people's own pace. We have been asked at the highest level not to overwhelm the tribesman with a multiplicity of schemes ; it would be easy to do so, but I am sure that it is wiser to take one thing at a time and concentrate on a few things that can be done well rather than to dissipate our energies on a large number of things that may well fail.

I have thus no suggestions to make regarding the intensification of work in this Block : in my opinion, the pace is just about right.

A visitor to the Mairang Multipurpose Block comes away filled with enthusiasm for the work being done so sensibly and realistically and with confidence that the great Khasi people will now be able to look forward to a future that will soon be economically secure.

THE MANOHARPUR MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Manoharpur Multipurpose Block is situated in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Singhbhum District of Bihar. It has an area of 771 square miles (extending to the Orissa border to the east) and a population of 48,593, of which 33,008, nearly 70 per cent, is tribal. There are 156 villages. The Block was started on 26th January 1957, functioned as an NES Block till 22nd May 1957 and was then transformed into a Special Multipurpose Block. It can only be reached by a slow train from Chakradharpur: the Bombay-

Calcutta Mail passes through the station but does not stop. Rourkela is only twenty-seven miles away. Manoharpur has a fairly large Railway station, for there is a considerable timber trade here. The Block Headquarters lies a little way out of the town.

Dr. Verrier Elwin, accompanied by Shri F. Ahmed, Additional Development Commissioner and Shri Loba, Assistant Commissioner, Scheduled Tribes and Castes, Bihar, visited the Block from 15th to 17th September 1959, and later met the Deputy Commissioner at Chaibasa.

The tribal population consists of Hos (11,026), Mundas (10,566), Uraons (5,920), Lohar-Mundas (1,042) and a number of smaller groups. There are also a substantial number of persons living in much the same way as the tribals themselves, such as Mahatos (3,465), Tantis (1,002), and cowherds, professional painters such as the Jadupatuas, and members of the Hindu occupational castes.

The tribal people here have come under a great deal of external influence. The S.P.G. and R.C. missionaries have converted about 50 per cent of them to Christianity. There are many merchants who lend them money and trade with them. A dozen timber contractors at Manoharpur engage tribal labour for loading wagons at about Rs. 3 a day. There are approximately 5,000 tribals employed by the Indian Iron and Steel Company at Chiriya and here they come under the influence both of the Communists and the I.N.T.U.C., whose workers constantly criticize Government and create in the people a certain suspicion of its intentions. On the other hand, in this iron mining area the Block has started a Consumers' Co-operative and has already opened eight night schools in which about 200 tribals are studying: they want eight such schools. It is said that they prefer the Block health-centres to the Company's and are demanding additional medical coverage. The pattern of tribal life in this area, therefore, varies from place to place. Up in the hills and in the forests people are still following their own traditional way of life, but those who work as labourers for contractors or in the mines have naturally greatly changed, just as the Christians have largely lost whatever is distinctive in their own culture. The real villagers, for example, continue to drink their rice-beer: the urban-dwellers have turned to rice-spirit—and far too much of it. It is said, however, that the Christians also share in dances and festivals of their non-Christian fellows. The P.E.O. reports that 'there has been no social change among the tribals since the opening of the Block because care has been taken to see that they do not change their own original way of life'.

Shifting cultivation is only practised in a very small area.

The people have the same kind of traditional cottage industries as are found elsewhere in Bihar—basket-making, rope-making, the manufacture of fishing-nets, brooms, straw-shoes for themselves, a little pottery. The Mundas and Uraons as well as the Chiks do some weaving and I was told of attractive tribal designs that were embroidered on the textiles. In some places the people carve their doors and make toys for their own children. They paint the walls of their houses and are very fond of dancing and singing. The Block staff has now introduced training-cum-production centres for carpentry, bamboo-work, blacksmithy and tin-smithy, bee-keeping, tassar-rearing, spinning and weaving, and oil-crushing (two Wardha ghanis have been provided through the Khadi Board). As usual, trainees are being organized into Co-operatives after they have finished their courses. A subsidy

of Rs. 500 each has been given to a number of families by the Khadi Board and it is proposed to establish a weaving colony in a place called Tirilposhi where forty Uraon families are to be settled.

The former Munda Manki, a system of tribal Government whereby the local council disposed even of murder-cases, has long since disappeared and the introduction of statutory Gram Panchayats has removed from them, in practice, practically all their powers and duties, except the collection of land revenue. There are no tribal dormitories or other institutions in this Block.

There is a lot of malaria south of the Koyna river, but the National Malaria Eradication scheme is at work there. I was told, however, that its workers only manage to spray with D.D.T. the houses in their jurisdiction once a year which is not likely to be effective. An 'ophthalmic camp' for the treatment especially of cataract will shortly be held, and will be paid for by public subscription. Part of the Block area lies within the leprosy belt and investigations about the number and location of lepers are proceeding. The local people do not seem to have any taboo on a leper and do not insist that he lives outside his village. There is little venereal disease. There has been a good deal of difficulty in getting the right type of nurse, but the other health workers and doctors are said to be very popular.

As in the other tribal Blocks in Bihar, there is no instruction in the mother tongue in any of the schools and there are no text-books in the tribal languages. Yet the missionaries have translated the Bible into Uraon and Mundari, as well as large numbers of hymns. Not a single one of the workers in the Block has appeared for the tribal language examination, but I was told that a number of them were sufficiently acquainted with the local languages to be able to talk with the tribal people. I suspect, however, that most of the conversations are carried on in some form of Hindi.

There is a very poor representation of tribal people on the Block staff. There is only one tribal V.L.W. and one office assistant. The Grade IV staff, however, is all tribal. One of the difficulties of obtaining tribal workers at the lower levels seems to be that directly a tribal boy matriculates, he joins a College with the help of a scholarship and then after he has got his degree he is at once appointed to an official post elsewhere. Even Matriculates get easy and better-paid employment in the Telephone Exchanges, in offices, shops and factories in the towns. Educated tribal boys just do not want to go back to their villages and work for their own people, a matter that we have noticed in other areas also.

There are six main markets in the Block where the tribal people sell their goods and since the Railway runs through the area there would be no difficulty in exporting special types of articles even down to Calcutta. There are 41 Co-operative Societies of different types in the Block area and these are said to be working well. Two Forest Co-operative Societies were organized last year but have not yet started work, pending certain decisions by Government.

Apart from the missionaries, who have a number of schools (which are reported to be running well), one hospital and one Grain Gola, there are no private social service organizations, except for one school in the interior maintained by the Adimjati Sevak Sangh.

After three years the Block still has nearly twenty lakhs of rupees to spend. The following table will show the expenditure year by year :

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.00	0.24	0.82	1.04	0.44	2.54	36.29
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.50	0.21	0.11	0.33	0.04	0.69	45.81
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	0.14	0.10	0.46	0.07	0.77	19.35
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	..	0.15	0.32	0.04	0.51	25.67
Education	0.75	..	0.04	0.19	0.03	0.26	34.53
Social Education	0.75	0.04	0.11	0.15	0.03	0.34	44.92
Communications	4.00	..	0.02	0.55	0.14	0.71	17.78
Rural Arts and Crafts	2.00	..	0.07	0.36	0.13	0.56	28.24
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.05	0.07	0.03	0.15	7.65
Rural Housing	2.50	..	0.08	0.34	0.32	0.74	29.60
Miscellaneous	0.50	..	..	..	0.007	0.007	1.50
TOTAL	27.00	0.63	1.57	3.81	1.28	7.29	26.99

Progress has not been as good as might have been expected in an area which has regular railway communication. In the year 1958-59 there was a shortfall in expenditure of no less than Rs. 2,88,200. The heaviest failure was in agriculture and animal husbandry where over Rs. 50,000 remained unspent. The Block Headquarters is still not complete and the staff are living in hired houses in the little town. In Cottage Industries there was a shortfall of Rs. 27,000, in Communications one of Rs. 14,000, in Health one of Rs. 16,500. No money has been spent on research during the whole period of the Block, Social education, however, during 1958-59 took more than its allotted share.

Although at first the tribal people were a little suspicious of such matters as inoculation and vaccination, they are on the whole friendly and co-operative and it is rather hard to see why only a little over Rs. 7,00,000 was spent in three years. One reason may be that for fifteen months there was no P.E.O. Five different officers were appointed, but on some pretext or other got out of joining the post. For the construction of the Block headquarters contractors had to be changed twice, which naturally delayed the work. It is now being done by the Gram Panchayat and excellent progress has been made in the past two months since this was arranged.

The aim of the Block workers is to provide one good well for drinking-water in every village and they have ambitious plans for irrigation, soil conservation and agriculture. But in three years, out of a target of 100 irrigation wells, they have only managed to make 25. Out of 25 bunds for irrigation, they only managed 12 and out of a target of 87 drinking water-wells they were only able to make 27. One reason given was the lack of

supervision. The P.E.O. has now reorganized his staff, placing different members in charge of the eleven *halkas* into which the area is divided. A considerable reallocation of funds has been suggested. Weekly meetings of the Extension Officers are to be held and the P.E.O. is confident that he will now be able to spend the remaining nineteen lakhs within the next two years. With careful organization and supervision of the work of the staff it is possible that this may be done, though it will probably involve considerable employment of contractors. In my opinion, however, it will be more likely that there will be lasting and really useful work if it is not done in such a hurry, but is extended over an additional year or two. In a place like Manoharpur it is very easy to spend a great deal of money, especially if it is concentrated on construction work and contractors are employed. This does not necessarily mean that the money will be spent well.

I heard with horror that a harmonium and a clarinet have been supplied to each community centre of the Block, though I was glad to hear that megaphones had not been supplied with the community radio sets.

There seems to be some difficulty about libraries for the schools. Only a very small sum has been provided for this purpose and a list of books to be purchased has been given. Prominent among these are publications by the Gita Bhavan of a special religious character that are not likely to appeal to the large number of Christians or for that matter to the tribal boys in the Block.

Although it was proposed to build 75 latrines in the villages the P.E.O. has sensibly concentrated these on the schools, for it has been found generally that village-latrines are quite useless. One tribesman, on being asked why the latrine in his village was so clean, replied, 'Naturally, for it is never used.' People who, for centuries, have been accustomed to ease themselves in the fields or forests, find it hard to understand why it is necessary to perform this perfectly natural function in a little hut which quickly becomes dirty and offensive. While it is obviously desirable to have some kind of pit or trench latrine, is it really necessary to enclose them, at least in the tribal areas, with walls? Surely they could be discreetly hidden among trees and bushes and I believe they would then have a better chance of being used. Our approach to the latrine problem, as to many other problems, is essentially an urban one.

There are plans for erecting large numbers of houses in Anandpur for 40 Uraons, in Talkobad for 19 Ho families and at Samtah for 40 Ho' and Uraon families as well as for the proposed weaving colony at Telposi.

A tape recorder for taking down tribal songs and stories has been provided with an assistant to work it. Unfortunately, this can only run on a dynamo and since there is no money to pay for porters to carry this clumsy apparatus into the interior, where in any case it will probably immediately go out of order, nothing very much has yet been done, except that a number of non-tribal songs have been recorded.

The Hos and Mundas in this area live in scattered houses, nearly always built on small hills. There is a great scope here for potato growing and for vegetable gardening. Rourkela is only twenty-seven miles away and already the whole neighbourhood is being scoured for vegetables, poultry, goats and so on. The local people might, in fact, become in time as prosperous as the Khasis of Assam who have made a great deal of money by selling potatoes and other vegetable produce to Shillong town. This would be a long-term

scheme, but I believe that for the future of these people it would pay a very handsome dividend.

Cottage Industries

The cottage industries scheme is an ambitious one and seems to be going well. Manoharpur is well known for its biri industry, for raw materials are in abundance in the neighbouring forests, and many of the tribal people and others have in the past been engaged by merchants to make biris for them on a wage of eight annas a day. In 1957 a Biri Co-operative Society, which has the rather pretentious name of Nandpur Dimbuli Biri Udhogic Sahyog Samiti Ltd., was organized to give relief to the five thousand people engaged in this business. It started in a small way with a membership of 25 and a share capital of Rs. 400. The local merchants strongly opposed the scheme, going so far as to attempt to damage the products and burn the leaves. In 1958 the workshop was, therefore, moved to the Community Hall at Nandpur, a couple of miles away from the Block headquarters, and now the workers get Rs. 1.50 a day as wages in addition to the profits of their venture. During the past year the Co-operative has sold about Rs. 10,000 worth of biris, paid wages of Rs. 4,000 and made a net profit of Rs. 355. There is provision for increased loans, the employment of a regular Manager and the construction of a workshop and godown.

I saw an Embroidery and Knitting Section located in a hired house in Manoharpur town. About a dozen Ho girls come in from various villages and live in the Mission compound (for they are all Christians) in order to work here. They are very enthusiastic and are doing good work. There is, however, not a single hint that these industries are being developed along the lines of the people's own genius. Designs are taken out of books supplied by some central institute at Patna and though recently the designer there sent a very good tribal design (which has not yet been adopted) at the same time he sent a rather unsuitable one from North Bihar. The girls are knitting thick woollen socks, pullovers and caps which would be very suitable for the Himalayas but seem rather out of place in the hot climate here, and I understand that there is some natural difficulty in disposing of them. For tailoring and sewing the local staff follow a syllabus issued from Patna, which is intended for the whole of Bihar, and they go on making totally unsuitable bush-coats and other garments. Surely by now a special syllabus for such cottage industries could have been prepared by the Industries Department for the tribal areas of Chotanagpur. It is not only foolish but it definitely helps in the process of detribalization to teach the boys and girls to make garments which they do not need and to use designs which are out of tune with their own traditions.

Care also should be taken to base everything on local available materials. For example, it seems rather extraordinary to bring cane all the way from Assam to give artificial support to a Cane and Bamboo-work Section. In the Carpentry Section, although some good things are being made, they are all things that would be useful to the sahibs. There is very little attempt to make things which can be put in the people's own homes or which they need for their own use. If the intention is to produce a new caste of tribal carpenters, take them away from their homes and divert them from

the all-essential task of agriculture, the present scheme is admirably suited to do so. If, on the other hand, it is intended that the trainees should return to their villages and enrich them, more attention should be paid to relating their work to their own life.

In order to assist in the sale of cottage industries products it has been suggested that there should be a good stall on market days in bazaars, where they could be exhibited and sold. It was thought that this was a better plan than having a special emporium-building which would involve heavier overhead expenses.

With regard to art and its encouragement, practically nothing has been done. There are a number of Jadupatuas in this Block but none of the officials had ever seen one and I do not know whether they, like their fellows in West Bengal and the Santal Parganas, make the attractive scrolls illustrating incidents in their own history or even in the great Hindu epics. If they do, they should surely be encouraged, for these scrolls could easily be used as a form of popular education just in the same way that the great classics of western literature have been broken down into comic-strips. Similarly, since the Hos and other tribes paint attractive designs and pictures on the walls of their houses, I suggest that some of them should be brought in on a daily wage to paint and decorate in real tribal style the walls of some of the institutions such as community halls and schools, which at present are very drab.

Three village libraries have been established, even though only 10 per cent of the population is literate and it was claimed that 25 people read them daily. In view of the literacy rate this seems difficult to believe. Schools are of the usual type and it is said that they cannot compare with the Mission schools. Spinning and gardening are adopted as crafts in the ordinary schools and in the Junior Basic Schools these two crafts along with the making of little toys in clay have been introduced.

Health

The Health programme of this Block did not actually start until September 1957, due to the late posting of a Medical Officer and staff. During 1957-58 there was thus practically no work done in the first half of the year, though there was some propaganda to popularize preventive medicines. In the latter part of the year three sub-centres were started which were not at first much frequented, as the people were afraid of vaccination and inoculation. They also suspected that the free distribution of medicines and milk-powder, the payment of subsidies for wells and other schemes had some strings attached to them. More recently the Health Centres have become popular, the average number of patients having risen from five to twenty-five a day. In 1957-58, 19,659 and in 1958-59, 10,014 persons were vaccinated and 37,651 and 23,073 were inoculated. Cholera and smallpox have almost disappeared. Today health meetings are held, documentary films are shown and with the help of charts, lectures are given on health and sanitation subjects. A sum of Rs. 1,500 has been contributed by the local people for the holding of a relief camp for the blind next December. This will continue for a fortnight and a number of Medical Officers will be sent by the Civil Surgeon at Chaibasa to perform free cataract operations with the help of the two Block Medical Officers. This is an admirable idea and might well be widely copied.

Revision of the Budget

In July 1959 the Deputy Commissioner, Chaibasa, in consultation with the Block staff, made a thorough review of the situation. He found that up to the end of June 1959 the total expenditure of over a period of three years had only been Rs. 6,30,000, though in addition there were charges for two jeeps, Audio-Visual Aid equipment and so on. It may be said then that in three years seven lakhs of rupees were spent. This left a balance of twenty lakhs to be used within a period of two years. A thorough revision of proposals for expenditure was made and put before the Block Development Committee. For example, it was proposed that a saving of Rs. 90,000 under the heading of Project headquarters should be diverted towards the construction of rural houses and for the establishment of colonies. I am personally a little doubtful about the scheme for colonies and in any case, I feel that the ninety additional houses proposed should go to the Harijans and other 'backward' groups who need better buildings for more than the tribals do.

For Agriculture a sum of Rs. 10,000 is suggested out of an enormous saving under the heading of Communications. This will be used for the support of eleven Kamdars who are very important for the success of the Agriculture and Irrigation programme.

Already Rs. 90,000 has been provided for the construction of grain-godowns at the rate of Rs. 10,000 each. This is a most important matter and is the main apparatus by which we may rescue the tribal people from debt. Other readjustments include the diversion of an additional Rs. 2,000 for the purchase of equipment and medicines for the dispensary at Manoharpur itself. A sum of Rs. 5,000, which had been allotted for the repairs of old wells, which are few in number, will not be required. The whole amount of Rs. 7,500 has been diverted for the construction of new wells. A sum of Rs. 8,200, originally provided for the construction of drains, remains to be spent, as only Rs. 460 was used for this work before it was stopped under the orders of Government. This will be given for the proper furnishing and equipment of the health sub-centres and headquarters of the Medical Officer.

Under the head of Communications a sum of Rs. 75,000 was provided for the improvement of fair-weather roads. Seven miles of such roads were repaired at a total cost of Rs. 340 but later expenditure on this kind of work was stopped, as Government desired to get roads of this type constructed or repaired by Shramdan. Since then nearly sixty miles of road have been constructed on this basis, resulting in a saving of Rs. 74,660. Rs. 10,000 of this have been diverted to the heading of Agriculture to meet the expenditure on Kamdars; Rs. 10,000 is to be given for the construction of one mile of Class I road in Mancharput bazaar, which is certainly badly needed and to which the local merchants will make a substantial contribution. The remaining Rs. 53,660 is to be utilized, in addition to the previously allocated sum of Rs. 2,00,000, for small masonry culverts and Rs. 1,00,000 will go for small H.P. culverts. These will greatly assist the development of communications; for example, a target of 100 small culverts has been raised to 150 and this may even be extended.

A sum of Rs. 22,300 had been provided for expenditure on personnel and contingencies for poultry development, an important matter in view of the increasing demand for poultry from Rourkela, but only Rs. 653

has so far been spent. There is thus a saving of Rs. 21,647 and it is proposed to divert Rs. 10,000 of this to the construction of field dispensaries, to the supply of equipment worth Rs. 2,000 to each of them and to utilize the remaining Rs. 7,647 on personnel and poultry. In view of the strong demand for a tribal hostel at Manoharpur a sum of Rs. 10,000 (which will be saved from Rs. 12,500 proposed for village leaders' seminars on which now only Rs. 2,500 will be spent) is to be diverted and another Rs. 10,000, which was kept for a survey for future planning, will be added to it.

There is no need to go into the whole scheme, which is elaborate, in detail. These examples will be sufficient to illustrate the very drastic and valuable proposals that have been put up. Schemes which were impracticable or found unnecessary to meet the real needs of the people have been dropped and the money diverted to a number of essential matters which will be of much greater benefit. The important thing about this is not in the details of re-allocation, but that re-allocation has been made with such originality and courage. Unfortunately, we have not received the finally approved version.

The Block Development Committee

I attended a meeting of the Block Development Committee at Manoharpur on the 16th of September 1959. The first priority proposed by the members was for large-scale irrigation schemes, and I understand that these have already been put up by the P.E.O. The next priority was for drinking-water wells, which is again already provided for in the plans for the next two years. In the building of wells considerable difficulties have been met in the nature of the soil, for rock often occurs at a depth of about ten feet, and explosives are needed. In the past there had been a considerable shortage of these and this has delayed progress, but now arrangements have been made for an adequate supply.

There are 44 members of this Committee, of whom only 23 are tribals, which is low in view of the fact that nearly 70 per cent of the inhabitants of the Block are tribal. There is a rule that the Committee must include the Mukhyas of the Statutory Panchayats, who are mainly non-tribals in this area, even though we might have expected that the tribemen, being in a substantial majority, would have elected their own people. But the influence of the former Zamindars is still strong; a number of the Mukhyas are timber-contractors who control the labour force; and these outsiders still have the tribals in their grip.

There was a demand that education at all stages up to the High School stage should be free. At present in Bihar lower primary education is free, but after Class V half-fees are charged to tribal children; this comes to about Rs. 2.50 a month at the Class X stage. Harijan boys and boys of 'other backward classes', however, do not get this privilege. Members of the Committee expressed strong opposition to Basic Education on the grounds that parents did not want their children to 'waste their time' learning to spin and garden, declared that 'nobody learns anything in a basic school', and that when a boy or girl goes into Class VIII of an ordinary school he is unable to compete with the other boys. The members admitted, however, that in character, imagination and creativeness the Basic children were better than the others and that after two or three years

in an ordinary school they caught up with them. In the Block area five Senior Basic Schools and ten Junior Basic Schools have been opened so far.

In answer to a question as to whether the non-tribal population in the Block area was getting its share of the general benefits one member declared that when 'the rain falls everyone gets wet' and although the majority of persons present were non-tribals they had no complaints. They did, however, point out that the Harijans and Other Backward Classes, who were in many cases poorer and less developed than the tribal people, were deprived of a number of benefits under rules affecting the whole country. For example, the housing scheme applies only to the tribal people, whereas such groups as the Mahatos and Tantis (a group classified as 'backward' and who are notorious for their criminal habits) need houses very much more than the Uraons, Mundas and others. Similarly, the concession of half-fees given to the tribal children do not apply to these other groups which need it even more. In the construction of wells, while the tribal people are only expected to provide 25 per cent contribution, the other groups have to provide 50 per cent. I feel that it is most desirable that we should not make a distinction between the tribal people and others who are on the same or even lower economic level in this or any other Block, for it suggests that we are making distinctions on grounds of race rather than of economic need. All concessions given to the tribes should also be extended to the economically impoverished people living with them in the same area.

I feel that there is a bright future for this Block. The re-arrangement of plans and expenditure should provide a powerful stimulant to progress. Much more attention, however, should be paid to building up that progress on the lines of the people's own genius, to exploring the possibility of developing genuine tribal art, and to uniting the *whole* of the underprivileged community in an equal share of the benefits provided.

THE MOKHADA-TALASARI MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

Mokhada, the headquarters of the Block, is a small non-tribal town lying to the northeast of the Thana District of Bombay State, about a hundred miles from the city of Bombay with which it is connected by a fairly good motorable road. The Multipurpose Block originally covered only the villages lying within the Mokhada area itself but was later extended to Talasari, which is still rather cut off from the outside world and for about half the year from the headquarters itself. The Block is thus in two parts which are divided from one another by a strip of territory which originally belonged to the old Jawhar principality and is now part of the Jawhar Taluka. As it now stands, the Block has 69 villages and an area of 1,04,94,534 acres. Its total population is 27,107, of which all but 1,807 is tribal, the tribal population being thus 94 per cent of the total. The Project was started as a Multipurpose Development Block from the 2nd of November 1956.

Although other parts of the Thana District are thickly populated with non-tribals, the Mokhada-Talasari area is, as we have seen, largely homogeneous in character, though the comparatively few non-tribals have had a devastating effect on the tribal economy. The land is not fertile and, although the average rainfall is from eighty to ninety inches a year, there

is considerable scarcity of water. The soil is rocky, a fact which makes terracing difficult and the wells have to be dug very deep. There are very few lakes or tanks, and minor irrigation schemes, it is said, are unlikely to succeed.

The tribal population is divided into Warlis, Katkaris, Kokanas, Ma Thakurs and Ka Thakurs, Mahadeo or Raj Kolis and Dhor Kolis. The best known and perhaps the most characteristic tribe is the Warli, about which there is a useful book by Shri K. J. Save, a former Special Officer for the Protection of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes in the Thana District. There is also a book in Marathi by Shri Apte and a novel about Warli life, also in Marathi, by Acharya Bhise. The Warlis total over 200,000 and are scattered in a number of different Districts, though over half the tribe is concentrated in Thana. They are agriculturists, truthful, simple and frank but very timid—a fatal defect which has exposed them to the most disgraceful exploitation by money-lenders, landlords and merchants. Shri Save says of them that there is nothing more important in their life than poverty. 'We have to see not how much they have, but how much they do not have. They are born, bred and buried in poverty. The birth of a child is surely an occasion of rejoicing in the family. But the birth ceremonies are performed by borrowing money to serve liquor to the invitees. So with the birth of the child the seed of its economic downfall is sown. Children go naked without clothes and proper nourishment. They begin their marital life with a burden of heavy debts on their shoulders. They do not even get enough food throughout the year. They die almost penniless and the death ceremonies too are celebrated with borrowed money. Poverty is, therefore, the very breath of the life of these people, who are in fact the very incarnation of poverty.'

Another very impoverished tribe is the Katkari, whose economy is essentially a forest one. Traditionally most of them have been engaged as wood-cutters, charcoal-makers or field labourers. They do not usually have land of their own but work as servants for their more prosperous neighbours or for Government and in some parts are regarded as virtually untouchable. The Kokanas look like the Warlist, though they are said to be better cultivators and more progressive. The Ma Thakurs are also comparatively well off, though the Ka Thakurs are extremely poor and easily deceived by outsiders.

The Mahadeo Kolis who, like other Kolis, were at one time notorious for their crimes against society, are today a fairly well-to-do and respectable group who have good houses, ample land for cultivation and sufficient resistance to stand up against the worst excesses of the money-lenders. They are regarded as Hindus and have achieved a certain standing in society since the former ruler of Jawhar State was himself one of them. The Dhor Kolis, however, are even today living in a pitiful condition of social degeneration and extreme poverty. They eat carrion and are looked down on by the other tribal people who will not eat or intermarry with them. They have to live in small hamlets apart from the others and, like the Katkaris, are mainly landless labourers.

It was reported by the P.E.O. that out of a total of 43,500 acres of cultivable land no less than 22,000 were under shifting cultivation. This is incorrect, for shifting cultivation in the proper sense of the term is not known in this area. The so-called shifting cultivation followed by the

Warlis and other tribes is a system whereby the gentle slopes of the hills are ploughed and used one year and then allowed to lie fallow the next year when the cultivator moves on to another plot nearby. This is, in fact, little more than a system of allowing fields to lie fallow in rotation. There is no cutting of the forest as in shifting cultivation. However, the Block authorities are trying to eliminate this method and have taken up bunding and terracing with the help of three bulldozers. Since it has taken three years to terrace 151 acres (out of 22,000) it does not seem likely that this scheme will be very successful. The new Japanese method of cultivation, however, has become popular wherever the land is suitable.

The official report on cottage industries in this Block is that the tribal people have no crafts or arts, and little wood-carving, pottery or weaving. There is a little carpentry. There are a few blacksmiths, but even basket and mat-making is weak, partly due to the fact that the country is not very rich in bamboo.

Most of the tribes dance very well and some of the people make remarkable masks with pulped paper or wood.

There are traditional village Panchayats which consist of the elderly and experienced leaders of the community. These Panchayats deal generally with social or religious problems, and the introduction of Statutory Panchayats has not affected them to any extent. There are no missionaries working in the Block area, but the Adivasi Seva Mandal is doing admirable work in various parts of Thana District, and in Mokhada itself maintains a delightful Hostel for little girls and has workers who co-operate with the Block officials in helping the tribesmen in every sort of difficulty.

The Block was visited by Shri N. M. Wadiva, M.P., and Dr Verrier Elwin in the middle of October 1959 and they have made the following observations.

The State Bureau of Economics and Statistics, in an interesting review of the seven Multipurpose Blocks in the State, issued on the 10th October 1959 has given marks to these Blocks on a double classification, the one according to expenditure and the other according to physical achievements.

Mokhada	...	B—B
Akrani	...	A—A
Sukhsar	...	B—A
Khepbrahma	...	A—A
Aheri	...	C—B
Dharampur	...	A—B
Peint	...	A—A

Mokhada does not, therefore, stand very high, compared to the other Blocks, in its achievements. The annual expenditure since its inauguration will be found in the following table—

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters.	7.00	0.08	0.89	2.34	0.55	3.86	55.19
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.82	..	0.24	0.41	..	0.65	35.79

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59 up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to- Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960		
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	2.15	..	0.18	0.91	0.14	1.23	57.28
Health and Rural Sanitation	4.05	0.05	0.15	0.30	0.18	0.69	12.07
Education	3.71	0.07	0.17	0.25	0.16	0.65	17.55
Social Education	1.00	0.008	0.16	0.27	0.02	0.46	45.99
Communications	2.76	0.0007	0.54	0.48	0.14	1.16	42.08
Rural Arts and Crafts	1.61	..	0.05	0.41	0.14	0.60	37.30
Co-operation . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural Housing	2.90	..	..	0.17	0.25	0.42	14.49
Miscellaneous . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Suspense . . . . .	..	0.01	0.54	0.07	0.33	0.96	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.22	2.92	5.61	1.93	10.69	39.60

This covers the period November 1956 to September 1959, or very nearly three years. There remain over sixteen lakhs of rupees to be used in the next two years. The Development officials in Bombay are confident that not only here but in most of the other Blocks of the State all the money can be spent within the five-year period. We felt, however, as our members felt after visiting the Sukhsar Multipurpose Block in the Panchmahals, that this is most unlikely and not even desirable, for if this large sum is to be spent in such a hurry it may not be spent well. It is not a matter of different States or different Blocks within the same State running races against each other. It is a matter of giving the utmost possible benefit to the village people. No one is going to blame a P.E.O. or a State Government if it is found impossible to spend the entire allocation of 27 lakhs within the required period. The tribal people themselves may, however, well blame the authorities if the money is not spent in a way that will really help them. We feel that it would be better to give up the idea of trying to rush things through and accept the fact that an extra year or two years may lead to better results.

The first thing that struck us on examining the above statement was the striking contrasts in the budget allocation, whereby the sum of Rs. 4,30,000 is provided for rural and staff housing, Rs. 4,05,000 for Health but only Rs. 1,82,000 for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. Even if we add to this the allied subjects of Irrigation and Reclamation which are given Rs. 2,15,000, the figure for the vitally important subject of agriculture still falls below that given to the other two subjects and is only a little more than the Rs. 3,71,000 allotted to Education. Yet as Shri Save has stated in the case of people like the Warlis, 'prior to education the problem of bread must be solved. The instinct of hunger must first be satisfied. In the case of people who hardly get bread twice a day literacy is tall talk. A hungry man refuses to digest anything but food. To enable them to get their food is therefore the supreme need.' And in fact, when we discussed

the matter with the Block Development Committee the members said that in their opinion Agriculture and Animal Husbandry should get Rs. 4,30,000 while Rs. 1,82,000 should be quite sufficient for Housing, thus exchanging the budget allotment on these two items. Even out of the comparatively small allocation for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, only 35.79 per cent has so far been utilized.

The report of the Bombay State Bureau of Economics and Statistics says that under Agriculture the performance of all the Multipurpose Blocks, except Sukhsar and Khedbrahma, is unsatisfactory and that in Irrigation and Reclamation the performance of Mokhada and Dharampur is 'very poor'. The only agricultural activity in which all the Projects show satisfactory progress is the making of compost pits. The figures for these are impressive and suggest that the cultivators are resorting more to local manual resources rather than to chemical fertilizers.

Progress in terracing has also been very slow and the cost is almost prohibitive, for the land is rocky and in many places there is not sufficient depth of soil to make terracing possible. Only nine irrigation wells have been dug, though five oil engines have been provided. Where so much remains to be spent, a much more vigorous programme for the making of irrigation wells might be undertaken. On the other hand, there has been some success in persuading the people to raise a second crop and it is proposed to pursue energetically in the next two years a programme of cashewnut cultivation and the introduction of an improved type of mango.

Some progress has also been made in propaganda against what is here called 'rabbing'. This is a method of cultivation, little known elsewhere, which must be a heritage of a former type of shifting cultivation. Dry cow-dung is spread over a plot of ground and is then burnt, as the people believe that this makes the soil more fertile. A rather similar method is followed in Bastar where the branches of shrubs and grass are spread over a plot and then burnt.

There is a great scope for the improvement of poultry farming. Although the local people eat most forms of meat except beef and pork, there is today little possibility of hunting, owing to the decline in the numbers of wild animals and the villagers cannot usually afford to buy meat or even fish. Since one of the greatest problems here is malnutrition, much greater emphasis should be laid on the introduction of better types of poultry as well as on the upgrading of goats.

The very large sum of Rs. 4,05,000 is allotted for Health Services but only 12.07 per cent has so far been spent. Not a single doctor, compounder or nurse has yet been appointed out of the Block budget and there are only eight drinking-water wells that have been dug, three repaired and ten in course of construction.

The difficulty of obtaining doctors in the tribal areas is, of course, notorious and yet it is rather hard to understand. The Mokhada Block is comparatively accessible. The railway is not far away. There is a bus service along a fairly good road to Bombay. The country is beautiful. Extra remuneration is paid. The humanitarian challenge is great. It has been suggested that all doctors, who seek Government service, should be compelled to serve for two years in a tribal area before being accepted for other work. A possible alternative would be to award a certificate of merit, which would be accepted as an important factor in

later promotion, and which could be given to doctors who go of their own accord to these areas. But something obviously must be done. Although the Mokhada Block is not particularly unhealthy, the people are under-sized, under-nourished and fall a ready prey to disease as a result. Health is here, as everywhere else, of vital importance.

The provision of drinking-water wells is of equal urgency. Villages in this area are usually divided into two or three hamlets and although we were told that there is now one good well in every village, there are still a large number of hamlets without a proper water-supply. Here again, where there is so much money to be spent, it is hard to understand why a much more vigorous programme of providing every hamlet with a well should not have been undertaken. We were told that there was some rule that more than one well cannot be built for any one village. We suggest that this rule should be modified immediately.

For what is happening is that the village well is usually located in that section of the village which is most prosperous, while the poorer people are left without good water. In one village we ourselves saw how the main hamlet, inhabited mainly by Mahadeo Kolis who were comparatively prosperous, had a good well but a group of miserable huts, where the despised Dhor Kolis were living, had no proper water-supply. Although officially these unhappy people are permitted to go to the main well, in practice things are made so unpleasant for them that they prefer to go for their water to a small and dirty hole scratched in the ground. They could not, we were told, be given a well for themselves since there was already a well in the village. This is a matter which needs urgent attention, for social factors like this, much as we may regret them, are still operative in interior places.

The sum of Rs. 20,000 has been provided for the construction of 20 latrines and 10 bathrooms, of which a few have now been completed. It is difficult to see how the construction of only 20 elaborate latrines can really affect a population of over 27,000 individuals even if they are used, which is generally not the case. The provision of bathrooms is even more open to criticism. The people like to bathe in the open streams or near the wells in the open air where they can be warmed by the sun. We saw one of the new bathrooms near a hamlet where the people were living in tiny huts of bamboo and thatch. This bathroom which cost about ten times as much as a tribal house, was a small pill-box erection of cement, inhospitable and cold. It not only looked totally unsuitable; it was unsuitable and, we were told, was hardly ever used. This is surely one of those schemes, thought up in a city, which could well be omitted and the money spent on something more useful.

Education

Schemes for education, for which the sum of Rs. 3,71,000 is provided, are still mostly in the future tense, only 17.55 per cent having been spent on this subject in three years. An Ashram school is planned for Mokhada and another for Khodala; six new schools are to be built in the Kodhala area, a basic school is to be erected at Mokhada. Ten primary schools are to be converted to basic and four other schools are to be opened in various villages in the area. A sum of Rs. 7,000 to cover sixty of the existing primary schools, is to be given for additional equipment.

Members of the Block Development Committee, while anxious to have these schools, were critical of the proposal to turn ten of them into basic schools. They were particularly opposed to the introduction of spinning as the basic craft. Cotton is not grown in this area and the members were doubtful whether, the boys and girls would carry on the craft once they had left school. The general feeling was that the ordinary type of education plus a stress on gardening and horticulture would be preferable.

There is no problem of language in the schools of this area, for everyone talks Marathi or, in the northern area, Gujerati as well. Grierson includes the Warli language among the Marathi dialects of the Konkani group and, although the local language has its dialectical peculiarities, it is obviously advisable to use Marathi text-books and Marathi as the medium of instruction. It is more important here to have text-books written and charts and posters prepared which will be more closely in touch with the village and the tribal life. At the moment the children are being taught through the same sort of text-books which are used in Bombay city itself and many of the ideas and pictures are entirely unfamiliar to them.

There seems to be very little art-instruction in the schools, and we noticed that the boys and girls sat on the bare floor. It is a good thing for L.P. children to sit on a well-plastered and cow-dunged floor since they always do this at home, but a small mat with a low desk in the traditional Indian style could surely be provided out of the enormous sum of money which remains to be spent. In the same way it is hard to see why residential quarters for teachers have not been built in the villages. It is reported that teachers do not like to go into the interior villages for this reason and this is not surprising. Similarly, most of the schools seem to be single teacher's schools, which in the tribal areas is most undesirable. It would be better to make the existing schools really good, with proper residential accommodation and two teachers each, rather than to go in for schemes of expansion.

It may be due to the small number of teachers and their low morale that there has been a quite extraordinary wastage in the schools during the last few decades. Only a very small proportion of the children go on to further studies beyond the primary stage.

Social Education

There is an ambitious programme of social education and here it is obviously necessary to popularize mass literacy so that the peasants can combat exploitation by outsiders. On the other hand, we felt that the social education programme was insufficiently based on the principle of developing the people along the lines of their own tradition and genius. Although there is an exceptionally good Information Centre, which includes a collection of specimens of tribal art and crafts, at Mokhada itself, the general effect of the programme may well be to destroy what little remains of the local tribal culture. In one village we were met by a group of boys dressed up like marines in peaked caps who were making a dreadful noise on imported brass instruments on which they were playing vulgar American tunes. This equipment had been provided from the social education funds but hardly suggested a development along the lines of the local genius. They were Banjaris, but they too have their own culture. In the Bhajarf Mandalis there seems to be no idea at all of developing the traditional

music and songs of the people. Entirely new songs, mostly of a Hindu character, are being introduced and when we asked for traditional songs to be sung we were generally told that the people had forgotten them. The tribals here are not celebrated for their music but they do have their own instruments and a fairly large repertoire of songs and ballads. Many of these have been printed in Shri Save's book on the Warlis and there are no doubt similar songs used by the other tribal groups. No attempt has yet been made to collect and publish these or the folktales of the locality and indeed, there does not seem to be any budget provision for this purpose. Pending the collection of other songs and stories, attractive booklets could be made by reprinting separately those recorded in Shri Save's book. We feel that to avoid imposition of another culture on what still exists, a much greater attention should be paid to promoting the use of the traditional songs through the Bhajan Mandalis and that the introduction of alien instruments such as the harmonium and the brass band should be avoided.

We noticed also that very little money was being given to cultural activities. For example, under the programme for the remaining two years there is an item headed 'Community Entertainments', which proposes to organize 135 Kalapathak programmes, folk-dances and Natya programmes to serve the purpose of imparting the education through entertainment. For this laudable scheme a sum of Rs. 334 has been suggested. How this remarkable figure was reached or what can be done with only Rs. 334 for such a large programme is left to the imagination.

There is another scheme headed 'Development through the people' under which it is proposed to employ a barber to cut the children's hair, and to provide nail-cutters and 200 sets of clothes for poor students. This will cost Rs. 7,000. Is it, however, really necessary to appoint a barber to do work which all over tribal India is done by the people themselves or to provide special nail-cutters which will not be available after the children leave school? If they get accustomed to cutting their nails, or hair only when this artificial support is provided, their last state may be worse than the first. We hope that if clothes are provided they will bear some relation to the traditional dress of the people.

Audio-visual activities have so far made little progress. A cinema machine and apparatus have arrived in Mokhada, but a post of cine-operator has not yet been created. This is like appointing a typist without giving him a type-writer.

Mahila Mandals and Balwadis are likely to be popular in the villages round Mokhada, but may not succeed in the remoter areas.

Communications

The improvement of communications is of great importance here and it must be admitted that the progress made is not very encouraging. There are still many villages cut off from the Block headquarters throughout the rains and since the local people are keen on the use of bullock carts, inter-village roads and roads leading to the local bazaars would be of value not only to officials but to the people themselves. The allocation of Rs. 2,76,000, as against 4 lakhs in most Blocks, is surely too low.

Arts and Crafts

Only 37.30 per cent of the total allocation of Rs. 1,61,000 has so far been spent under the heading of Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries. There

are tailoring, carpentry, masonry, cane and bamboo, and weaving classes for boys and there is a tailoring class for women. A soap-making scheme was started for women and then abandoned. It is planned to start an oil-ghani demonstration centre and a *neera* production centre. After the boys and girls have been trained, the idea is to have Industrial Co-operatives to enable them to carry on their work. We were told, however, that it was very difficult, in view of the small number of artisans and the fact that they lived in villages scattered over a wide area, to form separate Co-operative for each craft and that an inclusive Multipurpose Co-operative would be more likely to be successful. This is a suggestion that should certainly be considered. In the weaving centre there were only two young men learning weaving and they were making plain white cloth. We were told that more attractive cloth would be introduced later and were shown a book of designs prepared by the instructor. These designs were rather dull and inappropriate and we suggest that some effort should be made to adapt them to the local environment or taste of the people.

Forest Economy

We were given a valuable note by Shri Wandrekar, a former Deputy Minister in the State Government, who has taken a leading part in the development of the tribal people. He makes the important point that 'the mental set-up of the Adivasis is averse to work that will have to be done sitting and continuously for long periods such as eight hours at a time. This factor has to be taken seriously into consideration while planning employment for them. Attempts were made by different social service organizations to introduce the Ambar Charka among them, but they proved a failure.'

This is a matter which, so far as we know, has not been emphasized before, and it should be carefully noted by all those engaged in promoting cottage industries among the free and independent tribal people, who love being in the open air. Most of the industries we are introducing are sedentary and must be done indoors, and this may be one reason why they fail.

Instead, Shri Wandrekar urges a great extension of minor forest industries. 'The potentialities of our forest for giving subsidiary employment', he says, is vast.

'At present timber and fuel are supposed to be the major products and various kinds of bark, fruit and grass are considered as minor products. Their exploitation also is mostly in a raw form. It is possible to start many industries out of the thousand and one flora found in our forests.

'If a proper survey of the different raw materials from the forests is carried out and the purpose for which they can be utilised is ascertained, a great many subsidiary industries can well be organised on a co-operative basis in the heart of the forests themselves, thus providing additional work to lakhs of forest folks in their homes and villages. The potentiality of forest industries, it appears, has not attracted the attention it deserves from the Khadi and Gramodyoga Commission. The mission of the Commission is to provide employment to the millions of unemployed or under-employed by starting cottage industries all over the rural areas. The real unemployed or under-employed are the Adivasis or jungle folks. The thirteen industries taken up by the Commission for propagation are such as have practi-

cally no attraction for these people. Industries connected with forest produce will be readily taken up by these people if organised properly.

'In spite of the five year plans under which thousands of crores are spent for the all round development of the country, the jungle folks have to face semi-starvation conditions annually for about two months in the rainy season and that too within fifty miles from the city of Bombay. The plans have no doubt provided big amounts for the welfare and advancement of the jungle folks and different State Governments as well as the Central Government are doing what they can to tackle this problem of unemployment. But the problem has so far defied solution. Whatever little is being done is offset by the continuous increase in population. As pointed out above what is required is the immediate organisation on a very large scale of small industries suited to their economy. And it must not be forgotten that their's is a forest economy and not an agricultural economy. This aspect must be properly considered both by the planners and the social workers for the success of their schemes.'

Housing

The very large sum of Rs. 4,30,000 has been allocated for the housing of the staff and improvement of rural houses, and 33.55 per cent of this has already been spent, most of it on houses for the staff.

The tribal buildings fall into two distinct groups. The first are the houses of the Mahadeo Kolis, Ma Thakurs and other comparatively well-to-do people. These are often well built and designed; they sometimes have carved wooden doors, a certain amount of ventilation and tiled roofs. The second group consists of the miserable huts of the Warlis, Katkaris, Dhor Kolis and others which have bamboo walls, lightly plastered with mud, and thatched roofs. We saw these houses at the end of the rains and, of course, as all over India, this is the time when buildings look their worst. In spite of this, most of the houses were clean and tidy. They are not raised on piles as in eastern India and are, therefore, affected by the damp, but they are carefully washed with cow-dung and even with red clay.

At first the Block officials attempted to provide the people with entirely new houses. The basis of this was that each house would cost Rs. 1,000, would cover a certain plinth area and follow a specified design. 50 per cent of this was a subsidy, 25 per cent a loan and the rest was to be contributed by the people themselves. Unfortunately, before this assistance could be given the recipient had to provide a security of double the total amount, that is, Rs. 2,000. In effect this meant that only the well-to-do people received assistance. We saw a few houses which had been provided to Mahadeo Kolis or Ma Thakurs which were very pleasant and it is worth noting that the incongruous and inappropriate houses which have been introduced in other tribal areas have not come up in Bombay. Both the official buildings and the new houses in the villages fit into the local scene very well.

This scheme, however, did not make much progress, as the people who could afford to provide security did not particularly want to rebuild their homes which were already reasonably good, and the people who really needed new houses could not provide the security. The scheme, therefore, was changed and the programme turned into one of repairing the existing houses

and of providing Mangalore tiles which unfortunately have to be imported, as the soil in the Mokhada Block is not suitable for tile-making. Here too, however, owing to the insistence on security, only the better class of villager has received assistance. We were very struck in one village at seeing a number of really good houses which have been provided on a subsidy-cum-loan basis with Mangalore tiles while only a little distance away there were the most pathetic huts occupied by the Dhor Kolis who were too poor to give security and who, though desperately in need, had not received any assistance. Surely something must be done about this, for unless it is done we will have the situation that the very people, in whose interest the Multipurpose Blocks were opened, are not getting the real benefit while those who, although classified as tribal, are economically more advanced, are getting all the advantages. This is a most urgent matter and either the security provision should be waived in the case of very poor people or some other form of repayment, such as by labour, should be adopted.

In the main, the scheme of giving a better type of roof through tiles (we were glad to see that CGI sheets were not being provided) seems to be better than the complete rebuilding of houses. Once a peasant has secured a good roof over his head he may well be persuaded by tactful propaganda to make better walls and have better ventilation. In any case, however, force should never be used. Shri Save says that the Warlis of his time were very reluctant to have any windows in the walls of their huts. 'I was told that only the threat and not the persuasion of the Taluka office made them cut windows in their bamboo walls and only the frequent visits of the committee members checked them from closing them.' In actual fact, where houses are made of thatch and bamboo, the problem of ventilation is not nearly so pressing as the urban mind might suppose. Indeed, many of the huts we saw were over-ventilated and draughty, for the walls did not come right up to the roof and there were many places where the wind entered.

Co-operatives

Shri Save, describing the condition of the Warlis twelve years ago, stresses the high incidences of indebtedness. 'To have a debt is perhaps as common as to have a wife and children. The majority of debtors are so poor that all their property, if sold, would not be sufficient to pay off the debts.' He estimated that 83 per cent of the people were in debt and once they fell into debt it was very difficult to escape. 'A money-lender goes on demanding money from a tribal whose grandfather had borrowed from his grandfather.' Shri Save gives a few examples of how the system of money-lending worked in his time.

(a) A man borrowed Rs. 200. For four years he paid an instalment of Rs. 10 every month. He had still to pay Rs. 100 to the Sawkar.

(b) Another man borrowed Rs. 100 for his marriage, on condition that he would serve the Sawkar and the latter would credit six rupees to his account every year. This man put in twenty years' service and says that he has about Rs. 15 still to pay to the Sawkar.

(c) A third man borrowed Rs. 200 which were entered into the account as Rs. 300 by the Sawkar. He paid Rs. 16 per month for three years. He has yet to pay Rs. 100.

(d) A fourth man drew Rs. 200. He paid Rs. 15 per month for three years and yet he owed his Sawkar Rs. 50.

From all accounts, although no proper economic survey has been made (surely this is one of the first things that should have been done), the conditions today are not much better. There is, however, an attempt to solve the problem both by propaganda to break the blind faith of the people in their money-lenders and also by the establishment of Co-operatives. Since the opening of the Block two large sized and two small sized M.P. Societies have been organized and it is claimed that 53 villages out of the 69 in the Block have been brought under the co-operative fold; the remaining 16 are to be covered this year. The Thana District Central Co-operative Bank will open a branch shortly at Mokhada and there is a scheme to have Consumers' Co-operative Stores to help check the exploitation of the tribal people by local merchants. There are six Co-operative Grain Societies. Loans amounting to Rs. 92,000 have so far been advanced through the Co-operative Societies. A plantation of cashewnuts is to be established on a co-operative basis. The scheme of Consumers' Stores is to follow that already initiated in the Dangs where it has proved very successful. There will also be a Co-operative Rice Mill at Mokhada which will undoubtedly help the people to market their surplus produce. The scheme of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies, which has been highly successful elsewhere in Bombay, however, does not seem to have made very much progress in the Block area. This failure is largely due, it is claimed, to the opposition of the Forest Department and the usual demand for heavy security.

Employment of Tribals

We were disappointed to find that out of 34 officials there was not a single tribal. It was only among the Class IV servants that ten out of eleven were tribal. This is particularly unfortunate, for it gives the impression that the tribals are only fit to be employed in the menial or servant class. It is not easy to understand why this should be. The Mahadeo Kolis are by no means backward and the Warli boys are reported to be bright and intelligent. There is at present a Warli Deputy Minister and another Warli has passed into the I.A.S. In the voluntary social welfare organizations there is no dearth of tribal employees and it is reported that nearly 75 per cent of the staff manning the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies elsewhere are drawn from among the tribal people. In fact, some of these Co-operatives are staffed entirely by them, and they have thus become independent of the social workers. It was suggested by the Block Development Committee, where this question was raised, that the tribal people were afraid to accept employment with Government for fear that the non-tribals might make things difficult for their families. It was also suggested that there were no tribal boys or girls sufficiently educated to take up this work. If this is true, it is a sad comment on the method of education so far followed. Schools have been running for at least fifty years and there has even been a certain amount of girls' education, which has been unable to produce a single nurse to work in the Block area. We feel that there should be much more propaganda to persuade boys and girls to prepare themselves and to come forward for work in their own villages and that the Government itself should take much

more seriously the Prime Minister's desire that we should build up the tribal area 'through their own team.'

General

The attitude of the staff, with one or two exceptions, appeared to us to be rather aloof and condescending, in striking contrast to the approach of the local social workers who have really become one with their people and regard them with sympathy and affection. The local officials seem to have very little idea of the life and traditions of the tribes among whom they work; for example, not a single one of them had read Shri Save's book on the Warlis and there was no copy in the central office library. In view of the stress that was laid in the recent Seminars at Ranchi and Pachmari on providing books on the tribes located within the Multipurpose Blocks, it is quite astonishing that where a good book already exists it should not even have been obtained.

That formidable relic of British imperialism, the *sola topi*, should not be worn by officials in any tribal areas, for it makes the people obsequious and afraid.

The Adivasi Seva Mandal

One of the best voluntary organisations working in tribal India is the Adivasi Seva Mandal founded twenty years ago by Shri Bala Sahib Kher, which is conducting fourteen welfare centres in the Thana District of Bombay State, of which some are within the Mokhada-Talasari area. We visited some of these centres and were greatly impressed by the devotion and efficiency of the workers, the very pleasant atmosphere that was created and the high standard of accounting of expenditure. This Society, which now has a band of nearly fifty workers, may be regarded as the true pioneer in this area and it has won a very great influence among the tribal people. Its activities cover education, medical relief, legal aid, twenty Grain Golas, 25 Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies (through which a business of 25 lakhs is being transacted) and general propaganda aimed at the development of the tribes. Unfortunately, the Society finds it very difficult to raise sufficient money for all its activities. It spends approximately Rs. 1,30,000 annually but the grant it receives from Government under the present rules only amounts to Rs. 64,000. In the context of today with its incidence of taxation and high prices, it is extremely difficult for any Society to collect money even from the well-to-do people of Bombay who are naturally less and less inclined to contribute to private organizations in view of the large sums that they are giving in taxation to the Welfare State. We recommend that additional grants should be made to this admirable organization in order to enable it to meet its old liabilities which are very heavy and to conduct its present activities satisfactorily and to extend them.

Conclusion

We suggest that the scheme of adoption of villages followed in Orissa and elsewhere might well be taken up here. Under this plan every Extension Officer of whatever Department adopts one village as his special concerns and attends to all aspects of its life, even though many of them

would not come ordinarily within his own portfolio. This creates a special concern and interest among the Extension Officers and has often had remarkably good results.

In conclusion, we could not help being struck by the fact that although some sections of the tribal people had obviously benefited, there were large numbers of other groups who were more or less in the same condition as they were described by Shri Save in 1945 or even by earlier writers fifty or a hundred years ago. They are now putting on a few more clothes, but their physical condition and the poverty of their surroundings and possessions seem hardly to have improved. We feel that everyone concerned should concentrate far more on the poorer sections of the population and that wherever the rules and conditions hamper this they should be changed immediately. Indeed, a special enquiry might well be made by the State Government to discover how far the regulations of red tape and in particular the rules of the Forest Department are militating against the real progress of the poorer tribal people.

As in many other Blocks, failure to make progress is too often laid at the door of the tribal people themselves. In a report submitted by the P.E.O. on the Mokhada Block it is said that, 'owing to inherent ignorance, superstition, unambitious nature and laziness', results have not been attained. The tribal people themselves might put it the other way round.

THE NARAYANPATNA MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Narayanpatna Multipurpose Block was visited by Shri N. M. Nanavatty and Dr Verrier Elwin in November 1959. Dr Elwin has made the following observations.

Narayanpatna, the headquarters of this Block, has played some part in the history of Orissa. The Rajas Balarama Deo and Visvambara Deo both made it the capital of their kingdom during the period 1711-1752. There is a place, still remembered, where the many wives and mistresses of the second king committed *sati* at his death. The little town peeps in and out of history from time to time during the next hundred and fifty years. More recently it has attracted a considerable number of Telugu Komati merchants who have prospered remarkably at the expense of the tribal people. It is situated about a thousand feet above sea level on the river Janjhavati in the south-east of the Koraput District. It is not a very good place for the headquarters of a Block, for it is cut off from the outside world throughout the rains and is a non-tribal town.

The Block is 665 square miles in extent and has a population of 66,000, of whom approximately 40,000 are Konds and 16,000 are Jhorias and other 'Porjas', including Konda Doras and a few Gadabas. There are about 10,000 non-tribals, including Komatis, Doms, Ghasis, Sondi merchants, potters and others. The country is hilly and beautiful and a large part of it is covered with thick jungle. The rainfall is about 89" in the year. Since the area is so cut off from the outside world, the tribes here have continued to live in very much the same way as they have done in the past, except that they now wear a good many more clothes. The Doms, a Scheduled Caste, live in very close association with them, act as their spokesmen and have an unenviable reputations for exploiting their simpler tribal brethren. The Konds and Jhorias seem to have copied the Doms in their dress while the Doms

in their turn live in villages which are almost undistinguishable from those of the Konds.

The tribals in this area have been greatly crushed and exploited in the past. There is the Gothi system by which landless labourers give a bond to work for a merchant in repayment of a debt. It has been estimated that the tribal indebtedness of the area comes to considerably over four lakhs of rupees.

Although shifting cultivation (*podu*) is forbidden on any hill-slope that is more than one in ten, there is still about a thousand acres of land being cultivated by this traditional method and in view of the heavy pressure on the level lands it is doubtful how the tribals can be prevented from it. If they are, they will die of starvation. The position is most unsatisfactory, as I have pointed out elsewhere, and it is a bad thing that simple tribal people should be kept in constant anxiety and exposed to the exactions of the lower forest officials who do not hesitate to exploit the situation.

The tribals here have very little in the way of cottage industries or arts. They make excellent houses and decorate the walls in a simple but attractive way. They make a few baskets and are quite good at simple carving. Their dances are charming and lively and the Jhorias specially are a delightful and merry people.

The situation with regard to language is the same as in other Blocks. Nowhere are children taught in Kui. There are no special text-books adapted to the needs of the tribal people and no text-books in the tribal languages. Only one official in the whole Block knows a little Kui. The excuse given is that the people understand Oriya or Telugu and so there is no need to pay attention to their language. This is a wrong approach, for it was clear at meetings of the Block Development Committee that the Konds could not really follow the proceedings and though many of the men do know the State language, the women seldom do and work will never progress among women—or men either—until officials take the trouble to learn their language. There is only one local tribal and two tribals from elsewhere employed on the Block staff. Only the Social Education Organizer has had some training for orientation for work in the tribal areas.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has been working here since 1954 but the activities of this society have now been greatly reduced. Its workers have tried to teach better methods of cultivation, spinning, bee-keeping and have interested themselves in the marketing of tribal products, co-operation, maternity and tribal welfare. They have been successful to some extent in the improvement of agriculture and on the economic side. Attempts to introduce the Ambar Charka have so far failed, as I think they are bound to fail in an area where only the Harijans weave and no cotton is grown.

Panchayats

The most serious problem in this Block is not the rate of progress, but the fact that progress is largely in the hands of non-tribals. Nine out of the ten Statutory Panchayats are controlled by non-tribal Sir Panchas. Even some of the Grain Golas are managed by committees of which the Chairman is a Sahukar and it is reported that sometimes when the tribals come for grain the Sahukar will tell them that the stock is exhausted and that they had better buy from him instead. Thus the Grain Golas, whose aim was to free the people from the grip of the Sahukars, are actually being managed

by them, to their own advantage. Since the non-tribals are more responsive and it is easier to talk to them in Oriya or Telugu, there is a regrettable tendency for the Block officials and the V.L.Ws to work through them and give the benefits of development to them rather than to the tribal people. In one village improved types of fowls were given not to a tribal but to a non-tribal. Compost pits, better seeds, all sorts of things, are given to the outsiders rather than to the tribal people for whom they are primarily intended. In fact, it does not seem to have entered the minds of the Block officials in the past that any special effort was to be made for the tribal population. One Extension Officer, in fact, said that attention to tribal problems and the fulfilment of tribal needs was the task of the Tribal Welfare Department and not of the Multipurpose Block. It was, in fact, difficult to see anything done specially for the tribals except the colonies, a great deal of the development work being centred in villages dominated by the Komatis and other merchants and outsiders. This is a very serious matter, for while we would not for a moment suggest that the Other Backward Classes should be neglected, at least (as somebody put it) 'a little share of the benefits of a special Tribal Block should go to the tribal people.'

Colonies

I saw two Colonies and one housing scheme in this Block and was very much impressed. Both the Basanput and Ranjitguda colonies are models of what colonies should be. The first consists of Konds and Kondo Doras, the second of Jhorias. The lay-out of the colony is on the lines of a Kond or Jhoria village. The houses are simple and homely in the tribal style but with better ventilation. Both the colonies were extremely clean. Each family had five acres of land, to the possession of which they had guarantees, and they were given fifty rupees an acre for the reclamation of their land, a hundred rupees worth of seeds and other things, two hundred rupees for bullocks and two hundred and fifty rupees for the house. They received, in fact, Rs. 800 a family. The money was well spent in both these colonies, for they grew out of actual need, were homely and natural, and everything was done by the people themselves. The families who have joined them are mainly former Gothi serfs who have thus been settled on the land and freed from their dependence on outsiders. The colonies, however, have not been very successful in attracting shifting cultivators, only a few of whom have come to join them.

My only criticism was that in some of the housing schemes the plinth should be raised a little higher about the ground. This is the normal tribal practice here and certainly helps to keep a house free of damp. A simple temple, which is a feature of every Kond village with the wooden pillars before it in honour of the gods or the dead, should be a feature of every scheme and in any Kond (but not Jhoria) colony there should be boys' dormitories.

It is very important that any official building added to a colony should be in the same style and should harmonise with it.

At Ranjitguda there is a community centre at the end of one village street which is built according to the horrid type-plan considered by somebody in the State capital as suitable for tribal India. Stark and ugly, it stands out as an alien in the pleasant rural scene and I was told that practically nobody ever went to this so-called recreation centre. The school

also was in the unsuitable style adopted throughout the area. If these two buildings and any other buildings that are proposed could be put up in a simple and appropriate manner the colonies would be almost ideal. At Basanput considerable progress has been made in agriculture and gardening. More flowers and flowering shrubs, however, should be planted round the houses.

Social Education

Under the head of Social Education, not only are loud speakers now blaring their cacophonies over these villages and thereby not only ruining their peace but gradually, by the imposition of unfamiliar music, destroying an important aspect of their culture, but there seems to have been a definite attempt in the past to introduce Krishna Lila and dances or dramas associated with Rama and Sita. In a secular State it would be more appropriate that Block officers should not introduce dramas, hymns or prayers associated with any one religion. The tribal people have their own religion and we should not interfere with it. There would certainly be a fuss if a Christian or Mohammedan B.D.O. started proselytising among the tribal people and it would be better that the activities of Social Education should remain entirely secular. This should also apply to schools in the tribal areas, where there is usually a very definite religious bias in the songs and hymns that are introduced as well as in many of the text-books. In the Ranjigtuda colony there was a very large canvas (12' x 12') on which there was painted in the most execrable taste representation of various non-tribal deities.

Expenditure

The following table will show the expenditure of the Block during the last three and a half years.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Sche- matic Budget	Expenditure in				Total upto 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- upto 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters .	7.00	0.64	1.43	0.93	0.54	3.55	50.70
Animal Husbandry & Agri- cultural Extension.	1.50	0.19	0.13	0.42	0.10	0.85	56.42
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	0.15	0.25	0.11	0.03	0.54	13.52
Health and Rural Sanita- tion.	2.00	0.20	0.55	0.25	0.09	1.11	55.31
Education	0.75	0.04	0.24	0.15	0.10	0.53	70.35
Social Education	0.75	0.10	0.16	0.13	0.02	0.41	55.21
Communications	4.00	0.40	0.40	0.32	0.19	1.31	32.90
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	..	..	0.02	..	0.02	0.84
Co-operation	2.00	0.32	0.26	0.14	..	0.72	36.10
Rural Housing	2.50	0.07	..	0.10	..	0.17	7.00
Miscellaneous	0.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	2.12	3.42	2.58	1.09	9.21	34.12

There thus remains to be spent over eighteen lakhs of rupees but even this is not the total sum, for in addition to the 27 lakhs provided to the Block, the Tribal Welfare Department gives another 6 lakhs and contributions from various other Departments bring the total up to about 37 lakhs altogether. This applies to most of the Multipurpose Blocks throughout India. This means that a very large sum of money remains to be spent in the next two years and there is a danger that the Block officials, in their anxiety to avoid getting a bad mark for not going forward rapidly enough, may spend it extravagantly.

Rural Arts and Crafts

Only Rs. 1,680 has been spent on rural arts and crafts. It is now proposed to have an industrial school at Laxmipur, a largely non-tribal village, on which a good deal of money will be spent. The crafts proposed are carpentry, basketry and tailoring and I would suggest that tile-making should be added not only in this school but in other centres throughout the Blocks, wherever the soil is suitable. The making of fire-proof roofs is one of the most important aspects of the rural housing programme and if tile-making could be popularized, it would not only be profitable to the people but would greatly improve their homes.

Progress of the Block

The work of the Block during the past three years has followed the usual lines and we need not describe it, except to make the following observations.

There has been very poor progress in the distribution of fertilisers. Out of nineteen tons of ammonium sulphate proposed only half a ton has been distributed and out of twelve tons of super-phosphate only one-third of a ton. The Block report says that the slow progress is due to 'the ignorance of the tribals' but surely after three years, if the Extension Officers and V.L.Ws. had done their work properly, the tribals would no longer be ignorant of the subject.

There is an interesting example of the necessity of adapting our schemes to local needs in a matter of bone-meal. It was proposed to have twelve bone-meal digesters. One was supplied and very quickly went out of order, as some of the parts were stolen. The chief of difficulty, however was to obtain bones. The Konds and others use every bit of an animal they eat, for they pound up the bones and meat together, dry it and later make it into a soup. Only the Doms will collect these bones and they have complained that it is almost impossible to get them and that the price they have to pay is much higher than that allowed by Government.

There has been some progress in wet rice cultivation and in the raising of vegetable gardens, but so far the school orchard scheme has not done very well. Apparently only five schools are to be provided with these orchards and the fences are still not made properly. The report on animal husbandry is also not very encouraging. Twenty-two eggs were put in an incubator and nine chicks were produced. This does not seem a very notable achievement. The P.E.O.'s report also states that 'the service of bull is not satisfactory.' It should be sent for an orientation course. There is an ambitious scheme for pisciculture, but so far nothing seems to have been done. In the same way, work under the head of Irrigation is poor,

the reasons given being that the engineers have not investigated possible projects, that there is no one to implement them and that the people refuse to give the necessary land. Out of a target of 10,000 acres for soil conservation, only 70 acres have been covered in over three years, and only 13.52 per cent of the allocation for Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation has been spent in three years.

Health

There is one doctor but the construction of a Primary Health Centre taken up by the PWD is still incomplete. Three dispensaries have been built, but it remains to be seen whether it will be possible to get any staff to look after them. In one largely non-tribal village, where a Dai has been posted, the local Panchayat and the people have so far refused to build a house for her, 'as she was appointed to serve the tribals.'

Only twelve wells and three cisterns have been made and of these the work in five wells has been suspended owing to rock and failure to find water even at a depth of 65 feet. Here, as in Kashipur, the tribals are not used to using wells and cisterns, therefore, have been suggested. 358 more cisterns are proposed. If only three have been made in three years it is hard to see how 358 will be made in two.

The tribal people in the more distant places here and everywhere are still shy of coming to hospital for treatment, preferring their own medicine-men in whom they have great faith. The best way of dealing with this is not by a negative policy of making fun of or abusing the medicine-men, but by enlisting them as allies.

This idea is foreign to most of our officials, and especially the scientifically trained medical staff. It is interesting, therefore, to note that this method has been tried with success by doctors in other parts of the world.

Dr George Devereux describes how he, when he was working among the Sedang Moi of Indochina, 'soon discovered that even though his patients were glad to receive occidental drugs and dutifully swallowed them, they also demanded additional psychological support. Hence, after consulting the writer, who urged them perhaps to stay indoors and keep warm, they would also call in a shaman, who often dragged them out into the rainy night in order to perform various curative rituals—which generally caused patients suffering from a cold or from bronchitis to relapse. Finally, in order to prevent further interferences, the writer simply declared that he, too, was a shaman, and henceforth not only handed out drugs but also performed various traditional during rituals—needless to say, indoors. These rites gave the patients all the ritual (psychological) support which they needed, even though the writer—not being a bona fide shaman—did not believe in the supernatural efficiency of these rites but viewed them simply as supportive "first aid psychotherapy"—i.e., as a kind of reassuring "bed-side maner".'

Similarly, in an inspiring book, Dr Dooley's *Doctor in the Asian Beyond*, the author describes how he set up a hospital in the extreme north of Laos in a village five miles from the Chinese border. He and his team built the hospital on stilts. The area seems to have been very like parts of NEFA. He describes how his doctors always bowed to the local medicinemen when they went to treat a patient, how they encouraged them in beating their drums, and took their blessing in an elaborate ceremony.

The following passage will be of interest :

'Before we came to Nam Tha, and perhaps from time immemorial, the witch-doctors had ruled supreme. No one ever questioned their wisdom or the power of their nostrums or incantations. But now the wretched people were torn between the magic of the traditional sorcerers and the new ways of the white medicine-men.

'Finally the witch-doctors put a 'hex' on our hospital. They surrounded the compound with little mats of woven bamboo mounted on short posts struck in the ground. That may sound silly. But, for all practical purposes, that hex worked like the proverbial charm. No one, no matter how desperately ill, would come near our hospital for help.

'These witch-doctors were all respected village elders. But our two most formidable adversaries were Old Joe and a crone we called Maggie.

'So we decided to adopt an old American stratagem—'if you can't lick'em, join'em.' Instead of antagonizing the witch-doctors, (and this may raise the hackles of the American Medical Association), we began to treat them as 'colleagues in the healing arts' who practiced a somewhat different discipline of medicine with which we disagreed and yet respected.

'One afternoon I returned from an emergency call in the jungle to find Pete holding an earnest professional conference with Old Joe. Pete gave me the eye, and I squatted down and listened respectfully.

'Old Joe had spread out before him a weird assortment of sticks, bamboo splinters, beetle nuts, boiled leaves, pig grease, cow dung, and was explaining the theory behind his materia medica. Most of it was fantastic. But here and there I recognized fragments of the universal folk remedies (like the use of spiderwebs in open wounds), the effectiveness of which are acknowledged by modern medicine.

'"Well", said Pete, "we just belong to different schools of medicine. We use different drugs, different methods, but we are both working for the same thing—to free the people from the evils of disease and suffering. The important thing is for us to work together. We'll teach you what we know, and you will teach us." That sounded fair enough to Old Joe.

'From that time on Old Joe rarely missed a sick-call. We would administer a shot of penicillin, Joe would invoke the proper spirits. We would splint a fracture, then permit Old Joe to tie the indispensable red, white and black strings around the splints. If we were paid two coconuts for fee, Old Joe received one.'

Social Education

There are five Mahila Committees in the Block area and it is reported that each Samiti 'consists of eight expectant nursing mothers and twenty children'. It is not stated what will happen when the mothers cease to be expectant. The Block report rightly points out that the tribal women here are very timid. It is common to see them all running away and hiding in their houses when officials approach. It was explained to me that this was due to unpleasant experiences that they have had in the past, where outsiders not only robbed the men of their money but the women of their virtue.

A number of recreation centres have been erected, but I understand that they are very little used. This is not surprising in view of the fact that they are made of cement in a style completely alien to the people and are very small. I feel that it is desirable that the rule about cement walls and

floors and even about a fire-proof roof should be changed. Let these recreation centres be put up in the tribal style with a thatch-roof, if necessary, as a temporary measure. They will then be much larger and more attractive and as soon as possible the thatched roof could be changed for one with tiles.

Arts and Crafts

Practically nothing has been done, except for a little oil-pressing, in the field of rural arts and crafts. There is a plan, however, to put up an elaborate industrial school for which a total allocation of Rs. 1,72,000 has been made (Rs. 28,000 of which goes on buildings) at Laxmipur. No survey has been made to discover if trainees in this area will be forthcoming. Nor has there been any investigation as to whether markets for the products will be found or how many artisans will be required to satisfy the needs of the area. Nobody knows even what will be the most likely type of craft that will succeed here. It seems to me unwise to spend so much money for *pakka* buildings on a project which may be a failure. Moreover, it is far better, in establishing a training centre for artisans, to keep the buildings simple and homely so that the students will work under the same conditions that they would do at home. It has been found elsewhere that many of them come to such a school merely in order to get the stipend and that only very few continue their craft after they have been trained. I suggest, therefore, that it would be wiser to put up buildings in the local style with mud walls and floors and tiled roofs rather than spend a great deal of money on elaborate buildings at this stage. I noted that tanning has been proposed as one of the crafts. This may be taken up by the Doms, but it is not desirable to introduce it among the Konds and Jhorias.

Pottery

One scheme, however, has been very successful. There are a number of groups of potters living in different villages and three or four selected potters were sent for six weeks training in a centre outside the Block. They have come back and are introducing improved methods to their fellows. In a village near Kakrigumma I saw a most impressive shed, very large, erected by the people themselves, in which there was a great deal of activity going on. The trained potters are teaching their fellows to make tiles, for which there is an enormous demand here. The entire cost, I understand, will come to about Rs. 500 and compares favourably with the Paderu scheme on which a great deal of money is being unnecessarily expended.

Official Regulations

A rather serious matter concerns the conflict between the people and Government. The Government rules cut across tribal life in every direction. The people are not allowed to hunt. They are not allowed to practise their traditional methods of cultivation. If they want to make a door or a basket or even to get wood for their own homes, they have to go through a complicated procedure in order to obtain the raw materials. They are not allowed to drink, as this is a Prohibition area. Yet in actual fact, they do all these things. The great ceremonial hunts have come to an end, but there is plenty of poaching going on all the time. Many continue to practise shifting cultivation in the remoter hills. Nearly everybody does, in fact, take

wood for his house or for whatever craft he wants to follow. There is, as everywhere in Prohibition areas, a vast amount of illicit distillation.

This has two bad consequences. The first is that the tribal people are gradually developing a disregard for the law and are feeling that if they are to follow their own way of life it must be in conflict with Government. This is a very great barrier to their co-operation with the development officers and indeed to the progress of development at all. The burden of guilt and anxiety is one that civilization should not lay upon these simple people.

Secondly, these rules open the door to a widespread form of blackmail. From all accounts officials constantly take money from the people when they find them practising shifting cultivation. Police sometimes fine a whole village because they find one man drunk and these fines are not always paid into the Treasury. It is a common thing for minor forest officials to catch someone taking a piece of wood from the forest and to accept a bribe to let him go. Imposters visit villages, as they do all over India, claiming to be officials and take money from the people on the grounds that they are breaking the law which, of course, they usually are, for it is impossible to survive without doing so.

I feel that this is a most important matter in all the tribal areas. We talk of adapting our programmes to tribal needs. It is equally necessary to adapt our laws to these needs.

THE NARSAMPET MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Narsampet Multipurpose Block extends over an area of 1,500 square miles, of which about two-thirds (and almost all the tribal area) is Protected Forest and a Game Sanctuary. The total population is 43,852, of which only 16,206 individuals belong to the tribal communities. Nearly all of these are Koyas. So large is the area that the Block has been virtually divided into two, although it has a single budget. The P.E.O. has his headquarters at Narsampet, a non-tribal town, and a B.D.O. has been appointed with his headquarters at Eturnagaram to look after the northern area which is about seventy miles away.

The Block is one vast forest, interspersed by islands of cultivated land. It gets very hot, the temperature rising to 116° in the summer and the rainfall is about 40". Communications are poor, distances are great, there is little here to encourage or inspire.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin, who was accompanied by Shri G. D. Quraishi, I.A.S., Dy. Development Commissioner, in December 1959, and he has reported as follows.

Three things in this Block struck me as of special virtue. The first was the sense of realism and economy that inspires its schemes. All too often the visitor to a Block gets the impression that everybody is simply concerned to spend money at any cost. The additional contribution of fifteen lakhs from the Home Ministry was not intended to be wasted on unnecessary schemes or unsuitable and elaborate buildings—it was to be used in the best possible way for the tribal people. In Narsampet a genuine attempt is being made to do this. At Eturnagaram, a B.D.O.'s office has been erected which is pleasant, simple and appropriate—it only cost Rs. 650. There are brick walls, a very well thatched roof, and a mud floor plastered with cowdung and clay. This is the kind of building that the people can regard as

their own. The housing schemes, in which Rs. 100 each is being provided for a large number of homes for poor people instead of Rs. 1000 each for a small number of well-to-do people, is excellent. Schools and other buildings are in the village style and very simple. The Cottage Industries centre at Narsampet was concentrating on things that would be of real value to the peasants, such as improved agricultural implements and tools, rather than on exotic furniture. There was, as a result, a real sense of being in a tribal Block which aimed at genuine help for the really poor and was not concerned with spectacular exhibits to impress visitors.

Secondly, there was an attempt to bring the benefits of the Block programme to the most interior villages. In too many Blocks, the 'real' tribals living far away from the headquarters get very little help. Here, in spite of the shocking state of communications, I was able to visit a number of isolated and distant places and found work going on.

Thirdly, the relations between officials and people is exceptionally friendly. I noticed with what enthusiasm the members of the staff were greeted and I was particularly moved by the way an old man in a far interior village embraced the Medical Officer, fondling him as if he was his son and gazing at him with trust and affection. If officials would only put their hearts into their work and give their hearts to their people, they would have rewards far exceeding those of higher pay and promotion.

But, as far as physical targets are concerned, only the surface of a great and urgent need has been scratched. Expenditure is under eight lakhs, though this is not really an index of progress—a great deal more has been done, economically, than this would imply. The Block, though established in April 1956, did not start its work until a year later and in many ways hardly got going until the coming of the present P.E.O., Shri Ajmad Ali Khan, the fourth to hold office in two years, at the beginning of 1959. Lack of co-operation between departments, frequent transfer of staff at all levels, the enormous size of the Block area (1,300 square miles larger than that laid down by the Ministry) and—greatest barrier of all to progress—the rules of the Protected Forest and Game Sanctuary have all delayed the course of development.

The following Table will show the annual expenditure under each item of the Budget.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.00	..	1.06	1.54	0.64	3.24	46.34
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.50	..	0.20	0.27	0.06	0.54	36.12
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	..	0.18	0.63	0.27	1.08	27.06
Health and Rural Sani- tation.	2.00	..	0.20	0.21	0.06	0.47	23.60

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 un to 30-9-59		
Education . . .	0.75	..	0.08	0.13	0.03	0.24	31.91
Social Education . . .	0.75	..	0.24	0.09	0.02	0.35	46.45
Communications . . .	4.00	..	0.04	0.04	..	0.09	2.19
Rural Arts & Crafts . . .	2.00	..	0.09	0.39	0.15	0.63	31.60
Co-operation . . .	2.00	..	..	..	0.04	0.04	2.20
Rural Housing* . . .	2.50	..	..	0.27	0.02	0.29	11.70
Miscellaneous . . .	0.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL . . .	27.00	..	2.10	3.57	1.31	6.98	25.87

*Includes expenditure on staff quarters also.

Communications

The most sensational failure is under the head of Communications, on which only Rs. 8,757 or 2.19% was spent to the end of September 1959. The result is that even now the majority of the villages are cut off from the Block headquarters for about half the year. There are three serious bottlenecks, one near Ashoknagar, another near Tanapar, where the lack of bridges creates insuperable obstacles. Similarly the two parts of the Block are divided for long periods by an unbridged river between Narsampet and Eturnagaram. I would have thought, if a Multipurpose Block was taken at all seriously, these bridges would have been taken up in the first year of the plan. In the same way, the creation of main roads at least to open up the distant areas should surely have had top priority.

It is not easy, however, to get roads made. The local people are good at forest work but they are unaccustomed to digging and moving earth. The import of outside labour, even if it was desirable, would be difficult, for the distances are so great that it would be hard to feed them and they would be unlikely to come. Contractors are equally unwilling to take up work of this kind in the interior. There are abundant opportunities for them to make money in the towns or the more accessible Blocks, and they see little point in going into the remote forest and working under considerable hardship. One contractor, who came to inspect a possible project on the way to Eturnagaram, was caught by a sudden flood and was unable to return to Warangal for a fortnight. He naturally abandoned the scheme. In some places there are no villages for ten to fifteen miles and the organization of labour to work in such places is difficult.

There are already roads under the Forest Department running like arteries throughout the Block area. These are little more than jungle tracks. I drove for many miles, actually to the limit of what was possible, on most of these tracks and they are in a deplorable condition. There seems to be a rather curious rule that they will be maintained by the contractors who

use them for the extraction of timber. But at this involves a heavy overhead charge on the contractors' profits, they do not seem to do very much about it. If at the very beginning of the Block period officials of the Forest Department, the PWD and the Block itself had been able to decide on a joint co-ordinated effort, the position might have been very different today. It is still not too late for something of the kind to be done. Out of the very large sum of money still available, could not, for example, the forest roads be taken over by the Block people and made properly jeepable? It is surely much more important to develop the main lines of communication than to spend a lot of energy on making branch roads to individual villages, which seems to be the present plan. The skeleton roads are there. They simply need a considerable amount of improvement.

Agriculture

The Koyas are very thin. Their obvious need is much more food of every kind. I will deal with the fundamental difficulty in increasing food production later in this note. But in the meantime it is worthy of remark that only Rs. 54.187 has so far been spent on Agricultural Extension and Animal Husbandry combined, only a little less than what has been spent on Rural Arts and Crafts which in this area at least are not of great importance. Indeed, it is extraordinary to find that only one and a half lakhs of rupees are given to this vital subject in the schematic budget, whereas Arts and Crafts get two lakhs and Rural Housing, which is again of minor importance, receives two-and-a-half lakhs, and this is in spite of the fact that every conference and every report that we have had in the last few years has emphasized the fact that food and agriculture must come first.

The agricultural programme is on the usual lines and, within the limits of staff and money, is making reasonable progress. Some seasonal godowns are needed to help the people when the interior of the Block is cut off during the rains. There is some difficulty here because the Agricultural Department say they have no staff to look after them and they insist on *pakka* buildings which it will not be possible to erect for some time to come. This passion for elaborate cement or brick buildings is holding up a lot of work throughout India, but certainly in the tribal areas there seems to be no reason why substantially built houses of the local kind could not serve as well. There is danger from rats and fire, but in cases of emergency this risk might be taken, and in eastern India the rat menace is considerably lessened by erecting godowns on piles and the tribals have invented ingenious ways of preventing the rats getting into their stores. If the local production of tiles can be increased, and these godowns are erected on piles in the eastern India fashion and roofed with tiles, they might well be as secure as *pakka* buildings, would be much cheaper and could go up quickly.

There is a great demand for seed and fertilizers, but it is difficult to take them into the interior. There are also many applications for loans but generally these have to be refused as the tribals have nothing to give as security. It will be difficult to make progress in these areas until this whole matter of security is revised.

Animal Husbandry

This subject, which is in charge of a brilliant Medical Officer, is going forward very well indeed. I visited the Key Village Scheme in Narsampet and was greatly impressed by the enthusiasm of the staff and the co-opera-

tion of the villagers who really were bringing their cattle for artificial insemination. There is a plan to put up a similar Artificial Insemination Centre at Eturnagaram but a refrigerator and laboratory equipment have not been supplied and there is some uncertainty about the future location of this village. Two good bulls, however, have been imported for natural breeding.

Irrigation

The highest expenditure in the Block has been on Irrigation and over a lakh of rupees out of an allocation of four lakhs for this and allied subjects has already been spent. This is a matter of very great importance in an area where the fierce heat drives up the soil and where the lack of land makes it essential that what land there is should produce more. In an interesting note given to me by Shri Eturnagaram Laxhma Reddy, M.L.C. this point is strongly emphasized. There is a fairly large number of old tanks and lakes, the Pakhal, Lakshnawaram, Ramapur, Ghanpur Lakes and many others. They have mostly fallen into disuse, since there are no proper channels to carry the water to the fields which, since they were not irrigated or used, have now been included within the forest boundaries. The Pakhal Lake in particular is capable of irrigating 12,000 acres through five canals of fifty miles in length. These need to be improved. Shri Reddy suggests that the major irrigation works might be taken up by the P.W.D. and the minor ones by the Multipurpose Block which does in fact, propose to create or repair fifty irrigation sources. Unfortunately, the Survey Division has been rather slow in surveying these tanks and, since estimates have not yet been received, only fifteen of them have so far been taken up. A sum of Rs.75,000 has been sanctioned for sinking ninety irrigation wells and progress is being made.

Health

There is a good Primary Health Centre located temporarily at Narsampet in the old Travellers' Bungalow and this has three sub-centres at Gudur, Kottagudam and Rampur, each of which has a midwife and an assistant. These seem to get quite a lot of work to do but it is difficult to persuade them to remain in the interior villages where they are lonely and isolated and have to face a number of practical difficulties. Another Primary Health Centre is being established at Gudur and there is a Mobile Health Unit at Eturnagaram which, curiously enough, is almost immobilized since the large ambulance, which has been provided, cannot get along the roads leading to the interior villages. A large van or ambulance is hardly necessary in an area like this. What is needed is a good jeep. Not many patients will be willing to go into a headquarters and it would be more practical and realistic to have a jeep which can at least reach the villages and in many cases can manage to bring a patient to the hospital, than to have an ambulance which cannot go anywhere.

Thirty drinking-water wells have so far been taken up and the usual programme for sanitation and so on is being followed except that it is more realistic than elsewhere, and latrines and bathrooms are not being constructed in the villages.

In this area the greatest menace to health is malaria, the splenic rate being 60 per cent on an average. This means that this is a hyper-endemic area and spraying work should be done two or more times a year. An Anti-Malaria Team, however, some time ago classified the Block as hypo-

endemic and at present spraying is done only once and the Block staff do not receive the bad climate allowance to which they are surely entitled.

In places like this there should be some provision to allow the P.E.O. to purchase medicines directly in case of emergency; otherwise, in view of the great difficulty of communications or in time of flood, it will be impossible to get medicines in time, if they have to be obtained through the usual channels.

Rural Housing

Rural housing, as I have said, is being carried on in a realistic manner which enables the benefits of the scheme to be extended to a much larger number of people. The arrangement is that Rs. 100 is granted for a house in deserving cases or where a colony is to be established, and the Block staff help by trying to make it easier for the beneficiaries to obtain the necessary timber and bamboo.

I visited a colony just outside Narsampet which was established by the Social Service Department in 1952 for 120 Waddars, an ex-criminal tribe. It was apparently not very easy to persuade these people to settle there and it is only since 1957 that anything much has been done to help them. Even now the houses require wooden doors and the whole colony needs infusing with a sense of house-pride. A joint farming scheme has been started which is making progress and I saw a very large garden of thirty acres on which fruit trees and cashewnut plants and other cash crops were being grown. This is certainly going on well and is being assisted by the officers of the Block. I also visited a colony at Ramnagar which had been established to help Koyas and Harijans, whose original houses were affected by constant floods. Indeed, all the villages along the banks of the Godavari in the Eturnagaram area may have to be shifted and much of the money allocated for Rural Housing may have to be used to assist them. Since the demand on this money will be heavy it is essential that the present policy of dividing it among a larger number of poor people is adhered to. The Ramnagar colony was well laid out; the houses were pleasant and the walls of most of them were decorated with interesting and pretty designs. The great difficulty here, which was at once raised by the inhabitants, is that there is insufficient land. It is surely essential that wherever a colony is established there should be enough land near at hand, for otherwise the people will never stay in the houses that have been provided for them.

Rural Arts and Crafts

The Koyas have very little in the way of village industries. Apart from their habit of painting the walls of their houses they do not seem to have any other arts. They have, however, in the past made the usual baskets and ropes and a few of them have practised weaving on pit-looms. The Naipods are a small community which also weaves in this area. A Training-cum-Production Centre was opened in Narsampet in February 1958 and has four sections, one for carpentry, another for blacksmithy, a third for weaving and the fourth for the production of leather goods. It has so far trained 62 artisans, each of whom receives Rs. 200 as a grant-in-aid under the follow-up programme and tools or implements and raw materials to enable him to make a start. As I have already noted, I thought this was a very good cottage industries centre, realistic and sensible. The leather-

work section was making good shoes but I suggest, as I have suggested elsewhere, that tribal boys should not be enlisted for this craft. Some pretty designs were being made in the weaving section and its products are remarkably cheap. There is a little too much white cloth being made and it would be better to concentrate on introducing really artistic designs. Although I was told that some of the Koyas weave remarkable and elaborate textiles for weddings, I was unable to see a single example. Surely by now the cottage industries staff should have done a little research in the traditional designs of the area and should have samples of the local Koya work available in their centre. The present designs being introduced, although attractive, bear no resemblance to anything Koya and I suggest that it would be easy to discover attractive new designs from the large number of wall-paintings which are being made in almost every village. In my book, *The Art of Middle India* I reproduced a number of Saora wall-paintings from Orissa which bear an interesting resemblance to the Koya designs. Quite a number of these designs were utilized by cottage industries' organizations in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere and attractive saris, table-cloths, curtains, and so on were produced and had a considerable sale in cities throughout India. If this can be done with the Saora designs there is no reason why it cannot also succeed with the Koya designs. Unfortunately, officials tend to regard tribal designs on a house as being so crude and primitive that they can be of no interest. This is an entirely wrong attitude and I suggest that some design expert should be sent to this area to travel widely in the villages and see what could be developed out of the traditional creativity of the people.

I suggest that it would be a good plan to introduce pottery and particularly tile-making into the cottage industries scheme for this Block. The provision of fire-proof roofing will be of very great value.

More stress should also be laid on mobile units, for it is unlikely that many boys will come from the interior to Narsampet for training. In one village I saw a rope-making machine which is being moved from place to place and on which a number of Koyas have already been trained. It is too expensive, however, for it costs Rs. 350, to be of much use, until rope-making Co-operatives can be established.

Education and Social Education

There is nothing very much to be said under this head. Eight new school buildings are being put up from the Block budget and a residential hostel which accommodates 12 boys has been started. What I have noted in various other Blocks about the lack of adaptation to the tribal setting equally applies here.

Co-operatives

Before the opening of the Block there were some grain banks and credit societies, but none of these functioned properly. There is now the usual programme, which seems to be making rather slow progress, for which the following reasons were given by the Block officials.

(1) The existing rules governing the advancement of loans by Co-operative societies are not applicable to the Project area. Only those who possess ownership title to land are eligible to borrow and hence very few tribals are credit-worthy.

(2) The Co-operative Central Bank at Warangal, which is the central financing agency, either has insufficient finances or has not got any special consideration for this backward area in sanctioning loans.

(3) It is also difficult for the tribals to pay the required share capital and satisfy other conditions like registering mortgage deeds, for which they have to go to Warangal or spending Rs. 20 a head when they obtain loans from the Revenue and Agricultural Departments.

(4) Undue delays in registering the Societies and sanctioning loans are the main reasons for slow progress and the people are losing faith in the officers who organise them. The registration of the Agricultural Credit Society at Kathigudam took more than a year and the registration of some Industrial Societies and the Collective Farming Society has been pending for two years. The loan applications of credit societies at Narlapur, Dharmaraopet, Kanthanpalli, Chelpak and Shapalli have also been awaiting sanction for six months.

It is very important to start Forest Co-operative Societies, which will be a major instrument to free the tribal people from exploitation by contractors and to give them a share of the benefits of the forests in which they have lived so long.

I visited two sales depots which were being run by Primary Co-operative Marketing Societies and which were having a very great success. The P.E.O. urged that eight more sales depots should be opened as quickly as possible, for these make a good impression on the Koyas and encourage them to co-operate with the development movement in other ways.

Tribal Representation

There are no tribals employed on the Block staff. Since the Koyas of this area do not appear to have any language of their own but talk Telugu with a slight accent, the medium of instruction in schools in Telugu and, since most of the officials know this language, there is no difficulty in maintaining contact with the people. The tribals do not seem to have very much representation. There are 28 Panchayats for 273 villages but only in six cases is the Sir Panch a tribal. This means inevitably that things are swung in a non-tribal direction. It would be a good thing to reduce the size of the jurisdiction of the Panchayats. In some cases here one Panchayat may have to look after a village thirty miles away. If the jurisdiction is reduced it will not only mean that the Panchayats can function more efficiently but the tribals will probably get a better share of their control.

The Great Barrier

The greatest obstacle to progress and development in the Narsampet Block is the fact that it has been established within the boundaries of what is not only a Protected Forest but also a Game Sanctuary. This has meant that the forest rules which even normally press very heavily on the tribal people are here greatly intensified. The once proud Koyas, hunters and lords of the forest, roaming at will among the trees which were their home, are today forbidden even to enter the forest and are deprived of all the traditional privileges and rights they formerly had. They cannot hunt; they cannot get wood even on permit but have to purchase it from contractors; they cannot extract the kopri grass which they have always used for making ropes; they cannot collect honey, which would be such a valuable minor industry; they cannot make their own charcoal; they cannot even remove

a few stones from the forest area to pave the paths of their villages. They cannot fish in the lakes and ponds. A host of Forest Guards, housed in *pakka* houses unsuited to their surroundings, dominate the scene as petty dictators—a strange comment on the democratic decentralization which is being introduced in this State.

Seventy per cent of the cultivators are in unauthorized possession of land, a fact which exposes them to petty blackmail by the low grade official staff and inspires them with a constant sense of anxiety about the future. Without possession of his land, no peasant will go to the task of improving it with enthusiasm. Many other Koyas are landless labourers or have very small holdings. The result is that the Koyas here are little more than a tragic parody of the Koyas of Bastar and Orissa. They have lost almost all their culture which depended on the forest economy. Even the bison-horn dance, for which they were once famous, has disappeared since they cannot now get the bison which provided the essential horns. The constant encroachment of the forest boundaries has reduced their holdings and the ever-increasing number of animals has exposed what they have to the ravages of wild pig and bison. Independence, which has brought the glories and inspiration of freedom to millions, has given little to these poor people.

It is necessary, of course, to protect and develop India's forests; it is desirable to preserve, within reason, the wild game. But it does seem to me that some adjustment or compromise has to be made in the new world of Development that has come into being. Without such compromise, development in areas like this will be a mockery. I discussed their needs with the people of a dozen villages. As in Aheri, it was always the same. The only thing they would talk about was land and forest. I have rarely seen such misery and despair on the faces of tribal people as these Koyas begged for some relief from the burden of poverty, exploitation and frustration under which they lived.

The gist of what they said in village after village was this: 'You ask us to improve our agriculture. How can we do so unless we have land to improve? You tell us to use better implements. How can we make them unless we have the teak which alone is suitable? You call our boys for training in cottage industries. But what is the use if they cannot get wood to make doors and windows, or bamboo to make mats and baskets, or grass to make rope? You teach us to build better houses and of course we would like to, but how can we if we cannot get timber for the framework, or bamboo and poles for the roof, or even wood for fencing? And how can we live happily when we have no *pattas* or rights in our land, and all the time we are being threatened and abused, and have no say in what should be done with the country which once was our's?'

Something surely must be done about this. Here is an explosive situation which could easily be exploited by political adventurers; here is a human situation which must excite compassion and active intervention, if necessary at the highest level.

Conclusion

The Koyas of Narsampet, who bear little resemblance to the Koyas of Bastar or Malkangiri, have very little culture today. Their own dances have disappeared in favour of non-tribal dances introduced by the many strangers who live in the neighbourhood. Their system of tribal self-govern-

ment seems to have decayed. They have a little weaving, a lot of wall-painting, but do not appear to make their own ornaments.

There have, however, been sincere attempts to revive what little culture is left. At Ashoknagar I was greatly impressed by the great dancing-ground and meeting-place which has recently been made, and by the village gate which is in line with tribal tradition. It was good to see the walls of schools, shops and other institutions washed with red clay and painted with traditional Koya designs: it was astonishing how easy it is to make a building fit into the general picture by using a little imagination.

The general simplicity of buildings and an attempt to make the layout of colonies conform to the local pattern, while introducing a number of improvements, was also encouraging.

On the whole, then, although there are serious gaps in the progress of this Block, failure to develop more quickly is inherent in the situation. Once some of the difficulties I have mentioned are cleared away, there will, I am certain, be a magic change. The essential things are that all Departments should feel that development is as much a matter of concern for them as for the professional Block staff: that officials should be left for a sufficient time without transfer to come to know their people and for their people to know them; and that more research should be done to enable the officials to know what is the genius and tradition which they should develop and strengthen.

THE PADERU MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

Paderu is a completely new centre which was started in 1957, the original headquarters of the Block being at Hukumpeta, some six miles away. Official buildings based on a Telengana design were started in March 1958 but the change-over was only completed on the 1st of June 1959. Paderu is about seventy miles from the headquarters of the Visakhapatnam District and is reached by a good road which climbs up into the hills. The work here started as a National Extension Service Block on the 5th of March 1956 and it was converted into a Multipurpose Block on the 2nd of October of the same year. It consists of 97 main villages and 377 hamlets, covering an area of 240 square miles of hilly forest-covered country.

Dr Verrier Elwin, accompanied by Shri Nageswar Rao, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Castes, visited the Block in November 1959 and has made the following observations.

The population of the Paderu Block is 33,000, which is almost entirely tribal, for there are only 1,650 non-tribals such as merchants and officials. The tribes themselves are divided as follows—

Bhagatas	12,400	Samanthulu (Kodulu)	1,300
Valmikis	8,100	Reddi Doras	400
Kondakapulu	5,500	Dangayat Gowdus	250
Vojulu (Kammara or Mettu Kamsali)	3,200	Nukadoras	200

TOTAL	31,350
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The Bhagatas are said to be a soldier caste who at one time loyally served the Kings of Golconda. They have a good social position; they are devout Hindus, some of them being Vaishnavites and others Saivites, and it is rather difficult to see why they are classified as a tribe. They cannot be said to be well-to-do, but most of them have substantial houses and they dress well. They all speak Telugu. In spite of their Hinduism they were in the past great drunkards and opium-eaters, though for many years past beef-eating has been prohibited.

They look on themselves as the most important of the communities in this area and the leading Muttadar, as well as many of the other Muttadars, are Bhagatas.

The Konda Kapus are also known as Konda Doras and have been described as the 'agrestic slaves' of the Bhagatas. They do not seem to have ever been studied properly. They claim to be Hindus but in the past they had no objection to beef-eating. They are not, however, regarded as un-touchables.

But there are two important groups which, although now classified as tribal, are regarded by the other tribesmen as well as everyone else as Harijans. The Valmikiis, most of whom are Hindus—a few in the Block area have become Christians—are regarded by the real hill tribes with considerable social distaste. This is not only because of their low status but because they are some of the most determined exploiters of the tribal people, excelling even the merchants and money-lenders of the plains. Owing to their superior cunning and intelligence many of them have become well-to-do, though of course there are many poor Valmikiis also. They buy land, take contracts, advance loans and generally earn the rewards that come so easily to those who deal with the simple tribal people.

The Valmikiis are not aboriginal inhabitants in this area but have migrated from the plains. Yet they have always been classified among the tribes who derive benefit from the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act of 1917. The Aiyappan Report (1948) recommended that in view of the profession of money-lending which they carry on to the detriment of the true aborigines, alienation of tribal land to the Valmikiis should be stopped.

Another small Harijan caste which has been classified as a tribe is the Kammari or Kammara. It is reported that about 40 per cent of these are cultivators, 20 per cent carpenters, 10 per cent blacksmiths and the rest coolies. They are heavily in debt and their economic standards are very low.

The Valmikiis are now trying to rise in the social scale and, like the Bhagatas, have begun to wear the sacred thread.

Although the area where they live has been but little developed, these people have been in touch with the outside world through their constant visits to the markets in the plains. As a result they have taken to so-called modern dress and ornaments, though they apparently have had no change in their religious customs and festivals. Beef-eating, which was traditional among the various tribes, particularly the Kondakapulu, has now been stopped by propaganda and the Bhagatas, who used to celebrate the happiness of a wedding or comfort the mourners at a funeral with alcohol, have now taken to tea or coffee instead.

Shifting cultivation (*podu*) is still practiced over a fairly wide area, the figure being given as 3,592 acres. Some 1,179 tribal families support them-

selves by this method, for there is considerable pressure on the flat land and it is difficult for the Extension Officers to obtain plots of land even for their own buildings and farms. Soil conservation operations, however, such as terracing and bunding, have been introduced and wet rice cultivation has made progress wherever the land is available. The recommendations of Shri M. S. Sivaraman on scientific *podu* might well be adopted here.

The people do not seem to have very much in the way of arts and crafts. They make mats from reeds and date-leaves, and umbrellas or coats with *adda* leaves, which are also used for stitching leaf-plates which are in common use throughout the country. There is a certain amount of oil pressing for domestic use. Nobody weaves and it is reported that there is no other kind of art except for a certain amount of wall-painting. The tribal people, however, are fond of dancing and are by temperament a gay and happy folk. There is a special festival called Itikila Panduga which continues for nearly a month and the women-folk take a prominent part in it.

The people here all speak Telugu. Since all the officials know this language there is no difficulty about the medium of instruction for schools and there is no need for the officials here to study the local dialect which is only slightly different from the ordinary dialect. Text-books, pictures and charts with a local background, however, are badly needed for all the Agency schools.

On the tribal staff there are only two V.L.Ws of tribal origin. All the others are non-tribals, though it is claimed that with the opening of a Middle School some of the boys and girls are now looking forward to becoming teachers later on.

At present there is no Social Service Organization or missionary society working in the Block. In 1956 the Servants of India Society opened an Ashram School at Hukumpeta. It gave free food and lodging for 75 tribal children and provided education up to the fifth standard. 25 per cent of the expenditure was met by the funds of the society, the remainder was covered by grants-in-aid. The Society, however, in the early months of 1959 found it difficult to find even the required 25 per cent and handed over the school to the Education Department.

Statutory Panchayats have not yet been introduced in the Block area, but there are traditional Tribal Councils which settle social disputes. The range of their work is, however, very limited and it is said that they are not of great influence in matters other than religious and social. It might be possible, however, to build them up by gradually extending their powers. Among the Bhagatas, there is a Kula Pedda, an unofficial tribal magistrate who tries offenders and awards compensation.

There seems to have been a good deal of difficulty about obtaining staff for this Block. Before the present P.E.O. took charge a little over a year ago, there had been three other P.E.Os, one of whom fell seriously ill and the other two left as they did not like the area. One of the doctors deserted his post without even handing over charge, after spending some months of almost constant grumbling about the local conditions. Yet, in actual fact, the officials working in Paderu are comparatively well off. There is an excellent road down to the Railway Station at Anakapalli or to the District headquarters. Paderu is served by shops where the staff can obtain at least some of their necessities and there is a school where they can and do send their children. The houses in which they live are small, but the present P.E.O. is an

ardent gardener and has already made the place pretty by pressing forward with the planting of flowers.

Members of the staff receive a special allowance of 25% on their basic pay. This does not, however, apply to the ordinary engineering or revenue officials who live under exactly the same conditions. This seems a little unfair and causes some discontent.

The following table gives the annual expenditure from 1956 to the end of September 1959.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expen- diture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958 1959-	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	6.80	0.46	1.29	1.92	0.77	4.45	65.42
Animal Husbandry and Ag- ricultural Extension.	1.67	0.006	0.45	0.38	0.11	0.94	56.56
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	..	..	0.55	0.14	0.70	17.50
Health and Rural Sanita- tion.	2.00	0.08	0.39	0.41	0.21	1.09	54.32
Education	0.78	0.007	0.19	0.17	0.18	0.55	70.87
Social Education	0.75	0.06	0.19	0.16	0.12	0.53	70.75
Communications	4.00	0.008	0.50	1.11	0.32	1.93	48.33
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	0.0007	0.02	0.36	0.27	0.65	32.56
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.62	0.35	0.14	1.11	55.71
Rural Housing	2.50	..	..	0.50	0.60	1.10	44.00
Miscellaneous	0.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.62	3.66	5.91	2.87	13.06	48.38

If we are to judge the progress of the Block by expenditure it is obvious that it has been satisfactory and compares favourably with many others. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry account for nearly one lakh of rupees. The work has covered every aspect of the subject in spite of the fact that the soil is reported to be poor. An area of 1,268 acres has already been brought under the Japanese method of cultivation and no fewer than 35,614 fruit trees and 2,32,000 other trees have been planted and 4,515 kitchen gardens have been made. This is an extremely good record. Five excellent nurseries and seed multiplication farms have been opened in various villages and the new crops are slowly gaining popularity.

Nearly all the area of the Block falls in the Machkund basin, within which soil conservation measures will be undertaken by the Agriculture Department. The allocation of two lakhs of rupees under this head, therefore, has been diverted to Irrigation for which the usual programme is being followed.

It is said that the tribal people are not very interested at present in improving the breed of their cattle. They do not drink milk and in fact believe that to milk a cow is a sin. Breeding-bulls and buffaloes have, however, been introduced and schemes for poultry were started in some villages, but seem to have been stopped. Surely this would be a very valuable thing to have.

The development of communications has gone ahead well, and there is a circular road round the Paderu valley which has done much to open up the area.

Health

There is a Government dispensary at Paderu and another at Hukumpeta. There are two Medical Officers at present being paid from the Block funds, but the post of a third Medical Officer provided under the programme is still vacant. There is a good Mobile Medical Van and one of the doctors goes regularly round the villages. Four maternity centres have been opened and they are being fairly well attended, though the hill women do not usually care to have an outsider present at the time of delivery.

I visited the hospital at Hukumpet which was rather drab, unhomey and, curiously enough, a little dirty. There was only one patient and I was told that at the most there were ten or twelve out-patients a day. The staff, however, was large and there were probably more Government employees associated with the health centre than there were patients on any one day. The Medical Officer, however, seemed to be enthusiastic and intelligent and his assistants were doing their best. Unfortunately, the previous Medical Officer had created a very bad impression by his slackness and indifference and with his departure there had been no M. O. for several months. The new M. O. will, I am sure, build up a practice in time. But is there no way of brightening up these health centres and making them a little more familiar to the tribal people ?

Education

Before the Block was opened it is estimated that there were only 675 tribals literate out of a total adult population of over 19,000. Today, however, there seems to be a certain demand for schools and 38 new elementary schools have been started, including a Middle School at Paderu which has just been upgraded into a High School. There are no Basic Schools, and there is little emphasis on crafts. Some very good children's parks have been started and children actually play in them.

A school has recently been opened at Sukuru and there are about thirty boarders in the hostel and a total of 82 altogether. The surroundings are pleasant and there is a first-rate garden of vegetables and flowers. There is, however, the curious situation that five classes are crowded into one not very large room, while the dormitories for the hostel boys are very large. It would be better if the classes were held in the dormitories and the

dormitories in the school. The boys were all dressed up in white caps and shirts and shorts and looked clean and happy. The headmaster is a Valmiki.

I also visited the so-called Ashram school at Hukumpeta, which was originally started by the Servants of India Society but later handed over to the Education Department due to lack of funds. This was a little disappointing. There was one large class-room for all the classes, and it was drab and rather gloomy. The boys sit on benches but have no desks. It would surely be better either to have proper desks and benches or to let the boys sit on the floor with strong mats of jute or cloth and give them low desks in the traditional Indian style. The hostel accommodation is poor and no bedding is issued to the boys but a stock of blankets (not very good ones) is kept and these are issued every evening. The local Medical Officer suggested that this was a very good way of spreading skin-diseases. Only one blanket is given to each boy and usually two boys sleep together, spreading one of the blankets on the cement floor and covering themselves with the other. Paderu, especially in winter, is a cold place and the Medical Officer pointed out that to sleep on a bare or almost bare cement floor was not good for the children's health. If only the buildings for children were better adapted to tribal conditions, and floors were made well raised above the ground on a plinth of beaten earth washed with cowdung and clay, it would be much better for them.

Food arrangements in the Ashram school were equally unsatisfactory. Only Rs. 15 a month is allocated for rations. No milk is provided and meat is only given once a fortnight. Even vegetables are in short supply. The Paderu area is fairly healthy—there is very little malaria and few water-born diseases, but the main troubles are under-nourishment and deficiency diseases. I feel that if boys are to be brought into a hostel at all, they should be properly fed and I doubt if this can be done on less than Rs. 25. Conventional food taboos should not limit and impoverish the diet.

I saw a good many other schools, which are at present well attended but always by very small children. It remains to be seen how far they will keep up their studies. Most schools have good gardens, but no other craft. There is no attempt to adapt the schools to tribal life or culture: even the admirable stick-dances are not introduced.

Arts and Crafts

There are various schemes for promoting rural arts and crafts and there are to be four peripatetic units for teaching people to make leaf-plates from *adda* leaves. There is a scheme for popularising a modern type of winnowing-fan. There are to be training centres for teaching carpentry, blacksmithy and pottery and another for canning jackfruit. A pottery training centre, for which Rs. 47,000 has been allocated, has been started and the units for teaching the people to make leaf-plates have also begun—Rs. 6,000 has been put aside for this purpose. Both these schemes seem to be extremely expensive in relation to the work they are doing. It will take a long time to make pottery production cover an expenditure of Rs. 47,000. In a rather remote village, Kamayyapeta, a production centre for weaving has been started and fifteen tribal trainees have been admitted to it. The local people say that the great difficulty in weaving is that the fly-shuttle looms are too big for the tribal houses. But why should fly-shuttle looms be used in places like this? It will be far better to introduce the small and simple

Assamese loom or even the loin-loom and to concentrate on artistic weaving. I am convinced that weaving will never succeed in these areas, where it has not been known at all, if we try to compete with mill-cloth and continue blindly to introduce big looms which cannot be used effectively. There is also an attempt to introduce spinning at the same time, which I think is a mistake. Cotton is not grown here and the introduction of spinning will complicate the whole subject and the shrewd tribal people will soon discover that it will not really be very profitable.

A competent economist should be employed by Government to visit the various cottage industries centres in all Blocks and examine whether they are economically sound. It seems to me that a great deal of money is being spent and will be spent on schemes that no intelligent businessman would ever put his money into.

At a place called Chatriputtu there is a centre for teaching pottery. There are in this Block a number of Kumnaris (professional potters) and most of the people in the Chatriputtu village belong to this group. Although they are classed as tribals, it is doubtful if they deserve the name for they seem to be potters from the plains, who migrated into the Agency area some time ago. There is certainly some doubt as to their classification. Fifty years ago they were regarded as a sub-division of the Konda Doras. They now go as trainees to the Pottery School and are learning improved methods there. There are also some worksmen employed and a master-potter as well as an instructor. They are doing good work in making cooking-pots, water-jars and tiles. There is great scope for tile-making in this area and this side of the work should be pushed forward vigorously. Unfortunately, this centre is also attempting some kind of art-work. There is an atrocious image of Gandhiji in a place of honour in front of the school, an almost equally bad image of Jesus Christ and quite a lot of Radha-Krishnas in thoroughly bad taste. Vases and decorative pots were being made but were coloured in deplorable style.

I wonder if it would be possible for some artist who understands something of the art of pottery and its decoration, to visit this or any other pottery schools in the State. If he stayed only for a few weeks at a time he might be able to set the workers on the right lines.

One problem occurred to me. There are said to be only 36 potters within the Block area and 12 of these are being trained in modern methods every year. What is to happen after three years when all the potters have been trained? A very few of the tribals seem to be willing to learn pottery but it is doubtful if this will happen on any large scale. Moreover, it would be undesirable to flood the countryside with too many craftsmen of the same kind, for there would then be a surplus stock of products—I saw that already there seemed to be a very large unsold stock of pots. It is planned to spend Rs. 47,000 on this institution and Rs. 18,000 have already been used. I think this is much too much. If one master-potter had been employed to live in the village and set an example to the potters there, he might have had equally good results. This is a very expensive enterprise and the payment of Rs. 25 stipend to people who are living in their own village only a few hundred yards away seems unjustified. There is also too large a staff.

Although the report of this Block stated that wood-carving was unknown here, within ten minutes of going into my first village I found an

excellent door carved in a large variety of designs. In other villages I found many similar examples of good wood-carving. I also saw a musical instrument with the bowl carefully carved and many wooden seats which were also carved in an attractive way. I was told that the modern generation had given up this art but it is clear that the art is there in the people's blood, and it is just one of the things that should be revived under the heading of Rural Arts and Crafts. At Santhari, in fact, I met a craftsman (who had never been trained) who was producing first-rate doors, carved with interesting designs. The case of the musical instrument provides a melancholy parable of the present situation. It was a nice instrument on which traditional songs had once been sung, but it had now no strings. It is surely the task of the Multipurpose Project to replace the strings and let the old music sing again.

In one house at Sukuru I found a beautiful example of the blacksmith's art—a lamp-stand with the lamps made like the heads of deer. I have seen similar objects among the Gadabas of Orissa. In the same house there was a decorated door. This shows how important it is for Project Officers really to explore their area before making such negative statements as that their people have no kind of art. It is true that today most of the craftsmen are said to have died. But the spark of creativeness is there and I am certain that it could be fanned into a renewed life. But the flame will be small at first and will need very careful fostering and attention.

Many of the people paint their walls in different coloured clays and I suggest that this is an art which might well be extended by means of competitions. Prizes might be offered for the women who make the best decorated walls. Here they have an excellent canvas on which to work, for most of the walls are straight and very well washed with coloured clays, black, white and red, and there is great scope for developing the art of wall-painting. It has been done in other places. It would greatly brighten the appearance of the villages if it was done here.

In many Blocks there are programmes for conducted educational tours for schoolboys or village elders to various parts of India. If these are carefully guided, they can help to widen the horizons of the tribal people and integrate them more closely with the rest of the country. Similar tours might be arranged for craftsmen to stimulate their imagination and suggest to them new possibilities in the realm of creative art. The All India Handicrafts Board might draw up suitable programmes, which should not be too elaborate; visits to the best modern museums or collections might be included.

Communal Platforms

Many of the villages have communal platforms which serve as their central meeting-places. These have not been made in any of the new housing colonies. Traditionally too, there is a sacred gate consisting of two upright stones in a village and this has not been introduced either. It may well happen, as has happened elsewhere, that after a year or two there may be an epidemic in the colony and the local priest will declare that it is because the local officials did not introduce the sacred gates that kept out the evil spirit of diseases. People might then desert the colony.

In one village I noticed that the communal platform, called Ramakovilla, was falling into a rather bad condition. The Block officers should encourage the people to keep their traditional platforms, graveyards and shrines in good repair. This can be very easily done by plastering them with a little mud and washing with cowdung. In another village the Block people had gone a little too far the other way and had erected a small platform of cement which looked very much out of place.

Co-operation

There is at present some conflict between the new Finance Corporation and the co-operative enterprises of the Block. It is complained that the Finance Corporation, which has a monopoly of purchasing all forest produce from the tribal people, has its headquarters in the plains and only visits the Block area from time to time. Its lorries sometimes arrive too late for the bazaars, and it is suggested that the Block Co-operatives should be the primary marketing agencies of the Finance Corporation for after all, they are on the spot and know the situation. Obviously, there should be very close co-operation between these two enterprises.

Forest Rules

In the body of the Report, we have discussed the impact of outdated forest rules on the modern development programme, and need not repeat our observations here.

In the Paderu Block the establishment of some Forest Co-operatives is very necessary.

The Konds seem to be considerably worried about the possibility that they will be brought down from their hills to live in the valley. 'We love our hills', they said, 'and want to live in them. If we go down, we will be completely at the mercy of the Valmikis.' They complained that minor forest officials harassed them and took what amounted to an unofficial tax in cash or kind from those who continued to practice *podu* cultivation.

Land

There is an extraordinary situation here that, although the Muttadari system has been abolished elsewhere in this State, there is one Muttadar, who controls thirty-four villages, who has managed to wangle a continuance of his authority on grounds that the Paderu Valley is the property of a Goddess and that he is her agent. He has, therefore, claimed his villages under some Temple Imam Act. Wherever I went this was the chief complaint of the poorer people. Some of them pointed out that the benefits being given to them by Government under the development schemes were all very well, but that so long as they had no rights to their land they might ultimately be of no value at all. It is true that under the Muttadari system the people have no *pattas* and no proper right to their land. It seems to me essential as a preliminary foundation for any kind of substantial development that the Muttadar should be dispossessed, as his fellows have been everywhere else, immediately; that the whole valley should be surveyed; and that the people should be established in their right over land. Otherwise, the opening up of communications may prove

to be a curse rather than a blessing for more and more outsiders will come in and will gradually get control of the tribal land.

Conclusion

There is a great deal of activity and enthusiasm in this Block. Wherever you go you find people at work with smiling faces. The visitor will receive an enthusiastic welcome in every village, though I wish that the people would not waste on garlands so many beautiful flowers which might be decorating the hair of the girls. The Block staff seem to be on good terms with the people.

Communications are impressive. It is now possible to reach a very large number of villages by fair weather roads. Irrigation schemes seem to be making excellent progress. The agricultural demonstration and seed multiplication farms are some of the best I have seen.

There are, however, certain schemes which seem to be uneconomic and unnecessary, such as the housing scheme in an area where nearly all the tribals have excellent homes of their own. There are other schemes on which the money could have been used more profitably.

The cottage industries schemes also seem to be of rather doubtful economic utility. In particular, the pottery scheme is extremely expensive and could, I think, have obtained the same result at a quarter of the cost.

Two other criticisms occurred to me. One is that the really poor people and the really undeveloped tribes living on the hills—for whom surely this whole scheme was intended—are getting very few of the benefits. Too much is going to the well-to-do folk, especially those near the headquarters. There is insufficient touring on foot by the officials, although this is natural in a place where there are no proper arrangements to encourage such touring.

Secondly, in spite of the many warnings we have now had not to overwhelm the people with too many schemes, there is a tendency here to try to introduce every possible scheme that has ever been suggested. There are proposals to start a jackfruit canning scheme, a gooseberry canning scheme, to construct some machines which will burn the gas from manure, to make a sort of machine for winnowing, and there are many similar proposals, most of which are doubtless good in themselves but will be a heavy burden on the people and on the officials who tend to get their attention diverted from the great fundamentals of food, water, mobility and health.

But, despite these few criticisms and doubts, the Paderu Block is one of the very best that I have seen. Shri Habibullah Khan, the P.F.O., is a man of enthusiasm and ingenuity, and has shown great enterprise, especially in the field of communications and agriculture, in which he is assisted by a competent technical staff. With a little caution, a little more simplicity, some new thought on the relation of development to the tribal cultural and economic background, what has begun so well will surely end still better.

THE RARUAN MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Raruan Multipurpose Block in what was formerly the Mayurbhanj State lies in the extreme west of Orissa, its headquarters being only a mile or so from the Bihar State boundary. Its area is 157.35 square miles and the total population is 64,357, of which 33,647 is tribal. The majority

of the tribal people are Hos and Mundas, who number 19,917. There are also a little over 7,000 Gonds and some small groups—Bathudis (5,860), Bhuyans (575, Bhumijas (133) and Santhals (108). There are 6,242 individuals belonging to the Scheduled Castes. The proportion of tribal to non-tribal people in the Block is thus approximately 11 to 10. Raruan was first inaugurated as an NES Block in October 1956 and was converted to a Special Multipurpose Block in April 1957.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin in September 1959. He was accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner of Mayurbhanj District and Shri A. G. Bhattacharya, Deputy Director, Development Department, Orissa. He has made the following observations.

The tribal people in this part of Orissa appear to have lost some, but by no means all, of their traditional culture. They have mostly abandoned their own dress and ornaments. They do not practice shifting cultivation, except in some very small patches in the hills. It is reported that 'no cottage industry is practised' by them and that they have no arts, no wood-carving and there are taboos on the practice of such crafts as weaving, pottery and basket-making, which may not be altogether true. The Gonds have entirely abandoned their admirable dances. Other people dance only on ceremonial occasions, though since their festivals sometimes last for months, this means that a fair amount of dancing is done, and the Hos and Mundas dance very well indeed. They have no communal dormitories and the former traditional system of tribal government is now being modified by the introduction of Statutory Panchayats.

Although there is room for the revival of many aspects of tribal culture, little has been attempted in the way of any kind of adaptation to it in the Block activities. The children in the schools are not taught in their mother tongue. There is not a single text-book in the tribal languages. Not one of the officers in the Block has passed a language examination, though it is claimed that three of them are sufficiently acquainted with the local languages to carry on a conversation without an interpreter. Only three members of the Block staff are of local tribal origin and three are of tribal origin generally. Only one V.L.W. is tribal. It is stated that the people do not want to be teachers, V.L.Ws., compounders and so on. No research has been done in the Block area and apart from the Gazetteer there are no books written about it.

There are a few local markets, but the nearest place where the people can sell their goods on a large scale is Chaibasa, fifty-five miles distant from the Block headquarters which is reached by a road, excellent for part of the way but very bumpy for the rest, though a regular bus service runs throughout the year. Apart from this the Block area is very cut off. It is 65 miles from its District headquarters at Baripada and 130 miles from Balasore on the Calcutta-Madras railway line. The Block itself is divided by rivers and streams and in the rains it is difficult to get about. Indeed, it is so isolated that no missionary society is working in the area and there are no social service organizations. Cultural change has come about partly through poverty which makes it hard for the people to maintain their old life, partly through taboos, especially the taboo on weaving which means that they mainly dress in the mill-made cloth, so readily available in the bazaars, and partly to the fact that their's is a very mixed area with nearly 50 per cent of the population non-tribal.

There is a Block Development Committee of which over 50 per cent are tribals, including the local M.L.As and M.Ps. These members attend the annual and other important meetings of the Committee, pay occasional visits to the Block area and discuss the programme with the Block officers.

A statement of expenditure year by year since the inception of the Block follows.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percen- tage of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.00	0.20	1.60	1.24	0.63	3.68	52.60
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.50	0.006	0.11	0.20	0.11	0.44	29.18.
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	0.01	..	0.13	0.67	0.81	20.34
Health and Rural Sanita- tion.	2.00	0.05	0.42	0.64	0.34	1.45	72.53
Education	0.75	0.02	0.05	0.15	0.03	0.25	34.00
Social Education	0.75	0.04	0.25	0.26	0.18	0.73	96.83
Communications	4.00	0.01	0.68	1.62	0.30	2.62	65.47
Rural Arts and Crafts	2.00	..	..	0.02	0.07	0.09	4.66
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.40	0.64	0.09	1.14	56.89
Rural Housing	2.50	..	..	0.01	0.18	0.19	7.53
Miscellaneous	0.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.35	3.52	4.93	2.69	11.40	42.23

The general pattern of the Block programme and its progress was set out in an admirable review, one of the best I have so far seen, by the B.D.O., Shri B. K. Patnaik. It is in the main very much the same as in other Blocks and there is not much point in giving the details of the statistics of pesticides, the maunds of bone-meal, the number of human beings and animals treated in dispensaries. I will be content with emphasizing certain special points.

It will be seen that up to the end of September, 1959, only about eleven-and-a-half lakhs of rupees has been spent. One reason for this is that there was a great deal of controversy at the opening of the Block about the siting of its headquarters and this was only finally decided in August, 1957. In September of that year most of the present staff joined their duties but the B.D.O. was sent for training at Ranchi in November and December. Work only really started from January, 1958, and if this is taken into account expenditure has been reasonably good.

It will be seen that there has been substantial progress in Health services. One of the greatest problems of this area is good drinking water and there are villages which find it very difficult to get girls to marry their young men because, should they do so, they would have to go such great distances to fetch water. So far 79 new wells have been constructed. Three old wells have been repaired and three tanks have been renovated. By the end of the present year it is expected that there will be a good well in every village in the Block. This is a matter about which there can be no dispute and the progress in this field has been excellent.

Although the people were at first unwilling to come for treatment in the hospitals and health centres, they are now coming forward freely.

A sum of over two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees has already been spent on Communications which are of great importance here, and plans to spend the entire allocation of four lakhs may well be implemented during the five-year period.

Arts and Crafts

On the other hand, rural arts, crafts and industries have been largely neglected, only Rs. 9,315 having been spent in three years. The B.D.O. declared that there would be no difficulty about spending one-and-a-half lakhs more since it is proposed to have a large Industrial School where a number of different crafts will be taught. Eight acres of land have been donated by the villagers for it. There is considerable difficulty in developing arts and crafts here at least among the tribal people; not only is there little bamboo available but most of the tribals have a taboo on making baskets and mats which are the monopoly of one of the neighbouring occupational castes.

Although I was originally told that there was a strict taboo on any of the tribal people taking up weaving and that if they did so, they would be excommunicated and regarded as having become members of a Harijan caste, enquiry has shown that this taboo may not be so strict as was supposed. Some of the Gonds said that they would have no objection to weave provided they could be taught how to do so and were helped to obtain raw materials. Some of the Hos said the same. I feel that instead of introducing knitting and embroidery, it would be of greater benefit if a vigorous scheme for teaching weaving to the tribes could be undertaken. At present most of the hand-weaving is done by the Panos or Patros whose work is rather uninspiring. Some research into local designs and the introduction of these along with a stress on brighter and more attractive colours might greatly improve the Pano weaving and make their products more attractive and thus more capable of competing with the mill-cloth which at present is flooding the markets.

At Kesna village there are a number of stone-workers (not tribal) who carve images and other articles out of black and green stones which are available locally. A Stone Workers Co-operative Society has been founded in the village and it has at present 29 members and has received a grant of Rs. 4,740 from the Khadi and Village Industries Board as well as a loan of Rs. 2,000. I saw some of the products which are very good, though there is room for a little more variety if they are to find a wider market.

When the word 'research' is used it seems to be assumed that this must be anthropological research, but this is surely wrong. For example, in Block after Block I have been told that no one knows the extent of indebtedness. We badly need some economists to do research in the Block areas to investigate this most important subject as well as other economic problems. Research in arts and crafts is equally important. There is a common tendency for Block officials to report that the tribal people have no arts and no crafts. Even a brief examination often shows that this is incorrect and I believe that if proper investigations were made in this Block, and indeed in Blocks throughout India, many treasures would be found and the possibility of developing the people's creativeness on the lines of their own tradition would be opened up.

Adoption of Villages

There is an excellent practice in this Block whereby the Extension workers each takes up a village and makes it his special care. During 1958-59 twenty-five villages were adopted in this way and a detailed programme of compost and soakage pits, repairs to roads and drains, construction of wells, improvement of houses, and so on was adopted. A lot of *dhanicha* has been grown in these villages through the Youth Clubs.

I visited Gond and Ho villages which have come under this scheme and I was astonished at the improvement that has come as a result. A Gond village, of about three miles from Raruan itself, was a real model village, very clean and having some of the best tribal buildings I have ever seen. Every one of them was washed with a red clay on which a fantastic variety of designs had been painted in white. In the middle of the village there was an open square with a platform where the village elders could sit. Many of the houses had good windows with bars and shutters. The entrances to the cattle sheds had been changed so that the animals did not damage the courtyards and everybody seemed happy and cheerful. The Ho village was less decorative, but equally clean and progressive.

This scheme of 'adoption' has been tried in NEFA also with very great success.

I visited the community hall attached to the Block headquarters which was in very good condition, but I could not see a single item which suggested that it had anything to do with tribal India. There were some very nice alponas on the floor of the ordinary Hindu pattern. There was not a single picture bearing any relation to the tribes. It was a pleasant room, but entirely alien from the life of the people. The Gonds here decorate the walls of their houses with very pretty designs done in white on a brick-red background. Could not official buildings be similarly decorated? Women could be employed on a generous daily wage, and the result would be not only to recognize and encourage one form of tribal art, but would bring the official and rural styles of buildings closer together.

Rural Housing

A sensible and realistic attitude had been taken to rural housing. The policy is to help the poorer people living in inferior houses to make them a little better: various materials have been provided for roofs and walls and the people have been shown how to spread murrum in and round their compounds. Five hundred windows with shutters and lintels have

been made and distributed, and though in my opinion they are a little too large they have been accepted. This seems to me a better way of helping the tribes to get better homes for all than by spending a large amount of money on houses for a few. It is, in fact, a democratisation of the housing scheme, by which all will benefit and not only a few favoured individuals.

Although only Rs. 18,823 had been spent up to the end of September 1959, the results have been out of all proportion to expenditure. Tactful propaganda has been more successful than the use of money. The improvements have been in line with the customs and economy of the tribes and there has been no disturbance or imposition.

I was less happy about the introduction of what are known as Water Seal Barpali latrines. These are very heavy squatting-plates of cement with what seems to me an unnecessarily elaborate machinery for disposal. Two hundred of these have been manufactured in the current year by local masons and a number have been sold at subsidized rates or distributed to public institutions. There is an attempt to place these inside a house or compound, and I was told that the people do not care for this. I would have thought that a deep pit-latrine with planks across the mouth and a supply of dry earth, of a kind I myself used for twenty years in Madhya Pradesh, would have been easier to introduce, much less costly and less likely to be misused. The Barpali latrine depends on the use of a considerable amount of water and I am frankly doubtful whether the people will be willing to use so much. If they do not, the scheme will be a failure.

School Orchards

Another excellent scheme is the provision of orchards for a number of schools. During 1958-59 these were provided for four schools and fifty grafts, including papayas and plantain suckers were planted and during the current year it is planned to plant 222 more. Two more schools have already been chosen and another eighteen will be selected shortly. This is a scheme that is more likely to succeed in this part of the world than vegetable gardens, for the people do not seem to care for ordinary vegetables and the chances of marketing them are remote. An orchard can become a permanent addition both to the prosperity and the beauty of the countryside and this scheme might well be widely imitated.

Fisheries

There are a large number of tanks and bunds in the Block area and an extensive scheme of pisciculture has been adopted. In 1957-58 seventy-three and in the following year seventy-five tanks were stocked with fish. During the current year indents have been placed for the supply of 1,97,000 fries for a further forty-seven tanks which have been selected by the local Panchayats.

Grain Golas

It was Orissa that first started the idea of Grain Golas and this scheme is going forward very well in the Block area; indeed Co-operatives generally are reported to be making excellent progress. When the Block started there were only 1,222 families who were members of such Co-operative

societies as then existed. The number today is 5,095, 3,873 additional families having been enrolled since the inception of the Block. The account of the activities of the Grain Golas and other Co-operatives makes encouraging reading, but is too detailed to be given here.

Forests

The Divisional Forest Officer was good enough to give me a note on an interesting experiment being conducted in the Block area.

There is a great shortage of fire-wood and small timber in Raruan Pargana, as the forests are not only inadequate in extent but almost all of them have no growth owing to past neglect and heavy pressure on them. A scheme was drawn up to plant up rapidly at as low a cost as possible with fast growing species to cater to the needs of the populace in the near future. The *taungya* system was adopted, as response to this was forthcoming. In this, the cultivator is allowed to grow his agricultural crop along with tree species and is required to look after them in lieu of free cultivation in the forest area. This agri-silvicultural technique not only reduces heavily the cost of planting but also ensures soil working, weeding and constant attention to the plants and protection against grazing. The planting as well the replacement of casualty as and when necessary is done free at a *quid pro quo* for free cultivation for one year. The cultivators are required to leave the area after the plants establish themselves and are allowed to move on to a new area for similar plantation. Thus the process will achieve the desired objective in getting the blank areas re clothed, stimulate tree-mindedness amongst the villagers and will benefit them in the long run in catering to their fuel and small timber needs.

Accordingly 40 acres of Jamunti Reserve Forests were distributed amongst the villagers of Baidyanath and Jamunti. While the plot was distributed to individual cultivators of Baidyanath village at approximately one acre per head, the villagers of Jamunti preferred to take up 20 acres on a co-operative basis. The Block Development Officer agreed to finance the scheme out of his funds. A temporary field nursery was located to raise seedlings on leaf cups, which had well manured soil. These plants were transferred to the pits at the planting site at the break of monsoon. As this scheme was conceived very late and a larger number of people came forward and a larger area was tackled, the technique of planting was modified. Direct sowing of seeds was resorted to in addition to planting as sufficient plants were not forthcoming at the time of planting.

There has not only been good response to this type of plantation but it has created a good deal of enthusiasm in the locality. The average yield of paddy per cultivator is expected to be about 15 maunds per acre besides arhar. This will bring in a return to the cultivator of over Rs. 100 per head. The plants have put in satisfactory growth and the casualty has been below normal in a plantation in blank area of this kind. This project has kindled enthusiasm in the neighbouring villages and demands are now being received from other adjoining villages for locating similar projects in their area. It is therefore proposed to locate one or two permanent nurseries to continue the scheme till all the forests in the area are re clothed.

Conclusion

The general spirit of both the officials and the people in this Block

was most encouraging. There was, as everywhere, evident among the members of the Block Development Committee at a meeting which I attended a certain over-emphasis on what Government should do for the people rather than what the people should do for their country, and a definite unwillingness to make any kind of people's contribution. I believe that this is a matter which depends largely on propaganda and certainly when the Deputy Commissioner, Mayurbhanj put the matter up to them in a persuasive manner their attitude seemed to change.

As in other Blocks, there is need for a greater stress on the tribal languages, though it is difficult here in view of the very mixed population to introduce a tribal language as the medium of instruction in schools. There should be some research into tribal life and customs, and attempts should be made to revive weaving among the tribes, to improve weaving among the Panos and to revive dancing among the Gonds. I came away with a very pleasant feeling that although expenditure may be on the low side, this may have been largely due to certain initial difficulties when the Block was started and that there were great opportunities here which I am sure will be fulfilled.

THE RONGKHONG MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Rongkhong Multipurpose Block serves an area of 300 square miles in that part of the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills which adjoins the Nowgong District. It has a population of 17,909 Mikirs, and about 2,000 Kacharis, 1,000 Lalungs and 1,000 Garos with only 216 non-tribals making a total of 22,125. The P.E.O. is Shri K. C. Bharali.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin in December 1959 and the following are his impressions.

The Mikirs, who call themselves Arleng (which simply means man), are a fairly large tribe which is widely distributed in half a dozen of the Districts of Assam State. Its greatest concentration is in the isolated mountainous block which fills the triangle between the Brahmaputra in the north, the Dhansiri Valley on the east and the Kapili-Jamuna Valley on the west and south. Although many Mikirs have now settled in the plains areas a considerable number live in the hills where they carry on their traditional practice of shifting cultivation. Their neighbours are the Rengma Nagas and the Kacharis and they have some links with the Kukis, Lalungs and Khasis. There are traditions that in former days they lived in subjection to the Khasis (though there are vague memories of a king of their own) and in some ways their dress resembles the Khasi dress of former times. They are good weavers and make most of their own clothes and even ornaments. Their traditional house is well designed and constructed, built on posts, the floor being raised several feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and roofs are generally thatched with grass.

There is a very old tradition of blacksmithy and in the past the Mikirs made their own tools and knives. I saw a first-class knife made by a local craftsman at Langri. Pottery is a very old craft but in the past the wheel has not been used. Since it is in the Mikir tradition, there might well be an opportunity to revive it.

The Mikirs do not usually eat beef or dogs but they seem to eat almost

anything else. Like the other tribes in this part of the world they do not drink milk.

Stack, in his book on the tribe written seventy years ago, reports that the national Mikir drink is rice-beer (*hor* or *horlang*), but even at that time the people also made distilled spirit which is generally called *arak*. Stack further reports that 'drunkenness is not common in the villages and the ceremonies and festivities at which beer is drunk are not noisy'. I was told, however, that like many Khasis the Mikirs are giving up their traditional rice-beer in favour of rice-spirit. There are no government liquor shops in this District.

The Block Headquarters at Dongka is reached by a road running from Nowgong to Hojai, a thriving commercial centre in the middle of what has been called the granary of Assam. Up to Hojai, which can also be reached by train from the District Headquarters at Diphu or from Gauhati, the journey is easy. Henceforward, however, the road rapidly deteriorates and is, I understand, almost impassable during the rains. The first stage of the journey is to Tumprong on the far side of a fairly wide river called Kapili which, owing to the absence of a proper ferry, cannot be crossed by car. From Tumprong to Dongka is another seven miles covered by a PWD road which was in shocking condition even in the middle of December. While the headquarters of other Blocks are frequently cut off from the villages in the interior, the headquarters of this Block is cut off from the main current of life of Assam for about half the year. This is perhaps the main reason for the very slow progress which has involved an expenditure in three years of only a little under six lakhs of rupees (only 21·85 per cent), for communications are so bad that officials do not like to be posted here and it is only with extreme difficulty that the necessary materials for development can be brought up to Dongka generally by bullock carts.

The situation here exposes in a vivid way one of the great difficulties of the present scheme of Multipurpose Blocks. There is a great deal of money available, for out of an allocation of three and a quarter lakhs of rupees for Communications only Rs. 41,065 have been spent in the past three years. Here are three problems—the road from Hojai to Tumprong, the ferry at Tumprong and the road from Tumprong to Dongka—which urgently need to be solved: indeed if the Block had been taken really seriously these should have been solved at least two years ago. It is apparently not possible to use some of the ample funds available under the Block budget because the first road is outside the Block area, the second road is in the hands of the PWD and the provision of a ferry is not given in the scheme of the Central Government. But surely this is one of the things about which we should be much more flexible. Unless the approach to the headquarters is made easy it will be impossible for this Block to make much progress and, of course, there can be no question of spending the allotted money within the five-year period. The progress of a Block is more important than adherence to the rules, and I strongly urge that these should be liberalized and that some portion of the Block funds should be diverted to improving these roads and also to providing a proper ferry capable of carrying cars and trucks at the earliest possible moment. I discussed this with the local Mikir leaders and members of the Block Development Committee and they were unanimous in giving it top priority above all other aspects of development.

The annual expenditure is given in the following Table.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in				1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59	Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959				
Project Headquarters	6.80	0.27	0.95	1.54	0.56	3.32	48.75	
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	4.05	0.001	0.27	0.41	0.30	0.98	24.29	
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	3.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.95	0.008	0.10	0.16	0.53	0.80	27.06	
Education . . .	0.75	..	0.01	0.02	0.09	0.13	17.07	
Social Education . . .	0.70	..	0.04	0.16	0.06	0.26	37.35	
Communications . . .	3.25	..	0.0007	0.26	0.14	0.41	12.64	
Rural Arts and Crafts . . .	2.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Co-operation . . .	1.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural Housing . . .	2.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL. . . .	27.00	0.28	1.37	2.55	1.70	5.90	21.85	

The agricultural programme seems to have made good progress. The Mikirs practice jhuming over an area of approximately 6,117 acres. Attempts have been made, as elsewhere, to introduce alternative forms of cultivation such as wet and dry terracing and also to induce some of the people to come and settle in the lower flat land which at present is readily available. There is, in fact, a rather ambitious scheme, which has been taken up by the District Council, to remove most of the Mikirs from the hills and settle them in the plains at considerable cost. Many of the Mikir villages are extremely small and there is a tradition that in case of certain kinds of death in the village, it must immediately be abandoned. It is, therefore, planned to gather the Mikirs into groups of at least fifty houses. I feel that this should be carried on with some caution for, in the first place, if all the Mikirs come down from the hills to the plains there will inevitably be an increased pressure on the available land and in the course of years this may become acute. Furthermore, it is not always a good thing from any point of view to remove hill people away from the hills which they love and to which they are accustomed. Thirdly, the strength of such beliefs as that one must change the site of one's house in the case of an unlucky death is very great and it might well happen that after larger communities have been established they might be deserted: this has happened elsewhere in India.

The agricultural programme follows the usual lines and I visited an excellent demonstration farm at Dongka itself. The people, however, are

unwilling to accept fertilizers and are being persuaded to use green manure and cowdung instead.

Horticulture is progressing with some difficulty but very wisely quick-growing fruit trees like the plantain and papaya are being introduced first so that the Mikirs, when they see that they get a rapid profit, may go on to take up other trees also.

An attractive feature of this Block is the stress on flower gardens. Many of the houses at headquarters have good flower gardens and there is an unusually charming one round the Dongka Guest House. Although this may not seem to be a matter of priority, it is important that the aesthetic side of life should be developed, and all the tribes love flowers.

The Gram Sevaks of this Block have been remarkably successful in inspiring a certain number of village leaders with their ideas. Near Tumprengh there is one such elder who has become definitely prosperous and is clearly an excellent farmer. At Kalonga I met another Mikir elder who has built himself a good house, is starting a grain-store and shop, has excellent cultivated fields, and a good garden of fruit-trees of various kinds. At Langri, a genuinely model village, there are several such progressive farmers with large groves of areca nut, and cash crops of various kinds. The Mikir has been regarded as lazy and unprogressive but in certain cases he goes forward extremely well and I feel it is likely that as these small centres spring up throughout the area the bulk of the people will follow them in time. This, however, will not happen at once and we must be very patient in an area like this and not expect too quick results.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry has only utilized about Rs. 16,000 out of an allocation of Rs. 1,82,000. One reason for the slow progress here is that the scheme was only sanctioned at the beginning of 1958. Another reason is that it is just not possible to get sufficient goats, pigs and fowls from outside, for throughout India the demand for these animals is enormous. Only 14 goats and 20 pairs of pigs have been made available for Rongkhong in three years. Even now no bull has been provided, though four have been promised for a long time past. All the apparatus for artificial insemination is here but the one essential thing, a refrigerator, has still not been provided. The other essential, of course, a good bull, is also lacking. The people seem to be very interested in their domestic animals and if only this aspect of the programme can receive more encouragement from the Department concerned, I have no doubt it will make excellent progress.

Irrigation

Nothing whatever has yet been spent on irrigation, reclamation or soil conservation and three and a half lakhs of rupees are thus still lying idle. The villagers themselves spoke to me of the importance of developing irrigation schemes.

Health and Rural Sanitation

For the first two years of the plan it was impossible to get a doctor or a compounder and even today no nurses have been employed. There are so few educated Mikir girls that it has not been possible to use local talent

for this purpose, and girls from outside are very unwilling to come to an area such as this. Today, however, there is a doctor in position and the Primary Health Centre at Dongka is in course of construction. There are three compounders in sub-centres. No leprosy survey has yet been carried out, but there are three leprosy injectors (as they are rather oddly named), two maintained by the Shankar Mission. The people also suffer from kala-azar and naturally from the other ills that commonly affect mankind. The present medical cover for the Block is inadequate. I realize it is easy to say this, but it is very difficult to get Medical Officers to come to work here as in so many other tribal areas.

At Kalonga there is a Government dispensary with *pakka* buildings standing desolate near the village, to which no doctor, compounder or nurse has yet been appointed.

Leprosy is common among the Mikirs and a sample survey taken in 1957 by scholars of the University of Gauhati showed that 4.16 per cent of the total population investigated was affected by the disease. The Mikirs believe that leprosy is caused by touching a python or even the water of the river that carries its excreta. It is also regarded as a punishment for sin. It is treated by the worship of various deities, and in obstinate cases the leper is given a piece of python's flesh which he roasts on the bank of a river. He eats the flesh and goes into the river and swims against the current. He removes all his clothes while swimming and comes completely naked out of the water. Another method of treatment is to apply to the patches a certain herb which burns the skin. The Mikirs do not regard leprosy as contagious and except in the ceremonies after death they are not subject to any special social ostracism.

There was a strong representation at Lungri village that something more should be done for the 250 lepers in the neighbourhood.

Twenty-five tube-wells have been made and it is claimed that no fewer than 560 rings for rings-wells have been prepared. One drinking-water tank has been constructed and one has been disinfected. The latter task was done in 1957 but it does not seem to have been disinfected again.

Education and Social Education

A little over Rs. 12,000 on education and Rs. 26,000 on social education has enabled the Block to make small but steady progress. It cannot be said that the demand for education is in any way parallel to that in the other Hill Districts of Assam. The people are very poor and need their children to tend their cattle and work in the fields. There has never been a tradition of education here as in the other tribal areas, with the result that there seem to be only about four Mikir graduates who mostly came from the former Baptist Mission School at Tika, which has now been taken over by Government. This is why there are so few Mikirs engaged on the Block staff. Only one out of ten Gram Sevaks is a Mikir and of the rest only the two S.E.Os.

Thirteen new primary schools have been started and 493 boys and 147 girls have been enrolled. I understand, however, that the actual attendance is extremely poor.

The Mikir language, which has affinities to Khasi and contains a fairly large number of Assamese words, is not used as the medium of instruction

at any stage. This area, in fact, is the only part of the Assam Hills where the local language is not used, at least in the early stages, in schools. There are no text-books in Mikir, no 'tribal' posters are made and all notices are put up in English or Assamese. Not a single officer has passed a language examination, but it is said that six members of the staff can talk with the people without any interpreter. Although it has been reported that 'language does not create any problem as most of the local tribals here understand Assamese', it was quickly apparent that this was not true. On a number of occasions I had to make brief speeches to crowds of Mikirs and invariably I was first translated into Assamese and then from Assamese into Mikir. It is true that a certain number of Mikirs in the neighbourhood of Hojai and Dongka understand Assamese, but few of them talk it and the majority of the people cannot understand it. At a meeting of the Habais (village leaders) it was evident that they could not understand Assamese and everything had to be translated into their own tongue. I feel, therefore, that, although for some reason it has always been accepted that the Mikir language was not important and was not required for the purposes of education, this is a misunderstanding of the situation and that in the lower primary classes the same policy should be adopted as prevails in the other hill districts of Assam. I was told that one of the reasons why education has made so little progress is that the children do not understand the language in which they are taught.

Assamese, however, should continue to be the medium of instruction in schools above the primary stage, for it is obviously desirable that the Mikirs, who live so close to the plains, should know this language.

Cottage Industries

Out of the two lakhs of rupees allotted for rural arts, crafts and industry nothing has so far been utilised. A Cottage Industries Officer has, in fact, only just been appointed, in the latter part of 1959. The Mikirs do very good work in cane and bamboo (of which there is ample supply in the area) and they are excellent weavers on the small loom and have in the past been keen on endi spinning and weaving, though the latter is said to be on the decline. It is worth noting that it is taboo in the Kiling area to spin or weave at night. The belief is that if anyone spins after sunset he will go blind; if he weaves he will be eaten by a tiger. This, however, does not seem to affect more than about 2,000 people.

There was a good exhibition held in Dongka at the time of my visit, though the best stalls came from the neighbouring Block of Howraghat and this gave me the opportunity of seeing the Mikir facility in using cane and bamboo, and in making shields of lac—I was told that there is great scope for the development of lac cultivation here. I saw many specimens of Mikir textiles. Some of these with their clear geometrical patterns are like the Adi designs, others are more elaborate. This is a cotton-growing area and the Mikirs gin and spin their own cotton, use their own dyes and both colour and pattern are often extremely effective.

It may, therefore, be questioned whether there is any point in starting *training* centres to develop weaving. One of the stalls at the exhibition was divided into three parts. In the first a woman was weaving small but highly

artistic pieces of cloth on her loom-loom. In the next section a woman was weaving a rather dull and conventional design on the somewhat larger Assamese loom. In the third section a young woman, attired entirely in mill-cloth, was weaving on a fly-shuttle loom a type of cloth that could be matched by the products of a hundred mills throughout the country. There seems to be little point in increasing output at the cost of quality and in trying to rival the mill-cloth which is so easily accessible and which costs so much less in terms of money and labour. If it is possible to preserve the traditional designs and texture of the cloth on the Assamese loom, which, incidentally, is better fitted to the small tribal house, it would be a good thing to go ahead with it, but it is very easy for women who already know how to weave to learn to use it and there is no need for any elaborate training.

What is really needed is to step up production, and if some way of doing this could be devised it would be far more valuable than to spend a lot of money on a training school to teach people to do something at which they are already expert. Raw materials might be made more readily available and markets should be arranged. Once the women find that weaving can be profitable they may well weave more.

The Mikirs make an attractive coat which is worn by men. If this coat could be popularised and particularly if officials of the Block would use it just as officers in NEFA use Adi or Mishmi coats, it would help to revive the popularity of this pleasant garment.

Some of the Mikir cloth could be made into colourful and attractive neck-ties. This has been done with great success in the Naga Hills and might well be done here. For this purpose a supply of mercerised yarn should be made available, though even the ordinary yarn could be used for the purpose. I noticed that the table-cloths and curtains used in the official buildings were nearly all of Manipuri origin. Yet surely the Mikir cloth would be more suitable to the headquarters of a Mikir Block, and with a little attention to size it should not be impossible for curtains, table-cloths and so on to be made available. The purchase of these by Government and their use in official buildings would do much to encourage greater production.

I saw a number of little girls who were to dance at a Variety Show who had been provided with mill-made frocks in the western style. How much better it would have been if they had been given Mikir dresses! The wearing of these would have been more appropriate, they would have been in better taste and more colourful and their use would have been yet another way of developing weaving among the people.

I visited a very small weaving school at Tumpreng which has just been started. There is no attempt whatever to follow the excellent local Kachari or Mikir designs. Manipuri designs and ordinary bazaar patterns are being taken as a model. I was told that the local designs were too difficult for girls to weave on a fly-shuttle loom, especially at the beginning. In actual fact, however, there are a number of very simple Mikir and Kachari patterns which could easily be introduced from the very beginning and should present no difficulty even on the fly-shuttle loom.

The Mikirs have some idea of wood-carving and I saw some remarkable poles decorated with carved wooden birds, known as Chirko or Jambelia-athan which the Mikirs use at festivals and to welcome a visitor. This

suggests that the carving of wooden toys and other objects might well be taken up as part of a cottage industries scheme.

Co-operation

Nothing has yet been spent on Co-operation and although seven registered and two unregistered Co-operative Societies are functioning, their progress is said to be unsatisfactory, and their membership is only 428. There is no Forest Co-operative. Yet the Mikirs are in debt (there has been no survey to ascertain the extent of their indebtedness) and it is said that they often mortgage their cattle and their utensils in the lean period of the year.

At Kalonga, which is one of the three important centres of trade in this area there are a number of flourishing export and import centres run mostly by Bihari merchants who have been settled here for a considerable time. These merchants not only buy in the produce of the Mikirs at great profit to themselves but they also act as money-lenders. Surely, by now after three years, there should be a flourishing official Marketing Co-operative or at least some form of organization which could eliminate the middlemen and enable a much higher proportion of the profits to go direct to the tribal people. Co-operation is going forward very slowly in this Block and I feel it is essential, if the gentle and ease-loving Mikirs are to prosper, that it should be promoted with much greater vigour. For certain centres like Tum-prengh and Kalonga there might be a case for appointing special officials who would keep the accounts of any Co-operatives started and see that they run properly. At Taradubi there is a village bank, affiliated to the Assam Co-operative Apex Bank, which has only just been registered. It has forty-nine members who have contributed Rs. 10 each, making a share capital of Rs. 490 to which may be added Rs. 130 deposited by members. Rs. 5,350 have so far been issued on loan to the members. The rate of interest is 8 per cent. The people of this village are Lalungs who certainly give the impression of being well fed and well dressed. Let us hope that this Bank makes much greater progress as the Lalungs get used to the idea.

Housing

A good many Mikirs are now, under persuasion, coming down from the hills to settle in the plains area, where I understand there is still sufficient land. I visited a number of the little settlements they have made. They are not the only settlers in this part. There are a good number of Nepalis and there are also immigrants from Bilaspur who came in here, before Independence and the establishment of the District Council, and occupied land. I was told that the Land Alienation Act here was applied with much less strictness than in, for example, the Khasi Hills and that 'it was very easy to get round a Mikir'. That may be so at present but the day may come when the pressure on land will increase and the Mikirs will then resent the alienation of their land that is now taking place.

It is proposed to assist the Mikirs to come down from the hills by giving them Rs. 500 each to enable them to make new and better houses. A type-plan has been drawn up locally. This plan changes the entire basis of the house, for traditionally the Mikir house stands upon posts which rise

well above the ground and keep it dry. Now, however, it is proposed to build the house on the ground on a small plinth. When I asked various local officials which of the two type of house, the *chang* type or the plinth type, they considered better they were unanimous in preferring the *chang* and when I pointed out that in that case it was surely rather odd that they were going to change the style of house, they agreed. I hope very much that the *chang* style of building will be continued. It is said that in this type of house people throw rubbish down below and that the pigs and goats live underneath the building. On the other hand, in the other type of house people throw rubbish all round and the pigs and goats often go inside the building for what they want. From this point of view there is not much either way but the *chang* type in an area of heavy rainfall of 140" or more and of considerable heat and humidity is clearly more healthy and more appropriate. It is also in line with the tradition of the tribe.

Former Mikir Institutions

In his book on the Mikirs, written by Edward Stack about 1886 and published in 1908, he gives a description of the Village Council which in his day decided all village disputes and inflicted small fines. At this time the Gaonbura seems to have been a person of considerable influence and importance.

Stack points out that the most important institution from the point of view of agriculture was the association of clubs for young men. He reports, however, that even at that date 'this useful form of co-operation is now falling into desuetude'. In former days the young men, as in the Naga area, used to live in their own house, the Maro. Even in the first decade of the present century the Maros had largely disappeared and the boys lived in the house of the Gaonbura on whose influence and leadership they depended, though they had their own officials. Their main task was to work together in the fields. Although each family did its own cultivation the boys used to go together round all the fields in the village to help. 'Villages like having these clubs. They help greatly in cultivation, practice dancing and singing and keep alive the village usages and tribal customs.'

A strong point was made by the villagers during my visit that the influence of the Gaonbura has now almost disappeared and, of course the boys' dormitory is completely gone. It was urged that Government should do something by insisting on more careful selection and by recognizing the Gaonburas, perhaps giving them a red coat or cloak as is done in the Naga Hills and NEFA to re-establish this institution. We are giving a great deal of attention to developing local leadership and it would be surely a wiser thing to revive the ancient institution of the Gaonbura than to create a new type of leadership which would not be in the Mikir tradition. I do not know if it would be possible to revive the boys' dormitory. It might be difficult for, unfortunately, when boys go to school they tend to look down on such tribal institutions. But if some of the Mikir leaders themselves took the matter up it might not be impossible. It certainly appears that the Gaonbura and the dormitory are closely associated and that the revival of the one might depend upon the revival of the other.

A Cultural Show

I witnessed a cultural entertainment at Dongka on the 16th of Decem-

ber 1959, which was very largely attended by the surrounding villagers. The programme was long, with a great many items, and fortunately, among these were included a number of exquisite dances performed by a party of Bodo Kachari girls who came over from the Howraghat C. D. Block to visit the exhibition, which was held on the same day. These girls wore their own very beautiful dresses and were accompanied by a band of drummers and flutists and presented some of the most charming dancing I have seen during recent tours. There were also some typical performance by Mikir men, which evidently caused considerable pleasure to the audience.

Less successful were the dances by the local Mikir girls. Mikir dancing is not very good and is normally confined to ceremonial occasions. During the last few months, therefore, there has been an attempt in the Block to teach the girls new kinds of dances, some of which are adapted from the Kachari and some from the Assamese pattern. There is nothing wrong with this and some of the new Assamese dances they have learnt are very pretty. Unfortunately, at the same time the girls have been taught to give up their own attractive hand-women Mikir cloth and to paint their faces with rouge. One dance party at this entertainment consisted of little Mikir girls whose faces had been made a dead white with face-powder on which there were patches of rouge inexpertly applied. All the dance-girls had been presented with mill-made clothes paid for out of the Block budget. One girl wore a parody of a Punjabi dress, the others had frocks of the western type. The result was most distressing, for here was something that was neither tribal nor Assamese nor even Indian and the girls looked as if they had some straight out of a third-rate urban dancing-joint. I saw a similar thing in the Narsampet Block in Andhra Pradesh where boys had whitened their faces and painted their lips. When there is culture-contact it is common for some odd things to happen and the people generally settle down later on, but in this case what seems to me a thoroughly bad thing has been imposed on the people by the official staff and this surely should not be done.

While the Howraghat dancers were accompanied by drums and flutes, the new-style Mikir culture had as its main instrument the harmonium, the so-called music of which, magnified and distorted over a loudspeaker, added considerably to the discomfort of the audience.

During this performance I was invited to distribute a number of silver cups. It occurred to me that a silver cup of the style normally presented in the towns is not really the most appropriate form of recognising merit in a tribal area. The Mikirs make very good shields with lac and since a shield is itself commonly used as a prize throughout the world, would it not be more appropriate in this area, and in other areas in Assam where the people make shields, to have these made instead of cups? They might approximate as much as possible to the traditional pattern, utilize local materials and have a small silver plate inserted with the name of the beneficiary. A shield is furthermore appropriate to a tribal house, for it can be hung on the wall, whereas in many houses there is not any suitable place to put a cup.

The following day at Tumpreng I saw a Dimasa Kachari dance which was an unforgettable aesthetic experience. Both girls and boys wore hand-woven clothes of great beauty. Their dance was accompanied by drums and a man playing a very long trumpet. Everything was natural and dignified.

I understand that no Kachari dance party has yet been to the Republic Day Celebrations in Delhi. I suggest that the Bodo or Dimasa Kachari dancers are fully up to standard both in their appearance and in the technique of their dancing, and it would be well worth while sending a party next year.

Stack's Book on the Mikirs

For some time past there has been a proposal to reprint revised editions of some of the older books on the Assam tribes. It will be worth examining the possibility of this in the case of Stack's book on the Mikirs. Originally written about 1886 and then revised for publication by Sir Charles Lyall in 1908, it was published by David Nutt in London 'under orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam'. Presumably this means that the copyright vests in Government, but in any case the period of fifty years after which copyright restrictions become ineffective has just expired.

The book consists of about 200 pages, of which pages 1-43 and 151-177 could be extracted as the basis for a new book. Pages 44-72 and 88-150 contain a number of folktales in the original Mikir with a line-by-line as well as a free translation. These stories might well be separately published as a small book in the Mikir language and used as supplementary reading material in the schools. In view of the long neglect of the Mikir language by everybody this might be done immediately with very little trouble and would be well worth it. No interest has been shown and no work has apparently been done in the way of collecting Mikir songs and stories and producing small books which would help to build up a people's literature in this area. I feel that, if there is to be any cultural revival, language should be given a very important place and I hope that something of the kind can be done quickly.

The other part of Stack's book could be revised and printed later.

A Post Office

There is no post office at the Block headquarters but there is one at a place called Kalonga, which is not accessible by road, in the heart of the forest, six miles away. The Mikir population here is mostly illiterate and the post office seems to cater to the needs of a small group of Bihari merchants who have settled there. Surely if it is not possible to establish a new post office at Dongka where there is a considerable volume of both official and private correspondence, the Kalonga post office should be moved over to the Block headquarters. The existence of a post office is good for morale, makes for greater efficiency and would make possible schemes for promoting thrift through a savings bank. At present letters arrive late and a lot of time and energy is wasted because official correspondence has to be fetched by special messengers all the way from Hojai.

Miscellaneous Points

A number of useful items of development which are common in other States seem to be unknown here. For example, there is no distribution of powdered milk in the schools. I was told the Mikirs do not like milk and would not drink it, but this is true for the whole of tribal India and in some other places good progress is being made in teaching children at least

to take milk. I personally do not think that powdered milk is the happiest medium to teach them this habit, and in some places milk is given to the children with a little rice and sugar. If this could be done here and after all, there are still twenty-one lakhs of rupees to be spent in two years, it would be a good thing.

Orchards for schools on the Orissa pattern might well be introduced. Under the heading of Cottage Industries some research in the character of the soil should be undertaken to discover whether it would be possible to make tiles. Assam, in fact, seems to have neglected tile-making and is inclined to use CGI sheets instead. Yet tiles will be cheaper ; they will put money into the hands of the local people, and they have proved very successful in other Blocks in India.

This Block has had to face a number of difficulties. Its headquarters was originally at a village called Kalonga, six miles away from its present site. After a short time it was shifted to Kelani where it remained for over a year. Finally it was moved to Dongka. The result of these changes was that the Block staff were in the early stages far too pre-occupied in making arrangements for themselves and had little time to spare for their work.

Another difficulty was that at the beginning the Block officials were regarded with great suspicion. As one of them said to me, in the early days 'people ran away at the sight of any well-dressed person' and declared that they were more afraid at the staff than of wild animals. Yet another reason given is that apparently there is great delay in obtaining sanction for various schemes from Shillong and I heard several complaints that no notice was taken or even acknowledgement made of many of the letters written.

This Block has been very seldom visited. No Minister or Deputy Minister has ever been here. The Commissioner of the Hills Division visited Dongka earlier this year but apart from various Deputy Commissioners of the District it has received singularly little attention from Shillong. It was almost pathetic to see the enthusiasm with which I myself was greeted as one of the very few visitors that has ever come to the place from outside. Although some Blocks suffer from a surfeit of VIPs I feel that the Rongkong Block might well be nourished by an occasional feast.

The officials here, as in other Blocks, attribute lack of progress to the character of the people and I heard over and over again how difficult the Mikirs were and how they were not prepared to do anything on a self-help basis and that they were very lazy. They were also accused of drinking too much.

The habit of attributing the faults of a Block to the tribal people, which is very common everywhere, is rather unattractive.

Perhaps the most legitimate excuse for the comparatively slow progress here is lack of communications, especially the lack of essential approach roads into the headquarters. The Mikirs are not inclined to work on roads. They are not interested in them, for they say that they are only advantageous to the staff. The rates paid are too low, only Rs. 400 a mile.

All in all the Block staff has faced many serious obstacles and this is one of the areas where I feel we have to be patient. Although not all the excuses are valid, there is something in them. The officials I met struck me as enthusiastic and intelligent and I was particularly impressed by some of the V.L.Ws. They need, however, to pay more attention to learning the

local language and to acquainting themselves with the ideas and customs of the people. Much more care is needed to adapt their work, especially on the cultural and artistic side, to the policy of developing the people along the lines of their own genius. The Mikirs are waking up from their long slumber and there are already many centres where real development has begun : if it is on the right lines, there are great possibilities in this area.

THE SAIPUNG-DARRANG MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Saipung-Darrang Block is located, on a plateau between 3,000 and 4,000 feet in elevation, in the south-east of the Jowai Sub-Division of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and its headquarters, Khliehriat, is 60 miles by a good road from the State capital, Shillong. It covers an area of 782 square miles with a population of 24,283 living in 143 villages. It was inaugurated on the 2nd of October 1956 and the P.E.O. is Shri D. Blah. It is bordered to the south-west by East Pakistan and to the east and south-east by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills District. Jowai, a flourishing little township and headquarters of the Sub-Division, is 20 miles away from the Block headquarters to the west.

The Block was visited by Dr Verrier Elwin in June 1959., and he has made the following observations.

The Block falls naturally into three sections. In the north and centre, which includes the important Doloiships of Rymbai, Sutnga, Nongkhlieh and Sumer, there is comparatively open country with a fair amount of wet rice cultivation and terracing. To the south, in Lakadong and Narpuh, the country is wild and thickly forested, and the main type of cultivation is *jhuming*. There are two large tracts of Reserved Forest—Narpuh and Saipung—along the southern border. Thirdly, in the west of the Block there is an area which is very largely cut off from the Block headquarters and the remainder of the Block. It consists of the Padu, Darrang, Nongtalang and Setpator Doloiships. Here the country is broken up by deep narrow valleys and innumerable mountain-streams. The hillsides are very steep and since the land is covered with rocks, much of it is unsuitable for ordinary cultivation and the people turned long ago to the growing of cash crops such as oranges, pineapples and *pan*-leaves. It is here that the people's economy has been greatly disturbed as a result of Partition. It is impossible to reach it from Khliehriat by road, for to build any road in this precipitous and difficult country would cost more than the entire allocation of the Multipurpose Block. A sub-headquarters has, therefore, been established at Amlaren, which has an access road from Jowai.

The people of the Block are popularly known as Jaintias, but a more exact classification divides them into the Pnars, who are identical with the Syntengs or Jaintias, living on the central plateau; the Wars, inhabiting the southern slopes which adjoin the Pakistan border; the Baites, who have affinities with the Mizos, in the east; some ten villages of Mikirs at the foot of the hills; and a small population of plains-people at Dawki and Muktapur. There is no obvious difference other than in dialect between the Pnars or Jaintias and the Wars, but the Baites, who still weave their own cloth, and the Mikirs observe their own way of dress and customs. The Jaintias and Wars are very similar to the Khasis, for they all speak a dialect

of the Mon-Khmer Khasi language and they have the same customs, festivals and matrilineal social organization and look exactly the same as their fellows in the rest of the district. Like the Khasis they are industrious, shrewd and have a strong attachment to religion, whether it be their traditional religion or a more recently adopted faith. About 30% of them are Christians, of whom 35% are Welsh Presbyterians and the remainder Roman Catholics. There has been a certain amount of Hindu influence in this area and, in sharp contrast to most of the tribal people elsewhere in Assam, the inhabitants of the Jowai Sub-Division do not usually eat beef, although beef-eating has started in Jowai itself during the last five years. Unlike the people round Mairang, they usually drink rice-beer and the taking of rice-spirit is little known among them, although in the last few years a few official distilleries have been opened. On the whole, the people of the Block area are economically less developed than the Khasis, their villages are more scattered, they are more attached to shifting cultivation, they have been more isolated geographically, and their health appears to be poorer. They keep very few sheep, concentrating instead on goats and pigs, and the potato industry is little developed, probably because of the difficulty of communications which has prevented them obtaining a ready market.

Difficulties in implementing the programme

There have been rather special difficulties in the way of the establishment and progress of this Block. The area is large and, especially in the wild Narpuh Doloiship, as well as to the south-east, the villages are small, few and widely scattered. The nature of the terrain makes it difficult to build roads, particularly in the western part of the Block. This has meant that the transport of materials has been very difficult.

The Block headquarters has had to be shifted twice. It was originally at Jowai from October 1956 to September 1957. It was then shifted to Sutnga, where it remained till April 1958. It was finally moved to Khliehriat in May 1958. This has naturally meant considerable delay in the building up of the headquarters and even today, although the staff quarters are now ready, there is not even a dispensary fully established there and other institutions still wait till next year for their completion.

A large part of the Block lies along the border of East Pakistan. Before Partition the people had maintained themselves by trade with the Sylhet District and the villages round Dawki were once the most prosperous in the whole Sub-Division. Large quantities of *pan*-leaves (it has been estimated that 16,000 loads at Rs. 10 each were exported every month), oranges, pine-apples, and other cash crops as well as poultry and eggs were exported. Partition destroyed the entire economy of the area and, since the people had only done a little in the way of ordinary cultivation, and indeed the nature of their country made any developed cultivation difficult, they found that once it was impossible to market their cash crops they had great difficulty in obtaining sufficient food. The firings from across the border still further demoralized them and they began to feel that life in all its aspects was insecure.

Jowai was further declared a disturbed area for six months at the beginning of 1959 and the Governor has recently extended the Ordinance by another six months. The reason was that the Naga hostiles were active in Cachar and from time to time they penetrated into the Block area, on one

occasion going up as far north as Lumshnong. Although the Nagas did not do any damage, their incursions created a certain sense of insecurity and, to some extent, diverted the attention of the official staff.

Another difficulty has been the fact that officials, at least at the lower levels, do not like to work in this Block. In the absence of any special allowance (an allowance that is given to their colleagues in the neighbouring United Mikir and Cachar District), V.L.Ws, compounders and other have proved unwilling to face its isolation, the long journeys on foot and its insecurity. Two successive Jaintia V.L.Ws, posted at Lumshong, for example, have resigned and it is expected that a third will do so shortly. Two Assistant Co-operative Officers have resigned, and a cine-operator left soon after he was appointed. It is rather surprising to find that the Jaintias themselves do not want to work in their own villages and the responsibility for this must, I think, be laid at the door of the system of education now prevailing. It was put to me by an educated Jaintia that 'the whole point of education to the Jaintia mind has hitherto been that it would be a way of escape from village life and open up opportunity for work in the towns. It is only natural that the new emphasis on education as preparing a boy or girl to return to the villages and enrich them should not be immediately acceptable'.

Another difficulty has been to obtain land for the construction of buildings and other development works. Although there does not seem to be so much suspicion of Government's intentions as I found in the Mairang Block, the people are extremely unwilling to part with any piece of land, even though they realize that it is for their own advantage. After considerable difficulty land was obtained for Block headquarters, but the people were then under the impression that this was all that would be demanded. With the establishment of additional centres in the interior some suspicion has arisen. It is reported that up to the present time not a single plot of land has been finally settled by the Block authorities.

Although the Mairang Block is said to be very healthy, the Saipung-Darrang Block has a bad reputation for malaria and other diseases. This naturally affects members of the staff as well as the people themselves.

Wild animals, especially wild elephants, are common and the elephants cause great devastation to the crops, which discourages the people from taking to permanent cultivation. Jhuming on the steep hillside is less affected but it may well happen that a cultivator puts in a great deal of labour in clearing and establishing a field down in a valley only to have his harvest ruined by the elephants.

A final difficulty is language. About 70% of the Block staff are Khasis or Jaintias and 30% are non-tribal. The non-tribal officials are mainly technical people who hold the more responsible positions. I found that not a single one of them was able to talk freely with the Jaintias in their own language. No Assamese or Hindi is taught in the L. P. or the M. E. Schools and only a few of the people know English. There are no official interpreters as in Manipur, NHTA and NEFA. The result is, as was frankly admitted by members of the staff, that they have great difficulty in getting their message across. Sometimes owing to faulty interpretation a pesticide may be too diluted and has no effect; sometimes for the same reason too much chemical fertilizer is put into the soil and the plants do not come up. The result is a rather serious situation in which the experts who are to explain the use of the new implements, seeds and manures can only do so imperfectly.

Achievements and Expenditure

In spite of these difficulties there has been considerable progress. A Block Development Committee of 35 members, of whom 13 are officials and 22 are non-officials, was constituted by Government in June 1957 and in the past two years it has met six times. I met some of the members of this Committee as well as a number of non-officials and I found them very practical people with a good deal of interest in what was being done or proposed. They were frank and sometimes critical. The expenditure during the last three years from October 1956 to the end of September 1959 is as follows :

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	6.80	0.13	0.93	1.82	0.65	3.53	51.85
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	4.05	0.02	0.11	0.71	0.30	1.14	28.21
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	3.50	..	..	0.11	..	0.11	3.16
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.95	0.02	0.01	0.33	0.24	0.60	20.47
Education	0.75	0.02	0.06	0.15	0.04	0.28	36.77
Social Education	0.70	0.007	0.10	0.13	0.02	0.26	36.59
Communications	3.25	0.02	0.03	0.77	0.38	1.20	36.91
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.00	0.002	0.0002	0.02	0.0001	0.02	1.02
Co-operation	1.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural Housing	2.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.21	1.24	4.04	1.64	7.13	26.42

Agriculture

Let us examine these various subjects one by one. We may take Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation together, for all these things are closely related. As now proposed, they will account for Rs. 7,55,000 or over a quarter of the total expenditure. The plans suggested are on the normal lines but seem, with some exceptions, to be well-adjusted to the terrain and the habits of the people.

The trouble is that not very much has been spent on them. Only Rs. 11,061 or 3.16% of the allocation for Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation has been utilised, and only 28.21% of the money available for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.

As I have said already, the type of cultivation varies in different parts of the Block. In the northern areas the main problem is intensification of agriculture, for there is already a good deal of terracing and wet rice cultivation and there is the possibility of further developing some permanent cultivation on the gentle slopes of the hills. In the Narpuh area especially and

in places throughout the Block, where *jhuming* is the main type of cultivation and is often the only possible type of cultivation, it is of great importance to improve the method on the lines suggested by Shri M. S. Sivaraman, Adviser to the Planning Commission. I understand that so far nothing of the kind has been attempted. In the south-west the country is so rocky and difficult that although every attempt should be made, and will be made, to develop ordinary cultivation wherever it is possible, it is doubtful whether much can be done apart from the raising of various cash crops and the development of horticulture.

About 10,000 maunds of fertilizers have been distributed, although the people are still a little doubtful about their use, a suspicion which has been intensified because they have sometimes over-fertilized their plots and destroyed the crops. A fair quantity of improved seeds, including potatoes, has been distributed, but there was a complaint that the supply of seeds is irregular and they have sometimes been received so late that they cannot be used and then deteriorate. Nearly 30,000 fruit trees, 8,000 other trees and 3,500 suckers have been planted; 147 acres have been brought under the Japanese method of rice cultivation; 521 compost pits have been dug. Minor irrigation projects now cover an area of some 485 acres and model dry terracing projects cover some 35 acres. Over 300 pounds of pesticides have been distributed.*

On the other hand, only 20 vegetable gardens have been started.

A hundred and fifty new agricultural implements of all kinds have been distributed for demonstration purposes, but neither the agricultural staff nor the people themselves seem very interested in them. They say they are too heavy in some cases and a group of Jaintias urged on me that it would be better to improve their existing implements rather than introduce those with which they are unfamiliar. Certainly the introduction of elaborate and expensive grain-huskers, for example, is hardly necessary in an area like this at present.

I wonder if there could be some scheme for the introduction of water-mills, which are a great boon to some of the people in Manipur and in the Kameng and Lohit Divisions of NEFA. Wherever there is a perennial stream in the close neighbourhood of a village, a water-mill can be erected, either on the Monpa or the Khampti pattern, for grinding grain or husking rice.

The Jaintias do not plough their fields, though they do keep cattle. They do not drink the milk or eat the meat or use them for the plough. When I asked what was the point, in view of this, in having cattle at all I was told that they provided manure and were used for puddling the fields. It may be that there is a certain prestige-value in having them.

The introduction of terracing, so easy to order or recommend, is, in practice, often difficult owing to the shallowness of the soil. I was told that in many places in this Block it is just not possible to terrace as there is insufficient depth of earth.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry, for which the large sum of two lakhs of rupees is proposed, appeared to me to be making rather slow progress. A Fodder

* The figures for physical achievement are those for June 1959; they will, of course, be much larger now.

Farm has been started at the Block Headquarters and a Fodder Demonstration Plot elsewhere. To date, only two pedigree birds and 92 improved eggs for hatching have been distributed. These figures are hardly impressive, but I was told it was difficult to obtain suitable birds and animals. Poultry and piggery centres are to be started at Khliehriat and three Veterinary Sub-units in the interior as soon as Veterinary Field Assistants are available. A Veterinary Dispensary and Artificial Insemination Centre is being constructed at Khliehriat. I was told at Mairang that the Church would be strongly opposed to any kind of artificial insemination but this prejudice does not seem to exist even among the Christians in the Jowai area.

Unless ploughing is introduced and the people begin to drink milk, there does not seem to be very much point in trying to upgrade the breeds of cattle, which are more of an ornament to the countryside than anything else.

It is interesting to note that the Jaintias bury their cattle when they die and this helps to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases.

I was told that there was scope for developing a sheep business in the Sumer Circle and there is a proposal to have a Sheep Farm there. Provided the Jaintias can be persuaded to shear the sheep and spin and weave the wool into blankets and other articles this scheme has real possibilities.

One difficulty in the southern area is the menace of wild elephants. The villagers are keen on having rifles or other suitable weapons issued to them so that they can themselves destroy the elephants that attack their crops. It is unlikely that this proposal will be acceptable. Another suggestion was that they might be taught to catch elephants, of which there seem to be large numbers, and domesticate them. They could sell some of them after paying suitable royalty to the Forest Department and they might keep other elephants for themselves. Particularly in the difficult south-western area elephant-transport would be a great boon both to the people and officials. The latter face many difficulties in touring and in obtaining porters to carry their baggage. Elephant-transport would solve this difficulty. In the same way, if elephants could be taught to plough at the foot of the hills in this very difficult part of the world, it might be possible to make the people at least partly self-sufficient in food. They could also hire out their elephants when necessary. Not a little of the prosperity of the Khamptis in the Lohit Division in NEFA is due to the fact that they have in the past captured their elephants, tamed them and now use them for many purposes. No well-to-do Khampti is without his elephants. Any such scheme, of course, would have to be very carefully considered and special trainers would have to be employed to teach the local people what to do.

I realise that elephant-catching is not a very profitable business nowadays, and that a Keddah is expensive. But it might be worth spending a little money out of the ample Block funds to protect the crops, provide a new means of transport and raise the people's morale.

Health

A sum of Rs. 2,95,000 is proposed for Health and Rural Sanitation. There is no doubt that at the present time the health of the people is poor and medical facilities are in their infancy: only Rs. 60,375 has yet been spent. No hospital has yet been opened, although one is planned, at Khliehriat where

already 1,000 patients a month are being treated, even though the dispensary is not yet fully established. The main diseases are malaria, dysentery, diarrhoea and rheumatism. There is no goitre here and very little yaws or leprosy. There are four Dispensaries in the Block area, but only one is paid for out of Block funds, though one Sub-Health centre and three Mid-wife centres have been started. It is claimed that 57,947 persons have been treated in the dispensaries. Since this figure is double the total population of the Block it must be assumed that it refers to the number of entries in the dispensary registers, and should read 'treatments given' rather than 'persons treated'.

In this Block, where there is at least one good road running through it and a well-equipped mission hospital only twenty miles away at Jowai, it is important to have an ambulance stationed at the Block headquarters as soon as possible. I understand that an ambulance is sanctioned but that there is some idea of keeping it in Shillong and sending it out when required, on the ground that since there is no ambulance at the Sub-Divisional Headquarters at Jowai it would not be proper to position one in an unimportant place like Khliehriat, where its presence might excite a little jealousy or resentment elsewhere. But surely the whole point of having Multipurpose Tribal Blocks is that something should be done to make up to the tribal people for their long neglect. For so many years they have had little or nothing in comparison with others and, therefore, the additional fifteen lakhs provided by the Home Ministry is to give them something extra in order to compensate for their previous deprivation. It is indeed one of the difficulties of the scheme that the special favour given to certain areas may seem unfair in the eyes of their neighbours but, since the scheme has been adopted, I do not think that this consideration should weigh in a matter such as the positioning of an ambulance. The Block has no telegraphic or telephonic communications and in urgent cases it would thus be impossible to get the ambulance in time to take the patient to a hospital in Jowai or Shillong.

An additional Doctor will soon be needed at Khliehriat so that one Doctor can normally be out on tour.

Eighteen drinking wells have been constructed and over 200 disinfected; nine gravity water supply schemes have been completed. Nearly 3,500 houses have been sprayed with DDT, but even in the I.B. at Khliehriat I was myself tormented by mosquitoes and other insect pests.

The introduction of rice-spirit into a beer-drinking area is likely to affect the people's health adversely. There are now at least three out-stills, at Sutnga, Rymbai and Nongtalang, licensed by the Excise Department. I think these should be closed and no others started in future.

Communications

The Block is fortunate in having the National Highway road connecting Shillong with Silchar running through it. So far 45 miles of road have been constructed in the Block area from the Block funds. Thirteen miles of existing fair-weather road have been improved, one pakka and five temporary bridges have been built, 191 culverts have been constructed and 34 miles of footpaths have been made or improved. I think, however, that it is necessary to press forward with considerably more energy in the opening up of this difficult country.

Education and Social Education

The Churches, both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, have for many years been the main educational force throughout the Jowai Sub-Division. There are today 86 Primary Schools in the Block area with about 116 teachers, 1,527 boys and 1,490 girls attending them. There are, however, only three M. E. Schools with 12 teachers and 65 boys and 53 girls attending. There are still 57 villages without any schools. From the Block budget four L. P. Schools and five Junior Basic Schools have been established, a very small number in comparison with the private schools being run by the Churches. Thirty-seven of the private schools have been given small grants-in-aid for improvement and maintenance, 60 have had grants for the purchase of school materials and 21 have had grants for the purchase of furniture. Three M. E. Schools have also had grants-in-aid.

The enthusiasm and interest in education, particularly among the Christians, is very striking. The money to support them is contributed by the entire community. Every day when a Christian woman begins her cooking she puts a handful of rice aside and once a week this is collected and taken to the Church where it is sold. In this way about Rs. 16,000 is collected every year. The pay of the teachers in the private schools is very low, being only Rs. 15 to 20 a month, but most of the teachers, who are all Jaintias or Khasis, are untrained. There is a proposal for a High School at Sabkha near Dawki but the Block officials felt that this was not really necessary, as it was possible for promising boys to continue to go to Jowai or Shillong for their higher education.

It strikes me that the very small proportion of boys and girls who go on to the M.E. Schools, as compared to the fairly large numbers in the L.P. Schools, is unsatisfactory. I am told that a certain number go to Jowai or Shillong, but I suggest that much more attention should be paid to M.E. education in this area. Indeed, the whole subject of education here needs drastic investigation and revision. While we cannot but admire the enthusiasm and sacrifice shown by the people, who are not greatly blessed with this world's goods, in supporting their own schools, is it really satisfactory that they should be run on such a large scale with untrained teachers so badly paid? Is it satisfactory that the children should have to grow up in what are inevitably rather inferior buildings with comparatively little equipment? I notice that in the list of achievements under Education only three school-gardens have been started. It may be that gardens exist already but, on the whole, there seems to be a certain lack of interest in vegetable or flower-gardening in the Block area and these two very important matters should receive more attention.

I do not suggest that the private schools should all come under the control of the State, but I do suggest that the subject should be carefully investigated with a view to improving their quality and to the allocation of additional funds so that they can be run better. It might be possible to regard the Church contribution as the people's contribution and for the Block funds to provide an equivalent sum. Only Rs. 65,000 were originally allotted for education and, though it is now proposed to raise this to Rs. 95,000, I think that even this figure is too low for a community which itself puts education as its top priority. This would not apply in all tribal areas but it does apply in the Christianised tribal areas of Assam.

I have never quite understood why social education is a different subject from education, for surely social education will succeed better if it is carried on through the schools. So far not very much has been attempted under this head. There is a cine-projector but the operator who was appointed soon left and there is so far no one to take his place. Youth clubs have been started but are reported to be not working very well. Three radio sets have been provided from the Block Funds and there are four others from the Publicity Branch of the Assam State. Eleven community centres, eleven rural libraries, two children's parks, twelve adult education centres, fifteen playgrounds have been initiated. In two-and-a-half years there have been six cinema shows and twelve magic lantern demonstrations, which is not very much. It is also reported that 240 village leaders have been trained (though just what this means is left to speculation) and 263 adults have become literate. There have been ten community entertainments.

It is probably wise that the Block officials have given priority to the concrete material benefits needed by the people and have not gone in for frills. It is, however, important to revive and develop the cultural life of the Jaintias.

Jaintia-Khasi culture is in a state of some decay, though the Khasi language, matrilineal system and tradition of tribal government have shown signs of great vitality. It was pointed out to me by a thoughtful Jaintia Christian that the early Presbyterian missionaries, naturally enough from their point of view, forbade their converts to take part in the traditional festivals and dances, for at that time it was likely that if they did so they would relapse from their new faith. The competition was too strong. But today, he thought, this was no longer necessary. The dances and even the festivals can be regarded as cultural celebrations, and the religious side need not be stressed for those who no longer support it. It is significant too that in May 1957 a Khasi Cultural Society was started in Shillong 'to preserve Khasi culture and help it grow and develop and take its proper place among other cultures, to encourage and enrich Khasi literature and, while respecting our own culture, to keep our minds open to the culture of others.' The Society's journal *Ka Syngkhong Jingtip*, which is edited by a distinguished Khasi Christian leader, Shri S. J. Duncan, shows a remarkably liberal spirit. It should not, therefore, be impossible to revive the dances, songs, music and festivals among the Khasi-Jaintia Christians and this would, in turn, encourage them among the non-Christians.

If this is to be done, two things are necessary. One is to work with and through the Church leaders. This has been done with some success in Manipur and NHTA. The other is to include a new official in the Multipurpose Tribal Block staff everywhere—a rather high-powered person who might be called a Cultural Officer. He should be well paid and have a good status. His task would be to assist the revival of tribal culture in all its aspects: arrange for the collection and publication of songs and folk-tales in the local language as well as in translation; encourage the dancing, hand-weaving and every aspect of tribal art; stimulate the observance of traditional festivals; and supervise the preparation of posters, educational charts, calendars etc., with a local background.

This Cultural Officer need not necessarily be an anthropologist, provided he is someone with a sincere interest in and respect for the tribal people, but he should be a good linguist who would, if not a local man, learn the

local language quickly, with some knowledge of art and literature, a man who enjoys life and can contribute his sense of enjoyment to others. He need not be an academic person; he should be a human person. Such an officer could do much good.

Rural arts, crafts, and industries

A sum of two lakhs was originally proposed for the promotion of arts and crafts, but this has now been wisely reduced by Rs. 50,000. As in Mairang, there is not very much scope for the development of cottage industries. The people are already very busy and possible markets are a long way off. It is not likely that the Jaintias will be able to compete in ordinary crafts with the outside markets and they do not make any artistic textiles (though they used to weave a beautiful woman's skirt), wood-carvings or other articles which could capture some sort of luxury trade among tourists. There are, however, three main schemes, all of which are laudable and may succeed. In the Baite villages there is an old tradition of weaving and it is proposed to start a sericulture and weaving centre there. Rs. 23,000 is proposed for the development of sericulture; Rs. 2,000 for the introduction of fly-shuttle looms and another Rs. 2,000 for subsidised yarn. This centre will ultimately be run by a Co-operative Society.

Then at Khliehriat itself there is a proposal for a training-cum-production centre for carpentry and blacksmithy. Both these crafts are indigenous to the area but much of the work is done by craftsmen from Jowai or elsewhere. None of the carpenters or blacksmiths, moreover, are trained and they have no idea of the better types of tools or implements. The proposed centre will have a hostel under the supervision of two qualified instructors; the trainees will be paid a stipend of Rs. 30 a month, and they will be taught the manufacture of articles both for local use and for export. I have seen two proposed budgets for this centre—one came to a lakh and a half, the other to about eighty-five thousand. This includes the purchase of a large number of elaborate tools, and buildings costing over Rs. 45,000.

This means that for one institution for training twenty boys more money will be spent than the entire allocation for education throughout the whole Block. This seems to me a little out of proportion. In the first place, I wonder whether it is necessary to have so many elaborate tools and implements which the boys will not be able to afford when they finish their course. Secondly, I wonder if the buildings are not over-elaborate. In NEFA, where it was found many boys and girls, after going through a Cottage Industries Training Centre, did not continue their crafts, it was decided to provide buildings for them which would be on very similar lines to those which they were accustomed at home in order to avoid the creation of a psychology which would make them regard themselves as superior to work with their hands. There is the further question whether twenty trainees will be available. They may be, but how many of them will remain in the Block area to enrich their own villages in view of the fact that they will be able to demand much higher wages in the towns? And will it be possible to compete with the products of Shillong and elsewhere when the cost of transport is added to the original cost of the local products? I do not suggest that this scheme should be abandoned but I do suggest that it might be simplified. Why, for example, is it necessary to have separate kitchens built

for the trainees and for the instructors? Presumably the instructors will be themselves Khasis or Jaintias and surely it is against their tradition to have distinctions of this kind.

A third proposal is for a training and production centre for a lime-making industry at Lumshnong in the Narpuh Doloiship on the Jowai-Badarpur road which leads on into Cachar. There are great deposits of lime-stone here and there is also plenty of coal nearby. Lime for buildings and other works have hitherto always been brought all the way from Shillong. Now that so many new buildings are going up, the demand for lime is increasing and with the completion of the road it will be easy to exploit it. Lumshnong, which has only recently become a settled village and has been further strengthened by a number of refugees from the Dawki area, is a suitable place and since it is proposed to hand over the management of the centre to a Co-operative Society after a year, the scheme has many potentialities. It is likely to cost altogether some Rs. 25,000.

To encourage the people to start kilns of their own and to extend their activities, a provision of Rs. 2,500 to be given as grant-in-aid at Rs. 500 per kiln is made in the scheme.

Co-operatives

A good deal of work under the head of Co-operatives has been achieved on paper but the Block officials frankly admitted that actual progress is disappointing. For one thing there is no provision in the Block Budget for a Co-operative Officer and although an Assistant Co-operative Officer was appointed from the State Department he resigned and no one has yet taken his place. For another thing the confidence of the people was badly shaken as a result of the failure of the Farmers' Trading Co-operatives, which date back to 1949, as a result of decontrol.

The following Societies, however, have been started :

Credit Societies

1. Sutnga Farmers' Co-operative Credit Society Ltd., registered in the year 1957-58 and converted into Larger Size Credit Society in 1958-59.
2. Darrang Co-operative Credit Society Ltd. registered in the year 1958-59.
3. Shnongpdong Co-operative Credit Society Ltd. registered in the year 1958-59.

Marketing Societies

1. Khliehriat Marketing Co-operative Society Ltd. registered in the year 1958-59.
2. Border Marketing Co-operative Society Ltd., registered in the year 1958-59.

Industrial Co-operatives

1. Border Area Mining Co-operative Society Ltd. registered in the year 1958-59.
2. Dawki Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd. registered in the year 1957-58.

3. Sutnga Blacksmith Co-operative Society Ltd. registered in the year 1957-58.

4. Baiti-Nupang Co-operative Weaving Society Ltd. registered in the year 1958-59.

Proposed Societies

The following are the societies recently organized and proposed to be registered :

1. Mynthlu Livestock Co-operative Society Ltd.
2. Dkhiah Cane and Bambo Works Co-operative Society Ltd.
3. Syntu Lber Co-operative Store Ltd.
4. Harpuh Industrial and Processing Co-operative Society Ltd.

Members of the Credit Societies receive loans amounting to Rs. 5,500 but they have applied for loans coming to about Rs. 20,000. The Marketing Societies, especially the Border Marketing Co-operative Society at Dawki, which was registered in 1957-58, are of considerable importance. The Dawki Society is attempting to bring relief to the border people by disposing of their agricultural products. It has so far sold oranges amounting to nearly Rs. 12,000 and pan leaves amounting to more than Rs. 23,000. The aim of the Khliehriat Marketing Society is to sell the agricultural produce of its part of the Block, especially oranges in the Narpuh area. Unfortunately, this year, due to heavy hill-storms during the flowering season, the orange crop was spoilt.

There have been difficulties in the development of the Industrial Co-operatives. Just before the work of the Dawki Industrial Co-operative began, there was firing by Pakistani troops across the border and this brought its activities to a temporary end. I visited Sutnga village and saw the shed in which the Blacksmith Co-operative Society is expected to work. But so far little, if anything, has been achieved. The idea is that it will make Khasi *kodalis* and *daos* for local use. The Baite Co-operative Weaving Society is still in its initial stage, but since the Baite women are good weavers there is a possibility that it may make good progress. The Border Area Mining Co-operative Society has applied to Government for the grant of a certificate to enable it to undertake mining work under the Mines Act, but this has not yet been obtained.

It is important that an officer to supervise and stimulate this work should be found as soon as possible and that more attention should be paid to this important subject.

The Need of Simplicity

I had a discussion with a number of Jaintia leaders at Khliehriat and one of the points they made, which was also put to me in Mairang, was that there should be greater simplicity in the Block programmes. They said that the elaborate new agricultural implements and machines were not suited to them; some of them were too heavy; all were unfamiliar; they would not be able to afford to purchase them for themselves; and they would prefer that their own type of implements should be improved. Obviously we should try to introduce some new and improved implements but I agree that we should do this realistically, bearing in mind the economic

condition of the people, the difficulty they have in adopting new methods, and the fact that their existing tools and implements have been evolved over the centuries to meet a certain type of need.

The people also emphasized the fact that they did not like being asked too many questions and suggested that many of the facts and figures collected from them were inaccurate and not likely to be of very much use.

Members of the staff also urged, as they did in Mairang, that the number of returns and questionnaires should be drastically reduced. I understand that the Block officials now only have to spend five nights a month out in the villages, and that one of the reasons for this is that they have such a large amount of office work at Headquarters. If this is true, it surely goes against one of the main purposes of the Block idea, especially in the tribal areas, where it is essential for the officials to mix freely and constantly with the villagers.

Is there no way of making buildings and institutions less formidably official? They stand out stark and unfamiliar in the pleasant countryside and I felt a sense of alienness between them and the tribal people, who did not seem to gather round in the familiar and friendly atmosphere which is needed for success. A tribal Dharmashala in each Block headquarters to accommodate visitors, or relations of patients, would help towards this.

Apart from the actual material constructions there is also a good deal of room for orientating the attitude of the non-tribal staff towards the people among whom they work. Both in Mairang and Saipung-Darrang I constantly heard the complaint that the non-tribal officials regarded themselves as superior and looked down on the tribes, that they would not mix with them and in some cases would not even eat or drink with them. I think that the tribal complaints are a little exaggerated but they are not altogether without justification. I certainly heard some of the non-tribal officials talking in a rather patronising and condescending way and the Jaintias especially are extremely sensitive to this sort of thing. This is not a matter which can be solved by orders but I suggest that senior officers visiting the Blocks should make a point of emphasizing what has come to be known as the Prime Minister's attitude to the tribes whenever they can.

Another thing that struck me in discussion with the Jaintias was that they were already showing signs of losing the self-reliance which has characterized them for centuries past and are tending to want things free of charge or that Government should do everything for them. It was strange to hear Jaintias, who have in the past made such liberal contributions towards the development of education, suggesting that the best way of spending 27 lakhs would be to distribute it, family by family, to them, whereon they would automatically prosper and that seeds and tools and indeed everything else should be given to them without payment. When we discussed the possibility of elephant-catching in the south-western area the people liked the idea provided that Government would do it. To counter this tendency the P.E.O. has now arranged that nothing will be given free of charge and that even when the people come to dispensaries they will have to pay a small sum of two annas for their medicines as a token of their own contribution. This is a matter which needs careful watching and constant propaganda.

Staff

The staffing pattern is still not complete and if substantial progress is to be made it is surely important that all sanctioned posts should be filled as soon as possible, in spite of the difficulties of persuading officials to work in the Block area. I have already suggested a number of ways in which conditions of service can be made more attractive in my note on Mairang and precisely the same things would apply here.

The Jaintias themselves criticized the standard of the Gram Sevaks, some of whom they considered unqualified to do their work properly. It was also suggested that the present number of eleven Gram Sevaks was insufficient and that it should be raised to at least fifteen. The following table will show the present position.

Name of the circle	Area in sq. miles.	Population	Training of the Gram Sevaks
Saipung	123.0	1,545	Passed B. A. T. and E. T. C.
Darrang	8.0	2,705	Passed E. T. C. only.
Nongtalang.	14.0	3,871	Passed B. A. T. & E. T. C.
Padu	27.0	2,106	Untrained.
Sumer	71.5	2,239	Passed B. A. T. & E. T. C.
Rymbai	112.5	3,423	Untrained.
Narpuh	234.5	1,434	Trained in B.A.T. but failed.
Lakadong	43.5	1,360	Passed E. T. C. only.
Sutanga	85.0	7,694	Untrained.
Syndai	63.0	2,906	Trained in B.A.T. but failed.

It certainly appears that for a Gram Sevaks to cover an area of 234 square miles as in Narpuh, or of 123 square miles as in Saipung, or to look after a population of 3,871 as at Nongtalang, or of 3,423 as at Rymbai is beyond the powers of a young man whose qualifications, as shown above, may not be very high.

Conclusion

Owing to the difficulties which I have discussed at the beginning of this note, the pace of development in the Saipung-Darrang Block is perhaps a little below standard. Yet in view of them it is hardly possible to blame anyone for this. The pace of development in such areas, cannot be arbitrarily decided in distant Delhi or even in Shillong. After two-and-a-half year's effort, which I believe to have been sincere and devoted, many of the Jaintias still do not fully appreciate the value of the development programme; they retain their conservative ideas about agriculture; they have not yet been able to cast off their suspicions and doubts—they are, for example, still hesitant about putting their money into Co-operatives or even about using artificial pesticides or fertilizers. This means that progress is

bound to be a little slow and all the local officials agreed that it would be necessary to phase expenditure over an additional two years.

Among the immediate priorities which need attention in the Saipung-Darrang Block are education, for most of the schools need considerable improvement both in material equipment and in the standard of instruction: the learning of the local language by the non-Khasi officials; and the revival of Khasi-Jaintia culture, which will naturally be adapted to modern conditions and the new outlook on the world which many of the people have now acquired, but which can still be on the lines of their own tradition and genius.

THE SIMDEGA MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Simdega Multipurpose Block lies to the extreme south-west of Bihar, where it borders Madhya Pradesh, with the former Jashpur State to the west and Sundergarh District to the south. It has a population of 35,687 tribals and 30,000 non-tribals who live in 96 villages which are in turn divided into 323 hamlets located at a short distance from each other. The area of the Block is 296 square miles and its office is at Simdega itself, the small non-tribal town which is the S.D.O.'s headquarters of the Simdega Sub-Division of the Ranchi District. It was started in June 1956 as an N.E.S. Block and was changed into a Multipurpose Block on the 22nd of May 1957.

Dr Verrier Elwin, accompanied by Shri S. Ahmed, Additional Development Commissioner, Bihar, visited the Block in September 1959, and has made the following notes.

Until 1952 this area was rather cut off from the rest of Bihar as it was not connected by road. The officials in the old days came by bus as far as Gumla and then were carried in palkis to Simdega. Today, however, there is a first-class metalled road all the way from Ranchi and a regular bus service. The road runs through a countryside of great beauty, marked by fantastic rocks tumbled on the ground and great shoulders of smooth stone rising above it. The Block is divided into two by the Sankh river which means that it is at present very difficult, until a bridge is built, to undertake much in the way of development in the northern area. The people appear to be poor and it is said that this is largely due to the lack of communications in the past.

The main tribes are the nearly 14,000 Kharias, the 12,500 Uraons, the Mundas and Lohar-Mundas who together come to a little over 5,000, the Barai-Chicks who are weavers and number 1,835, and 1,500 Gonds. There are also small groups, Mahlis, Binjhias, Birhors (only 36) and Baigas (28). The 30,000 non-tribals are made up of Marwaris, Muslims, Khatri and other occupational Hindu castes.

Although each tribal group has its own language, everyone in the Block area speaks a dialect of Hindi called Sadri or Nagpuria. Seventy per cent of the tribal people are Christians, being divided between the followers of the Roman Catholic and the German Evangelical Lutheran Missions; these include about 90 per cent of the Mundas, Uraons and Kharias. Although their appearance does not greatly differ from those of the non-Christians, they have largely forgotten their own culture and tradition,

though they maintain their dances. The standard of literacy among them is high and it is said that they are fond of going to work in the towns such as Ranchi or Rourkela, immediately after the sowing is over. They return home with a certain amount of money to meet the expenses of the harvesting season. A few Christian families have sent members to the Andamans and the tea gardens of Assam where they maintain permanent establishments; when an elder brother, for example, comes home with his earnings, a younger brother goes to take his place. It is said that most of the Christians do not fall into debt and are exceptionally prompt in repaying Government loans.

All the tribes have a fruitful subsidiary source of income in the collection of fire-wood and honey. They also gather *chironji* which is purchased by the local Marwaris at about Rs. 2 a seer and resold at Rs. 5 in the towns, whence a substantial quantity is exported to Lucknow and elsewhere. The tribal people still often barter their goods, preferring to exchange them for salt or rice rather than to sell for money. This leads to a good deal of exploitation and there is now a plan whereby Government will buy in these products, at the same time providing facilities for the purchase of rice and salt on a cash basis immediately.

There is a certain amount of lac rearing but owing to the fall in prices this has become less useful as a subsidiary means of livelihood. There is no lac scheme under the Block budget but the State Agricultural Department provides funds for its development.

The small tribal groups generally follow their own religion, customs and traditions. They do not usually stay in a place which is dominated by Christians, and there is an unfortunate tendency for villages to disintegrate on a religious basis. The Birhors and Baigas do not generally own land and go from place to place, crossing over into Jashpur for hunting. They sell hides and skins, and the Baigas act as priests and soothsayers. A few Birhors catch monkeys, make rope, and live in huts made of paddy straw and sal leaves coated with mud. None of these small groups are normally willing to serve as labourers.

The Binhias, Mahlis and Chicks, however, often work as the servants of well-to-do persons and receive in return plots of land to cultivate. Some of them go to the Assam tea gardens but it is reported that, unlike the Christians, they do not save money there, but generally spend whatever they earn on what for them are luxuries on their way home.

All the tribes who cultivate at all practice settled cultivation and it was interesting to hear Kharia girls in one village describe how they appreciated the 'Japanese method' (they actually knew the word).

There seems to be little in the way of art but a number of cottage industries are known. The Chicks (weavers) produce serviceable cloth; other people grow cotton which they spin and give to them to weave for them. The Munda-Lohars are blacksmiths. The Kharias make good mats, umbrellas and baskets of various kinds from bamboo and all the tribes have a certain gift for carpentry. They are able to sell their mats in the local markets for Rs. 3 to Rs. 4.

Houses are made of mud, plastered with clay, with tile roofs: the floors are plinth. Some are poor, others are well-built. They are usually very clean, and are warm and cosy. Some are decorated with wall-paintings.

There is a Matho or Pahan (headman) in each tribal village, to whom any sort of trouble in the community is referred, and his decision is binding. In mixed villages each tribal group has its own leader. Thus in a village, where there are Mundas, Kharias, Oraons and others the Mundas have their own Pahan and other groups have also their own Pahan or Mahto. If there is any inter-village friction between two communities, it is referred to the Parha Raja (President) whose decision is binding on the communities of all the villages involved. For a group of villages, the Mahtos and Pahans elect their president, the Parha Raja. He is helped in his administration by a Dewan (Secretary) and a Kotwar (peon).

But the existence of these old traditional councils, have not materially affected the position of the Statutory Panchayats, for they deal primarily with social and religious matters, and are not concerned with the development work of the village, which is left to the Panchayat. Nineteen Statutory Gram Panchayats have been organised in the entire project: six of the Chairmen are non-tribal.

The V.L.Ws who are all (with one exception) local tribals, and other field staff go for a three weeks' training course in the Tribal Research Institute at Ranchi. I was told that the trainees found this was far too short a period. It might be better if the course was extended to five or six weeks. The syllabus might be modified from time to time in the light of experience.

In addition to the Missions which have been co-operative and liberal (they do not, for example, interfere with the tribal dances), there are three social service organizations working in the Block area—the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the Adimjati Seva Mandal and the Harijan Sevak Sangh. A Harijan Sevak Sangh representative suggested to me that insufficient attention was being paid by the Block officers to the Harijans (such as Ghasis, sweepers, Chamars, Turis and Boktas), and other 'backward' communities within the area.

The following Table indicates the expenditure up to the end of September 1959.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schemat- ic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 upto to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.00	0.87	1.08	0.98	0.57	3.50	49.96
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.50	0.21	0.26	0.28	0.05	0.81	53.70
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	0.31	0.48	0.75	0.03	1.58	39.42
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	0.11	0.17	0.49	0.05	0.82	41.18
Education	0.75	0.02	0.05	0.24	0.05	0.36	48.49
Social Education	0.75	0.04	0.14	0.22	0.07	0.40	54.03
Communications	4.00	..	0.48	0.40	0.08	0.96	23.99
Rural Arts and Crafts	2.00	..	0.02	0.38	0.15	0.55	27.51
Co-operation	2.00	..	0.20	0.40	0.05	0.65	32.47
Rural Housing	2.50	..	0.10	0.30	0.23	0.63	25.04
Miscellaneous	0.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	27.00	1.56	2.99	4.44	1.26	10.26	37.99

During the last year, irrigation schemes have been very successful and Rs. 75,000 were spent out of an allocation of one lakh. Nearly half a lakh went on Health in 1958-59. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, however, was Rs. 26,000 below the sanctioned figure. Rs. 23,830 was spent on Education, Rs. 40,485 on Communications against a sanctioned figure of Rs. 54,000 (which in an area crying out for better roads seems very small and there was a heavy shortfall of over half the sanctioned amount of Rs. 80,700 allotted for Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries, on which only Rs. 40,018 was spent. Substantial sums on the Project headquarters and housing for staff were, however, utilized and on these two items put together, some Rs. 5,000 was used in excess of the amount allotted.

I met members of the Block Development Committee, who strongly emphasized the need of diverting as much money as possible from other heads to Communications which they feel essential for the development of the area. They also asked for more subsidies for horticulture and gardens and stressed the need of providing additional means of checking the influence of the money-lenders. It was said that there were four to ten money-lenders in every village and that they took interest from 50 to 500 per cent. There was a general demand for the development of Grain Golas.

People's Contribution

On the whole, however, this meeting of the Block Development Committee revealed a mentality which was alien to the original idea of Development. Everybody clamoured for subsidies, loans and grants of money. There was even a demand for a subsidy to enable the people to put up bamboo fences round their gardens. This surely is a thing which could be done by any self-reliant community. It is already being done in many parts of India by self-respecting farmers who would be ashamed to ask Government to pay for something that they could perfectly do well themselves. In this area, many Uraons make mud or brick walls, with tiles, round their gardens.

It was also pointed out that although there was money for roads there was no money for their maintenance and that many roads, which were constructed between villages, were destroyed in the following rains. In the same way, the subject of maintenance of buildings erected under the Block budget funds receives insufficient attention.

Everyone, including the Block officials, insisted that there was no chance of obtaining the full people's contribution in this economically under-developed area. They pointed out that it would be easy enough to fake returns to make it appear that the people were doing their share of development, but that it would be much better frankly to admit that even 25 per cent is not possible. Indeed, far from making any contribution the attitude of the tribes is mainly one of demanding more and more things free of any charge at all.

Health

This Block has been fortunate in having its full quota of medical staff. The people, probably through the influence of Christianity, are now keen

on modern medicine and there is a constant demand for more Health Subcentres. At present there is provision for only three such Health Subcentres in the interior, which in such a difficult area seems to be too low. There is a need for additional Mobile Units and some extra staff such as trained midwives, vaccinators and so on. The area, however, is stated to be healthy; malaria has been almost eradicated; there is very little leprosy, little V.D., no yaws or goitre and the main trouble seems to be from hookworm and mal-nutrition.

One of the strongest demands is for better water. Until recently the people were entirely dependent on local seasonal streams and a few wells. The natural supply, however, is uncertain and they have suffered greatly by having to go long distances to get their water. Here is something which is beyond controversy and for which money should be diverted if necessary from other schemes of less immediate necessity or value. It is proposed that every one of the 323 hamlets in the Block should have its own well, which will cost Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 a time. Although this would result in a total expenditure of over three lakhs of rupees as against the budget provision of Rs. 80,000, I feel it would be well worth while to transfer sufficient money to make this plan possible. Everywhere I noted that it was one of the very first demands of the people themselves.

Housing

A thing which struck me in some of the villages was that there was a curious discrepancy between some of the possessions of the people and the houses in which they live. There would be a bicycle or a sewing-machine, tables and chairs but no attempt on the part of the people to improve their homes. Since the houses are made of mud and local tiles there is really no reason why they should not have much better houses which simply require a little more energy and effort on their part. It will be fatal for Government to build houses for them, for this merely robs them of their own initiative. It is entirely wrong to say that the tribal people have no time to build a good house; they do, in fact, have plenty of time and what is needed is vigorous propaganda to create in their minds a sense of house-pride. Prizes might be given for the best laid-out village or best constructed house, and this would not pauperize.

There is a suggestion to make a colony for the very small number of Birhors (only 36 of them) living in the Block area. The P.E.O. Shri Pande has pointed out that this is bound to be expensive since members of a Birhol family do not like living in a single building. The eldest member lives with his wife in one house, a son and daughter-in-law has a separate establishment, the other relations have their own houses. It is said that any attempt to put a whole family into one house and courtyard will be a failure and they will migrate to some other place. In actual fact, is it really necessary to start a colony for only 36 Birhors? I feel that instead of beginning with houses and then going on to agriculture and crafts, the scheme should work the other way round. Let the Birhors improve their economic condition first and then they themselves may begin to build more substantial homes. The small tribes like the Birhors or Baigas tend to be more affected by pauperization than any others and if we try to provide too many things for them, they will be damaged psychologically.

Cottage Industries

The Cottage Industries schemes are going exceptionally well in and around Simdega. Centres for training and production in bamboo-work, tussar silk, carpentry, durie-making, knitting and embroidery, blacksmithy and soap-making are being conducted in hired houses in different parts of the town. The reason for this is that it is planned to move these centres after a year or two into the interior and then, after they have been in one place for a sufficient time, to move them on elsewhere. Houses are rented at Rs. 15 a month and although the buildings are not very good there is the advantage that the boys and girls get their training and produce their goods under condition very similar to those in their own homes. There is also an enormous saving in money.

This is an interesting example of how expenditure is a bad yardstick of progress. It would have been easy to put up buildings at Rs. 20,000 for each of these crafts and this would have looked very well in the financial report. Instead, only a tiny fraction is being spent on buildings, but the actual work is first-rate.

A dozen or more tribal boys were producing attractive baskets for which they had large orders, especially from the Missions. The carpentry boys make frames for chairs and send them round to the bamboo-section to be provided with seats. Soap-making is progressing with enthusiasm and attractively-wrapped washing soaps are sold at slightly less than similar soaps obtainable in the bazaars. Karanji oil, which can be obtained locally, is used. About fifteen tribal women and girls were learning knitting and embroidery and some of the designs, though bearing no relation to tribal designs, were attractive. A number of Chicks were engaged in making durries on large looms and it is said that these are of better quality and comparatively cheaper than those selling in the bazaars. The Carpentry Centre, where the period of training is for one year, has produced a number of very good items of furniture, though it was admitted that the instructor had to do a good deal of work on them. There is already in existence a small Co-operative soap-making centre which has only just started and it is too soon to tell whether it will be profitable or not, but it was good to see the young men making soap and selling it on a co-operative basis. My only criticisms are these—

(1) It seems to me that in some cases unnecessarily elaborate instruments and tools are being used. For example, there was a tool for boring bamboo which might very well go out of order later and would be difficult to replace. Similarly, there was a blow-lamp which was used to make the bamboo more pliable but I was told that this could be easily done on an ordinary fire. Here again, there is a danger that if the trainees get accustomed to this kind of instrument they may, later on, when the lamp given during the training period goes out of order, be discouraged from carrying on the craft. In the soap-making section there is an elaborate stamping machine which cuts the soap into blocks of proper size and stamps them with the manufacturer's name. This costs about Rs. 500 and I feel that it would be better to have some kind of hand-punch which would be much cheaper and equally effective. This would lessen the overhead cost and will not be likely to go out of order.

(2) There is no attempt at all to adopt any local designs. This is.

understandable because such designs are few but a little research might well discover, in paintings on baskets, paintings on houses and so on, designs that might be adopted for use in the weaving or embroidery sections. I saw some interesting Turi designs on baskets, and decorations on small tobacco boxes. The tribes have a sense of pattern: it is only necessary to discover it and bring it out.

(3) There is no wood-carving in the carpentry section, which is engaged in producing articles mainly for official or missionary use. Yet I saw a very good piece of wood-carving in a collection made by the Raja of Biru. Something of the kind might be taken up as a side-industry in the carpentry section.

(4) The Chicks are the weavers of cloth in this area and in view of the great shortage of hand-made local cloth, it seems to me rather a pity that they should be diverted to the making of durries which are easily obtainable in the bazaars. In the main, I felt that there was not enough interest in weaving; there is much greater stress on embroidery, knitting and making of carpets. It might be better to encourage the Chicks in their textile weaving industry, and try to revive it among other tribes.

In each of these industries centres the trainees are paid a wage varying from eight to twelve annas a day (the average daily wage is Rs. 1.25) and they save part of this money so that at the end of the course they are able to buy their tools at subsidized rates; they are, for example, able to get a sewing machine for about Rs. 100. Care is being taken to see that every worker in these centres is provided with raw materials and the necessary tools at the end of his period of training. The idea is that afterwards, as in the case of soap-making, they will form small Co-operatives and carry on their work.

Language

Since all the different tribes speak the Sadri dialect, Hindi has become a sort of mother tongue superseding the local tribal languages. Hindi is the medium of instruction even in the Lower Primary schools. All members of the Block staff, including the V.L.Ws, communicate with the people through Sadri and the general impression is that a knowledge of the local tribal languages is not necessary. On the other hand, the disappearance of the tribal languages, which will undoubtedly occur under the present conditions, is a serious matter from the psychological point of view and it is contrary to the general policy of Government to give instruction at the L.P. stage in a language other than the mother tongue. It will also help to deprive the tribes of a pride in themselves and make impossible the building up of a people's literature. In Bihar there is a system of rewards for officials who pass an examination in a tribal language; these range from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 according to the official's status. No Gazetted Officer in this Block has passed his language exam. or received a reward. The incentive to learn the local language is naturally much less than in the neighbouring areas where Hindi is not known.

I feel that, in view of the general policy of the Government of India, the possibility of introducing instruction at the L.P. stage in the mother tongue, and a study of the mother tongue at least as a voluntary subject at the higher levels, should be seriously considered. In addition, the pro-

duction of text-books and of small books of songs and stories as well as some translations of simple books, such as the life of Gandhiji, should be taken up as soon as possible. Ten or fifteen years ago Mr W. G. Archer, himself a poet and a member of the I.C.S., edited a number of song-books carefully collected in Uraon, Santali and Mundari. These are now out of print and I suggest that Government might reprint them in sufficient numbers to be distributed widely among the different tribal populations. There are also a good many tribal stories contained in the old books by Bedding, Bompas, S. C. Roy and others. These are mostly printed in English, but there is no reason why they could not be translated back into Santali, Uraon, Mundari, and published, pending fresh collections which, at the present rate of progress, will take a very long time.

There is very little current literature about the Bihar tribes and I also suggest that the classical books by S. C. Roy, which are now impossible to obtain, should be edited—quickly—and reprinted, provided, of course, that the owner of the copyright is agreeable. Fresh illustrations could be provided, a Preface or Foreword could be inserted explaining that these books were published a long time ago and conditions today are different, and perhaps an Epilogue could be added describing the progress of the tribes in the fifteen or twenty years since S. C. Roy wrote. It would take a good deal of time to produce new books, whereas we could reprint very quickly these admirable works by a devoted friend of the tribal people of Bihar.

Education

There are 89 schools of various kinds in the Block area and there is a popular demand for more. The Block has helped existing schools with furniture and equipment.

I visited a Basic School at Phulwatanagar. The building was in rather a tumble-down condition and I was told that there was no money for repairs of this or of another school I noticed by the roadside whose roof had entirely collapsed. It seems to me that the Block funds under education could be better used to keep existing schools in good condition and to help them with suitable equipment than in opening new schools. It creates a very bad impression on the people when they see their children being taught in bare and miserable buildings. School-houses may be very simple (nobody minds that) but they should be good.

As far as I could see there was hardly any attempt at real basic education. A Basic school is not a school which has some emphasis on crafts but is one where the education is done *through* a craft. I noticed that there was no attempt at any kind of tribal bias. The pictures on the walls might possibly be suitable for urban areas, but they were quite unsuitable for a tribal school. There was what is called a cultural class going on and at this a little boy was singing a rather dreary song about the sorrows of the world. There was no sign of tribal songs, dances or games. On the other hand, the garden was excellently maintained and though the children are not learning through a craft they are certainly practising one.

In fact, a good many tribal people here object to Basic Education and there is a common pun that it is not basic but *ba-sik*, meaning a place where you do not learn anything. They also say that the basic schools

are a deliberate scheme to keep them backward; they cannot see the point of studying agriculture which they know better than their teachers, and they claim their children will not be able to compete with those who have attended ordinary schools.

A few other small points may be noted.

I visited a Kharia village, Bhundotoli, where an enterprising Kharia lady is carrying on a night-school which has been attended by twenty adults in the past two months. The school has been provided with books, slates, a petromax (which had already considerably deteriorated) and a large and rather expensive carpet. It occurred to me that, since the Kharias are good mat-makers, there was surely no need to spend money on buying things like elaborate carpets, which are suitable enough in the towns but out of place in a tribal house, and that it would be better to equip all such schools with locally made mats.

The word 'sweeper' is often used to denote a Grade IV employee who keeps an office clean. In the schematic budget for the staff for Multipurpose Blocks, there is provision for 'Sweepers-cum-Servants'. I suggest that this word should be dropped—for in general usage it applies to a man who cleans lavatories, to someone in fact whose most distinctive work is not sweeping at all. To call a tribal employee a sweeper, as I noticed was being done in this Block, may cause misunderstanding. In the list of employees, for example, two tribals were entered as 'sweepers' and this disturbed me until the P.E.O. explained that they were not really sweepers at all, but were 'multipurpose peons' who kept the office and compound clean, but never cleaned lavatories.

The arrangements for cultural shows should have the special attention of the P.E.Os, for these are occasions when many aspects of the traditional life of the people can be revived and given the honour they deserve. Care should be taken with the lighting arrangements, for example, so that a bright petromax does not shine in the eyes of the spectators. Dancers should be tactfully persuaded to put on their best attire and to avoid incongruous elements which can spoil the effect of a performance. At a show of this kind in Biru there was some wonderful dancing, as vigorous and rhythmical as anything I have seen. Yet the effect was considerably marred by the shabby shirts which some of the men wore and by the bunches of coloured paper, instead of the traditional flowers or ornaments, in the hair of the girls. Some time ago, I was told, an artist was consulted as to the proper dancing-dress for the Uraon and other tribal male dancers. He said, 'What do they want a uniform for? They wear attractive dhotis with red streamers attached and for the rest they have their own beautiful bodies which it would be a crime to cover.' An Uraon beating a great drum in his own attire is a splendid sight. Dressed as a second-rate copy of a townsman, although his movements are the same, the general appearance is incongruous.

I was very impressed by the work being done in the Simdega Block. The officials seemed to me keen and genuinely concerned for the welfare of their people. I do not think progress is too slow. There is still a lot of money left, and if a little more time is given and it is spent in future as wisely as it has been spent hitherto, there will be a real improvement in the health, economy, mobility and happiness of the people.

THE SUKHSAR MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The Sukhsar Block is situated 30 miles in the interior from Dohad in the Santrampur Taluk of the Panchmahals District of Bombay State.

The Project was started in November, 1956, although the staff, including the B.D.O., V.L.Ws. and the Extension Officers only took up their duties in June, 1957. It was visited by Shri Wadiwa and Shri Nanavatty in October 1959, and they have reported as follows.

The total population of 27,769 consists of 24,460 tribals, mainly Bhils who thus constitute 88%. The Scheduled Castes constitute a very small population of 324, the non-tribals consist of artisans, traders and money-lenders. According to the 1951 census, there are 4,626 families having 10,256 men, 9,233 women and 7,580 children. The number of children below the age of 5 comes to 2,882 and in the age-group 5-15 comes to 4,626. The percentage of literacy is 2.3%. The Block consists of 61 villages out of which 25 villages are situated within a radius of 2 miles from the two main roads connecting Lunavada and Jhalod through Santrampur. The remaining villages are not connected with *pakka* main roads. There are 10 V.L.W. circles.

Expenditure

The progress of expenditure since the Block was started is shown in the following Table.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schema- tic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to age of 30-9-59	Percent- Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	5.35	0.03	0.65	0.85	0.94	2.48	46.39
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	2.40	..	0.06	0.15	0.28	0.49	20.36
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.10	..	1.05	1.84	0.42	3.31	80.74
Health and Rural Sanitation	1.95	..	0.02	0.05	0.23	0.30	15.28
Education	4.80	..	0.41	0.86	0.65	1.92	40.10
Social Education	1.00	..	0.04	0.31	0.12	0.47	45.98
Communications	3.00	..	0.21	0.30	0.12	0.63	20.93
Rural Arts & Crafts	2.50	..	0.05	0.29	0.18	0.52	20.73
Co-operation	..	..	..	0.03	0.06	0.10	..
Rural Housing*	1.90	..	0.09	0.74	1.12	1.95	102.43
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Suspense	..	..	..	..	0.06	0.06	..
TOTAL	27.00	0.03	2.60	5.42	4.18	12.23	45.31

* Includes expenditure on staff quarters also.

Staffing Pattern

The Doctor and the Compounder were not in position, although the posts are sanctioned. Similarly for the Animal Husbandry Extension Officer. Recently the post of a Panchayat Extension Officer has been created and it is hoped that he will be appointed soon.

The A.D.E.I. is a member of the Block Development Committee, but he is not a member of the Block Team.

No officer of the Social Welfare Department is attached to the development staff as in Bihar. Actually there are no schemes of Tribal Welfare carried out by the Social Welfare Department in this Block. The District Social Welfare Officer is not a regular member of the B.D.C. Thus the role of the Tribal Welfare Section of the Social Welfare Department is not clear in the Development block. At present it is non-existent.

Agriculture

The main concentration in the agriculture programme was given to the construction of irrigation wells. 600 wells are planned out of which 250 are completed. This has added 900 acres of double cropping. In addition, contour-bunding has been carried out for 2,560 acres. It is proposed to cover 20,000 acres by the end of the Plan period. 46 acres of Japanese method of cultivation were developed last year as demonstration. This year the villagers have taken to this method in nearly 400 acres. The programme of compost pits, distribution of fertilizers and growing of green manure has been carried out in addition to the supply of improved seeds. Efforts were made to form Farmers' Unions and for the promotion of measures of soil conservation, use of improved seeds and distribution of manure. 48 Farmers' Unions have been formed.

The Agriculture Extension Officer and Soil Conservation Officer tend to overlap each other's programme. Actually neither has been trained in soil conservation. It would have been better if their work had been divided geographically in absence of specialised training.

Animal Husbandry

The total cattle population in the Block consist of 12,055 bulls, 2,527 cows, 4,404 calves, 2,397 buffaloes, 1,941 she-buffaloes, and other cattle 11,838.

The cattle wealth, although large in number, was poor in stock. At present the Block does not seem to have any systematic plan for the improvement of the cattle other than the supply of improved variety of bulls. The real problem is of fodder, which is not even visualised. The questions that the Block administration should consider in this connection are two: (a) how to dispose of the extra burden of the cattle which are not useful to the farmer; and (b) how to grow more fodder for the remaining cattle. It is proposed to have a centre for artificial insemination. There is no programme of fishery and piggery, for the tribals have not taken to keeping pigs and there are no ponds for the fish. Some effort is made to promote poultry farming through the supply of an improved variety of fowls. The tribals seem to have taken favourably to this programme and there is plenty of scope for improvement and enlargement. It is necessary, where there is such a large animal population without much facilities of fodder and poor breed, for the Directorates of Animal Husbandry and Agriculture jointly to explore

measures for improvement. These measures should relate to the above-mentioned problems of the disposal of additional burden of animal population improvement of the selected variety of animal breeds and growing of fodder.

Forestry

Almost all the existing forests in the Block have been razed to the ground. Some effort has been made to plant trees in a selected area and a forest nursery is being developed. As there are no forests worth the name, there is no problem of relating the forest economy to the tribal economy.

Irrigation

Concentration has been laid on the construction of irrigation wells through giving of taccavi, and more than 250 have been completed. Increasing attention is being given to the promotion of this programme. There are no schemes for medium size irrigation. On inquiry it was found that the scope is limited. But the Block has spent 80·74% of its allocation for Irrigation and allied subjects.

Communications

The programme of Communications appeared to be weakest of all the programmes, only 20·93% having been spent. Sixteen miles of road is under progress and thirty-six miles of road has been planned in six main areas of communication. Some of the V.L.W. headquarters are not connected with the Block headquarters even by fair-weather roads. One reason is that the Deputy Engineer joined the Block only in October, 1957. Even then the Housing scheme (102·40% expenditure) has been given greater attention than Communications.

Health and Water Supply

As yet no doctor has been appointed. In his absence the programme of health and sanitation has remained very weak, only Rs. 29,794 or 15·28% having been utilized. The Sanitary Inspector, who has been in position for the last 3 months, has given his attention to the disinfection of drinking wells and construction of nine new drinking wells. The Malaria team has covered the whole block by D.D.T. Two nurses are working in isolation. They are attending to some cases of delivery, although on their own admission, they are not effective. The whole programme of Health requires immediate attention. Scabies is very common here.

Education

There are 37 Primary Schools, two Middle Schools and one Ashram School in the Block area : the 37 primary schools extend educational facilities to 43 villages. The educational facilities in this Block are better than in any other Block. This may possibly be due to the early efforts of voluntary agencies such as the Bhil Seva Mandal during the last many years. The villagers are eager for getting more educational facilities. Three of the villages visited have provided school buildings and land on their own. It would be desirable to ask voluntary agencies, like the Bhil Seva Mandal, to promote additional educational facilities in form of Ashram Schools in some of the villages. They seem to have devoted well qualified workers at their disposal. During discussions with representatives of the Bhil Seva

Mandal and some of the M.L.As and M.Ps, it appeared that although the Bhil Seva Mandal was willing to shoulder the responsibility of promoting the education programme in the Block, the facilities given to them in the form of grants were not adequate.

Social Education

As the male S.E.O. was under training we did not have much opportunity of discussing the Social Education programme in the Block. It was, however, reported that 16 Bhajan Mandalias were formed specially in the tribal villages. Efforts were also made to promote Youth Clubs. During the last year a literacy campaign was initiated and a large number of literacy classes were organised: 837 adults were made literate and 12 libraries were opened. Two community halls at the cost of Rs. 8,000 each were constructed. This raises a question of the desirability of spending such a large amount towards these constructions instead of utilising a school building as a community centre during non-school hours. It is also necessary that newly constructed housing projects should have common meeting places for the members of the group and an intensive scheme of social education specially in relation to formation of habits of cleanliness and proper use of houses and group and community life need to be promoted.

Rural Housing

It was reported that nearly 110 new houses have been constructed by the villagers under the scheme at a cost of nearly two lakhs. The scheme consists of providing Rs. 750 as subsidy for the construction of a *kachha* house of two rooms, one kitchen and one veranda of the total value of Rs. 1,500 out of which the villager is supposed to provide labour plus additional funds. During our visits to two of the villages where the housing scheme was in progress, we noticed that some of the villagers have to spend 300 to 400 rupees instead of the subsidy of Rs. 750, besides giving labour. This cost they have met by selling cows and buffaloes and food crops. As elsewhere, the scheme of housing requires further examination. The objective of the scheme was not clear in the minds of the Block officers. They said that this was meant to bring the tribal people together at one spot for providing social services. It was not clear whether such a scheme was required in a Block like this where the tribals were not living in the forest and not resorting to shifting cultivation. Even when the tribals have responded favourably to the scheme and have constructed a large number of houses it appeared that the early preparation of work in form of education was not attended to. There is no provision for common meeting places to develop community life among the tribals. The programme of Social Education as well as follow up requires to be well planned and implemented.

The Block administration seems to have done well with the programme of constructing staff quarters. The construction of the office building is complete and that of staff quarters is nearing completion. Five quarters have been constructed for the V.L.Ws in different villages. The question of adjusting the type of house to the local environment remains unattended as in other blocks. The real question is whether by providing such a standard of housing, the distance between the tribals and the workers is not increased and whether the tribals are provided a model for their imitation even in

the distant future. It is well-nigh impossible that the tribals in this generation will be able to use this type of house on their own.

Cottage Industries

The programme of cottage industries included organisation of six training centres, one each of tailoring, carpentry, fibre-making, machinery etc. Earlier the programme of bamboo centre, pottery and three women's tailoring centres were attended. Each trainee is given Rs. 20 as stipend out of which Rs. 5 is reserved for forming a co-operative society. This is a novel move on the part of the Block administration and will strengthen the early formation of Co-operatives immediately after the completion of the training. It proposes to have a workshop provided at the Block headquarters from the saving made in running the training centres in addition to the introduction of schemes of tiles and brick making. The practice needs to be introduced in other Blocks. The Industries Extension Officer reported that he carried out a survey of the industries before starting the training centres. According to the survey, it was observed that there were 21 houses of potters, 11 of oilmen, 12 of tailors, 20 of tanners, 22 carpenters and blacksmiths and 10 of bamboo workers. Most of these families are non-tribal. On inquiry we noted that while enrolling trainees 33% seats were given to the traditional craftsmen, although they are non-tribals, and the remaining seats to the tribal candidates. During our visits to the villages we observed that the non-tribal traditional craftsmen were eager to send their sons to the training centres in large numbers.

Co-operatives

The Co-operative Extension Officer joined the Block in 1957. 21 villages have cent per cent coverage of membership, 20 villages 50%. On the whole, 53% of the families residing in the Block are covered by Co-operatives. There are 16 Credit Societies and 3 Multipurpose Societies. Efforts are being made to convert all these into Service Societies. There are 2,300 members and Rs. 4,97,000 as share capital. Last year Rs. 1,50,000 were given as loan and this year Rs. 2,25,000, out of which 70 to 80% have already been recovered. Efforts are made to have a Sale and Purchase Society and marketing and storage facilities with a godown. There are six housing societies in existence. There is, however, need to relate credit facilities with marketing facilities. At present some of the Credit Societies are not able to construct godowns for storing agricultural goods as no provision for grants for them is provided. It was stated that the Bombay Government is already considering providing storing facilities. The programme of Co-operation seems to have made considerable headway. This may be due to its early introduction by voluntary agencies like the Bhil Seva Mandal.

Indebtedness

The problem of indebtedness still seems to prevail in spite of the increasing number of Co-operatives. This is possibly due to the fact that credit is not given for uneconomic purposes such as marriage and other social functions. At the same time, during discussion with the members of the B.D.C. it was stated that increasingly tribals have stopped taking loans for agricultural work. This, if true, is encouraging. An all-sided attack needs

to be made on this problem which at present undermines the improvement in the economic condition of the tribals.

Panchayats and the Tribal Councils

There does not seem to exist any problem of conflict between the traditional Tribal Councils and the new Panchayats. The tribals have been sufficiently acculturised and have adopted Panchayats for the last so many years. One Panchayat is provided to cover a population 2,000. Thus, two to three villagers are combined for each Panchayat. At present facilities of sanitation and lighting are provided in the villages by the Panchayats. It is too early to state whether the Panchayat will be in a position to take up the development programme increasingly. Efforts, however, need to be made in gradual stages.

Financial Position

The Block has up till now spent over Rs. 12 lakhs, thus leaving Rs. 15 lakhs to be spent during the remaining two years. This is practically impossible and also undesirable. During the discussion with the staff as well as with the B.D.C., it was stated that the period of the Block should be extended by two years so that the remaining amount can be systematically utilised for promotion of the development programme and stabilization of the institutions of Panchayat, Co-operative and School.

In addition to the provision of Rs. 27 lakhs under the Block budget for a period of five years, we noted that following amount has been spent by normal service Departments.

- (a) Rs. 1,60,000 in form of subsidies and loan by Agriculture Department for irrigation wells.
- (b) Rs. 40,000 for soil conservation by the Agriculture Department.
- (c) About Rs. 20, 000 for providing seeds, bullocks, etc. from revenue Department.
- (d) Rs. 1,25,000 for bridge building and Rs. 3,50,000 for road construction by P.W.D.
- (e) The District School Board provides for the running of 37 schools and Education Department for one Ashram school.
- (f) The District Local Board provides for one subsidised medical centre.
- (g) Nearly Rs. 1 lakh is being spent by the Central Social Welfare Board from the Central and State grant towards the co-ordinated programme.

There is no additional scheme by the Social Welfare Department of the State from the funds secured from the Central Government, specially from the Ministry of Home Affairs.

We also observed that facilities are provided at the Block and Divisional level to make adjustments in the Block budget. The B.D.C. makes necessary recommendations for adjustment of provision within the items as well as outside given items, such as Education, Irrigation and Agriculture. The Collector at the District level is empowered to make adjustment within the item. The Divisional Commissioner is empowered to make adjustment within the major divisions of the budget, except in matters of loans, non-loan amount and agricultural provision.

Thus, it could be seen that the schematic budget is not providing any difficulties with regard to the utilisation of funds, provided powers are given to the appropriate authority to make adjustment. The power as stated above is given and adequately utilised in the Bombay State.

General Observations

(a) On the whole the programme of irrigation wells and cottage industries have been well developed, keeping in view the short period of 2½ years of the Block.

(b) The programmes of Communications, Health and Animal Husbandry is weak. This was said to be due to the non-availability of trained personnel.

(c) The other programmes showed average performance.

(d) With regard to the administrative problem, during discussion with the staff the following observations were made :

- (i) In view of the short radius of the Block from the headquarters, the Extension Officers were not getting advantage of travelling allowance, as the T.A. rules provided for area beyond five miles of radius. It was, therefore, suggested that permanent travelling allowance should be given to all the extension officers in the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. This was felt as a typical problem of this Block.
- (ii) The State has sanctioned 25% salary as additional allowance in the Multipurpose Blocks. This was appreciated by all workers. At the same time, it was observed that in view of limited facilities of education in the Block, some provision for education facilities should be made for the children of the Block workers.
- (iii) It was observed that if the V.L.Ws and Extension Officers are placed in or near the District to which they belong, it would facilitate their maintenance of social contact. The Bombay State has already adopted the practice of appointing V.L.Ws in their own Districts. It was however not desirable to place any functionary in the same village or the same Taluka from where he comes. If a worker puts in service for a period of five years efficiently, it would be desirable to consider granting of an additional increment as an incentive to him.

(e) The Block was reported to have completed a physical survey of the facilities in 1957. Since then further information collected every year was reported to have been incorporated. In connection with the survey, it would be desirable to have an intensive survey as a requirement of the pre-extension phase, not only to know the cultural and the social practices of the tribals, but also to know their economic standard. This should be of a nature of Benchmark Survey so that later on the advantages secured through the development programme can be adequately measured in comparison to its findings.

(f) During discussion both with the members of the B.D.C. and the staff, it was suggested that the period of the Block should be extended up to 2 years, so as to provide facilities both for utilisation of the remaining finances as well as for stabilising the remaining institutional development.

(g) With regard to the appointment of tribal workers in the Block it was found that one Agricultural Extension Officer, two V. L. Ws. and four peons belonged to the Bhil tribe.

(h) With regard to the provision of a tribal bias in determining and promoting the programme of development among the tribals, it may be noted that the tribals in this particular Block are so much acculturised that their social institutions and other social practices are akin to the non-tribals in the district. The only difference is in slowness of the receptivity of the change and the programme of development. This raises a question whether the programme of Special Multipurpose Blocks requires to be introduced in such an area.

(i) It was also observed that there was greater need for co-ordination between the various welfare departments working towards the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the tribals. These departments are Directorate of Social Welfare including Tribal Welfare, Directorate of Education, State Advisory Board for Social Welfare, Central Social Welfare Board and Forest Department.

THE UTNUR MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCK

The tribes of the Adilabad District in what was once the State of Hyderabad have become widely known as the result of the writings of Dr C. von Furer-Haimendorf and Sir W. V. Grigson, both of whom did much for their welfare in the years towards the end of the Second World War.

Utnur lies south of Adilabad town, in the middle of the District, and a little north-west of Marlavai, after which the Block was originally named. The Block is a large one, 726 square miles in extent, with 166 villages and a population of 59,404 of which 25,000 is tribal. It was started on the 1st April 1956.

When Utnur was established as a Taluk headquarters about forty years ago, the bulk of the land under cultivation was in the hands of the tribals, some of whom even had *patta* rights. But in the next quarter of a century there was a large influx of outsiders, of whom there are now over 10,000 and a great many tribals were deprived of their lands. Stricter control of the forests, and the checking of shifting cultivation helped in creating a widespread loss of nerve and economic decline among these simple people. It was, therefore, a wise decision to open a Block here for, although the efforts of Furer-Haimendorf and Grigson in 1945 did much to obtain better conditions for them *vis-a-vis* the Government, there was little money in those days for positive development and there is today a great deal to be done.

The tribal population consists of Kolams, Naikpods, a large majority of Raj Gonds (some 20,000) and the two groups of tribal minstrels—the Pardhans and the Totis.

It is the Kolams or Kolavars who can best claim the title of 'aboriginal' in this area. They have a Dravidian language, Kolami, which agrees in some points with Telugu and in others with Tamil; many of them are also familiar with Marathi or Telugu and even Gondi. Until fairly recently they practised shifting cultivation, but as far back as 1941 the introduction of forest conservancy had already forced them to a new method of subsistence, though some of them continued the old practices in the remoter forests. They supplement their diet with wild roots and tubers, which are often very nourishing, and by honey-gathering, but hunting has long ceased to be of any econo-

mic importance. They generally live in their own separate hamlets, sometimes very small, on higher hills or ridges than the Gonds, whose material and spiritual culture they have assimilated in many ways. Although many Gonds regard the Kolams as their equals, there are others who look on them as a lower group and will not eat or intermarry with them; this applies especially to the Kolams who no longer speak their own language and are in the process of becoming an inferior Hindu caste.

The Naikpods resemble the Kolams in many ways, but they speak a different language, which in the Utmur Block is Telegu, though elsewhere they have what has been called 'Naikudi Gondi', which has not yet been studied. The Naikpods claim to be of higher social status than either Gonds or Kolams and they abstain from beef and pork.

The mass of the tribal people are Gonds, members of the great and once ruling tribe which is widely dispersed throughout central India and is some three million strong. Here there are about 20,000 of them. In Adilabad they regard themselves as Raj Gonds and speak Gondi among themselves, though many (but not usually women) know either Marathi, Telugu and even Urdu. Furer-Haimendorf's book on *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad* is so detailed and exact that there is no need to give a further account of them here.

Closely associated with the other tribals are two small groups of bards and minstrels, the Pardhans and Totis.

The Pardhans are not priests, as they are so often described, but are the hereditary bards of the Gonds and, as Furer-Haimendorf says, 'the songs and stories which they preserve by oral transmission are the most important depositories of Gond tradition'. 'I have often noticed', he continues, 'that where the Pardhans discard their fiddle and abandon their ancient association with the Gonds, their own as well as their former patrons' cultural life suffers the loss of a vital element.' Slightly lower in social status than the Pardhans, are the Totis who fulfil the same function. Their women are expert in tattooing. Both Pardhans and Totis have the same social system, worship the Gond gods, and observe the same religious customs.

The annual expenditure by subjects to the end of September 1959 is shown in the following Table.

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schematic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Project Headquarters	7.00	..	0.67	0.92	0.37	1.96	27.96
Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	1.50	..	0.21	0.24	0.04	0.49	32.91
Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	4.00	..	0.23	0.60	0.41	1.24	30.92
Health and Rural Sanitation	2.00	..	0.12	0.13	0.05	0.31	15.35
Education	0.75	..	0.07	0.18	0.05	0.30	40.77

Head (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised Schem- atic Budget	Expenditure in				Total up to 30-9-59	Percent- age of Expendi- ture to Budget
		1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960 up to 30-9-59		
Social Education . . .	0.75	..	0.06	0.09	0.01	0.17	22.26
Communications . . .	4.00	..	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.07	1.74
Rural Arts and Crafts . . .	2.00	..	0.02	0.31	0.16	0.49	24.35
Co-operation . . .	2.00	..	..	0.19	0.07	0.26	13.30
Rural Housing . . .	2.50	..	..	0.15	0.07	0.22	8.66
Miscellaneous . . .	0.50	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL . . .	27.00	..	1.41	2.85	1.24	5.51	20.40

It is reported that today shifting cultivation is no longer practiced anywhere in the Block territory, though there is still a certain amount of shifting of villages. Sometimes this is because of the menace of wild animals, sometimes on account of an unlucky death, and sometimes through a desire for better land or because the people's rights to their fields are uncertain. In the year 1958 there were 66 cases of tribals abandoning their holdings; it is surely most important to know why.

There is a little wood-carving here and some of the Gonds make or used to make striking masks for use in ceremonial dances; this should by all means be encouraged. There is no weaving among the tribes and, although Gonds and Pardhans elsewhere are famous for their clay modelling and painting on the walls of their houses, it is reported that there is none of this here. The Kolams make bamboo mats and baskets. A few tribal candidates have enrolled themselves in the weaving section of the Industries centre.

The dances have been recorded and illustrated in Furer-Haimendorf's book, and many songs and stories will also be found in it. Could not these be extracted, translated back into Gondi where the original has not been given and produced as a separate book entirely in Gondi? This would be a step forward in the direction of building up a people's literature in their own tongue.

The tribals here are keen on modern medicine, though when there is an epidemic they often hesitate to leave their villages to seek for aid, for fear of irritating the spirit or demon who has brought disease upon them. The real difficulty, however, is to obtain medical staff. Compounders will not stay: nurses and midwives will not come; only one doctor, out of the two sanctioned, has so far been found. Only Rs. 30,701 or 15.35% was spent on Health up to the end of September 1959.

Text books for schools are in Gondi and the children are taught in their mother tongue. It is reported, rather curiously, that 'tribal language examination is not necessary for the Block staff', six of whom are conversant with Gondi. In the main officials use Hindustani in their relations with the tribes. But this is not enough. If all the members of the staff do not know Gondi, then a language examination, and either some penalty for failure or reward for success, is surely very necessary.

Sir W. V. Grigson has given the following account of an educational experiment started over fifteen years ago, which is still worthy of study and imitation.

This is the work started by the Furer-Haimendorfs at Marlavai, Gond youths were selected from surrounding villages, where there was a demand for education, and put through a course of training in a village training centre where all the buildings were built of local materials in precisely the same style as the existing village houses but with improved dimensions, light and ventilation. The Gondi language is used as the medium of instruction, Laubach Gondi charts having been prepared, and Gondi primers with Gondi folk-songs, tales and myths: the teachers were also trained to teach Marathi and Urdu. Model grain-banks and co-operative stores and an agricultural farm have been based on this centre which has also trained Gonds and Kolams in the work of the Patel and the Patwari. When he passes out, the new schoolmaster goes back to his village and with a small grant of cash and free timber has to get a rough school building constructed. These schools are visited regularly by the head of the Marlavai training centre, and there are periodic rallies at Marlavai. These methods have rapidly expanded educational facilities among the Adilabad Gonds, and the schools are kept in close touch with the vigorous tribal life; tribal games, songs and dances are an essential part of the school curriculum. What is more, the tribal headmen and elders are kept in close touch with Marlavai and its offshoots, and are consulted freely on all new ideas as to curricula and other developments. Classes for adults are also held in Marlavai and some of the village schools.

'If the Maria *ghotul* life is at all vigorous it should not be impossible to link it with such modern education. For the *ghotul* is essentially a children's commonwealth in which the youths are instructed in the tribal way of life. If that way of life is to be supplemented by education enabling the Maria to read official documents, village records, and money-lenders' accounts and the accounts of his own co-operative societies, it would be natural in some way to link the new education with the *ghotul*, and to adopt for the reading and writing curricula the songs and stories which are sung and told to the *ghotul* gatherings.'

Not one of the members of the Block staff is of tribal origin, in spite of the fact that there has been education in the Utnur area for quite a long time now. It is said, however, that six tribal boys have been selected for training as V.L.Ws. Other boys are being trained at the Teachers' Training Centre at Marlavai, which has been established by the Social Service Department. No tribal boy has come forward as a compounder.

A Christian Mission has been working here since 1946 but its work is mainly confined to Utnur itself and to a few other non-tribal villages.

As long ago as 1945, Sir W. V. Grigson wrote in his introduction to *Tribal Hyderabad*: 'We have no time to lose in putting our aboriginals on their feet and enabling them to face the modern world as sturdy, self-reliant citizens. This fine aboriginal human material must not be regarded as mere grist for the mills of industry. The imminence of new developments makes it imperative to arrest the present loss of nerve among the aboriginals and to do all possible to restore and strengthen their self-respect.' It is still necessary to do this.

APPENDIX II
STATEMENTS OF EXPENDITURE ON DIFFERENT SCHEMES

(i) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of

PROJECT HEADQUARTERS

since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh								
1. Araku		7,00,000	83,133	1,25,873	1,76,206	64,240	4,49,452	64.21
2. Narsampet		7,00,000	..	1,05,778	1,54,309	64,317	3,24,404	46.34
3. Paderu		6,79,900	46,444	1,29,210	1,91,828	77,252	4,44,824	65.42
4. Utnur		7,00,000	..	65,614	92,083	37,022	1,95,743	27.96
TOTAL		27,79,900	1,29,577	4,27,585	6,14,426	2,42,841	14,14,423	50.88
II. Assam								
5. Dambuk-Aga		7,30,000	38,708	1,56,029	1,72,691	53,234	4,25,652	58.45
6. Diyung		5,80,000	..	94,599	1,52,053	30,230	2,76,882	47.74
7. Lungleh		7,00,000	30,031	2,10,776	2,20,358	81,035	5,42,203	77.46
8. Mairang		6,80,000	24,200	85,700	1,47,309	68,751	3,25,951	47.93
9. Murkong-Selek		5,86,250	..	12,282	1,02,068	42,393	1,56,743	26.74
10. Rongkhong		6,80,000	27,063	94,601	1,53,608	56,232	3,31,504	48.75
11. Saipung-Darrang		6,80,000	12,976	92,997	1,82,054	64,561	3,52,588	51.85
TOTAL		46,36,250	1,32,978	7,46,984	11,30,132	4,02,436	24,12,530	52.04

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhaura		7,00,000	17,956	59,520	1,23,020	48,633	2,49,129	35.59
13. Bishunpur		7,00,000	17,030	1,11,432	1,66,066	51,142	3,45,670	49.38
14. Borio		7,00,000	39,531	1,09,713	1,31,869	92,241	3,73,354	53.34
15. Kundahit		7,00,000	78,559	89,396	1,01,296	33,707	4,02,819 ¹	57.55
16. Mahuadamd		7,00,000	88,373	94,046	93,567	36,010	3,26,040 ²	46.58
17. Manoharpur		7,00,000	23,880	82,224	1,04,109	43,788	2,54,001	36.29
18. Nawhatta		7,00,000	6,208	57,650	1,22,948	44,563	2,31,369	33.05
19. Simdega		7,00,000	86,971	1,08,106	98,098	56,537	3,49,712	49.96
TOTAL		56,00,000	3,58,508	7,12,087	9,40,973	4,06,621	25,32,094 ³	45.22
IV. Bantay								
20. Aheri		6,63,000	2,757	60,466	1,19,170	49,697	2,32,090	35.01
21. Akarani Mahtal		5,95,000	903	65,046	1,11,692	51,641	2,29,282	38.53
22. Dharampur		6,23,000	..	49,932	88,351	47,840	1,86,123	29.88
23. Khe ^h brahma		6,08,000	11,200	90,373	1,75,307	78,881	3,55,761	58.51
24. Mokhad ^h -Talasari		7,00,000	7,644	89,417	2,34,349	54,944	3,85,334	55.19
25. Peint		6,42,000	..	37,193	1,06,394	61,211	2,04,798	31.90
26. Sukhsar		5,35,000	3,607	65,822	85,252	93,533	2,48,214	46.39
TOTAL		43,66,000	26,111	4,58,249	9,20,515	4,37,747	18,42,622	42.20

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	.	.	.	6,75,000	32,101	1,11,736	87,991	48,661	2,80,489	41.55
28. Bagicha	.	.	.	7,50,000	5,474	38,869	91,674	46,097	1,82,114	24.28
29. Barwani	.	.	.	6,75,000	..	91,153	88,959	51,574	2,31,686	34.32
30. Bharatpur	.	.	.	6,75,000	..	64,923	60,393	97,068	2,22,384	32.95
31. Bhimpur	.	.	.	6,75,000	9,781	67,198	90,466	90,501	2,57,946	38.21
32. Dantewara	.	.	.	7,14,500	5,619	99,097	1,68,299	39,970	3,12,985	43.80
33. Narayanpur	.	.	.	6,75,000	4,000	1,88,000	1,32,000	52,000	3,76,000	55.70
34. Pondi Uprora	.	.	.	6,85,000	9,021	75,933	73,304	45,401	2,03,659	29.73
35. Pushparajgarh	.	.	.	6,75,000	4,508	56,399	66,000	66,243	1,93,159	28.62
36. Tania	.	.	.	6,75,000	9,764	68,611	1,27,731	55,791	2,61,897	38.80
TOTAL	.	.	.	68,74,500	80,268	8,61,919	9,86,826	5,93,306	25,22,319	36.69

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpith	.	.	.	7,00,000	88,464	1,12,164	1,12,172	48,494	4,73,982 ^a	67.71
38. Kashipur	.	.	.	7,05,850	41,731	1,06,598	95,705	27,278	3,51,367 ^b	49.78
39. Narayanpatna	.	.	.	7,00,000	64,350	1,43,066	93,117	54,378	3,54,911	50.70
40. Ratuan	.	.	.	7,00,000	20,488	1,60,404	1,24,195	63,141	3,68,228	52.60
TOTAL	.	.	.	28,05,850	2,15,033	5,22,232	4,25,189	1,93,291	15,48,488 ^c	55.19

^aIncludes Rs. 99,861 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^bIncludes Rs. 14,044 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^cIncludes Rs. 1,13,905 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^dIncludes Rs. 1,12,688 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^eIncludes Rs. 80,055 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^fIncludes Rs. 1,92,743 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>VII. Rajasthan</i>								
41. Kushalgarh		7,00,000	7,125	57,238	74,545	38,541	1,77,449	25.35
TOTAL		7,00,000	7,125	57,238	74,545	38,541	1,77,449	25.35
<i>VIII. Manipur</i>								
42. Tamenglong		6,29,000	..	1,29,908	1,02,981	33,445	2,66,334	42.34
TOTAL		6,29,000	..	1,29,908	1,02,981	33,445	2,66,334	42.34
<i>IX. Tripura</i>								
43. Amarpur		7,00,000	42,585	61,214	91,223	36,090	2,31,112	33.02
TOTAL		7,00,000	42,585	61,214	91,223	36,090	2,31,112	33.02
GRAND TOTAL		2,91,91,500	9,92,185	39,77,416	52,86,810	23,84,318	1,29,47,377	44.35

	ABSTRACT						
I. Andhra Pradesh	27,79,900	1,29,577	4,27,585	6,14,426	2,42,841	14,14,429	50.88
II. Assam	46,36,250	1,32,978	7,46,984	11,30,132	4,02,436	24,12,530	52.04
III. Bihar	56,00,000	3,58,508	7,12,087	9,40,973	4,06,621	25,32,094 ^a	45.22
IV. Bombay	43,66,000	26,111	4,58,249	9,20,515	4,37,747	18,42,622	42.20
V. Madhya Pradesh	68,74,500	80,268	8,61,919	9,86,826	5,93,306	25,22,319	36.69
VI. Orissa	28,05,850	2,15,033	5,22,232	4,25,189	1,93,291	15,48,488 ^a	55.19
VII. Rajasthan	7,00,000	7,125	57,238	74,545	38,541	1,77,449	25.35
VIII. Manipur	6,29,000	..	1,29,908	1,02,981	33,445	2,66,334	42.34
IX. Tripura	7,00,000	42,585	61,214	91,223	36,090	2,31,112	33.02
TOTAL	2,91,91,500	9,92,185	39,77,416	52,86,810	23,84,318	1,29,47,377 ¹	44.35

¹Includes Rs. 3,06,648 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 1,13,905 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 1,92,743 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(ii) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND AGRICULTURE
 since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	Revised Schematic Budget						Total	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
I. Andhra Pradesh								
1. Araku	.	1,50,000	7,111	25,283	28,279	3,920	64,593	43.06
2. Narsampet	.	1,50,000	..	20,295	27,498	6,394	54,187	36.12
3. Paderu	.	1,67,100	682	45,019	37,905	10,909	94,516	56.56
4. Utnur	.	1,50,000	..	21,031	24,409	3,919	49,359	32.91
TOTAL	.	6,17,100	7,793	1,11,628	1,18,092	25,142	2,62,655	42.56
II. Assam								
5. Dambuk-Aga	.	4,32,150	18,218	19,233	24,687	35,872	98,010	22.68
6. Diyung	.	3,23,916	..	7,212	24,289	33,553	65,054	20.08
7. Lungleh	.	4,36,000	740	7,979	90,868	21,406	1,20,993	27.75
8. Mairang	.	4,05,000	1,800	23,000	52,900	19,718	97,418	24.05
9. Murkong-Selek	.	3,22,000	..	..	13,848	24,883	38,731	12.03
10. Rongkhong	.	4,05,000	111	27,226	40,810	30,230	98,377	24.29
11. Saipung-Darrang	.	4,05,000	1,699	10,913	71,056	30,579	1,14,247	28.21
TOTAL	.	27,29,066	22,568	95,563	3,18,458	1,96,241	6,32,830	23.19

III. Bihar

12. Adhaura	.	.	.	1,50,000	20,633	96	4,482	30	25,241	16.83
13. Bishunpur	.	.	.	1,50,000	29,041	27,129	24,454	9,178	89,802	59.87
14. Borio	.	.	.	1,50,000	12,930	6,252	12,858	3,771	35,811	23.87
15. Kundahit	.	.	.	1,50,000	984	24,623	10,271	2,051	37,929	25.28
16. Mahuadand	.	.	.	1,50,000	28,857	128	6,804	1,975	50,601 ¹	33.73
17. Manoharpur	.	.	.	1,50,000	20,643	11,273	32,670	4,130	68,716	45.81
18. Nawhatta	.	.	.	1,50,000	20,635	5,650	24,845	1,849	52,979	35.32
19. Simdega	.	.	.	1,50,000	20,633	26,500	28,258	5,156	80,547	53.70
TOTAL	.	.	.	12,00,000	1,54,356	1,01,651	1,44,642	28,140	4,41,626 ²	40.15

IV. Bombay

20. Aheri	.	.	.	2,65,000	..	5,922	24,545	7,728	38,195	14.41
21. Akrani Mahal	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	15,776	42,868	26,987	85,631	42.82
22. Dharampur	.	.	.	2,65,000	..	38,788	71,359	2,810	1,12,957	42.62
23. Khedbraluna	.	.	.	2,07,000	..	6,310	16,942	6,272	29,524	14.26
24. Mokhada-Talasari	.	.	.	1,82,000	..	23,676	41,468	..	65,144	35.79
25. Peint	.	.	.	2,62,200	..	5,455	65,028	60,629	1,31,112	50.00
26. Sukhsar	.	.	.	2,40,000	..	6,339	14,557	27,965	48,861	20.36
TOTAL	.	.	.	16,21,200	..	1,02,266	2,76,767	1,32,391	5,11,424	31.55

¹Includes Rs. 12,837 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

²Includes Rs. 12,837 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>V. Madhya Pradesh</i>								
27. Alirajpur		2,50,000	600	30,409	86,490	5,627	1,23,126	49.25
28. Bagicha		2,50,000	..	10,852	79,393	16,561	1,06,806	42.72
29. Barwani		2,50,000	..	14,936	45,530	18,316	78,582	31.43
30. Bharatpur		2,50,000	..	15,247	34,156	6,059	55,462	22.18
31. Bhimpur		2,50,000	..	90,716	25,483	12,857	1,29,056	51.62
32. Dantewara		2,50,000	9,742	8,698	86,363	19,085	1,23,888	49.56
33. Narayanpur		2,50,000	..	25,000	35,000	17,000	77,000	30.80
34. Pondi Uprora		2,50,000	..	94,920	21,820	6,194	1,22,934	49.17
35. Pushparajgarh		2,50,000	90,000	48,182	15,889	11,874	1,65,945	66.38
36. Tamia		2,50,000	..	13,162	1,31,565	27,767	1,72,494	69.00
TOTAL		25,00,000	1,00,342	3,52,122	5,61,489	1,41,340	11,55,293	46.21
<i>VI. Orissa</i>								
37. Bhuyanpirth		1,50,000	5,865	18,692	19,873	5,535	58,876 ¹	39.25
38. Kashipur		1,26,055	..	10,668	29,718	5,773	46,159	36.62
39. Narayanpatna		1,50,000	18,600	13,159	42,419	10,447	84,625	56.42
40. Raruan		1,50,000	616	11,373	20,471	11,318	43,778	29.18
TOTAL		5,76,055	25,081	53,892	1,12,481	33,073	2,33,438 ²	40.52

VII. Rajasthan

41. Koshalgath	1,50,000	..	17,752	51,407	8,373	77,532	51.69
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TOTAL	1,50,000	..	17,752	51,407	8,373	77,532	51.69
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VIII. Manipur

42. Tamenglong	2,93,000	..	42,186	41,476	14,575	98,237	33.53
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TOTAL	2,93,000	..	42,186	41,476	14,575	98,237	33.53
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IX. Tripura

43. Amarpur	1,50,000	..	9,538	51,418	9,737	70,693	47.13
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TOTAL	1,50,000	..	9,538	51,418	9,737	70,693	47.13
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GRAND TOTAL	98,36,321	3,10,140	8,86,598	16,76,230	5,89,012	34,83,728*	35.42
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ABSTRACT

I. Andhra Pradesh	6,17,100	7,793	1,11,628	1,18,092	25,142	2,62,655	42.56
II. Assam	27,29,066	22,568	95,563	3,18,458	1,96,241	6,32,830	23.19

*Includes Rs. 8,911 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

²Includes Rs. 8,911 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 21,748 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
	ABSTRACT— <i>contd.</i>							
III. Bihar ¹	12,00,000	1,54,356	1,01,651	1,44,642	28,140	4,41,626 ¹	40.15	
IV. Bombay	16,21,200	..	1,02,266	2,76,767	1,32,391	5,11,424	31.55	
V. Madhya Pradesh	25,00,000	1,00,342	3,52,122	5,61,489	1,41,340	11,55,293	46.21	
VI. Orissa	5,76,055	25,081	53,892	1,12,481	33,073	2,33,438 ²	40.52	
VII. Rajasthan	1,50,000	..	17,752	51,407	8,373	77,532	51.69	
VIII. Manipur	2,93,000	..	42,186	41,476	14,575	98,237	33.53	
IX. Tripura	1,50,000	..	9,538	51,418	9,737	70,693	47.13	
	TOTAL	98,36,421	3,10,140	8,86,598	16,76,230	5,89,012	34,83,728 ³	35.41

¹Includes Rs. 12,837 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 8,911 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 21,748 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(iii) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
IRRIGATION, RECLAMATION AND SOIL CONSERVATION
 since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959.

State & Block	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh								
1. Araku		4,00,000	..	601	49,401	7,857	57,859	14.46
2. Narsampet		4,00,000	..	17,701	63,093	27,448	1,08,242	27.06
3. Paderu		4,00,000	..	..	55,551	14,447	69,998	17.50
4. Umrur		4,00,000	..	23,431	59,614	40,653	1,23,698	30.92
TOTAL		16,00,000	..	41,733	2,27,659	90,405	3,59,797	22.40
II. Assam								
5. Dambuk-Aga		2,89,720	572	7,659	34,478	5,389	48,098	16.60
6. Diyung		1,71,000	..	..	10,387	..	10,387	6.07
7. Lungleh		3,30,000	..	1,054	25,270	66	26,390	8.00
8. Mairang		3,50,000	10,000	55,000	3,700	8,266	76,966	21.99
9. Murkong-Selek		3,50,000	..	..	9,259	4,612	13,871	3.96
10. Rongkhong		3,50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Saipung-Darrang		3,50,000	..	..	11,061	..	11,061	3.16
TOTAL		21,90,720	10,572	63,713	94,155	17,333	1,86,773	8.53

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhaura	4,00,000	..	..	1,400	1,000	2,400	0.60
13. Bishnupur	4,00,000	64,000	45,000	85,000	..	1,94,000	48.50
14. Borio	5,00,000	7,877	46,618	52,882	53,442	1,60,819	32.16
15. Kundahit.	4,30,000	45,000	52,684	75,000	14,474	1,87,158	43.52
16. Mahuadanr	4,00,000	40,600	1,75,275	35,486	3,878	2,55,239	63.81
17. Manoharpur	4,00,000	14,069	10,152	46,001	7,177	77,399	19.35
18. Nawhatta	4,00,000	4,700	45,000	75,202	3,941	1,28,843	32.21
19. Simdega	4,00,000	31,472	47,786	75,000	3,428	1,57,686	39.42
TOTAL	33,30,000	2,07,718	4,22,515	4,45,971	87,340	11,63,544	34.94
IV. Bombay								
20. Aheri	4,10,000	..	18,726	69,106	17,860	1,05,692	25.78
21. Akrani Mahal	4,10,000	..	1,12,838	1,59,592	11,553	2,83,983	69.26
22. Dharampur	3,85,000	..	57,647	1,85,499	61,598	3,04,744	79.15
23. Khejibrahma	3,50,000	..	81,175	84,525	90,329	2,56,029	73.15
24. Mokhada-Talasari	2,15,000	..	18,600	90,614	13,941	1,23,155	57.28
25. Peint	4,37,068	..	84,346	2,66,673	78,374	4,29,393	98.24
26. Sukhsar	4,10,000	..	1,04,950	1,84,231	41,843	3,31,024	80.74
TOTAL	26,17,068	..	4,78,282	10,40,240	3,15,498	18,34,020	70.08

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	4,00,000	38,695	50,000	73,918	8,100	1,70,713	42.68
28. Bagicha	4,00,000	..	30,405	72,141	1,589	1,04,135	26.03
29. Barwani	4,00,000	..	3,00,000	97,539	21,512	4,19,051	104.76
30. Bharatpur	4,00,000	..	..	35,427	575	36,002	9.00
31. Bhimpur	4,00,000	..	1,358	3,416	..	4,774	1.19
32. Dantewara	3,60,000	..	45,712	49,992	23,163	1,18,867	33.02
33. Narayanpur	4,00,000	..	5,000	10,000	28,000	43,000	10.75
34. Pondi Uprora	3,50,000	..	..	39,337	547	39,884	11.40
35. Pushparajgarh	3,50,000	..	9,200	1,37,150	5,070	1,51,420	43.26
36. Tamia	4,00,000	..	5,410	99,316	13,590	1,18,316	29.58
TOTAL	38,60,000	38,695	4,47,085	6,18,236	1,02,146	12,06,162	31.25

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpirh	4,00,000	..	27,975	43,561	11,399	94,435 ¹	23.61
38. Kashipur	3,50,000	..	1,000	30,500	8,546	44,046 ²	12.58
39. Narayanpatna	4,00,000	15,000	25,000	11,429	2,646	54,075	13.52
40. Raruan	4,00,000	1,500	..	13,224	66,631	81,355	20.34
TOTAL	15,50,000	16,500	53,975	98,714	89,222	2,73,911 ³	17.67

¹Includes Rs. 11,500 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

²Includes Rs. 4,000 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

³Includes Rs. 15,500 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	6
VII. Rajasthan								
41. Kushalgarh		4,00,000	..	8,112	1,42,163	45,276	1,95,551	48.89
TOTAL		4,00,000	..	8,112	1,42,163	45,276	1,95,551	48.89
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong		5,67,000	..	78,315	79,327	8,050	1,65,692	29.22
TOTAL		5,67,000	..	78,315	79,327	8,050	1,65,692	29.22
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		4,00,000	..	19,400	53,090	325	72,815	18.20
TOTAL		4,00,000	..	19,400	53,090	325	72,815	18.20
GRAND TOTAL		1,65,14,788	2,73,485	16,13,130	27,99,555	7,56,595	54,58,265 ¹	33.05
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		16,00,000	..	41,733	2,27,659	90,405	3,59,797	22.49
II. Assam		21,90,720	10,572	63,713	94,155	17,333	1,86,773	8.53
III. Bihar		33,30,000	2,07,718	4,22,515	4,45,971	87,340	11,63,544	34.94
IV. Bombay		26,17,068	..	4,78,282	10,40,240	3,15,498	18,34,020	70.08
V. Madhya Pradesh		38,60,000	38,695	4,47,085	6,18,236	1,02,146	12,061,62	31.25
VI. Orissa		15,50,000	16,500	53,975	98,714	89,222	2,73,911 ²	17.67
VII. Rajasthan		4,00,000	..	8,112	1,42,163	45,276	1,95,551	98.89
VIII. Manipur		5,67,000	..	78,315	79,327	8,050	1,65,692	29.22
IX. Tripura		4,00,000	..	19,400	53,090	325	72,815	18.20
TOTAL		1,65,14,788	2,73,485	16,13,130	27,99,555	7,56,595	54,58,265 ¹	33.05

¹Includes Rs. 15,500 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 15,500 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(iv) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
HEALTH AND RURAL SANITATION
 since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	Revised Schematic Budget	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	2,00,000	18,261	31,445	40,037	9,164	98,907	49.45
2. Narsampet	2,00,000	..	20,035	29,694	6,462	47,191	23.60
3. Paderu	2,00,000	7,521	39,035	40,650	21,441	1,08,647	54.32
4. Utmur	2,00,000	..	12,030	13,478	5,193	30,701	15.35
TOTAL	8,00,000	25,782	1,02,545	1,14,859	42,260	2,85,446	35.68
II. Assam							
5. Dambuk-Aga	3,71,000	2,660	29,206	21,896	14,422	68,184	21.24
6. Dityung	2,72,737	..	5,633	17,902	19,513	43,048	15.78
7. Lungleh	2,95,000	2,174	32,278	54,053	18,018	1,05,523	36.11
8. Mairang	2,95,000	5,400	5,200	20,200	41,978	72,778	24.67
9. Murkong-Selek	2,25,000	..	2,000	6,023	8,340	16,363	7.27
10. Rongkhong	2,95,000	856	9,685	15,876	53,398	79,815	27.06
11. Saipung-Darrang	2,95,000	1,729	1,311	33,019	24,316	60,375	20.47
TOTAL	19,98,737	12,819	85,313	1,68,969	1,79,985	4,47,086	22.37

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhaura	2,00,000	..	..	7,688	3,077	10,765	5.38
13. Bishnupur	2,00,000	3,965	22,000	43,246	10,753	79,964	39.98
14. Borio	2,00,000	2,100	25,181	34,123	9,557	70,961	35.48
15. Kundahit	2,00,000	1,630	32,083	15,099	4,459	1,36,509 ¹	68.25
16. Mahuadans	2,00,000	13,500	2,22,184	7,973	1,727	2,45,384	122.69
17. Manoharpur	2,00,000	..	15,176	32,200	3,968	51,344	25.67
18. Nawhatta	2,00,000	..	21,903	29,569	2,560	54,032	27.02
19. Simdega	2,00,000	11,000	17,447	48,962	4,947	82,356	41.18
TOTAL	.	16,00,000	32,195	3,55,974	2,18,860	41,048	7,31,315 ²	45.71
IV. Bombay								
20. Aheri	2,45,000	..	1,649	13,583	10,117	25,349	10.35
21. Akraai Mahal	2,93,000	..	45,407	75,389	34,128	1,54,924	52.88
22. Dharampur	2,00,000	..	20,675	38,996	7,097	66,768	33.38
23. Khedbrahma	4,75,000	..	10,781	95,362	63,565	1,69,708	35.73
24. Mokhada-Talasari	4,05,000	5,396	15,226	30,070	18,180	68,872	12.07
25. Peint	4,13,593	..	23,428	56,060	12,503	91,991	22.24
26. Sukhsar	1,95,000	..	2,243	4,730	22,821	29,794	15.28
TOTAL	.	22,26,593	5,396	1,19,409	3,14,190	1,68,411	6,07,406	27.28

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	.	.	.	2,00,000	9,400	92,600	38,380	3,079	1,43,459	71.73
28. Bagicha	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	2,541	36,852	25,515	64,908	32.45
29. Barwani	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	33,736	23,306	5,133	62,175	31.09
30. Bharatpur	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	9,708	22,976	5,533	38,217	19.11
31. Bhimpur	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	8,509	7,684	14,945	31,138	15.57
32. Dantewara	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	8,736	10,976	2,743	22,455	11.23
33. Narayanpur	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	20,000	72,000	32,000	1,24,000	62.00
34. Pondi Uprora	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	29,798	18,782	2,532	51,112	25.56
35. Pushparajgarh	.	.	.	2,00,000	7,991	37,947	8,685	4,121	58,744	29.37
36. Tamia	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	950	37,359	36,141	74,450	37.22
TOTAL	.	.	.	20,00,000	17,391	2,44,525	2,77,000	1,31,742	6,70,658	33.53

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpith	.	.	.	2,00,000	13,929	47,908	23,660	4,927	1,47,765 ¹	73.88
38. Kashipur	.	.	.	2,09,454	26,250	5,158	60,150	2,000	1,12,658 ²	53.79
39. Narayanpatna	.	.	.	2,00,000	20,350	55,490	25,376	9,405	1,10,621	55.31
40. Raruan	.	.	.	2,00,000	4,800	42,406	63,851	34,003	1,45,060	72.53
TOTAL	.	.	.	8,09,454	65,329	1,50,962	1,73,397	50,335	5,16,104 ³	63.76

¹Includes Rs. 81,238 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

²Includes Rs. 83,238 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

³Includes Rs. 57,341 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

⁴Includes Rs. 18,740 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

⁵Includes Rs. 76,081 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VII. Rajasthan								
41. Kushalgarh		2,00,000	1,138	66,681	43,770	9,170	1,20,759	60.38
TOTAL		2,00,000	1,138	66,681	43,770	9,170	1,20,759	60.38
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tumenglong		2,07,000	..	48,535	62,800	1,308	1,12,643	54.42
TOTAL		2,07,000	..	48,535	62,800	1,308	1,12,643	54.42
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		2,00,000	..	3,602	22,137	10,324	36,053	18.03
TOTAL		2,00,000	..	3,602	22,137	10,324	36,053	18.03
GRAND TOTAL		1,00,41,784	1,60,050	11,77,546	13,95,982	6,34,583	35,27,480 ¹	35.13
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		8,00,000	25,782	1,02,545	1,14,859	42,260	2,85,445	35.68
II. Assam		19,98,737	12,819	85,313	1,68,969	1,79,985	4,47,086	22.37
III. Bihar		16,00,000	32,195	3,55,974	2,18,860	41,048	7,31,315 ²	45.71
IV. Bombay		22,26,593	5,396	1,19,409	3,14,190	1,68,411	6,07,406	27.28
V. Madhya Pradesh		20,00,000	17,391	2,44,525	2,77,030	1,31,742	6,70,658	33.53
VI. Orissa		8,09,454	65,329	1,50,962	1,73,397	50,335	5,16,104 ³	63.76
VII. Rajasthan		2,00,000	1,138	66,681	43,770	9,170	1,20,759	60.38
VIII. Manipur		2,07,000	..	48,535	62,800	1,308	1,12,643	54.42
IX. Tripura		2,00,000	..	3,602	22,137	10,324	36,053	18.03
TOTAL		1,00,41,784	1,60,050	11,77,546	13,95,982	6,34,583	35,27,480 ¹	35.13

¹Includes Rs. 1,59,319 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 83,238 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

³Includes Rs. 76,081 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(v) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
EDUCATION
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Revised Schematic Budget	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget
I. Andhra Pradesh								
1. Araku		75,000	3,146	4,765	45,001	7,548	60,460	80.61
2. Narsampet		75,000	..	7,977	12,831	3,122	23,930	31.91
3. Paderu		78,000	698	19,345	17,328	17,907	55,278	70.87
4. Utnur		75,000	..	7,435	18,422	4,718	30,575	40.77
TOTAL		3,03,000	3,844	39,522	93,582	33,295	1,70,243	56.19
II. Assam								
5. Dambuk-Aga		1,00,000	3,600	29,726	26,080	1,982	61,388	61.39
6. Diyung		75,000	..	2,400	6,802	15,502	24,704	32.94
7. Lungleh		88,000	..	16,738	28,770	29	45,537	51.75
8. Mairang		75,000	2,400	10,200	14,900	7,430	34,930	46.57
9. Murkong-Selek		75,000	..	2,000	10,496	27	12,523	16.70
10. Rongkhong		75,000	..	1,400	2,359	9,048	12,807	17.07
11. Saipung-Darrang		75,000	2,400	5,580	15,256	4,342	27,578	36.77
TOTAL		5,63,000	8,400	68,044	1,04,663	38,360	2,19,467	38.98

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhaura		75,000	2,000	221	3,906	382	6,509	8.68
13. Bishunpur		75,000	6,100	3,332	38,735	1,981	50,148	66.86
14. Borio		75,000	1,799	3,832	478	649	6,758	9.01
15. Kundahit		75,000	52,824	3,614	8,904	..	74,909 ¹	99.88
16. Mahuadand		75,000	21	1,134	2,248	2,700	8,103 ²	10.80
17. Manoharpur		75,000	..	4,098	19,298	2,500	25,896	34.53
18. Nawhatta		75,000	..	5,743	11,686	2,573	20,002	26.67
19. Simdega		75,000	1,995	5,396	23,830	5,149	36,370	48.49
TOTAL		6,06,000	64,739	27,370	1,09,085	15,934	2,28,695 ³	38.12
IV. Bombay								
20. Aheri		2,47,000	..	..	333	24,123	24,456	9.90
21. Akrani Mahal		2,30,000	..	50,103	51,178	32,065	1,33,346	57.98
22. Dharampur		3,40,000	..	74,078	67,439	15,621	1,57,138	46.22
23. K'hedbrahma		3,63,000	..	23,222	66,038	2,300	91,560	25.22
24. Mokhada-Talasari		3,71,000	7,096	16,658	25,022	16,332	65,108	17.55
25. Peint		1,42,880	..	10,500	32,912	4,779	48,191	33.73
26. Sukhsar		4,80,000	..	41,405	86,408	64,690	1,92,503	40.10
TOTAL		21,73,880	7,096	2,15,966	3,29,330	1,59,910	7,12,302	32.77

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	75,000	1,500	32,000	16,107	1,901	51,508	68.68
28. Bagicha	75,000	..	2,000	3,190	..	5,190	6.92
29. Barwani	75,000	..	22,000	24,091	1,637	47,728	63.64
30. Bharatpur	75,000	..	4,033	15,750	4,678	24,461	32.62
31. Bhimpur	75,000	..	3,663	3,918	5,861	13,442	17.92
32. Dantewara	1,15,000	..	20,767	36,438	1,935	59,140	51.43
33. Narayanpur	75,000	..	57,000	35,000	9,000	1,01,000	134.67
34. Pondi Uprora	75,000	..	3,000	3,000	3,300	9,300	12.40
35. Pushparajgarh	75,000	5,000	19,920	11,810	4,828	41,558	55.41
36. Tamia	75,000	..	..	5,904	9,233	15,137	20.18
TOTAL	7,90,000	6,500	1,64,383	1,55,208	42,373	3,68,464	46.64

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpith	75,000	12,164	24,559	11,290	3,980	59,510 ^a	79.35
38. Kashipur	1,22,200	..	13,970	30,100	7,550	54,580 ^b	44.66
39. Narayanpatna	75,000	3,500	24,000	15,040	10,222	52,762	70.35
40. Raruan	75,000	1,800	5,265	15,499	2,940	25,504	34.00
TOTAL	3,47,200	17,464	67,794	71,929	24,692	1,92,356 ^c	55.40

¹ Includes Rs. 9,567 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.
² Includes Rs. 2,000 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.
³ Includes Rs. 11,567 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.
⁴ Includes Rs. 7,517 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.
⁵ Includes Rs. 2,960 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.
⁶ Includes Rs. 10,477 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VII. Rajasthan								
41. Kushalgarh	.	75,000	8,000	8,750	11,577	898	29,225	38.97
TOTAL	.	75,000	8,000	8,750	11,577	898	29,225	38.97
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong	.	80,000	..	12,897	6,480	..	19,377	24.22
TOTAL	.	80,000	..	12,897	6,480	..	19,377	24.22
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur	.	75,000	..	22,500	10,000	10,300	42,800	57.07
TOTAL	.	75,000	..	22,500	10,000	10,300	42,800	57.07
GRAND TOTAL	.	50,07,080	1,16,043	6,27,226	8,91,854	3,25,762	19,82,929 ¹	31.60
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh	.	3,03,000	3,844	39,522	93,582	33,295	1,70,243	56.19
II. Assam	.	5,63,000	8,400	68,044	1,04,663	38,360	2,19,467	38.98
III. Bihar	.	6,00,000	64,739	27,370	1,09,085	15,934	2,28,695 ²	38.12
IV. Bombay	.	21,73,880	7,096	2,15,966	3,29,330	1,59,910	7,12,302	32.77
V. Madhya Pradesh	.	7,90,000	6,500	1,64,383	1,55,208	42,373	3,68,464	46.64
VI. Orissa	.	3,47,200	17,464	67,794	71,929	24,692	1,92,356 ³	55.40
VII. Rajasthan	.	75,000	8,000	8,750	11,577	898	29,225	38.97
VIII. Manipur	.	80,000	..	12,897	6,480	..	19,377	24.22
IX. Tripura	.	75,000	..	22,500	10,000	10,300	42,800	57.07
TOTAL	.	50,07,080	1,16,043	6,27,226	8,91,854	3,25,762	19,82,929 ¹	39.60

¹ Includes Rs. 22,044 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

² Includes Rs. 11,567 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³ Includes Rs. 10,477 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(vi) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
SOCIAL EDUCATION
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	Revised Schematic Budget	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	75,000	7,125	14,950	14,800	965	36,940	49.25
2. Narsampet	75,000	..	23,963	8,534	2,338	34,835	46.45
3. Paderni	75,000	5,980	19,184	15,936	11,961	53,061	70.75
4. Utnur	75,000	..	6,298	8,804	1,592	16,694	22.26
TOTAL	3,00,000	13,105	63,495	48,074	16,856	1,41,530	47.18
II. Assam							
5. Dambuk-Aga	79,000	5,631	19,338	19,553	2,467	46,989	59.48
6. Diyung	61,492	..	7,115	7,295	11,691	26,101	42.45
7. Lungleh	70,000	..	21,969	20,325	3,393	45,687	65.27
8. Mairang	70,000	400	9,100	2,700	849	13,049	18.64
9. Murkong-Selek	56,250	..	1,063	4,819	5,177	11,059	19.66
10. Rongkhong	70,000	..	3,625	16,230	6,570	26,425	37.35
11. Saipung-Darrang	70,000	785	10,180	12,953	1,698	25,616	36.59
TOTAL	4,76,742	6,816	72,390	83,875	31,845	1,94,926	40.89

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bilhar								
12. Adhaura		75,000	3,979	6,298	9,917	843	21,037	28.05
13. Bishnupur		75,000	8,100	17,000	21,347	5,320	51,767	69.02
14. Borio		1,10,000	11,593	7,908	23,760	2,318	45,579	41.44
15. Kundahit		1,05,630	7,913	9,489	5,898	284	37,645 ¹	35.64
16. Mahuadand		75,000	12,312	3,788	13,199	2,728	33,497 ²	44.66
17. Manoharpur		75,000	4,179	11,326	15,000	3,183	33,688	44.92
18. Nawhatta		75,000	3,979	8,412	17,691	3,870	33,952	45.27
19. Simdega		75,000	3,979	14,167	21,687	691	40,524	54.03
TOTAL		6,65,630	56,034	78,388	1,28,499	19,237	2,97,689 ³	44.72
IV. Bombay								
20. Aheri		1,00,000	..	2,085	18,356	8,787	29,228	29.23
21. Akrani Mahal		1,00,000	..	19,194	25,117	8,583	52,894	52.89
22. Dharampur		1,00,000	..	3,326	21,343	5,919	30,588	30.59
23. Khedbrahma		1,69,000	..	14,815	48,261	11,217	74,293	43.96
24. Mokhada-Talasarī		1,00,000	813	16,158	26,787	2,232	45,990	45.99
25. Peint		88,662	..	5,484	38,153	10,406	54,043	60.95
26. Sukhsar		1,00,000	..	3,736	30,700	12,543	46,979	46.98
TOTAL		7,57,662	813	64,798	2,08,717	59,687	3,34,015	44.08

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	75,000	6,000	22,994	18,300	885	48,179	64.24
28. Bagicha	75,000	..	13,714	13,599	1,191	28,504	38.01
29. Barwani	75,000	..	21,885	20,314	4,223	46,422	61.90
30. Bharatpur	75,000	..	7,710	39,778	3,890	51,378	68.50
31. Bhipur	75,000	200	3,734	12,743	1,129	17,806	23.74
32. Dantewara	75,000	..	8,076	10,304	10,095	28,475	37.96
33. Narayanpur	75,000	..	4,000	30,000	4,000	38,000	50.67
34. Pondi Uprora	75,000	..	16,388	3,986	463	20,837	27.78
35. Pushparajgarh	75,000	1,577	7,383	16,161	1,567	26,688	35.58
36. Tamia	75,000	..	1,400	37,076	6,133	44,609	59.48
TOTAL	7,50,000	7,777	1,07,284	2,02,261	33,576	3,50,898	46.79

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuayanpirh	1,25,000	13,150	17,497	17,907	4,026	70,816 ⁴	56.65
38. Kashipur	72,636	13,200	11,845	20,000	4,811	53,656 ⁵	73.87
39. Narayanpatna	75,000	10,500	15,936	12,569	2,403	41,408	55.21
40. Raruan	75,000	4,135	24,507	25,922	18,056	72,620	96.83
TOTAL	3,47,636	40,985	69,785	76,398	29,296	2,38,500 ⁶	68.61

¹Includes Rs. 14,061 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

²Includes Rs. 1,470 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

³Includes Rs. 15,531 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

⁴Includes Rs. 18,236 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

⁵Includes Rs. 3,800 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

⁶Includes Rs. 22,036 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VII. Rajasthan								
41. Kushalgarh		75,000	268	19,127	16,850	2,314	38,559	51.41
TOTAL		75,000	268	19,127	16,850	2,314	38,559	51.41
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong		61,000	..	12,098	12,820	477	25,395	41.63
TOTAL		61,000	..	12,098	12,820	477	25,395	41.63
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		75,000	..	27,345	39,047	21,029	87,421	116.56
TOTAL		75,000	..	27,345	39,047	21,029	87,421	116.56
GRAND TOTAL		38,08,670	1,25,798	5,14,710	8,16,541	2,14,317	17,08,933 ¹	48.71
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		3,00,000	13,105	63,495	48,074	16,856	1,41,530	47.18
II. Assam		4,76,742	6,816	72,390	83,875	31,845	1,94,926	40.89
III. Bihar		6,65,630	56,034	78,388	1,28,499	19,237	2,97,689 ²	44.72
IV. Bombay		7,57,662	813	64,798	2,08,717	59,687	3,34,015	44.08
V. Madhya Pradesh		7,50,000	7,777	1,07,284	2,02,261	33,576	3,50,898	46.79
VI. Orissa		3,47,636	40,985	69,785	76,398	29,296	2,38,500 ³	68.61
VII. Rajasthan		75,000	268	19,127	16,850	2,314	38,559	51.41
VIII. Manipur		61,000	..	12,098	12,820	477	25,395	41.63
IX. Tripura		75,000	..	27,345	39,047	21,029	87,421	116.56
TOTAL		35,08,670	1,25,798	5,14,710	8,16,541	2,14,317	17,08,933 ¹	48.71

¹Includes Rs. 37,567 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 15,531 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 22,036 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(vii) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
COMMUNICATIONS
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	Revised Schematic Budget	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)						Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget
		1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh								
1. Araku	4,00,000		16,134	1,07,031	2,25,637	41,438	3,90,240	97.56
2. Narsampet	4,00,000	..	..	4,458	4,279	..	8,757	2.19
3. Paderu	4,00,000	864	864	49,889	1,11,055	31,520	1,93,328	48.33
4. Utnur	4,00,000	..	..	2,500	3,198	1,269	5,957	1.74
TOTAL	16,00,000	16,998	16,998	1,63,878	3,44,189	74,227	5,99,292	37.46
II. Assam								
5. Dambuk-Aga	3,35,000	4,756	4,756	73,403	35,600	12,699	1,26,458	37.75
6. Diyung	3,35,000	..	..	14,230	45,682	43,873	1,01,785	30.98
7. Lungleh	3,75,000	..	..	44,246	40,254	21,307	1,05,807	28.22
8. Mairang	3,25,000	2,900	2,900	36,900	31,300	6,250	77,350	23.80
9. Murkong-Selek	3,25,500	..	..	..	4,450	1,526	5,976	1.84
10. Rongkhong	3,25,000	..	..	75	26,534	14,456	41,055	12.64
11. Suijung-Darrang	3,25,000	1,910	1,910	2,692	76,912	38,430	1,19,944	36.91
TOTAL	23,45,500	9,566	9,566	1,71,546	2,60,732	1,38,541	5,80,385	24.74

I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>III. Bihar</i>							
12. Adhaura	4,00,000	..	3,499	90,983	19,703	1,14,185	28.55
13. Bishunpur	4,00,000	..	40,392	61,166	2,392	1,03,950	25.99
14. Borio	3,00,000	..	10,000	5,491	5,037	20,528	6.84
15. Kundahit	3,70,000	..	25,000	13,894	5,927	44,821	12.11
16. Mahuadand	4,00,000	..	64,500	175	..	65,675 ¹	16.42
17. Manoharpur	4,00,000	..	2,328	55,061	13,740	71,129	17.78
18. Nawhatta	4,00,000	..	4,539	60,664	17,551	82,754	20.69
19. Simdega	4,00,000	..	47,690	40,485	7,803	95,978	23.99
TOTAL	30,70,000	..	1,97,948	3,27,919	72,153	5,99,020 ²	19.51
<i>IV. Bombay</i>							
20. Aheri	3,00,000	..	323	16,082	10,381	26,786	8.93
21. Akrani Mahal	4,75,000	..	1,60,471	2,47,192	49,297	4,56,960	96.20
22. Dharampur	3,00,000	..	9,678	22,370	6,729	38,777	12.93
23. Khedbrahma	2,48,000	..	9,678	55,962	23,634	89,274	36.00
24. Mokhada-Talasar	2,76,000	69	54,101	47,992	13,965	1,16,127	42.08
25. Peint	3,12,597	..	3,978	1,38,865	18,154	1,60,997	51.51
26. Sukhsar	3,00,000	..	21,319	29,634	11,789	62,792	20.93
TOTAL	22,11,597	69	2,59,548	5,58,147	1,33,949	9,51,713	43.03

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	3,50,000	8,700	1,34,439	11,095	2,123	1,56,357	44.67
28. Bagicha	4,50,000	..	6,834	32,236	4,009	43,079	9.57
29. Barwani	3,50,000	..	89,790	1,20,711	6,500	2,17,001	62.00
30. Bharatpur	3,50,000	..	4,558	9,440	4,214	18,212	5.20
31. Bhimpur	3,50,000	..	3,624	13,898	638	18,160	5.19
32. Dantewara	3,10,000	1,313	51,928	99,434	10,543	1,63,218	52.65
33. Narayanpur	3,50,000	..	66,000	1,61,000	11,000	2,38,000	68.00
34. Pondi Uprova	3,50,000	..	7,877	11,772	2,673	22,322	6.38
35. Pushparajgarh	3,50,000	5,000	36,055	25,346	13,401	79,802	22.80
36. Tamia	3,50,000	..	23,288	63,786	22,846	1,11,920	31.98
TOTAL	35,60,000	15,013	4,24,393	5,50,718	77,947	10,68,071	30.00

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpirh	4,00,000	24,971	69,930	47,275	16,230	1,73,250 ^a	43.31
38. Kashipur	4,00,000	5,000	3,484	67,992	326	87,802 ^a	21.95
39. Narayanpatna	4,00,000	40,000	40,000	32,088	19,497	1,31,585	32.90
40. Raruan	4,00,000	1,300	68,420	1,62,099	30,043	2,61,862	65.47
TOTAL	16,00,000	71,271	1,81,834	3,09,454	66,156	6,54,499 ^b	40.91

¹Includes Rs. 1,000 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

²Includes Rs. 1,000 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 14,784 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

⁴Includes Rs. 11,000 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

⁵Includes Rs. 25,784 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VII. Rajasthan								
41. Kushalgarh		4,00,000	904	17,963	32,137	11,947	62,953	15.73
Total		4,00,000	904	17,963	32,137	11,949	62,953	15.73
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong		4,27,000	..	76,217	1,21,089	..	1,97,305	46.21
Total		4,27,000	..	76,217	1,21,089	..	1,97,305	46.21
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		4,00,000	..	20,260	21,611	29,044	70,915	17.73
Total		4,00,000	..	20,260	21,611	29,044	70,915	17.73
GRAND TOTAL		1,56,14,097	1,13,821	15,13,587	25,25,996	6,03,966	47,84,154 ¹	30.64
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		16,00,000	16,998	1,63,878	3,44,189	74,227	5,00,292	37.45
II. Assam		23,45,500	9,566	1,71,545	2,60,732	1,38,541	5,30,335	24.74
III. Bihar		30,70,000	..	1,97,948	3,27,919	72,153	5,00,020 ²	19.51
IV. Bombay		22,11,597	69	2,59,548	5,58,147	1,33,949	9,51,713	43.03
V. Madhya Pradesh		35,60,000	15,013	4,24,393	5,50,718	77,947	10,53,071	30.00
VI. Orissa		16,00,000	71,271	1,81,834	3,03,454	65,155	6,54,499 ³	43.91
VII. Rajasthan		4,00,000	904	17,963	32,137	11,949	62,953	15.73
VIII. Manipur		4,27,000	..	76,217	1,21,089	..	1,97,305	46.21
IX. Tripura		4,00,000	..	20,260	21,611	29,044	70,915	17.73
TOTAL		1,56,14,097	1,13,821	15,13,587	25,25,996	6,03,966	47,84,154 ¹	30.64

¹Includes Rs. 26,784 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 1,000 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 25,784 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(vii) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
RURAL ARTS AND CRAFTS
 since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	Revised Schematic Budget	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	2,00,000	1,075	23,396	61,117	29,344	1,14,932	57.47
2. Narsampet	2,00,000	..	9,558	38,631	15,022	63,211	31.60
3. Paderu	2,00,000	77	2,411	35,664	26,977	65,129	32.56
4. Utnur	2,00,000	..	2,022	30,629	16,046	48,697	24.35
TOTAL	8,00,000	1,152	37,387	1,66,041	87,389	2,91,969	36.50
II. Assam							
5. Dambuk-Aga	1,53,130	620	14,230	12,155	6,199	33,204	21.68
6. Diyung	52,959	..	1,010	6,863	9,163	17,036	32.17
7. Lungleh	1,56,000	..	4,331	27,149	7,589	39,069	25.04
8. Mairang	2,00,000	1,400	30,300	10,100	1,031	42,831	21.42
9. Murkong-Sciek	1,60,000	..	500	1,145	112	1,757	1.10
10. Rongknong	2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Saipung-Darrang	2,00,000 ¹	225	23	1,781	14	2,043	1.02
TOTAL	11,22,089	2,245	50,394	59,193	24,108	1,35,940	12.11

¹This sum was recently reduced to Rs. 50,000.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhaura	2,00,000	..	1,939	20,993	16,453	39,385	16.69
13. Bishnupur	2,00,000	..	9	36,285	14,434	50,728	25.36
14. Borio	2,00,000	..	4,450	28,746	14,933	48,129	24.06
15. Kundahit	2,00,000	..	2,925	26,716	11,727	41,368	20.68
16. Mahuadiand	2,00,000	..	1,655	35,206	15,509	52,370	26.19
17. Manoharpur	2,00,000	..	7,398	35,908	13,177	56,483	28.24
18. Nawhatta	2,00,000	..	3,670	24,905	13,795	42,370	21.13
19. Simdega	2,00,000	..	1,849	37,940	15,225	55,014	27.51
TOTAL	.	16,00,000	..	23,895	2,45,699	1,15,253	3,85,847	24.12
IV. Bombay								
20. Ahri	2,50,000	..	8,508	33,534	19,561	61,603	24.64
21. Akrani Mahal	2,50,000	..	4,795	67,879	22,223	1,94,897	37.96
22. Dharampur	2,50,000	..	1,630	6,210	32,263	40,103	16.04
23. Khedbrahma	2,30,000	..	11,026	32,727	14,800	58,553	25.46
24. Mokhada-Talasari	1,61,000	..	4,530	40,854	14,669	60,053	37.30
25. Peint	2,50,000	..	..	40,629	13,202	53,831	21.53
26. Sukhsar	2,50,000	..	5,211	28,892	17,859	51,962	20.78
TOTAL	.	16,41,000	..	35,700	2,50,725	1,34,577	4,21,002	25.66

V. Madhya Pradesh											
27. Alirajpur	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	11,309	25,775	9,820	46,904	23.45
28. Bagicha	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	21,381	2,641	24,022	12.01
29. Barwani	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	25,641	10,917	36,558	18.28
30. Bharatpur	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	2,280	36,296	9,439	48,015	24.01
31. Bhopur	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	6,118	2,404	8,522	4.26
32. Dantewara	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	1,635	14,138	15,773	7.89
33. Narayanpur	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	1,000	39,000	18,000	58,000	29.00
34. Pondi Uprora	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	5,806	11,300	4,016	21,122	10.56
35. Pushparajgarh	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	13,947	5,196	19,143	9.57
36. Tamia	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	13,765	14,341	28,106	14.05
TOTAL	.	.	.	.	20,00,000	..	20,395	1,94,858	90,912	3,06,165	15.31
VI. Orissa											
37. Bhuyanpirh	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	1,432	16,992	17,365	6,118	41,907	20.95
38. Kashipur	.	.	.	.	1,64,160	..	..	13,900	..	13,900	8.47
39. Narayanpatna	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	1,680	..	1,680	0.84
40. Raruan	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	..	2,249	7,066	9,315	4.66
TOTAL	.	.	.	.	7,64,160	1,432	16,992	35,194	13,184	66,802	8.74
VII. Rajasthan											
41. Kushalgarh	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	5,487	6,770	5,234	17,491	8.75
TOTAL	.	.	.	.	2,00,000	..	5,487	6,770	5,234	17,491	8.75

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong		1,66,000	..	22,521	27,228	3,578	53,327	32.13
TOTAL		1,66,000	..	22,521	27,228	3,578	53,327	32.13
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		2,00,000	..	3,000	13,981	20,353	37,334	18.67
TOTAL		2,00,000	..	3,000	13,981	20,353	37,334	18.67
GRAND TOTAL		84,93,249	4,829	2,15,771	10,00,689	4,94,588	17,15,877	20.20
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		8,00,000	1,152	37,387	1,66,041	87,389	2,91,969	36.50
II. Assam		11,22,089	2,245	50,394	59,193	24,108	1,35,940	12.11
III. Bihar		16,00,000	..	23,895	2,46,699	1,15,253	3,85,847	24.12
IV. Eamtay		16,41,000	..	35,700	2,50,725	1,34,577	4,21,002	25.66
V. Madhya Pradesh		20,00,000	..	20,395	1,94,858	90,912	3,06,165	15.31
VI. Orissa		7,64,160	1,432	16,992	35,194	13,184	66,802	8.74
VII. Rajasthan		2,00,000	..	5,487	6,770	5,234	17,491	8.75
VIII. Manipur		1,66,000	..	22,521	27,228	3,578	53,327	32.13
IX. Tripura		2,00,000	..	3,000	13,981	20,353	37,334	18.67
TOTAL		84,93,249	4,829	2,15,771	10,00,689	4,94,588	17,15,877	20.20

(ix) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
CO-OPERATION
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expendi- ture to Revised Schematic Budget	
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	2,00,000	..	52,712	48,001	17,308	1,18,021	59.01
2. Narsampet	2,00,000	..	..	..	4,398	4,398	2.20
3. Faderu	2,00,000	..	62,357	34,839	14,217	1,11,413	55.71
4. Utnur	2,00,000	..	..	19,199	7,393	26,592	13.30
TOTAL	8,00,000	..	1,15,069	1,02,039	43,316	2,60,424	32.55
II. Assam							
5. Dambuk-Aga	1,00,000	..	3,000	..	8,000	11,000	11.00
6. Diyung	1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Lungleh	1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Mairang	1,00,000	..	..	..	307	307	0.31
9. Murkeng-Selek	1,00,000	..	..	1,000	..	1,000	1.00
10. Rongkhong	1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Saipung-Darrang	1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	7,00,000	..	3,000	1,000	8,307	12,307	1.76

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>III. Bihar</i>								
12. Adhaura		2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Bishnupur		2,00,000	..	20,000	30,000	2,500	52,500	26.25
14. Borio		2,00,000	..	1,000	4,890	6,956	12,846	64.23
15. Kundahit		2,00,000	..	1,000	9,000	..	10,000	5.00
16. Mahuadand		2,00,000	..	..	500	1,000	1,500	0.75
17. Manoharpur		2,00,000	..	4,846	6,822	3,640	15,308	7.65
18. Nawhatta		2,00,000	..	..	15,000	380	15,380	7.69
19. Simdega		2,00,000	..	20,000	40,018	4,913	64,931	32.47
TOTAL		16,00,000	..	46,846	1,06,230	19,389	1,72,465	10.78
<i>IV. Bombay</i>								
20. Aheri
21. Akrani Mahal		2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
22. Dharampur		40,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
23. Khedbrahma		50,000	..	..	6,000	3,046	9,046	18.09
24. Mokhada-Talasari
25. Peint		30,500	..	..	9,000	..	9,000	29.51
26. Sukhsar	3,600	6,300	9,900	..
TOTAL		1,22,500	..	..	18,600	9,346	27,946	22.81

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	2,00,000	..	35,000	46,600	..	81,600	40.80
28. Bagicha	2,00,000	..	35,000	..	8,200	43,200	21.06
29. Barwani	2,00,000	..	..	20,000	2,000	22,000	11.00
30. Bharatpur	2,00,000	..	..	18,200	204	18,404	9.20
31. Bhimpur	2,00,000	..	9,000	12,460	30,535	51,995	26.00
32. Dantewara	2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
33. Narayanpur	2,00,000	..	1,000	22,000	22,000	45,000	22.50
34. Pendi Uprora	2,00,000	..	18,000	12,000	..	30,000	15.00
35. Pushparajgarh	2,00,000	..	34,500	..	34,400	68,900	34.45
36. Tamia	2,00,000	..	..	63,000	..	63,000	31.50
TOTAL	20,00,000	..	1,32,500	1,94,260	97,339	4,24,099	21.20

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpirh	2,00,000	..	21,405	35,764	4,771	61,940	30.97
38. Kashipur	2,00,000	..	25,693	24,412	21,800	71,905	35.95
39. Narayenpatna	2,00,000	32,200	26,000	14,000	..	72,200	36.10
40. Racuan	2,00,000	..	40,061	64,399	9,315	1,13,775	56.89
TOTAL	8,00,000	32,200	1,13,159	1,38,575	35,886	3,19,820	39.98

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>VII. Rajasthan</i>							
41. Kushalgarh	2,00,000	..	10,000	3,370	870	14,240	7.12
TOTAL	2,00,000	..	10,000	3,370	870	14,240	7.12
<i>VIII. Manipur</i>							
42. Tamenglong	2,00,000	..	..	1,500	..	1,500	6.82
TOTAL	2,00,000	..	..	1,500	..	1,500	6.82
<i>IX. Tripura</i>							
43. Amarpur	2,00,000	..	28,269	13,149	36,500	77,918	38.96
TOTAL	2,00,000	..	28,269	13,149	36,500	77,918	38.96
GRAND TOTAL	66,22,500	32,200	4,48,843	5,78,723	2,50,953	13,10,719	20.34
ABSTRACT							
I. Andhra Pradesh	8,00,000	..	1,15,069	1,02,039	43,316	2,60,424	32.55
II. Assam	7,00,000	..	3,000	1,000	8,307	12,307	1.76
III. Bihar	16,00,000	..	46,846	1,06,230	19,389	1,72,465	10.78
IV. Bombay	1,22,500	..	..	18,600	9,346	27,946	22.81
V. Madhya Pradesh	20,00,000	..	1,32,500	1,94,260	97,339	4,24,099	21.20
VI. Orissa	8,00,000	32,200	1,13,159	1,38,575	35,886	3,19,820	39.98
VII. Rajasthan	2,00,000	..	10,000	3,370	870	14,240	7.12
VIII. Manipur	2,00,000	..	..	1,500	..	1,500	6.82
IX. Tripura	2,00,000	..	28,269	13,149	36,500	77,918	38.96
TOTAL	66,22,500	32,200	4,48,843	5,78,723	2,50,953	13,10,719	20.34

(x) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
RURAL HOUSING
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30.9.59)	Total	Percentage of Expendi- ture to Revised Schematic Budget	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Revised Schematic Budget					8	
I. Andhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	2,50,000	..	..	24,995	10,628	35,623	14.25
2. Narsampet	2,50,000	..	..	27,240	2,000	29,240	11.70
3. Paderu	2,50,000	..	..	50,000	60,000	1,10,000	44.00
4. Utnur	2,50,000	..	..	15,000	6,647	21,647	8.66
TOTAL	10,00,000	..	..	1,17,235	79,275	1,96,510	19.65
II. Assam.							
5. Dambuk-Aga	1,60,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Diyung	1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Lungleh	1,50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Mairang	2,00,000	..	..	..	16,000	16,000	8.00
9. Muckong-Selek	2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Rongkhong	2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Saipung-Darrang	2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	12,10,000	..	..	..	16,000	16,000	1.82

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhauri		2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Bishunpur		2,50,000	..	10,000	51,000	16,203	77,203	30.89
14. Borio		2,00,000	..	4,700	..	..	4,700	2.35
15. Kundahit		2,50,000	..	..	20,000	13,077	33,077	13.23
16. Matuadand		2,50,000	..	2,78,100	17,832	..	2,95,932	118.37
17. Manoharpur		2,50,000	..	7,800	34,100	32,098	73,998	29.60
18. Nawhatta		2,50,000	..	9,177	49,339	37,934	96,450	38.58
19. Simdega		2,50,000	..	10,000	30,000	22,600	62,600	25.04
TOTAL		19,50,000	..	3,19,777	2,02,271	1,21,912	6,43,960	33.02
IV. Bombay								
20. Ahiri		2,20,000	..	..	600	2,896	3,496	1.59
21. Akrani Mahal		1,40,000	..	44,855	1,27,349	46,158	2,18,362	148.83
22. Dharampur		1,90,000	..	..	19,065	79,423	98,488	51.84
23. Khedbrahma
24. Mokhada- Talasari		2,90,000	..	..	16,570	25,450	42,020	14.49
25. Peint		1,15,500	..	..	70,770	32,490	1,03,260	89.40
26. Sukhsar		1,90,000	..	9,051	73,615	1,11,889	1,94,555	102.40
TOTAL		11,45,500	..	53,906	3,07,969	2,98,306	6,60,181	57.63

V. Madhya Pradesh

27. Alirajpur	2,50,000	..	44,100	6,610	50,710	20.28
28. Bagicha	1,50,000	..	13,000	7,000	20,000	13.33
29. Barwani	2,50,000	6,000	..	..	6,000	2.40
30. Bharatpur	2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..
31. Bhimpur	2,50,000	5,828	..	..	5,828	2.33
32. Dantewara	2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..
33. Narayanpur	2,50,000	..	8,000	2,000	10,000	4.00
34. Pondi Uprora	2,50,000	..	..	1,500	1,500	0.60
35. Pushparajagath	25,000	..	..	..	..	..
36. Tamia	2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	21,75,000	11,828	65,100	17,110	94,038	4.32

VI. Orissa

37. Bhuyanpirth	2,50,000	..	5,000	3,317	8,317	3.33
38. Kashipur	2,27,000	10,000	20,000	..	30,000	13.22
39. Narayanpatana	2,50,000	7,500	10,000	..	17,500	7.00
40. Raruan	2,50,000	..	1,000	17,823	18,823	7.53
TOTAL	9,77,000	7,500	36,000	21,140	74,640	7.64

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VII. Rajasthan								
41. Kushalgarh		2,50,000	..	78,800	99,359	2,900	1,81,059	72.42
TOTAL		2,50,000	..	78,800	99,359	2,900	1,81,059	72.42
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong		1,10,000	..	..	23,800	..	23,800	21.63
TOTAL		1,10,000	..	..	23,800	..	23,800	21.63
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL		2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
GRAND TOTAL		90,67,500	7,500	4,74,311	8,51,734	5,56,643	18,90,188	20.85
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		10,00,000	..	..	1,17,235	79,275	1,96,510	19.65
II. Assam		12,10,000	..	..	..	16,000	16,000	1.82
III. Bihar		19,50,000	..	3,19,777	2,02,271	1,21,912	6,43,960	33.02
IV. Bombay		11,45,500	..	53,906	3,07,969	2,98,306	6,60,181	57.63
V. Madhya Pradesh		21,75,000	..	11,828	65,100	17,110	94,038	4.32
VI. Orissa		9,77,000	7,500	10,000	36,000	21,140	74,640	7.64
VII. Rajasthan		1,10,000	..	78,800	99,359	2,900	1,81,059	72.42
VIII. Manipur		2,50,000	..	..	23,800	..	23,800	21.63
IX. Tripura		2,50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL		90,67,500	7,500	4,74,311	8,51,734	5,56,643	18,90,188	20.85

(xi) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
MISCELLANEOUS
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Andhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Narsampet	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Paderu	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Utnur	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
II. Assam							
5. Dambuk-Aga . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Diyung . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Lungleh . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Mairang . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Mirkong-Sciek . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Rongkhong . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Saipung-Darrang . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar							
12. Adhaura	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Bishunpur	50,000	..	..	..	8,450	8,450	16.90
14. Borio	15,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
15. Kundahit	19,370	..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Mahuadand	50,000	..	..	..	8,400	8,400	16.80
17. Manoharpur	50,000	..	..	..	750	750	1.50
18. Nawhatta	50,000	..	..	8,000	700	8,700	17.40
19. Simdega	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	3,34,370	..	..	8,000	18,300	26,300	7.87
IV. Bombay							
20. Aheri . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21. Akrani Mahal	5,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
22. Dharampur	7,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
23. Khedbrahma . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24. Mokhada Talasari . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25. Peint	5,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
26. Sukhsar . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	17,000	..	..	..	..	..	..

V. *Madhya Pradesh*

27. Alirajpur	25,000	..	1,095	100	..	1,195	4.78
28. Bagicha	25,000	..	500	500	71	1,071	4.28
29. Barwani	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
30. Bharatpur	25,000	..	6,000	..	..	6,000	24.00
31. Bhimpur	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
32. Dantewara	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
33. Narayanpur	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
34. Pondi Uprora	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
35. Pushparajgarh	5,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
36. Tamia	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	2,30,000	..	7,595	600	71	8,266	3.24

VI. *Orissa*

37. Bhuyanpirh . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38. Kashipur . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
39. Narayanpatna	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
40. Raruan	50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..

VII. *Rajasthan*

41. Kushalgarh	50,000	..	1,60,000	1,40,000	25,000	3,25,000	650.00
TOTAL	50,000	..	1,60,000	1,40,000	25,000	3,25,000	650.00

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>VIII. Manipur</i>								
42. Tamenglong		6,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL		6,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>IX. Tripura</i>								
43. Amarpur		50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL		50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
GRAND TOTAL		9,87,370	..	1,67,595	1,48,600	43,371	3,57,565	35.42
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		2,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
II. Assam
III. Bihar		3,34,370	..	..	8,000	18,300	26,300	7.87
IV. Bombay		17,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
V. Madhya Pradesh		2,30,000	..	7,595	600	71	8,255	3.24
VI. Orissa		1,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
VII. Rajasthan		50,000	..	1,60,000	1,40,000	25,000	3,25,000	650.00
VIII. Manipur		6,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
IX. Tripura		50,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL		9,87,370	..	1,67,595	1,48,600	43,371	3,59,555	35.42

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Aulhaura
13. Uishnupur
14. Borio	3,558	6,804	9,929	10,747	31,038	.
15. Kundahit
16. Mahuadand
17. Manoharpur
18. Nawhatia
19. Simdega
TOTAL	3,558	6,804	9,929	10,747	31,038	.
IV. Bombay								
20. Aheri	21,658	1,822	23,480	.
21. Akrani Mahal	12,730	19,070	4,715	36,515	.
22. Dharampur	10,592	.	.	10,592	.
23. Khedbrahma	55,946	14,929	70,875	.
24. Mokhada-Talasari	1,350	53,990	7,562	33,479	96,381	.
25. Feint
26. Sukhsar	6,794	6,794	.
TOTAL	1,350	77,312	1,04,236	61,739	2,44,637	.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>VIII. Manipur</i>								
42. Tamenglong
TOTAL
<i>IX. Tripura</i>								
43. Anarnpur
TOTAL
GRAND TOTAL	4,908	84,116	1,14,165	72,486	2,75,675	..
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh
II. Assam
III. Bihar	3,558	6,804	9,929	10,747	31,038	..
IV. Bombay	1,350	77,312	1,04,236	61,739	2,44,637	..
V. Madhya Pradesh
VI. Orissa
VII. Rajasthan
VIII. Manipur
IX. Tripura
TOTAL	4,908	84,116	1,14,165	72,486	2,75,675	..

(xiii) Statement showing the year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of
TOTAL
since the inception of the Block till 30th September, 1959

State & Block	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 (till 30-9-59)	Total	Percentage of Expendi- ture to Revised Schematic Budget	
							2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Ardhra Pradesh							
1. Araku	27,00,000	1,35,985	3,85,156	7,13,471	1,92,412	14,27,027	52.85
2. Narsampet	27,00,000	..	2,09,765	3,57,129	1,31,501	6,98,395	25.87
3. Paucru	27,00,000	62,266	3,65,530	5,90,757	2,86,641	13,05,194	48.38
4. Utnur	27,00,000	..	1,41,391	2,84,836	1,24,452	5,50,679	20.40
TOTAL	1,08,00,000	1,98,251	11,02,842	19,46,196	7,35,006	39,82,295	35.87
II. Assam							
5. Dambuk-Aga	27,00,000	74,765	3,51,824	3,47,140	1,46,264	9,19,993	34.07
6. Diyung	20,72,104	..	1,32,199	2,71,273	1,63,525	5,66,997	27.36
7. Lungleh	27,00,000	32,945	3,39,371	5,07,047	1,52,843	10,32,206	38.23
8. Mairang	27,00,000	48,500	2,55,400	2,83,100	1,70,580	7,57,580	28.06
9. Murkong-Selek	24,00,000	..	17,845	1,53,108	87,070	2,58,023	10.76
10. Rongkhong	27,00,000	28,030	1,36,612	2,55,417	1,69,934	5,89,993	21.85
11. Saitpur-Darrang	27,00,000	21,724	1,23,696	4,04,092	1,63,940	7,13,452	26.42
TOTAL	1,79,72,104	2,05,964	13,56,947	22,21,177	10,54,156	48,38,244	26.92

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III. Bihar								
12. Adhaura		27,00,000	44,568	71,573	2,62,389	90,121	4,68,651	17.36
13. Bishunpur		27,00,000	1,28,236	2,96,294	5,57,299	1,22,353	11,04,182	40.97
14. Borio		26,50,000	79,388	2,26,458	3,05,026	1,99,651	8,10,523	30.59
15. Kundahit		27,00,000	1,86,910	2,40,814	2,86,078	85,706	10,06,235 ¹	37.27
16. Mahuadand		27,00,000	1,83,663	8,40,810	2,12,990	73,927	13,42,741 ²	49.73
17. Manoharpur		27,00,000	62,771	1,56,621	3,81,169	1,28,151	7,28,712	26.99
18. Nawhatta		27,00,000	35,522	1,61,744	4,39,849	1,29,716	7,66,831	28.40
19. Simdega		27,00,000	1,56,050	2,98,941	4,44,278	1,26,449	10,25,718	37.99
		TOTAL	8,77,108	22,93,255	28,89,078	9,56,074	72,53,593^a	33.66
IV. Bombay								
20. Aheri		27,00,000	2,757	97,679	3,16,967	1,52,972	5,70,375	21.12
21. Akrani Mahal		27,00,000	903	5,31,215	9,27,326	2,87,350	17,46,794	64.70
22. Dharampur		27,00,000	..	2,66,346	5,20,632	2,59,300	10,46,278	38.75
23. Khedbrahma		27,00,000	11,200	2,47,380	6,37,070	3,08,973	12,04,623	44.62
24. Mokhada-Talasari		27,00,000	22,368	2,92,356	5,61,288	1,93,192	10,69,204	39.60
25. Peint		27,00,000	..	1,70,384	8,24,484	2,91,748	12,86,616	47.65
26. Sukhsar		27,00,000	3,607	2,60,076	5,41,669	4,18,026	12,23,378	45.31
		TOTAL	40,835	18,65,436	43,29,436	19,11,561	81,47,268	43.11

V. *Madhya Pradesh*

27. Alirajpur	27,00,000	96,996	5,21,582	4,48,856	86,806	11,54,240	42.75
28. Bagicha	27,75,000	5,474	1,40,715	3,63,966	1,12,874	6,23,029	22.45
29. Barwani	27,00,000	..	5,79,500	4,65,891	1,21,812	11,67,203	43.23
30. Bharatpur	27,00,000	..	1,14,459	2,72,416	1,31,660	5,18,535	19.21
31. Bhimpur	27,00,000	9,981	1,93,630	1,76,186	1,58,870	5,33,657	19.99
32. Dantewara	26,99,500	16,674	2,43,014	4,63,441	1,21,672	8,44,801	31.29
33. Narayanpur	27,00,000	4,000	3,67,000	5,44,000	1,95,000	11,10,000	41.11
34. Pondi Uprora	26,60,000	9,021	2,51,722	1,95,301	66,626	5,22,670	19.65
35. Pushpatrajgarh	24,05,000	1,14,076	2,49,586	2,94,997	1,46,700	8,05,359	33.49
36. Tamia	27,00,000	9,764	1,12,829	5,81,502	1,85,842	8,89,927	32.96
TOTAL	2,67,39,500	2,65,986	27,74,029	38,06,556	13,27,862	81,74,433	30.57

VI. *Orissa*

37. Bhuyanpirh	27,00,000	1,59,975	3,57,122	3,33,867	1,08,857	11,90,798 ^a	44.10
38. Kashipur	25,77,355	86,181	1,88,416	3,92,837	78,084	8,66,073 ^a	33.60
39. Narayanpatna	27,00,000	2,12,000	3,42,651	2,57,718	1,08,998	9,21,367	34.12
40. Karuan	27,00,000	34,639	3,52,436	4,92,909	2,60,336	11,40,320	42.23
TOTAL	1,06,77,355	4,92,795	12,40,625	14,77,331	5,56,275	41,18,558 ^a	38.57

VII. *Rajasthan*

41. Kushalgarh	27,00,000	17,435	4,49,910	6,21,948	1,50,525	12,39,818	45.92
TOTAL	27,00,000	17,435	4,49,910	6,21,948	1,50,525	12,39,818	45.92

^aIncludes Rs. 2,06,727 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^aIncludes Rs. 31,351 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^aIncludes Rs. 2,38,078 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

^aIncludes Rs. 2,30,977 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^aIncludes Rs. 1,20,555 spent before the Multipurpose Block was started.

^aIncludes Rs. 3,51,532 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VIII. Manipur								
42. Tamenglong		25,68,000	..	4,22,677	4,79,501	61,433	9,63,611	37.52
TOTAL		25,68,000	..	4,22,677	4,79,501	61,433	9,63,611	37.52
IX. Tripura								
43. Amarpur		27,00,000	42,585	1,95,128	3,15,656	1,73,702	7,27,071	26.93
TOTAL		27,00,000	42,585	1,95,128	3,15,656	1,73,702	7,27,071	26.93
GRAND TOTAL		11,46,06,959	21,40,959	1,17,00,849	1,80,86,879	69,26,594	3,94,44,891 ¹	34.42
ABSTRACT								
I. Andhra Pradesh		1,08,00,000	1,98,251	11,02,842	19,46,196	7,35,006	39,82,295	36.87
II. Assam		1,79,72,104	2,05,964	13,56,947	22,21,177	10,54,156	48,38,244	26.92
III. Bihar		2,15,50,000	8,77,108	22,93,255	28,89,078	9,56,074	72,53,593 ²	33.66
IV. Bombay		1,89,00,000	40,835	18,65,436	43,29,436	19,11,561	81,47,268	43.11
V. Madhya Pradesh		2,67,39,500	2,65,986	27,74,029	38,06,556	13,27,862	81,74,433	30.57
VI. Orissa		1,06,77,355	4,92,795	12,40,625	14,77,331	5,56,275	41,18,558 ³	38.57
VII. Rajasthan		27,00,000	17,435	4,49,910	6,21,948	1,50,525	12,39,818	45.92
VIII. Manipur		25,68,000	..	4,22,677	4,79,501	61,433	9,63,611	37.52
IX. Tripura		27,00,000	42,585	1,95,128	3,15,656	1,73,702	7,27,071	26.93
TOTAL		11,46,06,959	21,40,959	1,17,00,849	1,80,86,879	69,26,594	3,94,44,891 ¹	34.42

¹Includes Rs. 5,89,610 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

²Includes Rs. 2,38,078 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

³Includes Rs. 3,51,532 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

(xiv) Statement showing expenditure incurred on different heads of the Schematic Budget of the Multipurpose Blocks of the State Governments since the inception of the Blocks till 30th September, 1959

Sl. No.	Heads	State-wise Expenditure on different Heads of Schematic Budget											Total (43 Blocks) of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget	Percent (43 Blocks) of Expenditure to Revised Schematic Budget	
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
		Revised Schematic Budget (43 Blocks)	Andhra Pradesh (4 Blocks)	Assam (7 Blocks)	Bihar (8 Blocks)	Bombay (7 Blocks)	Madhya Pradesh (10 Blocks)	Orissa (4 Blocks)	Rajasthan (1 Block)	Manipur (1 Block)	Tripura (1 Block)				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
1	Project Headquarters	2,91,91,500	14,14,429	24,12,530	25,32,094	18,42,622	25,22,319	15,48,488	1,77,449	2,66,334	2,31,112	1,29,47,377	44.35		
2	Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.	98,36,421	2,62,655	6,32,830	4,41,626	5,11,424	11,55,293	2,33,438	77,532	98,237	70,693	34,83,728	35.41		
3	Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation.	1,65,14,788	3,59,797	1,86,773	11,63,544	18,34,020	12,06,162	2,73,911	1,95,551	1,63,692	72,815	54,58,265	33.05		
4	Health and Rural Sanitation	1,00,41,784	2,85,446	4,47,086	7,31,315	6,07,406	6,70,658	5,16,104	1,20,759	1,12,643	36,063	35,27,480	35.13		
5	Education	50,07,080	1,70,243	2,19,467	2,28,695	7,12,302	3,68,464	1,92,356	29,225	19,377	42,800	19,82,929	39.60		
6	Social Education	35,08,670	1,41,530	1,94,926	2,97,689	3,34,015	3,50,898	2,38,500	38,559	25,395	87,421	17,08,933	48.71		
7	Communications	1,56,14,097	5,99,292	5,80,385	5,93,020	9,51,713	10,68,071	6,54,499	62,953	1,97,306	70,915	47,84,154	30.64		
8	Rural Arts and Crafts	84,93,249	2,91,969	1,35,940	3,85,847	4,21,002	3,06,165	66,802	17,491	53,327	37,334	17,15,877	20.20		
9	Co-operation	66,22,500	2,60,424	12,307	1,72,465	27,946	4,24,093	3,19,820	14,340	1,500	77,918	13,10,719	20.34		
10	Rural Housing	91,67,500	1,96,510	16,000	6,43,960	6,60,181	94,038	74,640	1,81,059	23,800	...	18,90,188	20.85		
11	Miscellaneous	9,87,370	...	...	26,300	...	8,266	...	3,25,000	...	...	3,59,566	36.42
12	Suspense	...	...	...	31,038	2,44,637	...	...	...	...	...	2,75,675	...
TOTAL		11,46,06,959	39,82,295	48,38,344	72,53,593	81,47,268	81,74,433	41,18,558	12,39,818	9,63,611	7,27,071	3,94,44,891*	34.42		

*Includes Rs. 5,89,610 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

APPENDIX III

Statement showing Area and Tribal, non-tribal and Total Population in the Multipurpose Blocks

Sl. No.	State	Block	Area (in sq. miles)	Tribal Popula- tion	Non- Tribal Population	Total Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I	Andhra Pradesh	1. Araku . . .	240	34,569	1,200	35,769
		2. Narsampet . . .	1,500	16,205	27,646	43,852
		3. Paderu . . .	240	31,350	1,650	33,000
		4. Utnur . . .	726.40	25,000	34,404	59,404
II	Assam	5. Dambuk-Aga . . .	117	23,109	1,000	24,109
		6. Diyung . . .	800	18,850	1,150	20,000
		7. Lungleh . . .	1,230	22,234	239	22,473
		8. Mairang . . .	450	26,295	Nil	26,295
		9. Murkong-Selek	1,134	13,000	15,000	28,000
		10. Rongkhong . . .	300	21,909	216	22,125
III	Bihar	11. Saipung-Darrang	782	23,938	345	24,283
		12. Adhaura . . .	358	9,038	5,708	14,746
		13. Bishunpur . . .	237	21,351	1,809	23,160
		14. Borio . . .	151	45,093	17,230	62,323
		15. Kundahit . . .	181	22,354	33,062	60,416
		16. Mahuadand . . .	255	23,657	3,401	27,058
		17. Manoharpur . . .	771	33,008	15,585	48,593
		18. Nawhatta . . .	104	5,847	22,273	26,120
		19. Simdega . . .	296	35,687	30,000	65,687
IV	Bombay	20. Aheri . . .	1,100	21,380	10,136	31,516
		21. Akrani Mahal . . .	932	21,818	699	22,517
		22. Dharampur . . .	95.93	17,879	3,859	21,738
		23. Khedbrahma	205.05	25,892	2,690	28,582
		24. Mokhada-Talasari	150	25,300	1,807	27,107
		25. Peint . . .	151.89	26,286	3,955	30,241
		26. Sukhsar . . .	82	24,450	3,309	27,769
V	Madhya Pra- desh	27. Alirajpur . . .	234	28,010	10,000	38,010

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
V.	Madhya Pradesh	28. Bagicha . .	1,052	40,000	25,962	65,962
	<i>—contd.</i>	29. Barwani . .	170	26,271	12,337	38,603
		30. Bharatpur . .	1,224	18,796	5,414	24,210
		31. Bhimpur . .	363	29,309	4,538	33,847
		32. Dantewara . .	225	44,000	11,000	55,000
		33. Narayanpur . .	346	21,099	5,209	26,308
		34. Pondi Uprora . .	945	45,061	9,329	54,390
		35. Pushparajgarh . .	681	45,560	20,723	66,283
		36. Tamia . .	513	26,640	2,960	29,600
VI	Orissa	37. Bhuyanpirh . .	749.06	43,000	18,831	61,831
		38. Kashipur . .	969	48,469	59,231	1,07,700
		39. Naraya ipatna . .	665	56,000	10,000	66,000
		40. Raruan . .	157.35	33,647	30,710	64,357
VII	Rajasthan	41. Kushalgarh . .	258.9	26,603	1,401	28,004
VIII	Manipur	42. Tamenglong . .	1,872	40,000	52	40,052
XI	Tripura	43. Amarpur . .	527	23,001	5,279	28,280
TOTAL			23,540.58	12,10,976	4,74,349	16,85,325
AVERAGE			547.45	28,162	11,031	39,193

APPENDIX IV

Terms and Conditions for giving Grants to Voluntary Organisations

(1) The funds will not be used for party, political or anti-Government propaganda. If it is found that this has been done, future grants will be withheld and those already sanctioned recovered.

(2) Quarterly progress reports on the schemes undertaken by the organisations should be submitted in triplicate to the Government of India under intimation to the State Government concerned.

(3) The organisations will submit to the Government of India a detailed report of the work done with the statement of accounts audited by a registered auditor within a month of the close of the financial year.

(4) The organisations will agree to the occasional visits of the Government officers and consider their suggestions for the progressive working of the schemes.

(5) The organisations will agree to take a nominee of the Government as a member of their managing committee appointed for this purpose.

(6) The accounts in so far as they relate to the Central grant for the proposed schemes will be subject to the test check by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India at his discretion.

(7) The organisations will have no authority to dispose of any capital equipment for which grant-in-aid has been sanctioned to them without prior approval of the Government of India and in the event of the organisations dropping the scheme or being wound up, the ownership of such equipment and property, would vest in the Government.

The assets acquired by an organisation out of the Central grants should not be utilised for purposes other than those for which the grants are sanctioned. The organisations will also maintain an audited record of all assets acquired wholly or substantially out of Government grants.

(8) The funds will be spent exclusively for the purpose for which they are meant.

APPENDIX V

Scheme for the Establishment of a Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation in Madhya Pradesh

BACKGROUND

A majority of the tribals in Madhya Pradesh live in hilly and isolated forest areas. Soil conditions and slope of the land are generally such that agriculture cannot, by itself, sustain the average tribal family throughout the year. Many tribal families have to supplement their income from agriculture by collecting minor forest produce and by seeking employment under forest contractors in the felling and handling of timber. In this process the tribals are exploited by the forest contractors and dealers in minor forest produce.

2. It has, therefore, been decided in principle that forest contractors should be gradually replaced by co-operative societies of forest labourers. Approximately 20 forest labour co-operative societies already exist in Madhya Pradesh; in addition, there are 30 Multipurpose Co-operative Societies in the Scheduled and Tribal Areas. Though a few of these societies have done well, the majority are dormant, doing little or no business. As the headquarters of these societies are situated in isolated tracts, it has been difficult to find good managers who are willing to work in these areas; supervision through the normal agency of the Co-operative department has also been ineffective, as the field officers of the department are unable to devote the special attention necessary to revive, guide and control the societies. The societies also need technical assistance in selecting forest coupes, and for arranging transport and marketing of produce. With the progressive growth of societies, it has also become difficult for Government to deal with the problem of individual societies direct.

3. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has, in his annual reports, repeatedly suggested that the societies should be organised on the pattern prevailing in Bombay State. Non-official sponsoring agencies play an important role in the Bombay pattern; in Madhya Pradesh, however, there are few non-official organisations; two non-official organisations which took up the work have run into several difficulties. It has, therefore, become necessary to set up a special Government sponsored apex organisation for organising, guiding, financing and controlling the primary societies. This organisation is proposed to be called the Madhya Pradesh Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation. In addition to dealing with forest labour and multipurpose co-operative societies, it is proposed to utilise this apex organisation as an agency for providing loans to tribals for non-productive purposes in due course when debt relief regulations are adopted.

OBJECTIVES

4. The objectives of the Madhya Pradesh Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation will be :—

- (a) to function as the apex organisation for financing, providing technical guidance and controlling existing forest labour and multipurpose co-operative societies in tribal areas;
- (b) to progressively organise new societies in tribal areas with a view to gradual elimination of forest contractors and middlemen engaged in the trade of minor forest produce and thus ensure a fair wage and a fair share of profits for tribal workers;
- (c) undertake the distribution of loans to tribals for non-productive purposes, with a view to gradual elimination of money-lenders;
- (d) to undertake generally such other activities as are conducive to the promotion of the economic interests and social welfare of tribal communities.

CONSTITUTION

5. The Madhya Pradesh Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation will be a co-operative society registered under the Madhya Pradesh Co-operative Societies Act. The Corporation will be affiliated to the Mahakoshal Marketing Society; for this purpose, the Corporation may purchase a few shares of the marketing society; a representative of the Corporation will also be on the managing body of the marketing society and *vice versa*—this will make for effective co-ordination between the two organisations. The managing committee will consist of :—

Deputy Minister for Tribal Welfare	Chairman
The Director of Tribal Welfare	Member
The Chief Conservator of Forest (or his nominee)	Member
The Registrar, Cooperative Societies (or his nominee)	Member
One non-official representative of the Mahakoshal Market- ing Society.	Member
One member of the Tribes Advisory Council	Member
Two non-official representatives of primary societies	Members

6. The Corporation shall have a whole-time Secretary (it is proposed to employ a retired Divisional Forest Officer), who will be assisted by an Accounts Officer, a Tribal Welfare Officer and an officer with experience in the co-operation movement.

FUNDS AND ASSETS

7. It is proposed to initiate the Corporation with an outright grant of Rs. 6.00 lakhs, representing the non-returnable contribution of Government towards the share capital of the organisation. Primary societies will be called upon to purchase shares, but the amounts thus derived may be very small. During the first few years of operation, it is also proposed that Government should share the profit or loss equally with the Corporation according to a formula to be specified for the purpose.

TARGETS AND PHASING OF EXPENDITURE

8. During 1959-60, it is proposed to register the Corporation, appoint office-bearers and skeleton staff and make a share capital Contribution of Rs. 3.00 lakhs. During 1960-61, the staff will be further augmented and the Corporation should be able to commence their normal work of organising and controlling the primary societies; a further share capital contribution of Rs. 3.00 lakhs is proposed to be made during this year. The phasing of expenditure would, therefore, be as follows :—

(In lakhs of Rupees)		
1959-60	1960-61	Total
3.00	3.00	6.00

GOVERNMENT CONTROL

9. The Corporation will generally function as an autonomous body. Government control will be limited to the following matters :—

- (a) Appointment (nomination) and removal of members of the managing committee.
- (b) Issue of directions from time to time (the Corporation will be bound to carry out such directions).
- (c) Auditing the accounts of the Corporation through Government agency whenever considered necessary.

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