

Thakkar Bapa Publications

*Report of
The Sixth Conference
For Tribes & Tribal (Scheduled) Areas*

रिपोर्ट

छटवाँ आदिम जाति कल्याण सम्मेलन

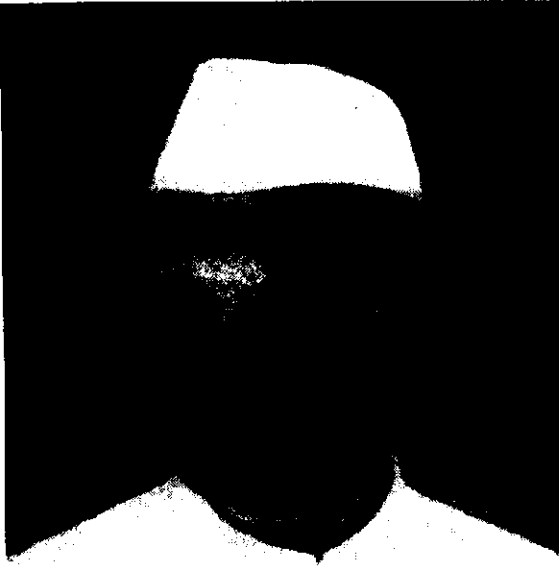
Ootacamund (Dist. Nilgiris), Madras
21st, 22nd & 23rd May, 1960

२१, २२ और २३ मई, १९६०

S

PUBLISHED BY BHARATIYA ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH, NEW LINK ROAD,
JHANDEWALAN, NEW DELHI-1
PRINTED BY D.R. SARDANA, MANAGER, CAMBRIDGE PRINTING WORKS,
KASHMERE GATE, DELHI-6

[Price Rs. 2.50



Message
from
Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President of India

I send my best wishes for the well-being of the tribal people inhabiting various parts of our country. The Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference which is being held at Ootacamund will review the social and economic position of these people and consider ways and means of improving them in keeping with the policy of the Government and the general desire of the Indian society. Let me hope the work that has already been done will hearten the social workers, so that they continue to grapple with the task that still remains to be accomplished to help these people take their due place with other sections of the people.

I wish the Tribal Welfare Conference success.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Rajendra Prasad". The signature is written in dark ink and features a prominent, sweeping underline at the end.

SIXTH TRIBAL WELFARE CONFERENCE,
OOTACAMUND.
(Dist. Nilgiris) MADRAS.
21st, 22nd and 23rd May 1960

Inauguration by

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN
Vice-President of India.

President of the Conference :

SHRI N. SANJIVA REDDY
Congress President.

Chairman of Social Welfare Section :

ACHARYA SHRI S.R. BHISE.

Chairman of Anthropology Section :

DR. A. AIYAPPAN.

Chairman of Tribal Representatives Section :

SHRI CHHAGANLAL KEDARIA.

Reception Committee

Chairman :

SRI P. KAKKAN,
Minister for Works and Harijan Welfare, Madras.

Deputy Chairmen :

SHRI K. RAJARAM NAIDU.
SHRI O.V. ALAGESAN.
SHRI M.K. NANJA GOWDER.

Secretaries :

DR. S. NARASIMHAN
SHRI RAMASWAMI ADIGAL
SHRI S. TIRUVENGADAN.

Treasurer :

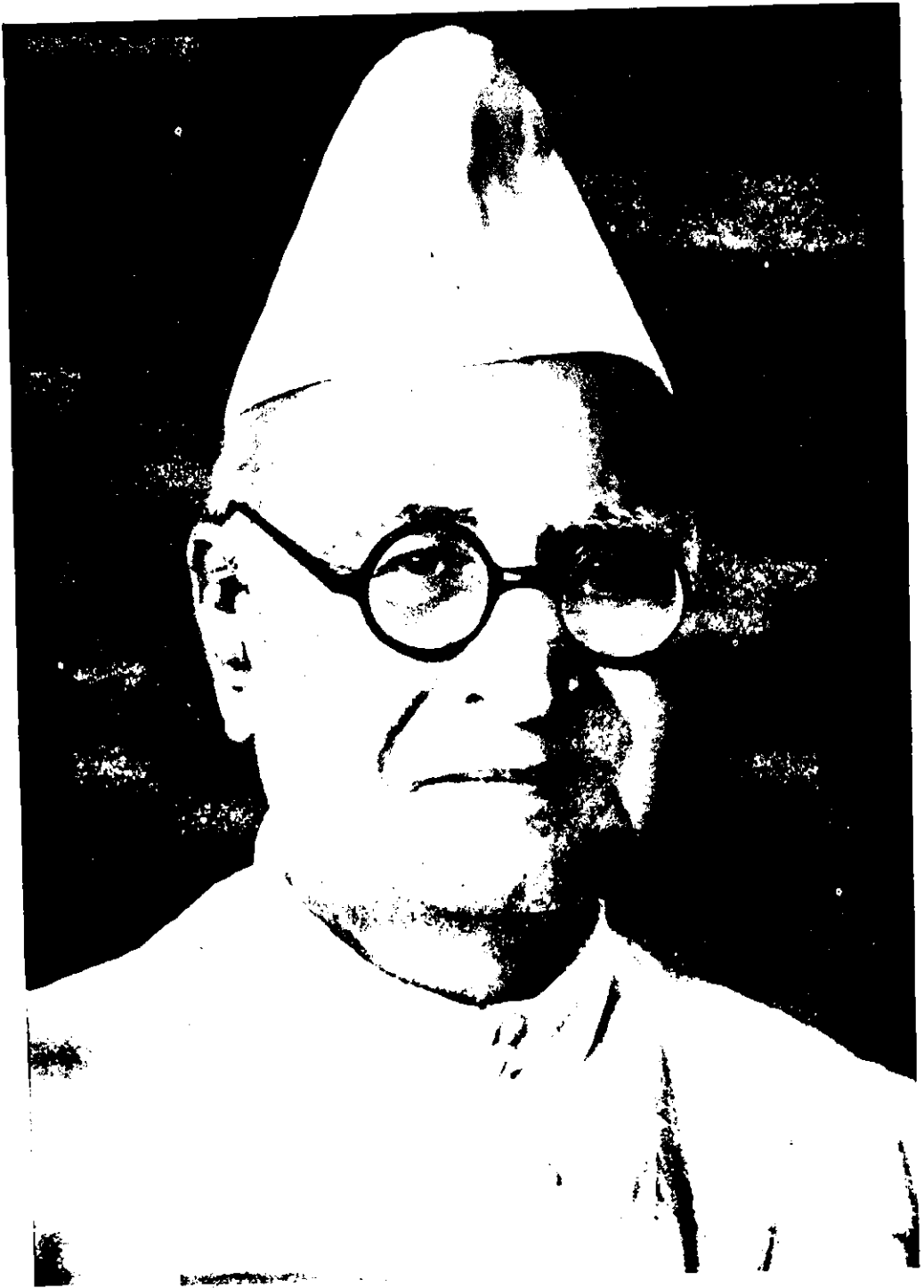
SHRI K. CHINNASWAMY DESAJ.

CONTENTS

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

<i>Part 1—WELCOME ADDRESS AND OTHER ADDRESSES</i>	PAGE
1. Welcome Address by Sri P. Kakkan	1
2. Inaugural Address by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan	6
3. Speech by Shri Bishnuram Medhi	9
4. Presidential Address by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy	13
5. Thanks-Giving Speech by Shri U.N. Dhebar	14
6. Address by Acharya Shri S.R. Bhise	15
7. Address by Shri Chhaganlal Kedaria	20
8. Address by Shri Dr. A. Aiyappan	25
<i>Part 2.—PAPERS READ AT THE CONFERENCE</i>	
9. Tradition and Modernism by Prof. U.R. Ehrenfels	33
10. What Does Dandakaranya Project Promise or Forebode for the Tribes by Shri L.N. Rao	36
11. The Training of Tribal Welfare Workers by Shri N.V. Bapat	40
12. Third Five Year Plan and the Tribals by Shri Aditya Pratap Singh	43
13. The Economic Problems of the Lanjia Saoras by Shri Ambalal Vyas	48
14. Indebtedness of the Tribals and the Provision of Credit and Marketing in Tribal Areas by Shri Aditya Pratap Singh	53
15. Third Five Year Plan and The List of Scheduled Tribes by Shri A.A.D. Luiz	56
16. Saving Human Values in Tribal Life and in Tribal Education by Shri E. De. Meulder	58
17. Indebtedness of the Tribals and the Provision of Credit and Marketing in the Tribal Areas by Shri Ramaswami Adigal	64
18. Third Five Year Plan for the Development of Tribal Areas and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes by Shri Ramaswami Adigal	66
19. Tribal Revivalism by Shri K.K. Leuva	70
20. Multi-Purpose Development Blocks—Some Suggestions by Shri D.J. Naik	72
21. Indebtedness of the Tribals and the Provision of Credit and Marketing in Tribal Areas by Shri N.P. Damodaran	76
22. A Plea for Revision of the List of Scheduled Tribes by Shri Nityananda Das	80

	PAGE
23. विकास के विभिन्न स्तरों के आधार पर आदिमजातियों के वैज्ञानिक वर्गीकरण के अनुसार अनुसूची पर पुनर्विचार—ले० श्री द्वा० प्र० बिलहरे,	85
24. आदिवासी छात्रों का अनुभव और उनकी सामाजिक उन्नति—ले० श्री पुष्पावेन देसाई	93
25. पूर्वांचल की आदिम जातियाँ और उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान—ले० श्री सुकुमार पगारे	96
<i>Part 3.—PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE</i>	
26. Economic Development of Scheduled Tribes by Mrs. P.P. Naidu	99
27. Tribals and Their Present Condition by Shri T. Sanganna ...	102
28. Training of Workers in Tribal Welfare by Shri P.D. Kulkarni	103
29. The Amanatyas by Dr. L.N. Sahu ...	106
30. A Broad Outline of the Training Programme for Workers in Tribal Welfare by Shri G.L. Zutshi	108
31. Ex-Criminal Tribes of Northern India—Need for Reclassification on more Authentic and Scientific Grounds by Shri Sher Singh "Sher"	113
32. Tribal Welfare Work among the Workers by Shri Gopi Nath Sen	120
33. Land Tenure System in Assam by Shri Binod Behari Goswami	124
34. The Un-Employment Problem of the Adiwasis and The Third Five Year Plan by Shri D.N. Wandrekar	128
35. आदिवासी कल्याण—ले० श्रीअमर सिंह, डामर ...	136
36. आदिवासी वर्ग का वैज्ञानिक वर्गीकरण—ले० श्री जयसिंह मार्को ...	140
37. आदिमजाति क्षेत्र में रचनात्मक कार्य—ले० श्री बलराम दास	143
38. तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में आदिमजातीय क्षेत्रों में आदिमजातियों का कल्याण कार्य ले० श्री सावित्री बिल्हरे	147
39. Forest Herbs and Tribal Welfare by Shri Swami Jitpuri	152
<i>Part 4.—DISCUSSIONS AND RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE CONFERENCE</i>	
A Summary of the Discussions at the Ootacamund Conference ...	159
Speech by Smt. Masuma Begum ...	169
Resolutions passed at the Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference at Ootacamund ...	171
<i>Part 5.—APPENDICES :</i>	
Appendix I—Messages ...	177
Appendix II—List of Delegates and Visitors who attended the Conference ...	182



LATE SHRI THAKKAR BAPA

Founder B.A.J. Svak Seangh

श्री. पद्म टक्कर बापा

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THE Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference was held under the auspices of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh on 21st, 22nd & 23rd May, 1960 at Ootacamund, Nilgiris Dist., Madras. The Conference was originally proposed to be held in the Gudern Agency Area of Andhra Pradesh, but as it was reported that small-pox was raging at the time in the adjoining agency areas, it was thought advisable to change the venue at the last moment. The Conference was therefore arranged at Ootacamund at very short notice. The Nilgiris Dist. is the home of the Todas, one of the most ancient tribal communities in India, known to Anthropologists for a very long time. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh has started welfare work among them about 10 years ago and has, by the persistent efforts of the Servants of India Society, one of its affiliated institutions, substantially given a set back to the growing mortality and death rate among them. The Conference at Ootacamund has therefore attracted a large number of delegates, visitors, social workers and officials and ministers from other States as well.

The Conference was inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India and presided over by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddi, Congress President. Shri Bhisnu Ram Medhi, Governor of Madras had kindly inaugurated the exhibition held in connection with the Conference. Shri P. Kakkan, Minister for Works and Harijan Welfare, Madras was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and he was assisted by three energetic secretaries, Dr. S. Narasimhan, Shri Ramaswami Adigal and Shri S. Triuvengadan. The Conference was well attended and about 5,000 tribals including the Todas, the Panians, and the Kotas from surrounding areas were present.

The papers read at the Conference dealt with subjects relating to the three sections of the Conference viz (i) Social Welfare, (ii) Anthropology, (iii) Tribal Representatives, which were presided over by Acharya Shri S.R. Bhise of Adivasi Seva Mandal, Bombay, Dr. A. Aiyappan, Professor of Anthropology, Cuttack University, Shri Chhagan Lal Kedaria, M.P. of Bombay. In the unavoidable absence of Dr. A. Aiyappan due to ill health, his address was read by Shri P.G. Shah of Gujerat Research Society, Bombay who acted as the Chairman of the Anthropology section.

The discussions under the different sections covered the following subjects.

I. SOCIAL WELFARE SECTION :

I. The basis for the Third Five Year Plan for the development of Tribal Areas and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes (a) with emphasis on economic development, and (b) with reference to the working of Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks.

II. Working of the Training Centres run by the non-official agencies for training suitable workers to be employed for implementing the Tribal Welfare Schemes by the official as well as the non-official agencies.

2. ANTHROPOLOGY SECTION :

Revision of the lists of Scheduled Tribes in accordance with the scientific classification on the basis of development.

3. TRIBAL SECTION :

Indebtedness of the tribals and the provision of credit and marketing in tribal areas.

The proceedings of the three sections were not conducted separately but were clubbed together into one. Thirtyone papers were submitted to the Conference but only those papers were read, the authors of which were present on the occasion. For want of proper facilities the discussions could not be recorded verbatim. Shri S.R. Venkataraman of the Servants of India Society, Madras has been kind enough to take down notes of discussions and has furnished us with the summary of the same, which is published in the report.

The report is divided into five parts. Part one contains the addresses of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the summary of the speech of Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Chairmen of the three sections of the conference and of the Governor of Madras at the opening of the Exhibition. Part 2 contains the articles actually read at the conference. Part 3 contains the articles submitted to the Conference but not read. Part 4 contains the summary of the discussions and the resolutions passed at the conference. Part 5 gives the messages received and the lists of delegates and visitors.

Our heart-felt thanks are due Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, Shri Bishnu Ram Medhi, Shri P. Kakkan and the Chairmen of the three sections who have been kind enough to accede to the request of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh to guide its deliberations by participating in them in different capacities. We express our gratitude to the Chairman and three Secretaries of the Reception Committee and its members and also the band of workers and volunteers who by their vigorous and sincere efforts have contributed to the success of the Conference.

The Madras Government have helped us very much by giving a liberal grant and in other ways and our thanks are due to them also.

We are grateful to the writers of the articles who have by their contributions helped in giving material for discussions at the conference and to the ministers of different States and the officials and to other workers who enlivened the discussions by their participation.

WELCOME ADDRESS

by

Sri P. KAKKAN,

Minister for Works, Government of Madras and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference, delivered on 21st May, 1960, at Ootacamund.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sixth Tribal Conference now being held under the auspices of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, I have great pleasure in welcoming you all to this Conference and to Ootacamund, which is considered to be the Queen of hill stations. I take this opportunity to give in brief the condition of the Scheduled Tribes in this State and the steps taken by the Government of Madras and other private organisations for their economic uplift.

2. The tribal population of Madras State is about 1.84 lakhs. They are mostly found in the districts of the Nilgiris, Salem, Coimbatore, North Arcot, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai, South Arcot and Chingleput. They generally live in the forests and hills far away from the highways of civilisation and the amenities of towns and cities. They are therefore very backward in all respects.

3. After the advent of Swaraj, the problem of ameliorating the conditions of the tribal population of this country and bringing them to the level of other communities in the plains has engaged the serious attention of the Government. The promotion of the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled

Tribes and the adoption of measures to that end have become a directive principle of State policy. The Government have therefore formulated several schemes under the First and the Second Five-Year Plans.

4. During the First Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 2.496 lakhs has been spent for the development of the Scheduled Tribes under Education, Agriculture, etc. Necessary medical aid was also given during the First Five-Year Plan.

5. During the Second Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 47.80 lakhs has been provided under Grant-in-aid and Centrally sponsored Schemes for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes under various heads of development programmes. During the first four years of the Second Five-Year Plan period a sum of Rs. 30.31 lakhs has been spent and the balance of the provision already made will be utilized during the last year of the Second Plan period. The various development programmes taken up for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes during the Second Plan period are as follows.

Education.

6. Illiteracy is the main cause for the backwardness of the Scheduled Tribes. They do not understand the value of education and are averse to send

their children to the schools. Hence residential schools have been opened in the places where the Scheduled Tribes reside and remarkable success has been achieved in educating their children.

7. During the Second Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 11.19 lakhs has been provided for the continuance of 26 Residential Schools, 3 Adult Education Centres, 5 Hostels and for the award of Scholarships and Boarding Grants.

8. Twenty-six Residential Schools are run solely for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes in this State and the children of Scheduled Tribes are getting education from these schools. These students are given food, books and clothing free of cost in order to make them interested in Education. In addition to the Residential Schools run by this department, supply of midday meals, books and clothings are given at Government cost for the Scheduled Tribes students studying in other schools run by private managements.

9. With a view to make adults also literate, 3 Adult Education Centres were opened in the Nilgiris district. As this scheme was found to be useful, the Government of Madras have proposed to open 25 Adult Education Centres in Madurai and North Arcot districts during 1960-61.

10. In order to enable more Scheduled Tribe pupils to receive education, five more hostels were opened in the districts of Chingleput, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Coimbatore. The Scheduled Tribe pupils studying in the schools in these places are being admitted in the hostels. Besides food, they are also

given books and clothing at Government cost.

11. In some places, it was found difficult to open residential schools exclusively for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes. The students taking education in the mixed schools as day-scholars are granted non-residential scholarships. The private hostels which maintain the Scheduled Tribe pupils are also granted lump-sum Boarding Grants.

12. For the educational advancement of the Scheduled Tribes, the following non-official agencies are extending their fullest co-operation to the Government:—

- (1) Palanimalai Advasigal Sangam, Thandikudi, Madurai district.
- (2) Servants of India Society, Madras.
- (3) Sree Sarguru Sarva Samarasa Sangam, Coonoor, Nilgiris district.

13. The Palanimalai Adivasigal Sangam in Thandikudi, Madurai district, is running a Girls' Hostel for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribe Girls. Lump sum Boarding grants are sanctioned to this hostel from out of the provision made under Grant-in-aid Schemes.

14. The Servants of India Society is an organisation working on an All-India basis for Tribal Welfare activities. The Society is maintaining a hostel "Thakkar Bapa Gurukulam" at Nirgacimund in Nilgiris district for the welfare of Scheduled Tribe pupils studying in the various schools situated nearby. This hostel is also being granted lump-sum Boarding Grants.

15. Sri Sarguru Sarva Samarasa Sangam, Coonoor, is running under its management two Tribal Residential Schools

at Coonoor (one for boys and another for girls) for the benefit of Scheduled Tribe children. Lump-sum Boarding Grants and financial aid for the employment of staff are being granted to the Sangam by the Government.

16. During 1958, the Sangam undertook an excursion of 20 Toda women from Nilgiris to Madras with a view to make them know personally the modern civilized ways of life and the modern amenities for the better and happier life. During January 1960 the Sangam took a party of Tribals to Bangalore during the All-India Congress Session and the party visited the Exhibition and saw the fairs, festivals, etc. in connection with the Congress Session.

Economic Uplift.

17. The economic advancement of the Scheduled Tribes is next in importance only to education. The measures taken by the Government in this regard can broadly be classified under Agriculture and Cottage Industries.

(a) AGRICULTURE.

18. During the Second Five-Year Plan period, a sum of Rs. 6.88 lakhs has been provided for the grant of Agricultural subsidy. The subsidy is granted for the purchase of plough bulls, and for improving the potato and millet cultivation. During the first four years of the Second Plan period a sum of Rs. 3.40 lakhs was spent towards the grant of subsidy for cultivation of potatoes and millets in the Nilgiris district, and for the purchase of plough bulls and other agricultural implements in other districts benefiting 782 Scheduled Tribe families and for settling 6 families of Paliyars in agriculture. During 1960-61 also similar subsidies are proposed to be granted and it is expected that 250

families will be benefited by this scheme. In addition to this, it is proposed to settle 18 families of Kanis in Ambasamudram taluk in Tirunelveli district and to sink 75 irrigation wells at a cost of Rs. 1,500 each during 1960-61. A Horticultural Farm is proposed to be started at Periakolroyan hills in Salem district at a cost of Rs. 1.30 lakhs which will supply seedlings and other agricultural requirements to the Tribal people and arrange to bring about 1,000 acres under cultivation for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes.

19. The Government of India have allotted a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 under the Second Five-Year Plan period for the purpose of rehabilitation of tribal families practising shifting cultivation. For utilising this provision a scheme was implemented at Talayanai Dam in Tirunelveli district to induce 6 families of Paliyars to take to agriculture as a permanent means of occupation by (a) sinking of one well (b) providing one pumping engine and shed, and (c) meeting cost towards employment of maistry, cost of seeds and other incidental charges.

(b) COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

20. Tribal men have considerable inherited skill, and it is essential that their arts and crafts should receive encouragement and support. One training-cum-production workshop at Kotagiri, Nilgiris district, three small-scale industry training centres and one basket-making centre in the Nilgiris district, eight cottage industry work centres for tribal women in Chingleput, North Arcot, Coimbatore, Madurai and Nilgiris, one cottage industrial school for Kanikars of Pechipparai in Kanyakumari district, one industrial school for smithy and carpentry at Hassanur in Coimbatore

district, and two Cottage Industrial centres for bamboo and cane works in Tirunelveli district, have been opened and are being continued for development of cottage industries among the Schedule Tribes. Besides these the Scheduled Tribes of Kanyakumari and Nilgiris districts were supplied with bee-hive boxes and were helped in starting bee-keeping industry. About 309 Scheduled Tribe families of South Arcot and Nilgiris districts were supplied with charkhas. One poultry unit was formed at Kargudy in the Nilgiris district.

Health.

21. As the Scheduled Tribes are living in hilly areas, they are very often attacked by malaria and other infectious diseases.

22. Two mobile medical units have been established in the Nilgiris and North Arcot districts to render medical aid to the Scheduled Tribe people of those areas. A special staff of one Health Inspector and one peon is working in the lower Palani hills to look after the health of the Scheduled Tribes in the Madurai district. Supply of revitalising food and milk powder has been made to the Scheduled Tribes residing in the seven settlements in Coimbatore and in Palani Hills in Madurai district. 117 drinking water wells have been sunk in tribal areas and 98 drinking water wells are targetted for the current year.

Housing.

23. Provision of decent houses is also one of the important items of work. A provision of 12.09 lakhs has been made during the 2nd Plan period. 1,442 houses were constructed for Scheduled Tribes during 1956-57 to 1959-60 and 595 houses are targetted for 1960-61.

Roads.

24. Two road works were undertaken and completed in 1959-60 in Salem and Nilgiris districts in the areas where Scheduled Tribes people are residing and are in need of communications. Similar works will be undertaken for execution during 1960-61 wherever feasible.

Co-operatives.

25. A considerable number of the tribal people live in forest areas so that the manner in which forest resources are exploited has a bearing on their welfare. In tribal areas forest contracts are given to tribal co-operative societies and they are assisted in the collection of minor forest produce. Three co-operative marketing societies have been organised for the tribals, one in Polur in North Arcot, another in Satyamangalam in Coimbatore district and the third in Pachamalai hills in Tiruchirappalli district.

26. Two Special Welfare Inspectors have been appointed in each of the districts of Coimbatore and Nilgiris to look after the welfare activities of the Scheduled Tribes people of these areas.

Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Tribals.

27. The Government have recently approved a proposal to carry out an intensive survey of the socio-economic conditions of the tribals in the Nilgiris district, through the agency of the P.S.G. School of Social Work, Coimbatore. They have sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 13,850 for the purpose.

28. With this brief review of the work done for the tribals in this State, I once again welcome you to this Conference and hope that you will enjoy your brief stay at this place.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

by

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN,

Vice-President of India,

delivered at the Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference
at Ootacamund on 21st May, 1960.

Friends,

I owe the honour of inaugurating this Conference to the kindness of my friend, Shri U.N. Dhebar. He asked me to come here and inaugurate this Conference. I do so with very great pleasure. Our constitution lays down that tribal welfare should be promoted in every sense of the term, economic, cultural, social etc. But we are not satisfied with the progress hitherto made and there is another Commission appointed now with Shri Dhebar as the Chairman, who will assess the results, tell us about the steps which we have to undertake to promote the tribal welfare of the different tribal communities spread over the whole country, exceeding nearly 20 millions. This country has had one particular approach to the problem of other views of life or other communities. A very ancient text tells us

भारतेषु स्त्रियणुमः नाना वर्णा प्रकीर्तिताः ।
नाना देवाक्षणे युक्ताः नाना कर्माणि कुर्वन्ते ॥

In this land there are people worshipping God in different ways adopting different religious rites and adopting different customs also. But they said that all these should work together to promote what may be regarded as the harmony of the country.

एकैव मानुष जातिः

The human race is one, says the Rig Veda. Your Tamil scripture says

இளமே குலம் இடுவுளே தேவன்

“one God and one family on earth.” So, whatever may be forms we adopt, the rites we practise, the addresses we make to the divine, they are all to be regarded as diverse manifestations of one and the same pervading spirit of the country. That is why when people came here practising different forms of life, we did not dispute the validity but adopted what may be called

सर्वगम प्रामाण्य

‘the authoritativeness of all the forms.’ The Parsis came here, the Jews came here, but there was never any attempt to convert them to any particular way of life. There is a famous verse in the Bhagavad Gita which tells us

न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेत् ।

Don't create disturbances in the mental attitudes of people, do not try to unsettle their ways of life, do not make them displaced in their own country. Don't make them orphans, don't make them uprooted but try to teach everyone his own particular way of life. Even such a conservative legislator as Manu said

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं सिद्धेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवः ।

All the peoples of the world may enter



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, inaugurating the Conference



A view of Adivasis at the Opening Session of the Conference

this country but we try to teach them each its own tradition.

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं

In other words, it is not a question of imposing our views on other people, but enabling them to grow in their own tradition and according to their genius. We know if we take off people from their tradition, we brutalise them. We make them lose their sense of joy. Their feasts and festivals, their songs and dances, these things give them so much of colour to the prosaic life which many of the tribal communities actually have. This does not, however, mean that we love the *status quo*, that we do not allow these people to grow. The point is that the growth must be from within and should not be imposed from without. We must take it that they should be enabled not to break with the past but to advance into the future castigating whatever is repugnant to one's conscience. The general atmosphere of the country will help them to cast off wrong practices and wrong ideals and adopt what may be regarded as the right ones.

In any social set up we have to distinguish between the mechanics of living and the art of living. Long long ago Aristotle said 'We must live before we can live well'. The mechanics of living concerns the conditions of material life. The art of living relates to art, spiritual life, forms of worship, dance and song, but all these sides of life, artistic, cultural and spiritual cannot grow in a vacuum. It is essential, therefore, that we must provide the essential conditions, the wherewithal, so to say, the material conditions essential to enable a people to live free lives. It is here that the work of the Tribal Conference lies. We

have to take into account the backwardness of the people, their poverty, their primitivity and subjection to disease and it is our duty to improve the conditions of health and sanitation, duty to see that they are not subject to diseases which are preventable in character. It is our duty to provide them with modern methods of agricultural improvements, with cottage industries, and thus strengthen the sense of co-operation which is implanted in every human being.

The difference between a man and an animal is just here. A man is socially inclined, he has the impulse to co-operate, he wishes to live in friendship with others. The racial, the national, and the religious prejudices which are now vitiating, poisoning, so to say, the atmosphere of the world are the results of wrong indoctrination. All these things can be checked only if we adopt the principle of 'live and let live'. So it is that we will have to provide all these tribal communities with the minimum standards of material comfort and then their art will grow and it will never be stagnant. No culture is ever stagnant, it is ever forging ahead. It is always trying to put its best foot out. Therefore it is that if we provide the mechanics of living, the art of living will take care of itself. We don't want to lose the great values of fidelity, of simplicity, of honesty and of pure art which we sometimes come across among these tribal people. But those things will perish if we are not able to give them the material comforts. In other words, first of all, we should enable them to live, if we expect them to live well, we should organise the mechanics of living.

Compulsion, control will be necessary there. But so far as the art of living is concerned, utter freedom, absolute freedom, unfettered freedom, will have to be provided for them. .

I do hope that all those who are working here for the tribal people will give up what I might call 'the big brother complex', that we are superiors and they are inferiors. The happiness of a man is judged not by his stocks and shares or by the gadgets which he is able to improvise, but it is tested by the state of the human mind and the kind of relationships which human beings are able to establish among themselves. It is that which constitutes the true test of a civilisation. We must therefore, give up the superior attitude, condescension and contempt, and approach the tribal people with affection and sympathy, look upon them if they are in a bad condition as

mere unfortunate than wicked and that we are responsible for the condition in which they happen to be. It is when we understand our social responsibilities that we can approach these people with a right kind of attitude.

I have no doubt that the tribal workers will have that spirit of selflessness, that spirit of utter simplicity, of appreciation and acceptance of their way of life and help them to develop the spirit of adventure. In other words, acceptance and adventure must be the two principles,—accept what they have, help them to go forward, that is what we are expected to do. I do hope that we will be proud of these people who are so simple, and so honest and we will do everything in our power to help them to make themselves proud citizens of this great country. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Conference.

(By courtesy of All India Radio)



The Governor of Madras garlanding an Adivasi at the
Exhibition



The Governor of Madras opening the Exhibition

SPEECH

by

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI,

Governor of Madras, at the Opening of the Exhibition,
delivered on 21st May, 1960.

Friends,

At the outset I would like to thank the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh for their kind invitation to me to participate in the inauguration of the Exhibition which has been arranged in connection with the Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference here.

Out of the total population of Scheduled Tribes in India, that is, about 3 crores, we have in Madras over a lakh and a quarter. Though comparatively-speaking, the problem of Adivasis is not of much magnitude in this State, the Government have been taking great care of the Adivasis here, as in other parts of India. Taking the Nilgiris District in particular, there are several tribes with a population of more than 12,000. There are the Todas who are mainly a pastoral Tribe and their traditional means of livelihood has been the rearing of buffaloes. They are now slowly taking to cultivation. Toda women-folk do good embroidery work and I have seen many of their finished articles like the embroidered cloth, walking sticks, etc. The Kotas are a tribe of artisans and craftsmen. They are also engaged in cultivation of their lands. Then there are the Kurumans, Irulas, who are mostly employed in plantation areas, Kasabas, Panias and Kattunaickens. There are,

in other parts of the State, other tribes mostly living in forests and in hilly parts.

Ever since the advent of independence, the Governments both at the Centre and in the States are taking steps for the promotion of the welfare of all citizens in the country including the members of the scheduled tribes. Improvement of the living conditions of such backward classes is a special and additional responsibility and it has been the constant endeavour of the Government to formulate and implement schemes which would gradually remove the economic and educational backwardness of the tribal people, and foster and promote all-round development of the scheduled tribes in a manner best suited to their genius so that they may be helped to become full and responsible citizens of our country. Successive Five Year Plans have been put into effect in order to increase the wealth of the country and to raise the standard of living of the masses. As the economy develops in the country as a whole, the backward classes will also stand to benefit along with the other communities, but the special measures that have been undertaken to improve the conditions of living of the scheduled tribes are meant to be supplementary to measures of

general development which are pursued in the interests of the population as a whole.

With the object of bringing the scheduled tribes inhabiting the Hills and the Plains up to the level of the other advanced communities within the shortest possible time, a sum of Rs. 25 crores was provided in the First Five Year Plan and a sum of Rs. 47 crores has been provided in the Second Five Year Plan for concentrating attention on the activities for welfare and all-round development of scheduled tribes and tribal areas. Efforts have also been made to strengthen the economy of the tribals by teaching them improved and profitable methods of cultivation and helping them to organise cottage industries to supplement their income. Besides, efforts are being made to eradicate disease and revive the creative genius of the tribals by bringing within their reach all the benefits and facilities of modern science and economy, so that they may be able to live a healthier, happier and more profitable life.

We have succeeded in our efforts to some extent in advancing the progress and development of the scheduled tribes and tribal areas, but it is the desire of the Government as well as the social welfare workers and organisations like the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh to speed up the progress and redouble our efforts to help in the solution of the problems of our tribes, particularly those groups of colourful and brave highlanders inhabiting the Northern border, extending over 2,600 miles. In view of the recent happenings and the incursions into portions of our territory, for the national security and defence of the country as a whole,

the need for cementing the unity amongst the different groups speaking different languages and bringing them closer together with the rest of the people by providing facilities for economic, social and cultural contacts, so that they may feel themselves as part of this great country, is the most important problem with which we are faced, and I hope this Conference will no doubt try to devise ways and means, in the course of its deliberations, for tackling this one of the most important and urgent problems.

Education is an important plank in our development programme. Residential schools have been started in different parts in Madras State for the benefit of the Tribal children with all facilities for food, clothing, bedding, books, etc., and even in the non-residential schools, the children are provided with mid-day meals, dresses and books, at Government cost. Private organisations like the Sarguru Samarasa Sangam and the Servants of India Society are running private schools for the propagation of education for the benefit of the Tribal children. The students belonging to the scheduled tribes studying in other schools are given scholarships. Education will help in building up the personality of the children in an integrated manner and it is quite essential for the members of the tribes to realise the paramount importance of modern education in the present-day set up. It will instil self-confidence and a sense of equality in them and it will help them to shake off any feeling of backwardness or inferiority. Adult education centres are also functioning in three centres in the Nilgiris, and I understand that some more will be opened in the near future.



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Shri B.R. Medhi and Shri U.N. Dhebar being taken in procession
in Ootacamund



Paniyan Women of Nilgris

What is important is that the members of the tribes should in no way feel inferior to others and should not think that they have been relegated to some corner of our land. Every effort should be taken to remove any feeling of exclusiveness and they should realise that they have also to play their own part in the regeneration of new India as equal partners with the rest of the population.

Various concessions are shown to them in the field of agriculture. Lands are assigned to the members of the tribes for cultivation : financial aid is given for carrying on agricultural operations : in some cases plough-bulls are supplied, and drinking water facilities have been provided in many villages by digging wells and tanks and laying pipelines.

One main difficulty is communication. Members of the tribes live in remote villages and approach to such hamlets from the main roads is difficult. The question of laying roads and pathways, as the case may be, has been taken up and a few roads have already been constructed. Housing is another important amenity. Government have granted subsidies and loans for the construction of houses for the members of the various tribes. In the matter of construction of new houses, efforts should however be made to maintain their traditional pattern with such modifications as are absolutely necessary from hygienic point of view. The tribesmen have inherited considerable skill and it is necessary that their traditional arts and crafts should be encouraged and themselves given all facilities for training. The All-India Handicraft Board is

running an embroidery centre in Nirgacimund where women are paid daily wages for the work they turn out. They receive instruction on the improved pattern in embroidery. There is a fret work centre at Tiruchigadi and there are demonstration centres at a few places opened by the Women's Welfare Department and Toda women are taught knitting, stitching and embroidery and also cooking. Charkhas are distributed free of cost to get tribal women trained in spinning during leisure hours. The Government are taking special interest in training the scheduled tribes in the several cottage industries, like blacksmithy, carpentry, basket-making, bee-keeping, spinning, weaving, etc. by setting up training-cum-production workshops and other work centres.

The general standard of health is poor among the tribals, although it is said that they live close to nature. Recognizing the need for medical aid to the tribal population, two mobile medical units have been commissioned to work in this District for giving medical treatment to the tribals. These units are provided with fully-equipped vans and a medical officer, a nurse and a compounder to look after the health of the tribal population in remote villages. Some of the tribes are afflicted with particular diseases and because of special steps taken to test their blood and provide other medical facilities, the general health of the community is safeguarded.

I must, on this occasion, thank the several non-official organisations working for the welfare of the scheduled tribes for their unstinted co-operation in the matter of implementation of the schemes

for the amelioration of the conditions of the tribal population. They are doing yeoman service for the uplift of the people of the hills and they deserve all encouragement and support. Social workers like Dr. S. Narasimhan and Sri Ramaswamy Adigal of the Sarguru Samarasa Sangham and those connected with the Servants of India Society deserve every encouragement in their selfless work which they are doing among the tribal population here.

The welfare programmes for the tribal people have naturally to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions with a full appreciation of their social, psychological and economic problems. There are already proposals under the examination of the Government for the opening of a model tribal colony, for introducing poultry units in the colonies of tribals and for

starting a training centre for Todas for giving training to them in weaving their traditional cloth with new patterns, etc.

This Exhibition of articles and wares, clothing and implements made by the tribes will give an idea of the traditional cottage industries and handicrafts that are in vogue among them. I see that articles made by Assam tribals are also on show. The beauty and variety of these articles can be seen and appreciated. I hope the tribes will take advantage of the various schemes formulated for their upliftment and improvement of their standard of living and thereby derive maximum benefit out of them. I have great pleasure in opening this Exhibition which will no doubt serve as an incentive for the rehabilitation of cottage industries of the tribals, and I hope those who come and see this Exhibition will find it interesting, profitable and educative.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

by

Shri N. SANJIVA REDDY,

Congress President,

delivered at Ootacamund on 21st May, 1960.

Friends,

The problem of uplifting the Tribal people is a part of the bigger problem of improving the social and economic lot of millions of backward people all over India. We should devise a solution in such a manner as to bring about the uplift of both backward and tribal people. The whole country is backward and the condition of people is really bad. We have to improve the standard of living of the people. We have been seeing for some decades that the condition of the people has very much more improved than it was some years ago. We worked for the freedom of the country and now we must work for the economic improvement of the backward classes. A great deal has been done both by the Centre and State Governments, and private agencies for the improvement of the Adivasis. In the most interior parts of the Andhra there is a disease—Yaws—and people are given preventive treatment. They are recovering from that disease but still there is much to be done to prevent this disease. If education is given to Adivasis, they can come in line with the other communities. You all know that the Government has appointed a commission under Sri U.N. Dhebar. I hope that it will do its best. You have to arouse the energy of the Adivasis. I hope that Sri Dhebar would put his skill and put every nerve and energy in this

direction. If compulsory education is introduced in Tribal areas, they will improve themselves and will come forward. The Adivasis in Assam cannot be taken as backward Adivasis. The better condition of most of the Adivasis in Assam is due to the education given to them by the missionaries. Though you pay special attention the condition of many other people is worse than that of the Adivasis. The whole condition of the people of India is bad. The Central and State Governments have to look into this. Only day before yesterday, I was with the refugees nearly a thousand miles away from here. Their condition is very bad and they are suffering from poverty. Perhaps the condition of the Adivasis is better than those people. The Government of India is going to enforce the Dandakaranya Scheme and the scheme would give the refugees some benefit. It will also give the refugees employment and other facilities. The place is fertile and the people will go there and they will be better than other people. There are a lakh of acres of land. What is being done there is remarkable and it is a big achievement. With all your limited resources, the deliberations here will give better scope and the conference will be a great success and will bear practical results, practical in the sense that they will be within the reach of everybody.

*The publishers regret that the full text of the address recorded by A.I.R. could not be secured. The substance of the speech as reported by local newspaper correspondents is therefore given.

THANKS-GIVING SPEECH

by

Shri U.N. DHEBAR,

delivered at Ootacamund on 21st May, 1960.

Friends,

"I am happy to see so many of you here today taking so much interest. Whether you live in the plains or in the hilly places, you are the people of India, Mother India. There must be some happiness in life. The responsibility lies on you for your improvement. We must all cooperate with the Government. Especially women should take part. Education of women is very necessary. Here on my right side you see many seated on chairs. There are both men and women. Amongst them you see that many of them are Ministers. Many ladies are working as doctors, lawyers, and ministers. Young girls should study and become doctors, vakils, ministers etc. Education is the first thing that is required for a society. Government might

give you loans and open schools ; but you should send your children to the schools. Good education, good health are necessary. Other things will come provided, there is good education. Prime Minister Nehru is anxious that everybody should come forward. This is the best time for you and you must snatch the opportunity and take interest in your own welfare. Everybody should take great interest in this Conference. Every one of you must carry the message of this Conference to your homes. We have before us Dr. Radhakrishnan, one of the greatest philosophers of the world to inaugurate this conference. I thank the President, Sri Sanjiva Reddy, our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Sri Medhiji, Sri Bakthavatsalam and Sri Kakkan, who have all gone over here to take part in the Conference."

*This is only the substance of the speech as reported by newspaper correspondents but not the verbatim report of it.



Shri U.N. Dhebar addressing at the inauguration session of the Conference



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan taking leave of leaders after the Conference

ADDRESS

by

Acharya Shri S.R. BHISE

**Chairman of the Social Welfare Section of the
Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference,
delivered at Ootacamund on 22nd May, 1960.**

Friends,

We are meeting for the Sixth Conference at this very famous place, Ootacamund, in the midst of the most beautiful environments. This area is one of the most prominent places related to tribal life since prehistoric times. I think we shall make a valuable contribution to our knowledge about pure tribal life by our contact with the local workers and with the people in this area during the period of our stay here. Nature around here is mercifully generous; but what about the life of our unfortunate tribals! The Todas, a very ancient and virile Tribe was on the verge of total extinction a few years ago. Thanks to the intelligent, scientific, zealous and persevering endeavours of Shri Rao and his comrades whom God inspired to come to the help of those neglected people, the Todas are now positively on the path of progress. But why should such a tragedy occur at all? It is a very sad thing to find what man has made of man; and we have to be careful to see that we behave with the Tribals in our future contacts with them as human beings.

Friends, I do not wish to be pessimistic, or unduly critical; but I feel that what has been done so far for the general welfare of the Tribals is very little as compared to what should have

been done. I do not wish to find anybody's fault in this. The work is so stupendous, and the difficulties are so innumerable. While giving due recognition to the creditable work done by State Governments, Central Government and Social Service Agencies, I wish to warn all workers against the dangers of complacency, which is a great enemy to progress. It is good that the Central Government has appointed a Committee with our friend Shri U.N. Dhebar as its Chairman, to take stock of the achievements during the last ten years, and to review the entire structure of tribal life and its welfare. It will be necessary for the Social Workers to be ready with all relevant statistics about the multifarious activities organised in different parts of the country for tribal welfare, and to submit them to the committee when called upon to do so. We are at present at the close of the Second Five Year Plan, and at the dawn of the Third Plan. While discussing the fundamentals of planning, we should also scrutinise the plans, and also the Agencies to be used in their execution, and find out the deficiencies therein.

Twelve years of the benevolent rule of the National Government pledged to the amelioration of the Tribals with an intelligent and devoted cadre of workers from top to bottom, from the Ministers

to the District Welfare Officers, backed up by an army of Social Workers, equally intelligent and devoted, should have been enough to show creditable achievements. But unfortunately it is not so. Poverty, ignorance and disease are still ravaging the Tribal Life. The deeper we enter, the closer the contact we build with the Tribals, the more painful the revelation and discovery of the miseries that still continue in their life, we get. We admit that India in general has a creditable record of achievements in all fields during the last twelve years. We appreciate the sincerity and the anxiety of the Central and State Governments for a speedy restoration of satisfactory conditions in the Tribal Life contributing to its all-round development, devastated by cruel exploitation, and criminal neglect. But having done it, we must say that we cannot record a satisfactory schedule of achievements in the different aspects of Tribal Life.

There are two Agencies engaged in the welfare activities—the official and the non-official. The Official Agency due to administration restrictions, and due to defects in aptitude and attitude, is found to be intrinsically incapable of producing good results. And nearly all the big projects related to tribal welfare are being executed through the Official Agency. On the other hand, the Non-official Organisations, though working under devoted, intelligent and experienced social workers are far and few between, and cannot cope up with the tremendous magnitude of work all over the country. The social worker is often critical of the Government Agency working for the welfare of the tribals. But the country is so vast, the magnitude of the problems of tribal life so

great, and the social workers so few that the work has got to be done through the Official Agency. The question of entrusting the work of executing some big projects to Non-official Agencies is being discussed at the high level. Even if that is done, we must not think that the problem will be solved satisfactorily. Much would still remain to be done and desired.

Friends, let us not depart from here after giving compliments to each other for the little that is done; but let us prepare a comprehensive plan for tribal welfare, and make a resolute determination to see that it is executed within a specified time. Twelve long years have passed since we got our Independence. We had pledged ourselves—Government and social workers—to try our utmost to bring the Adivasis and Harijans to the level of other communities within ten years. We have to admit that we have not fulfilled our pledge. The failure is very serious politically and morally. Under the Constitution of our Nation, all must get equal rights and equal opportunities. What meaning does this high-sounding fundamental right convey to the ignorant, illiterate, poverty-stricken and neglected Adivasi man and woman? We feel proud and justly so, that we are citizens of a Country, great and glorious. While singing *Vande-Mataram*, and saluting the National Flag, our hearts begin to pulsate with feeling and emotions, strong and deep. We are conscious that we are the architects of our destiny. But when we go to the tribal areas we enter an altogether different world. We find that the inspiring rays of Independence have not penetrated the depths of the jungles and ravines; we find that tribal heart as

robust and pure as of the best amongst us does not enthusiastically throb at the touch of new ideas, new conceptions, and that it does not respond joyously to the sympathetic approaches and calls made to its collective capacity and physical strength to help itself, to break the shackles that bind it, to understand the significances of the concept of new life that is dawning around it, and to enjoy the fruit of the endeavours of good people for its well-being. Can we say honestly that we have taken the message of New Life to the remotest parts of the habitats of the tribals, and that we have made them conscious of the opportunities provided for their betterment ?

Let us, therefore, discuss in this Conference, the question of reorienting our approach to planning the entire Social Welfare of the tribals. In this context, I suggest the following two points for your consideration.

My first point is : Organising Social Welfare Institutions. No new organisations have been started in recent years. Institutions started in different parts of the country under the inspiring guidance of Gandhiji and Bapa are continuing their activities in spite of difficulties. But they are very few. Attempts should be made to start many new institutions for working among the tribals, and also to coordinate their activities. If the Central Government helps such institutions financially, starting them and conducting their activities efficiently will be facilitated. These institutions should necessarily include a large number of workers from the tribals. Their willing, enthusiastic and active participation in all activities to be planned and organised for their welfare should be

regarded as very essential. Village Panchayats in the tribal areas in many States are being constituted. These Agencies should be properly and fully utilised in the endeavours to organise welfare projects.

My second point is : Training Centres for Adivasi youths should be started all over the country. These Training Centres should be entrusted to reputed Social Service Agencies, and also to well-known Social Workers. These Training Centres should be adequately helped financially by the Central Government. Attempts are being made in this direction at some places ; and the experience is very encouraging. In the changing circumstances, training of the Adivasi youths is very necessary. The Training Centres will provide us adequately with an intelligent cadre of tribal workers. The Adivasi youths must be made conscious of their part of the responsibility of organising welfare activities among the tribals, and they must be given the training to do this efficiently. This active participation of the tribals in the attempts for their welfare would greatly contribute towards creating an atmosphere conducive to making the activities really helpful to the tribals and to providing the virile race with splendid opportunities to show their capacity for constructive work, and to fulfil their pious ambitions for service.

India is fast progressing. People of the present generation are really very fortunate. Many new bright ideas are dawning on the horizon of their life ; many new spheres of serviceful activities are spreading before them. The glorious message of *Vande-Mataram* that thrilled the minds of the last generation, and

inspired them to do great and glorious things in the history of our Nation, is still ringing everywhere. The whole country-side is awake, and wishes to be up and doing. The dense forests and the deep mountain valleys are ringing with the tunes of new songs of life, and are inviting you and me to interpret the tunes and to place a significant context to them. Divine great souls stirred us to action, pious and patriotic; and with Almighty's blessings we won Swaraj; and standing under its banner, have pledged ourselves to reconstruct a new Society, god-fearing and pious, wherein all people would lead a life of prosperity and happiness, free from exploitation, political as well as economical. The pledge still remains unfulfilled, though we are certainly on the path leading to its fulfilment. The constructive programme planned under Gandhiji's guidance is a comprehensive and integrated activity. It aims at achieving the material and moral well-being of all. We call it Sarvodaya Plan. It is not a sentimental slogan, but is a scientific plan for life. It is, therefore, necessary for us to understand its fundamentals and its technique, and to try to implement it through our activities among the tribals.

It is very gratifying to find that the response from the tribals to Acharya Vinobaji's call to reorganise entire village life is splendid and outstandingly admirable. The contribution to Gramdan and Bhoodan from the tribal areas in different parts of the country is very extensive. What is the significance of this creditable achievement? Is it a conscious endeavour on the part of the tribals towards a social and economic

revolution that is attempted to be organised in our country? Or is it a spontaneous outburst of an inspired attempt to manifest the capacity of the tribal mind to understand and implement revolutionary ideas? Or is it only due to a manifestation of the attitude of faith in the Social Worker who is the Friend, Philosopher and Guide of the Tribal Life? Whatever the secret, the achievement shows that the tribal mind is strong and pure, and is capable of responding to new good ideas. While moving in the tribal areas for propagating these new ideas of village reconstruction, one discovers that the tribal mind is free from the greedy desire to acquire wealth and property, is ready to respond to the calls of sacrifice, if properly approached, and has a fresh outlook on life free from the sophisticated ideas of a modern educated man. The social workers working in the gramdan villages and areas are getting happy experiences from their contact with the tribals. This development has opened new fields for attempts to build up a new structure, socially, economically and also politically. This is an important subject for study and investigation. Great leaders have accepted that the gramdan movement has immense potentialities for a total revolution, silent, peaceful and non-violent; and the work so far done in the gramdan areas has amply borne out the expectations. I wish that the subject engages the attention of this Conference, and we are in a position to give effective guidance.

In this connection I wish to suggest that attempts should be made to bring about a closer comradeship between the

two groups of workers—the Sarvodaya Workers, and the Workers among the Adivasis. Both have received inspiration from the same fountain, have taken the pledge of service at the feet of the same Master, and have been devoutly respecting the same ideals and values of life. Even then, the two groups are working separately, as if their plans are different, based on different ideology. Sometimes the services of devoted and experienced workers are not properly appreciated by top-ranking Sarvodaya leaders. The welfare work that they have been doing as their life-mission with a noble plan and purpose is decried as mere patch-work without any value or significance. They say that the revolution which they aim at cannot be effected by such social work. I have great regard for these revolutionaries and their work. But I can't agree with them in their evaluating our services for the most down-trodden.

We have taken to this path of service, as a sacred religious duty, and have been following it with a firm conviction, devotion, fidelity and idealism, and feel confident that it will lead us all towards a complete fulfilment of the aim of our life, whether it leads to the so-called revolution or not. This sacred duty has been enjoined to us by great souls, ancient and modern, and we regard this service of the poor as service of God. Any endeavour towards reconstructing life must be based upon this spiritual attitude that all life is integrated, and that service of the most backward is the service of the Omnipresent God.

Let us, therefore, continue our endeavours towards a brighter and happier life for our neglected brethren, the Adivasis, more systematically and zealously, seeking cooperation from all workers in the same field, and praying to God for greater strength for more useful services.

ADDRESS

by

Shri CHHAGANLAL KEDARIA,
Chairman, Tribal Representatives Section of the
Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference,
delivered on 22nd May, 1960.

Respected President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am much grateful to the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh for electing me as Chairman of the Tribal Section of the Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference, although there are other elderly persons with better experience than myself. I will, however, try my best to fulfil your expectations.

2. It is an acknowledged fact that at one time the tribal communities of India were very predominant and held even tribal kingdoms in Central India like Gondwana and Bhinmal. Gradually, the expansion of more advanced groups forced the tribals to hilly and less fertile areas in the country. Successive invasions from the North made the position of the tribals worse. As a result, lands held by tribals passed on to the non-tribals, reducing a large number of tribals to the position of agricultural labourers. Thus, the loss of land on which tribals were originally settled was the most noticeable feature of the third quarter of the last century. Consequent upon dispossession of land, the economic condition of many tribal communities became deplorable. With the gradual realization of the degrading effects of the earlier policy, during the British

Regime, various legislative measures were adopted by the State Governments for preventing the usurpation of land from the tribals.

3. Before I dwell upon the problem of indebtedness and provision for credit and marketing facilities for tribals, I would like to put before you a few basic facts about the tribals.

4. According to the 1951 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes, constituted about 5.3 per cent of the total population of 36 crores. Out of them, 88.6 per cent are engaged in agricultural activities. Out of the total tribal population, 67 per cent or 2/3rd are found in the States of Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Most of the tribals have lost ownership rights and have been reduced to the status of tenants.

5. Apart from agriculture, tribals get employment in the forest areas such as charcoal manufacture, felling of timber, katha manufacture and collection of forest produce such as leaves, honey etc. Apart from this, the tribals have very few employment opportunities due to lack of education, resources, technical knowledge and cottage industries. For this state of affairs, their habitation

which generally is far away in hills and jungles unconnected by means of road and transport is responsible. It is true that the conditions are now improving but the defects of environment and human element are not easy to remove by efforts of a few years.

6. However, we are here primarily concerned with indebtedness and provision for credit and marketing facilities for the tribals. As regards indebtedness it is well known that it is high amongst most rural sections of the population and the tribals with all their ignorance and primitive attitude towards life are the worst sufferers in this respect. The Rural Credit Survey Committee of the Reserve Bank has collected considerable information on the nature and extent of indebtedness in the country but no comprehensive and reliable data are available regarding indebtedness prevailing amongst backward classes. Any social or political worker amongst the tribals will bear me out that the evils of indebtedness amongst the tribals are patent and rampant. They crush the economic growth of the tribals. It is well known that the debts arise out of insecurity in life and lack of resources—which is the direct result of lack of gainful employment opportunities in tribal areas. The main causes of indebtedness are extravagant expenditure incurred on social and religious functions, addiction to expensive vices, unplanned deficit family budgets and the imprudent habit to raise the credit at the last moment. The burden of repayment increases because of their ignorance and illiteracy. It is common knowledge that the total loan value is grossly exaggerated and that it is many times more

than the original loan. Fictitious and fraudulent accounts are prepared by the money-lenders which the illiterate backward class persons do not understand.

7. Besides, there is exploitation of the Tribals through land transfers. In backward areas one generally finds a trader-cum-moneylender who had developed into a big landlord and proper-tied Shahukar. His method of operation is that he advances a small cash loan on the security of the land of the tribals. In course of time, the interest grows up. Gradually, the produce is increasingly taken from the tribals and their immovable properties are attached. Ultimately, the land is transferred to the money-lender for satisfaction of the debt. In order to remedy the situation, various State Governments have enacted legislative measures placing restrictions on transfers, mortgage or sale of property to a money-lender or a non-tribal.

8. Various State Governments have adopted legislative and executive measures to :—

- (i) write off old debts ;
- (ii) scale down the more recent debts ;
and
- (iii) to regulate the business of money-lending in order to prevent unauthorized individuals carrying on the business at exorbitant rates of interest.

In spite of these legislative enactments, unscrupulous money-lenders still carry on business, the debts go on mounting and their properties continue to change hands. The defect lies in the ineffective implementation of the laws. The Ray Committee has, therefore, recommended that the utility of the existing provisions

for protecting the land rights of the tribals should be re-examined by the States and brought in line with the present needs of the tribals.

9. The progress of the co-operative movement amongst the backward classes has not been very encouraging. It is true that the first impetus for providing credit through co-operative societies was given after the publication of Rural Credit Survey Report of the Reserve Bank. It is acknowledged on all hands that the problem of indebtedness is a complex one connected with the economy of the tribal. The ultimate solution will have to be found in the economic betterment of the tribals but certain immediate relief measures are needed to reduce the pressure on them and to give them new incentives for more and better production. For this purpose, provision for cheap credit either through Government agency or co-operative society will not by itself solve the problem. Simultaneously producers and marketing co-operative societies will have to be formed so as to stimulate the process of improving the economic conditions of tribals.

10. Provision of credit facilities have sometimes complicated matters. Credit Societies have sometimes added to the sources from which the loan could be obtained. The Renuka Ray Committee have noticed that the sweepers in the Patna Municipal Corporation are indebted both to the Co-operative Societies and money-lenders. It is further noticed that the persons borrow from the co-operative society in order to pay the interest on loan taken from money-lenders. For this, the administration alone is not to be blamed. The people themselves are

also partly responsible. As stated above, unproductive and extravagant expenditure on social functions, addiction to vices etc. defeat the purpose of regulation of money-lending as well as the beneficent schemes of providing cheap credit. Some of the complicated rules under co-operative law make it difficult for tribals to get loans sufficiently and quickly, as and when required.

11. Besides the money-lenders, there are middlemen and contractors who also exploit the tribals in backward areas. Middlemen and traders offer credit to farmers for seed and sowing operations on condition that the entire crop should be sold to them and none else at a price to be determined by them. The price is often as much as 50 per cent less than the market price. This system of forward selling is prevalent in most of the States. The establishment of grain golas as in Bihar and Orissa which advance grains for seed and food, repayable on harvesting has proved an effective answer to this problem. But this system of grain-golas is not without its defects. Some of the malpractices regarding the working of grain golas arise from the fact that Panchayats or co-operative societies are not associated with the system, which would put popular pressure.

12. The contractors have been able to exploit tribals on account of following reactions :—

- (i) Lack of education and co-operative organisation amongst backward classes and labourers working on public works ;
- (ii) Lack of skilled labour and technical knowledge to make the labour co-operatives effective ; and

- (iii) Departmental preference for contractors, probably because of the convenience of dealing with one individual.

The exploitation can be reduced or removed through co-operatives. The Forest Labourers Co-operative Societies of Bombay provide the best example in this respect.

13. In view of the difficulties set out above, the Ray Committee has recommended the following measures for elimination of money-lenders, middlemen and contractors from tribal areas :—

- (i) The working of the land-laws shall be reviewed to ascertain their effectiveness for the protection of tribals in particular ;
- (ii) The working of the Prevention of Land Alienation Acts and other legislative measures for the liquidation of indebtedness should be reviewed to assess its effectiveness and to suggest measures for making them more effective.
- (iii) States which have not yet enacted such measures may try to adopt such measures.
- (iv) The laws relating to co-operatives should be simplified so as to make their organisation easy and their maintenance smooth.
- (v) Care should be taken to ensure that some of these exploiters do not get into co-operative organisations.

14. It is a commonplace fact that small farmers and landless labourers get the least benefits from the co-operative societies. The main reason for this is the lack of credit-worthiness of the

landless and small cultivators. In order to meet this difficulty, the Reserve Bank has already suggested that instead of linking credit with the security of land and other properties, it would be desirable to link credit with production and marketing of goods for the production of which the credit is advanced.

15. The problems of indebtedness and difficulties of credit and marketing facilities among the backward classes particularly in the remote tribal areas arise because the cash economy in its full sense has not developed in those areas. As the Ray Committee has put it, the imbalance results from the fact that while the economic activities of the backward classes and particularly the tribals are linked with the national economy at the sale-end, it does not draw sustenance from it at the production base.

16. As mentioned above, about 88 per cent of the tribal population are engaged in agricultural pursuits. Agriculture therefore assumes a very high priority in the schemes of tribal development. In order to expand the production base, it is necessary to provide good seeds, manures, improved implements, cheap credit and technical know-how. These measures may stimulate production. With better marketing facilities, elimination of the middle-men and money-lenders, the tribals will be left with larger net profit. This would increase their repaying capacity and there will be no difficulty in obtaining credit in future. This would also result in improving their economic condition and standard of life. Provision of only credit facilities is not

sufficient to reduce or remove indebtedness. What is necessary is the all-round economic development of the tribals. A multipurpose scheme of development is called for the amelioration of the tribals. A progressive forest policy which would rehabilitate the tribals in the forests and enable them to better livelihood is also equally necessary. Provision for the cottage industries is also imperative, for providing seasonal employment to them.

17. I can do no better than end my

address with the words of Panditji embodied in his forward to Dr. Verrier Elwin's book "A Philosophy for NEFA" :-

"We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today, that is neither possible nor desirable. At the same time, we should avoid over-administering these areas, and in particular sending too many outsiders into tribal territory."

ADDRESS

by

Dr. A. AIYAPPAN,

**Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University and Chairman of the
Anthropology Section of Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference,
delivered at Ootacamund on 22nd May, 1960.**

I am grateful to the organizers of the Conference for their invitation to preside over the section of anthropology. I am sorry that I am prevented by ill-health from being present at the session. I have no intention to make this address anything but brief. I shall refer only to a few points which have been matters of concern to me for a number of years. Some of them are academic problems and others are welfare matters, and my object in bringing them up here is to stimulate discussion.

Anthropology and practical affairs

I need not tell an audience such as this, deeply interested in anthropology, that anthropology as a subject of research and general education, is of greater practical significance in India than in most other countries of the world. Here in India each region, each caste, and each tribe has its own distinctive cultural and social specialities and idiosyncrasies. Any one among us who claims to know his India would on examination be found to know very little, for ours is a vast country of great diversity in culture. I know of no other discipline but anthropology which can give a person an understanding of the mosaic of India's complex and varied cultural patterns and an insight into the springs of popular attitudes and behaviour.

The insights of anthropology are being utilized increasingly by the United States Government agricultural and other departments including the army in their own country. And in research-cum-action programmes sponsored by it in India, you will find the Ford Foundation employing anthropologists in the team of experts. In comparable research situations our governments would depend on some one's sociological hunches which very often mislead.

Anthropological knowledge, particularly the familiarity it gives us with strange people and cultures, or in other words with cultural relativity, is of special practical educational use in India as a partial solvent of our numerous inter-caste and inter-regional prejudices which are so silly but so irritating and so full of potentialities for evil. The persons who should make special use of anthropological knowledge from this national, patriotic point of view are the writers of school books, but as a rule I find this category of people slow in the intake of the new discoveries. Of course I speak with reference only to the subjects of anthropology and archaeology on which I might permit myself the right to give an opinion.

The tribesmen are our kinsmen

During the course of the last three

decades, Indian anthropologists have shown by extensive research that with the exception of a very small number of marginal tribes (the Andamanese, for example), our tribal populations are not racially distinct from us. Putting it in another way, I would say that the highest caste Hindus and the Indian tribesmen have genetically much in common and we are all the resultant of millennia of miscegenation. The difference between the tribesmen and the rest of the Indians is mostly cultural, but even in this respect, we share with them hundreds of common traits. This is a point on which the Indian public and the educationists, teachers, and authors of school books should be educated. It is basic background knowledge which should be part of the mental equipment of the social workers and others who have anything to do with the tribesmen.

Academic anthropology and welfare work

Laymen take it for granted that anthropologists ought to be interested in tribal welfare, but among anthropologists themselves, opinion is sharply divided on the question whether or not we are to involve ourselves in non-academic work among tribal populations. Some of my fellow anthropologists feel—and they are right—that Indian anthropology has not yet built up an adequate corpus of factual and other kind of data on the basis of which they can help in practical programme planning and implementation; in other words, they say that “applied anthropology” in India has to wait. I belong to the less cautious school which would like anthropologists to throw themselves heart and soul into

welfare work both in the interest of the tribes and also in the interest of anthropological research. No anthropologist who has lived and worked among a tribal community for some months can remain insensitive to their problems. Theorists would say that the moment you get personally involved in tribal affairs, your scientific objectivity would get fogged and your value as a social scientist would suffer. I do not think there is much substance in this criticism; it is possible to be scientific and at the same time, love your neighbour. My friend, Dr. S.F. Nadel (who, at the time of his death was Professor of Anthropology at Canberra) has made this matter very clear in his writings; the anthropologist has his human right and also his scientific right to stand up for the rights of the tribesmen.

In India, anthropologists are found in “applied” roles, but their functions have been left vague and ill-defined. It is doubtful if the Government of India attach much weight to their advisors in anthropology. There are tribal research bureaus in some States, which satisfy neither the administrators nor the anthropologists manning the research bureaus. The former seem to look upon the anthropologists as a sort of pocket books of reference to aid them in answering queries raised by the Government of India or other bodies; the anthropologists feel frustrated because they feel they are allowed to do very little anthropological work. I have some slight experience of acting as a sort of expert on tribal affairs, but I am sorry to say that my employers, very wise and able men, did not really regard that tribal affairs required the aid of science or even

common sense and left them to routine. My impression is that the Government of India and the State Governments—unlike the Government of the U.S.A.—have not yet realized, or if they have realized, have not yet begun to act in the belief that anthropology can be of use to them in the administration of tribal affairs. (In the NEFA they have found it useful to employ anthropologists to collect ethnographic background information). The sooner the Governments appreciate that tribal problems are in many ways different from the problems of the rest of the rural population and that in handling these problems, anthropological skills are useful, the better it will be for the efficiency of the organization of welfare work among the tribesmen.

Anthropologists, the best interpreters of the tribes

I should like to claim on behalf of anthropologists working among Indian tribes, that they are almost without exception the best friends of the tribes. I know for example a young Indian anthropologist who, in the course of several years of field-work among a tribe so identified himself with his hosts that today he is their friend and guide in the true sense of these terms. In Miss Ling, the Todas had a very good friend, but while in her case, it was the Christian tradition of service that acted as the motivating force, in the case of my young Indian colleague, it was his high humanism refined by science that made him go all out for his tribe. A good grounding in anthropology breaks barriers between peoples. Nothing has pleased me more than this spectacle of the transformation of raw young anthropologists into

scientific humanists. These are the types of young men who should be drawn into the welfare services of the country, particularly in the tribal areas.

Need for a cadre of anthropologically trained welfare workers

If, as I have tried to show, anthropologists are the best interpreters of the tribal population to the administration, there are a number of excellent ways in which to make better use of their skills and friendliness for the tribes. We are all aware that the weakest link in State-sponsored welfare organizations is the government welfare officers. I have come across bright and able welfare officers who feel that they are being penalised by being put in charge of welfare work, and frankly say that they take only the nominal interest in the dull welfare work while waiting to get back into their regular administrative line. The various State Governments know very well that their welfare services are in a mess but, somehow, probably due to tropical inertia, allow the mess to continue. A special cadre of welfare officers to work among the tribes seems to be one of the ways out of this difficulty. A body of government employees whose prospects of rise would depend entirely on their efficiency in tribal welfare work is the only substitute for the ideal missionary type of social workers who seem difficult to rear under the present Indian climate. Anthropology would of course be an essential part of the mental background of the new cadre of welfare officers.

“Friends of the Tribes”

Another suggestion that I should like to place before you for the better utilization of anthropologists may sound nove

but it does cover a wider field. My suggestion is roughly this: Most of our tribes live in a world of their own and are anxious to maintain themselves as distinct groups. Ultimately, we do not know when we hope as optimists that we shall have a casteless and tribeless India of Indians, but during the long interim period, let us with practical common sense treat casteism and tribalism as very real social problems. Each tribe has its own ethos, its own sense of uniqueness, common goals, shared likes and dislikes, frustrations and phobias etc. Like most depressed people the world over, they are too quick and ready to misunderstand, to suspect and to take offence. For example, several tribesmen are suspicious of the governments' intentions in introducing craft-centred education for their children. They feel that their children are being treated as inferiors. Such suspicion is natural and sometimes justifiable, just as the complaint of the lower middle class people against public schools where upper middle and upper classes send their children is justifiable. Why public schools for the rich and why *ashram* schools for the tribesmen's children in a country which is going Socialist? The tribesmen are almost everywhere in India most suspicious of Government and their agents; they have no faith in any government welfare measures; they generally wish to be left alone. In this welter of suspicion, mistrust and frustration, the tribesmen badly need the services of men who would restore their faith, interpret to them the policies of the governments and also act as a two-way channel of communication between the tribesmen and the local government.

I cannot think of any better category of people than anthropologists to perform this very useful function. For some tribes at least, such "friends" are already available; for others it will be possible to find "friends." I should like to place this suggestion before the governments and universities where young anthropologists are being trained. If a band of such "friends of the tribes" could be organized by the Government, the tribes of India and Indian anthropology would both be great gainers. I need not go into details here but shall only say that the core of the scheme is that each tribe will have its anthropologist-friend. The smaller tribes will, of course, have to be grouped and each group will have its scientist-friend.

Tribal communities and missionaries

Before I conclude, I should like to refer to the controversial question of Christian missionary work in tribal areas. Speaking as a Hindu, I should like to ask my Hindu brethren: What have you done all these centuries for the tribesmen? Wherever you had the chance, have you not exploited the tribes? After independence, the tempo of exploitation has only increased, not gone down, and the insecurity of the tribesmen has grown more acute. The missionaries may create some temporary discomfort by their interference with tribal ways of life, but they give the tribesmen a sense of security which is most precious and a basic pre-condition to any progress. If, as most Hindus do, we find the missionary hospitals and educational institutions admirable, what right have we to stand in the way of the tribesmen getting similar services from the

missionaries? If a convent school is good for my children, it is reasonable to presume that it should be good for the children of the tribesmen also. If we place the welfare and progress of the tribesmen above Hindu communal interests, we should be persuading our governments to support missionary work among the tribes.

I am, of course, not unaware of the

fact that anthropologists have been critical, on the whole, of missionary interference in tribal institutions. But modern missionaries are also quite alive to some of our criticism and are evolving new ways of dealing with cultural change among converts. I do hope the enlightened missionary would educate the tribesman and help him to make his free choice between alternatives presented to him.

PART 2
Papers read
at
the Conference

दूसरा भाग
सम्मेलन में पढ़े गये निबंध

TRADITION AND MODERNISM

by

Dr. U.R. EHRENFELS, Ph.D. (Vienna)

Professor of Anthropology, University of Madras.

All discussions about conflict situations existing between modern progress (economic or otherwise) and traditional forms of culture are in danger to fall prey to one dangerous oversimplification.

This is the equation of

First : modern change—equal to progress and

Second : traditional culture—equal to retardment.

With a view of analysing the fallacies which are implied in these two equations, so frequently used by journalists and politicians, a word on methodology is here called for.

It is generally held that traditions and folkways are necessarily and in themselves an obstacle to scientific welfare progress and impede a rational approach to solving the problems of culture change. Even those sociologists, economists, psychologists and politicians, who warn against hasty culture changes and recommend the gradual transition from folkways, or tribal cultures, to the proletarianization which goes along with industrialization and urbanization, tend to do so only because they believe that a rapid transition may cause more psychological unrest and actual social disturbance than material advantage, and therefore will prove dangerous. They raise a voice of warning because they

fear evil consequences, rather than because of their belief in the intrinsic values, inherent in at least some of the traditional cultures and "tribal" systems.

Moreover there are others, especially so-called sociologists, who believe that the preservation of folkways, traditional cultures and tribal civilizations is a mere sentimentality. They think that all these systems should be destroyed and sacrificed on the altar of aggressive nationalism and the internal front to be built up against outside forces. Some of these sociologists openly advocate the annihilation of traditional cultures and the abolition of the social, artistic and religious features by which smaller groups might be differentiated from the bulk of the population.

What is often overlooked in this context is the fact that *not all* tribal or local or otherwise traditional systems are necessarily in opposition to what is considered modern, progressive or "good" or, in other words, what is conducive to harmonious living.

It has been observed that "the status accorded to women in the Indian society both by law and custom has been the cause of a colossal economic waste. They were given an *inferior position* by the ancient law givers of India, though there was no sanction for it in ancient

scriptures. One of the social customs responsible for this inferior position was *early marriage*. Another social custom related to it has been the *ban on widow remarriage*, which has left on the Indian society a large burden which would otherwise have been an economic potential of immense value. The country has also been the victim of a legal embargo on inter-caste marriage*. It has further been stated "education, particularly among women, can eradicate another bane of Indian society, viz., the socially sanctioned *extravagant marriage expenses* and the system of dowry**".

All these here quoted observations are quite correct as far as the *patrilineal* portions of Indian (and Hindu) societies are concerned. But they are not applicable to the traditional patterns of life among *matrilineal* societies of this country.

The opposite is true. Every single item of the DEPLORED EFFECTS of tradition on women, which has been listed above, is *not* traditional in matrilineal social systems and, on the other hand, is being recently introduced through imitation, even legislation of the patrilineal majority.

We can follow up the listed drawbacks point by point :—

1. Inferior position of women, — is less marked, if not absent in matrilineal groups.
2. Early marriage—Do.
3. Prohibition of widow marriage—absent.
4. Legal embargo on inter-caste

marriage—is generally much less rigorously enforced in matrilineal groups than in patrilineal societies of Hindu India. In one important caste-group of matrilineal people in India, the Nayars, Menons, and kindred groups, inter-caste marriage with Brahmins was traditionally sanctioned.

5. Extravagant marriage expenses—though widespread among not only the higher but also quite humble patrilineal caste groups in Hindu India and also among patrilineal Muslim and Christian societies, were not traditionally practiced among even the richer classes among matrilineal castes and tribes, some of which command considerable wealth. But ever increasing and indeed extravagant marriage expenses are being introduced as an innovation into formerly matrilineal castes and tribes, along with the spread of "modern" patriarchalization and assimilation which is so much hailed by certain sociologists.

6. Dowry system—the situation is here the same.

It may further be added as

7. item that the custom of *purdah*, *gosha* and other customs, tending to confine women to the four walls of their house and thus depriving the nation of the benefit of their intellectual and

*Dr. R. Balakrishna : Social Institutions impeding Economic Progress" in advance paper to Institute of Traditional Cultures (UNESCO) Seminar, held on 16th April 1960. (p.1).

economic co-operation for the common good is likewise spreading under "modern" influence to matrilineal castes and tribes where it has traditionally been entirely unknown and not practised.

It should in this connection be noted that the matrilineal castes and tribes of India do not constitute a negligible and insignificantly small group but comprise among them such important communities as the Samanthan, Nambiar, Nambisan, Nayar, Menons, Pillais, Bant, Tiyyas, Billavas and others in the plains and the Khasi, Garo, Muthuvar, Kannikar, Kuruchar, Malai Kudiaru and others as "tribal" Highlanders in the hills of Central Assam, Kerala, Mysore and the Western Ghats in Madras State.

Among all these groups traditional values tend to strengthen the position of women. Through a thoughtless imitation and assimilation of the ways, observed by the patrilineal and patriarchal majority, the lowering of women's status and functions is being here *introduced* under the misleading name of "modern progress".

What has here been demonstrated in the case of women's position and kindred questions, is equally true to say about many other aspects of certain traditional cultures, notably among the "tribal" peoples, the Highlanders of India. Whilst modern intellectuals and artists in India after independence, try their best to rescue the potential values of ancient, traditional arts and crafts and do so partly with considerable gain also for themselves and for the country as a whole,—the opposite trend is still being followed in some parts where puritanistic

missionaries, "reformers" and "social workers" are out to prohibit traditional forms of dance, music and other arts and to introduce all-covering European cold-country type clothing in this tropical climate.

An enormous amount of energy, of economic values and of simple human happiness could be saved, if in these and all similar contact situations, the inherent merits of certain traditional folkways or tribal customs would be utilized for setting examples in the inevitable innovations of our time, instead of being thoughtlessly destroyed on the mere ground that they are traditional and therefore necessarily incompatible with modern trends.

As regards the specific problem of inter-caste and inter-racial marriage, there can be little doubt that this is a major problem for India, if not for the world, if a higher degree of co-operation between so far isolated groups is being aimed at.

The classical example of successful and in fact almost complete inter-racial marriage is Hawali, where an originally matrilineal land-owning aristocracy inter-married and continues to inter-marry with various different immigrant groups which include Japanese, Chinese, Philippines, Amerinds, Americans, both Caucasian and Negroide. Population experts expect that by the end of this century original immigrant types would have merged into the newly formed mixed type which is steadily growing in influence and numbers.

A somewhat comparable situation seems to be developing at least in parts of Brazil and some of the smaller Mezo-American countries in the tropical regions of the New World.

WHAT DOES DANDAKARANYA PROJECT PROMISE OR FOREBODE FOR THE TRIBES ?

by

L. N. RAO,

Adviser, Tribal Welfare, Dandakaranya Project.

Dandakaranya is too much in the news these days and often it has come in only for very strong criticism at the hands of politicians. Perhaps much of that criticism would not have been necessitated if only an on-the-spot study of the problems had been made before launching upon such a campaign—at any rate, the criticism could not have been so strongly worded.

However, dust-raising campaigns are good in their own way and keep us on the alert. There is a saying in one of the South Indian languages, based on the story of two hunters who did not return home and about one hunter's wife crying all the time while the other kept herself busy with some work. The latter when confronted with the question "why are you not crying as the other woman", she coolly said "if the crying woman's husband comes back, my husband too will come". Such is the position here with reference to the displaced persons, who are naturally very vociferous and the quiet uncomplaining tribals who are just carrying on their avocations almost unmindful of the controversies and battles royal, luckily fought by words and not by swords. But the tribals do feel that something eventful is going to happen, either for

good or for bad. And if the Bengali displaced persons are going to receive certain benefits, the tribals into whose domain the refugees are coming (at the instance of the Government) will also not fail to get some of those benefits. But in modern complicated life, those who have no voice may not be able to secure even what is legitimately due to them. Hence people like the tribals do need and get the special attention of the authorities. DDA* has, therefore, the nucleus of a department for Tribal Welfare and an Adviser has recently been appointed to formulate necessary schemes to promote the welfare of the tribals residing in Dandakaranya area and to see to their execution. The DDA is expected to protect the interests of the tribals residing in the area and also ensure that they derive their due share of the benefits from the various development projects executed by the Authority.

Dandakaranya of Ramayana must have been a much larger tract than the area at present under Dandakaranya Project, which consists of Bastar District of M.P. and Koraput and Kalahandi Districts of Orissa. The Project area is 30,000 sq. miles, mostly a forest and hill tract inhabited by many aboriginal tribes living there from time immemorial

*D.D.A. stands for Dandakaranya Development Authority.

besides other people who must have migrated to these tracts in the past few centuries. Out of a total population of the present Dandakaranya area of 30½ lakhs, nearly 14 lakhs are tribal people. They form nearly 45 per cent of the total population. Besides these tribes, there are about 4½ lakhs of people belonging to Scheduled castes (Harijans). Thus nearly two-thirds of the population of Dandakaranya tract is backward, socially and economically. Besides, the area has been almost a virgin land so far as tapping of natural resources are concerned. The tribes inhabiting the tract are Gonds and Khonds (and their various sub groups) Jatapus, Koyas, Gadabas, Parajas, Bondos, Bhuiyas, Bhattadas and others.

The Union Minister of Rehabilitation under whose guidance Dandakaranya Project is working declared in the Lok Sabha on 3rd March 1960 :—

“The tribals have been there from time immemorial. I am operating in their area. I want their goodwill and I also want that their interests should not only be protected but also advanced. So, for the tribals, another directive has been issued to the DDA.

“(i) The tribal organization in the DDA should be strengthened with people who know the local language and the local conditions.

“(ii) Liaison should be established with the local tribal leaders so as to get to know their feelings in regard to tribal welfare.

“(iii) Medical outposts should be established in the tribal areas

and the visits by Medical Units to tribal villages should not be on an *ad-hoc* basis, but should be normal routine.

“(iv) The question of water supply should be given greater attention and the activities in this regard should be intensified.

“(v) Immediate steps should be taken to create Tribal Group Leaders who can take over work in the Engineering Section on lines similar to those obtaining for the displaced persons' Groups Leader.

and

last but not least.

“(vi) 25 per cent of the total area reclaimed should be made available for allotment to the tribals”.

This promise, made by a responsible person, is being implemented though perhaps not at a pace which can catch the eye of the public at once. The reason for the slow progress is the difficulty in organising welfare and pioneering activities in inaccessible jungles and hills. And after all it should not be forgotten that DDA has not had even two full years so far in executing its plans in a difficult terrain.

How deeply concerned are the authorities regarding tribals in Dandakaranya can be seen from a Note of the Chief Administrator of DDA (dated 21-1-1960) which contains his instructions as well as his principles for organizing tribal welfare work under this Project.

“Whatever might be our modern conception of forests it must be remembered that the tribals consider the forest

to be theirs. We have entered the area to destroy much of these forests and the impact on the tribal mind will be severe unless we can soften the shock. We must therefore approach the tribals with this back-ground in mind. We have to explain to them that we are leaving adequate areas of Nishtari forests not only for their present needs but for future needs as well, that we are not taking any forests which have not been declared as reclaimable by the district authorities, that the object of taking these forests is not only to settle the displaced persons but to provide irrigation facilities, medical attention, markets etc. for tribals in the areas. They may be told that we will help them with all these matters. We shall help them to improve their cattle and other livestock. We shall put fish in the streams and tanks. We shall put all disused tanks and wells back into operation and shall dig new wells and make new bunds so as to improve water supply. We shall have big multipurpose farms in the area which will provide them with good seed and will help them in all possible ways. We should also stress the fact that because of the Dandakaranya Project they will all be assured of regular employment for many years at good rates of wages.

"We should tell them that we have no intention of changing their way of life or of interfering with their social customs and that in fact we have much to learn from them because they are the old inhabitants of this area."

With this aim in view, the Tribal Welfare Department under DDA has just begun to function. For six months a Special Officer had been

conducting field surveys and reporting on the conditions of tribes and offering some suggestions for organizing tribal welfare work in Dandakaranya, prior to the appointment of the Adviser for Tribal Welfare in the middle of March. Field work has not yet been undertaken by this Department. But a pilot scheme for one Zone is prepared by the Adviser and is under consideration by the Authorities. Similar schemes will be recommended for the other Zones of Dandakaranya Project in due course.

More than anything else, 25 per cent of the re-claimed land will be assigned to the tribals, who will be actively helped to settle on this land by the DDA. This will be a major item of work. Apart from helping the tribals to cultivate the reclaimed land, houses have to be built, wells to be dug and roads to be constructed. Otherwise, this programme will remain incomplete.

The ultimate object of DDA is to settle in Dandakaranya about 4 million people, who will be directly benefited by the various programmes of land reclamation, irrigation, power, road construction, co-operative movement, industrial growth, health and medical work, agriculture and horticulture, animal husbandry and also forestry and soil conservation. About half of these 4 million prospective beneficiaries of Dandakaranya Project shall be the local tribes, who will be given their due share in all programmes for prosperity. The other half will be refugees from East Pakistan.

Co-operative farming will also be recommended for the tribals who will be settled on reclaimed land. The

tribals are more receptive to ideas and programmes of co-operation than non-tribals and as such this programme is likely to produce excellent results.

Provision of credit facilities at reasonable rates of interest and helping the tribals to market their produce for fair prices and to purchase their daily needs at reasonable prices are other programmes under consideration. Good primary education with a suitable vocational bias, with specially trained staff, are also being contemplated for the tribal villages in the various Zones of Dandakaranya Project. Side by side with this programme of welfare work, anthropological and social research work will be conducted by qualified staff, to guide the Tribal Welfare Department in particular and the DDA in general.

Thus it will be seen that so far as tribal welfare work under Dandakaranya Project is concerned it is still in the stage of planning. So, much remains to be seen and DDA needs time to show concrete work. Of course, everyone and every organization will be judged much more by the achievements than by the plans. But planning is not less important than achieving. Good planning is absolutely necessary to work out schemes successfully.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to quote here the inimitable words of our great Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, whose message and spirit shall be borne in mind by the tribal welfare workers under Dandakaranya Project.

“We must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a

liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them. That is the kind of psychological integration India needs. If, on the other hand, they feel you have come to impose yourselves upon them or that we go to them in order to try and change their methods of living, to take away their land and to encourage our businessmen to exploit them, then the fault is ours, for it only means that our approach to the tribal people is wholly wrong. The less we hear of this type of integration and consolidation of the tribal areas, the better it will be.”

Dandakaranya Project will of course produce many changes of great magnitude in the life and economy of the people living in the vast area of Dandakaranya. Some of the changes may ultimately be of a complex nature too. In such an atmosphere, the interests of tribals have to be watched very closely by competent and devoted staff. Otherwise, all the apparent prosperity can only forebode nothing but misery for an ancient and innocent people, who have traditions and culture that have stood the test of ages and who need mainly protection against exploitation and interference. They can be happy if only they are not exploited by various outside elements, simple and primitive as they are. But the various powerful forces that are at work to-day amidst them will not allow them that classical isolation and hence the need for a planned impact of these new forces and a planned protection against unwholesome influences. The avarice, the cunning and the

breathhtaking methods of exploitation and domination that are normal features of modern society are unknown to the aboriginal, but he has to face them ill-equipped as he is. Any programme of tribal welfare work in India in general, and Dandakaranya in particular, has, therefore, to include items of work to give the tribals immunity from the bad effects of such new forces as well as to preserve the best in their ancient ways of living.

THE TRAINING OF TRIBAL WELFARE WORKERS

by

N. V. BAPAT

Secretary, Vanvasi Seva Mandal, Mandla.

The question of Training of Tribal Welfare Workers has often been discussed by many a Conference of Social Work and Tribal Welfare.

The Lohardaga Conference appointed a Committee of Anthropologists and experienced social workers to frame syllabus for Training. The Committee had its sitting at Bordi (Bombay State) and framed a syllabus for Matriculate standard Tribal Welfare Workers, who actually reside in the Tribal Areas with the Tribals.

The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh started Training Centres to train workers in accordance with the scheme proposed by the Committee.

One of the Training Centres was conducted by the Vanvasi Seva Mandal at Chhindwara mostly for its own field workers.

The centre was established on 1st February 1954 and has had 6 sessions so far and has trained more than 125 field workers most of whom have been absorbed in Vanvasi Seva Mandal services.

Other regional centres worked in Bihar, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh and Gujerat and trained local workers.

The Thakkar Bapa Scheme of Tribal Welfare lays stress on Primary and Secondary education, starting of Ashram Schools, providing facilities for drinking water and medical aid. The Training Centres naturally trained men and women for running Primary Schools and Middle Schools for Adivasi boys and girls. The teachers were also to work as Gram Sevaks for the areas and advise and guide the ignorant Adivasis regarding sanitation, good farming, giving medical aid, establishing Cooperatives and so on.

The courses of studies gave the trainees an elementary knowledge of Social Anthropology. They studied the life of the prominent tribes of the area. Civics and administration of local bodies, economics of Khadi & Village and Cottage Industries, Elementary Forestry, Agriculture & Cattle breeding, Health and Hygiene, Survey of Tribal villages

formed the content of the Training syllabus.

The trainees were required to lead a camp life based on self-help. The course extended for a period of 8 months to 12 months.

While selecting the trainees preference was given to Tribal candidates belonging to the Ashram Schools, teachers in service with minimum qualification of VIII Pass.

Some of the candidates turned out by these training centres have been doing very good work with devotion in their respective areas.

A few have preferred to leave Tribal Welfare work after a bitter experience of a year or so.

The Tribal areas are very inviting to a casual visitor. But for those who have to spend the whole round of seasons with the Adivasis the life has little charm unless they are accustomed to such a life from their childhood.

No means of communication, no medical aid in case of emergency, no good house to live in, unavailability of even bare daily necessities of life, no company of literate people, no society of equals and the dreary monotony of the forest life, prove to be a bore to him unless he is deeply interested in his work, and creates his own wholesome surroundings and finds charm in his own creation.

To keep the spirit of the new aspirant intact, the agency that deputes him for work must take paternal care of him. He should receive adequate payment for his work. So far as tribal welfare work

is concerned there should be no distinction between a non-official worker and Govt. servant when the nature of work is the same. It is creditable that some States pay cent-per-cent grant-in-aid to institutions working for the Tribals and yet a distinction is maintained in the salaries of the non-official field workers who are paid much less.

This partiality is disheartening.

The training received by the non-official social worker is not in some States recognised by State Government either by the Tribal Welfare Department or the Education Department. The worker finds to his remorse that he is asked to get trained in a Government institution if he wanted to continue.

This awkward situation should not arise. If a person is trained at an Institution recognised and financed by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh of which the president is the President of India, even just to honour the President, the training sponsored by the B.A.J.S.S. should be recognised by the States as a special study. The B.A.J.S. Sangh should hold a common examination for all training centres managed by its constituents and award certificates to the successful candidates, signed by the President or one of the distinguished vice-presidents. So far as field work in tribal areas is concerned the training should be considered as adequate.

Thirdly, the field worker suffers a severe trial at the hands of the local influences, like the Patwari, the Forest Guard, the Malguzar, the contractor and the money-lender if he sides with the exploited Adivasis. Exploitation is rampant in tribal areas even after a decade

of Swaraj, and the poor prey is the ignorant innocent tribal. The wretched fellow is still regarded with abhorrence for his abject poverty and exploiters pounce upon him like vultures when he is in difficulty mostly due to his folly. The honest tribal welfare worker whether he is non-official or official, soon after he takes the side of the suffering tribal, suffers a boycott from the so-called civilised society.

If he is a Government servant, officers of other departments isolate him and if a non-official, he is to fight single handed and if of a weaker mettle he is hurled away from the field or tempted into vice to cause his own ruin.

It is, therefore, necessary that the State gives him protection against the mischievous moves and that the Collector of the district pledges for his security.

It has also been felt that the Tribal Welfare worker must have undergone multi-purpose training for a long duration.

We cannot expect an untrained youth to devote his life for tribal uplift by a so-called sprinkling of training for 3 months or 6 months or even a year. We have to adopt him to quite dissimilar

ways of life. His old habits, physical and mental, have to be reconstructed. His human approach has to be stimulated. His intellectual capacity has to be dressed with an emotional apparatus, and last but not the least, he is to be equipped with information of the varied human life.

Short termed coaching fills the trainee with little knowledge which is always dangerous. As a matter of fact, training a tribal welfare worker is a planning for life. The training must begin when the worker is in teens when he is fit for a mould and the basis of training should be devotional. It is for the realisation of a nobler ideal, fulfilment of a cherished cause that the person throws himself at the holy altar. His training must make him a different man, with unending inexhaustible store of energy—Churchilian courage and Bhishma's determination.

It must give him the heart of a mother and the discipline of a father and the humility of Gandhiji.

The Christian Missions have been training their missionaries like this and they have reaped infinite success in their work in tribal areas.



THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE TRIBALS

by

ADITYA PRATAP SINGH.

Government is doing much for the development of tribal areas and the tribals. It provided large sums of money in the Second Five Year Plan, which is drawing to its close. Owing to unavoidable circumstances the welfare schemes were started late and so no remarkable progress has been made so far. Large amounts are lying unspent, so the Third Five Year Plan has to be prepared carefully removing all the defects and obstacles and fulfilling the deficiencies. An all-India fact finding committee under Dr. Elwin has been formed, and I hope the committee must have examined all the aspects of the problem and its report will throw light on all the points. In addition to that, I propose that all the facts to be raised in the VI Tribal Conference should also be considered.

(1) Economic Development :

Agriculture is the main economy of the tribals. The average produce of paddy per acre is about 13 mds; it is even less in tribal areas. It is double in Madras i.e., 1940 lbs. The average produce by Japanese method of cultivation is about 60 mds. in India. To grow 60. mds is not difficult, other things being favourable; with irrigation, good seeds fertilizers, it can be grown by tribals. The only difficulty is that in slopes it is not advisable as manures and fertilisers are washed away and so before doing so the flow of water should be controlled

by diverting the channels and the fields should be made big enough to stop the force of the flood. Winter crop is rare, as there are many difficulties. The crop is subject to ravages by wild and domestic animals. In villages graziers leave their work in Falgun and after that, cattle remain free, eating Mahuwa flower. So fencing facilities have to be given free of charge and the village panchayat should be so empowered, to control free grazing and punish those who do not control their cattle. There are two methods to grow the winter crop, to keep the land fallow or to sow early variety of paddy and after it the winter crop. Paddy No. 17 is best suited for the purpose.

It should be the duty of the Agriculture Department to supply seeds and manure in time and carry on some demonstration farms. Nallas can be used for irrigation. I have seen one in Bharatpur M.P.T. Block under Shri Saksena B.D.O., the nalla has got a pacca bund, the waste water flows over it and the required quantity of water has been diverted into fields. It is a perennial nalla and so two crops are grown in the irrigated fields. That system should be followed as nallas are common in hilly places. Another difficulty in the winter crop is that it suffers from insects and diseases and so insecticides and rust proof wheat should be used. To move

with the times, cooperative farming should be insisted upon as the government are going to render every sort of help to such societies and it is going to become an all India move.

Agriculture alone can not support a family and meet all the demands. A tribal has to spend money for his clothing, food articles which he does not grow, and for his social wants and so he should grow money crop or find labour which is not available. Forest is the only diversification, e.g., lumbering, arboriculture, sericulture, pisciculture, catechu making, bamboo basket making, fruit gathering and its marketing, rope making with grass and creepers etc. To run these cottage industries, cooperative societies, marketing societies, forest labourers' cooperative societies should be formed and enough money be provided, and cooperative banks should advance money and give book credit to all such societies. Cooperative Societies should give advances on articles stored in the shop and pay finally after the sale of the articles. It should make purchases as far as possible through cooperative banks, so that full truck loads can be transported at cheaper rates, and be free from municipal octroi duties. The Forest Department, therefore, must not try to sell the forest produce by auction but get them worked by such societies. This will lead to true democracy and establish socialistic form of government which is the object of the congress and its government.

The cattle wealth of the tribals should be improved and saved from diseases of cattle and untimely deaths by wild animals. So veterinary hospitals

must be established and timely help be given. Wild animals should be destroyed indiscriminately. They should be the objects in zoo and in game reserves.

(2) Working of the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks :

The Multipurpose Tribal Blocks are 43 in number in the whole of India. The places have been carefully chosen. They are vast in area, rugged and hilly in physical feature, sparse in cultivation inaccessible for motor transport, bad in climate, thin in population with people ignorant, uneducated, primitive in habits and culture bound down by their traditional laws, poverty stricken and exploited by money lenders, simple and honest, but very rich in natural resources e.g., forest produce, minerals and hydel power etc.

Though several welfare schemes have been recently introduced and a few grievances of the employees have been removed to an extent, yet the scheme before the B.D.O. is leviathan in size, herculean in nature, and unless his technical difficulties are removed and he gets liberal grants of money to meet the public demand, the task before him is a hard nut to crack and a Gordian knot to cut. So I propose strongly that his powers should be increased and his touring difficulties should receive a sympathetic attention of the government. There is no harm if he is given more powers as experienced and trained B.D.Os. are now available. He should be responsible for the whole administration. He should consult his Extension officers, take their reports, discuss the whole matter at

length with them and take final decision himself. He should not go on signing papers and saying "what can I do? my extension officers say this and that". If he finds any difficulty, he should consult the Collector or the Commissioner or the District Engineer as the case may be.

It should be so arranged that all other government departments should cooperate with him, advise him and render assistance. All the construction work in the Block should be entrusted to him as he has got one Assistant Engineer subject to the inspection of the District Engineer. He has to construct roads, dig wells, improve tanks and resettle villages, so he should have power to acquire land, and give land from the village waste to the landless tribals, in consultation with the Forest Department and with the formal sanction of the Collector. The land problem is very great in tribal areas and many rush to him for land and to construct new bunds in forest area. He is the immediate lord and knows the real conditions, so he is better fitted for the job. The demand for new schools is increasing and he cannot construct all the buildings with the present provision. Moreover half of his strength has been reduced by the appointment of A.Os. in charge of all schools, independent of him. The A.O. should be the B.D.O. or under the B.D.O. This kind of dual government should be stopped. The number of school masters is greater than the Block employees. They are trained, experienced, know local conditions and are better in human psychology. The B.D.O. has to keep them and the A.O.

C.Os. pleased. If there is any trouble the A.O. will side the employees under him, and if they happen to unite against the B.D.O. as uniting is the fashion of the day, the consequences will be disastrous, instead of valuable services to be rendered by them. Many educated tribal adolescents living in his Block approach him for school teachership, but he is powerless to do so, and has to watch outsiders coming as school teachers to the exclusion of the local tribal hands who are better suited, and to watch the growth of unemployment which he cannot help. To check the B.D.Os. work there should be an efficient Block Advisory Board, half of the members of which are to be nominated by the Government.

The Third Five Year Plan should examine all the heads of expenditure and should provide enough to meet the public demand. Government is spending crores of rupees to exploit and develop the natural resources in such tribal areas, and is sacrificing a great portion of its income (by prohibition etc.) for the uplift of social welfare in general, and I hope tribal welfare will receive more philanthropic attention. One crore of rupees in my opinion will be just sufficient. I think human resources are more important than the natural resources.

Another handicap in the working is the delay in establishing village Panchayats all over the Block. Without these, village administration and village leadership are deteriorating and response to the B.D.O. for welfare work is very little. If there is any leader in a village, he can not demand full cooperation of

the villagers for doing welfare work for his villa . Diplomacy without power is useless. The B.D.O. has got a number of extension officers and has got so many programmes e.g., village camp, seminars, kisan mela, exhibition, and by these activities he can train members of the village panchayats, with their confidence, and can do much work through their help. Much work of the Block can be entrusted to them. The Panchayats are able to raise funds which can be used as subscription to get grants from the blocks.

Public contribution should be according to the paying capacity of the tribals. Construction of roads, which are long, wells, school buildings, village road culverts, community centres and repair of tanks have to be undertaken by a comparatively big village, the population of which is about 400. The total cost of the work is about Rs. 15,000 and the public contribution Rs. 5000 i.e. one third which is too high. The result will be that much of the Block amount will lapse and people will not get all the advantages.

(3) Transport and Communication :

Tribal areas had been totally neglected by the British government. They had set up Christian missionaries to do the work and help the tribals. The Government constructed roads for commercial and political purposes, so there are no roads, no good means of communication and the transport of the articles was by carts during fair weather and by *kawar* loads. So it was very difficult and took much time. Now our Government has seriously taken up this question, but owing to the shortage of

technical hands, the work is slow, Madras, Kerala and Mysore are well advanced and so a number of overseers have come to the northern States for service, but their services have not been confirmed and so they are unhappy. At least those who are working in tribal areas should be confirmed. At present the only means of communication is the forest roads, and old 'Dharsas' i.e., cart tracks. So, for the present these roads should be improved. Permanent culverts must be constructed in nallas at government cost, the remaining by public contribution and block funds. Bus services and trucks should be permitted along all the motorable roads during dry season. The present practice must be stopped i.e. a few motor companies have managed to monopolise forest roads without plying buses and stop others from running bus services. This is simply nothing but exploiting tribal areas and it must be stopped by cancelling all bogus permits. This will make the tribals road-conscious; demand for roads will increase, public contribution will be made easy and commerce will increase; tribals will get better prices for their articles and will be able to mix with non-tribals. Government officers will be able to tour and the cry of "no jeep, no tour" will be drowned.

(4) Health and Sanitation :

Tribals are more healthy and sturdy than non-tribals, though they live in unhealthy conditions. They are ignorant and know nothing of hygiene. They are meagrely fed but whatever they eat they assimilate. They do not know much of medicines and they believe in black

art and ghosts. If any one falls ill, they associate it with evil spirits and to pacify them they make goat and hen sacrifices or offer cocoanuts. So the mortality among them is great. They will surely give up the old practice if they know the effects of medicines. So hospitals should be started in tribal areas, and treatment has to be given free. Propaganda is very essential, without which doctor's position is precarious, e.g. when malaria unit was first established in the Bilaspur District, M.P. and doctors went out to examine blood to find out the nature of malaria and filaria germs, they were opposed and not allowed to enter villages and they had to run away for their lives. But the situation was controlled by the timely and prompt propaganda and action taken by the Collector, Bilaspur. But this has become difficult in tribal areas as doctors are not willing to serve in such places. This is actually happening in the Pondi Uprora Block. There are 2 assistant surgeons and several doctors provided for it, but no doctor has yet come during 4 years of working. I think that, like, overseers, doctors from the South should also be attracted.

So far, D.D.T. powder has become familiar in the Pondi Uprora and other tribal blocks of the Katghora tahsil. Malaria and cholera have been controlled, small pox and scabies are becom-

ing wide-spread, so D.D.T. powder should be used to kill red bugs and vaccination should be enforced.

The houses of the tribals are unhealthy. They will surely build good houses, if timber and wood are supplied to them at cheaper rates from the neighbouring forest and not from a far away forest as is the practice today. They should also build their cow sheds a little away from their living houses, as cattle sometimes suffer from diseases and the respiration flies and mosquitos coming from them are dangerous, infectious and contagious. The houses are generally of mud walls which know no white washing with lime. White clay is used for the purpose, so D.D.T. powder is used to disinfect the walls and to kill insects living in it.

Pucca wells should be built in villages where there is no good water supply and tanks must be improved for bathing purposes with fish in it to eat away the impurities. Tribals generally take water from either flowing streams, the water of which becomes muddy during floods, or from stagnant water pools where myriads of insects float, from 'Dhodhis' i.e. wood wells which are shallow and allow mud water to maintain the level. Village Panchayats should try to remove all these evils and get 'pucca' wells in their villages.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE LANJIA SAORAS

by
AMBALAL VYAS

The Lanjia Saoras are an important section of the Saoras, Sabaras or Savaras who are one of the five major tribes of Orissa. In numbers and importance they—the Savaras—along with Gonds, Santals and Mundas come only next to the Kandhs who are the major tribe of Orissa and number approximately seven lakhs. But really speaking, the Kandhs and Savaras numbering three lakhs and a half, alone seem to be peculiar to Orissa as the Gonds, Santals and Mundas are found in the adjoining States of Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.

The Savaras are found in large or small numbers all over Orissa except in the Ex-States of Gangpur, Bonai, Sonepur, Daspalla and Narsinhpur. They are found in the plains areas of Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam as well as in the hilly areas of Ganjam Agency, Gunupur taluk of Koraput and Kalahandi. Dhenkanal belonged to a Savara king before the Rajputs came from the north-west under the pressure of Moslem invasions.

The Savaras are one of the oldest Tribes of India. There are references to them in the sacred literature of the Hindus. Perhaps the Aryans designated all the jungle Tribes they came across as 'Sabaras'. There is one river called Sabari on the border of Koraput and Bastar districts on the borderland of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra.

The plains Savaras or Sudh Savaras are almost detribalised, sophisticated and very much influenced by the culture, customs and traditions of the Hindus. They have even forgotten their own tribal language and speak the Oriya language quite well. The Hill Saoras on the other hand, have preserved their tribal character almost intact and are one of the five most primitive Tribes of Orissa, such as Bordo Porajas, Kutia and Dongaria Kandhs, Juangs and Hill Bhuyans.

The Lanjia Saoras are found in the Agency areas of Ganjam, Parlakimedi and Koraput, from Mohona in the east to Gunupur in the west. They are staying at an altitude of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea level.

There are about 95,000 Saoras in Ganjam Agency and about 50,000 in the hilly areas of Gunupur taluk of Koraput district. But some of them are Sudh Savaras also. It is a compact block on the Eastern Ghats, full of hills and dales, without much of plains areas. The rainfall is 60 to 70 inches. There are some reserved forests, but most of the hills are getting bald and eroded because of shifting cultivation. Amongst the two major tribes of Orissa, Kandhs are comparatively more fortunate in having better lands than the Saoras. They also grow a cash crop of turmeric (haldi) on the slopes that brings enough money to keep them from want. The Saoras on

the other hand are hard pressed for land and there is no particular cash crop which can give them enough money to live a comfortable life. They grow, however, some cotton, castor seeds and oranges which can bring money if properly marketed.

Nature has taught them many lessons and made them very hardy, laborious and ingenious. By contour bunding and terracing with stone boulders they have succeeded in reclaiming small paddy fields which are really wonderful. At times they have spread imported earth on stones and stony lands and raised some crops on such reclaimed lands.

In Ganjam Agency along with the Saoras there are Panos, most of whom are converted to Christianity. The Saoras consider the Panos very low. There are about 30,000 Panos living side by side with the Saoras from Mohona to Parlakemedi. Most of the Panos have no lands of their own. They have been living by exploiting the Saoras as best as they can. Some of the Panos are weavers and live by their own honest labour supplying the meagre cloth requirements of Saoras—both males and females who are almost naked, and can carry on with the scantiest of clothings. As the very name suggests, the Lanjia Saoras put on mostly a langot—a loin cloth. Some are called even Lombo Lanjia Saoras because they put on a langot which has very long tail-like ends which are however coloured and embroidered at both ends.

The Panos are the exploiters of the Saoras. In the whole of Ganjam Agency and Baliguda sub-division of Phulbani district which was formerly included in

Ganjam Agency, all the economic transactions of both the Saoras and the Kandhs are carried on through the agency of the Panos who understand and fluently speak both the tribal dialects as well as the State language, Oriya. Most of the Kandhas and Saoras in these areas do not quite understand and speak fluently the Oriya language and so the Panos work as interpreters also for the Government officers as well. Thus the Panos occupy a pivotal position in the life of the Saoras. They work as petty traders and hawkers, money lenders and purchase and sale agents of the Saoras who are carrying on a very precarious economic life, always at the mercy of the Panos. The Panos do not maintain any account books or written records of their transactions. Everything is at the tip of their tongues.

Recently I had an occasion to visit some of the most interior villages inhabited by these Lanjia Saoras and Panos, in the same village, but at a safe distance in two separate sahis or streets. In Sinkulipadar village in Chandragiri Mutha of Mohona taluka of Ganjam Agency there are 45 Saora houses and 25 Pano Christian houses. They were living peacefully upto now. The Saoras did not mind being guided and at times being exploited by the Panos as the pressure on land was not so very acute; there was enough game in the forests and the forest products helped in adding a little more income to their small agriculture income. But the population is increasing, the forests are being reserved and the pressure on the available cultivable land is increasing day by day. The Saoras find it difficult to make both ends meet even with the greatest labour on land; and outside influences are also

having their impact on the so far peaceful relations of the Saoras and the Panos.

The economic relationship between them was so close that in times of need the Saoras used to borrow grain and money from the Panos and as security allowed some of their lands to be personally cultivated by the Panos. Tribal lands can not be transferred to non-tribals without the previous permission and sanction of the District Magistrates ; but the land in these areas is not yet surveyed, no regular records of lands are properly maintained and in the out of the way villages this kind of unauthorised occupation of tribals' lands by non-tribals is not easily noticed. Unless there is some trouble and the relations between the Saoras and the Panos are strained, such things do not come to the notice of the authorities. The Pano if he cultivates the land himself takes the whole produce himself until the loan is repaid, which however hardly occurs ; or if the land has been cultivated by the Saora the Pano takes away his share of the agricultural produce at the harvest time. The Pano lends money to the Saoras even on fruit trees like mangoes, oranges, tamarind, mahuas or even karanj trees situated in the fields and borders of the Saoras' lands. This loan is recovered from the fruits of these trees which the Pano himself arranges to take to the weekly markets for sale. There would be some higgling while fixing the prices but the Saora was honest and simple enough to allow the Pano to take away the fruits once the money was touched by him, or even thrown into his lap. Similarly the Pano also used to supply cloth, salt, tobacco, poultry, goats, buffaloes, bullocks and even meat on credit. The Pano would kill a goat or

buffalo and distribute the meat, even unasked, to the Saoras and would then realise a fabulous price for it at the harvest time.

Because of propaganda of political parties, social workers and of Bhoodan workers, the Saoras even though illiterate and primitive have awakened and are now getting conscious about their unscrupulous exploitation at the hands of the Panos.

I had gone to Sinkulipadar village along with Shri Ramachandra Bhuyan, a tribal M.L.A., who represents them in the State Assembly. The Saoras have started some kind of economic boycott of the local Panos who were till yesterday their friends, philosophers and guides and purchase and sale agents. Though some of them had received fresh loans from the Panos on tamarind and karanj trees they did not allow them to remove the fruits. One Saora had mortgaged his five salap (sago palm) trees to a Pano, but now did not allow him to take the juice and sell the same to him and to his other relatives of the village. Some Pano women-hawkers entering the Saora sahi were said to have been molested, and as a result some Saora youths were way-laid and thrashed. Both the parties had complained to Government and apprehending a breach of peace the police had served notice to both the parties under section 107, I.P.C.

A small meeting was organised under a tree where most of the Panos and some of the Saoras joined. The Panos appeared seriously affected and were more anxious for a compromise. When I enquired as to how much land they possessed, one of their leaders said "The Saoras are our lands, we live on them. What else can we do here? We have no other lands." In

Serango also when the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Shri L.M. Shrikant was some time back talking to a group of Panos, one of them showed the back of a sturdy Lanjia Saora youth and had guts to confess that "This is our land" and further added, "They are savages, they will not improve unless they become Christians".

We tried our best to persuade the Saoras to have some honourable compromise with the Panos, and in any case not to take the law into their own hands as was done in Rugaisingi and Bhramarpur villages of R. Udayagiri Mutha by the Panos and Saoras; 60 houses of the Panos were looted and burnt and an old man died in the scuffle that ensued. Eight Saoras are still in jail out of 67 who had been arrested and the case is sub-judice. All this was for a disputed field of two acres for which civil suits were dragging on for the last seven years and the Saoras had to take the law into their own hands out of sheer helplessness.

The Gomango Mandal, Dalabehera and other traditional leaders of the Saoras who had attended the meeting were willing to come to terms, but as their 'Bado-Raiyat', the elderman was out of the village, no final settlement could be achieved and we had to come back. But such incidents show the direction the things are moving on to and beckon to us that the Government and social workers should seriously think over the whole economic structure, backwardness and indebtedness of the primitive tribes like the Lanjia Saoras and prepare welfare plans based on facts and hard realities for their timely solution.

The Saoras have not got many fields in low lying areas for paddy cultivation.

They are carrying on shifting cultivation which leads to soil erosion. If they are helped in contour bunding and terracing and thereby reclaiming more lands for paddy cultivation much land can be brought under paddy cultivation and prevented from further soil erosion. Soil conservation schemes should be given priority to be worked out in this area. Small irrigation projects costing a few thousands can be constructed to irrigate the reclaimed lands.

Further, more grain-golas should be started and honestly worked out for loaning not only paddy but other small cereals also as the Saoras need and can grow more of such small grains only. At present there is a proposal to have one grain-gola for one Panchayat area, which has a population of 2,000 to 3,000 persons. In a sparsely populated area where the usual villages are of 15 to 20 houses only, the area would cover 25 to 30 villages which becomes very unwieldy for efficient execution of the scheme. The organisation remains loose and can not cater to the individual needs of the tribals. Moreover, the administration has not yet become as welfare-minded, honest and efficient as it should be. So the vocal sections get the greatest benefit out of these schemes. In some places it has been found that the Panos get the paddy loans from the grain-golas and loan it to needy unvocal Saoras at exorbitant rates of interest. The grain-golas are primarily meant for the tribal cultivators of the area, but they are the worst sufferers. In the managing committees of the Grain-golas the tribal leaders should have an effective voice, and their needs should be considered first.

At present the Saoras do not get

proper price for the tamarind, karanj seeds, oranges and other forest produce like castor seeds and turmeric, as much of the profit is misappropriated by the intermediaries who help them in marketing them. A wellknit credit and marketing organisation is needed for the area. Till that is done, a network of fair price shops should be started to sell to the villagers their daily needs as a first step.

To be fully benefited by all these welfare measures of Government, the Saoras need right type of education. Without education they can not be free from other kinds of exploitation by low paid Government servants and by their priests or Shamans who are medicine men for them. Because of their superstitions and beliefs in malevolent Gods, they have to perform various ceremonies entailing sacrifices of fowls, goats and even buffaloes, for which they have perforce to approach the Panos. Without education other economic measures are not likely to succeed. The Saoras cannot afford to be illiterate and ignorant anymore. There are so many Ashrams and Sevashrams in their midst. but the number of Lanjia Saora children is very small. They should be persuaded to send their children to Ashrams so that in course of time the educated Saoras will be their effective representatives in the Assemblies and in the Village Panchayats and in the Managing Committees of the grain-golas, both of which institutions are going to play a prominent and very effective role in the future development of our countryside.

There are some centres of Bhoodan workers and workers of Navjivan Mandal organised by Smt. Maltidevi Chaudhari in this area. But their number is very small, and their influence is yet only localised. More of such workers and centres are needed to undertake and assist in making the ameliorative measures of Government more effective.

Even if we take all kinds of measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the Saoras the picture would remain incomplete without finding out ways and means for the livelihood of the Panos who have been their exploiters for generations and who have no other means of maintaining themselves. They have been living with them, side by side for centuries. They are also Indian Nationals. So far they have worked as middlemen. They also should live and live well, as other citizens of the country. They are intelligent, partly educated and vocal. Weavers amongst them can be organised into weavers co-operatives. There is no land to make all of them agriculturists, but spinning on Ambar Charkha, broom making, mat weaving, bamboo work, pressing of oil and preparation of soap from non-edible oils can be taught to them. Our approach in all of our rural welfare measures has to be national and not partisan. The production by the Saoras and Panos can be made complementary and supplementary to develop a happy, corporate, co-operative, non-exploiting village life.

INDEBTEDNESS OF THE TRIBALS AND THE PROVISION OF CREDIT AND MARKETING IN TRIBAL AREAS

by

ADITYA PRATAP SINGH, PONDI UPRORA

²Indebtedness is due to the environment and ignorance of the tribals.

They have given up their nomadic life and have taken to agriculture which has become their main occupation. But their holdings are small. A tenant possessing less than 15 acres can not be said to be solvent in hilly areas. Where they live their fields are destroyed by floods and the embankments by rats and snakes. The method of their cultivation is primitive and the cost of weeding enormous as weed seeds are brought by water coming from the waste land. Second crop is practically nil owing to ravages by forest and domestic animals and without irrigation facilities, except 'Nallas'.

They have got no other work at hand except agriculture and that too from June to February. They have got nothing to fall back upon except the forest produce which is restricted by the forest department. In coupes fruit bearing trees are also cut down along with other trees. Possession of Mahuwa flowers is also controlled by legislation i.e., no one is allowed to keep more than 5 seers without permit. Their plough bullocks sometime die untimely on account of diseases and wild animals. Drinking is another evil, which generally leads to commit theft and take to immoral life.

The tribal is ignorant. He is oblivious of world market. He has got no store house for his surplus goods, and so being pushed by circumstances, goes to the bazaar and returns after selling at any price prevalent on that day. Taking advance on articles with him from Baniyas is still more dangerous. There is no co-operative society to undertake the work. The cost of transport is also considerable for want of good roads.

The tribal though his wants are few is a spend-thrift. He requires money for his food articles which he does not grow, for clothings, ceremonies, social wants and for his agricultural purposes. From where can he get money to meet all these demands? He has to borrow and that too from money-lenders in cash or kind as during the latter part of the year he has got very little to eat. Once he borrows, his debt increases even after payment and sometimes ends in litigation in which the money-lender gets the upper hand. Thanks to the Government that owing to the Land Alienation Act his fields remain safe from the court's decree.

So unless the causes of their poverty and ignorance are removed, their indebtedness will increase. It is a question of about 3 crores of Adibasis living in our country and it must be redressed.

I give my suggestions as follows.

1. Agriculture :

Agriculture produce must be increased by improving their fields, and by introducing improved methods.

In hilly areas their fields should be protected from inundations by diverting the flood. The top soil which is fertile must be prevented from being washed away by terracing, trenching, conservation of farm and garden waste, composing etc.

Erosion is not only a loss to the tribals, it is also a national loss and it must be checked at any cost. In plains portions good fertilizers should be used and improved methods carried on. Tractor ploughing is not advisable in hilly tracts. Minor irrigation work must be started to help the second crop and fencing facilities given to them. Holders of small and uneconomic fields should be given more land from the village waste. Agricultural labourers cooperative societies must be formed. Cooperative effort to do a big thing on only a midday meal is the practice till today.

2. Diversification :

A tenant who has got no irrigation facilities hardly gets work for 3 hours a day on the average. Five hours are wasted. This is a great national loss, so viable cottage industries should be introduced and encouraged. The attention of the nation must be engaged, otherwise idle brain is very dangerous and the tribals are liable to be won over by the communists. Forest is the only field which can afford them labour, so forest cottage industries should be opened. Forest cooperative societies must be formed to exploit forest wealth

including forest trees. Adibasis are better fitted for forest life and can do bamboo work with advantage.

3. Marketing :

To save the tribals from the Baniyas co-operative societies and co-operative marketing societies should be opened all over the tribal areas specially in market places. They should purchase articles and sell them at market rates as they are ignorant of world prices. If any one wants to wait, he should be able to keep his articles with the society and take some advance and the full price after final sale. For this purpose the society should have big godowns and grain golas. In time of need the society should advance money credit. Cooperative banks should help such societies and give them book credit. Purchases should be made through Co-operative Banks and the price should be paid after sale. This is one of the ways to take the place of the private sector from which the government gets 93 per cent of its income today. This is a difficult job and so good and experienced C.P.Is. should be appointed and not raw hands just come out from schools or colleges.

4. Forest Produce :

Fruits, flowers, leaves, roots which are the food of the tribals should not be restricted and their trees must not be cut down. The ban on the Mahuwa flower should be removed. If any one is found making a wrong use e.g., illicit distillation, he should be punished severely.

5. Drinking :

The Fifth Tribal Welfare Conference by a resolution had recommended total

prohibition in the tribal areas and I propose again that it should be repeated in the Sixth Conference also. In Pondi Uprora block a few liquor shops have been closed owing to the initiative taken by females, but the aim has been frustrated by government officers who issued permits for the sale of liquor in those areas. This should be stopped at once in tribals areas. If any one wants to drink one should go to the shop for drinking and liquor should not be sold openly in tribal areas except in shops for drinking.

6. Plough animals and legal help :

Plough animals should be well fed and suitable taccavi should be given for the purchase of new ones on subsidy and in the event of litigation the tribals should get free legal help from pleaders from the government.

7. Education :

Knowledge is power and it cannot be ignored. Without that there can be no improvement and the indebtedness problem cannot be solved, but the education should not be directed to increase the unemployment but should make them fit to earn their livelihood. Agriculture is the main job. It has given work to 25 crores of people in

India out of 35 crores 66 lakhs, including 90 per cent of the Adibasis.

So agriculture must not be excluded from education and the agricultural habits must not be disturbed. A student from his primary school to the college must be agriculture-conscious. Population is increasing and the pressure on land is becoming very heavy and extensive cultivation may not do much good. This is atomic age and the atomic energy is going to be used for production. Education in urban areas is advancing fastly which shows that manual labour and the development of natural resources have given a rise in the rate of wages. To meet all these, higher education is very essential.

Sending tribal students to the town for education is no good. It mars their village life and they become town minded. They live in unhealthy conditions and take to cinema going, and when they return they do not attend to their agriculture. They become sahebs.

I, therefore, think that rural colleges with agriculture as one of the subjects should be started in rural areas with boarding house facilities—at least one in every state. Struggle for existence is going on and the survival of the fittest is the race. God helps those who help themselves.

THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN
and
THE LIST OF SCHEDULED TRIBES
by
A.A.D. LUIZ

“While implementing the Third Five Year Plan the more backward and primitive groups of tribes should have priority of attention.”

At the inception of independence the Nation became fully aware of and surprisingly sympathetic to the discriminated sections of Indians, a majority of whom are listed as Scheduled Castes and Tribes. This national goodwill brings them within the purview of the Planning Commission and imposes on them the duty to plan their betterment. But the Commission should be alive to the fact that the lists of Castes and Tribes maintained by the Governments and incorporated in the 1956 Order of Parliament are incorrect and incomplete. The incorrectness fades into insignificance at the fact that there are conspicuously primitive and backward groups of people whose names are not found in the official lists through no fault of theirs. I have specifically used the word ‘group’ because of the necessity of reference to the convincing omissions in the list of Scheduled Tribes, the probability of similar omissions in the list of Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Communities, and the existence of primitive sections that are recognised parts of Tribes already scheduled. Having had the unique privilege of visiting the most remote tracts of Kerala, Mysore and Madras States with the

co-operation of the respective State Governments, and in an hurried way through many of the other States, I can, with a high degree of correctness, present specific groups that continue to have a totally neglected existence even though the Nation has announced generosity and goodwill. It is just the bare accident of a name being missing in the list that certain groups presenting the most picturesque form of primitiveness have been denied the generosity sanctioned by the people of India. The Allar of Kerala, Kapala and Kadu Kudumbi of Mysore, Nari Koravan, Rathodi and Yenadi of Madras, and the Kathodi of Rajasthan are a few of the many specific cases of primitive, backward and deserving sections of people who are refused attention as a result of errors in the lists. Having lived with them I am fully aware of their high degree of backwardness. It may be that the population of these groups is not numerous enough to attract the political parties, and even the social workers, but the Planning Commission has a duty to perform. It is true that their inclusion in the official lists would inflate the total tribal figures for the country, but increase would be insignificant and negligible when the subtractions that have to be made from the existing official lists of Scheduled Tribes are effected simultaneously. However, to give the primitive groups another five years

of neglect and to permit the Nation's Planning Commission to ignore them would be a violation of the fraternity and equality that they rightly deserve.

Another distressing feature that has been manifest during the implementation of the First and Second Five Year Plans is that certain groups of tribes, who though included in the official list of Scheduled Tribes, have received no benefits from the Welfare Schemes that have been implemented. Primitive backwardness has obliged them to be silent, and they have even escaped the attention of the social workers and the Governmental welfare machinery. The Adiyans of Mysore, Koraga of Kerala, and the Malayali of the South Arcot District (Madras State) are a few specific cases of omission. Groups having the unique facilities for contacting leaders and the Administration have been fortunate, for they have had the major share of the benefits. This is another manifest tragedy that should engage attention of the Planning Commission, for they have a specific duty to set out plans and to enforce equitable distribution of benefits.

The Planning Commission as such should not give undue importance to the official lists, but let their decisions and plans be guided by the precepts incorporated in Article 46 of the Constitution of India, which definitely gives them

the sanction to be generous to the weaker sections of the people of India.

There is a general impression that the States are helpless when there is a list of Scheduled Tribes that can be corrected only by the Parliament. This is a hallucination, for State Governments are vested with powers, which, when exercised, can give relief to primitive backward groups that have escaped entry or have been neglected. We have an interesting and intelligent procedure resorted to by the Madras Government. The Nari Koravans and a few other deserving groups have been given benefits under the welfare schemes even though their names do not figure in the official list of Scheduled Tribes. This was done by listing those primitives as 'Most Backward' among the Other Backward Communities. The State has the authority to declare a community backward and to give them attention. This has been an intelligent procedure and the State acted within its powers, and did not in any way violate the Act of Parliament. Better results can be had if the States list the Scheduled Tribes in the order of primitiveness and backwardness, and implement the welfare schemes in such a manner, that the groups that have received no attention and continue to be neglected receive priority of attention.

SAVING HUMAN VALUES IN TRIBAL LIFE AND IN TRIBAL EDUCATION

by

E. DE MEULDER, S.J.

In the thoughtful welcome address, delivered on the occasion of the Fourth Conference for Tribal Areas at Koraput in April, 1957, Dr. Harekrishna Mehtab, Chief Minister of Orissa, quoted a rock-edict of Emperor Ashoka, which is found 150 miles distant from Koraput in Tribal Orissa and which refers to the "Pratyantavasinah", meaning the Tribal Population. Here is the text :—

"The Tribal population will ask : How does the Emperor look upon us ? Tell them that the Emperor looks upon them as he looks upon his own children and in their welfare lies the welfare of the Emperor and his children. The Emperor wishes them to adopt the path of Sadhdharma, true civilization".

This is the message inherited by Free India and embodied in her great constitution.

Taking his cue from this profound statement, Dr. Mehtab laid stress on the fact that Tribals are human beings just as all other men in India and must therefore be treated as such.

This is a theme which needs stressing again and again if social workers have to forge ahead in the training of Adibasi men and women for ever richer citizenship and for national leadership.

There are three great sister races in Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas, the Mundas, the Santhals, the Hos, who call themselves respectively Horo, Hor, and Hos which means men, not under-developed men, not "Banjatis" but men par excellence. By birth within their community, Tribals join the race of men (Horo Jati) ; those men are fully aware that they have been enrolled in the great race of men by the very fact of their birth. The worst insult you can give to an adibasi is to insinuate that is an inferior human being, a "Banjati", a jungli as he is referred to by some of the higher castes. Then Man (Horo) cannot conceive himself ever again to cease to exist or to lose his personal identity by transformation into another personality or by transmigration. (See F.M Hermans SVD-Hinduism and Tribal Culture, an anthropological verdict on the Nyogi Report.)

In any system of education, the quantity, qualification and the training of the teaching personnel are matters of primary importance. More important is the right vision of man and of life.

In spite of high class technical training teaching in Nazi Germany or in Stalinist Russia was a huge failure because teachers had the wrong vision of

man. Two years ago, in South Africa, I found well-built schools and universities with a highly qualified staff but with the ghost of Apartheid, stalking through the class rooms and through the souls of men. The Calvinist doctrine of Predestination was greatly responsible for these crimes against man.

Similarly in India, Tribals and Harijans have been segregated from the bulk of the nation due to wrong conception of man. Most Harijans are old tribals. Combined they number 100 millions.

Depressed classes in India are mostly composed of old tribes who have been enrolled at some time or other into the cast system.

According to Verrier Elwin "Hindu tribes like Gandas and Pankas and other sub-tribes of the Great Gond tribe like Pradhans, Ōjhas, and Nagarches are now regarded as impure, whilst the aboriginals who retained their independence claim to be Kahatriyas". Grigson in his monograph on the 'Maria Gond of Bastar' has referred to cultural transition. He writes that a large number of persons returned as members of the Hindu functional castes, the graziers, potters, fishermen, weavers, blacksmiths and others are in reality members of the primitive tribes, speaking their language and only differentiated from them by their occupation. There is nothing in their appearance to distinguish these persons from aborigines of the State, they follow their religions whether enumerated as such or as Hindus".

Here again, it is the wrong vision of

men that has been responsible for the yoke of untouchability being imposed on former free tribal people. A revival of human values is needed in numerous villages to end untouchability. Mr. Jagjivan Ram Union Railway Minister, inaugurating the 16th Annual Conference of the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League said that the problem of the untouchables was social, economic and religious and as such, has to be tackled on all three fronts simultaneously. New values will have to be established in society, some of the fundamentals of (Hindu) religion will have to be changed and a radical change in the present economic set up has to be made in order to solve this problem. The longer the solution was delayed, the worse it would be for the country. Secondly, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that the status of the individual should not be decided by birth but by his qualities. The system; wherein an educated pariah was considered inferior to an illiterate Brahmin, must go. Stating that the movement against untouchability was not a sectarian or communal movement, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said it was aimed at the liberty of the individual. India was subjugated in the past because power rested with a small coterie of people, while vast millions did not share it but slaved for the so-called advanced classes. Sharing of power by millions of people was the sure guarantee of the nation's freedom. Untouchability was very much alive and kicking. There are hundreds or thousands of villages in the country where drinking water wells are not available for use for Harijans and Harijan boys are not admitted into Primary Schools".

Historically speaking the three great allies of the Tribal people have been (1) Free India (2) The Christian Revival in India and (3) The sense of self-aliance and of freedom of the tribals themselves.

The opponents of the tribes have been, even in recent times :

1. The Census officer and the Birth Control Propagandist.
2. Half baked or one-sided anthropologists.
3. The propagandists of an out-moded caste system.
4. Rural capitalism and communism.

1. The Census officers have simplified the problem of integration of the tribals into the Indian Nation by liquidating them in their Census, and by incorporating them into their caste-system. Whole tribes have disappeared that way in Madhya Pradesh and some neighbouring States, between the Census years of 1921, 1931 and 1951. The birth-controllers want to do the same with the tribals that are left. There are not too many tribals left.

About population explosion, the best Tribal leaders hold with Mr. Golin Clark, one of the world's outstanding demographers, Director of the Agricultural Economics Institute at the University of Oxford and Director of U.S. Econometric Institute : —

“History shows that population growth has been a major stimulus to human progress in the field of industry, technology, agriculture, immigration, exploration, political maturity and

general culture”. Professor Sauvy, Leader of the French Delegation to the World Population Conference in 1951 said,

“If population limitation were the key to economic progress, then France should be the wealthiest country in the world today”. But the French followed the advice of Malthus. France had seemed to be on the point of dominating the world in 1798. In 1880, Onanism became fashionable. The size of the French family began to decline in 1800. Since then, the influence of France in the world has greatly declined upto very recently when there seems to be a revival.

2. Anthropology is the Science of the ‘Anthropos’, viz. man. As a science, we all respect it and expect solid research from it. The Jesuit society had distinguished anthropologists in the field, such as Father J. Hoffman, S.J. author of the *Encyclopedia Mundarica*, Teilhard D.E. Chardin, one of the greatest Anthropologists of this country. As long as scientists keep out of politics, stick to their subject and have no axe to grind, they are great people, but anthropology may at times become a dangerous subject in the hands of people, imbued with racial or religious prejudice (as they were in Nazi Germany) or claiming practical monopoly of leadership in matters of Tribal Welfare. At the Tribal Conference at Jagdalpur in March 1955, one distinguished Anthropologist claimed that all existing welfare activities in the different tribal areas of India should be examined and valued by anthropologists. At the same Conference, Lt. Col. G.R. Gayre, of the Department of Anthropogeography,

University of Saugar stated that :—“It seems self evident that the type of studies which is required while welcoming of course all the specialised work of these social anthropologists who have studied individual sides of the social lives of the peoples, must be designed to achieve a composite picture of the tribes as they are as a whole. This can only be done by integrated studies carried out by workers from a wider field than those of the schools of social anthropology and for that reason the work now being undertaken in the Bastar District by the University of Saugar is conceived on much broader principles than is generally the case .”

And L.M. Srikant in his address as Chairman of the Second Section of the Indian Conference of Social Work, Hyderabad, in December 1953 had the following to say :—

“I have found the Christian Missionaries working in Assam, in Bihar, and in Madhya Pradesh converting the tribals not only into Christians but into citizens assimilating many influences of civilization and losing much of their distinctive traits thus belying the apprehensions of the Anthropologists”. (Page 365)

“It can be definitely asserted that the Assam Tribals have not lost their virility and vigour on account of conversion.

“On the contrary, they are trying to become much more vocal, retaining their old tribal vigour and vitality as it is to be found amongst the Nagas claiming Independence. Christianity has brought about good changes. literacy being one of them as it is to be found in the Lushai Hills which is the second from

the point of view of literacy in the whole of India”. (Page 364).

In spite of India's Constitution, there is a growing fear in India of giving the proletariat their rights. Cheap labour is needed by certain hypercapitalists ; could certain anthropologists come to the rescue ? In Africa, Darwinism was the stunt which proved very useful to the slave-traders.

The Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest was warmly welcomed by the whites as an argument supporting and confirming their policy of expansion and aggression at the expense of the “Inferior people.” As Darwin's theory was made public in the years in which the great powers were building their colonial empires, it helped to justify them in their own eyes and before the rest of mankind : that slavery or death brought to “inferior” human groups by European rifles and machine guns, was no more than the implementation of the theory of the replacement of an inferior by a superior human society. In international politics, racism excuses aggression, Darwin's biological thesis was first welcomed and later simplified, or, rather distorted and adapted into so-called social Darwinism on which they based their rights to their social economic privileges. Herbert Spencer applied to Sociology the concept of “survival of the fittest” and the same idea was used to defend Nietzsche's doctrine of the “Superman” with whom the “fittest” was equated. Science, however, has knocked out this political tribe of anthropology and the UNESCO has made a statement which is banned in South Africa for very good reasons. This

statement signed by the greatest scientists of the world has been published under the title "Race and Modern Science". The following are some extracts of the same :

"In the matters of race, the only characteristics which Anthropologists can effectively use as basis for classifications are physical and psychological.

According to present knowledge there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same.

Historical psychological studies support the view that genetic differences are not of importance in determining the social culture differences between different groups of Homo Sapiens, and that the social and cultural changes in different groups have, in the main, been independent of changes inborn in constitutions. Vast social changes have occurred which were not in any way connected with changes in racial type.

There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture whether for good or ill are to be traced to social factors.

All normal human beings are capable of learning to share in a common life, to understand the nature of mutual services and reciprocity and to respect social obligations and contracts. Such biological differences as exist between members of different ethnic groups have no relevance to problems of social and political

organisation, moral life and communication between human beings.

Lastly, biological studies lend support to the ethics of universal brotherhood, for man is born with drives towards cooperation and unless these drives are satisfied, man and nations alike fall ill. Man is born a social being who can reach the fullest development only with his fellows. The denial of any point of this social bond between man and man brings with it disintegration. In this sense every man is his brother. For every man is a piece of the confidant, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind.

3. The caste system is opposed to the Tribal system. No amount of adaptation can ever explain away the defects of the caste system. The greatest of India's reformers and patriots have hated it.

All great Indian reformers have been hammering at caste with all their might. "Untouchability is a crime against God and Man", said Mahatma Gandhi. Yet he believed in caste by birth. And Rabindranath Tagore : "For a long time it was the accepted belief among certain sections of Hindus that Chaturvarnya was divinely ordained and that Varna-sankara or the mixture of castes was the greatest of social evils—it is more than less true that all Hindu Dharma Shastras take caste for granted. Theoretically, untouchables are outside the caste system and (Avarnas) are called the fifth caste (Panchamas). Tagore spoke of this social organisation as "walls which shut out the sunshine of thought and the breath of life." (quoted from K. M. Panikkar in Hindu Society at the Crossroads).

In the Quarterly Review, Arnold Toynbee has stated that democracy could not be understood without religious ideas. And that egalitarian democracy was greatly the fruit of a Christian conception of Society.

4. Communism and Capitalism, single or combined, are among the greatest opponents of Tribal India, as they are of Free India as a whole. The landlords of England combined with the landlords of India in order to arrange the notorious Permanent Settlement of Bengal by which tax collectors of the previous regime were made overnight into land-owners. By his signature, Lord Cornwallis expropriated millions of peasant proprietors from their ancestral fields. Tribals stand or fall with their lands.

Conclusions :—

1. Tribalism represents the most democratic social organization in the whole of India. In order to build up democratic India, do not de-tribalize the tribes (in order to integrate them into the Indian nation) but rather re-tribalize the whole of the Indian Nation, (and the whole of the world) into a family of tribes with equal rights and with equal opportunities. A great Indian nation postulates the suppression of the caste system and presupposes a new society in which tribes, old and new, will be incorporated into a new horizontal framework of national reconstruction which will replace the present vertical system of social inequality.

2. Shri Kishan Lal Malviya made a plea for a rationalised approach to the problems of Adibasis and Harijans in the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha. Did

he mean a more national approach? According to Shri K.L. Malviya in Hitavada 24.4.60, Government was not achieving any tangible result in spite of the huge amounts of money spent on Harijans and Adibasis. People-in-the-know are not surprised. Christian schools in Adibasis areas are greatly (not only) in the service of the Adibasis. They are your allies, not your opponents in the common task of national reconstruction.

3. The type of education, imparted to tribals should avoid the two extremes of either under-development or of over-development. Basic schools as they actually exist in the country (not as they exist on paper) have become India's most expensive educational institutions, imparting 3rd class education to the proletariat.

Basic schools are not good enough for the Adibasis, if they are not good enough for the non-adibasis of the same nation. Any school, that in letter or in spirit, upholds the caste system or practices any type of segregation (schools for adibasis and for Harijans only), is antinational and should be reformed. Tribals and Harijans want to study in schools where non-adibasis too are welcome. It is interesting to note that Dr. Verrier Elwin has changed his former opinion on the matter of segregating the tribals from the non-tribal world. Education must have a national aspect and schools must cater for both tribals and non-tribals. On the other hand, education should prepare tribal students for life. Education should not de-tribalise or de-nationalise the students from tribal areas. The danger of joining an idle lazy or upstart middle class.

estranged from tribe and nation, being neither East or West, is a danger for the tribal students. But this is a danger not only for the tribals but also for the non-tribals. The human problems involved have been well analyzed in "The Neurosis of India's Intelligentsia" by Sampurnanand and in the "Autobiography of an Unknown Indian" by Nirad C. Choudhary. Real education should prepare the tribals for a full life of service of the tribe, of the nation and of the world of the 20th Century.

4. Lastly, with regard to Christian Missions, I wish to state that they are

not played-out and that their giant achievements in the service of the Indian Nation has only been so far a big dress rehearsal, preparing for the great play of tomorrow in which both tribals and non-tribals are bound to play an equally prominent role. Catholicism alone runs in India 75 University colleges, 50 High Schools and 5000 Primary Schools with six and half lacks of students. All those are open to both tribals and non-tribals. We believe that renascent India is preparing for a great future and all men of good will should be called upon to give their share.

INDEBTEDNESS OF THE TRIBALS AND THE PROVISION OF CREDIT AND MARKETTING IN THE TRIBAL AREAS

by

RAMASWAMI ADIGAL

The daily demands of the bare necessities of the tribal peoples are normally very low when compared to the others. They are definitely able to adjust their expenditure according to the income they get. They usually refrain from engaging themselves in money-making attempts. So the possibilities of their becoming indebted are usually less. This is the case of Kurumans, Irulans Kattunaikans, and Kasavans in the hill district of Nilgiris. But the case of the Kotas in the present day is a matter to be given thought. As early as the Britishers introduced permanent land ownership in this district the Kotas were given lands. They, being expert craftsmen and

agriculturists, were investing in their lands since last eighty years but instead of bringing about a rise in the standard of living these ventures have made them indebted to an amount which they will have to take another eighty years to settle. The main source of the loans are the local money lenders and manure dealers who act with a base aim to get the lands either mortgaged or sold to them at unreasonably low prices. The Kotas also with a hope to save something and to release themselves are getting more and more engulfed.

A compulsory cooperative system of cultivation may be introduced. Such societies should be vested with powers

to control the annual expenditure of the individuals and the families and to enforce habits of small savings. The individuals who have lent money to the tribals may try to create trouble. Legal protection should be given to the tribals, in the matter of sale or mortgage of their lands. This protection should be extended for at least another ten years to come. The public should be instructed to stop giving further loans. From the sample socio-economic survey we conducted, we noted a tribal village consisting of less than fifty households is indebted to an extent of about a hundred thousand rupees. This is alarming.

The case of the Paniyas of the Gudalur area is of another type. They are not indebted in the sense of cash dealings, but they are in a semi slavish condition. Paniyans are sold along with the land when such dealings take place. Such Paniyans are bound to serve in the land to which they are attached. They do not have any option. The wages they get for their ten hour labour is only paddy and other things worth less than eight to twelve annas.

It is surprising to note that the Paniyans are content and usually they never agitate against this state of affairs, because they have seen their brethren who have released themselves from this agreement starve for days together. The employment opportunities open to them are very limited and are not of permanent nature. The only reason for this is, the prevailing poverty. If Paniyans are spared their lands and are free from loans they will definitely work hard to raise enough to support themselves.

The main defect of the type of the land ownership known by the name 'jemmy system' should be changed to the 'ryotwari system.' This we were stressing through the Hill Tribes Conferences since 1955. Immediately after the lands are permanently assigned to the tribals, cooperative system should be introduced for cultivation, preservation of crops and profitable marketing. The problem of indebtedness and the problem of land ownership are closely connected.

Then comes the industrial side of the economic life of the tribals. The tribal people are by nature honest, sincere and hard working. What all they need is full time supervision and guidance.

Provision of Credit and Marketing in the Tribal Areas :— Until the land problems are finalised the provision of credit aspect of welfare is not a promising one. The tribals often misuse the credit given to them because they are not in a position to invest the money in the land and wait for months together. Their day to day demands are so pressing that they are choosing to spend a portion of the sum for other uses. To prevent this there is no use to resort to force but only proper social education. Our aim is to make them self-sufficient and self supporting in the future. Before teaching them how to do things properly with minimum or no waste of capital, land and labour, and before making arrangements for profitable marketing, loans and credit should not be sanctioned on large scales. This makes them only indebted to the Government. When they find it difficult to save a few rupees we cannot

expect them to save hundreds to repay their debts. So what I would like to stress is that wide-scale social education programmes should precede and the facts and figures made available through socio-economic surveys and then Co-operative societies should be formed and through those societies loans may be extended. These require fulltime tribal welfare staff in the States of Madras, Mysore and Kerala, at district levels. Successful marketing also can be performed through the Cooperative Societies. We are conducting an experimental Cooperative Consumers Stores in the tribal village of Kunjapanai opened by Dharm Dev Shastriji, Secretary, B.A.J., Sevak Singh, Delhi. The store which started with a capital of about Rs. 300 has saved about fifteen hundreds in a period of about three years. This is a monumental proof to show that almost every problem of the tribal community can be successfully solved if the personnel engaged in such ventures are honest and interested in tribal welfare. We are to be a bit careful in prohibiting the entry of luxuries to the

tribal areas but it is always difficult to classify luxuries and necessities.

About the articles that go from the tribal area to outside markets. Only a few areas are able to export something and the rest gather natural and other craft products of little commercial value. Unless these are dealt with through cooperative organisations, the tribals can not hope to get adequate returns.

Supervision at every stage is to be extended to tribals. Periodical evaluation at given intervals may help rectification of errors, if any, and for devising better methods. Special surveys of price study etc. should be conducted to ascertain reliable data about the indebtedness, the possibilities of introducing supplementary economies and the possibilities of saving at individual and community levels. With the help of these types of scientific approach the standard of living can be raised; and with the ability to earn more and save more, the tribals will be able to repay the debts, if any. In such balanced state provision of credit will be immediately helpful to the tribals.

THIRD-FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL AREAS AND WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

by

RAMASWAMI ADIGAL

(a) *Economic development :*

Life almost everywhere is closely connected with the land on which people live, which immediately shapes the mode of occupation, type of agriculture,

possibilities of crafts and industries. Tribals belong to the Forest land. We cannot think of tribal life or tribal welfare without bringing into mention the forestry. In these days of making

policies and plans to increase the national wealth and well-being, the Department of Forests is equally alert in introducing new regulations and in increasing the staff for the preservation of the areas under their control and for bringing new areas under forestry.

The tribals who have for thousands of years lived and got accustomed to forest life, are now compelled to resort to new economies. This they find embarrassing. The population of our nation is increasing every day and the average cultivable land available is becoming lesser and lesser proportionately. So in the present state of affairs the tribals are becoming still weaker.

In the national level both forestry and tribal welfare are equally important, one can not be attended to at causes detrimental to the other. There are proved ways by which the tribals can both help themselves and which at the same time are not harmful to the interests of the forest department. Once it was the policy that forests were only meant to bring profit to the Government, I mean commercial outlook was predominating. Now we are to change that to a welfare policy.

Hunting economy and gathering economy are the two main economies of the forest dwellers. Under 'save wild life policies' hunting is prohibited. The gathering economy remains. I request that the tribes should be given preference and privileges in getting their livelihood through this source, if they choose to. Exemptions should be allowed from certain rules to encourage them. Maximum employment opportunities should be given to the tribals

in the forest department. They should be given rights to collect perishable forest products and raw materials for industries and crafts, not through auction and competitive contracts but as a matter of right paying a nominal annual amount.

Forest schools should be conducted to teach the young tribals fundamental principles of Botany and the methods of gathering, sorting, preserving, and marketing the raw and finished products.

Shifting cultivation is normally considered harmful on account of its detrimental effect on the soil surface. It may not be enough only to prevent the tribals from further practising it but they should be given a ready substitute economy. Almost all tribals are landless and they are refused loans from government and private sources too on this reason. It is time that the tribals should be allotted the available waste lands and for at least a period of ten years they should be encouraged to learn better methods of cultivation and marketing. Full time supervisors should be appointed to look after their interests.

I know that States of Madras, Mysore and Kerala have very small tribal populations, the percentage to the total population being less than two. But there are certain regions where the tribals are easily exceeding sixty per cent (places like Gudalur Wynad area). These types of places in the three States should normally expect more attention. Separate staff for tribal welfare under the respective Collectorates should be set to function in such regions. As far as

Nilgiris is concerned, Gudalur deserves special attention. It contains about ten thousand tribals belonging to Paniyan, Kattunaikan, Kuruman and Solaga communities, in an area of 280 sq. miles.

Social education for poultry farming, bee-keeping, tribal crafts, small scale agriculture, horticulture and allied occupations—all added—may help the tribals to earn their minimum requirements. Timber economy is equally important. The tribals should be allowed to cut a given number of trees from the forests annually for construction purposes. Trees which fall by natural forces should be allowed to be removed by the tribals.

(b) Working of the multipurpose Tribal Blocks.

The plans for the multipurpose tribal blocks may not and need not be applicable to each and every tribal block selected. I would like to stress that detailed socio-economic surveys should be conducted in the entire tribal areas and then guided by the facts and figures based on such surveys, allocations should be made. Instead of fixing funds on the basis of areas and populations, the funds may be fixed on the basis of the needs revealed by surveys. In the year 1955 I have submitted to the Government a scheme for about Rs. 19,00,000-00, for the welfare of the hill tribes of the district of Nilgiris. I am glad to see a major portion of it has been materialized. Nilgiris District as a unit deserves to be included in the list of multipurpose development blocks in the Third Five Year Plan.

(c) Transport and Communications :

I honestly feel that opening roads in the tribal areas will immediately and definitely raise the land value of the area adjacent to the road. It will make the entry of the non-tribal money minded outsiders easier. Outside civilisation will teach the tribals to increase the list of the luxuries and they are bound to suffer the consequences of over expenditure or at least mental dissatisfaction. There may be one or two reasons like this from the points of view of anthropologists but we can not overlook the necessity to provide an area with minimum road facilities. A major portion of the Nilgiris Hill District remains unexposed due to lack of road facilities. We were repeatedly asking the Government to provide the hill district with four important roads.

They are (1) A road from Kunjapanai on the Kotagiri-Mettupalayam main road upto Hallimoyar connecting the tribal places of Vagapanai Kengarai, Mettukal, Kadinamalai, Kekkodu, Garikeyur, Nandipuram, and Kallampalayam. (2) A road from Kallatty to Anaigatty and Siriyur connecting Segur and Sockanahalli. (3) A road connecting Annaigatty with Thenadcombai via Siriyur and Sinnakunnur. (4) A road connecting Anaigatty with Thoriyur (Thoraihutty) via Siriyur and Ebbanad. These roads are in the list of 'indispensable'.

(d) Health and Sanitation :

In this respect I suggest that more importance should be given to the provision of protected water supply in the Third Five Year Plan to the tribal areas, for the lower regions of the hill

districts are normally malarious. Under the second plan the Government has done monumental work in this line; yet compared to the total demand much more remains to be done. The beneficiaries often report that proper after-care is not taken. This may be brought to the kind notice of the Government. In the hilly regions soil is being eroded in alarming quantity and this naturally pays to fill the water reservoirs and to block the pipe lines. To overcome these, unions may be fixed to make it easier to repair the lines every now and then.

The area in which the tribes like Kurumans, Irulans, Paniyans, Kattunai-kans, and Kasavans live are rich with various medicinal plants. The tribals know to use many trees, shrubs and herbs in their daily life. But that knowledge is not of use to the other tribes and the general public, because they attach more secrecy to such use. Even though we have made enough attempts to prepare a complete list of such medicinal plants we were given only partial information.

I request the session to recommend to the Government to open research centres in the tribal areas to conduct experiments of the local medicinal plants. In Nilgiris Hills, the Collectorate has chosen Nedugalcombai for a model village. In Nedugalcombai tribal colony a research centre may be opened, under the Third Five Year plan. When such centres function efficiently

to the satisfaction of the local tribes, they will help themselves a lot dispensing with the trouble to waste time, energy and hard-earned money in resorting to the urban hospitals and the urban doctors. The medicines given to them in bottles and in the form of tablets often fail to be effective because they seldom attach psychological importance to the curative qualities.

Expert botanists should be requested to begin this work because by the peculiar situation and climate of this district the plant wealth is abundant here and we can hope to find a major portion of the medicinal plants mentioned in Chopra's Glossary of Indian medicinal plants.

There are medicinal plants which may be of use for the tribals to grow and market thereby to increase their average income, like Kadukka, Thandika, Nellika, Sundaka, Seevaka, Pochaka, to name a few. So many types of grasses of commercial value can also gathered and exported.

Some medicinal plants used by the tribals :—

Masige (Tribal name) for fever, Seethari for head ache, Kathalai for fractures, Moranda for muscular pains, Narsera for cuts and wounds, Senneri, pattai for bone fractures, Kad Kadugu for eye troubles, Medunge for coughs and colds, Kolingi for stomach troubles, Keenelli for blood troubles, Gagidu for infant troubles.

TRIBAL REVIVALISM †

by

K.K. LEUVA,

**Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
Bihar and West Bengal Region, Ranchi.**

We are facing today the most difficult problem of finding out the best way of administering the tribal populations in India. The Policy of 'Leave Them Alone'¹ has been discarded long ago. We do not want to preserve the tribesmen as museum specimens, because separation and isolation are dangerous theories and strike at the root of national solidarity as observed by the late Shri A V. Thakkar. In contrast to this policy is a second one of assimilation or detribalisation. It is simple and easy but it has serious disadvantages. It tends to make the tribesman ashamed of his own culture and religion. It breaks up the tribal society and leads to a loss of tribal virtues and a rapid acquisition of the vices of civilisation. Between these two extremes, there is a middle path that has been found out by the Prime Minister of India. The Prime Minister's policy may be summarised as one which approaches the historical development in a spirit of affection and identification that eliminates any possibility of superiority.

This historical development as such cannot take place by single-handed efforts of the administration and social workers. This can be possible only

when the tribals themselves come to their own. For that, tribal revivalism should take place. Are there seeds in tribal life which would germinate into tribal revivalism? Yes, there are plenty of them. In the past the tribal people did not live simply as dumb animals and take all sufferings and exploitation lying down. They raised their heads frequently, as can be seen in numerous tribal uprisings in the past against the injustice and social exploitation of which they were victims both at the hands of the Governments and non-tribals of the country. The Kol insurrection of 1833 was caused by encroachment on tribal land. The Tamar rebellions, repeated seven times between 1789 and 1832 were primarily due to the illegal deprivation of their rights in land which the Hos, Mundas and Oraons had suffered. The story of the great Santhals rebellion is quite fresh in our mind. The uprisings or rebellions in which violence was the principal means to achieve the object in view may be considered out of context in the present times. Against these insurrections, there had also been other types of movements directed towards reformation and religion. A number of religious movements like Rajmohini, Birsa Bhagwan, Tana Bhagats and Mahua

It had sprung up in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. The movement of Bhagatism among the Bhis in Western India may be cited as another instance on the point. One Bhil in India who was said to be a Bhil living in Mahikantha and Dungarpur was responsible for this movement which made Bhagatism the first organised introduction of Bhagatism among the Bhis nearly three quarters of a century ago. In a country like India, religion plays a dominant part and forms a cementing force in the organisation of a society; specially among homogeneous tribal groups, it keeps adequate control. So it may be essential and usual that all successful movements are launched through the medium of religion. The tribal revivalism which is propounded here will be quite different from the violent uprisings or simply religious movements as recorded in the history. There is no greater need of this kind of tribal revivalism than at present.

As said earlier, there is enough material for such kind of tribal revivalism. The Prime Minister of India has declared that he is not sure which, the modern or the tribal, is the better way of living. "In some respects, I am not certain, theirs is better." Hence there is no need for the tribals to feel ashamed of themselves and become frustrated and unhappy. Pandit G.B. Pant, Union Home Minister of India has said at Koraput that 'the tribal people have been truly described as

artistic creation of God, passionately devoted to their own way of life. They express their joy of life through the colourful forms of their folk dances and the rhythm of their music. Their frankness, love of truth and unshakable loyalty to those who win their confidence are well known. They are literally the sons of the soil, and the skill with which they create neat and clean habitations and meet their requirements of life are a matter of admiration. It is, therefore, wrong to consider those people less civilised or 'backward.' Their moral virtues, self-reliance, courage, artistic gifts and cheerfulness are sure to revive their pride in themselves. Their varied and rich culture is bound to create self-respect among them. And above all, their virtues of truth and honesty which are held in high esteem should enable them to shake off their inferiority complex. In fact these virtues will be the foundation of the tribal revivalism. This revivalism will do the greatest service to India if it is able to bring the above peculiar tribal treasures into the common life of our countrymen. Should we not expect a movement for tribal revivalism from amongst the tribals themselves on the lines of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekanand, Rabindranath Tagore and others who were pioneers of Hindu revivalism? Such revivalism will alone strengthen the tribal solidarity and restore once again moorings for the younger generations and prevent them from drifting in an unfamiliar world.

TRIBAL REVIVALISM †

by

K.K. LEUVA,

Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
Bihar and West Bengal Region, Ranchi.

We are facing today the most difficult problem of finding out the best way of administering the tribal populations in India. The Policy of 'Leave Them Alone' has been discarded long ago. We do not want to preserve the tribesmen as museum specimens, because separation and isolation are dangerous theories and strike at the root of national solidarity as observed by the late Shri A V. Thakkar. In contrast to this policy is a second one of assimilation or detribalisation. It is simple and easy but it has serious disadvantages. It tends to make the tribesman ashamed of his own culture and religion. It breaks up the tribal society and leads to a loss of tribal virtues and a rapid acquisition of the vices of civilisation. Between these two extremes, there is a middle path that has been found out by the Prime Minister of India. The Prime Minister's policy may be summarised as one which approaches the historical development in a spirit of affection and identification that eliminates any possibility of superiority.

This historical development as such cannot take place by single-handed efforts of the administration and social workers. This can be possible only

when the tribals themselves come to their own. For that, tribal revivalism should take place. Are there seeds in tribal life which would germinate into tribal revivalism? Yes, there are plenty of them. In the past the tribal people did not live simply as dumb animals and take all sufferings and exploitation lying down. They raised their heads frequently, as can be seen in numerous tribal uprisings in the past against the injustice and social exploitation of which they were victims both at the hands of the Governments and non-tribals of the country. The Kol insurrection of 1833 was caused by encroachment on tribal land. The Tamar rebellions, repeated seven times between 1789 and 1832 were primarily due to the illegal deprivation of their rights in land which the Hos, Mundas and Oraons had suffered. The story of the great Santhals rebellion is quite fresh in our mind. The uprisings or rebellions in which violence was the principal means to achieve the object in view may be considered out of context in the present times. Against these insurrections, there had also been other types of movements directed towards reformation and religion. A number of religious movements like Rajmohini, Birsa Bhagwan, Tana Bhagats and Mahua

Deo had sprung up in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. The movement of Bhagatism among the Bhils in Western India may be cited as another instance on the point. One Lasodia who was said to be a Bhil living in Mahikantha and Dungarpur was responsible for this movement which made perhaps the first organised introduction of Bhagatism among the Bhils nearly three quarters of a century ago. In a country like India, religion plays a dominant part and forms a cementing force in the organisation of a society; specially in homogeneous tribal groups, it keeps an adequate control. So it may be essential and usual that all successful movements are launched through the medium of religion.² The tribal revivalism which is propounded here will be quite different from the violent uprisings or simply religious movements as recorded in the history. There is no greater need of this kind of tribal revivalism than at present.

As said earlier, there is enough material for such kind of tribal revivalism. The Prime Minister of India has declared that he is not sure which, the modern or the tribal, is the better way of living. "In some respects, I am quite certain, theirs is better." Hence there is no need for the tribals to feel ashamed of themselves and become frustrated and unhappy. Pandit G.B. Pant, Union Home Minister of India had said at Koraput that 'the tribal people have been truly described as

artistic creation of God, passionately devoted to their own way of life. They express their joy of life through the colourful forms of their folk dances and the rythmn of their music. Their frankness, love of truth and unshakable loyalty to those who win their confidence are well known. They are literally the sons of the soil, and the skill with which they create neat and clean habitations and meet their requirements of life are a matter of admiration. It is, therefore, wrong to consider those people less civilised or 'backward.' Their moral virtues, self-reliance, courage, artistic gifts and cheerfulness are sure to revive their pride in themselves. Their varied and rich culture is bound to create self-respect among them. And above all, their virtues of truth and honesty which are held in high esteem should enable them to shake off their inferiority complex. In fact these virtues will be the foundation of the tribal revivalism. This revivalism will do the greatest service to India if it is able to bring the above peculiar tribal treasures into the common life of our countrymen. Should we not expect a movement for tribal revivalism from amongst the tribals themselves on the lines of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekanand, Rabindranath Tagore and others who were pioneers of Hindu revivalism? Such revivalism will alone strengthen the tribal solidarity and restore once again moorings for the younger generations and prevent them from drifting in an unfamiliar world.

MULTI-PURPOSE DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS SOME SUGGESTIONS

by

D.J. NAIK

President, Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad

Amongst the various schemes sponsored by the Ministry of Home Affairs for the Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, in the II Five Year Plan, the most noteworthy, potential and significant is the Scheme of the Multipurpose Development Project, commonly known as Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Block. The Scheme is based on the general pattern of National Extension Service Block, now known as Development Stage-I. Its main object is to bring about Social, Educational and Economic Development of the Tribals as quickly as possible, for which as many as 43 compact tribal areas in various States have been selected. The Programme of Development is almost of the same character as is undertaken in the N.E.S. Block, but it is more intense. It is also expected that the approach towards the alround development of the tribals should have a tribal bias and should not in any circumstances disorganise the Tribal-Way of Life. The Multi-Purpose Development Block should also generate a dynamism which will not only make the Tribal Society self-reliant but also make it progressive.

The 43 Blocks which have been started, cover an area of 23939 sq. miles having 7823 villages and 16,87,592 population. The population coverage of each Block has been generally fixed at 25000 and the area coverage is 200 sq.

miles but that has not been preserved in majority of Blocks. The population coverage comes to 39,246 and area coverage is large in Assam, Madhya-Pradesh, Orissa, Manipur and Tripura. Thus the population coverage is very much larger in all States except Bombay and Rajasthan. It is also noteworthy that the tribal population forms 75 per cent of the total population served by the Blocks. It is surprising to find that in some Blocks, the non-tribal population far exceeds the tribal population. In some, it is more than half. The financial provision made for each Block is Rs. 27 lakhs for a period of 5 years ; but of which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is made available from the Ministry of Home Affairs, under Articles-275(1) of the Constitution and a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs from the Budget of the Ministry of Community Development. Out of Rs. 27 lakhs, a sum of Rs. 7 lakhs is provided for the emoluments of the Staff, and Transport and Buildings for the Staff. This works out at about 25 per cent of the total estimated budget. Development of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry is allotted Rs. 5-1/2 lakhs i.e. about 20 per cent of the total budget. Emphasis has been laid on the schemes of irrigation soil-conservation, supply of pure drinking-water, rural-housing, co-operation and village industries. The budget allotment is flexible and State

Governments have been empowered to transfer funds from one head to another, as per local requirements. For the first two years the progress in respect of physical targets and expenditure was very slow on account of several difficulties and handicaps like shortage of trained personnel, difficult living conditions in tribal areas, ignorance of tribal language, inadequate staff etc. Some of these difficulties have now been surmounted and the pace of progress has been accelerated.

Almost four years have elapsed since the commencement of the Multi-Purpose Development Blocks and therefore it is imperative that suggestions based on the experience gained in the working of these Blocks should be made so that it may be helpful in formulating proposals for the III Five Year Plan.

The first question which arises is whether the population and area coverage as at present fixed requires any change. It is seen from the existing coverage in respect of population and area that no State except Bombay has adhered to the standard as envisaged in the Scheme. It was suggested at the Conference held at Abu that the State Governments should examine this question and see whether the present coverage per Block could be reduced. It is not known what opinions the State Governments have communicated to the Home Ministry. We know that it is the policy of the Government to cover the whole country under the Development Blocks by the year 1962. Obviously all tribal areas also will be covered. A normal Development Block has a population coverage of 60000 and a

budget provision of Rs. 12 lakhs. In order to step up and intensify the development of the tribals it is essential that more funds should be made available to all the Blocks working in tribal areas irrespective of any other facts. The distinction between Special Multi-Purpose Block and normal Development Block of a Tribal Area should be done away with and all Development Blocks in tribal areas should be equally treated and financed. Areas which are very backward and almost inaccessible and where the tribals are still practising jhuming cultivation should be given a special treatment. A suggestion made by the study team for Community Development that the period of the Programme should be six years is worth considering. In case of Tribal Areas a thorough survey is necessary for drawing up various Development Programmes and this requires not less than a year. The survey may not be as scientific, elaborate and accurate as the survey carried out in Tamia Block but it must, as far as possible, be exhaustive so that village wise development plans can be drawn up smoothly. Survey which is carried out at present is perfunctory and unreliable. Great care, therefore, should be taken in carrying out survey, particularly in tribal areas as that forms the basis for Planning.

It is also experienced that the personnel have little knowledge of tribal mode of living, their religious beliefs, social customs etc. They are also not properly trained. An Officer not conversant with the structure of Tribal Society is apt to do more harm than good. It is necessary that the Gram Sevaks and other Officers should first

be given a short term course of training before they are deputed to work in Development Blocks of Tribal Areas. This will help in giving Development Programme a tribal bias which is most needed.

The main occupation of the tribals is agriculture. Out of a total population of 235 lakhs of Scheduled Tribes, 173 lakhs are following the occupation of agriculture. A tribal has a great attachment to his land. Such allotment is much deeper than what can be imagined. The attachment to the land sustains the tribal in his precarious life. In spite of this attachment to the land, tribal economy is a mixed economy of agriculture and forest. Most of the tribal areas are deficit areas in food production. For the economic betterment of the tribals, Agricultural Development should be given the highest priority because agriculture occupies a vital place in tribal economy. It should be given a high place in order to make a tribal area self-sufficient in food which will also help the country in reducing the food deficit. Out of a total amount of Rs. 27 lakhs, a sum of only Rs. 5 lakhs 50 thousands is allowed for irrigation, reclamation, soil conservation, Animal-Husbandry and Agricultural extension. The percentage is about 20 and falls far short of the requirements of tribal areas. Almost all the tribal areas are liable to heavy soil-erosion on account of hilly and undulating land. Soil conservation should occupy a high place in the Development of Tribal Areas. That will not only prevent heavy soil erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil but will indirectly help in controlling, to a certain extent, high floods in rivers.

Soil conservation should be taken up on a mass-scale. The Government undertakes soil conservation in the beginning at their own cost which is later recovered from the owners of the fields in 20 annual instalments. 25 per cent of the cost is considered as subsidy. The loan bears an interest of 4-1/8 per cent. So far as tribal areas are concerned, the loan should not carry any interest and subsidy should be raised to 33 per cent. Soil conservation should also include terracing steep hill slopes.

In areas where well-irrigation is feasible, high priority should be given to it. At present an agriculturist who is able to offer adequate landed security can get a loan for construction of a well. Generally the tribals have very small holdings. 60 per cent of them have holdings less than 5 acres each. These people cannot obviously get adequate takavi for well-construction or for improvement of their lands. Only those cultivators who have adequate lands can get this benefit. In order that the large number of small holders can be raised economically and socially, takavi should be granted to all those who are prepared to construct irrigation wells in their fields and take loans on the security of the land, plus the well to be constructed plus crops which should be raised by irrigation. Subsidy which is at present given should be given on the following basis :

- (1) To holders of 5 acres and less 66 per cent subsidy.
- (2).....holders between 6 and 10 acres..... 33 per cent subsidy.
- (3).....holders of more than 10 acres.....No subsidy.

If this is followed the benefit will go to the really deserving poor people, who are determined to better their economic conditions.

So far as the allotment for Irrigation is concerned, there is no planned-programme either villagewise or groupwise. An enthusiastic Block Development Officer with the help of his Gram-Sevaks will find out 200 or so landholders out of a total of 5000 holders, who have sufficient land to offer as security and will distribute the allotted amount among them, thereby taking satisfaction and pride that he has fulfilled the target. In this way, the money may be spent but that does not solve the basic problem of increasing food production or raising the general level of the tribals. No doubt, a few tribals get the benefit and the coverage under Irrigation is increased by a few hundreds of acres. Instead of this haphazard way of working, every village or a group of villages should have its own plan of well-construction which should be prepared by Village Panchayat in consultation with the Gram-Sevaks concerned and the Block Dev. Officer and the amount for irrigation or reclamation of lands or Animal Husbandary should be placed at the disposal of the Village Panchayat, which in close cooperation with the Co-operative Society, should utilise the amount for increasing the area under well-irrigation by construction of wells, for bringing more area under cultivation by reclaiming waste lands either by deep ploughing or by erecting bunds etc. Each village or a group of village should increase food production by 30 per cent within five years, and plans should be made to achieve this object.

Where jhuming or shifting cultivation is practised, efforts should be made to induce the people to take to settled-agriculture by terracing the slopes of hills, for which takavi loans and subsidy should be given on a liberal basis.

Jhuming cultivation is a problem in itself. Continuous propaganda among the tribals to adopt scientific jhuming may solve the problem. But the Gram-Sevaks and the Block Dev. Officers should not belittle the tribal way of jhuming cultivation which is a part of tribal life.

Most of the tribal areas experience scarcity of water during long summer days. Small nallas and rivulets can be bunded at small distances and water can be stored. This storage of water can also be used for irrigating fields, by lifting water or by gravity flow. In the Block of Peint, small nallas should be bunded for storage of water to be used in summer. In the Khedbrahma Block even at present, the tribals erect small bunds after the rainy season and divert the flow of water as far as 2 to 3 miles for irrigating the fields. This indigenous method of development of water resources for irrigation should be investigated properly and wherever possible, pucca bunds should be erected. This will increase not only the area under irrigation but small reservoirs and rivulets at intervals of a mile or two will increase the level of subsoil water which is much needed in the tribal areas.

In the schematic budget there is no provision for regeneration of forests. The tribal economy is a mixed economy and the tribals have an inherent attachment to the forests. Regeneration of

forests should, therefore, form one of the items in the schematic budget. With the impact of the cultivation and growth of population, forests are dwindling, which has resulted in greater soil-erosion, scarcity of rain etc. I suggest that provision should be made for village forests, the produce of which should be utilised for the benefit of the tribal community.

A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs has been provided in the schematic budget for rural arts and crafts. Schools for training tribals in sewing, carpentry, smithy, pottery etc. have been started. The tribal young boys during the training period are given stipends. After the training, very few of them follow the crafts in which they are trained. Thus much of the money is wasted. I would, therefore, suggest that only these crafts which are essential in the tribal society be taught to the tribal boys and it should be seen that after the training-period is over, the trainees follow the occupation. I would like to suggest that Cottage and Village Industries Commission should prepare the Scheme of Village Industries like Bullock-Ghani,

Spinning and weaving etc. to be implemented in tribal areas.

Last thing is about the personnel and the staff-buildings. I would suggest that the lower staff should, as far as possible, be recruited locally from the tribal people. It is likely that fully qualified persons may not be available but even less qualified persons may be recruited and given suitable training. This will create a feeling of oneness among the tribals and the implementation of various programmes will be made easier. This will also give a tribal bias to the programmes. The recruited personnel must acquire knowledge of tribal dialect and tribal ways of living and tribal customs.

The buildings constructed either for the residence of the staff members or a school should be very simple and should easily fit in with the tribal and rural environment. The amount provided for buildings should be curtailed in the existing budget. This will create a good psychological effect and the tribals will feel that the Block is of the Tribals, and for the Tribals and it is to be implemented by the Tribals.

INDEBTEDNESS OF THE TRIBALS AND THE PROVISION OF CREDIT AND MARKETING IN TRIBAL AREAS

by

N.P. DAMODARAN

The exploitation of tribals by plainmen has posed as the most urgent and intricate problem in Kerala ever since the invasion of forests by planters and

other plainmen commenced decades ago. It was recorded as early as in 1883, "As soon as the planter's axe is heard, the Hill Kings pack their traps and

desert their homes to establish themselves in another valley. In this way, they have been driven from hill to hill and from valley to valley, until some have found a safe resting place in the jungles of the lowlands of Travancore". But here too there was no safety and the conditions have only worsened since then. Land-grabbers and grocer-cum-moneylenders rank as the most malignant among the exploiters.

Before proceeding to suggest the measures to be adopted for relieving the tribals of their indebtedness, I would describe in some detail the modus operandi of the money lenders. The money lenders are generally also small grocers who come from the plains and establish themselves near tribal settlements, on poramboke lands on either side of public roads and pathways. They usually have rice, salt, tobacco, dried fish and inferior varieties of clothes among other sundry articles for sale. The money lender-cum-grocer, is invariably very tactful and moves freely with the tribes with ostensible friendliness. Tobacco and dried fish of which the tribals are extremely fond are sold on credit liberally and when the tribals make the payment, the grocer is so kind as to relinquish part of his inflated claims in their favour. It is the agricultural tribes who more easily fall a prey to these grocers. When the agricultural operations are to start, the tribes are in utter want of money for purchasing implements, to pay advance rent of the land etc., and also to meet his day to day requirements in food, clothing etc. What a tribal does is to take a loan, say, of Rs. 200/- from the grocer of which Rs. 100/- is paid to him in cash and the balance in kind from time to time in the

form of paddy, salt, clothing etc. The articles are sold at such a high price that the tribal hardly gets the value of Rs. 50/-. When the debt is to be repaid in kind in the form of agricultural produce after the harvest, the grocers so manipulate as to bring down the price of the commodities produced by the tribes to a low level. Paddy which was sold to the tribal for example, at 50 nP. per measure is purchased from him at 20 nP. per measure. The grocer is generous enough to charge no interest. Even after the whole produce is handed over to the grocer towards the debt, there is still a part of the debt remaining to be redeemed according to the account kept so meticulously by the grocer, part of which he is to relinquish and part to be carried over to the next season. The debt thus accumulates year after year and the tribal is never free from debt. It has been noticed that the tribes in the cardamom hills thus owe thousands of rupees to money lenders from the plains. They do not get justice from law courts as their case is generally very weak for want of documentary evidence.

The Tribes of Kerala fortunately do not spend lavishly for marriages, but they do spend a lot upon religious ceremonies, magic and sorcery particularly those connected with curing diseases. Here the culprits are medicine men among themselves as well as priests from the plains. Diseases are believed to be the result of the displeasure of the numerous Gods and Goddesses incurred by the sick and valuable offerings are made in various forms in order to please them. Offerings are also made by way of penalty for offences committed by the tribals. In both the cases the benefit finally goes to the priest.

The question for consideration, is how to provide alternate credit facilities to the tribes and how they may be persuaded to spend less for the Gods. The answer to the first question is, it is accepted generally, the establishment of Multipurpose Cooperative Societies. But even where there are Co-operative Societies, the tribes have been found to prefer the grocers. It is necessary to analyse the reason for this and arrive at a solution. The main reason for avoiding the credit facilities available through Co-operatives is according to me, the fear complex of the tribes. According to the tribe a Co-operative is something connected with the Government, which according to him is the dreadful officials, the Police and the Forest Guards. They shirk from dealing with anything connected with the Government, however well-intentioned and useful it may be. He generally prefers to keep himself at a distance from Governmental Institutions. On the other hand, the grocer is friendly, prepared to make adjustments and always readily approachable and accessible. Even where the tribals have realised that they could get credit on more favourable terms from co-operatives they have been found to prefer the money lender. Unless this problem is solved, it is futile to expect co-operatives in tribal areas to be successful. Not only this, but for any welfare measure among tribals to be fruitful it is imperative that the barrier presented by this attitude or lack of confidence should be overcome.

Another reason for the tribals avoiding co-operative societies is the cumbersome procedure and delay involved in getting loans and other limitations and restrictions imposed upon it. The

following is an extract from some of the clauses in the Model Bye-laws approved by the Kerala Government.

“All applications for loans shall be made to the Secretary in the form, if any, prescribed for the purpose who shall place them before the panchayat”.

“No member shall at any time be indebted to the Society by way of principal to the extent of more than Rs. 50/- on account of any loan or loans taken by him. Subject to the above maximum, a member shall be eligible for loan not exceeding Rs. 25/- for each share held by him. Members belonging to an undivided family shall not be given in the aggregate a loan in excess of the amount admissible to a single individual member”.

“When the period for the repayment of a loan exceeds one year the instalments shall be clearly specified in the bond with a condition that if an instalment of principal or interest is not paid on the due date and the panchayat does not deem it necessary to grant an extension, the whole amount shall be recoverable at once and the panchayat may at once close the account”.

“Should however, a borrower be unable to repay the prescribed instalment of the loan within three months after the due date, the panchayat may, for satisfactory reasons to be recorded in writing and with the approval of the general body and the local union and of the Central Bank to which the society is affiliated, sanction extension

for a period of one year. If further extensions are for sufficient cause considered absolutely necessary the panchayat may grant them with the previous permission of the general body, the local union to which the society is affiliated and the Central Bank. When extensions are given in surety loans the consent of the surety should be obtained in writing. Defaults shall not in any case be permitted for more than three successive months without extension or closing the account. On overdue instalments of principal, interest at the rate of $1\frac{3}{4}$ pies per mensem shall be levied".

(1) A number of formalities have to be complied with before getting a loan and after getting it, till it is repaid in full and these formalities will appear to be so complex and cumbersome to the simpleton that a tribe is.

(2) Long and indefinite waiting is necessary after making the application and still he is not sure whether he will get the loan or not.

(3) The advance he can get is very small and limited. If any more need arises he has again to turn to the grocer.

(4) The Co-operative is not easily agreeable to adjustments regarding repayment as the grocer.

(5) The tribal need not worry about his daily requirements in rice, spices, clothing etc., if he is dealing with the grocer. Whenever necessity of a particular article arises he has just to run to the grocer and get it on credit. So also, when his crops are harvested he has just to take it to him and measure it before

him. On the other hand, supposing that he takes an advance for meeting his daily requirements, it is very likely that the amount is exhausted very soon on other items. He does not have the habit of budgeting his expenses. Again, to repay the loan he has to transport the produce to the distant market and sell it. Cash in the hands of a tribe is not a thing to remain for long. Half the amount is exhausted by the time he reaches home back, on all kinds of unnecessary articles purchased by him and also on toddy, if available, so that finally there is nothing left to be paid to the Society.

Whether the machinery for providing credit facilities be the Harijan Welfare Department or a Corporation of the pattern of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation, it is the primary unit upon which the success or otherwise of the programme depends to a large extent. It should, as far as possible extend to the tribal all the advantages which he obtains when he is dealing with the grocer-cum-money lender. It should advance money, supply provisions and other articles on credit and purchase from the tribals their agricultural produce, at reasonable price. In short all their commercial transactions should be through the medium of the primary unit, so that they are not duped at the hands of unscrupulous traders. If it is a society, it should be a trading society and not merely a marketing society. The executive officer of the primary unit should have power to advance upto Rs. 100/- at a time on personal security. The efficiency of the executive officer should be judged not only from the

percentage of loans covered but also upon the volume of business transacted.

It can be definitely stated that the co-operative movement among the tribes has been a failure at least in Kerala and there would be reason for wonder only if it had been otherwise, for, co-operation is a thing which should proceed voluntarily from the tribes and not a thing to be thrust upon them. The tribes who are ignorant of the basic postulates of co-operation cannot be expected to run societies successfully. Neither Governmental Institutions nor Co-operatives will deliver the goods, if we are to take past experience into account. What I would suggest is an independent central organisation, a corporation with primary units working in the tribal settlements. Each primary unit should be under a responsible and well-paid executive. The Government may exercise enough control over the corporation, so as to check misapplication of funds. I do not propose to deliberate the constitution of such an organisation which can be done after considering the points raised in favour of and against it. I only conclude by remarking that if our object is to organise an Institution efficient enough to displace

the money lender now operating in tribal areas, it can neither be a co-operative society nor a Governmental Institution. While it should be founded on strong grounds unlike the numerous co-operative societies in Kerala State, it should not be inflexible as a Governmental Institution and impersonal as far as the primary unit is concerned.

I have already stated that an item for which the tribes spend lavishly is magic which is resorted to mainly for curing diseases. In this context I would like to stress the need for providing ample medical aid facilities to tribal areas. The tribes have begun to appreciate the efficacy of allopathic medicines. It will not be long before they are relieved from the clutches of priests and magicians, only if ample medical aid facilities are made available to them.

Legislative measures for scaling down tribal debts have been talked off for a long time and necessarily deserve to be taken up seriously. It may also provide for putting the onus upon the money lender in all suits against Scheduled Tribes to prove not only payment of consideration but also the quantum of consideration.

✓ A PLEA FOR REVISION OF THE LIST OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

by

NITYANANDA DAS,
Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa

At the work of the Third Five-Year Plan thought is being given to the entire problem of tribal welfare. This has

become doubly important in view of the fact the period of ten years stipulated in the Constitution for developing the

Scheduled Tribes to attain the social and economic standard of the advanced sections in the country. Two Five-Year Plans have already been launched in the meantime. Parliament has extended the stipulation of ten years period to another similar period. It has naturally brought a second thought in the minds of many whether this extension will deliver the goods. What have we achieved within the last ten years?

With the inauguration of the Constitution of India the President proclaimed a list of tribal groups in each of the States. The list was further revised on the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commission, in 1956. The Commission included several new groups in the list of Scheduled Tribes. In the State of Orissa there were 42 tribes in 1950 Order. In 1956 the number was raised to 62. This revision brought in several new groups into the orbit of various types of amenities and facilities kept exclusively for the Scheduled Tribes. A tribe is described in the texts of anthropology as a group of people living in a particular geographical region, having a common language and having common customs and manners, beliefs and faiths. Those considerations distinguish them from the Hindu castes, although at many points they cross-cut the castes. When the tribes in course of time adopt Hindu customs and practices, many of them pass on as castes. This transformation made many tribal groups leave their tribal character, and are now Hindu castes. This has particularly become so for the Kurmi of Bihar and Orissa.

Originally the tribes were hill and forest dwellers and entirely depended

on hunting and collectional economy. They built their settlements farther away from the advanced people on the hill slopes. The folk legends narrate their adventure of the past when they cleared the forests and fought with the vagaries of nature, and ravages of wild animals. It could be confidently said that being pushed by the superior groups the tribes came to live on the hills and forests where invasions from the former were not expected. Like that they were obliged to live in isolation or partial isolation for centuries. The jungle tribes were designated as Asura, Nishad, and Danab, in the ancient Hindu texts. They had their kingdoms and their own methods of administration. Sometimes there used to be bitter conflicts between the tribes and the others. From the beginning there were groups of tribals who developed into entrepreneurs. They made fields and practised agriculture. They led a settled life. In course of time Hindu influence which some say Sanskritisation made them adopt many customs and practices and got assimilated.

The next group although they led a settled life did not give up their traditions to accommodate new traits and retained both side by side; in their case there was synthesis of old and new, which gave manifestation to various traits. They might have forgotten their dialect, but not innumerable sacrifices. They may still retain typical social organisation, though the dormitory as youth organisation might have vanished back. Marriage family and clan governing the kinship relationship still determine intra-tribal relationships.

The third group of tribals still retain tribal traditions. They have their own

languages and culture. Their social organisation is based on innumerable beliefs and faith, totem and taboo. Although they practise agriculture as their main occupation, it is almost always supplemented by hunting and collectional economy. Shifting cultivation is practised if the group has scope for the same or if their villages are near about the hills. Education is mostly confined to their own method of training in dormitories, and tribal organisations.

The last group of tribals are the real primitives who are fully within forest and collectional economy. They are hunters and food gatherers and shifting cultivators. They have little contact with non-tribals, except through markets and law courts. They are mostly confined to their own moorings with a good deal of reservations.

All the four groups described above are included in the Scheduled Tribes Order without any special qualification. They are receiving various benefits since 1950. Their children are receiving stipends for prosecuting studies, and in residential type of schools they get education all round. In higher education and in Government services places are reserved for them. They have been protected from the danger of their land passing away from their hands to the non-tribals. From the beginning of the Five-Year Plans their areas are being continuously developed. Now we are at the threshold of the Third Five-Year Plan. It is time for us to evaluate our achievements of the past, and eradicate any lacuna which might have affected the progress.

At this moment the first and the foremost thought which arises in the

minds of the anthropologists is how far the condition of the tribes has been improved through all those welfare measures, and how the tribals have reacted to them. An effective evaluation of all the scheduled and tribal areas has not been done. But stray surveys conducted by social scientists in different States have shown that the groups of real primitive tribes continue to live in the same condition as they used to be before. This reveals that we have not been able to touch their problems for all these years, although we have been spending crores of rupees annually in the country for tribal welfare. The greatest single handicap on this account is the inclusion of all the grades of tribals in one list for all development purposes. Take the case of Orissa State where nearly 20 per cent of the population are tribals. Nearly 30 lakhs live in all the 13 districts of the State. In 1952 there were 42 groups and in 1956, 20 more groups were added to the list. Of the 62 groups only 13 are real primitive tribes. Some like Bonda, Lanjia Saora and Kotiya Kundh live on hill slopes and eke out their living by shifting cultivation. They have adopted fewer changes through the process of acculturation. Their advanced brethren like the Santhal and Kolh and Paroja are settled agriculturists and are fairly high up in social and economic condition. Still some like the Bhuiyan and Bhattada have not only forgotten their languages but have perceptibly adopted most of the Hindu customs and practices and in turn look down upon other tribesmen who have partly or wholly retained tribal moorings. As a result of this division the latter groups have been vocal and make themselves felt in the body politic

of the country. They are elected to the Legislature, and are represented in services. The scholarships and stipends are mostly utilised by them. Health and other social services benefit them. Although it could not be said that the tribes in the first two groups stated above do not deserve to be improved, they certainly are not to be given special attention which the real backward sections need. The period of reservation in the Constitution has been increased by another ten years. It is therefore essential that the existing list of scheduled tribes should be corrected and scientifically revised so that the real primitive tribes get proper and required attention through special schemes.

For this purpose the various State Governments should be requested to survey their scheduled and tribal areas in their respective States. On the basis of the survey through qualified anthropologists the tribes who are in a real primitive and backward state, and among whom development measures have not made much headway are to be starred. The starred tribes whether in scheduled area or not are to get special benefits. A backward region within or without a scheduled area is also to be starred by the State Governments. The criterion for determining an area to be really backward or not will depend on the amount of tangible development measures introduced in the area, and the output in the form of acceptance of schemes by the tribes themselves. More-over a backward region should be demarcated from the fact that one or more than one real primitive tribes live in that area. There is no proper communication nor adequate marketing facilities. The main form of

life is based on forest and collectional economy supplemented by shifting cultivation.

The intensity of development in the backward regions inhabited by the real primitive tribes should be in proportion to 1 : 5 of the ordinary scheduled areas. That is to say that if we spend an amount (x) in scheduled areas we may have to spend (5x) in starred regions. Generally the amount of allocation for scheduled areas is twice that of the other areas. In that case the real primitive or backward area will thus receive ten times the amount of the funds spent in other areas. This will not only facilitate the healthy promotion of the real primitive tribes but will scientifically lead us to achieve our goal. It is actually a startling fact that in real primitive region although schools have been opened for several years there have not been any response from the tribes to send their children. The question of language and the medium of instruction also have to play a role. The formal type of education in our schools has not only been unattractive to the tribes, but also has been fairly expensive from tribal standard. Once a Minister of State Government was frantically enquiring from the officers as to how many real primitive tribe students have been admitted to an Ashram School. The Ashram Schools established in the State not only provide boarding and lodging to the students but free clothing, medical aid and vocational training. In spite of the several years of existence some such ashram school near the real primitive areas has not been able to recruit a few primitive tribal boys. Similarly in the economic sector the graingola and other

schemes have not only been unused but have been instrumental for further exploitation of the tribes.

An eminent social worker with long experience in tribal areas once told to me that the most baffling issue she faced when some of the tribals get educated and advanced was that they in turn mostly exploit their most primitive brethren. That has been the issue for consideration of the administrators and the social workers. My personal investigation into the various tribes of the States of Bihar and Orissa reveal that the exploitation of some primitive tribes by some parasite castes is not declining. There are now various amenities and avenues for improving living standard. But those

agencies have not been utilised by the tribes.

It is therefore highly essential that the list of scheduled tribes should be immediately revised to have 2 groups of tribals namely the third and fourth i.e. semi-primitive and the real primitive. They are to receive all the benefits guaranteed by the Constitution. The first two groups of fully assimilated and partially assimilated tribes, who have given up their languages, tribal trades and traditions may be kept in a separate list. They may get the facilities which the scheduled castes or other backward classes receive. But the Constitutional onus of development of the tribes to the general Indian standard should be limited to the real primitive and semi-primitive tribes.

विकास के विभिन्न स्तरों के आधार पर आदिमजातियों के वैज्ञानिक वर्गीकरण के अनुसार अनुसूची पर पुनर्विचार

ले० द्वा० प्र० बिलथरे, एम० एल० ए० बोदर, (म०प्र०)

मनुष्येतर प्राणियों का विकास एक निश्चित परिधि के अन्तर्गत ही होता हुआ देखा जाता है। वे प्रकृति के कड़े नियन्त्रण में अनादिकाल से अपनी-अपनी निश्चित प्रणालियों, निश्चित गतिविधियों और क्रिया-कलापों में तल्लीन रहते हुए अपरिवर्तनवादी सिद्धान्त के अनुगामा बने हुए हैं। उनकी शारीरिक रचना के आकार-प्रकार-रूप-रंग, बोला, खान पान, निवास-स्थान-व्यवस्था सभी में कोई परिवर्तन आज तक देखा नहीं गया। भौगोलिक परिस्थितियों के बदलने अथवा कोई अन्य आघात पहुँचने पर उनमें स्वयं अल्प परिवर्तन हो जाता है; परन्तु यह सब प्रकृतिजन्य रहता है।

मानव समाज अपनी वैचारिक शक्ति और अपनी कल्पना के कारण द्वन्द्वों के बाँच पड़ कर संघर्षशील रहता है। यही उसके उत्थान और पतन के मूल-भूत कारण है। व्यक्ति-संघर्ष, वर्ग-संघर्ष, राष्ट्र-संघर्ष आदि कभी अल्प और कभी व्यापक रूप में मानव समाज चलते रहते हैं। इन संघर्षों की सक्रियता के फलस्वरूप उसमें विशिष्ट प्रकार की आविष्कारणयुक्त प्रवृत्तियाँ उद्भूत होती हैं और प्रकृति-जन्य सृष्टि में मानव-कल्पना साकार रूप धारण कर सीमोल्लंघन करने का प्रयास करने लग जाती है। मानव अपने को सर्जनहार मान बैठता है और तब एक महान उच्चता के नशे में उन्मत्त होकर वह विज्ञान और कला का सहारा ले एक विचित्र सृष्टि का निर्माण करने लग जाता है।

प्रकृति की शक्ति पर वह विजयी होते जाने की सफलता देख आश्चर्य करने लग जाता है, उसकी अकल्पित कल्पना उसे अधीर बनाकर साकार रूप धारण करना चाहता है। इस मस्ती में वह विनाश और विकास के मूल संग्राम में तन्मय हो जाता है और प्रकृति की सुनियन्त्रित, सुसंचालित और सुव्यवस्थित प्रणाली पर हस्तक्षेप कर भयानक उठा पटक करने लग जाता है। अप्रमाणिक ढंग से शोषण उत्पीड़न, दमन सृजन आदि क्रियायें तांडव नृत्य करने लग जाती हैं और तब प्रकृति का संतुलन एकदम विषम हो उठता है।

यह है मानव पिपासा की दौड़, उसकी विभिन्न कल्पनाओं का सर्वांग चित्रण जिसमें आदमी अपनी आदिम अवस्था (मनुष्येतर प्राणियों से भिन्न) अनेकों काजलियों बदलते-बदलते प्रकृति की विकास परिधियों को चूमते और पार करते हुए अन्त की ओर जाना चाहता है और फिर अन्त में यथास्थिति में पहुँच जाता है। उसमें पुरुषार्थ है। अन्य प्राणियों से एक विशिष्ट क्षमता है। अतः वह पीछे जाकर भी आगे चढ़ना चाहता है, गिर कर भी उठना चाहता है, धक्के खाकर भी खड़ा रहना चाहता है। मानव की वैचारिक शक्ति और उसकी महती कल्पनाएँ साकार रूप धारण करने में शरीर, मन, आत्मा, समाज, राष्ट्र और विश्व की ओर भी न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में लक्ष्य रखती है, अतः इनके निर्माण, पोषण और संतुष्टि आदि के उद्देश्य से उसने अपनी बौद्धिक

कुशलता द्वारा शरीर और बुद्धि विकास के साथ-साथ समाज संगठन, औद्योगिक क्रियाएँ, कला, सांस्कृतिक अभि-रुचि आदि आदि को भी प्रधानता दी। इन क्रिया-कलापों में स्थान, जलवायु, संस्कार और साधनों की विभिन्नता अथवा समानता की प्रति-छाया पड़ती गयी। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि विस्तृत एवं साधन वनस्थलियों के निवासियों के शरीर आकार सामाजिक रीति रस्म उद्योग धन्धों और सांस्कृतिक आदि आदि शूद्र और ऊच्चजड़ भूमि के निवासियों से कतिपय बातों में भिन्न प्रतीत होती है उसी प्रकार शीतप्रधान, ऊष्ण प्रधान, अथवा समशीतोष्णक) क्षेत्र के लोगों में समताएँ परिस्थितियों के आधार पर पायी जाती है।

इस प्रकार यह देखा जाता है कि विकास क्रम भी उपरोक्त प्रभावों से प्रभावित होता आया है कहना अति युक्त नहीं होगा कि प्रकृति ने किसी को तो गतिशील बनाकर उसे देवी शक्तियों का स्त्रोत बना दिया है और इस स्त्रोत द्वारा उसे सम्पूर्ण वैभव विलास के साधन प्रदान किये हैं। विज्ञान की आविष्कारिता प्रतिभा ने उसकी कल्पनाओं को प्रोत्साहन दिया और इसलिए आज वह हाथ पैर नाक कान सबकी सुविधाओं के लिए साधनशील बन गया है और अब तो चन्द्र लोक गामी बनने की तत्र लालसा की पूर्ति में बेचैन हो प्रयत्न कर रहा है। उसने अपनी रचना द्वारा नयी प्रणालियों, नये साधनों का निर्माण करते करते नए युग की रचना कर डाली है परन्तु इधर किसी को प्रकृति ने अपने कड़े नियन्त्रण में रखते हुए उसे आगे बढ़ने से रोक रखा है वह आज भी अपनी आदम अवस्था में अरुणवासी पापाण-कालीन, लोह-कालीन बना हुआ गनि हीन टांढग-चर होता है। इस प्रकार दोनों में जर्मन आसमान का अन्तर प्रतीत होता है और तब दोनों ही एक दूसरे के लिए कल्पनातीत हो परस्पर अश्चर्य और जिज्ञासा के कारण बन जाते

हैं। आदिम पुरुष नगरों के और विज्ञान के चमत्कारों को अत्यन्त कौतूहलपूर्ण दृष्टि से देखते चकराने लगता है। वैसे ही आज का अति विकसित मानव गहन अरण्यों में आदिम काल से बसने वाले आदिम पुरुष को एक जिज्ञासू और अजनबी की भांति कौतूहल से देखते-देखते वैचैन और दंग हो उठता है।

मानव जीवन को सुखी, सुरक्षित, वैभव वान और प्रकृतिशील बनाने के सरल, सुन्दर और उपयोगी साधनों के निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में सोचने, निर्माण करने और उनके उपयोग कर सकने की क्षमता ही मानव के विकास का मापदण्ड है। सोचने और उपयोग कर सकने की अपेक्षा निर्माण कर सकने की क्षमता श्रेष्ठ होती है और इसी मान दण्ड पर विकसित, अविकसित, अर्धविकसित अथवा अल्पविकसित मानव अथवा मानव श्रेण्यां मानी जाती हैं। अन्य प्राणी समाज को छोड़ कर सिर्फ मानव प्राणी ही प्रकृति के नियन्त्रण से बाहिर आकर विकास की ओर क्यों अग्रसर हुआ? उसे ही क्यों सफलता मिली, अन्य प्राणी एक पग भी आगे क्यों नहीं बढ़ा यह एक विचारणीय विषय है। गम्भीरता के साथ सोचने से यह परिणाम निकलता है कि जिनमें वाणी और रूप के समन्वयता की क्षमता आयी वही आगे बढ़ सके। विकास की सं.माएँ बना सके, अन्यथा इसके अभाव में नहीं। मनुष्येतर प्राणि अनेक कुछ न कुछ निर्माण कर लेते हैं, परन्तु वाणी के विकास का अभाव तथा वाणी और रूप के परस्पर समन्वय की क्षमता उनमें प्रस्तुत नहीं हो सकी, इससे वे जहाँ के तहाँ ही पड़े रहे और तब इस दृष्टि से मानव समाज के विकास में वाणी अथवा साहित्य के माध्यम का कार्य करते पाया जाता जिस व्यक्ति का जाति समाज अथवा राष्ट्र में इसका जितना अभाव रहा, वह उतना ही पछड़ा पाया गया। अतः हमें देखना पड़ेगा कि जब हम आदि

जातियों की परिभाषा करने लग जाय, उनकी श्रेणियाँ बनाने लग जाय, अथवा उनकी वर्तमान सूची में पुनर्विचार करने लग जाय तब हमें एक माप दण्ड अथवा एक कसौटी का निर्माण करना होगा।

आदिम जातियों के बारे में उन्नत निर्णय करने के लिए नृत्व शास्त्रियों और दूसरे विशेषज्ञों के मतों में परस्पर विभिन्नता पायी जाती है। कोई तो उनकी शारीरिक रचना आकार प्रकार रूप रंग कसौटी मानते हैं, कोई उनकी रीति रस्मों, रहन-सहन मानते हैं, कोई खान पान, स्वभाव स्थान संस्कारों आदि पर से आदिम जातियों का निर्णय करते पाए जाते हैं। इस प्रकार के निर्णय में विकास क्रम के सिद्धान्तों का समावेश भी करते हुए देखा गया है और यह किसी न किसी प्रकार उपरोक्त कसौटी पर यदि परखने वाले आसावधानों कर जाय और सही भी पाया जा सकता है पर वास्तव में आज हमें जिस परिभाषा की जिस कसौटी की आवश्यकता प्रतीत होती है और जिसके कारण हमें उनकी सूची में परिवर्तन, संशोधन, परिवर्धन अथवा समाप्त की आवश्यकता प्रतीत होती है, वह न तो स्थान पर से हो सकती है, न शरीर रचना, आकार-पकार और रूप-रंग पर से हो सकती है, नहीं नस्ल पर से हो सकती है क्योंकि विकास के साधन-सुजभ होते ही वे विकसित अवस्था में पहुँच जाते हैं तब उनकी आदिम अवस्था का उनका स्तर ऊपर उठ आता है। अतः यह बात निर्विवाद सत्य प्रतीत होती है कि जो भी व्यक्ति या समाज अथवा राष्ट्र विकसित साधन संपन्न व्यक्ति के सम्पर्क में रहा, अथवा आता गया, वह आदिम अवस्था से ऊपर आते हुए विकसित अवस्था में पहुँच गया है, इस प्रकार आज जब हम आदिम जाति नाम कर के एक ऐसे समुदाय को जो पिछड़ गया है जो आदिम अवस्था के ही आस-पास घूम रहा है आगे लाना चाहते हैं उसे विकसित करना चाहते हैं तब यह आवश्यक हो जाता

है कि सम्पूर्ण भारत वर्ष से एक निश्चित माप दण्ड के आधार पर, निर्धारित कसौटी पर अर्थात् एक उपयुक्त परिभाषा के आश्रय पर हमें एक विशिष्ट समुदाय के लिए जातियों में से, वर्गों में से, सम्प्रदाय के लोगों को छांटकर एक सुनिश्चित सूची तैयार करनी होगी। इस प्रकार की सूची तैयार करने में उनके पिछड़ेपन के मूल-भूत कारणों से उनके स्वभाव, उनके रीति रस्मों, क्रिया-कलापों, उनकी रहन-सहन के स्तर, उनके विकास के साधनों को अपना सकने की क्षमता तथा उनकी बौद्धिक क्षमता को न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में स्थान देना होगा।

भारत वर्ष की बहु संख्याक जातियाँ जिनके अनेक सम्प्रदाय और वर्ग धीरे-धीरे बनते चले गये हैं और जो आज न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में अर्ध विकसित, विकसित प्राय अथवा विकसित माने जाते हैं, उनमें और बन में बसने वाली कुछ जातियाँ जिनकी संज्ञा आदिम जाति दी जाती है, दोनों में कतिपय बातों में समानता पायी जाती है। साधना-भाव और सम्पर्क की कमी से दोनों में कुछ असमानताएँ भी कालान्तर में हो गयी है, यह तो अधिक समय तक दूर रहने और सम्बन्ध विच्छेद के कारण है जो स्वभावतः हो ही जाता है। भारत की उच्च परम्परा, हिन्दू जाति की सादगी सद्भाव सेवा, सहकारिता, सच्चाई, उदारता, श्रम-शीलता, सरलता आदि इन्हीं जातियों में विशेष रूप से पायी जाती है जो बाहरी आक्रमण और सम्पर्क से इनसे कुछ दूर रहने वाली हिन्दू जाति से न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में कम होती चली गयी है, विशेष कर अंग्रेजी शिक्षा और सम्पर्क से इनमें कुछ अच्छाईयाँ विद्यमान है कुछ अन्तर प्रांतीय गुण, रीति रस्म आ गये हैं कुछ बुराईयाँ अनेक-धार्मिक और समुदायिक परिवर्तनों के कारण भी आगामी है इन सबकी ओर देखते हुए यह आवश्यक है कि सूची निर्माण के जो सिद्धान्त पहिले अपनाए गये हैं और जिसके अनुसार इनका कल्याण कार्य किया गया है उनमें यदि आवश्यक

हो तो कुछ संशोधन भी किये जाय ताकि जाति धर्म या सम्प्रदाय के कारण जो पिछड़े लोग सूची में नहीं आ सके हैं अथवा कुछ आगे बढ़े हुए लोग सूची में आ गये हैं वैसा अब न होने पावे। हमारी यह प्रजातन्त्रीय सरकार है। सर्वोदय का सिद्धान्त हमने अपनाया है। हमें निरपेक्ष ढंग से सामाजिक न्याय करना है। परन्तु इस बात का भी दृढ़ ध्यान रखना है कि इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था में जहाँ हम विनाशक जातिवाद की जड़ें काटते जा रहे हैं वहाँ कहीं नयी जानिवादिता की सरकार की असाधवानी से हमारी नयी सूक्ष्म-बृहत् उमंगमयी कल्याण करने की तरंगों के प्रवाह के फलस्वरूप प्रश्रय मिल जाय। अतः यदि वास्तव में जो व्यक्ति, जो क्षेत्र, जो समाज, या सम्प्रदाय आदिम जाति अनुसूची में आने योग्य है अथवा जो इनसे बाहर होने योग्य है, उनका सर्वेक्षण कर उन्हें सूची में रखने या अलग करने का कार्य चतुराईयों से किया जाय। भारत में बसने वाला कुछ जातियाँ जिन्हें आदिमजाति या अनुसूचित सूची में रखा गया है सचमुच अभी वर्षों तक अनुसूची में रहने की अधिकारिणी है। उनके नाम पर किया जाने वाला कल्याण कार्य पर्याप्त लाभ उन्हें नहीं पहुँचा सका है, परन्तु जहाँ कहीं स्थानीय प्रभाव से विकसित लोगों को सम्मानस्तर पर अनुसूची की कुछ जातियाँ आ चुकी है, वहाँ आगे चल कर सूची निर्माण के अवसरपर या उससे कुछ आगे विचार करना होगा।

इनकी सूची में पुनर्विचार करते समय आदिम जातीय मुलभ बातों की ओर लक्ष्य रखना होगा और तब उनके स्वभाव, विकास-एह वेप-भूषण, कृषि उपादन-बांध, गोपालन-पद्धति, बालसंगोपन, आखेट-क्रिया, खान-पान, देव-पूजा, पंचायत-पद्धति, त्योहार एवं उत्सव-पद्धति, कुटुम्ब-प्रथा इनके अतिरिक्त वर्तमान विकसित जातियों और दुनिया का प्रगत शाल बातों और साधनों के अपनाने से

इनका व्यवहारिक शास्त्रीय बौद्धिक स्तर को कभी समन्वित करते जाना आवश्यक है। विकास की दृष्टि से इनके चार वर्ग होते हैं।

- (१) अविकसित प्राय
- (२) अल्प विकसित
- (३) अर्ध विकसित
- (४) विकसित प्राय

दस वर्षों से जो कल्याण-कार्य किया गया है उससे एक वर्ग जिसे अविकसित प्राय कहा गया है करीब समाप्त होने पर है। इस वर्ग के लोग अल्प विकसित व्यवस्था में पहुँच रहे हैं, इसी प्रकार अल्प-विकसित, अर्ध विकसित प्राय की गणना में आने योग्य होते जा रहे हैं, रहा विकसित प्राय का वर्ग, यह वर्ग अब भारत की उन जातियों के समकक्ष कुछ दिनों में होने योग्य ही रहा है जिन्हें विकसित समझ कर आदिम जातियों की गणना में नहीं रखा है जानकारी के लिए हर वर्ग की सामान्य बातें यहाँ देना आवश्यक है।

(१) अविकसित प्राय—ये प्रायः निपट वन्य प्रायों में प्रायः नग्न अवस्था में पाये जाते हैं, जिस क्षेत्र में ये बसते हैं, वहाँ बन की भयंकरता और दूरी के कारण अन्य लोगों का पहुँचना कठिन हो जाता है। ये लोग भी बाहरी लोगों से मिलना-जुलना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं। बन क्षेत्र में प्रायः दुर्गम पर्वत मालाओं पर आच्छादित रहते हैं। कहीं सम तल भागों में काफी धने और दूरी तक फैले रहते हैं। प्रायः पर्वतों की कन्दराओं अथवा इनके छोटे-छोटे प्राम बसे होते हैं।

ये वन-वृण-लता की सहायता से साधारण श्रम द्वारा छोटे-छोटे घर बान्ध लेते हैं। इनमें परिधियाँ और अलग-अलग प्रकोष्ठ नहीं होते। पालतू पशु पत्नी, अतिथि, शयनागार, बैठक स्थाना स्नान-सामग्री-एह-रसाई-चर अलग नहीं रखे जाते सब एक टपरे में निवास करते हैं, दरवाजा प्रायः एक ही

रखते हैं, विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के विभिन्न जातियों में साधारण भिन्नता रहती है। प्रायः सब लोग एक ही चौक को घेर कर मकान बांधते हैं, धूप, ठण्ड, वर्षा आदि में संरक्षण के साथ-साथ हिंसक पशुओं से अचानक आक्रमण से बचाव का ध्यान रख घर बांधने की प्रणाली में अधिक रखा जाता है।

भोजन के लिए अधिक भटकना पड़ता है। कंद-मूल-फल, पत्र और मांस पर अधिक निर्भर रहते हैं। कहीं-कहीं बेवर-कृषि द्वारा, या हाथ खेती द्वारा अल्प प्रमाण में हल्के प्रकार का अन्न उत्पादित करते हैं, भाले, फन्दे, तीर आदि के सहारे शिकार करते हैं। शिकार की खोज में दिन-दिन भर भटकते रहते हैं, भोजन कुछ कच्चा, कुछ भुना हुआ करते हैं, पका कर भी भोजन तैयार करते हैं।

बर्तनों और वस्त्रों की अत्यन्त कमी रहती है। मिट्टी की एक दो हड्डिया ही वस्त्र होती है, दोनों पत्तलों का उपयोग अधिक करते हैं। ठण्ड के दिनों में आग का सहारा अधिक लेते हैं। वस्त्र पहिनने में अङ्ग विशेष को ही साधारण ढाकने का सवाल यदि रहा तो ठीक है अन्यथा आवश्यकता नहीं सम्भक्त अपने स्थान से बाहर आने पर कहीं-कहीं पत्तों और बालिकां के द्वारा कटि प्रदेश को ढांक लेते हैं।

इनके शृङ्गार विशेष-विशेष अवसरों पर होते हैं। नृत्य के समय इसकी तैयारी पहिले से होती है। शृङ्गार में वन पशु-पक्षियों, वन-लताओं के अवयवों का ही अधिक उपयोग होता है, पुरुषों की अपेक्षा स्त्रियाँ अधिक शृङ्गार करती हैं।

सफाई का और ध्यान कम रहता है। स्नान आदि गर्मी से प्रभावित होने पर कभी हो गई तब पाना उलांच कर या लोरकर करते हैं। स्नान में प्रायः सफाई का कम लक्ष्य रहता है नृत्य आदि के अवसर पर सफाई तेल बंधी का उपयोग कुछ करते पाये जाते हैं।

बालकों के पालन पोषण में कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता वह स्वयं होशियार होने पर अपनी व्यवस्था कुछ करने लग जाते हैं। विशेष साधन जुटाकर सफाई और व्यवस्था के साथ माता पिता या संरक्षक नहीं करते।

औषधियों को व्यवस्था कम रहती प्रायः नहीं के बराबर पशु-पक्षियों के बलिदान और भाड़ा-फूकी सहाराबोमारी दूरकर ने में अधिक लिया जाता है बलि का मांस खाया जाता है। शराब भी पी जाती है, बलि करने की कहीं-कहीं भयंकर प्रथा पायी जाती है।

जन्म मृत्यु और विवाह तथा अन्य उत्सवों पर मांस और शराब का प्रचलन अधिक रहता है। लोक नृत्यों का भी आयोजन होता है।

इनके लोक नृत्य बड़े आकर्षक होते हैं। विचित्र मस्ती और तरंग में डूबे हुए प्रतीत होते हैं। नृत्य लम्बी पंक्तियों में प्रायः स्त्री पुरुष एक साथ व कभी अलग-अलग भाग लेते हैं इनका जीवन लोक नृत्य और गीतों से भरा हुआ पाया जाता है।

पंचायत प्रथा द्वारा इनका सामाजिक शासन चलता है, मुखिया का वाक्य ब्रह्म वाक्य होता है, नियमों और आदेशों का पालन अत्यन्त कठोरता से होता है। विकास ना हो सकने का एक खास कारण यह भी है। अज्ञानता के रहते इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था प्रकृति की प्रेरणा द्वारा ही अधिक रूप से होती है।

लोग कहीं-कहीं ईमानदार, भोले, शान्त, संकोची, बात के पक्के मजबूत और प्रायः परिश्रमी होते हैं।

(२) अल्प विकसित — ये लोग भी अर्ध नग्न अवस्था में उच्च पर्वत मालाओं और सघन वनस्थलियों में निवास करते हैं, परन्तु विकसित लोगों से इनका साधारण सा सम्पर्क पाया जाता है, इन्हें विभ्रम का और मन्द गति से चलते हुए पाये जाते हैं। ये अपनी इच्छा अनुसार आवश्यकता

पढ़ने पर दूसरों का अनुकरण भी करते हैं परन्तु किसी अन्य उच्च वर्गीय व्यक्तियों द्वारा ये सरलता से सीखने या मानने को तैयार नहीं होते। इस प्रकार के प्रसंग आने पर मुखिया की सलाह लेना पड़ता है।

इनके मकान अविकसित प्रायः लोगों से कुछ भड़े कुछ सुधरे वास पत्र और लकड़ियों के सहारे बनाये जाते हैं। कुछ लोग मिट्टी की छपायी भी करते हैं।

मकानों में साधारण सी नक्कासी भी की जाती है। अविकसित प्रायः लोगों के ही सामन अलग-अलग प्रकोष्ठ नहीं रखे जाते, परछियाँ और कोई उतरवाता है तो अत्यन्त सकरा सी हाँ, सामने की ओर।

स्त्री पुरुष दोनों शृङ्गार-प्रिय होते हैं। मूंगे, छूटे, कौड़ियाँ, चुटके, चूड़े, लता, पुष्पी पत्र वृण हड्डियों के आदि भाग में शृङ्गार की वस्तु बनाने के काम आते हैं। लोक नृत्यों के अवसर पर शृङ्गार की वस्तु बनाने के काम आते हैं। लोक नृत्यों के अवसर पर शृङ्गार वडा आकर्षक और विचित्र किदा जाता है।

इनमें वस्त्रों का अभाव रहता है। अङ्ग विरोध को टकने का साधारण ध्यान रखा जाता है। छोटे-छोटे बालक ११-१२ वर्ष की अवस्था तक प्रायः नग्न ही रहते हैं। टण्ड-काल में आग और पयाल का हाँ अधिक सहारा रहता है। कटि प्रदेश और उसके आस-पास वस्त्र टाँकने के बाद और शरीर को वस्त्र द्वारा सुरक्षित रखने की प्रायः आवश्यकता इन्हें कम रहती है।

नहा धा कर साफ रहने की साधारण सी प्रवृत्ति किन्हीं-किन्हीं में कभी-कभी पाती जाती है। वस्त्र आदि की स्वच्छता तथा परदार और पहोस को स्वच्छ रखने की ओर लक्ष्य नहीं के बराबर रहता है।

बालकों के लालन-पालन में कुछ साधारण सा ध्यान रहता है। प्रायः जन्म से ८-१० दिन बाद बालकों को पीठ पर या बाजू में लपेट कर दूर-दूर माताएँ कार्य वश जाती हैं या कार्य में लगी रहती हैं।

रुग्ण होने पर औषधि की साधारण व्यवस्था रहती है पर नाम मात्र का प्रायः देवी देवताओं को मनाने में शक्ति लगायी जाती है। बलिदान और शराब भी दी जाती है और मांस शराब प्रसाद रूप में ग्रहण की जाती है। बालक बड़े होने पर स्वतः ही अपनी व्यवस्था सफाई आदि की ओर साधारण ध्यान देने लगते हैं।

इनके नृत्य भी संभव होते हैं, इनका आयोजन विशेष-विशेष अवसरों पर विशेष समारोह और सज-धज में किया जाता है। स्त्री पुरुष अलग-अलग और कभी-कभी एक साथ पंक्ति में पवित्र भावना से मस्त होकर नृत्य करते हैं। परस्पर शरीर स्पर्शादि का ध्यान नहीं रखा जाता। गीतों में पैर स्वर लालित्य रहता है। बाजे की आवाजों में गम्भीरता और भयंकरता का समावेश कुछ जातियों में करने की प्रणाली पायी जाती है। नृत्य इन्हें अत्यन्त स्वच्छन्द बनाकर दूसरे जीवन के सरस सान्धे में ढाल देता है, नृत्य इनके जीवन का एक विशिष्ट अङ्ग बन जाता है, यह इन्हें जब स्फूर्ति, नव चेतना, स्थिर शान्ति प्रदान करता है।

कंद-मूल-फल और शिकार के साथ-साथ कृषि का और इनका साधारण लक्ष्य रहता है। वनोपज संग्रह करके बेचना, वनोपज से कुछ साधारण चीजें बनाकर बेचना और अपने उपयोग में लाना यह इनमें पाया जाता है। वैश्व-कृषि के साथ-साथ कुछ स्थायी खेती भी करते हैं और कुछ अच्छे किस्म के अनाज पैदा करने का भुकाव रहता है पर कम; हाथ खेती के साथ-साथ वैली और हल बकर द्वारा खेती भी की जाती है वे शिकार की खोज में अधिक मग्न

लगाये देखे जाते हैं; पर अविकसित प्रायः लोगों से कम तीर भाले और फन्दे का उपयोग भी करते हैं, इनके फन्दे बड़े वैज्ञानिक ढङ्ग से तैयार किये जाते हैं।

पका हुआ भोजन अधिक करते हैं, मांस साग और फल कंद आदि सभी को मिला कर पेट भरता है। पेय के शौकीन होने से शराब के सिवाय अन्य के द्वाग भी पेय पदार्थ बना लेते हैं, जिसमें मादकता नहीं के बराबर रहती है।

मुर्गी, सुअर, बकरी आदि ही पालतू हैं, इनका मांस भी समय-समय पर ग्रहण करते हैं। थोड़ी बहुत मात्रा में गोपालन भी होता है पर गो पालन विधि अच्छी नहीं होती है।

जन्म विवाह और मृत्यु-क्रियाएँ कुछ विचित्रता लिए अविकसित प्रायः लोगों में सुथरी हुई पायी जाती है शराब का प्रचलन ऐसे अवसरों में अनिवार्य रूप से रहता है।

इनका दाम्पत्य-जीवन सुखकर होता है, अनवन प्रायः बहुत कम होती है। अनवन होने और न पटने पर पंचों का सम्मति से छूट दी जाती है। बाहरी और अन्य लोगों से मिलने में इन्हें भी संकोच सा रहता है, परन्तु फिर भी साधारण इनका सम्पर्क पहले वर्ग के लोगों से अच्छा रहता है। इनमें सादगी, साधारण, संकोच, दबू-पन, अज्ञानता आदि बातें रहती हैं। बात के पक्के, ईमानदार, सहकारी आदि ये अधिक पाये जाते हैं।

(३) अर्ध विकसित—ये वन प्रदेशों से लगे हुए प्रायः मैदानी भागों में पाये जाते हैं। वन के अधिक घने भागों में से निवास नहीं करते, परिस्थिति वश ये कभी-कभी पर्वतों की तराइयों में भी निवास करते हैं, पर बहुत कम। निकट ही वन जीवन और पर्वती जीवन से कुछ तो मकान बनाने की सुविधा कुछ खेती और चरागाहों के सुविधा के कारण तथा कुछ स्वभाव के कारण प्रेम रखते हैं।

ये पहले और दूसरे वर्ग के लोगों से सुधरे हुए प्रतीत होते हैं। इनमें से कुछ तो इसी क्षेत्र के निवासी होते हैं कुछ सुसंस्कृत क्षेत्रों से आये हुए लोगों से मिश्रित होकर सदियों से रहते आ रहे हैं, इनमें बहुत मिश्रित होकर इन्हीं की श्रेणी में परिवर्तित हो गये हैं, अतः इनकी संस्कृति कुछ तो हिन्दुओं से मिलती जुलती है और कुछ पिछड़े क्षेत्र के पहले दूसरे वर्ग के लोगों से मिलती जुलती है। इनमें दूसरे के गुण ग्रहण करने की प्रवृत्ति है। अतः ये जागरण काल के किया कलापों को भी अपनाते जाते हैं।

इनके निवास गृह पिछले दो वर्गों से अच्छे होते हैं। कुछ के तो अन्य सुसंस्कृत वर्गीय सम्पन्न लोगों के समान बड़े और सुविधाजनक प्रकोष्ठों सहित। परिस्थितियों की विविधता भी मनुष्य के विकास को अवरोध करके रखती है। इसी कारण इस वर्ग के लोगों को भी पिछड़े रखे हुए हैं, यह कहना अतिशयोक्ति नहीं हो सकता, हाँ कुछ तो स्थानीय और भौगोलिक परिस्थिति तथा कुछ सामाजिक परिस्थिति अवरोध का कारण बनती है। इनमें से कुछ मिट्टी और इंटों की दीवाल बनाते हैं और सम्भव होता है तो खपरे भी छाते हैं। इनमें से अधिकांश लोग पशु-शाला अलग ही बनाते हैं। रसोई, बैठक खाना आदि के अलग प्रकोष्ठ या मकान रखते हैं। दीवारों पर अच्छे ढंग की नक्कासी रहती है। मकान लिये-पुते तथा स्वच्छ, पाये जाते हैं। कुछ लोगों में दरवाजे कई रखने की प्रथा देखी जाती है। चौक को घेर कर मकान बनाने की प्रथा नहीं रहती। खेती-बाड़ी की सुविधा अनुसार ही घर बांधने का अधिक प्रयास करते हैं। इनका मुख्य व्यवसाय कृषि ही होता है। शिकार कंद-मूल पर ये आधापित नहीं रहते। गोपालन प्रायः सभी करते हैं। साथ ही मुर्गी, बकरी, भेड़ आदि का भी। कृषि के धन्धे के स्वावलम्बन के ये अभिमानी होते हैं

ये परावलम्बन को पसन्द नहीं करते। गोड जाति तो गोंड की वजाय किसान बनाना अभिमान की बात समझते हैं। खेती पहाड़ों, टनवाना नदी-कछारों तथा मैदानी भागों में भी होती है। वर्ष का अधिकांश भाग खेती में ही लगा रहता है। स्थानीय परिस्थिति, जर्मन, जलवायु का असर इनके कृषि धन्धे पर पड़ता है। यहाँ एक भेद का कारण हो सकता है। ये हलके अनाजों के साथ कीमती फसलों भी पैदा करते हैं। खेती के उन्नत और विकसित तरीकों के निकट अभी तक ये लोग बहुत ही कम पहुँच पाये हैं। गोबर आदि का खाद देना, पानी रोकना, आदि की ओर इनका लक्ष्य रहता है। पशु पालन के तरीके सामान्य रहते हैं। जो अन्य वर्गीय ग्रामिणों से ही प्रायः मिलते जुलते हुए होते हैं, स्वाध्य वर्षक पौष्टिक रातव देने की प्रथा कम रहती है।

भोजन में साटगी का ध्यान रहता है। मांस का प्रयोग यदा कदा ही होता है। शौक वश अवकाश पाकर कभी-कभी इस वर्ग के लोग समूह में आखेट का जाने हैं। कई लोग बन्दूक से भी शिकार खेलते हैं। भोजन के साथ साग भाजों आवश्यकता होती है।

स्त्री पुरुष दोनों ही शृङ्गार प्रिय होते हैं। पुष्पों मूंगों घृतों चूड़ी, चूड़ियों नूपरों पायलियों करनफूल आदि अनेक प्रकार के आभूषणों को धारण करने का शौक होता है। स्त्रियाँ सिर का जड़ा सुन्दरता के साथ सम्हाल कर बाँधती और उनमें पुष्प गुच्छा भी प्रायः बाँधती है। कुछ पुरुष पगड़ी में कलगी लगाते हैं। सफाई की ओर लक्ष्य रखते हैं कुछ तो स्वच्छता के बड़े प्रेमी होते हैं। नहाने धोने के आदि होते हैं। तेल उबटन वगैरह करत हैं। बाल कटिंग किये, कर्ली नुमा रखते हैं। स्त्रियाँ शरीर को सुन्दरता के साथ गुदवाती है।

वस्त्र प्रायः रंगों कम पहनने हैं। स्थानीय बुनकरों के द्वारा बुनी गई खादी का प्रचलन अधिक है। बण्डी मलूका पश्मन भी आदत पायी जाती है

पर कुछ लोग और अच्छे वस्त्रों का उपयोग भी करते हैं।

जन्म विवाह और मृतक क्रियाएँ भी कुछ सुधरे तरीके से होते हैं। विवाह वर बधू पक्ष की मंगनी द्वारा वर बधू का परस्पर सम्मति से, लड़का भगाकर अथवा घर जमायी पद्धति द्वारा होती है। इनमें से कुछ जातियों में दावा प्रथा चलती है अर्थात् स्त्री जब पहले पति को छोड़ दूसरे पति के यहाँ जाती है तो पहला दूसरे दावा के रूप में कुछ रकमादि लेता है।

इनके लोक नृत्य और गीत इनकी सामाजिक संस्कृति के प्रतीक बने हुए आज भी इन्हें व्यक्तित्व प्रदान करते हैं। लोक गीतों में देवी उपासना, प्रेम, नीरता, व्यवसाय, प्रकृति छटा के भाव पिरोये रहते हैं। स्वर लालित्य का बड़ा ध्यान रहता है। वेष भूषा में चांदी गिलेट आदि के जेवरों को भी प्रधानता दी जाती है। ध्वनि की सूक्ष्मता वाद्यों में पायी जाती है।

पंचायतों का बड़ा मान रहता है। मुखिया को श्रेष्ठ स्थान रहता है। पंचायत से जुमाना की गयी रकम का उपयोग प्रायः शराब आदि में किया जाता है, पर कभी-कभी सार्वजनिक हित में भी किया जाता है, पर कम पंच परमेश्वर की कहावत इनमें चरितार्थ होती है।

पिछले दो वर्गों के लोग बड़े देख याने शिव के ही उपासक होते हैं, परन्तु इस वर्ग के लोग हिन्दुओं जैसे राम कृष्ण तथा अन्य देवी देवताओं के भी उपासक होते हैं और भारत के तीर्थों में भी जाते आते हैं। गणेश चतुर्थी, शिवरात्री, राम-कृष्णाष्टमी दशहरा, होली, दीवाली आदि समारोह भी मनाते हैं। अधिकांश लोग आपस में राम-राम द्वारा अभिवादन करते हैं इससे पता चलता है कि राम के प्रति प्रगाढ़ श्रद्धा है।

ये लोग शिक्षा और वर्तमान प्रगति शील संसार से अधिक दूर अब भागते दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होते। घरों में सुविधा जनक साधनों का उपयोग होता हुआ देखा जाता है।

विकसित प्रायः—कुछ जातिय और सामाजिक रीति रिवाजों को छोड़ कर बाकी सम्पूर्ण का क्रिया-कलाप, खेती बाड़ी, खान-पान, वेष-भूषा, मकान उद्योग तथा अन्य वस्त्राभूषण आदि सभी सुसंस्कृतिक समाज के अन्य लोगों के समान पाये जाते हैं, विकसित और नगरों के आस-पास ही ये निवास करते हैं, कुछ लोग जातिय पर से ही पहिचाने जाते हैं अन्य क्रिया कलापों से नहीं। हाँ, रूप रंग से भी कुछ आदिम जाति का भान होता है अन्य बातों में अपमानता नहीं के बराबर ही समझना चाहिए।

यह वर्ग अब आदिम जातिय सुलभ गुणों से प्रायः मुक्त ही पाया जाता है। अतः निकट भविष्य में ही यह श्रेणी आवश्यक नहीं रह जायगी।

इस अवस्था में पिछले १० वर्षों के राष्ट्रीय

सरकार के कल्याण कार्यों के प्रभाव से आ ही रहे हैं। मेरा ऐसा मत है कि अविक्सित प्राय वर्ग मनाने की आवश्यकता अब कुछ दिनों में नहीं रह जायेगी। वैसे ही जिन्हें कम विकसित नहीं रह जायगी और इस प्रकार १० वर्ष पूर्व जो वर्ग थे उनमें से अल्प विकसित और अर्ध विकसित दो वर्गों के आधार पर ही उनके कल्याण कार्य की अवधि अभी निश्चित की गयी। अवधि के बाद क्रमशः १० और २० वर्ष की माननी आवश्यक होगी और इसमें अन्य जातिय लोग जो इस अवस्था से में अथवा आदिम जाति लोग जो अनुपूर्वी में छूट गये हैं वा अनुसूचित क्षेत्र जो अनुसूची में नहीं आ पाये हैं उपरोक्त आधार पर नयी सूची में शामिल किये जाय और जो शक्ति व राशि एक बड़े समूह में खर्च की जाती है उसका अधिकांश इन दो वर्गों में और अन्त के १० वर्षों में एक ही वर्ग में जिसे सर्व प्रथम अविक्सित प्राय में माना जाना चाहिए या खर्च करके सबके समान स्तर पर लाने के सामाजिक न्याय को स्थान दिया जाय।

आदिवासी छात्रों का अनुभव और उनकी सामाजिक उन्नति

ले० पुष्पावेन देसाई

भणसाली ग्राम सेवाश्रम नामक संस्था ग्राम टाकल, तहसील सावनेर, जि० नागपुर में करीब १० वर्षों से ग्राम विकास का कार्य कर रही है। जिस क्षेत्र में इस संस्था का कार्य है, वह आदिवासी क्षेत्र नहीं है, फिर भी आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों को भणसाली सेवाश्रम में लाकर रखा गया। बापू के दरिद्रनारायण के व्रत को धारण करने वाले, जीवन को तपश्चर्या के साथ संयम नियम में एक निष्ठ सेवाभाव से बिताने वाले

के सानिध्य से लाभ उठाकर, उनके जीवन से प्रेरणा लेकर ये विद्यार्थी कुछ सीख लें, इसी उद्देश्य से श्री नाना वापट, बनवासा सेवा मंडल के सहमन्त्री और श्री श्रीकांत भाई ने इन विद्यार्थियों को २०० मील की दूरी बोंदर तथा मंडला से यहाँ लाकर रखा और धीरे-धीरे हमारे यहाँ यह कार्य सुचारु रूप से आगे बढ़ने लगा।

विद्यार्थियों का छात्रावास करीब चार सालों से चल रहा है। यह २० विद्यार्थियों से आरंभ किया गया था। अब उनकी संख्या एक सौ बीस पहुँच गई है। अब राज्य पुनर्गठन के कारण मंडला-बोंदर के लड़कों की जगह विदर्भ के चार जिलों के लड़कों ने ली है, और अब इस साल भण्डारा तथा चांदा जिले के दो छात्रावासों और बारह शालाओं का, जो आदिवासी क्षेत्र में स्थित हैं, आश्रम के द्वारा संचालन होता है। खुद आदिवासी क्षेत्र में विशेष रहने का मौका कभी नहीं मिला। लेकिन आज दिन तक जो उनका छात्रावास चलाने का मौका मिला उस आधार पर "आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों का छात्रावास में निवास और उनका सामाजिक विकास" के बावत अपने कुछ अनुभव लिख रही हूँ।

साधारणतः ऐसा एक सामान्य नियम बनाया गया है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र में ही छात्रावास खोले जायें। इसमें दुहरी दृष्टि है। एक तो छोटी उम्र के बालक अपना घर छोड़कर कहीं जाना पसन्द नहीं करते, और इतनी सारी प्रजा को नये क्षेत्र में ले जाना नामुमकिन है। इसलिए वे जहाँ रहते हैं वहाँ उनके लिए शालाओं तथा छात्रावासों का खोलना निहायत जरूरी माना जाता है। दूसरे एक क्षेत्र से दूसरे क्षेत्र में ले जाने का प्रवास स्वयं अधिक हो जाता है। लेकिन मैट्रिक की पढ़ाई के बाद, कॉलेजों में पढ़ने वाले लड़कों को अपना घर छोड़कर, अपनी जाती पाति के भ्रमेले से दूर होकर, एक मानव सागर में आना ही पड़ता है। उसे बाहर की दुनिया के लोग कुछ अलग ही नजर आते हैं। वहाँ स्थिति, हमारे इन छोटे बच्चों की होती है जब वे नये-नये अपने जंगल-पहाड़ के छोटे गांव छोड़कर आते हैं। लेकिन देखा गया है कि आश्रम के जीवन में वे अपने को बहुत ही थोड़े दिनों में व्यवस्थित बना लेते हैं। उनका

दिमाग कोंरे स्लोट सरीखा है, इसलिए नया वातावरण, नयी शिक्षा, नया विज्ञान या जिन नई चीजों का उन्हें दर्शन होता है वे सब कुछ अपने में समा लेना चाहते हैं।

कुछ दिनों में आदिवासी और गैर आदिवासी का भेद भी मिट जाता है और सबके बराबरों में आकर हमारे साथ वे खड़े रहते हैं। यह एक नये वातावरण का ही परिणाम है। कभी-कभी हम सोचते हैं कि उन्हें बम्बई, देहली का पर्यटन कराया जाय, उसका उलटा ही असर होता है। प्रकृति की गोद में खेलने वाले ये बच्चे कुसंस्कार, बुराईयाँ और रंगाली दुनिया के प्रलोभन में पड़ जाते हैं। योग्य मार्गदर्शन नहीं रहा तो अच्छा बुरा जो कुछ हो उनका असर इनके ऊपर तुरन्त ही होता है। अच्छाई से बुराई का असर तो आसानी से ही हो जाता है, यह सभी का अनुभव है।

इसलिए इनकी उन्नति की दृष्टि से ऐसे आश्रमों में कुछ छात्रावास अवश्य खोले जायें ऐसी मेरी नम्र राय है।

जापान में पुरानी नीति यह थी कि कोई जापानी अपना वतन छोड़कर याने जापान के बाहर न जाय। लेकिन नीति अब बदली और जापान इस दुनिया के मैदान में आया तब हमने देखा कि उन्होंने सारी दुनिया के बाजार में यश प्राप्त किया। आदिवासियों को भी अपनी सोमाओं से बाहर निकल कर अन्य जाति, अन्य समाज में मिश्रित होना चाहिए, नहीं तो आदिवासी समस्या सदा के लिए बनी रहेगी। हम अपने देश से सांस्कृतिक प्रतिनिधि मंडल आदि अनेक प्रकार के प्रतिनिधि मंडल विदेश भेजते हैं और विदेश से भी कई प्रतिनिधि मंडल यहाँ आते हैं। आखिर ये अन्तर्दृष्ट्य चहल-पहल, आदान-प्रदान किसालए ? इसीलिए ही न कि इससे अपस में मित्रता, सहकारिता, समभाव और प्रेम बढ़ता है। आपस में मित्रता, समत्व और आत्मीयता बढ़ने से

कलह और युद्धों को स्थान ही नहीं रहता। फिर अपने आदिवासी भाई बहनों तथा बच्चों को भी संसार के मैदान में क्यों न लाया जाय। उनको जंगलों और पहाड़ों में लुप्राये रखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं। उनकी शक्ति का विकास तो तब होगा जब हमारी बराबरी में शिक्षा ग्रहण करके हमारे साथ खड़े रह सकेंगे और इसलिए आदिवासी क्षेत्र, आदिवासी ही शिक्षक इस संकुचित विचार से हमें थोड़ा बाहर आने की जरूरत है। सबों के साथ हमारा आदान प्रदान तथा मेल-मिलाप, जितनी उदारता से रहेगा उतना ही हमारा जीवन विकसित होगा। और इसी दृष्टि से मुझे लगता है कि गैर आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में भी ऊपर बताई हुई अटुकूलता रही तो आदिवासी बच्चों के स्कूल और छात्रावास अवश्य खोले जायें। जैसे हरिजननों के लिये हरिजन छात्रावास बने जहां हरिजननों के शिवाय अन्य जाती के कोई जाते ही नहीं, हरिजन शिक्षकों के शिवाय कोई पढ़ाते ही नहीं वैसे ही यदि आदिवासी बच्चों के लिये बने तो उनको नये संस्कार, नये विचार, नई भावनायें कहां से मिलेंगी। क्षेत्र भी आदिवासी, शिक्षक भी आदिवासी, ऐसा ही यदि आग्रह रखा जाय तो वे विद्यार्थी कतई अपनी प्रगति नहीं कर सकते। उन्हें तो मानव समुद्र में घुल मिल जाना है। हम देखते हैं कि जाति पाति के भेद ने तो देश का सत्यानाश करने में कसर नहीं रखा। छोटे से इलेक्शन सरीखे मामलों में भी जाति पाति का जहर उगला जाता है। सब एक ईश्वर की संतान हैं। एक मानव जाति ही हमारी जति है। यह शिक्षा पवित्र आश्रमिय स्थानों के ही सद्ग व्यवहार में मिलती है और वही टिकती है।

हमारा आग्रह रहता है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में खोले गये स्कूलों में छात्रावासों में, आदिवासी शिक्षक ही रखे जायें। लेकिन यह आग्रह अभी सफल

हो सकता है जब ऐसे आश्रमों के विद्यार्थियों का सर्वांगीण दृष्टि से विकास हुआ हो। शुद्ध वातावरण में शिक्षा मिले। लेकिन फिर भी मुझे लगता है कि शायद ऐसे आग्रह की जरूरत ही न पड़ेगी।

सबसे पहला प्रश्न यह है कि आज आजाद हिंदुस्तान में जिस प्रकारका कार्य जनहितार्थ दुष्टीसे आगे बढ़ रहा है उस दृष्टि ने उनकी शिक्षा की विविध दिशाओं में जैसे इलैक्ट्रिकल, मिकेनिकल और टेकनिकल आदि में ध्यान दिया जाय और शिक्षा पाये हुए विद्यार्थियों की कुशलता जांच कर जहां जहां उनकी जरूरत हो वहां उन्हें बिना किसी भेद भाव के काम दिया जाय।

एक बड़ी समस्या यह भी कि कार्यकर्ताओं के सिर पर जो अपने सारे सांसारिक बोझ से दूर हटकर या उसका मोह छोड़कर इस कार्य में पड़े हैं, इन आदिवासी कार्यों के लिए पैसा जुटानेका एक बड़ा भार पड़ता है। ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं की ही समाज में कुछ प्रांशुता होती है। लेकिन उनका जो सही उपयोग हमें करना चाहिए, बच्चों के जीवन और भविष्य का तैयारी में, वह उद्देश्य मारा जाता है।

ऐसे सेवा भावी कार्यकर्ताओं पर इस तरह की जिम्मेदारी लादने का कोई प्रयोजन नहीं। इनके अनुभवों का तो हमें अधिक उपयोग कर लेना है। इससे जो देश को दौलत बढ़ेगी इसकी क्या गिनती है? पांच पचास हजारकी कोई गिनती नहीं, उस पचास हजार को लाने की चिंतामें उन्हें अकाल ही वृद्धती आता है। हमेशा उनके सिर पर चिंताकी ललवार लटकती रहती है और हम यह भी देखते हैं कि जहां इस तरह से पैसे नहीं जुटा सके वहां हिसाब की गड़बड़ होने लगती है। अतः सरकार को इनकी आर्थिक सहायता करना चाहिये।

पूर्वांचल की आदिम जातियाँ और उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान

ले० श्री सुकुमार पगारे

आजीवन सदस्य, भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ

(१) पूर्वांचल क्षेत्र से मेरा मन्तव्य केवल आसाम, मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा से है। यों पूर्वांचल में बंगाल और उड़िसा को भी शामिल किया जा सकता है किन्तु मैं यहाँ केवल आसाम, मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा की जन-जातियों की समस्याओं की और आप सब का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

(२) भारत के आदिवासी मानचित्र में आसाम का स्थान बहुत महत्व का है। यहाँ की जनजातियों में जितनी विविधताएँ हैं अन्यत्र उतनी कहीं भी नहीं मिलेगी। यहाँ अनेक जातियाँ और उप-जातियाँ हैं और प्रत्येक जति अपने आपको एक राष्ट्र मानती है। उसी में उनके जातीय संगठन का महत्व है, उनकी ताकत है, किन्तु राष्ट्र की सबसे कमजोर कड़ी भी यही बनती है।

(३) आसाम की समस्या प्रमुखतः सीमा समस्या है। आसाम ऐसा स्थान है जहाँ का इतिहास संस्कृतियों के संगम का, जातियों के मिलन और एकीकरण का इतिहास रहा है। यहाँ पुरातन और अधुनिकता का अर्जब समिश्रण मिलेगा। आप यहाँ के आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में जायें तो सभ्यता का दर्शन अनेक रूपों में मिलेगा। एक ही घर में प्रपिता, पिता और पुत्र के रूप में तीन

भिन्न भिन्न सभ्यताओं के दर्शन हो जायेंगे। कोन्याक नागाओं में चले जाए तो अभी भी ऐसे क्षेत्र मिलेंगे जहाँ नग्न मानव के दर्शन हो जायेंगे। दूसरी ओर कोहिमा और मॉकाकचांग के हाईस्कूलों में पढ़ने वाले अधिकांश ऐसे विद्यार्थी मिलेंगे जो बिना टाई लगाए घर से नहीं निकलते।

(४) यही हालत शिक्षा की है। अभी भी नेफा में ऐसे स्थान मिलेंगे जहाँ किसी दिन बुढ़ा बाप बच्चे के स्थान पर पाठशाला में आज्ञाता है और अध्यापक से कहता है, “आज मेरा लड़का नहीं आया, उसके स्थान पर आज मैं स्कूल में रहूँगा,” तो दूसरी ओर इंफाल, शिलांग, गौहाटी तथा जारहाट में ऐसे नामा, लुसाइ एवं कुकी विद्यार्थी मिलेंगे जो अपनी शिक्षा को तब तक अपूर्ण समझते हैं जब तक वे ऑक्सफोर्ड, केंब्रिज, न्यूयार्क, या शिकागो से कोई डिग्री न ले आयें।

(५) इन अनेक विषमताओं और विविधताओं में हमें एक भावात्मक एकता लाते हुए, देश के इन सबल नागरिकों को सच्चे राष्ट्र का दर्शन कराना आवश्यक है। अभी तो ये अपनी जाति, अपनी पहाड़ी अथवा अपने गांव को ही राष्ट्र समझते हैं।

PART 3

**Papers Submitted
to
the Conference**

तीसरा भाग

सम्मेलन में प्रस्तुत निबंध

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

by

Mrs. P.P. NAIDU,

Director, Social Welfare Division, Planning Commission

It is common knowledge that economic development is not a static stage reached at a particular stage of development. It is, on the other hand, a process whereby a progressive rise is secured in the income of various individuals or groups of individuals. The rise in the income is a dynamic concept which is reflected apparently in the higher standard of living. In other words, economic development schemes have to sustain economic progress and continuously generate economic activity. If this definition is accepted and applied to the schemes provided in the plans for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas it will be immediately noticed that most of these schemes do not represent economic development of either the Scheduled Tribes or the Scheduled areas. This paper is intended to analyse this aspect of development schemes for Scheduled Tribes and Areas and to suggest improvements thereupon. It may, however, be stated that in the present analysis an attempt is made only to bring out the salient features of some of the representative schemes under agriculture and industries and not to cover the entire volume of several items in various schemes.

For purposes of the classification of schemes under economic development of Scheduled Tribes, reference may, at the onset, be made to the Plan wherein

these schemes have been grouped into three main categories namely: (a) Agriculture, (b) Industries and (c) Cooperatives. Under agriculture provision is being made for such routine items as land for settlement, distribution of agricultural implements, seeds, manure, fertilisers etc. The process of distribution is a stereotyped process which obtains more or less on a similar pattern and in the same order from area to area and State to State. The land is given irrespective of finding out its quality and is distributed in an *ad hoc* manner which in a large number of cases results in allotting an uneconomic size to each family. Consequently because of its low quality and uneconomic size, the yield falls much below the requirements of a family. Sometimes the yield does not compare favourably even with the wages or earnings which the family made as landless labour prior to settling on land. The situation appears to be somewhat unavoidable because the main factor of production in this case, namely land, is scarce. At the same time the pressure on the demand for it is increasing as larger units of population are being covered with the welfare programmes. Under such circumstances it would be possible, however, to distribute land on cooperative basis, introduce cooperative farming and thereby avoid perpetuation of uneconomic holdings and their

fragmentation. Since this is also the objective of State policy, it would be helpful if cooperative farming were initially introduced among tribals whose tradition and culture both are favourable to such an experiment.

The other shortcomings of this scheme are that its various components are not rightly synchronised. Thus, where land of an average quality and size is given, agricultural implements, seeds, manure and fertilisers are not distributed either in desirable proportion or at opportune time with the result that the cultivator is faced with failures at each stage of his work namely at the time of sowing, harvesting etc. Other difficulties are experienced where technical and organisational assistance do not keep pace either with the units of land distributed or with the supply services rendered for the settlers. In certain cases, the most important aspects of technical improvement namely soil conservation methods, minor and major irrigation schemes, contour bunding, etc. are almost neglected. In several cases there is no provision made for the opening of sale and purchase cooperatives for the settlers. This puts the settlers into difficulties when, with their crops in hand, they cannot market them even for purchasing their immediate needs. Therefore in order to effectively operate a particular scheme it is necessary that various components of the scheme should be synchronised and attention should also be paid to follow-up action to ensure against delays, lapses etc. More than the scheme itself, its impact on the beneficiaries is of great significance and therefore its assessment at

regular intervals should become a permanent feature of planning. This type of approach and preparedness on the part of planners and administrators will ensure not only an effective impact of the scheme but will also assure that the scheme becomes creative, motivates purposive effort among the beneficiaries and in turn generates economic activity.

In the case of programmes under industries, similar kinds of stereotyped schemes are adopted in the plan namely opening up of training centres or training-cum-production centres etc. A number of such centres are being established in several States but how far they actually help in developing the economy of tribals is a matter which needs consideration. In the first instance the crafts and professions taught in these centres are not related to actual needs of the area. This results in turning out trained people with no prospects of their settling in their respective trades. More often it is found that after receiving the training the recipients find it easier to depend on traditional sources of earning their livelihood than to settle on the newly learnt trade. In certain other cases where facilities in the form of loans, equipment etc. towards settling them in their respective trades are made available, lack of marketing facilities both for the purchase of raw material and sale of finished products hinder the growth of the particular trade. In some cases the location of centres is not well planned. A centre say for smithy is sometimes set up near about a colliery with the result that what a trainee expects to earn from this particular trade at his settlement, he gets more than that

as a labourer in the coal-field. Yet another instance of ill-adaptability of this scheme is found where the centres cater only to the limited population in the vicinity of the centre. In this way the number of trained persons who can serve in their limited locality in a particular craft goes on increasing each year. They, in turn, depend for their settlement on the few villages from which they are drawn. Since it is not expected that the demand position of this service would change very much over a short period of time in the localised area whereas the supply position is flooded with new batches of trained persons each year virtual slump takes place in the market. This discourages trade in the particular profession. It would on the other hand be useful if at the time of opening a training centre a hostel is also maintained to enable students of distant villages where the need for such crafts is assured, to join the centre. This centre would thus very much become an effective feeder centre for several villages and would also ensure settlement for the trained persons in their respective areas. In one instance it was found that the training imparted in the centre is of no practical value because it does not substantially improve upon the traditional skills. Thus in making grass ropes the trainees are expected only to push in three plaits of fibre into the machine which goes winding the rope from the other end. Here the trainee has not to learn any particular skill or device. When he completes his training he does not find himself any better than the rest of his fold who did not join the training. The training imparted is thus apparently a waste.

In view of these inadequacies in the actual operation of schemes the training programmes have not proceeded in a satisfactory manner. While they, during the process of training, keep the trainees occupied, they, however, do not generate economic activity and thus do not lead to economic development. It is necessary, therefore, that for the successful operation of this scheme, the craft needs of various areas, location of the centres, selection of crafts and trades, economic potential of the area both in terms of the availability of raw material and marketing of the finished products, and cooperative facilities etc. should all be studied in detail and related to the number of persons to be trained in the specific craft. The purpose of these programmes would be served when these so-called economic development schemes are developed and improved upon by reorientating them according to local conditions and by synchronising each item in them with every other item in such a manner that optimum results are obtained. The scheme has to be drawn in relation to the community or area as a whole and fitted into the comprehensive programme of development proposed for them. By adopting this approach, the scope and prospects of the schemes undertaken would gradually go on expanding with the growth of economy. At the same time efforts should be made to see that the position gained at each stage of development is consolidated to accommodate proposed additions in the coverage of population by these schemes. While the suggestion of introducing 'rest intervals' between various stages of development as obtains in U.S.S.R. for consolidating the

positions may not presently appear feasible, it is desirable that some thought should be given to this important dynamic aspect of building up of the development programme. This can be done by evaluating the performance

of these schemes at regular intervals. On the basis of the results obtained various efforts should be consolidated which would help a long way in making a fresh attempt in the right direction for securing the desired objective.

TRIBALS AND THEIR PRESENT CONDITION

by

T. SANGANNA

It is an acknowledged fact that the Tribal people in India have been subject to many tyrannical acts of the stronger sections of the community in all ages and climes. They are not allowed to exist as human beings. Whatever possessions they have on earth are grabbed from them by the intelligent and vocal sections of the people. The tribal people are inarticulate and helpless. Nobody is there to hear their grievances and to give solace and relief. Any difficulty or hurdle that comes in the way of life is attributed to the acts of evil spirits. If any one is sympathetic towards them, it is taken as a grace showered on them by some invisible God or Goddess. So, these circumstances make them superstitious. As they have been deprived of opportunities in every walk of life, they are not able to grow themselves into full stature of human beings. Exploitation of the tribal people by the privileged class is everyday occurrence. The different aspects of the tribal life will be dealt with hereunder in *seriatum*.

I. Economic

With the dawn of freedom of the country, the problems of the weaker sections of the nation have been engaging the constant attention of the popular Governments at the Centre and in the States. Schemes and plans have been evolved for the economic development for the Tribal people and executed all over the country. But, they have not been fully successful due to some reason or other.

Committee after committee is appointed to go into the causes of failures but they are not able to come to any definite suggestions. This may be due to the reason that the personnel of the Committee are not properly acquainted with the nature and way of life of the tribal people. So it is necessary that more emphasis must be given to the Plans, meant for the tribal people in the coming national economic Plans. The need of the people living in forests and jungles is economic soundness. In the absence of economic fulfilment, no other Plans can be accomplished.

II. Social

As pointed out in the foregoing section, the basis of the problem is mainly dependent on the economic position. In the material world, people who are weak in the economic field have no strength of assertion and claim. Now the social ebb of the tribal community is very low. No body is certain as to the social standard of these people in the modern world.

III. Cultural

The cultural life of the tribal people is quite fascinating and charming. But

proper attention is not given to maintain and develop it. It is absolutely necessary to provide all the facilities as are given to the cultural activities of the advanced people. The fine qualities in the tribal culture are gradually wearing out by the efflux of time for want of care and encouragement. Wherever it is possible and plausible, the cultural programmes should be placed on the same footing as of other cultures. It is hoped that the Sangeet Natak Academy will devote equal attention to the Tribal culture too.

TRAINING OF WORKERS IN TRIBAL WELFARE

by

P.D. KULKARNI,

Senior Research Officer, Planning Commission

Among the various causes of the inadequate progress of Tribal Welfare Schemes, the shortage of trained personnel has been pointed out as the greatest single factor. The Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh has also emphasised at its various Conferences the importance of training of tribal welfare workers. Shri U.N. Dhebar, the Ex Congress President, speaking at the Conference held at Bordi in the year 1958 had emphasised the need of devoted and trained workers in the field of Tribal Welfare. Planners, Administrators and Social Workers have all stressed this need repeatedly. Now, the time has come to launch a systematic and sustained programme of training of tribal welfare workers, if the Welfare Schemes for tribals have to make better progress

during the Third Plan period. Before any such effort is undertaken, it is desirable to examine the implications of a sound and suitable training programme. Some of the questions which readily come to one's mind may be briefly indicated as follows :—

- (i) Whom do we wish to train and for what work ?
- (ii) Should there be any minimum qualifications for those who have to be trained ?
- (iii) Would the training required be of only one standard and duration or would it be for different categories of personnel ?
- (iv) Who should train ?

- (v) Finally, what should be the pattern and standard of training centres in terms of staff and other related facilities ?

In addition there are other cognate questions namely the assessment of the total number of persons to be trained for different categories of workers, the number of suitably equipped training centres that would be needed to meet full requirements and what should be the phasing of training programme so that it can keep pace with the phasing of the work programme in the years to come.

2. In the first place, it needs to be clarified that to state that there is paucity of trained personnel is to over-simplify the problem. It is not a mere statistical exercise to equate the number of positions available with the number of persons to be trained. In a special field like Tribal Welfare, a worker has to have the following attributes :—

- (a) understanding of and an insight into the tribal way of life;
- (b) a liking for living and working with them, as one of them;
- (c) faith in the capacity of the tribal people to develop themselves with such external assistance as they may require; and finally
- (d) a good deal of familiarity with the processes of planning and administration of Tribal Welfare Schemes on which the Government is spending huge sums of money.

3. It is true that such persons are not readily available nor are they available 'ready made' so to say. It would imply

a careful selection of persons who have the necessary interest and aptitude and who can, with the necessary training, develop into suitable workers for this field.

4. An analysis of the various types of personnel working in the official and non-official agencies engaged in tribal welfare shows that they can be grouped under three broad heads. There are in the first place large numbers of field workers, who are directly working with tribal communities under official or non-official auspices. Then, there are fewer numbers of supervisors, who were expected to guide and direct the field workers. Finally, there are very few planners and administrators working in the various Departments and the Headquarters of non-official agencies, who have to take some hand in shaping the policies and programmes in future. It is obvious that the training required for each one of these categories would be somewhat different.

5. Considering that tribal welfare work ranges over a wide variety of development activities beginning with agricultural and extending upto cultural activities, the cooperation of experts in these various fields becomes a vital necessity. These experts are, no doubt, well trained in their own respective fields but they do not have the necessary orientation to understand tribal psychology to put forth their special knowledge in a manner which can be easily assimilated by the tribals. It would thus be seen that some manner and degree of orientation is necessary for such persons as well. Then again there are a large number of workers, who are

already in the field because of their own interest supported in some cases by aptitude. To be realistic they cannot be left out of consideration. One has to make the best of the persons already engaged in the tribal welfare work. Nor can all of them be spared for a long period of training. Probably, most of them do not require a long period of training because they already have some knowledge, understanding and skill of working with tribal people. What they need, therefore, is only an in-service training of a short duration. Thus, to sum up, it appears that the training programme splits itself into :—

- (i) regular training for three categories of personnel to be recruited in future to work at :—
 - (a) field level ;
 - (b) supervisory level and
 - (c) administrative level;
- (ii) in-service training for those already in position at different levels; and
- (iii) orientation for personnel whose work has bearing on tribal welfare.

6. A word of caution may be given with regard to inservice training. This type of training should be specifically meant for those already in responsible positions for at least a period of three years. It should not be a substitute for regular training for new entrants nor should it be mere formality for 'regularising' inadequate personnel already in the field. For persons such as Block Development Officers, Social Educational Organisers, Supervisors of Ashram schools, heads of educational institutions for tribals etc., a short term orientation course should suffice on the understanding that they would have in the first instance received an appropriate training generic to their own specific jobs. As for the regular training programmes, further distinction should be made between the in-service training and basic training prior to recruitment. The in-service training should be open to those who have been in three year continuous service on a particular date, say, April 1, 1960. The duration of training will differ accordingly. The following proposals may cover the differential needs adequately :—

Category	Minimum Qualification	Duration	For new entrants
		In-Service training	Regular Training
For field level workers.	Matriculation	One year	Two years
For Supervisors etc.	(a) Intermediate	(a) One year	Two year
	or (b) Graduate	(b) Six months	One year
For Senior Personnel.	Graduate	**	Two years

** Orientations should suffice for Senior Personnel in service. For others full-fledged two-year training is recommended.

7. The syllabus will vary for each different category and level of training.

8. It would be more appropriate to have the syllabi vetted or drafted by an Advisory Committee to be set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs. This will introduce the much needed standardization. The Committee could comprise a representative of a school of social work, the Director, Social Education in the Ministry of Community Development, a representative each of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and representatives of the Ministry of Education, Home and Planning Commission.

9. The existing training programme will have to fall in line with one or the other of the types of courses recommended above. The decade for emphasising

the need for training is over. What should hereafter engage the attention of all those interested in tribal welfare is to standardize the training programmes and to make a start *here and now* so that at least by the end of the Third Plan period we would be able to catch up with the fast expanding tribal welfare programme. This is one single programme which can tone up the quality of all the schemes that have been put into operation for tribal welfare. If we mean to derive maximum advantage of the large resources deployed for tribal welfare and further, if we wish to hasten the development of tribals so that they can take their rightful place along with the rest of the nation, sound training of right type of persons seems to be the only answer.

THE AMANATYAS

by

Dr. L.N. SAHU,

President, Orissa Sahitya Akademi

The Amanatyas are a group of tribal people living in the Koraput district of Orissa where I did ethnological studies in 1942. It is said that formerly they acted as ministers of the tribes. Towards the end of the last century the Raja of Nowrangpur in Koraput district had a manager belonging to the Amanatya tribe named Durlabha Pradhani. The Amanatyas use such titles after their names as Randhari or one in charge of cooking, Pradhani or Chief Secretary of royal affairs, Pujari or worshipper of

deities, Patro or the select among the people, and Majhi or one at the head of royal affairs.

These tribals do not accept food from people of other tribes like the Bothras, Gonds, etc. After marriage women cannot take food even in the houses of Brahmins.

The Amanatyas practise early marriage. When a girl is about seven or eight years old a bridegroom is sought after. But if he cannot be obtained a pseudo-marriage called *panikorani* which is only

a formal ceremony is carried out. It is held on an auspicious day and relatives and kinsmen are invited to witness it. A wooden post decorated with flowers, vermilion and leaves of mango and turmeric is set up in the courtyard of the house and a shed is built over it. Then the bride is brought there at an auspicious moment. She wears a crown made of leaves of mango and turmeric, as well as jewellery and new clothes. About five or seven women bring water in new pots to the post which the bride holds fast. The water is poured on her head and thus the ritual comes to an end while drums are beaten and conches blown. Later on a feast is held after which the relatives depart. The girl can now remain in the house of her parents even after attaining puberty and no stigma attaches to her.

If a suitable bridegroom is available, he comes to the bride's house accompanied by his relatives and kinsmen, both male and female. Middlemen also attend the function in order to settle disputes and remove difficulties, if any. Before the marriage is over, males of the bridegroom's party join with females of the bride's party in singing songs. An example of one of these songs is given below.

Man— Enough of flowers, O lady in the stream!
 O sweet-faced one! do not wear the crown of the cactus plant,
 For what will others think of you then?

Woman— O my darling! I will be in the tree.

You ugly-faced one! I will cover thee with an umbrella,
 After the rain is over.

Man— O my beauty! lights are glowing in the shed.

I will kill the black bee and put you on my lap

At the dead of night.

Woman— O you priest! the drums are beating in the sacred shed.
 Please untie us at this auspicious moment,

In the interest of our future children.

After the marriage ceremony has been completed, the bridegroom's party gives an eight-yard cloth to the bride's mother and a three-yard cloth to the bride's grandmother (mother's mother). The bridegroom's father also gives some dowry to the bride according to his ability. At the time of marriage men wear the sacred thread.

The Amanatyas have *gotras* named after the goat, tortoise, tiger, pigeon, fowl, etc. Marriage within the *gotra* is not allowed. Generally these people burn their dead though burial is also resorted to under certain circumstances.

An Amanatya may have a Brahmin as his guru. After accepting one, an Amanatya gives up drinking liquor and eating meat. He worships the *tulsi* plant and devotes his life to good work.

A BROAD OUTLINE OF THE TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR WORKERS IN TRIBAL WELFARE

by

Shri G. L. ZUTSHI

Research Officer, Planning Commission

Early contacts with Tribals

It is a well-known historical fact that the efforts for contacting tribals in the various parts of the world, have often led to unhappy consequences. Whether the contacts were established for administrative purposes by the colonisers and local governments or were directed at rendering welfare services among tribals through missionaries and social workers, the results have not always been encouraging in all cases. The difficulties thus experienced by the administrators in particular and by the social workers in general prompted them to join their hands with the social scientists and make a probe into their causes. Various studies of this problem, undertaken from time to time, point to the following main factors :

- (i) inadequate knowledge of tribal institutions and organisations,
- (ii) incorrect appraisal of tribal values and norms,
- (iii) lack of understanding of tribal culture and its innate qualities and finally,
- (iv) the wrong approach to tribal way of life arising from any one or more of the above mentioned factors.

Importance of Training

It has been noticed, however, that instead of drawing upon the rich field of experience obtaining in other parts of the world, the history repeated itself in India. It is a matter of common knowledge that the contacts made by the administrators, in the pre-independence era, left over an impression of fear and suspicion on various tribes. In fact, there are tribes in India who have retained, even to this day, feelings of apathy towards the outsiders. Obviously, therefore, the success of a programme launched under the plans for tribal welfare depends to a large extent upon winning over the confidence and good-will of the tribal people. This task, as has already been brought out very significantly by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh through its various conferences and particularly the one held at Jagdalpur in March 1955, is very closely associated with the training of workers for tribal welfare who have to be initiated into the right type of approach to tribal problems. The Estimates Committees Report (March 1959) has also attributed the slow progress in the welfare programmes to paucity of trained workers and has expressed in favour of trained personnel with necessary aptitude and devotion for social service in implementing such

programmes. In fact, what is reported by the Estimates Committee is also, independently, indicated by various progress and evaluation reports on the Plan, as being the main reason for the shortfalls in plan-expenditure and for the slow progress of tribal welfare programmes.

This has been corroborated further by the experience gained in implementing programmes of welfare among tribes during the plan-periods. To cite only one example, the scheme of housing and colonisation was rendered futile at various places and tribal settlers deserted some of these colonies because of lack of understanding on the part of the personnel executing these schemes. In fact the tempo of progress in the plans has been slow largely because of non-availability of trained workers.

Other Reasons.

There are other special reasons which pointed to the need for training of workers for tribal welfare. In tribal societies tradition and culture play an important role in shaping tribal destiny. For reasons of their isolation, group solidarity and commune fidelity, tribals have, from centuries, lived in an independent world of their own. They have been adjusting, from time to time, within the resources of their habitat in a smooth manner provided by tradition. Their aspirations, values and norms have been built on the tangible day-to-day realities experienced by them. These do not, however, go beyond into the wide and lofty idealism, as among the so-called civilized people of today. Their thinking is intensive rather than extensive. This is reflected in their arts and crafts, music and dance, rhythm and song and in their rich culture which

have gained recognition and appreciation throughout. As a matter of fact some rich weaving patterns and designs in handlooms as obtained among tribes in Assam, have been copied throughout the country for their best sales in the internal markets and abroad. There has been, therefore, some reasoning for some Anthropologists to advocate a policy of non-interference. As long as this policy was adopted no problems in regard to them would naturally arise. But as man's want for land increased, he frequented the tribals in their sparsely populated regions. These contacts were further intensified and widened through the opening up of roads and easing of transport and communications in these areas. In this way the process of acculturation of tribals started and in its trail gave rise to multifarious problems. For instance, during the process of acculturation, in some cases, tribal solidarity has been challenged and tribal faith shaken. This is borne out by the testimony of some dying tribes, both in India and in other parts of the world, whose bare physical existence has also remained in constant danger. Among some tribes it has led to 'loss of nerve' and apathy with the result that certain tribes have lost confidence in their neighbouring people. Tribal problem, therefore, is somewhat different and complex both in substance and in detail. This calls for an integrated approach by which while providing facilities for their economic and educational development, best use of their resources, experience and talents is assured. Ignorance of customs and traditions operating in these societies would necessarily impede if not halt altogether the progress of welfare programmes.

Scope of the Present Paper

Having thus established the vital need for trained personnel, this paper is intended to bring out the short-comings of various training programmes obtaining in the country, to suggest standardisation in respect of various grades of training and to recommend demarcation of responsibilities among agencies—governmental and non-governmental, for training different types of workers. It may, however, be admitted, at the outset, that it is not possible to elaborate upon each aspect of the training programme within the length of this paper. It is also not desirable to do so in view of the fact that as one looks back at the records of the conferences held in the past on Tribal Welfare, it will be noticed that a good deal of thinking has already gone into the deliberations on one or the other aspect of the training programme. A stage has, however, been reached now when the entire thinking on this subject has to be consolidated and an attempt has to be made at evolving a systematic training programme for the workers.

Present Inadequacies

In this connection one cannot but forget to mention the inadequacies obtaining in the various training schemes provided in the plans today. They, in the first instance, offer widely varying courses from institution to institution and from locality to locality. They also differ on vital aspects such as the content and duration of training, the minimum qualifications required for admission, the categories of workers to be trained etc. etc. Lastly, the entire system of training at present is diffused in such a manner

that the distinction between in-service training and regular training on the one hand and the refresher or orientation courses on the other is often not correctly drawn out with the result that the same type of agency imparts simultaneously both the in-service training and organise refresher or orientation courses. Therefore, to start with, it is necessary to bring about a broad measure of standardisation with regard to various factors that go into a training programme. In this connection, the main complimentary factors which have to be, individually, defined are the following :—

1. categories of workers required,
2. levels of training,
3. content of training programmes, and
4. agencies for training.

Categories of workers

Field Workers

The most important link between the welfare programme and the tribe is provided by the welfare worker who has to be in close and constant touch with the job workers on the one hand and with the tribal individuals on the other. No doubt the very fact of his being a non-professional and a volunteer makes him acceptable to the community, he has, however, to proceed cautiously in his contacts. In the first instance he has to identify himself with the tribal faith and tribal problems and mobilise and activate local participation. In the second place he has also to suitably adopt welfare programmes to various local situations and regional needs in a manner acceptable to the people of a particular area.

It will be seen, therefore, that even an educated and enthusiastic worker would not succeed in this mission unless he has an understanding of tribal culture. His success would depend, in the main, on two factors namely how far he has been trained to help the tribals to grow according to their own genius and tradition and what degree of grasp or competence does he hold in identifying himself with tribal problems.

The need for this type of worker is large. At the same time, very few persons are forthcoming for training at this level since they are to work in areas where conditions of life are hard and economically unremunerative also. They should possess not only the aptitude but self-less devotion also for the work. Careful selection of persons, therefore, is necessary which is a task by itself. They should primarily be drawn from areas near to the place of their duties. The minimum qualification for them should be matriculation and the duration of training should be fixed at one year. The training should include field work which should be phased in such a manner that it begins with observation and extends to assuming direct responsibility for the conduct of activities by the end of the training course.

Women Workers

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that in order to effectively put through the cultural, health and hygiene and other programmes among tribes there is need for women workers also who would be in regular touch with the women folk of the community. Some thought should be given to this aspect of the problem as well. Either the wife of

a social worker or job worker or the tribal women themselves should be encouraged to take up this work. In this connection, it is necessary to note that the position of women among tribals is very much favourable to introducing the woman and child welfare programmes also in these communities. Women workers are required, in particular, to attend to these programmes.

Supervisory Staff

Then, there is the supervisory and inspectorate staff who are connected more directly with the worker at the field than with the tribals. Since he is primarily required to guide and supervise the work done by the field and job workers both, he should be sufficiently acquainted with tribal needs on the one hand and the administrative and technical aspects of the programmes on the other. His admission to training should depend on his possessing at least graduate degree with Sociology or preferably Anthropology as one of the subjects. The period of training in this case should be one year.

Planner and Administrators

There is yet another class of functionaries called the administrators and heads of the departments who in a way define and carve out policies and plans for tribal welfare. They should possess specialised knowledge of tribal life and must be at least graduates preferably with some specialised training in Anthropology and administration. The duration of training should be two years.

Research Staff

In addition, there is the research staff attached to the Tribal Research

Institutes, set up in various States, who are primarily required to conduct field work and surveys in tribal problems. They should possess at least a post-graduate degree in cultural Anthropology or should have undergone some advanced training in this particular subject so that they can initiate studies on specific problems and help the planner and administrator in formulating and implementing programmes for tribal welfare.

Associated Personnel

Lastly, since the programme for tribal welfare covers a wide range of activities connected with various subjects namely agriculture, forestry, education, medical and public health, communications, industry, recreation, etc., various functionaries and job workers such as the doctors, teachers, engineers, agriculture experts, etc. are very closely connected with tribal welfare programme. In fact, it is these job-workers who actually implement the welfare schemes. Since they work for and among tribals, they should possess some knowledge about the working of tribal mind. It is, therefore, necessary that orientation course of a generic type should be arranged for this category of associate personnel.

Contents

As regards the content of training programmes for various categories of workers, uniformity at various levels of training with scope for marginal adjustments depending on local conditions is suggested. At the same time the syllabus of the training at different levels should be linked together in some organic way to ensure mobility by dint of qualitative

service of different categories of workers.
Agency

The next important question for consideration is 'what should be the agency for training?' Obviously, however, this question has to be related to various levels at which the training programme will operate. At the field level the worker should have a complete grasp of the local conditions and therefore the training should be provided very close to the area of his operation. The voluntary organisations have a net-work of field staff, paid and honorary, spread in various parts of the country. Further the demand for this type of worker is great. All these facts point to establishing a number of such training centres in each State having tribal population. The centres should, as far as possible, be set up in tribal areas themselves so that they can draw workers from tribals also. No doubt, the voluntary organisations are primarily taking up service-programmes; they have also organised various training programmes. But how far they are fully equipped with necessary trainers is a matter for consideration. It would be desirable, however, to hand over this programme to a particular All India Organisation since it is they who know the conditions in the field better. But such organisation should be adequately staffed for this purpose. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh which has already been imparting training to field workers could through its life members establish several centres at various places of requirement. They may work out a phased programme for this purpose based on the demand for this category of workers spread over several years of the third plan period.

The training of Supervisory staff may be taken up by the concerned State Governments who are the main employers of this category of workers. The State Governments may also provide for orientation courses for the associate personnel. They should, however, organise these training programmes through the Tribal Research Institutes which are already technically equipped for this purpose.

The in-service training programme should continue to remain with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences who have already established their record in this field also. It may, however, be necessary to entrust this type of training to one more institution which would cater to the needs in the eastern region.

Immediacy

The country has already prepared itself for embarking on the Third Plan. The need for training of workers for tri-

bal welfare has been widely and frequently discussed. It is now accepted by all that the need is vital. It therefore calls for a concerted effort on the part of the present conference to formulate a consolidated programme. This programme has to be phased according to the requirements of various categories of personnel for each year of the Third Plan. A start for the setting up of new training centres or for the strengthening of the existing ones has to be made in this year of the Second Plan itself so that the schemes in the Third Plan are taken over by the trained workers immediately at the commencement of the Third Plan. It is correctly said that a progressive training programme run on systematic lines is the life nerve for the success of a work-programme because it is the training programme which ultimately determines the quality of workers who sustain the growth of welfare activities and create local participation in them.

EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES OF NORTHERN INDIA NEED RECLASSIFICATION ON MORE AUTHENTIC AND SCIENTIFIC GROUNDS

by
SHER SINGH "SHER"

Habitationally, if India is a land of villages, socially it is land of numerous tribes and castes whose origins are hidden in the mist of the past. Socially, economically, politically and educationally backward people of India are mainly divided into four categories 1. Scheduled Castes 2. Scheduled Tribes, 3. Other

Backward Classes and 4. Ex-criminal Tribes. In the classification of these millions of people a great deal of hodge-podge is found in literature in general, but it is particularly conspicuous in the classification of the ex-criminal tribes of northern India. There are many Castes and Tribes of

ex-criminal tribes, but the Sansis, the Gujjars the Karwals, the Haburas, the Minas, the Bhatas, the Bawarias, the Nats, the Bazigars and the Kanjars are most important to be considered as most of the other ex-criminal tribes are insignificant in numbers and are either offshoots of the above mentioned tribes or are simply accretions to them of some wandering tribes of lower status.

Some reliable literature is available on the aboriginal tribes of India but so far nothing much authoritative and reliable is written about the ex-criminal tribes of northern India. The English Administrators and Police Officers branded some homeless people as born criminals imposing the Criminal Tribes Act on them in 1871 and restricting their movements. Scores of English writers mostly Police Officers described these people as aborigines without going into detail of their historic, ethnic, cultural and traditional accounts. Law has got unique power to affect adversely or favourably the personality and position of a human being. So far as the adverse effect is concerned it was ruthlessly accomplished by the Criminal Tribes Act, lowering the socio-political status of the communities which were included in it. This Act did not only stigmatise them as born criminals in society but it also made them untouchables and low type of people in Indian Society. Realising this legal brutality Sir George Mackmunn wrote wisely, truly and justly "quite apart from Criminals as such, and quite apart from, though included among the untouchables or so called "Criminal Tribes" numbering considerably over a million, they really present the most interesting ethnological problem of deserving much study, before an improving and humane

Government develops them into a general mass of low caste men". (Sir George Mackmunn-*The Under World of India* page 128).

Many English and Indian writers have written small articles on the ex-criminal tribes but they were only meant for the detective purposes of the police. The articles seem to be written by stray writers without any special study of sociology, anthropology and history.

After Indian Independence the National Government has tried to classify the backward communities of India into different categories but yet it seems to be clear that they have not been appropriately classified. This is the reason that this sixth conference for Tribes and Tribal Areas, organised by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sang wants to discuss the question of re-classification of Indian tribes on scientific lines.

In the past it was held that the ex-criminal tribes of northern India including the Punjab are aborigines but Ibbettson wrote about the Punjab as early as 1881 "..... nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. It does not indeed contain any of the original tribes of India at least in primitive barbarism and its people in common with those of neighbouring provinces include the peaceful descendants of old Rajput rulers of the country" (Ibbettson-Punjab Ethnography, page 1). In 1881 Ibbettson mentioned this ethnological fact about the Punjab and the neighbouring provinces and today physical Anthropology, supported by history and traditions of the ex-criminal tribes of northern India proves that they are indeed not aborigines but are from the Indo-aryan stock. The Government

records have classified the ex-criminal tribes of northern India in the schedule of scheduled castes, which they resent very bitterly; so much so that the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh Vimuket Jatian Sudhar Sabha submitted a Memorandum to Shri C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab on 11.2.1958, at Raj Bhawan Chandigarh, demanding "There are nearly 46 "Bradaries" of these tribes in the Punjab, we demand that these "Bradaries" should be converted into the schedule Tribes".

About the ex-criminal tribes of Uttar Pradesh Dr. D.N.Majumdar, a very great authority on Anthropology asserts that they do not resemble lower castes but resemble the Jats and the Khattris of the Punjab and Kashmir, the territories which were the first settlement areas of

the Indo-Aryans. The Bhatu and the Sansis are synonymous terms as the Sansis call themselves Bhatu in their tribal dialect. The Karwals and the Bhatu are also related with each other. Dr. D.N. Majumdar took the blood tests of 113 Bhatu and 155 Karwals of Kanpur, Muradabad and Lucknow and writes "The Karwals and the Bhatu resemble the Khasas of cis-Himalaya and the Jats and the Khattris of Kashmir and the Punjab". (Science and Culture, 1942, page 334).

I have taken the blood tests of the Sansis of Punjab and my results corroborate the findings of Dr. Majumdar. The blood groups of Sansis resemble more those of the Khattris and Aroras of Punjab, who are considered the best representatives of Rajputs of the Indo-Aryan race.

Following are the results of their blood tests :—

Community	Total No.	O	A	B	AB	Investigators
1. Sansis of Punjab	105	25.7	22.9 p:188	42.8 q:315	8.6 r:498	Sher Singh "Sher"
2. Khattris and Aroras of Punjab	3306	29.6	21.4 p:169	40.9 q:295	8.1 r:536	Sawdesh Anand
3. Karwals of U.P.	155	25.8	22.5 p:185	40.6 q:304	10.9 r:510	D.N. Majumdar
4. Bhatu of U.P.	113	27.4	24.7 p:181	39.8 q:280	7.9 r:530	D.N. Majumdar
5. Hindu (Mixed groups)	1000	31.3	19.0 p:149	41.2 q:291	8.5 r:559	Herchfeld

So far as the Anthropometric characters are concerned no work has been done on the communities of the Punjab. I have studied Anthropometric characters of only the Sansis of the Punjab. Dr. D.N. Majumdar has studied

anthropometrically of some Indo-Aryan communities of Uttar Pradesh. Hence a comparison of theirs is made below to prove the relation of ex-criminal tribes with the people of Aryan origin:—

	Sansis	Brahman (Basti)	Brahman (others)	Rajputs or Chattris	Bhatus	Habru
1. Stature	165.72	164.51	165.07	163.33	163.38	164.91
2. Sitting height vertex	84.03	86.43	86.25	82.25	84.49	85.55
3. Bizygomatic Breadth	13.34	13.34	13.27	13.17	13.35	13.12
4. Head Length	18.79	19.19	19.13	19.26	18.61	18.69
5. Head Breadth	14.00	13.99	13.95	13.87	13.86	13.54
6. Nasal Breadb	3.61	3.65	3.61	3.56	3.56	3.58
7. Nasal Depth	2.46	2.55	2.47	2.47	2.50	2.41
8. Nasal Length	5.01	5.12	5.04	4.27	5.2	5.3
9. Upper Face Length	6.56	6.61	6.53	6.47	6.59	6.46
10. Total Face Length	11.52	11.83	11.63	11.78	11.75	15.5

The Cephalic Index and the Nasal Index are considered the most consistent and reliable Somatological characters. Therefore, following is made the comparison between the Sansis of the Punjab and the Khattris of the Punjab. An absolute similarity is not possible bet-

ween real brothers and even between the twins of the same sex; however, inspite of a great deal of miscegenation found in all the communities of the world, like their blood groups, the following data clearly prove the common ethnic origin of the following communities : -

S. No.	Name of Community	Stature	C. I.	N. I.	Author
1.	Sansis of Punjab	165.72	75.36	72.30	Sher Singh
2.	Khattris of Punab	166.20	74.00	73.10	H.H. Risby

It is true that in case of some ex-criminal tribes of northern India, history is not clear because history was never written or revised for these poor people. However, their traditions indicate that they are the Rajputs of Rajasthan who were expelled from there by the Muslim invaders of the medieval age. It is a pity that some of the people do not attach proper importance to the traditions of a community though as a matter of fact tradition is the mother of history as

Topinard, one of the founders of Anthropology wrote "Tradition frequently steps in where history is at fault. History at first was simply tradition committed to writing. Such were the sources whence the first historians, Herodotus, Moses and Co. drew their supplies." (Dr. Paul Topinard—Anthropology, page 431, London, 1878).

At present acculturation of these people is going on very rapidly. Their younger generation is becoming more

and more civilised and sophisticated as modern education and enlightenment are increasing among them and as the Indian society is trying to assimilate them. I think that after a decade or so the old and aged persons of these communities will die and the traditions of their historical origin will die also along with them. Hence the writers should not lose any time to collect as much information from the old members of these tribes as possible to write authentic monographs on the exclusive tribes.

If physical anthropology proves as above the ethnic relationship among the Bhatu, the Karwals, the Haburas, the Khattris and the Aroras, history shows that the Sansis, the Gujars and the Berias are brothers being the descendants of the same Rajput ancestors. "There were formerly some Rajputs living in the village of Biyana in Kanjar, Baroli district of Bharatpore States. The Gujjars and the Berias sprang from the Rajputs who lived there. The Gujjars took up cultivation and the Berias became wanderers. Among the Berias there were two famous leaders, named Sahasmal and Sahasi. The descendants of Sahasmal became known as Berias and those of Sahasi as Sansis" (M. Paupa Rao Naidu—The Criminal Tribes of India Vol. III, page 24)."

All the ex-criminal tribes of northern India practise ancestor worship which is the characteristic belief of the Hindu Rajputs as Haddon says, 'Caste is not rigid, all Rajputs being theoretically but not actually of one blood. Widows may not remarry. They are orthodox Hindus ancestor with worship' (A.C. Haddon—Races of Man and Their Distribution

p. 59) Haddon also says "The well-known clan of Parihar Rajputs is a branch of Gurjara or Gujar stock" (*Ibid*).

Another well known ex-criminal tribe is the Kanjar tribe which derives its name from Kanjar a territory of Baroli District, Bharatpore State. The Kanjars are also related to the Sansis, "Now most of the prominent writers are unanimous that the Kanjars are offshoot of Sansis and Bhatu and Kanjars are synonymous. "(B.S. Bhargava, The Criminal Tribes of Northern India, page 17). According to E.A.H. Blunt, the Berias, the Bhatu, the Haburas, the Karwals and the Sansis possess similar features to such an extent that may safely be regarded as the offshoots of a single nomadic race". (*Ibid* p.9).

Now we should examine in a little detail the classification of the Backward people of India as done by the National Government after Indian independence. At present three different records are available about their classification.

1. The report of the Backward Classes Commission (Vol. 2) published by the Government of India in 1955.

2. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists Modification Order, 1956, published by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

3. The report of the Enquiry Committee of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1949, published by the Government of India.

All of these reports lack scientific and authentic classification of some of the Castes and Tribes included therein. Volume second of the report of the

Backward Classes Commission entirely deals with their classification, classifying them mainly into three categories (a) Other Backward Classes, (b) The Scheduled Castes and (c) Scheduled Tribes.

The scrutiny of this volume shows that the same caste, tribe or community once treated as criminal tribe, is classified in different categories in different States of Northern India. For instance, Ajmer, Delhi, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh classified the Gujjars as Other Backward Class (Vol. 2 of the report of the Backward Classes Commission pp. 1, 44, 100 and 118 respectively), but in Himachal Pradesh they are classified as a Scheduled Tribe (Ibid-p.218). The Minas are classified as other Backward Class in Ajmer, Pepsu and Punjab, (Ibid pp. 1, 92 and 97 respectively), but they are recommended for inclusion among Scheduled Tribes in some parts of Ajmer and Rajasthan (Ibid pp. 203 and 243). The Berias who are ancestrally the brothers of the Gujjars and the Sansis are classified among other Backward Classes in the Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (Ibid pp. 99, 100 and 116 respectively), but they are also classified among the Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh (Ibid p. 194.). Similarly the Nats are classified among Other Backward classes in Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (Ibid pp. 46, 48 and 119 respectively), but they are classified also among Scheduled Castes in Ajmer, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Pepsu, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh (Ibid pp. 132, 149, 151, 180, 183 and 195 respectively). Similarly confusion and conflict are found in their classification in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists Modification Order, 1956.

As regards the report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, 1949, even the list of all the Ex-criminal Tribes of India is not complete which is also realised by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India. In this report brief ethnographic notes are given on every tribe, but they are nothing more than true copy of the gleanings of articles written by some old writers.

At present these people are given three different designations—1. Denotified Communities (2) Ex-Criminal Tribes and (3) Vimuket Jatian. The Backward Classes Commission wrote, "These groups could be divided into two sections (i) Nomadic and (ii) Settled. The nomadic groups include the gypsy-like tribes such as Sansis, Kanjars etc. and have an innate preference for a life of adventure. The settled and semi-settled groups have descended from irregular fighting men or persons uprooted from their original homes due to invasions and other political upheavals. Some deteriorated as a result of extreme poverty and were then shunned by society. Although the main cause of their criminality is economic, there are other psychological factors behind crime and love of adventure which are no less important." (Report of the Backward Classes Commission Vol. I pp. 34, 35, 1955). The ancient history of India relates that the Rajputs and the Jats are the descendants of the Scythians who invaded India. As we know about the ex-criminal tribes that they love for adventure and are instinctively prone to predatory activities; Risely writes about the Scythian ancestors of Rajputs and the Jats. "In their original home on the

Central Asian steppes their manner of life was that of pastoral nomades; and their instincts were of the predatory order". (Sir Harbert Hope Risely-*THE PEOPLE OF INDIA*, page 59, Calcutta 1908). These views also prove temperamental resemblance among the Rajputs, the Jats and the ex-criminal Tribes of northern India.

The Sansis who are considered to be the original stock of other allied ex-criminal tribes of northern India, have their clear history and traditions of being the Bhatti Rajputs of Rajasthan, and they derive the name of their community from their ancestor Raja Sansasmal. The ex-criminal tribes of northern India are proud of giving birth to the great Maharaja Ranijt Singh who changed the trend of Indian History in general and particularly that of the Punjab. H.A. Rose, a very great authority on the tribes and castes of Punjab writes "The rank and influence of Sindhanwalia family, who belong to this tribe, and the renown of their representatives, the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh, have given the lasting political notoriety to Sansis". (H.A.Rose, *Tribes and Castes of Punjab* Vol. 3. p. 379).

The above discussion clearly proves that the ex-criminal tribes of northern India are the Rajputs. Due to their political downfall and expulsion from Rajputana, in the medieval age they lost their social grade in Indian Society for remaining home-less and wanderers for several centuries. This is why most of the writers have designated them as "Degraded Communities or Tribes". This expression clearly indicates that they have fallen down from some higher social grade. It is high time to regain

them and restore them to their proper status in the society.

Poverty and destitution are very great powers to degrade an individual, community or a nation and it has happened many times and at many places in the history of mankind. We have seen with our own eyes the effect of these degrading forces at the time of creation of Pakistan. At the time of partition lakhs of people were uprooted from West Pakistan and East Pakistan. Had the National Government not cared for them, accommodated them and rehabilitated them, millions of these uprooted people would have been nothing else but nomads, beggars, robbers and thieves, because in order to survive man tries every good or bad means to fill his belly. Simply speaking, this is, what has happened to the ex-criminal tribes of northern India after their exodus from Rajasthan. Neither the State nor the society ever tried to rehabilitate them properly. But it is very pitiable that they had been treated as criminals and outcastes for about six hundred years. The treatment given to them is the main cause of their socio-economic, religio-political and moral degeneration.

It is sad to say that if they were called criminal tribes during the British rule in India today they are known as ex-criminal tribes and are classified among the Scheduled Castes.

It is not fair and beneficial for a nation to keep clinging to old things of bad odour. Till 1947 the Indians were known as slaves for centuries, being under the sway of foreign rulers, but now after becoming free, no Indian would like to be called an "Ex-slave". According to human self-respect and

diginity if the Indians resent insulting and degrading designation of their past slavery, then why these people should be called Ex-criminal Tribes, Denotified Communities or Vimuket Jatian etc. which give bad odour of their past position to which they were subjected by the foreign rulers. The uprooted people of India were first designated as "Refugees" but soon the national Government discarded this word considering it humiliating, and replaced it by "Displaced Persons".

If the uprooted people of West Pakistan and East Pakistan are treated as "Displaced Persons" and are rehabilitated giving them special privileges and concessions, then why should these people not be treated like them though their uprooting took place about 700 years ago?

Another problem of their re-classification is the stage or standard of their development. Some of the families of these people have acquired a good socio-economic and educational standard. Such well-to-do or advanced families should be excluded from the list of "Displaced Rajputs of Medieval India" so that they may not deprive some other more needy and deserving persons of their special concessions and privileges, provided to them by the Government.

In the end I suggest that the ex-criminal tribes of northern India should not be classified into (i) settled and (ii) nomadic or wandering: but they should be classified as 1. "Rehabilitated" and 2. *Unrehabilitated*, and as a whole group in the coming census of 1961 they should be designated as "Dispalced Rajputs of India" or simply as "Displaced Rajputs".

TRIBAL WELFARE WORK AMONG THE WORKERS

by

GOPI NATH SEN

It is a great onerous task for the workers to do tribal welfare work. With the rapid industrialisation the tribal population are unable to decide what they should do. The lands of the tribals are now occupied by the great and small industries. The tribal people are becoming homeless. But some of their homes are being replaced by the Industrialists into the barracks where every kind of restriction on life is promulgated. They have no sweet home like their forefathers. There is no twittering of the

birds but they are now accustomed to the whistle of the mills. Their life is now regulated with the timing of modern clocks not by their lovely cocks. It is like the passive resistance between life and death. The life of the tribals is losing pathos of their eventful past. Neither government nor employers are looking after them for bringing back their glorious past.

The people are fighting for existence of life every now and then. The industries, mines and mills are giving

employment to thousands of people. There they do not find any lure of life except to fill up the belly. In this great life of warfare the tribals have become great victims. From the first Five Year Plan thousands and thousands of tribal people are being engaged for the construction of dams, roads, buildings and various types of work. Their life has become too much mechanized. Under the heel of industrial demon they are crushed to death. In this scientific world their life has become more mechanical, sophisticated and irrational. In this stage it is really a most difficult problem to handle the tribal work in the industrial areas unless the workers are really competent to handle like a very skillful weaver.

In different parts of India the tribals are found in various fields of industrial work. There is no special treatment of tribal people in any one of the fields. Also the government do not give any privileges to the tribal people who are usually in these fields. The management do not at all give any benefit to them. They are exploiting them for their simplicity. Also the Trade Unions are dragging them into politics. The tribals are not at all benefited by any one of them.

Moreover in the industrial field a major influence of non-tribal workers is working in the field. It is being observed at the time of recruitment that the tribals are being replaced by the non-tribals. There is always a feeling of discrimination between the tribal and non-tribal workers. The tribal workers suffer at the hands of unscrupulous employers, traders and recruiting Agencies.

It is a most vital task for the official and non-official tribal welfare organisations to look after the benefit of the tribal people. They should work shoulder to shoulder so that there may be no suspicion among them.

In India, the tribal labourers may be divided as follows ;—

(1) Agricultural (2) Industrial (3) Mining and (4) in other fields. The tribals should not be treated in different manner but they should be given the same amenities in every walk of their life. As such they will think themselves a single family and their world will be one.

(1) **Agricultural Workers**

The tribals who are engaged in agricultural fields are earning a morsel of food with great difficulty. They have got a little grain which can be sold at the market for their clothings. Tribals have got very little agricultural land. It is a great pity that they still have not got sufficient lands in order to maintain their families comfortably. A very few tribal people have got their own lands. Most of them are landless peasants.

The Government of India and the State Governments are anxious to solve the land problem of the tribal people. The governmental machinery is very slow and that is why this problem is growing worse day by day. From my experience I like to tell you the land problem of the tribal people. I have approached the District Authorities in Midnapore to rehabilitate the twenty four landless tribal families in the village Fulmanipur through the Tribal Welfare Organisation named The Adibasi Kalyan Samity, West Bengal.

Firstly the authorities asked them to submit applications separately from each family. It is more than two years since the matter is pending before the authority. They think it is their lot that they do not get any benefit either from the organisation or from the Government respectively.

The Agricultural labourers should be given facility by being provided with the requisite lands, seeds and implements for their cultivation. If they are not given their necessary requirements then it would not be possible to carry on the tribal welfare work in the villages.

After freedom it is seen that a number of new problems have cropped up. After the advent of new projects there is a great pressure on lands. The Adibasis of these areas have been deprived of their lands on account of the multipurpose projects of the Government. In lieu of it they have not received any sort of land. On account of the influx of refugees they have suffered tremendous loss. The most beautiful land of the tribals Dandakaranya has been transferred into the Refugees Paradise. Most of the tribals are landless in the state of West Bengal and are passing their days like nomadic people. They could not establish their hearth and home in a village. For their livelihood they have to move from one place to another place.

It is necessary that Co-operative Farming should be started for tribal agricultural labourers. The individual family burden will be diminished if they take to co-operative farming. The societies would guide such co-operative agricultural families by which they can

launch "Growmore food" scheme without depending on themselves. By this they can establish their co-operative village, corporate life, economic co-ordination and common marketing.

At present full fledged statistics of the land holders and landless tribal people for the betterment of their life are necessary.

Industrial Labourers

The people who are engaged in industrial concerns lose their fine sense of human art. Their wheel of destiny is moving with the wheel of machines. The tribal people can not compete with the other sophisticated people in that area. Also the atmosphere of dust, smoke and noise would not suit them. But they have to stay for their livelihood. It is very difficult problem for them to find out a new job. It is not at all objectionable to be engaged in the industrial fields.

The employers should distinguish the tribal people from other workers. They should maintain their purity of life which is very essential. In the big industries the labour welfare officer should take keen interest in them during their work. The labour welfare officer for the tribal workers should be chosen from the tribal educated persons. If it is not possible then the persons should be selected from other communities who are really conversant in tribal languages and culture.

In the mills and industries the tribal workers should have holidays to enjoy their festivals. The mill authorities should contribute money for their enjoyments.

The quarters of the tribal workers should not be the same as for other employees. It is very essential to see that their community life should grow in congenial atmosphere. The workers should not be given the nightshift under any circumstances. The male and female workers will work full eight hours. Their wages should not be deducted if they are absent from work for any essential reason. They should be treated very softly during their working life. The female workers should get the privileges as provided in the industrial laws.

The creative imagination of the tribal people should be nourished. The Government as well as public institutions should see that they should not be exploited at the hands of exploiters.

The tribal workers should not be transferred from one place to another place. Because it will hamper their peaceful life and also deter the growth of social life. It should be seen that more tribals should be enlisted in the industrial fields. If they get more facilities then more tribal people will be attracted in various mechanical jobs.

Mining Workers

The tribal labourers have occupied a large area in the Mining Areas. They are the inhabitants of these areas where the underground treasures are found. In the Anthropological books we found that the tribal people were the first discoverers of the ores. By and by the geologists, miners and industrialists have established themselves in these fields. But the poor tribals have not

been benefited by the capitalists groups. They have suffered at the hands of the exploiters. The immigrants who have captured their lands, homes and earning sources did not have any kind of sympathy on them.

Now the time has thoroughly changed so the tribal people should not be neglected. The folk who have played a great role in the discovery have no position in the field. It is found that some tribal people have got inborn acumen in mining. It is the duty of the technicians to help, and educate them.

The tribal people are becoming more and more engaged in various fields. From the day labourers to highgrade services they are now occupying their seats. In all spheres it is seen that their minds are vacant. The tribal people who are engaged as daily labourers are becoming more and more callous in their life. It is only because of their poverty. The high income groups are imitating the foreign culture. So their tradition is being lost.

It is not at all possible to protect the culture of the tribal people if they are not themselves alert about the same. To some extent the Missionaries are responsible for their development. Undoubtedly they have given some help to a few tribal people to earn their livelihood. But they have proselytized the tribal people. The missionaries have not taught them to cultivate their own traditional cultures.

Education

The tribal workers should learn reading, writing and expressing their

thoughts. The regional script and language and also their language should be taught to them. The Adult Education Centre, Primary Schools, Basic Institutions and similar Institutions where practical training can be given to the tribal people, should be opened in all the Industrial areas where the tribal population is found.

The medium of education should be imparted in the tribal languages. The books are to be written in regional scripts and the English language should be taught for exchanging their views.

Library and Study Class

The tribal workers should be encouraged to organize the libraries and study classes. They must have their own journal through which the tribal folk literature and art should be expressed. This journal should teach the tribal languages to the non-tribal people.

Their cultural episodes will be fully expressed in it.

This journal should give emphasis on the Tribal Welfare in labour areas. Its aim is to establish amity between employers and employees.

In the Industrial Areas they are swayed away by the modern thoughts and culture. The innocent tribal people do not know the effect of quick sophistication. It is most injurious for their minds and bodies if they could not eschew the wrong path of sophisticated life.

The tribal welfare work among the workers can bring a very successful result if the higher castes bring them nearer and nearer. India is striding equally with other forward nations of the world. So it is necessary that backward classes and tribal people should be given most urgent attention so that they can develop with other communities of India.

LAND TENURE SYSTEM IN ASSAM

by

BINOD BEHARI GOSWAMI,

Deptt. of Tribal Culture Research, Gauhati University

Land tenure in Assam can be subdivided into two sections,

1. The permanent settlement,
2. The temporary settlement, and the land tenure in Hill Districts.

Permanent settlement

In Assam the permanently settled areas were in Goalpara district, the

Karimganj subdivision of Cachar district, and the plain portion of the Garo Hills. The total area under permanent settlement in Assam was 17,02,055 acres of which 15,18,982 acres were in Goalpara district, 428 acres in the plains portion of the Garo Hills, and 182,645 acres in Cachar district. In the permanently settled estates in Goalpara, the Zamindars

besides letting out some of their lands to tenant cultivators, leased out large areas to intermediaries known as 'jotedars.' The jotedars in their turn sublet their land to tenant cultivators or in a few cases to yet another set of lower intermediaries, who were settled peasants of land. In Karimganj, the Zemindars either sublet their land in 'Patui' for a fixed number of years or in perpetuity, or leased the land directly to tenant cultivators. The 'Patui-lease-holders,' however, created in some cases tenants under them.

Permanent settlement and the consequent zamindari system or landlordism have been abolished. In fact, the first step was taken in Assam in 1944 when the State government passed the Assam Management of Estates Act 1949, whereby it was intended to facilitate the abolition of intermediaries in the permanently settled areas of Assam. The Act was passed with a view to take preliminary steps towards abolition of zamindari, such as taking over possession and management, preparation of records of rights and prevention of wanton destruction of material wealth of estates, etc.

Abolition of intermediaries

In 1951, the state government passed another act, The Assam State Acquisition of Zamindaris Act, 1951. This act sounded the death of the Zamindari system, and was framed on the model of Bihar Land Reforms Act. The purpose of the Act was to acquire Zamindaris, in the permanently settled areas in the State. Some provisions in this Act of 1951 were challenged in the courts and it was found that the Act needed some amendments.

Accordingly an Amendment Act was passed in 1953 to avoid any further complications in future. But the last appeal challenging the validity of similar Acts in other States was disposed of by the Supreme Court only in 1956. Hence, it became possible to effectively apply the Act all over the State only after 1956.

The Amendment Act, among other things, contained the following :—

1. The tenants were allowed to hold land on the same terms and conditions as immediately before the date of vesting.

2. The limit of private land allowed to be held by certain cases of intermediaries was reduced from 400 to 150 bighas. The Government, however, could fix an upper limit of land for individual holdings at 150 bighas for the purpose of effecting land reforms. The excess over this limit will vest in the Government but fair compensation will be paid to the holder of the land.

3. The basis of calculating the income of proprietor for compensation purposes was also slightly modified.

Another amendment to the State Acquisition of Zamindaris Act was passed in 1954 with a view to removing some doubts about the definition of the permanently settled estates.

The State Government has already acquired the rights of the highest class of intermediaries, viz. the Zamindars serving land to the extent of 18,19,000 acres in the district of Goalpara. Tenures covering 1,30,000 acres of the second class of intermediaries, viz. 'Jotedars', have been either acquired or already notified for acquisition. The estates acquired are Bijni, Chaper and Parbatijoar, and those

thoughts. The regional script and language and also their language should be taught to them. The Adult Education Centre, Primary Schools, Basic Institutions and similar Institutions where practical training can be given to the tribal people, should be opened in all the Industrial areas where the tribal population is found.

The medium of education should be imparted in the tribal languages. The books are to be written in regional scripts and the English language should be taught for exchanging their views.

Library and Study Class

The tribal workers should be encouraged to organize the libraries and study classes. They must have their own journal through which the tribal folk literature and art should be expressed. This journal should teach the tribal languages to the non-tribal people.

Their cultural episodes will be fully expressed in it.

This journal should give emphasis on the Tribal Welfare in labour areas. Its aim is to establish amity between employers and employees.

In the Industrial Areas they are swayed away by the modern thoughts and culture. The innocent tribal people do not know the effect of quick sophistication. It is most injurious for their minds and bodies if they could not eschew the wrong path of sophisticated life.

The tribal welfare work among the workers can bring a very successful result if the higher castes bring them nearer and nearer. India is striding equally with other forward nations of the world. So it is necessary that backward classes and tribal people should be given most urgent attention so that they can develop with other communities of India.

LAND TENURE SYSTEM IN ASSAM

by

BINOD BEHARI GOSWAMI,

Deptt. of Tribal Culture Research, Gauhati University

Land tenure in Assam can be subdivided into two sections,

1. The permanent settlement,
2. The temporary settlement, and the land tenure in Hill Districts.

Permanent settlement

In Assam the permanently settled areas were in Goalpara district, the

Karimganj subdivision of Cachar district, and the plain portion of the Garo Hills. The total area under permanent settlement in Assam was 17,02,055 acres of which 15,18,982 acres were in Goalpara district, 428 acres in the plains portion of the Garo Hills, and 182,645 acres in Cachar district. In the permanently settled estates in Goalpara, the Zamindars

besides letting out some of their lands to tenant cultivators, leased out large areas to intermediaries known as 'jotedars.' The jotedars in their turn sublet their land to tenant cultivators or in a few cases to yet another set of lower intermediaries, who were settled peasants of land. In Karimganj, the Zemindars either sublet their land in 'Patui' for a fixed number of years or in perpetuity, or leased the land directly to tenant cultivators. The 'Patui-lease-holders,' however, created in some cases tenants under them.

Permanent settlement and the consequent zamindari system or landlordism have been abolished. In fact, the first step was taken in Assam in 1944 when the State government passed the Assam Management of Estates Act 1949, whereby it was intended to facilitate the abolition of intermediaries in the permanently settled areas of Assam. The Act was passed with a view to take preliminary steps towards abolition of zamindari, such as taking over possession and management, preparation of records of rights and prevention of wanton destruction of material wealth of estates, etc.

Abolition of intermediaries

In 1951, the state government passed another act, The Assam State Acquisition of Zamindaris Act, 1951. This act sounded the death of the Zamindari system, and was framed on the model of Bihar Land Reforms Act. The purpose of the Act was to acquire Zamindaris, in the permanently settled areas in the State. Some provisions in this Act of 1951 were challenged in the courts and it was found that the Act needed some amendments.

Accordingly an Amendment Act was passed in 1953 to avoid any further complications in future. But the last appeal challenging the validity of similar Acts in other States was disposed of by the Supreme Court only in 1956. Hence, it became possible to effectively apply the Act all over the State only after 1956.

The Amendment Act, among other things, contained the following :—

1. The tenants were allowed to hold land on the same terms and conditions as immediately before the date of vesting.

2. The limit of private land allowed to be held by certain cases of intermediaries was reduced from 400 to 150 bighas. The Government, however, could fix an upper limit of land for individual holdings at 150 bighas for the purpose of effecting land reforms. The excess over this limit will vest in the Government but fair compensation will be paid to the holder of the land.

3. The basis of calculating the income of proprietor for compensation purposes was also slightly modified.

Another amendment to the State Acquisition of Zamindaris Act was passed in 1954 with a view to removing some doubts about the definition of the permanently settled estates.

The State Government has already acquired the rights of the highest class of intermediaries, viz. the Zamindars serving land to the extent of 18,19,000 acres in the district of Goalpara. Tenures covering 1,30,000 acres of the second class of intermediaries, viz. 'Jotedars', have been either acquired or already notified for acquisition. The estates acquired are Bijni, Chaper and Parbatijoar, and those

in the process of acquisition, Karibari and Srigrām. Some difficulties have been experienced by the State government in Karimganj in connection with issue of notification under the State Acquisition of Zamindaris Act. Steps have been taken to prepare record of rights in the permanently settled areas of Karimganj Sub-division as well as Goalpara district.

For abolition of intermediaries in the Lushai Hills, the Lushai Hills Acquisition of Chiefs' Rights Act was passed in April 1955. The Act provides for the acquisition of the chiefs over lands in the Lushai Hills and lays down principles of compensation and manner of its payment.

The area involved in the Assam's drive for abolition of Zamindari is over 17·02 lakh acres and the total amount of compensation Rs. 5 crores. The average compensation per acre comes to about Rs.29·32. The additional annual revenue which may accrue to State government as a result of Zamindari abolition is estimated at Rs. 0·20 crores or 4 per cent of total compensation payable. Ad-interim compensation has been provided for and is being paid, pending final assesment.

Temporary settlement

In Assam, where the permanent settlement does not obtain, temporary settlement exists except in the hill districts. The temporary settlement areas in Assam comprise different kinds of estates:—

- (a) 'Lakhiraj' estates paying no land revenue at all ;
- (b) Fee simple grants now assessed to revenue;

- (c) 'Nis-fi-khiraj' estates paying half the normal revenue ;
- (d) 'Khiraj' lands settled on periodic leases having transferable rights; and
- (e) Annual patta lands without transferable rights.

A great deal of land is held on an annually renewable 'patta' and on lease for ten years or less. Tea gardens are held on leasehold tenure at low rates of assessment.

In the temporarily settled areas in the plains districts, a tenure is held directly under the Government, and the system can be called the Ryotwari system. In this sphere also middlemen and intermediaries have made their estates and established tenants. The result is that there is a class of non-cultivators operating between the State and the cultivator. This class profits by realising rents from the cultivators. 'Lakhiraj' and 'nisfi-khiraj' lands were granted by the Ahom kings to religious institutions, Brahmins, and others. These people have also established their own tenants with the passage of time.

Hill Districts

The constitution vests the exercise of the powers of land control in Hill districts in the District Councils. The land policies of these councils for Hill districts are usually to the best advantage of the people and the government can not interfere in it. It has already been pointed out that reform of land system in Hill districts also received proper attention when the Lushai Hills Acquisition of Chiefs' Rights Act was passed in 1955. The Act sought to

acquire certain hereditary rights of chiefs (over land) which tended to encourage intermediaries, the chief aim of the Act being to abolish such rights.

The tribals of the plains districts suffered greatly under the planned influx of land hungry immigrants from East Bengal during the first forty years of the present century and particularly during the thirties. These immigrants poured into Assam like, "white ants carrying everything before them" and plain tribals were swept away and pushed to the bases of the hills. The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1947, protected these people. Under this Act tribal belts or blocks were constituted to protect those classes of people who on account of their primitive condition and lack of education and material advantages were incapable of looking after their welfare in so far as such welfare depended upon their having reasonable land for maintenance. No person living outside these belts or Blocks is allowed to encroach upon them for settlement so long as the needs in respect of land, of the people of the belts or Blocks remain unsatisfied. The right to transfer land in the belts or Blocks is also restricted to persons within the relevant class of people. At the end of 1957, there were 30 tribal belts in predominantly plains districts of Brahamaputra valley and they covered an area of 36,79,206 acres in all.

The scheduled hill districts comprise of the Garo Hills, the Khasi Hills and

Jayantia Hills, the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and the Lushai Hills; the administration of land in these areas being carried on according to local customs and usages, land revenue is not realised here. In lieu of land revenue, in some places, some kind of a house tax or hoe tax is imposed on the people.

In the Second Five Year Plan a scheme for consolidation of holdings, costing about 15 lakhs has been included. The State Govt. has allowed the conversion of annual leases into periodic leases on certain conditions being fulfilled. The annual leases confer no right to transfer or sublet the land and are renewable every year. The periodic leases confer permanent, heritable and transferable rights of use and occupancy. The Govt. is now devoting attention to better management of land. A land reforms board is expected to be constituted to render advice to the Govt. on effective execution of the Assam Fixation of Ceilings on Land Holdings Act and to advise the government on formulation of policies on matters relating to land control and reforms, co-operative settlement, and co-operative farming, as well as to evaluate the progress in these directions from time to time. About 150 co-operative farms have already been formed—some aided by the State. Yet a great deal remains to be done on the reform and control of land in Assam. As regards Scheduled Areas, District councils are at full liberty to do whatever they think is best for them.

THE UN-EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM OF THE ADIWASIS
and
THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

by
D. N. WANDREKAR

It is likely that the draft of the Third Five Year Plan for the Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and Areas must be ready by this time. This paper and the discussions at the Tribal Conference at Ootacamund may therefore be found to be rather superfluous. The draft plans of the different States might have passed through the hands of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He might have also made his suggestions with regard to the centrally sponsored schemes. He being the expert on this subject confidently hoped that he must have made his suggestions not only after studying the plans of the different States but also after taking into account the experience of the States in implementing the various schemes under the First and Second Five Year Plans, as well as the results achieved. All the same it is but proper that social workers should individually and collectively give out

their ideas and proposals even though the time might have passed. These ideas and proposals coming as they do from persons who have devoted their lives to the cause of the Adivasis, may be found helpful when the drafts are finalised and adopted by the Parliament.

I am here concerned not with all-round advancement of the Adiwasis. Under the Plans the schemes are divided under three heads viz. (1) Education, (2) Economic Uplift and (3) Health and Housing etc. The importance of Education and health etc. in the ultimate goal of the allround advancement cannot be minimised. Education and facilities for better living conditions are essential for a decent living and it was but proper that substantial provisions should have been made both in the Union and the States Plans for the purpose. The figures of the provisions are as under :—

All States (figures in lakhs)

	First Plan	Second Plan	+	Centrally sponsored
Education	5,10	7,23	+	1,59 = 8,82
Health, Housing etc.	7,89	14,92	+	5,24 = 20,16
	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 12,99	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 22,15	+	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 6,83 = 28,98

As compared to these figures of Rs. 13 crores and 29 crores under the Second Five Year Plans respectively, the figures for economic uplift are as follows :—

Agriculture	2,82	4,38	+	8,11 = 12,49
Cottage industries	1,05	2,25	+	1,18 = 3,33
Cooperation	0,49	86	+	53 = 1,39
	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 4,37	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 7,50	+	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 9,82 = 17,32

The above figures are significant. They will be discussed later on.

The chief problem of the adivasis is economic. I am not sure whether at any time any survey was carried out to find out what the annual income of an Adivasi is and whether there has been any increase in the same as a result of the welfare schemes taken up so far and if so by how much. It is equally important to find out whether there has been any increase in the population of the Adivasis and if so by how much and how the increase in population has affected the average individual income.

The chief occupations of the Adivasis are agriculture and forest work. The average holding is vary small and the method of cultivation very crude. There are no irrigation facilities worth the name. Up till recently most of their land had passed into the hands of the saokars and landlords. Most of them used to cultivate the land either as tenants or as day labourers. With the introduction of the tenancy legislation in all the States rack-renting has been stopped, rentals have been regulated, forced labour and other extralegal exactions have been penalised. The most important of the provisions is one conferring the status of owners on tenants with a certain standing and fixing the procedure to determine the price of the land in the tenants' possession and the instalments for payments of the same. All these measures must have contributed to the bettering of the economic condition of those Adivasis who used to cultivate some land as tenants. The provision making them landlords is the culmination of the measures in this regard. The chief result is psychological.

Ownership of the land has created a sense of self-respect and has prompted them to greater efforts to develop the land, to cultivate it more scientifically and to raise better crops from the same. They have begun to take advantage of the different schemes under the Five Year Plans like digging wells or constructing small bandharas, contour bunding the land or terracing and levelling it, using better seeds and fertilisers etc. All this is good so far as it goes.

But the real question is what is the total area of the land the Adivasis hold either as owners or tenants and what is the size of the individual holding, whether that holding can be termed economic and whether it is sufficiently large to give the holder an income which will enable him to maintain his family decently. There are no figures available about the total area as well as the average size of the holding nor of the numbers of the Adivasis having such holdings. But during the last twenty years I have been constantly touring the jungle areas of the Old Bombay State and visiting the hamlets of the Adivasis in quite inaccessible tracts. And I can safely say that the area of the average holding does not exceed five acres and that too of poor land situated mostly on the slopes of hills without bunding and largely eroded. Further the land is entirely dependent on rains. The crops raised are of poor quality liable to be affected by failure of or break in rains. The result is that the crops even during normal times do not suffice the family even for four months. For eight months in the year most of these holders of land have to make their living by finding some work as day labourers.

If this is the condition of persons who can boast of some land as a means of living, the condition of the landless can well be imagined. In spite of the two plans and the welfare schemes under them, at least twenty five per cent of the Adivasis have to face starvation or semi-starvation conditions during periods when no work can be found any where specially during the rainy season. This period extends to about two months. In spite of the fact that every Adivasi man and woman has a vote, and the Adivasis have their own representatives both in the Parliament and the State Legislatures as well as in the Central and State Cabinets, this problem of their poverty resulting in semi-starvation has not been tackled so far.

I often wonder whether the framers of the Five Year Plans have any idea of the magnitude the problem. What is the amount that has been provided by them in the two plans to meet this problem? Rupees four and a half crores in round figures in the first plan—roughly Rupees three crores for improvement of agriculture and a crore and a half for economic uplift including village industries and co-operation. In the Second Plan the amounts have no doubt increased in response to the demands both from the Adivasis and the social workers. The amounts are Rupees twelve and a half crores for agriculture and Rupees five crores for economic uplift, the total coming to Rupees seventeen crores and a half. Looking to the trends this amount may go up to Rupees thirty or thirty five crores in the Third Five Year Plan, if the Plan size goes up to Rupees ten

thousand crores as I shall come to this question later on.

As said above the other main occupation of the Adivasis is forest work. During the British regime the forests in the country were worked through the agency of the forest contractors. The exploitation of the Adivasi labourers at the hands of these contractors was terrible. Shri Symington an I.C.S. Officer of the Bombay State has said in his report submitted to the Government in 1937 that the wages of the forest workers hardly came to two annas per day and even these paltry wages were not paid regularly and honestly. The first popular Government of the Bombay State constituted in 1937 had therefore, to add a minimum wages clause to the agreement with the contractors and fix the minimum wages for forest work. The working of the minimum wages clause was found quite unsatisfactory as no agency for its enforcement was created at the time. The Bombay Government ultimately came to the conclusion that agency of the contractors must be substituted by the agency of the co-operatives of the forest workers themselves, so that they may be freed from the clutches of the contractors and they may get an opportunity of developing their individuality. This experiment was started twelve years back with the help of the social service agencies working among the Adivasis. The progress made during this period of twelve years has been quite satisfactory. Further progress has been properly planned and it is expected that within about fifteen years more the whole working of the forests in the newly constituted Maharashtra and Gujerat

States will be handled by the co-operatives of the forest workers themselves.

The chief advantage the Adivasis derive under this project is that their exploitation has been stopped and collectively they have themselves become forest contractors and as such they are entitled to a share in the profits the co-operatives make in the trade, in addition to the regular wages they get when working the jungle coupes allotted to these co-operatives. But these co-operatives have not given work to all the Adivasis within their area of operation. Hardly 25 per cent of the adults in that area get work and that too for about two months during the season. Whatever work was available under the contractor is now being done by the co-operatives. The number of coupes to be worked annually is limited and governed by the working plans. The forest work thus does not much help in solving the unemployment or rather under employment problem of the Adivasis.

This Bombay project has been appreciated by Central Government and was also recommended to the other States by the Planning Commission. In both the first and second Five Year Plans special paragraphs were included about these co-operatives and provisions were also made for their starting on an All India basis. But unfortunately no other State has so far taken up this movement for reasons not known to us. Co-operation has found a definite place in our natural life and the co-operative movement is fast pervading many of our activities and programmes. It is expected that under the pressure of the Central Government the State Governments will

soon extend the co-operative movement to the forest work and eliminate the agency of the forest contractors. This will help in improving the economic condition to some extent of a section of the Adivasis. But by itself it cannot solve their unemployment problem.

Besides agriculture and forest work the Adivasis do not practise any other occupation. Residing as they do in remote forest areas and cut off from the outside world, they were leading a secluded life of their own wherein wants were minimum and wherein no keenness was felt to learn skilled trades and crafts. There was no care for the morrow, no saving habit and no liking for continuous and strenuous work. Unless and until this psychology is changed and unless and until the Adivasis make up their minds to learn new trades and professions and to practise them either individually or co-operatively with the same diligence and perseverance as the others do, the problem of their employment and poverty cannot be solved. The solution of this problem means the changing of the whole mental set-up. The experience of the workers in the field of village industries deserves serious consideration. The Village Industries Commission and the State Boards tried to introduce the Ambar Charkha and other village industries in the Adivasi areas. Some of the Intensive Areas were selected in the Adivasi tracts and whole time trained workers who have made the Adivasi cause their life's mission were planted there. Their efforts have not borne any fruit, worth the mention. I have visited the Intensive Areas and the Sarvodaya Centres not once but several times and have made personal inquiries

of the people in the interior villages about the progress of village industries. The replies I got both from the workers and the Adivasis themselves have been very disappointing. The Adivasis admit that they have no full time occupation. They express their desire to be provided with some occupation. But when the Ambar Charkha and other industries are mentioned to them, they put up certain pretexts or avoid further discussions. Not that they are not hard working. They would walk twenty miles at a stretch over hilly areas and wade through flooded rivers and streams for carrying a message if that task is entrusted to them and thus earn a paltry sum of four annas. But to sit on the ground and work the Ambar Charkha for eight hours in the day and earn a rupee or twelve annas is not suited to their nature. The work of felling trees and other forest work is to their liking and to spend eight hours in this strenuous work is a child's play to them. Similarly agricultural work during the rainy season like ploughing, transplanting, harvesting has permanent attraction for them.

But there is a limit to the agricultural occupation. It is not possible to make available the huge areas required to satisfy the needs of the landless who are hungry for land. Almost all the waste lands in the Adivasi areas have been given away to the Adivasis by the Government. More employment in agriculture can be provided if the lands get irrigation facilities on an extensive scale. Big irrigation works are not possible in the rough hilly tracts where the Adivasis reside. A well here or a bandhara there, although quite welcome, does not touch even the fringe

of the employment problem. Substantial contribution to the solution of this problem can be made only if a big programme of wells by thousands and bandharas by hundreds is taken up by every State under the Third Five Year Plan irrespective of the cost thereof. The goal should be provision of a well for every holding and bunding every stream and rivulet at convenient sites, as also supply of engines and pumps to lift water from rivers flowing through the valleys below. If such irrigation facilities are made available a large section of the Adivasis will be occupied in agriculture all the year round. They will then raise two or even three crops in the year and thus do away with the present semi-starvation conditions.

But even intensive agriculture will not absorb all the landless Adivasis. Suitable small industries must be started in the Adivasi tracts. At present the forests provide work only to about 25 per cent of the Adivasis residing in the local forests. The work is confined to felling of trees and converting them to timber and manufacturing charcoal out of the residue left over or collection of some minor forest produce. The potentialities of the forests in producing various essential material are many. Sweden for instance has a forest economy. It has the richest forest in the world. Seventy five per cent of the country's area is under forest and greatest care is taken not only to conserve the forests but to nurse them as if they are big gardens or plantations. Industrial townships are developed all over the forest areas and suitable industries and factories have been started for manufacturing finished products of various

types from the raw material obtained from the forests or rather the plantations. These factories provide opportunity to the local talents and work on a large-scale to the local people who thus never remain unemployed. What Sweden has done can well be followed in India with suitable changes. What is wanted in these Adivasi tracts is a labour-intensive industrial programme, wherein machine power will be utilised to the minimum degree possible. All the latest inventions of science must be adopted in the implementation of the programme. Further these industries must be run by the Adivasis themselves on a co-operative basis with the help of a few outside experts in the beginning. If such industries are started in the heart of the forests and care is taken to keep up the forest atmosphere every where, the Adivasis will be attracted to these new occupations. Training in different processes will be necessary and that can be organised easily.

The Forest Department of the Central and State Governments have a utilisation Section in charge of a responsible officer who is an expert in this subject. These officers can well suggest what industries can be started in which areas. The department should prepare suitable literature on the subject and have it broadcast specially in the forest areas. I have seen some literature published by the Swedish Government in the English language. Their list of the forest industries runs into some hundreds. This question of forest industries is also being investigated by the F.A.O. experts. They are moving about in the forests of our country also. I had the good fortune to meet one of them a few months back

and to discuss with him the question of whether the different forest industries suggested by him can be organised on a co-operative basis and whether they can be labour intensive, so that all the landless forest folks should get therefrom full employment all the year round. According to him this is quite possible.

The Third Five Year Plan should make suitable provision for such forest industries and for setting up a suitable organisation for the same. The provision under the Second Five Year Plan for the economic uplift of the Adivasis or Scheduled Tribes does not cover any such forest industry. The schemes under the Plan envisage three kinds of activities viz. 1. Training of a few candidates in some ordinary craft 2. Financial assistance to co-operative societies like the Forest Labourers Co-operatives and 3. Financial assistance to individuals to practise some craft. The provision for this purpose was of Rupees Five crores. The result must have been that about 2 to 3 hundred training-cum-production centres for ordinary crafts like bamboo working or carpentry must have been opened in the country and about 4 to 5 thousand youths must have received some training therein. Whether these youths have all taken up the professions for which they received the training is a different question. Even supposing they have, the magnitude of the problem has not been lessened in the least for the population of the Adivasis must have increased at by least ten lakhs during these five years. It will be clear that even if the amount for economic uplift is doubled in the Third Plan i.e. Rupees ten crores are provided as against Rupees Five crores in the Second Plan

nothing substantial will be achieved. I may suggest the provision of Rupees Fifty crores i.e. one crore on an average per State for forest and other village industries schemes and Rupees fifty crores for agricultural improvement, specially provision of irrigation facilities.

It must be remembered that mere provision of a big amount is not going to achieve any results. What is essential is a sound organisation on a scale comparable to the magnitude of the problem. Special sections both in the forest department and Village Industries or Welfare Department of the different States adequately manned by trained and devoted staff will have to be opened. Alongside the official agency, the non-official agency will have to be geared up. The results achieved in the Bombay State in the field of the Forest Labourers Co-operatives are mainly due to the association of the social service agencies with this movement. These agencies can well be entrusted with the tasks both of training and organising various forest industries on a co-operative basis. These agencies are in constant touch with the Adivasis even in the remotest parts of the jungle areas. They are fully cognisant of the psychology and habits of the Adivasis. What is necessary is that the official agency must extend to the non-official agency its full and hearty co-operation. The officials must consider the non-officials or social workers as their colleagues in a common national mission. Let it not be forgotten that the advancement of the Adivasis is an integral part of the greater task of national advancement for which the Five Year Plans are framed. It has been so recognised by even our Constitution which has cast special responsibility in

this regard on the Central and State Governments.

I have here to emphasise the part which the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has to play in the solution of the unemployment problem of the Adivasis. No doubt the commission and its workers have met with some rebuffs in the past in the introduction of the Ambar Charkha among the Adivasis. But that was due to a large extent to the ignorance of the workers about the mental set-up and temperament of the Adivasis. The approach will have to be changed. Instead of trying to force the Adivasis to conform to the general procedure laid down for the country as a whole, the procedure should be so changed as will conform to the habits and temperament of the Adivasis. The local workers should be given liberty to try experiments and evolve a proper procedure acceptable to the Adivasis. If this is done all the thirteen industries taken up by the Commission are sure to attract the Adivasis and absorb them in thousands and their small hamlets spread over the jungle areas will soon turn into centres of production of the different kinds of articles as determined by the Commission.

The Khadi and Village Industries Commission has been specially constituted to provide employment through certain village industries in the rural areas and thus tackle the unemployment and under-employment problem of the country. The Commission has been doing excellent work in this field and has been able to provide occupation to a few lakhs. In the Third Plan the Commission will certainly have bigger provisions as its part in the tackling of the unemployment problem has been properly appreciated

by the authorities concerned. The only drawback in its work has been that its work has not reached the really unemployed section of the country viz. the landless Adivasis. The Commission must have a special organisation for this purpose and must concentrate greater efforts on this section. Just to give an idea of the extent of unemployment I had once taken the Chairman of the Commission Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta, its Secretary Shri Pranlal Kapadia and another member Shri Lele to one or two villages in the eastern part of the Nasik District. This eastern tract has no jungle, yet every village has as its integral part a colony of Bhils living in the most wretched conditions imaginable. None of these Bhils had any land, nor have they any jungle work, nor are they trained for any other occupation. They make their living somehow on agricultural work which they get for a few days during the rainy and winter seasons. In the absence of any honest means of living, these Bhils who may number over a lakh, are reported to have taken to illicit distillation and other anti-social activities and their women to prostitution. As this is not a forest tract, village industries like Amber-spinning, handloom weaving, dyeing and bleaching, soap and match making can well be started amongst them, if they are rightly approached and if their confidence is won by the workers. A new leadership has come up from amongst them. These young leaders have taken up the problem of improving their economic condition. According to them the land reserved for grazing and fodder raising should all be made available to this landless section. Such a move will alone convince these people that the Government is seriously trying to tackle

their unemployment problem. When it will be found that no more land is left and yet thousands have to go without land, then it will be time to explain to them the need of small-scale industries. They will then be in a mood to take the necessary training and accept crafts and industries as a means of living. The logic underlying this argument is not very convincing. Still attempts must be made to convince these leaders of the urgency of the organisation of these industries irrespective of whether their demand for land is met or not. The Commission will have to take up this task however difficult it may be. This will illustrate why the Commission should have special Adivasi Department in its organisation.

To conclude, the Adivasis are the poorest section of the Indian Society. If an employment survey is taken, it will be found, that they are the most under-employed. Most of them will fall under the category of those who work for not more than an hour a day. The magnitude of the problem of their unemployment can well be imagined. No efforts have been made on the scale required to solve the same. Adequate targets must be fixed with a view to tackle this problem within a definite period say fifteen years. The provisions in the two Five Year Plans as shown above are hardly sufficient even to touch the fringe of the problem which is getting more and more acute on account of the growth in their population. The provisions in the Third and subsequent plans should be in proportion to the target to be fixed. The social service agencies must be allotted their due share of responsibility in the tackling of this problem and along with the responsibility all the facilities to carry it out.

आदिवासी कल्याण

ले० अमर सिंह, डामर

आर्थिक विकास : — तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में आदिवासी जनता तथा आदिवासी क्षेत्रों की उन्नति के लिए सरकार को एक ऐसे विचार के कार्य क्रयान्वित करने चाहिए कि जिस प्रकार अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर शरणार्थियों की समस्या सरकार ने सुलझाई। सरकार के सामने अनेक समस्याएँ हैं तथा अनेक समस्याओं को सरकार ने बड़ी सावधानी के साथ निपटाया है। इस समय सरकार को यह ध्यान में रखना है कि भारत में बसने वाले भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों के आदिवासीयों को उनके ही परंपरागत व्यवहारिकता की बारीकी में सर्वेक्षण किया जाय। सर्वेक्षण में सबसे मोटी तथा मुख्य बात यह ध्यान में रखी जाय कि सदियों से इन पर्वत मालाओं की कन्दराओं में निवास करने वाले इन आदिवासियों का खाद्य पदार्थ क्या है ? इनकी जीविका के साधन क्या क्या हैं। यह है सरकार के साचने समझने तथा उसके अनुसार योजना लागू करने का दायित्व। लेकिन हम जन्मजात आदिवासी हैं। समस्याएँ नई तथा एक बारगी ही आ गई हैं यह बात नहीं है। हमारी समस्याएँ परंपरागत हैं जो कि देश के विकास के साथ ही साथ अपने आप मिट सकती हैं।

सरकार ने पिछली योजनाओं के हर कार्य के लिए अनुकूलता के अनुसार खास स्थान चुने हैं। उदाहरणार्थ स्टील प्लांट वहाँ लगाये हैं जहाँ कच्चा लोहा पर्याप्त मात्र में मिलता है, नदी घाटी योजना ऐसी जगह पर बनाई है जहाँ नदी की उपयोगिता दिखाई दी है। ठीक उसी प्रकार आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में भी उपयोगिता और अनुकूलता

के अनुसार चुने हुए स्थान लिए जायें, जैसे जहाँ पर चंदन की अधिकता हो वहाँ चंदन के कारखाने खोले जायें, जहाँ बांस की अधिकता हो वहाँ बांस से बनने वाली चीजों के कारखाने खोले जायें, जहाँ पर महुए की अधिकता हो वहाँ पर महुए से बनने वाली वस्तु के कारखाने खोले जायें तथा जिन पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में खनिज पदार्थ पाये जायें वहाँ खदानों को विकसित किया जाये।

आदिवासी लोग खास कर पहाड़ों पर ही बसे हुए हैं तथा खेतीहर लोग हैं। परन्तु इनमें भिन्न परिस्थिति का कारण क्या है यदि इसको बारीकी से देखा जाय तो विदित होगा कि जहाँ जिस चीज की उत्पत्ति होती है वहाँ उसी से सम्बन्धित वस्तुओं का परिवर्तित रूप में विकास होता है, परन्तु जहाँ विकास के साधन नहीं होते हैं वहाँ पर फिर विकास अवरुद्ध हो जाता है। ठीक उसी प्रकार आदिवासियों का जन्मजात खेतीहर होने पर भी जब तक विकास नहीं होगा जबतक कि उनका काम के अनुकूल साधन उपलब्ध न होंगे। पहाड़ी स्थानों पर बसने के कारण इनके पास खेती के लिए उपयुक्त जमीन नहीं होती है। थोड़ी बहुत जमीन होती है तो उसकी आर्थिक दृष्टि से उन्नति नितान्त असंभव है।

वर्षों से पहाड़ों की जमीन पर खेती करते रहना तथा उसमें खाद इत्यादि नहीं देना जमीन की ऊर्वरा शक्ति को नष्ट करना मात्र है। प्रतिवर्ष वर्षा के कारण पहाड़ों की जमीन घुल घुल कर बहती है और धीरे धीरे जमीन के स्थान पर कंकर पत्थर निकलने लगते हैं। यह हमारे अनुभव की बात है, केवल

लिखने की नहीं। आवागमन के साधन नहीं होने के कारण हर प्रान्त का आदिवासी सभ्य जनता से अपना सम्बन्ध स्थपित करने में असफल रहा है। जबतक व्यक्ति अपने आपको सीमा में बाधे रहेगा तब तक उसको बाहरी ज्ञान नहीं मिलेगा। यही कारण है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र की उन्नति रुकी हुई है।

आदिवासी प्रायः भोले तथा ईमानदार होते हैं। इन लोगों ने अपने चाप-दादों, परदादों तक के पुराने कर्जों को चुकाया है तथा चुकाते चले आ रहे हैं। यदि इन लोगों को उन्नत अवस्था में देखना है तो सब से पहिले इनके कर्जों की जांच की जाये। इसके लिए सम्बन्धित क्षेत्र के प्रतिनिधिगणों की प्रान्तानुसार समिति बनाई जाय और उस समिति को जांच करने के अधिकार दिये जायें।

आदिवासी अन्य किसानों की तुलना में कम ही आय करता है परन्तु जो कुछ भी वह खेती से कमाता है उसका पूरा पूरा दाम बाजार में उसको मिलता ही नहीं है। और मिलने वाला दाम भी उसको पास न रह कर सूदखोरों के घर चला जाता है, तथा वह भूखा ही रह जाता है। आज सरकार बैल तकावी, कुआँ तकावी तथा रहट तकावी के रूप में जो कुछ रकम उसको देती है, वह रकम उसके घर पहुंचने के पूर्व ही रास्ते में सूदखोरों द्वारा ले ली जाती है। बिचारा आदिवासी जैसा का तैसा ही रह जाता है।

स्वाधीनता के पश्चात् आदिवासियों को कुछ राहत देन स्वीकार तो करना ही है परन्तु उसके सामने अधिक संकट भी उत्पन्न हो गये हैं। जो आदिवासी बर्षों से जंगल में रहता आ रहा है उसके लिए कानूनों की बारीकी के कारण खेती करने के साधन जो उसको पहिले प्राप्त थे वे भी आज नहीं हैं। जंगल में उसको लकड़ी मिलना कठिन हो गया है। मकान के लिए भी लकड़ी नहीं मिलती। इस महंगाई के युग में आदिवासी के लिये मकान

बनाना बहुत ही कठिन है। ये सब कारण हैं कि स्वाधीन भारत में आदिवासी स्वाधीन होते हुए भी आराम की नींद नहीं सो सकता।

मर्यंकर वर्षा में उसके मकान के ऊपर छाये हुए पत्तों को उड़ते हुए देखा गया है तथा मुसला-धार पानी में उसके बाल-बच्चे, टोर-डंगर तथा फटे पुराने कपड़े भोगते हुए पाये गये हैं। अतः जब तक अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर समस्या का हल करने के उपाय नहीं निकाले जायेंगे तब तक इनका उद्धार या विकास होना कुछ कठिन है।

हमारा देश सहकारिता के सिद्धांत को अमली रूप दे रहा है परन्तु यदि वास्तव में देखा जाय तो आदिवासी क्षेत्र में यह हवा अभी नहीं बही है। सहकारिता के लिए सरकार जितनी भी धन-राशि व्यय कर रही है वह सब शहरों तथा कस्बों तक ही सीमित रहती है तथा पड़े लिखे लोग मुंह बाये उसको निगलने का प्रयत्न करते हैं। अपवाद स्वरूप किसी आदिवासी क्षेत्र में कुछ हो भी पाया हो तो उसको एक नमूना ही कह सकते हैं।

वास्तव में यदि सहकारिता का प्रसार करना ही है तो पूर्णतः आदिवासी सहकारी समिति संगठित करके ही आदिवासी क्षेत्र में सहकारिता का विकास हो सकता है, तथा उसके साथ ही आदिवासियों का विकास उसमें सन्निहित है। यह है समय की मांग, बरना जैसा चल रहा है चलेगा। उसको बदलने की हिम्मत किस को है ?

आज अधिकांश क्षेत्रों में बसने वाले आदिवासियों के पास खेती के पर्याप्त साधन नहीं हैं। आज आदिवासी को बैल चाहिए, बाज चाहिए तथा खेती करने के औजार चाहिए। पहिले सरकार उपर्युक्त साधनों को दे उस के बाद खेती के उत्पादन की अपेक्षा आदिवासियों से कर सकती है।

यदि अधिक गहराई में न जाकर मोटे तौर पर बिचार किया जाय और केवल यह मान कर चलें

कि शिक्षण की दृष्टि से आदिवासी नहीं के बराबर हैं तो इसमें अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। बाजार में बैठने वाला वो पगड़ी बांधने वाला बनिया आदिवासियों की इस अशिक्षितपन का पूरा पूरा फायदा उठाता है। मन माने भाव से उसकी खेती को उपज ले लेता है।

वहां उसको यह पूछने वाला कोई भी नहीं है कि आखिर चीजों का भाव क्या है तथा कितने पैसे उसको बनिया दे रहा है। अतः इस प्रकार की लूट से बचने के लिए यह नितान्त आवश्यक है कि आदिवासियों में शिक्षा का प्रचुर मात्रा में प्रचार किया जाय। आज जहां जहां पर सरकार ने प्राथमिक शिक्षण के हेतु पाठशालायें खोली हैं उन पाठशालाओं के अध्यापक-गण वहाँ न रह कर अधिकतर कस्बों में रहते हैं तथा कभी कभी पाठशाला में चले जाते हैं। इस प्रकार का धोखा दिया जा रहा है तथा धन राशि का अपव्यय किया जा रहा है।

इसलिए जरूरी है कि ऐसे स्कूलों की समय समय पर बिना सूचना दिए जांच करने की व्यवस्था की जाय तथा चुट्टि करने वाले अध्यापकों के विरुद्ध कड़ी कार्यावाही की जाय। दो-चार अध्यापकों के विरुद्ध कार्यावाही किये जाने से सम्बन्धित क्षेत्र के अन्य पाठशालाओं के अध्यापकगणों को इससे भय अनुभव होगा तथा उनको फिर स्कूल में अनुपस्थित रहने का साहस नहीं होगा।

राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खण्ड की गति-विधि

राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खण्ड जिस उद्देश्य से चालू किये गये हैं उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए उसकी उपयोगिता काफ़ी अच्छी सिद्ध हो सकती है। इसके सफल बनाने का दायित्व इन खण्डों पर काम करने वाले सरकारी अधिकारियों तथा कर्मचारों एवं खण्डों के अन्तर्गत आने वाली जनता दोनों पर निर्भर करता है।

यदि क्षेत्र की जनता तथा अधिकारी एवं कर्म-चारी दोनों पक्षों की धारणा उक्त क्षेत्र को विकसित करने एवं उपयोगी बनाने की हो तो निस्सन्देह इन राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खण्डों द्वारा आदिवासी क्षेत्रों का विकास तो होगा ही साथ में आदिवासी जनता में काम करने, तथा सहयोगी के रूप में संगठित होकर चलने की भावना भी जागृत होगी। मुझे मेरे क्षेत्र अलीराजपुर के राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खण्ड के स्थान तथा कार्य की गति देखने का अवसर मिला है।

विकास खण्ड अधिकारी का नैतिक कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है कि वह सम्बन्धित खण्ड में आने वाले क्षेत्र की जनता से सम्पर्क सधैं और उनमें कार्य करने की रुचि जागृत करे। इसके लिए खण्ड विकास अधिकारी को फील्ड वर्कर होना चाहिए और उसमें यदि फील्ड वर्कर की योग्यता नहीं है तो वह राष्ट्रीय विस्तार खण्ड की गति-विधि का संचालन नहीं कर सकता। जन्न आदिवासी क्षेत्र में राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खण्ड के विकास अधिकारी की नियुक्ति हो तब उसकी नियुक्ति के 6 माह बाद उसकी कार्य पद्धति की जांच होनी चाहिए ताकि पता लगाया जा सके कि अधिकारी में फील्ड वर्क करने के गुण हैं या नहीं।

अधिकतर अधिकारीगण फील्डवर्क करने के काम से जी चुरते हैं और पब्लिसिटी अधिक करते हैं। इस प्रकार की मनोवृत्ति वाले अधिकारी विकास खण्ड का विकास नहीं कर सकते।

मैंने ऊपर विकास खण्ड के दो पक्षों की कुछ चर्चा की है। अब कुछ चर्चा विकास खण्ड के तीसरे पक्ष के बारे में करना चाहता हूँ। वह पक्ष है ब्लाक एडवाइजरों कमेटी, जिसके सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी सदस्य होते हैं और समय समय पर उक्त कमेटी की बैठक कार्य की रूप रेखा तैयार करने एवं किये गये कार्य की पुष्टि करने के लिए बोलाई जाती है।

परन्तु ब्लाक एडवाइजरी कमेटी के कोई शक्ति शाली नियम नहीं होते हैं। जो होते भी हैं वे काफी नरम होते हैं।

सलाहकार समिति में किसी विषय पर एक मत न होने पर मत भिन्नता हो जाती है। फलस्वरूप मतदान का अवसर आ ही जाता है। ऐसी सूरत में कोई प्रस्ताव बहुमत से पारित तो हो जाता है परन्तु बन्धन नहीं होने से वही प्रस्ताव उसी रूप में पुनः सलाहकारी समिति में आ जाता है। उस समय बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाता है कि उक्त प्रस्ताव को कैसे फिर विचारार्थ लिया जाय। अतः यह जरूरी है कि राष्ट्रीय विस्तार खण्ड की सलाहकार समिति के लिए कोई उचित प्रभावशाली नियम बनाये जायें ऐसी मेरी मान्यता है।

आवागमन का साधन :

जहां तक मुझे मेरे क्षेत्र का अनुभव है प्रथम तथा द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में मध्य भारत क्षेत्र के आदिवासी क्षेत्र में आवागमन के साधन कम हैं याना पहिले ही उनकी उपेक्षा की गई है और उपर्युक्त दोनों योजनाओं में आवागमन के साधनों को बढ़ाने की ओर विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया गया।

अतः मेरे क्षेत्र के अनुभव से मैं कह सकता हूँ कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में सरकार को चाहिए कि वह आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में आवागमन के साधनों को बढ़ाने की ओर अधिक से अधिक ध्यान दे। जब तक इन क्षेत्रों में आवागमन के साधन उपलब्ध नहीं होंगे तब तक आदिवासी जनता शहरी जनता से कटी हुई रहेगी और शोषण करने वाले सूद खोर एवं लुटेरे आदिवासियों को बढ़ने नहीं देंगे।

वे लुटेरे बनिए आदिवासियों के ग्रामों में जाकर मन माने भावोंसे आदिवासियों के माल को खरीदते चले आ रहे हैं और भविष्य में भी आदिवासियों का माल पानी के दाम खरीदते रहेंगे। यह सब होता जा रहा है आवागमन के साधनों के अभाव में और होता भी रहेगा आवागमन के साधनों के अभाव में। अतः यह आवश्यक है कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में आदिवासी क्षेत्र में आवागमन के साधन अधिक से अधिक बढ़ाये जायें तथा विकसित किये जायें।

स्वास्थ्य एवं सफाई :

स्वास्थ्य की दृष्टि से जिस प्रकार सरकार बड़े बड़े शहरों तथा कस्बों में अस्पताल तथा दवाखाने खोलती जा रही है उसी प्रकार तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में स्वास्थ्य की दृष्टि से आदिवासियों के लिये दवाखाने खोले जायें। आज आदिवासी भी अपनी तन्द्रा में अनुभव करता है कि उसे भी वही अधिकार हैं जो एक पढ़े लिखे शहरी व्यक्ति को हैं।

फिर कोई कारण नहीं कि जहां शहरी लोग पहिले से सरकार द्वारा प्रदात सुविधाओं से फायदा उठा रहे हैं और योजना काल में अधिक सुविधा पाने जा रहे हैं वहां पर आदिवासी मामूली सी दवा से भी वंचित रहें। यह निरी एक विडम्बना ही होगी।

प्राचीन परंपरा के अनुसार आदिवासी जंगली जड़ों बूटी का ही सेवन तथा टोना आदि करते चले आ रहे हैं। अस्पताल तथा अधिक संख्या में दवाखाने खोलकर आदिवासियों को अंध-विश्वासों से मुक्त करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये।

आदिवासी वर्ग का वैज्ञानिक वर्गीकरण

ले० जयसिंह मार्को

देश का बड़ा भाग जंगल और पहाड़ से आच्छादित है। जंगल और पहाड़ में लाखों लोग अनादिकाल से आबाद हैं। इन लोगों का रहन-सहन, खान-पान इत्यादि एक विशेष प्रकार का हो गया है। ऐसे लोगों को अनुसूचित जन जाति की संज्ञा प्रशासन से दी गई है।

प्रशासन द्वारा सन् १९५० से देश में विभिन्न वृद्धि, विस्तार और उन्नति के कार्य समारंभ किये गये हैं। इसी संदर्भ में आदिवासी लोगों का उत्थान कार्य देश के इतिहास में एक अनोखा और प्रमुख स्थान रखता है। आदिवासियों के सर्वांगीण उन्नति के उद्देश्य से उनके मध्य में बहुउद्देशीय कार्य किये जा रहे हैं।

देश के मध्य भाग जिसमें निम्नलिखित जिले शामिल हैं, जैसे: मण्डला, विलासपुर, सरगुजा, रायगढ़, रायपुर, दुर्ग, बस्तर तथा छोट्टा नागपुर का अधिकांश भाग इसमें जुड़ा है। भौगोलिक दृष्टि से उपरोक्त भू-भाग एक विंचित्र ढंग का है, उबड़-खाबड़, नदी-नालों का प्रदेश। इस भू भाग में सर्वाधिक आदिवासी हैं। इस भाग के आदिवासी लोगों को उनके विस्तार, वृद्धि तथा उन्नति के आधार पर मुख्यतः चार भागों में विभक्त किया जा सकता है।

सर्वप्रथम खण्ड में उन व्यक्तियों की गणना की जा सकती है जो कसबों के पास पास या कसबों में आबाद हैं और उनका प्रायः विस्तार शहरों तक हो गया है। इस स्थिति के आदिवासी लोग अपनी उन्नति करने में कुछ सीमा तक समर्थ हो

सके हैं। यद्यपि उनका विकास ठोस नहीं हो पाया है। इनका जीवन न तो शहरी ही है और न देहाती ही। मध्य में लोग पड़े हुये हैं। शहरी घन्चों को देख ये लोग आरंभ करते हैं। पर ऐसे कार्यों से पूर्णतः लाभ उठाने में समर्थ नहीं हैं। शैक्षणिक क्षेत्र में कुछ लोग अन्य लोगों के समकक्ष आ सके हैं लेकिन आधुनिक वातावरण में अपने आपको नहीं ढाल पा रहे हैं।

प्राचीन और आधुनिक सभ्यता का समुचित समन्वय नहीं हो रहा है। अनादिकाल के रहन-सहन, रीति-रिवाजों को त्याग कर आधुनिक सिद्धान्तों को अपनाने तथा उसके अनुसार आचरण करने में अभी अधिक समय की आवश्यकता है। प्रायः यह देखा जाता है कि आदिवासी लोग अपनी परम्परा की बातों, सिद्धान्तों से घृणा करने लगते हैं। सिद्धान्तों का विश्लेषण कदापि नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। चलती फिरती आधुनिक बातों को आदिवासी लोग अपने अनुकूल करने का भरसक उद्योग कर रहे हैं। अतएव अनादि काल और आधुनिक धाराओं में वैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण की आवश्यकता है। इसमें तनिक भी संदेह नहीं कि समय की गति के अनुकूल कुछ जन जातियाँ कदम उठाने का साहस कर रही हैं। परन्तु उनके पास न्यून साधन, ठोस पराक्रम तथा लगन का अभाव है। आर्थिक क्षेत्र और नैतिक स्तर में उठने की अपेक्षा कुछ पीछे जा रहे हैं। स्वावलम्बन सफलता की एकमात्र कुंजी है पर उसे क्रमशः भुलाया जा रहा है। शहरों की गलियों में घूमने की मनोवृत्ति लोगों को व्याकुल कर रही है। ग्रामों को सदैव के लिये

छोड़कर शहरों में आबाद होने की इच्छा प्रबल होती जा रही है।

दिन दिन परावलम्बन का आवरण चढ़ता जा रहा है। लोगों का मस्तिष्क बेचैन हो उठा है। साथ ही साथ ऐसी भावना वाले व्यक्ति अपने अन्य भाईयों से द्वेष तथा घृणा का व्यवहार अपनाते जा रहे हैं। भावना और जनवृद्धि इन लोगों के लिये एक समस्या बनती जा रही है। प्रबल और अच्छी भावनाओं का होना उपयुक्त है परन्तु सामाजिक व्यवस्था को क्रमशः बदलने की आवश्यकता है, तभी ठोस उन्नति हो सकती है।

द्वितीय खण्ड में उन आदिवासियों को रखना उचित है जिनका जीवन स्थायी ग्रामों की परिधि में घिरा है, और मैदानी भाग में अनादि काल से आबाद हैं। ऐसे लोगों का प्रमुख धन्धा कृषि और उसी से संबंधित छोटे गृह उद्योग हैं। इस क्षेत्र में शैक्षणिक, सामाजिक, शारीरिक और भौतिक दृष्टि से कुछ कार्य किये गये हैं। उनका प्रभाव लोगों के ऊपर दो प्रकार से पड़ा। कुछ लोग ऐसे आधुनिक कार्यों को मान्यता नहीं देते। उनके सिद्धान्त और कार्य-शैली को समझ नहीं सकते। ऐसे लोगों के अपने निजी कार्यों को सम्पन्न करने के अलग अलग तरीके हैं। पुराने सिद्धान्तों की दृष्टि से ये लोग भूत-प्रेत तथा अन्य बाधाओं से सदैव डरते रहते हैं। अंध विश्वास ने इन लोगों में घर कर लिया है। ये आधुनिक यांत्रिक प्रगति को अपनाते नहीं। इनमें से कुछ लोग आधुनिक कार्यों को मान्यता प्रदान करते हैं। इनके संबंध में जानकारी प्राप्त कर बराबर लाभ उठाने के उद्योग में हैं। सामाजिक मान्यताओं को नये ढंग से देखना चाहते हैं। आधुनिक औषधि तथा प्राचीन स्थानीय औषधियों से लाभ उठाते हैं। शहरों और कसबों की बातों को समझ कर उन्हीं के आधार पर अपने घर तथा ग्राम में धन्धा आरंभ

करते हैं। ऐसे विचार वाले लोग कुछ अंश तक अपनी ठोस उन्नति कर सकने में समर्थ हुये हैं। निकट भविष्य में यथार्थ और स्थायी उन्नति की सम्भावनायें इस वर्ग में अधिक पायी जाती हैं।

बहुधा लोग बाधाओं को देख कर एवं प्रशासकीय नियमों को पूर्णतः न समझने तथा प्राचीन मान्यताओं के कारण हाथ में लिया कार्य अधूरा छोड़ देते हैं। इस खण्ड के आदिवासी लोगों में यथार्थ कार्य करने वालों की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। आदिवासियों का यह वर्ग कई दृष्टियों से स्वावलम्बी है।

तृतीय खण्ड में जंगल एवं पहाड़ों तथा उच्च सम भूमि में आबाद जन जातियाँ आती हैं। इन लोगों का संबंध द्वितीय खण्ड के आदिवासियों से तथा घनघोर जंगलों और पहाड़ों में आबाद लोगों से है।

इस खण्ड की जन जातियाँ जंगल और पहाड़ में सम जमीन तैयार कर खेती में उन्नति करके तथा अपने बालकों को पास के विद्यालयों में भेज करके अपना विकास चाहती हैं। मैदानी भाग के आदिवासी घर के रहन सहन को अच्छा बनाने का अपने भरसक प्रयत्न करते हैं। कुछ लोग मैदानी भाग में पहाड़ी-कृषि जमा लेते हैं। वर्षा के दिनों में जंगल, पहाड़ में हलकी फसल कोदो, कुटकी इत्यादि बोते हैं। सितम्बर, अक्टूबर में मैदानी भाग की जमीन में गेहूँ, चना की कास्त करते हैं। अपना उन्नति करने की भावना इन लोगों में आ गई है। पर ठोस कार्य इनके बीच में अभी नहीं हो पाया है। इनके ऊपर भी, मैदानी भाग के लोगों की अपेक्षा, अंध विश्वास का प्रभाव अधिक है। अंध विश्वास के कारण ही तथा समय समय पर चतुर चालाक लोगों के द्वारा ठगे जाने के फल-स्वरूप दूसरों के ऊपर ये कम विश्वास रखते हैं। धन्धे, कृषि के अतिरिक्त इस भाग के लोग कूड़-कबार अधिक करते हैं। कूड़ कबार के अन्तर्गत जडान्त और हडान्त खण्डों

से जंगली ऊपज जैसे कांदा-कुशा, हर्षा-बहेरा, लकड़ी वगैरह को इकट्ठा करके नजदीक के बाजारों में या मॉर्जे में सस्ते दामों में बेच आते हैं। साथ ही साथ लकड़ी से कांड़ी, हल, जुआ, कुड़े, पायली वगैरह हाथ से तैयार कर नगद दाम में या अनाज के बदले में दूसरों को देते हैं। गाय बैल के अतिरिक्त इस भाग के लोग बकरी, सुर्गी इत्यादि जानवरों को पालते हैं और आवश्यकतानुसार अपने स्वतः के काम में ले आते हैं और कुछ बेच देते हैं।

हडान्त खण्ड के अन्तर्गत इस भाग के लोग जंगलों में जंगली जानवर, चीतल, साम्हर, हिरण, सूअर, पत्ता इत्यादि के शिकार में विशेष रुचि लेते हैं। हड्डी, चमड़ा वगैरह दूसरों को नगद राश लेकर दे देते हैं और मांस वगैरह अपने स्वतः के उपयोग के लिये या आसपास के लोगों के लिये ले आते हैं।

आवागमन के साधन इस खण्ड में थोड़े हैं। गर्मों के दो तीन खुले महीनों में कुछ गाड़ियाँ आती जाती रहती हैं। पगडण्डी वाले रास्ते सदैव चलते रहते हैं। साथ ही साथ इस भाग के लोग ठेकेदार वगैरह के काम समय समय पर करते हैं और अपनी जाँविका चलाते हैं। विकास के प्रायः प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में ये लोग अभी बहुत पीछे हैं। अथक परिश्रम की आवश्यकता इस विभाग को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये है।

चतुर्थ खण्ड में उन लोगों को लिया (गिना) जा सकता है जो धनधोर जंगल के खोहों में यहाँ-वहाँ अनादिकाल से बसे हुये हैं। इन लोगों का सम्पूर्ण जीवन हजारों वर्षों की समस्याओं में, और किसी कहानियों में उलझा पड़ा है। इस भाग के लोगों का सम्बन्ध प्रायः दूसरी जगह के लोगों से कम रहता है। कई जगह यह देखा और सुना गया है कि अभी भी लोग अपने गाँव से ४-५

मील से अधिक दूर जीवन भर में नहीं गये। अलग अलग मुहल्लों के लोगों को उसी गाँव के कई व्यक्ति वर्षों तक नहीं पहचानते। इनका धन्धा चल-खेती (बेबर) है। जंगल के पेड़ों को काट कर, उन्हें जला कर, जमीन को साफकर, खन्ता-कुदाली के द्वारा जमीन को खोद कर, कोदों-कुटकी, कांग, ज्वार इत्यादि बोते-लगाते हैं। कभी कभी उपरोक्त फसलों में से ज्वार को नमक और कपड़ों के लिये आसपास के स्थानीय सौदागरों से कम दर पर बेच देते हैं। कभी कभी साप्ताहिक मण्डियों में जाकर अन्य दूसरी चीजें छोटे दुकानदारों से खरीद लेते हैं।

इनके मकान एक दरवाजे के होते हैं। प्रायः गाँव के मकान एक गोल चक्र में बनाये जाते हैं, और बीच में चौड़ी जगह छोड़ दी जाती है, जिसमें ऊँचे ऊँचे मकान बांध दिये जाते हैं और उनके नीचे ठण्ड के मौसम में अंगेठा जलाया जाता है। मकानों की ऊँचाई प्रायः आठ-नी फुट होती है। दीवाल खड़िया और मिट्टी के द्वारा तैयार की जाती है। ऊपर जंगली घास या पत्तों को छा दिया जाता है। दीवाल में विभिन्न जानवरों के चित्र मिट्टी के द्वारा निर्मित किये जाते हैं और उन्हे रंग विरंगी मिट्टी से पोत दिया जाता है। देखने में ऐसे मकान बहुत ही अच्छे मालुम पड़ते हैं।

जानवर-घर में ये लोग सुर्गी, सूअर, बकरी इत्यादि पालते हैं। अब कई लोग दुधारू जानवर जैसे गाय, भैंस के दूध से घी तैयार कर स्थानीय व्यापारियों के पास बेचते हैं। नाटे बैलों को मैदानी भाग के लोग अनाज या नकद दाम से खरीद लेते हैं। सुर्गी, सूअर, बकरी इत्यादि को ये लोग स्वतः अपने काम में ले आते हैं। जंगली जानवरों का ये लोग प्रायः हमेशा शिकार किया करते हैं। चमड़ा के अतिरिक्त और कोई चीज बाहर नहीं जाती। जंगली जानवरों को फसाने के भिन्न

भिन्न फन्दे ये लोग तैयार करते हैं तथा धनुष-बाण से जानवरों को मारते हैं। ये लोग अभी कई वर्ष पीछे हैं। इनमें अन्ध विश्वास कूट कूट कर भग हुआ है। इस वर्ग के लोगों की विचार धारयें अलिखित अनादि काल से इनमें विद्यमान हैं। वैज्ञानिक युग में इन सिद्धान्तों का कोई महत्व नहीं है परन्तु उनके जाल में बहुत बड़ी संख्या में लोग उलभे हुये हैं। हजारों वर्षों का रहन-सहन, रीति रिवाज आज भी बस्तर जिला के पर्वत खण्ड में, मण्डला जिला के दुरकट्टा, सिलपुरीमें, दुर्ग जिला की उत्तरी पूर्वी पहाड़ी खोहों में, जिला सरगुजा के जगलों में, जिला बिलासपुर के मैकल पर्वत के खण्डों में मौजूद है। उपरोक्त खण्डों में गोड, वैगा, कोरकू, कुझाकू, मुडिया, माडिया, पांडों वगैरह लाखों की संख्या में आबाद हैं।

इस भाग में आवागमन के साधनों की अत्यधिक कमी है। भूमि उबड़ खाबड़ है। लोग मैदान और शहर के लोगों से अपने आपको दूर रखना चाहते हैं।

प्रशासन के अनुसार ऐसे खण्डों को विकास खण्डों में ले लिया गया है। परन्तु कई समस्याओं के कारण काम बिलकुल नहीं हो पाया है। विकास कार्यों में यहां के सिद्धान्त ही आड़े आते हैं। उन सिद्धान्तों के प्रचारक मुग्ध्या, पण्डा, गुनिय, गौजी-वैदा इत्यादि प्रमुख हैं।

सर्वेक्षण कार्य, आदिवासियों के संबंध में चलती फिरती बातों, आचार-विचार, रीति-रिवाज, खान-पान, बोलचाल, राग-रंग, नाच-गाना, स्त्री-पुरुष, जन्म-मरण, शादी-विवाह, गाली-गलौच वंजी-व्यापार, हसी-दिल्लगी, आज्ञा-आजी, जवारा भोजली, धनुष-बाण, रंग-ढंग, चेहरा-मोहरा, आंख-कान इत्यादि के उलभनों में उलभ गया है।

आदिवासियों की सर्वांगीण उन्नति के लिये उनके प्राचीन विचारों के कार्यों को समझना पड़ेगा और उन्हीं समस्याओं के अनुसार वृद्ध सर्वेक्षण कार्य किया जाय और उसका आधुनिक तत्वों के साथ समन्वय किया जाय तभी ठीस तथा स्थायी कार्य हो सकता है।

आदिमजाति क्षेत्र में रचनात्मक कार्य

ले० श्री वस्तराम दास

आदिम जातियों के उत्थान के लिये हमारी सरकार ने बहुमूर्ती योजनाएं विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में चालू की है। इन योजनाओं पर काफी संपन्न व्याप किया जा रहा है। केन्द्रिय सरकार तथा राज्य सरकार के सहायता से वन्यजाति खाड़िया, विरहोड़ लोधा प्रभृति पिछड़े वर्ग के लिये पूर्णवास और ऐसे कई योजनाएं चालू की गई है एवं और भी कोई

योजनाएं चालू की जा रही हैं। मुझे इनका प्रचार अभिस्व है एवं इस विषय में मेरे कुछ सुझाव हैं। जिससे खर्च होने वाले रुपयों का सद उपयोग हो एवं आदिम जाति के लोग भी इन योजना के द्वारा फायदा उठा सकें। सिंहभूम जिले (बिहार) में और भिदनापुर जिले (पश्चिम बंगाल) में इन लोगों के लिये पूर्ण व्यसन व्यवस्था में घर बना दिये गये

है। कुछ जमीन भी खेती के लिये दी गयी है जो अनुवंश और पहित है। बैल भी और दूसरी चीजें भी दी गयी हैं और इस प्रकार काफी खर्च किया गया है। लेकिन इतने पर भी सरकार के बनाये हुए धर्गों को छोड़कर वे जोग फिर जंगलों में वापस भग गये एवं रुपये खर्च हाने पर भी उद्देश्य सफल न हो सका इसका कारण है सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं के सहयोगिता का अभाव। केवल सरकारी कर्मचारियों से यहां काम सफल नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन हमारे जिले में राजनैतिक दाव पैच ने इस रचनात्मक काम में अरड़ंगा डाला एवं फल स्वरूप वान्छित फल प्राप्त नहीं हो सका।

आशा है सच्चाई शिघ्र प्रकट होगी। इस विषय में मेरे निम्नलिखित सुभाव हैं।

१. जब तक खेती में इन लोगों को सफलता न मिले, सरकार कार्यकर्ताओं के सहयोग से इन लोगों को खेती के काम में सहायता देती रहे। पड़ती जमीन को खेती के लायक इन लोगों के द्वारा बना दी जाय एवं सिंचाई का आवश्यक व्यवस्था की जाय।

२. इनको शिक्षा देने के लिये आग्रम के आधार पर आवासीय विद्यालय चालू किये जायें।

तभी ये लोग जंगल जीवन छोड़कर किसान बनेंगे। पीछे ग्रामोद्योग एवं गृह उद्योग भी चालू किये जा सकेंगे। एवं यह लोग उन्नती के मार्ग पर कंधे रहेंगे।

३. आदिम समाज कल्याण चेष्टा के द्वारा उन्नत समाज मन से भेद भावना को दूर करना सबसे पहला कदम होना उचित समझा जाये आदिवासी और गैर आदिवासी ये दोनों शब्द से वास्तव में साम्प्रदायिक भेद भावना का प्रकाश शुरू से ही समाज मनन चिन्तन में आशा लेते रहे हैं। साथ ही हम अपने को शोष्ठता के अहंकार से अक्स होकर उन दालित पुलित समाज के सेवा में

दुर्बलचित्त होकर काम करने को पहुंचा है। और सच्चा कल्याणकारी सेवा में त्रुटियां रहने के कारण से आदिम समाज का कल्याण नहीं हो सका तन, मन, ज्ञान, शिक्षा अर्जन करके आदिम दशा के स्तर से मुक्त होकर उन्नत समाज जीवन में शामिल हो जाने का पूर्वापर दृष्टान्न मिलता है। दिल्ली में प्रथम सर्वभारतीय आदिम जाती कल्याण सम्मेलन के अवसर पर राष्ट्रपति श्री राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी के भाषण में इस बात का स्पष्टीकरण हुआ था।

४. पहाड़ी जंगलों में रहकर बनडा सम्पद आल प्रतिष्ठा लाके आदिम संस्कार और प्रष्टति के साथ रहने वालों को वर्तमान सम्य युग में आगे बढ़ने के लिये उन वन्य समाज को हर तरह से उत्साह तथा सहायता, सरकार उदारता पूर्वक के साथ दे रही है। हजारों योजना बन रही है लेकिन योजना सफल करने वाला, कराने वाला और सरकारी सहायता देने वालों इन तीनों का विचार युक्त शुधचित्त अनूभवी उदरही और मार्ग दर्शा होना चाहिए तब ही आदिमजाति का कल्याण कार्य सम्पूर्ण रूपसे सफल हो पावेगें।

५. समाज शासन वहिर्भूत धुक्कर वन्य समाज गांष्टी वर्ग के लिये पूर्णवासन व्यवस्था के साथ कृषि प्रचेष्टा का सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था पहले से ही होना आवश्यक है। कारण वन्य जाती पूर्णवासन व्यवस्था में आकर सरकारी सहायता प्राप्ति में निराश होने के डर से वे हर बात की कठिनाईयां ही दैनिक जीवन का सामना रखते हुए उदास है। तथा विश्वास और भरोसा करने में पीछे रह जाता है। पूर्णवासन व्यवस्था में कृषि फारमिंग योजना के द्वारा उन लोगों को हर रोजाना के लिये दैनिक मजदूरी देने के साथ कृषि जीवन प्रतिष्ठा का मौका देना चाहिए ताकि वे एक सुव्य नागरीक जीवन प्राप्ति के साथ अन्न वरत्त में स्वावलम्बी बन

सके। केन्द्रिय सरकार के सहायता से ऐसा बहुत सम्पूर्णवासन योजना प्रान्तीय सरकार द्वारा हो रहा है। लेकिन वे प्राणहीन एक असम्पूर्णता के वातावरण पैदा कर देता है। जहां कहीं आदिमजाती समाज का सर्वे उन्नयन से लिये पूर्णवासन व्यावस्था होता है तब उस काम को सरकार की जिम्मेवारी में और अनुभवहीन जीवन दानी समाज सेवकों की देख रेख में या आत्मवधान से काम की सुव्यवस्था होने से ही उस योजना के काम को अधिक सफलता प्राप्त होगी। इसमें भी सबाल आ जाता है कि सरकारी व्यवस्था कागज पत्र में संमित रहने के कारण जीवन दानी का जीवन दान विफल में परत हो कर व्यर्थ जीवन का रहस्य हो जाता है।

अन्त में जीवन दानी को राजनैतिक दलवादी और सरकारी कर्मचारियों के चक्रान्त का स्वीकार बन जाना पड़ता है। सेवक को गन्दा राजनिति चक्रान्त के बाहर रहने का कारण काफी अर्थव्यय होने से भी योजना के काम हिसाब किताब में सिमित रहता है।

६. आदिमजाति समाज कल्याण काम में विदेशी मिशनरी का भनवक्त और चेतना दृढ़ है। हममें उतना दृढ़ता नहीं, कारण हमारी सेवा में बहुत कुछ त्रुटियाँ होती हैं। आदिम जाति का बीच में रचनात्मक कार्य करने वाले व्यक्तियों को अहिंसा त्यागी और धैर्य शील होना चाहिए जो हम लोगों में कम है। हम दूसरों के कार्यों की प्रतिसादन देने में इन्कार करते ही नहीं बल्कि सर्वनाश करके अपना यशमान बढ़ाने के फेर में पड़ जाते हैं। ऐसा दुष्ट प्रकृति आत्मघाति का बराबर माना जाता है। विदेशियों ने ऐसी कमजोरी का मौका लेके हम लोगों में सार्थ वाही बात को पैदा कर के निजी स्वार्थ सिद्ध कर लिया था। वे भिन्न भिन्न दलों का सृष्टि करके अपने में टकश देके वे विरोध वातावरण प्रचार करके भोले भोले आदिम मनुष्य के दिल में एक अनश्चिचयता के

बात पहुँचा देके एक अपनी सेवा में जमा लेता है। इस विषय में दृढ़ता पूर्वक आगे कदम उठाना चाहिए जिसमें भविष्य में हमारी त्रुटियाँ हठ जाये, तथा सेवा का महत्व में पूर्णता प्राप्त होगी।

७. आदिम समाज दशा का सांस्कृतिक, मनन चिन्ता, सरलविश्वास तथा वन्य सामाजिक आचरण वाल सुलभ आदत युग युग से विता रहे है। वर्तमान सभ्य युग में वे चाहता है कि परिवर्तन शक्ति समाज व्यवस्था के साथ अपने को भी सेवा के साथ कदम उठाके चलें। लेकिन उन लोगों में शिक्षा, सांस्कृति, शुध आचरण प्रतीति आदि में बहुत पीछे रहने के कारण हमेशा ही अपने को असहाय और दुर्बल समझते रहे हैं आत्मिक शुध विचार से ही मनुष्य का वास्तविक उच्चभोगीये शक्ति पैदा करता ताकि वे अपने दिलमें एक जरूरदस्त ताकत और भरपा पा जाते हैं। इसलिये अभाजितह और अरुंसकृतिक आदिम मनन चिन्ता में आध्यामिक शक्ति का स्थापना कर देना चाहिए। जिसमें वे लोग सारा समाज व्यवस्था के साथ आग्रत होकर अपना हिस्सा उठाने के लिये पंछे पड़ नहीं रहे। आध्यात्मिक विचार वक्त से ही दुर्बल चित्त मनुष्य का उत्थन होता है।

८. व्यावहारिक जीवन थापन के लिये कर्म जीवन में जैसा बहुमुखी प्रयेष्टा के साथ जिन्दा रहना पड़ता है वैसा ही शुच्छा शान्ति का भी मनातृप्ति द्वारा ही नागरिक समाज जीवन लाभ करना पड़ता है इसलिये अहिंसा आत्मिक विचार सबसे पहले अन्तर दृष्टि में रखके अपना भविष्य बनाने का उद्देश्य रखना चाहिए। इस दिशा में आदिम समाज क्षेत्र में काम करने वाली विदेशियों ने धार्मिक विचार बुद्धि द्वारा ही अपना उद्देश्य का कदम उठाया जिसमें उनको पूरी सफलता मिली। आज हमारे देश को बनाने के लिये त्यागी, शान्त और धैर्य शील

सेवक की काफी जरूरत है। वैसा सेवक बनाने के लिये सरकार को पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिए। समाज शासन व्यवस्था के लिये सरकार का पूरा इन्तजाम हो रहा है। जो बात केवल शासन व्यवस्था के लिये ही सिमित रहता असल में उसमें देश का सुस्थ नागरिक बनने का काम में गैर सरकारी दृष्टि से चुटियां दिखाई। कानूनी व्यवस्था में उस चुटियां को हटाना संभव नहीं होने के कारण सरकारी शासन व्यवस्था में विश्वास रखके अनुभवी सेवक को बड़ी मुशकिल के साथ आदिम-जाति के बीच में काम करना पड़ता है।

आदिम समाज जीवन के अन्दर समाज जागृति लाने के लिये सर्व उन्त्यन व्यवस्था के द्वारा पूर्णवासन योजना में धूमककर जीवन से स्थायी रूप में बसाने का काफी प्रचेष्टा राज्य सरकार द्वारा यत्न रही है। धूमककर मुक्त वन्य दशा में एक कृषि जोवि मुख्य नागरिक बनाने के लिये जिस दिशा में सुव्यवस्था के साथ उन्त्यन मुलक काम होना चाहिए वैसा नहीं हो रहा है। कारण वन्य जिवी को जंगल छोड़कर उन्नत समाज व्यवस्था के अन्दर आने से न उन लोगों को भविष्य बनाने के लिये कोई गम्भीरता पूर्वक न तो सोच रही है न कोई अनुभवी सेवक दायित्व पूर्ण जिम्मेवारी लेने का भरोसा पाते है। अनुभवी सेवक सरकारी सहयोगिता प्राप्त बिना उद्देश्य मुताबिक काम करने में पूरा भरोसा नहीं पाते है। उसमें जवाब देही का सवाल पहुँचता साथ ही कानूनी अव्यवस्था का स्वोकार बन जाने के डर से सरकारी काम में मदद देना असंभव होता जिससे आदिम समाज उन्त्यन काम अधूरा रह जाता है। आदिम जाति का उन्त्यन मुलक काम सरकारी पदाधिकारी से होना असंभव है। सरकार योजना बनाने के लिये काफी खर्च कर रही है। यह काम अनुभवी सेवक का तनमन नियोग से ही सफलता प्राप्ति संभव होगी। अब सवाल आता है किसके

भरोसे से आदिम मनुष्य जंगल न छोड़कर समाज शासन त्रान्ति व्यवस्था को विश्वास करें और अपनी जान बचाएं। वे लोग जानते है कि जंगल में जीवन धारण के लिये हमेशा कुछ न कुछ मिलता लेकिन गांव में समय पर भिक्षा भी नहीं मिलती फिर भी वे लोगों को नये स्थान में आने के बाद अपरिचित के कारण गांव वालों से कोई मदद नहीं पाते बल्कि गांव वाले उन लोगों को कृतदास बनाने के फेर में सचेष्ट रहते हैं। आदिम विचार मनन चिन्ता हल्का होने के कारण वे लोग सहज लाभ के बारे में ज्यादा खयाल करता और धैर्य पूर्वक भविष्य बनाने की बात भूल जाता है।

६. सौभाग्य की बात है कि सरकार दस साल के लिये आदिम जाति के उन्त्य प्रचेष्टा में विशेष सहायता देने की स्वीकृती दी है। साधारण कृषिजिवी आदिमजाति को छोड़कर धूमककर वन्यजाती को बीच में मिशनरी मनवृत्त सम्भव जीवन दानी सेवक को हर साधन की व्यवस्था देके सेवा में भेजना चाहिए ताकि उन लोगों के साथ बराबर रह कर उनका आत्मिक विचार दृष्टि में जागृति उठा सकें। उन लोगों के लिये पहाड़ों के बीच में आश्रम स्कूल काफी संख्या में खोल देने चाहिए जिनके रहने व खाने का ठिकाना नहीं है उनके लिये शिक्षा का ना समाज संस्कृतिक उन्त्यन की बात की कोई कीमत नहीं रहती। धूमककर दशा से एक दल को किसी प्रकार के साथ समाज चेतना में लाने से उन छिन्न मूल सम्प्रदाय का समूचा सरकार जीवन बनाने में दृष्टि आकर्षण करना संभव की बात होगी।

१०. सरकारी तथा गैर समाज आन्दोलन में सारा आदिम समाज गोष्ठी वर्ग आज अपना भविष्य बनाने सजाम हुई है। देश में बहुत सा त्यागी पुरुषों का आविर्भाव भी हो रही है। वे चाहते हैं कि किस प्रकार से सारा समाज को एक उच्च मार्ग

के स्तर पर उठा सकेगे। आदिम समाज में शिक्षा संस्कृति का सम्पूर्ण अधिकार प्राप्ति के फल स्वरूप उनकी मनोवृत्ति में दर्शन प्रकाश हो रहा है। वहीं कहीं धार्मिक सांस्कृतिक विचार क्षेत्र में उचित अधिकार प्राप्ति में बाधा होने से संघर्ष हो जाता है। वे लोग पुराना सरकार को खंडन करके अपना रुची के साथ उन्नत स्थान बना लेता यह समाज सुधार के लिये एक प्रसंशनीय वातावरण है।

११. आजकल गम्भीरता पूर्वक यह चर्चा हो रही है कि आदिम सम्प्रदाय का समाज सुधार का काम आदिम समाज के सेवकों से ही ठीक होगा या अनुभवी उन्नत समाज सेवकों से ठीक होगा। इस बात पर गम्भीरता पूर्वक सोच विचार करना चाहिए। कार्य क्षेत्र में पहुँचने से सोचा जाता है कि जिन सम्प्रदाय वाले अपने अपने समाज के उत्थान के लिये जिम्मावारी लेता तो उनको अधिक से अधिक सफलता मिलती। वर्तमान समाज नैतिक, राजनैतिक ग्रामी स्वार्थवादी दलबन्दी का चक्रान्त चलाते हुए प्रार्थण आदिम समाज जीवन में एक संसय की बात पैदा हो गयी है कि कौन उन लोगों का सच्चा सेवक बन सकेगे। क्षेत्र में चुनाव के लिये भोले भाले आदिम सम्प्रदाय में राजनिती करने की बात की चक्रान्त के फेर में पड़के अपना भविष्य बनाने की आशा नाश

कर लेते हैं। यह बात ठीक है जिन्होंने समाज सुधार दृष्टि में आगे बढ़ चुके हैं वे पीछे पड़े रहने वाले का अधिक जिम्मावारी के साथ गम्भीरता पूर्व सोच विचार के साथ उन्तथन सेवा काम कर सकता है। रचनात्मक कोई काम जब संगठित रूप में चलाने लगता है तब विरोधी राजनैति दलों का सहयोग नहीं मिलने से भी खास नुकसान का कोई डर नहीं रहता है। लेकिन सपत्निय दल में आत्म कलह कुप्तपत्रुति रहने का कारण यह त्याग का सफलता के बदले रचनात्मक कार्य नष्ट हो जाता है। आदिम समाज का उत्थान देने में हिंसात्मक एक दलिय प्रातिन्दिता का प्रभाव देखने को मिलता है।

१२. दलित पतित आदिम समाज जीवन क्षेत्र में काम करने के लिये ऐसा धैर्यशील आत्मनिर्भरशील रहना चाहिए। ताकि प्रत्येक कठिनाईयों को सामना करके खुशी के साथ केवल सेवा की दृष्टि से आत्मबल पर दूसरों को उत्थान दिलाना संभव होगा। दिल में किसी प्रकार पर द्वेषा नहीं रखके बलकि कितना ही लुद्र हो उन्तदृष्टि रखते हुए आदिम समाज के कल्याण काम में कार्यकर्ता को प्रवेश करना चाहिए, वास्तव में परोपकार ही एक मात्र उद्देश्य रखना चाहिए।

तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में आदिमजातीय क्षेत्रों में आदिमजातियों का कल्याण कार्य

ले० सावित्री विल्यरे

(अ) आर्थिक विकास :-

जनतंत्रीय सरकार की स्थापना के बाद आदिम जाति के कल्याण हेतु विभिन्न योजनाएँ कार्यान्वित की गई हैं परन्तु उनके आर्थिक विकास में जो प्रगति

होनी चाहिये थी वह दृष्टिगोचर नहीं हो रही है। आदरणीय ठक्कर बापा के जीवन काल में ही बम्बई प्रदेश में 'भील सेवा मण्डल' द्वारा फारेस्ट कोआपरेटिव सोसायटियों की स्थापना के प्रभावशाली

कदम इस क्षेत्र में उठाये गये थे और विविध कार्यों में पर्याप्त सफलता भी मिली थी। आज इसी आधार पर सम्पूर्ण देश में सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा अथवा सरकारी सहायता पर चलने वाली संस्थाओं के द्वारा व्यापक पैमाने पर पूर्ण कल्याण भावना से कार्य किया जाता तो आर्थिक क्षेत्र में ठीक वसी ही प्रभाव पूर्ण जागृति दिखलाई पड़ती जैसी शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में दीख रही है। प्रथम और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में अनेकों उल्लंघनों के कारण जो प्रारम्भिक कठिनाईयाँ आईं उनका अनुभव अब संस्थाओं को हो ही चला है। अतः तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमें सतर्कता बर्तनी होगी।

आदिम जाति के आर्थिक विकास के लिये

तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में निम्नलिखित बातों पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये।

सरकार को आर्थिक विकास कार्य के लिये काफ़ी धनराशि का निर्धारण करना आवश्यक है। आर्थिक ढाँचा को दृढ़ता के बिना आदिम जातियों का आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक उत्थान शिक्षण मात्र से ही संभव नहीं हो सकता है। पर्याप्त राशि के बिना एवं उसके समुचित उपयोग के बिना आदिम जातियों के कल्याण कार्यों में भारी रुकावट पड़ती है।

तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में आर्थिक विकास के तत्त्वों पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार करना आवश्यक है। इस विषय में विशेषज्ञों द्वारा काफ़ी सर्वेक्षण किया जा चुका है अतः अब दृढ़ता के साथ अर्थ-शास्त्र के सिद्धान्तों को ध्यान में रखते हुये सरकार को कार्यान्वयन कर देना चाहिये।

विविन्न क्षेत्रों में बसने वाली आदिम जातियों को आय के स्रोतों का अनुसंधान करके एवं अप्रव्यय

के स्रोतों पर अवरोध लगाते हुये कार्य प्रारम्भ करना और बढ़ाना आवश्यक होगा।

आदिम जातियों के जोच चलने वाले प्रत्येक उद्योग का (उनकी विशेषताओं और कठिनाईयों का) सही तौर पर अध्ययन किया जाना चाहिये। कृषि, वनोपज संग्रह, पशु एवं पक्षी पालन संबंधी कार्यों की समस्याओं का सुलभाया जाना बहुत आवश्यक है। इन कार्यों में यथोचित आर्थिक एवं मार्ग-दर्शन सम्बन्धी सहयोग सरकार के द्वारा मिलाना चाहिये।

उपर्युक्त उद्योगों के अतिरिक्त विभिन्न सहयोगी व घरेलू उद्योगों की शिक्षा देना एवं उन्हें चलाने के लिये पर्याप्त सहायता देना भी आवश्यक है। इस दिशा में गति लाये बिना आदिम जातियों का आर्थिक विकास संभव नहीं है। सहयोगी उद्योगों में तत्स्थानीय उत्पादन की जाने वाली वस्तुएँ शामिल होती हैं (१) कुल्लू स्थानों पर बाँस और लकड़ी का सामान (खिलौने) बनाने की सुविधायें हैं। आवश्यक कच्चा माल काफ़ी मात्रा में मिलता है। यदि आदिवासियों को इस दिशा में प्रोत्साहित किया जावे एवं बाँस की टोकरियाँ जोकि जनता तथा सरकारी दफ़तरों के लिये उपयोगी हैं, बनाने की शिक्षा दी जावे तो उनकी आमदनी बढ़ सकती है। इसी तरह बाँस का टेबल, कुर्सी, आलमारी, चिक आदि जनता एवं सरकार के लिये भी उपयोगी एवं सस्ती चीजें हैं। इनके बनाने की शिक्षा देना एवं इनके बेचने में सहायता करना भी जरूरी है।

(२) इसी तरह जिन स्थानों पर कपड़ा बनाया जाना सरल है वहाँ इसकी शिक्षा भी देनी चाहिये। अच्छे डिजाइन के उपयोगी कपड़े टेबल क्राथ, दरवाजे के लिये चिक, बिस्तर बन्द, जेल के बैदियों के लिये कपड़े आदि की खपत सरलता से हो सकती है।

(३) सहायक उद्योगों में स्थान विशेष की विभिन्नता के अनुसार कई कार्य शामिल हो सकते हैं। मधुमक्खी पालन के द्वारा वैज्ञानिक ढंग से शहद निकालना, चट्टाई, रस्मी और चट्टाई के टोप बनाना, मिट्टी के बर्तन, वैज्ञानिक गोद, जंगली कन्द का उत्पादन करना (जैसे तीखुर, बैचांदा, चिरौंजी आदि) लोहे, चमड़े आदि के कार्य, एवं सौंय का सामान बनाना आदि अनेक कार्य ऐसे हैं जिनसे आदिम जातियों की आमदनी में वृद्धि हो सकती है। उनके आर्थिक विकास के लिये उपयुक्त कार्यों में यथोचित सरकारी एवं अन्य सामाजिक संस्थाओं के सहयोग की आवश्यकता है।

सहयोगी उद्योगों द्वारा बनाई गई वस्तुओं का अधिकाधिक उपयोग बढ़ाने के लिये उपयुक्त विज्ञापन करना, उपयोग बढ़ाने के लिये अच्छी व्यवस्था का निर्माण करना तथा इन वस्तुओं की भिन्न भिन्न स्थानों पर खपत बढ़ाने में सरकारी सहयोग महत्वपूर्ण है।

आदिम जातियों का आर्थिक विकास अधिकांश सरकार पर ही निर्भर है। सरकार के द्वारा पूर्ण रूप में आर्थिक एवं शिक्षा संबंधी सहयोग दिया जाना आवश्यक है। आदिमजातीय बालकों एवं अन्य उद्योग कारों के विभिन्न प्रकार के प्रशिक्षण की सरकार को व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये तथा उनके व्यावसायिक कार्यों के संचालन के लिये समुचित पूँजी का प्रवन्ध करना चाहिये।

कृषि एवं जंगलानो के उत्तम और प्रगतिशील प्रशिक्षण की व्यवस्था शास्त्रीय एवं व्यवहारिक दोनों ही आधार पर तेजी से की जानी चाहिये। उत्तम बीज व संभव सिंचाई के साधनों एवं सामानों की भी व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये। इसी प्रकार गोपालन तथा अन्य घरेलू पशुपक्षियों के पालन-पोषण के उत्तम तरीकों का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिये तथा इस दिशा में

उन्हें कार्य करने के लिये प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिये। इस कार्य के लिये भी उन्हें आवश्यकतानुसार आर्थिक सहयोग देना आवश्यक है।

वाणिज्य के क्षेत्र में ये काफी पिछड़े हुये हैं। उन्हें इस दिशा में आगे बढ़ने के लिये प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये। जो वस्तुएँ वे बड़े गांव या नगरों से खरीदते हैं वे उन्हें मँहगे दामों में मिलनी हैं। अतः सहकारी आधार पर उनकी आवश्यकता की वस्तुएँ उन्हें उनके स्थान पर ही प्राप्त हो जावें। ऐसी व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये कि इस क्षेत्र में वे स्वावलम्बी बन सकें। उनमें व्यवसायिक साहस उत्पन्न करना जरूरी है। इस कार्य में उन्हें काफी बड़े पैमाने पर मार्ग दर्शन की आवश्यकता होगी। इसी प्रकार वनोपज-संग्रह तथा वनोपज के खरीद और बिक्री की व्यवस्था करनी भी आवश्यक है। वनोपज से कौन कौन सी वस्तुएँ बनाई जा सकती हैं इस बात की उन्हें शिक्षा का प्रवन्ध करना तथा इस शिक्षा में उन्हें आगे बढ़ने के लिये प्रेरित करना आवश्यक है। वस्तु के उपयोग बढ़ाने एवं उसकी खपत बढ़ाने में आवश्यक सहयोग देना तथा इस कार्य के उत्तरदायित्व को सम्भलने की क्षमता उनमें उत्पन्न करना भी उनके विकास के लिये बहुत जरूरी है।

उपयुक्त कार्यों में सहकारिता को प्रथम स्थान दिया जावे और विविध उद्देशीय सहकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा कार्य हाथ में लिया जावे।

विविध उद्देशीय आदिम जातीय विकास खण्डों में अभी जो कार्य चल रहे हैं वे अपने उद्देश्य को पूरा करने में समर्थ दाँटगोचर नहीं हो रहे हैं। यद्यपि धनराशि पर्याप्त रखी जाती है पर आदिम जातीय क्षेत्रों में किस प्रणाली से किस सीमा तक क्या-क्या किया जाना चाहिये इस संबंध में पूर्ण रूपरेखा बनाना एवं इस दिशा में पर्याप्त पारिश्रम के साथ कार्य करना बहुत आवश्यक है।

(अ) प्रकरण में आर्थिक विकास के लिये जो सुभाव दिये गये हैं उनकी पूर्ति विविध उद्देश्यीय विकास खण्डों के द्वारा तो सुभाषी गयी प्रणाली से होना ही चाहिये साथ ही सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक मानसिक, शारीरिक विकास कार्य में अनिवार्य रूप से कार्य चलना आवश्यक है। प्रत्येक क्षेत्र के लिये समुचित कार्य की रूपरेखा होवे एवं उसके अनुसार नियमित तथा सामयिक कार्यक्रम आयोजित किये जावें। शिक्षाप्रद चलचित्र समय-समय पर दिखाये जावें तथा सामाजिक विकास में उसी जाति के पढ़े लिखे लोगों को उचित प्रशिक्षण देकर उनको कार्य सौंपा जावे ताकि वे अपनी भाषा में प्रत्येक विकास कार्य के महत्व को समझ सकें एवं उनमें आगे बढ़ने की प्रेरणा भर सकें।

आज जो प्रणाली इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये अपनायी गयी है वह एक प्रयोगात्मक ढंग से ही चल रही है। अच्छा तो यह हो कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की सफलता के लिये हम अपनी पिछली गलतियों से सबक लें एवं अनुभूत ज्ञान के द्वारा कार्य संचालित करें।

इस प्रकार के कार्य संचालन से आदिम जातियों में सहकारिता, स्वावलम्बन और साहस के गुण प्रादुर्भूत और स्थायी हो सकें—इस पर पूर्ण लक्ष्य रखना चाहिये। इसलिये आदिमजातिय लोगों को ही आगे बढ़ाने के सिद्धान्त को अपनाते हुये उन पर ही उत्तरदायित्व डालकर उनका मार्ग दर्शन कस्ते रहना चाहिये। वे किसी खतरे में न जाने पावें। उन्हें कोई भयंकर हानि न उठानी पड़े, उन्हें कोई धोखा न दे पाये, इन सब बातों का योजना में ध्यान रखा जावे। गांव-गांव में हमारी योजना का सर्वतोमुखी रूप निखर उठे ऐसा प्रबन्ध किया जाय।

(स) परिवहन एवम् यातायात

किसी भी क्षेत्र के आर्थिक, सामाजिक व

राजनैतिक विकास के लिये यह अतिआवश्यक होता है कि उस क्षेत्र में परिवहन, यातायात एवं संदेश-वाहन के साधनों का उत्तरोत्तर विकास हो। पिछड़े हुये जंगली क्षेत्र के विकास के लिये तो यह और भी अधिक आवश्यक हो जाता है। आदिम जातीय क्षेत्रों की प्रगति के लिये उनका जनसम्पर्क बढ़ाना बहुत आवश्यक है। जनसम्पर्क में नगरों में बसने वाले अनपढ़ लोग भी बौद्धिक कुशलता में अपेक्षाकृत अधिक आगे देखे जाते हैं। जनसम्पर्क बढ़ाने के लिये परिवहन एवं यातायात के साधनों में समुचित विकास होना चाहिये। आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी यातायात का महत्व बहुत अधिक है। जनसम्पर्क की कमी के कारण इन लोगों में संकोच, भोलापन, दब्वूपन, डरपोकपन बना रहता है। बोलने का साहस नहीं रहता। किसी कार्य में अग्रग्रा होने से इनमें धवराहट होती हुई देखी जाती है।

आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी यातायात एवं परिवहन के साधनों का विकास होना आवश्यक है। इनकी कमी से इनका आर्थिक विकास भी संभव नहीं है। इनके अभाव में इन्हें अपनी उत्पादित वस्तुएँ बहुत सस्ते में बेचनी पड़ती हैं एवं बाहर से आने वाली इनकी आवश्यकता की प्रत्येक वस्तु इन्हें महंगी खरीदनी पड़ती है। वाणिज्य के विकास के लिये भी यातायात महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। वाणिज्य के कारण बुद्धि को कुशाग्रता बढ़ती है अतः आदिम जातीय क्षेत्रों में यातायात की कमी के कारण वे काफी लाभों से वंचित रह जाते हैं। इन साधनों के प्राप्त होने से ये आर्थिक क्षेत्र में अपने आप प्रगति करने लगेंगे। सहकारिता में भां बल आयेगा। परिवहन, यातायात, शिक्षा, उद्योग, वाणिज्य, कला आदि में कुछ अत्यंत आवश्यक और महत्वपूर्ण बातें हैं जो किसी व्यक्ति, जाति या साम्राज्य के विकास के लिये अनिवार्य रूप से होनी ही चाहिये। अतः तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में परिवहन और यातायात के लिये

एक लम्बी राशि रखी जाये और जहाँ यातायात के साधनों का अभाव है वहाँ इसी अवधि में उसे पूरा किया जाना चाहिये। पक्के मार्ग, रेलवे मार्ग और पुल आदि का निर्माण, आवागमन के साधनों की व्यवस्था आदि शांति की जावें। शहर और नगर के लोगों की पहुँच भी आदिमजातिय क्षेत्रों में तभी बढ़ सकती है जब यातायात के साधनों का विकास हो जावे। शिक्षक, डॉक्टर, व्यापारी, राजनीतिज्ञ व समाज सुधारक भी सरलता से उस क्षेत्र में पहुँच सकते हैं तथा आदिमजातिय क्षेत्र में पर्याप्त विकास के लिये योग्य परिस्थितियों का निर्माण हो सकेगा।

(ड) स्वास्थ्य एवं स्वच्छता :—

आदिमजातिय क्षेत्रों में इन दोनों दृष्टियों से समुचित साधनों एवं मार्ग दर्शन की प्रायः शून्यता रहती है अतः। स्वास्थ्य एवं स्वच्छता के ज्ञान व साधनों के अभाव में आदिमजातिय लोगों को अनेक बार भयंकर से भयंकर बीमारियों का सामना करना पड़ता है। ऐसी स्थिति में इन्हें एकाएक भरपूर सहायता भी नहीं मिल पाती है।

स्वास्थ्य का स्वच्छता से बड़ा घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध है। इन दोनों का वास्तविक लाभ मिलने के लिये शिक्षा, मार्गदर्शन और स्वास्थ्य केन्द्रों की स्थापना छोटे बड़े सभी स्थानों पर अत्यंत आवश्यक है। छोटे छोटे केन्द्रों में भी इन दोनों को समुचित व्यवस्था होनी

चाहिये। अभी तक दो पंचवर्षीय योजना के सिलसिले में जो कार्य हुये हैं वे आदिमजातिय क्षेत्रों की विशालता, जनसंख्या और दुर्गमता को देखते हुये अति अल्प हैं। अतः इस योजना में इसके लिये समुचित व्यवस्था भी की जानी चाहिये।

स्वास्थ्य की सुरक्षा के सिद्धान्तों और नियमों की अज्ञानता, स्वच्छता के प्रति उदासीनता आदि आदिमजातिय लोगों के शारीरिक एवं मानसिक विकास में अवरोधक हैं। इन दोनों के अभावमें वे औद्योगिक, वाणिज्यिक, आर्थिक और राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में भी आगे नहीं आ सकते हैं। उनके अभाव में परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि कुछ खासखास बीमारियाँ अन्य क्षेत्रीय लोगों की अपेक्षा आदिम जातीय क्षेत्र में अधिक हैं। इन बीमारियों के लिये समुचित उपचार की भी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। अधिकतर बीमारियों का इलाज पुरानी रूढ़ि और प्रथाओं के अनुसार ही होता है। इस दिशा में इन बीमारियों के निराकरण हेतु विशेषज्ञों की उचित नियुक्ति एवं व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। विकास खण्डों में जिस प्रकार ग्राम सेवकों की व्यवस्था है उसी प्रकार स्वास्थ्य और सफाई के लिये तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्र में सहायता पहुँचाने के लिये उन्हें उचित मार्गदर्शन देने के लिये भी आदिम जातीय क्षेत्रों में वैसे ही सेवकों की नियुक्ति की जानी चाहिये तथा उन्हें उचित प्रशिक्षण भी देना आवश्यक है।

FOREST HERBS AND TRIBAL WELFARE

by

SWAMI JITPURI

I am extremely thankful to the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, which afforded me the opportunity with their help to see the forests, dangerous mountains and their inhabitants and also rich scenery of trees, vegetation, rivers, lakes and springs and mines of different metals contained in this vast country. I have contacted the masses to a great extent and studied their habits, living conditions, diet customs and the diseases and their treatment according to their local conditions from a research point of view, particularly diseases cured with local herbs, based on their ancestral experience. I studied the advantages and disadvantages of the herbs and found that there are some poisonous herbs, which we would not dare touch, but which they purify and take with a great advantage.

Forests :

Bharat is known from ancient times, as a holy land and is very very rich in every aspect of life and nothing is waste. Even the wild herbs and roots are found useful. All this vegetable kingdom derives its nourishment from the earth and develops their different tastes, qualities from nature's atmosphere and produces effect accordingly. Every kind of atom (pramanu) is in existence in the atmosphere. This land is gifted with all sorts of plants, minerals and waters useful for mankind. Many herbs are sold to the local banias, who

manage to send them to the markets in the cities for sale as medicines. For example a research was carried out in respect of 'Garishtika kand' by the Government and it was found that it contained all the properties of protien, salts etc. which are essential for the life of mankind (body). There are numerous 'kands' available in the jungle, which the local inhabitants use as a diet and derive their strength, but are unknown to the public. I can dare say that only three or four kinds of kand are marketed, while others in the jungle are wasted and no benefit is taken, due to lack of knowledge.

It is interesting to note a difference in the herbs—Nature's product—and those planted in the farms. In my last pilgrimage to the Himalayas (Himachal Pradesh) I personally noticed this difference in 'Brahmi Booti' The plantation of the farm was found yellow and deadly in comparison to the nature's product, brought from the river's bank. Both the samples are available with me.

Another example is that in the Government Research Institute, cinchona was planted, but later it was found that its skin did not contain the required extract i.e. quinine. Similarly the trees which produce resin in Bundelkhand of M.P., are found in Gondwana, but do not yield the resin. Also qualities available in the kinds of flowers of Santal province are absent in the same

species of Bhil territory. And also the flavour and wholesomeness of certain 'kand' which inspire new life of the man, are not found in the same species of 'Kand' of other places. It is noteworthy that Kumraj Kand is a product of Bhil and Korku and it is also found in Gondwana Baiga Chak. The latter has proved far better and more useful. Similarly seeds and flowers of same species, bear difference in colours, smell, flavour and effect under influence of the atmosphere of land, rather, certain things become the speciality of certain places and are neither available in other regions, nor can they yeild well by planting elsewhere. Many things (herbs) of Himalayas are not available in the mountains of Vindhychal, Arawali and Satpurus and in the same way many vegetations /herbs found in M.P. are not available in the former regions.

For doing research work in the herbs I visited a number of places in Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Dehradun district, the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.

Object :

I should like to acquaint my audience, as to why I took to this hard work of visiting different places in mountains, jungles and river regions and subjected myself to the hardships, mostly foot journey and devoid of any amenities, as I had sometimes to sleep on the stones, or on the bushes or on sandy and swampy lands with nothing to eat at times. I am 'Vaid' (physician) with knowledge of 'Unani' and 'Ayurvedic systems' and have knowledge in the identification of the raw medicinal herbs etc. These are marketed generally by

the 'Pansari Class people', after being brought from the jungle, mountains and river banks etc. After partition, I noticed that there are imitations of some medicines and some medicines have disappeared and some differ in colour and taste and thus I felt convinced that unless the medicines are real and their standards are maintained, the patients will not get cure of diseases. I, therefore, took to this with determination to find out the real medicines to benefit the mankind, and for some years during and after the monsoons I used to carry on my activities in this direction and as explained above. Now I feel pleasure and satisfaction that I have been mostly successful in the cherished aim.

I have already said about my activities carried out towards the research by contacting the inhabitants of the jungles, forests or mountain, regions studying their habits of diet, diseases and the treatment with the local herbs, trees and roots thereof and the water contained therein. Thus I took samples and tested them on the same diseases at other places. A few examples would illustrate this. Saharia is a region, where the land is of red colour and so are the live-stock i.e. animals and the vegetable kingdom. Peoples' dresses are mostly found in that colour. They treat the heart diseases and particularly 'Asthma' resulting therefrom with success with water in which a species of wooden piece is soaked. After very careful study I found that this treatment is most useful for the asthma of 'Pit patient'. I personally made an experiment on many patients in the Research Department of Ayurvedic hospital in New Delhi, and ave them

water in which the wood was soaked and they were cured. I have got their record and it is also recorded in the hospital. Similarly 'Damjari' herb found in Pachmari (Bombay) given as tobacco smoking to patients of asthma of 'balghmi, has been found most useful when tried by me. Another wonderful discovery is about 'Rakat Bala herb', which when ground and applied on the body the skin turned into blue or black relieves the whole trouble of discolour and pain within half an hour. In Himachal, such herbs were found which by their application by squeezing would immediately stop the bleeding of the wounds and cure them soon. There are herbs in the jungles which dry the milk and turn it into good and pleasant diet when mixed well and there are numerous herbs which the Almighty has created in this country for the benefit of the mankind and I have also tried them in the Ayurvedic hospital, New Delhi. I have only given a few examples of them.

Origin of herbs :

Whereas citizens neither know the plants and herbs, nor do they understand their use and benefits, rather they depend on the 'vaid' (physician) and doctors for their life, the inhabitants of the jungles etc. fully take advantage of the nature's product, by the study of each and every kind of herbs, trees, leaves, beetles, flowers and 'Kand' etc. available in the region and mentioned in their songs as well, Now a-days 'Punur Nawa' herb an ordinary grass found everywhere in every weather is in the process of research for use in the eyes but people destroy it by walking over it ; similarly a Sonchal sag herb, a nature's product

in the Northern region, has been found after research to possess a rich diet of protein, fat and other vitamins as a substitute for meat and has now been demanded from me by the Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra and Madras Governments for further experiment.

According to history our Rishis used to live in the jungles and generally took to the use of herbs, trees, leaves and fruits available there and they used to derive this knowledge from the inhabitants of the jungles, who were considered expert in the diagnosis of different diseases, and their treatment with herbs by Acharya, while now a days they are considered wild and backward and therefore efforts are being made to change their customs, thoughts and morals. Thus most of the valuable traditional knowledge which they possessed for a very very long time, has been destroyed and the rest is being neglected. Once malaria used to be cured with a herb known as Nai, even injections were prepared with this herb, but the time has come when they are now depending on the quinine injections. A century before, they were known for their bravery, and were bodily strong, but now they are considered weak and the calcium of Germany and England is now administered to make them healthy and strong. Most of the medicines are obtained from the jungles for nominal labour charges as they are themselves ignorant of their names and uses and thus a business of lakhs of rupees is transacted by the businessmen. Our leaders with all their might and force are trying to bring the inhabitants of Kashmir, Madras, Gadhiwalas and Bhils to the same standard

with regard to their living. But they should be cautious enough not to make them lose their expert knowledge for which the world health organisation (W.H.O) is spending enormous money. I fully agree with the leaders of the country who consider that the inhabitants of the jungles and mountains have their own way of living, diet, hunting and dress, similarly their knowledge is peculiar. It would be found interesting to note that during famine in M.P. urban people were fighting and dependent on the depots of foreign wheat and maize while these people used to live on fruits, products and kand available in the jungles and maintained their health and also helped the Government in building thousands of miles of roads; on the contrary during famine in Bengal, the people looked forward for outside help. According to 'Ramayana' a well known event is in evidence, as to how the life of Lakshman wounded with a poisonous weapon, was saved with certain herb as prescribed by a local physician and specially brought from DRONAGIRI Hills. It is the same efficient knowledge, which is still possessed by these persons of the jungles like Parwa of Bhils, Puriar of Korku, Ojhas of Santhal, and disciples of Gadian.

I go to the jungles and wander by foot and thus mix up with the inhabitants and try to understand their weal and woe and their knowledge of herbs and plants. And I have observed pleasures with sorrow that they possess very good knowledge, but suffer economically. They are so very sweet and straightforward that the people from outside take away their product for a

nominal price, but sell their goods so dear that sometimes these jungle inhabitants cannot pay their debt for generations. They are deficit of finance, clothing, residential accommodation, grains, milk and other necessities of life and also lack in education. Even the herbs become rare sometimes for want of rain. Hence they never spare their best things for a trifling service. I had already disclosed in the fifth conference that for one seer of the bark he does not hesitate to sell the whole tree and thus waste it, i.e. they would give away the maximum in exchange for the minor things. Thus they do not benefit, but the country suffers very badly. All this is due to the lack of education and they badly need training in their business.

Their economic condition can certainly be improved, if one cares. Raw jungle products as herbs, leaves, barks, roots, and seeds etc. worth thousands of rupees are daily marketed in Delhi. All this is procured through these jungle inhabitants for nominal labour charges by the bussiness men, who sell them at a very high price. As I had already explained on the last occasion that if societies are organised for them for procuring the raw medicinal herbs and marketing them, they would be relieved of the poverty and burden of mental worries. They require training in their collecting them at appropriate times, preserving and transporting to markets for sale and this can easily be experimented to advantage in certain regions and in the case of success, it may be extended to other regions. They will be happy to get full value of their product and labour. A bussiness of crores of rupees is carried on every year in the sale of

herbs and plants obtained through these jungle inhabitants.

Herbs and shrubs of this country contain every thing, what is essential for life and research will corroborate my opinion that they are most useful for our population in comparison with different medicines imported from foreign countries. It will be noticed that our daily diet comprises of salt, ginger green and dry pepper, chillies, tumeric (Haldi), dhania, Imli, Zeera, Darchini, Ilachi, Rai etc. and also Gur, sugar, Anardana, all vegetables, fruits and seeds. Well, all these are included in medicines, as their roots, barks (guthli), flowers, leaves and seeds are administered in medicines. According to our expert scholars the products of the country are found most agreeable and useful for the inhabitants of that country. Many a time, it has been found in this country that when a patient is reduced to poverty by taking to expensive foreign method of treatment and is not cured, then he takes to the use of indigenous articles of medicines such as Saonf and Ajwain etc. for the rest of his life and feels some comfort. Majority of the people prefer to the use of these herbs and so it is most essential that they get real and original medicines. These indigenous herbs will surely protect the people, when the import of foreign and patent medicines becomes difficult in case of war, and it is worthwhile to patronize our ancient system. A vigorous research of indigenous medicines will help to

provide suitable, inexpensive and effective medicines to the people. And this will also obviously save the large amount of foreign exchange worth crores of rupees spent on the import of medicines from foreign countries.

I would, therefore, strongly appeal to the Government and suggest as under :—

1. In the interest of the public, the manufacture of artificial medicines should be prohibited by law as the chemical industries in this respect are harmful.

2. In order to provide genuine and real raw medicines, training should be imparted to the jungle inhabitants as to how and when certain herbs, roots, barks, flowers and seeds etc. are collected, preserved, looked after and should be marketed.

3. Only such trained personnel should be entrusted with this work, who would look after the jungle herbs and soil for suitable herbs and will deliver the right stuff to the market at the appropriate time.

4. Personnel of the different regions should deal with their respective herbs and thus they would be benefitted.

5. If all this is organised through co-operative societies, this will solve the problem of their unemployment, raise their economic conditions, preserve knowledge of the herbs and will also serve as watch and ward of the jungles and thus the best medicines will be available to the country.

PART 4

**Discussions
and
Resolutions**

Passed At The Conference

**चौथा भाग
सम्मेलन में हुई चर्चायें
तथा
पारित प्रस्ताव**

A SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE OOTACAMUND CONFERENCE

(We are very much indebted to Shri S.R. Venkataraman of S.I. Society, Madras for furnishing us with this Summary of the discussions held at the Conference on 22nd and 23rd May 1960 :—Publishers).

Papers dealing with the various aspects of tribal welfare were read by the respective contributors. The ideas contained in these papers served as the subject matter for discussion among the delegates. Dr. Ehrenfels, Professor of Anthropology, University of Madras, speaking about the Housing Scheme of the Government for Todas in the Nilgiris, said that he was not quite happy about the type of houses provided by government. He had learnt from the Todas themselves that the old type of housing was much better suited to their conditions and way of life than the brick and mortar house provided by the government. The old house though lacking in ventilation and lighting had an air of orderliness and neatness about it which the new houses could not claim. He felt that modern amenities such as ventilation and lighting could have been provided without materially altering the shapes, the aesthetic and ethical aspect of the Toda hut. In all their efforts to promote the well-being of the tribal people one should not sacrifice the real value of their customs and habits and ways of life. The Toda hut had an aesthetic and ethical value which must be preserved at all costs. Similarly he felt that there must be no violent departure from the agricultural methods and practices to which the tribals had been

accustomed for ages. He thought it unfortunate that new methods and practices in agriculture should be imposed from above and denying the legitimate help from government to those tribes who did not fall in line with the common pattern. While he welcomed every effort to unite and improve the lot of the tribals he was of the firm view that such efforts should aim at fostering those values which the tribals cherished most. He recommended the example of Laplanders and the Danish people. In these two instances the government of the land gave a fillip to the traditional occupation of Laplanders and the Danes such as dairy-farming, without imposing any new trade or industry over the traditional occupation viz., the dairy farming. Thus Denmark, a small country, was able to hold its own against several other countries as far as dairy industries were concerned.

Mr. L. N. Rao, an Officer of the Dandakaranya Scheme said that the scheme comprised an area of 30,000 square miles. It was proposed to settle on the lands reclaimed under the scheme the refugees from East Bengal and also the tribal people who numbered about 14 lakhs in the area. In this work of settling the tribal communities, anthropologists and administrators had to

work hand in hand and it was very essential that in the words of the Prime Minister we should approach the tribal people as friends.

Describing the scheme he said that its progress was slow and it was inevitable as they had to face conflicts arising from the psychological tension in a new population which had been rooted out from its old moorings in East Bengal and from the delay in working the needs of the tribal communities resident in the Dandakaranya area. In order to resolve this conflict it was agreed between the government of West Bengal and the Dandakaranya authority that 15 per cent of the lands reclaimed should be set apart for settling the local tribal communities. He also stated that all lands were not suited for settlement. That again raised several problems which had to be solved with care and circumspection. He also stated that the approach of the official of the government and of the Forest Department to the tribal problem in many cases left the tribals cold and humiliated. If the scheme was to succeed he felt that such treatment to the tribals should be prevented. Referring to the various welfare measures adopted by the government in respect of the tribal communities he felt that they were neither continuous nor integrated. If lands were assigned, the necessary accompaniments for utilising the land fully and profitably were not made available. Bulls, ploughs, fertilisers and insecticides and water supply were not made available for months together after the lands had been assigned, and the people themselves were confused as to what all these schemes meant.

Mr. Nana Bapat of the Vanavasi Seva Mandal, Mandala, Madhya Pradesh, said that his organisation was the biggest in the country having 500 tribal welfare workers of whom 10 were graduates. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi entrusted to the Mandal the responsibility of running a training course for welfare workers, teachers and wardens of tribal institutions. The training was for 4½ months with practical work for 6 weeks. At the Lohardaga Conference the Committee that went into this matter suggested that graduates, secondary, 8th Standard grade candidates might be trained, and another class of workers with a local knowledge of tribal language be trained for the lowest grade of teachers employed in elementary schools. Those who had been trained were working in Assam, Himachal Pradesh and other places. Later on the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh modified the training scheme and started the regional training institutions in Bihar, in Rajasthan, in Gujerat and in H. Pradesh. He is happy to state that all those who have been trained were getting the jobs and were doing well as welfare workers after receiving training. They are ready to go to remote areas and be of service to the tribal communities. He compares that the educational facilities in the various States where they were employed did not give them any training for purposes of their work. Their trainees were in fact much better qualified and more capable to teach the tribal children than the teachers trained in the State schools. He also stated that the Government paid to the teachers of

the Vanavasi Seva Mandal was lower than the salary of teachers of the government schools in similar position. But the one encouraging feature of their workers was that despite their low salary they were willing to go to remote areas as teachers of tribal schools. Though the entire school scheme of the V.V.S. Mandal was accepted by the government they had not given the same scale of salary to the workers of the V.V.S.M. When this disparity in the scale of salary was pointed out to the government they said that they accepted the scheme because the D. A. of the Mandal teachers was Rs. 25 per month as against Rs. 38 for the government trained teachers. He felt that this disparity in the scales of pay of teachers who were specially trained for the tribal welfare work and who were prepared to go to remote parts of the country and were prepared to bear all difficulties, was not just and he hoped that in a welfare state the tribal workers will at least be treated on a par with teachers employed in government and other aided schools.

Medical facilities for the tribal communities in his area, he said, required to be improved. A doctor living 15 or 18 miles away from the tribal communities was of no use to them, as there were no means of conveyance. They had to take the patients to doctors either in an improvised stretcher or on the back of men. Distance had become a great problem. Many cases had ended fatally, because patients could not be taken to the doctor in time. He urged the Conference to suggest suitable remedy for solving this difficulty.

Regarding the education of Tribal children it was suggested that it should be for the full period of twelve years up to the matriculation class and that the Government should move in this matter.

Sri Ambalal Vyas spoke of his experience among the Langia Saoras of Orissa, the most backward tribe which had been utterly neglected and uncared for. Living in inaccessible jungles, in unhealthy areas with no communications and in primitive conditions, they required special treatment. Where good facilities and encouragement were given they responded wonderfully. They had reclaimed barren lands and had taken to terrace cultivation, contour bunding etc. But these alone were not enough. Formerly they used to supplement their income from the collection and sale of minor forest produce. That facility had now been completely denied to them and Mr. Vyas pleaded that that right should be restored to them. Besides, the various welfare schemes of the Government were stereotyped. Instead, they should be adapted and changeable to the conditions of each community. The Langia Saoras had not been benefitted by the various welfare schemes and therefore they should be chosen for special treatment in the Third Five Year Plan. He further observed that any scheme for the economic advancement of the Tribes required trained workers to make the scheme a success. He pleaded for greater facilities for the education and for the better training of social workers. He gave it as his considered opinion that the only way to hasten the all round progress of the Tribal people was to

select proper workers from among the Tribal people and give them sound training and the necessary encouragement. He said that the position of the Langia Saoras was unenviable in the sense that being a very backward and helpless tribe, they were being exploited by other advanced tribes. In order to meet this challenge in the initial stages a band of voluntary workers were needed to work among the Langia Saoras. He suggested that it would be desirable to appoint a few trained voluntary workers with sympathy and understanding to be in charge of the Welfare work among the Langia Saoras. They may be appointed in a special cadre for Langia Saoras welfare work.

Mr. A.A.D. Luiz, of Ernakulam said that there were several tribes which were primitive and deserved to be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes contained in the President's order, and in all welfare work they must be given the highest priority.

Father Meulder of Ranchi said that the science of Anthropology was based on superiority complex or the theory of the survival of the fittest. Its field of study was those communities which were suffering from an inferiority complex. He wanted the position to be transposed. What was needed in the country was real anthropologists and particularly drawn from the tribal communities to study the superiority complex of the non-tribal people. He quoted in support of this stand a passage from the edict of Asoka. He also said that the work for the advancement of the Tribal community should not be the monopoly of any particular community or individual, but

should be the privilege of every one. The tribals themselves had a part to play in the destiny of India and they ought to be given the facility and opportunity to do so.

He vehemently opposed any attempt to popularise family planning among the Tribes. What was imperative for the good of the Tribes was that they should be encouraged to produce more children.

Ramaswami Adigal of Coonoor then spoke about the difficulties of the Tribals in the Nilgiris and pleaded for better treatment of the Tribals by the Jenmi landlords and the Government. He also pleaded for special attention to the other backward tribes in the Nilgiris district.

Mr. P.G. Shah who spoke next pleaded for the adoption of the formula of the Backward Classes Commission which fixed standard for extending economic and social relief to the Tribal population. He said that only by the adoption of that formula will the State be able to find adequate finance to help the really needy and deserving.

Speaking about the problem of the Tribes in Assam, Mr. Sukumar Pagare who has been working among them for some years, said that the problem of the Tribes in Assam was a legacy of the British rule. For they did not allow any outside agency to have contacts with the Tribes except the Christian Missionaries. The result was that to-day 85 per cent of the Assam Tribes were Christians. They claimed to be a different nation. He was of the view that an all-effort was needed to bring about an emotional integration of the Tribes in Assam with the local population.

This could be done by both officials and non-officials who are generally sympathetic and friendly to the Tribes.

Mr. Sharma of Madhya Pradesh pleaded for recognising and legalising shifting cultivation as it formed part and parcel of the life of the Tribal communities. This was necessary according to him if the various programmes for their social and economic advancement were to be met with success. The cultivation was shifting because of the diminishing character of the soil. The Tribes also disliked modern methods of cultivation. Therefore he pleaded that in the Third Five Year Plan every possible help should be given to those carrying on shifting cultivation, as it had a cultural value and gave the tribal people an emotional satisfaction as well.

Mr. S.R. Bhise, President of the Conference thanked the speakers and adjourned the Conference for lunch.

Dr. S. Narasimhan of Kotagiri, who has been carrying on Medical relief work among the Irulas, living in the inaccessible jungles under great difficulty said that in addition to his medical work he conducted a survey into the economic conditions of the tribes and was shocked to know the high incidence of their indebtedness, sometimes bordering on slavery. He wanted a law to be passed which would release the tribal people from the grip of the money lenders.

Shrimathi Musuma Begam, Minister for Social Welfare of Andhra Pradesh Government said that she had just then taken charge as Minister of the Portfolio

of Social Welfare in the Andhra Pradesh and as such any remarks on Tribal problem can be only general in character. She said that the Andhra State had a significant proportion of Tribal communities, each one different from the other in point of their culture and ways of life and picturesque in their habiliments and interesting in their ways of life. She assured the Conference that as Minister responsible for the welfare of the Tribes in her State she would do her best to improve their lot.*

Minister from West Bengal who spoke next said that there were in all 16 lakhs of tribal population in West Bengal, the Santals alone numbering as many as ten lakhs. He felt that though grants were made for tribal welfare work since 1952, the progress achieved was rather slow. Educational progress was not satisfactory because instruction was through a foreign medium, not the language of the Tribals. On the part of the parents there was no urge to send the children to school as they were required to attend to chores at home and in the fields. Besides they had no clothes to wear. He contrasted the satisfactory condition of education in schools conducted by the Christian Missionaries, because of the free supply of cloth, food and medicine supplied by the Missionaries. Another problem arose on account of parents of children in Midnapur district migrating to other places during the sowing and harvesting season to earn some money. The West Bengal Government had appointed a Committee to go into this problem and suggest suitable remedies to resolve this

*Her speech is given in full at page 169.

difficulty. Besides the Tribes needed Grain golas, housing and grants for purchase of bulls. He felt that the Tribal Community had not been properly enumerated and that this omission should be rectified in 1961 census. Only then it would be possible for each State to make suitable allotments for Tribal work on the basis of the population figures of the tribes.

Mr. P. Kakkan, Minister for Tribal Welfare in the State of Madras in his speech observed that Deputy Sevaks have been appointed in the Madras State for each taluk, to assist the District Welfare worker in his work. The Deputy Sevaks were given practical training in welfare work. On account of their efforts more schools had been started for the benefit of the scheduled tribes; grants for seeds, manure, fertilizers, bulls, buffaloes and cows had been given; cottage industries had been organised; house sites and drinking water wells have been provided. Formation of cooperative milk societies and the organisation of cottage industries and the Ambar Charka were progressing. He said that he was himself a Harijan and that he felt it was his duty to do all that was in his power to improve the lot of the Tribes. The Director of Harijan Welfare who was in charge of the Tribal work was also a Harijan.

Mr. S.R. Bhise the chairman, told the delegates that they were all Kudai Kidmadgars, or Servants of God. It was their duty to assist every one who was backward to reach the level of the average citizen. In this connection he paid a tribute to the Christian Missionaries for the way they had shown them to serve the lowliest and the

downtrodden. Then he requested Mr. U.N. Dhebar to speak on the Tribal problem.

Mr. U.N. Dhebar said that the Commission of which he was the Chairman, was appointed under Article 340 of the Constitution to investigate the conditions of the backward classes and to recommend the steps to be taken by the Union or any State to improve their conditions. He mentioned that according to the Directive Principles of State Policy, an obligation was also cast on the Union Parliament to attend to the upliftment of the backward sections of the population. This was dealt with in Article 46 of the Constitution.

The administration of welfare measures intended for the Scheduled Tribes and Tribal Areas was under the direct administration of the Union Government and some under the State Governments.

Referring to the criteria for determining the Tribal character he confessed that they were still not definite and clear. It would be the duty of the Commission to determine the criteria. This he felt was an essential and basic need which will enable the Government to determine the type of administrative set-up that would be needed for carrying on welfare measures for the benefit of the Tribes.

As far as the scheduled tribes in the the Union territories were concerned, Mr. Debhar said that the work of the Commission was limited.

But the Tribal Advisory Councils that were functioning in each State had a very important role to play and he declared that governments should

not treat lightly the recommendations and suggestions passed by the Council. If any Tribal Advisory Council sought to treat its own recommendations with scant courtesy it was open to the Councillor concerned to call the Council why it chose to do so. In fact he felt that the Advisory Council gave a status to the social welfare worker. In this matter the Governor too had a special responsibility. If the Government encroached on the Tribal people's rights on land and forests, it was his duty to step in and see that the interests of the Tribal people are protected. It was also the function and paramount duty of the Tribal Advisory Council to watch whether the welfare measures intended for the benefit of the Tribal people progressed satisfactorily after Independence. But for the work that lies ahead, planned thinking and planned development and trained personnel for manning welfare institutions were necessary. Above all the main idea of all welfare work was to raise the standard of living of people in the country and to increase production, particularly in the field of agriculture. Any plan for the amelioration of the conditions of the Tribal people to be successful would have to be evolved by themselves and this aspect also merited the serious consideration of social workers. He warned Social Workers that nothing should be enforced on the Tribal people without their approval. He appealed for the adoption of what he called the broad strategy, that is giving the scheme and plan an orientation where circumstances demanded, modifying the nature of assistance that would be needed in the light of the actual prevailing conditions and gearing the

administrative set up to the work on hand. The administrative machinery which was slow, rigid and wooden required to be overhauled. In respect of institutional work there were the human and material resources with which alone it could be run. That was a common feature for all institutional work whether it was Tribal Welfare work, work of the Social Welfare Board, Community Development or any other developmental work. In this connection he commended to the careful reading of social workers the reports of the Estimates Committee of 1958-59, of Balwantraj Mehta Committee, of Verrier Elwin, and of the Community Development Commissioner.

Mr. Nitayanda Das of Orissa who spoke next suggested that the most backward tribes should be starred and suitable welfare measures should be adopted and vigorously implemented. Mr. Dave, Asst. Commissioner for Western Zone did not agree with this suggestion but said that each Tribe should be carefully studied and classified according to their backwardness. Similarly backward areas also should be given special treatment.

Mr. Sunderdas of Nilgiris pleaded that Pattas should be granted to the Todas who were the traditional owners of lands in Wenlock Downs without any further delay.

Mr. T.N. Bahl of Madhya Pradesh Government who spoke next deprecated delegates giving expression at this Conference to the unhelpful attitude of the petty officials in the various states.

Mr. S.R. Venkataraman of the Servants of India Society who spoke next urged that there must be separate

department of social welfare in each state dealing with welfare services in the state, and the work of Tribal Welfare should be entrusted to a separate department with a full complement of officials who would deal with all problems, such as assignment of lands, medical aid, schools, hostels, industries, agriculture etc. so that organisations and social workers would not be put to the necessity of writing to umpteen departments and seeing an equal number of officials.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister of Education in Madras, who spoke next prefaced his remarks by saying that he had no qualifications to speak at the Conference as he had no touch with Tribal problems and had not listened to the speeches of the delegates. The provision in the Constitution relating to Tribal Welfare was to remove the disparity that existed between the ordinary citizen and tribes, which he compared to an elephant and a cat. He agreed that backward people required special treatment. It was his view that the Tribal problem was difficult and complex. Their stagnation was due to historical and other causes such as social isolation. The questions often posed were "Should they be allowed to retain their identity, their old customs and manners and ways of life? Should they or should they not get, the benefits of education and the benefits of the modern ways of life? Should we cut them away from their moorings?" His own view was that they were anxious to become modern as others. Once they became modern, they would advance as others. It was the responsibility of the Government and welfare workers not to place any

barrier to their progress. "When the whole country was trying to catch up with the more advanced countries of the world, in technological, scientific and industrial field would the Tribals who taste the civilising influences of these forces retain their Tribal traditions, ways of life and separate identity?" he asked. Whatever be the answer to the query, he declared that they were all agreed that the Tribal people should take the same place as others in all walks of our national life. He suggested that Mr. Dhebar the Chairman of Inquiry Commission would approach the problem from the points of view posed by him. He deplored the tendency among a section of the backward people to look upon their backwardness as a vested interest to secure more facilities and privileges and concessions. The aim of every citizen in a Society like ours should be to get out of the various classifications, the sooner the better. Both the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes should form a part of the general community enjoying equality of opportunity and equal status. Speaking about the Governmental and non-Governmental agencies he said that work among the common people required human touch and that touch was possessed in an abundant measure by non-Governmental agencies. Government agencies were guided by certain rules of procedure and they could not claim to possess the same human touch as the non-Governmental agencies. He was therefore of the view that non-Governmental agencies had a vital role to play in all social welfare work including tribal welfare work. He however pleaded that there should not be any

dichotomy in tribal welfare work but absolute co-operation and co-ordination between the Government and non-Governmental agencies.

Mr. M.A. Manickavelu, Minister for Revenue and Public Health, who followed Mr. C. Subramaniam said that though the Tribal problem in the Madras State was not of the same dimension as in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa or Assam the problem of backwardness of the tribal people in the State of Madras was a serious one. In the Javadi and Elagiri hills of the North Arcot District the tribal communities were living a sub-standard of living, eating leaves and old rotten fruits. There was urgent need to bring them to the level of the average citizen. There was need to give special facilities to the scheduled castes, the Backward tribes and the scheduled tribes. As far as the scheduled castes were concerned they had achieved good progress unlike the backward classes and the scheduled tribes. He regretted that the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission had not been implemented. Speaking about the Scheduled Tribes, he said that their problem was small and an all out effort to improve them will yield quick results. In this work he wanted the co-operation of all categories of workers, whether Governmental or non-Governmental. In a work of this kind there should be no room for conflict, misunderstanding and rivalry. In this connection he referred to the pioneering work of the Christian Missions, the Ramakrishana Mission, the Servants of India Society and others.

Mr. Rachiah, Minister for Social Welfare from Mysore, who spoke next said

that during the last one decade much useful work had been done for the progress of the Scheduled tribes and he hoped that efforts will be made in another ten years time to do away with the distinctions of scheduled castes, backward classes and scheduled tribes. He said that his Government was doing its best to improve the lot of its 1,20,000 tribes. He invited the next Conference to Mysore.

Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddi, the President of the Congress who arrived just then was called upon to address the Conference by the Chairman. He felt that the advanced sections of the population had not won the confidence of the Tribes, for had they won their confidence, the gulf that existed between the two sections in their social, and economic life would not exist. He wanted to know why they had failed to win their confidence and take them along with them in their national endeavour. He wanted the Conference and social workers to investigate into the matter and find a solution. There was need for psychological and emotional integration of the tribes in the interest of the nation as a whole. In some places they were anti-national. Referring to the need for more workers among them, he stated that they required a band of trained workers with the necessary aptitude to work among the tribes and that mental attitude which will fit in with the surroundings. Such people alone should be chosen. Workers who are imbued with a religious fervour and can win the confidence of the people must be chosen. Money was not a difficult problem at all. If they did not succeed within the next few years in

integrating the Tribal people with the rest of the population all the money spent on tribal welfare work would be a waste. It was his considered view that all welfare institutions intended to promote the welfare of the tribal communities must be in the hands of non-official agencies.

Srimathi Violet Alwa, Deputy Minister of the Union Government who spoke next appealed to the delegates of the Conference to come in larger numbers to work among the tribes with a missionary zeal. She suggested that in all our welfare work their effort should be to make the tribals more and more self-reliant and not to look forward to outside help. As a Christian she declared that the days of the Christian Missions which converted people were over. Every Christian who worked among the Tribes must work only for the social and economic progress of the tribal people. She wanted all workers, whether they were Christians, members of the Servants of India Society, or the Ramakrishana Mission, to work in that spirit. She again appealed to the workers not to

interfere with the ways of life, religion and customs of the Tribal people. If the right type of workers were forthcoming, enough money too will be forthcoming. There was also need, she added, for carrying on research among the tribal communities with reference to the several social and economic problems that faced them, and to carry on such activities they required men with academic qualifications and research experience.

Shri L.M. Srikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes said that the draft proposals for Tribal welfare work in the Third Five Year Plan would be ready in a few months. The Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh and the Ministers felt that there may be an increase of 300 per cent in the outlay for Tribal welfare over the Second Five Year Plan figure. The major scheme will relate to the organisation of multipurpose block.

The Conference met and passed the five resolutions after some discussion. They are printed at page 171.



SPEECH

by

SMT. MASUMA BEGUM,

Minister for Social Welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad

I am glad I could come to this Conference and participate in its deliberations. It is necessary that such conferences should be held frequently in order to facilitate contacts among the officials, social workers and experts on tribal affairs. Such occasions bring about an interchange of ideas on vital problems concerning our tribal community and we are thus enabled to evaluate and scrutinise our tribal policies with a view to strengthen our foundations and broaden our out-look.

It is our duty to see that the tribal problem is not partially solved due to our preoccupation with other national, and perhaps more urgent problems. It is our serious task to consider that the tribal problems are not aggravated due to any defective administrative setup and treated without reference to its scientific and sociological considerations. The entire tribal issue should be looked in the light of two considerations; firstly, it should be considered as a part of all socio-cultural problems that face our entire country and steps should be taken to enable the tribal community to participate in the great adventure of rebuilding our republic; secondly, each tribe should be dealt with as a totality with a consistent focus on all its material as well as moral, economical and psychological complexes.

I am afraid, the solution of tribal problems often suffers from absence of an understanding of their needs and the mentality of reforming them which our workers have. I feel that without the genuine co-operation of the tribal community, without their faith in what we are doing for them, without a sincere sharing of responsibilities in all developmental programme, it is impossible for any tribal programme to succeed.

The Tribal population of Andhra Pradesh is about 7.67 lakhs in Andhra and 2.58 lakhs in Telengana. They live mostly in the Agency area which is 6541 sq. miles in Andhra and 5000 sq. miles in Telengana. There are 26 main tribes in Andhra and 9 main tribes in Telengana.

During the Second Plan provision was made for mobile medical units and visits by Medical Officers, while existing dispensaries were improved and converted into hospitals with beds. A mobile medical unit at Salur has been started with a plan out-lay of Rs. 78,000/-. There are Co-operative Schemes and Women Welfare Schemes to improve the economic and social conditions of the tribals.

The tribals depend mostly on Podu cultivation. Under the centrally sponsored schemes it has been proposed to colonise them and train them in some

industries such as carpentry and black-smithy, brick making, masonry and bee-keeping. Rs. 3,66,000 has been sanctioned for this.

Co-operative Societies have also been formed, e.g., the Araku Multi-purpose Co-operative Society in Vishakhapatnam District, the Labour Contract Co-operative Society at Maradimilli, East Godavari District and the Forest Co-operative Society, Mandasa, Srikakulam Dt. Rs. 80,000/- has been earmarked for this.

In the agency areas of Andhra Pradesh a Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance Development Corporation has been formed which is registered under the Co-operative Societies Act. This scheme is meant to relieve the Tribals from being exploited. A survey of the working of this scheme shows that nearly 75 per cent have been benefitted. At the Conference for State Ministers of Social Welfare held last December in Delhi, I had pleaded for more funds to expand this work to more districts and the Government of India have granted this request. This is a grant-in-aid scheme included in the Second Five Year Plan. Members of these Societies are all tribals. Some interested persons who are losing by this scheme are trying to make the tribals believe that Government is paying very little and making large profits. This is naturally done in their own interest. For the information of the Conference, I may add that if there is profit which rarely happens it is divided

among them as it is a Co-operative Society.

The Tribal Panchayats established under the Tribal Area Regulation of 1949 used to have extensive powers in the disposal of their civil and criminal cases. Prof. Haimendorf who recently visited Adilabad and Warangal Districts observed that these are not so effective now probably due to frequent transfers of Social Service Officers and due to the trifurcation of the State.

1. It is also important that Officers have knowledge and experience of tribal problems as well as know their mentality if schemes in such areas are to be successful.

2. That adequate representation of tribals should be on the Project Advisory Council.

3. That closer co-operation between the multi-purpose project and the Social Welfare Department might lead to a better understanding of the problems.

4. Representative on the Zilla Parishad in project areas should be a tribal.

5. The education system should be different from that of the non-tribal area and now that this has been handed over to the Education Department which is a pity, Education Department should bear this in mind. It is thought that by doing this the social welfare Department would be deprived of the constant contact, with the aboriginals which is so important.

Resolutions Passed at the Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference, Ootacamund, on 23-5-1960

Resolution No. 1. (Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks).

(A) This Conference resolves that the Centrally-sponsored Scheme of the Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks may be extended to such pockets of Tribal Areas which are more undeveloped on account of inaccessibility or its tribal population which follows old tribal traditional ways of life, like shifting cultivation, bachelor dormitories and tribal dialects or which are economically more backward. The extension of the Scheme should be conditioned by the availability of trained personnel and the finances allotted for the purpose by the Central Government in the Third Five Year Plan.

This Conference agrees which the following important recommendations Dr. Elwin Committee with certain modifications.

1. The over-all coverage of each Tribal Block should not be more than 25,000 population in an area of 200 sq. miles, as suggested by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report.

2. There should be no regular schematic budget for the Tribal Blocks in future, but the expenditure should be divided into three sections.

(a) Schemes for economic development 60%

(b) Communications ... 25%
(c) Schemes for Social Services 15%

Subject to variations according to local conditions, top priority should be given to agriculture and allied subjects of irrigation, reclamation and soil conservation, and not less than 10 lakhs on the total should be spent on these.

3. For Phases I and II of the Programme, a sum of Rs. 32 lakhs may be allotted, out of which Rs. 15 lakhs may be contributed by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the remaining amount by the Ministry of Community Development.

4. The Home Ministry should ensure that adequate and more funds are made available for Tribals living outside the Special Tribal Blocks, but covered under normal Development Blocks.

5. The poorest living in the remote areas should receive chief attention of the Block Officials. This could be done by locating Blocks Headquarters in the interior as far as practicable. On no account the Block Headquarters should be located in small towns or in the centres of non-tribal population. Allowances for touring in inaccessible areas should be made more liberal.

6. Existing facilities for training are totally inadequate for meeting the situation; they should be extended immediately with the required speed and

with the help of Non-official Agencies, wherever possible and available.

7. For Multi-purpose Special Tribal Blocks, choice of right type of officials is absolutely essential for creating right psychological climate before the tribals enthusiastically respond to welfare schemes; and no transfers of these officers should be made during the plan period, unless they are found incapable or inefficient or unsympathetic.

(B) This Conference calls upon the Non-official Agencies specially those affiliated to the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh to submit a list of such pockets of undeveloped areas of tribal population, in order of priority, with the assistance of Assistant Commissioners for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes.

Resolution No. 2. (Compilation of Revised Edition of Tribes of India).

This Conference requests the Non-Official Agencies and Workers doing tribal welfare work to form Statewise Committees, with the help of Assistant Commissioners for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes and Tribal Research Institutions and the like, to undertake to write small monographs/brochures on various Scheduled Tribes inhabiting their States in order of priority of backwardness giving the following important details.

- (i) Population.
- (ii) Habitat.
- (iii) Means of Livelihood.
 - (a) Shifting Cultivation.
 - (b) Food Gathering.
 - (c) Agricultural Labour. (Semi-Slavery Conditions)

(iv) Social Customs and Structure of Society.

(v) Dialects.

(vi) Reaction to Social Work undertaken by different Agencies, official or non-official.

Resolution No. 3. (Indebtedness).

(A) This Conference reiterates once again the urgent necessity of lightening the over-powering burden of accumulated debts which acts as a great unsurmountable hurdle to the allround development of the simple and unsophisticated scheduled tribes, and draws immediate attention of State Governments to the resolution passed by the Central Tribes Advisory Council under the able guidance of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Minister for Home Affairs of the Government of India.

(B) Grain golas, multi-purpose co-operative societies and service societies and linking of credit with marketing facilities are the only remedies to free the Tribals from the unscrupulous exploitation by the land-lords, money-lenders and trader-cum-money-lenders, to make them self-reliant and to raise their standard of living.

(C) The first step in this direction is total moratorium of all debts (excluding Government and Co-operative dues), more than three years old and a correct assessment based on the ability to repay of the debts incurred during the last three years by Debt Conciliation Boards specially to be appointed for the purpose by the State Governments concerned.

Resolution No. 4. Training for Workers).

In view of rapid expansion of

development Schemes in areas inhabited by Tribals and in view of the dearth of right type of workers being keenly felt, it is imperative to give training to workers in Cooperation and Panchayats and to village level-workers. This conference therefore requests the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh to open suitable Training Centres as early as possible with the help of Non-official Agencies for imparting training to workers.

This Conference appoints a Committee of the following persons to draw up a curriculum for training and submit it to Bharatiya Adimajti Sevak Sangh within a period of three months.

- (1) Shri L.M. Shrikant.
- (2) Shri Acharya Bhise.
- (3) Shri N.V. Bapat.
- (4) Shri Ambalal Vyas.
- (5) Shri Dharamdev Shastri.
- (6) Shri D.J. Naik (Convenor)
- (7) Shri Narayanji.
- (8) Shri Jugatram Dave.

Resolution No. 5 (Tribal Forest Economy).

Economy of tribals is mainly divided into two parts—one, agriculture and the

other, forest. They feel that their rights in land and forests are encroached upon by the Government. In order to improve their economic condition and to create a sense of confidence, this Conference is of opinion that the rights of tribals in land, forests and forest produce should be respected. The existing laws and rules pertaining to land policy and forests should be so adjusted as to restore their rights in land and forests.

This Conference also urges on State Governments to call upon the Forest Deptts. and the Co-operative Deptts. to organise Forest Co-operatives on the lines of Bombay State pattern with the help of Social Institutions working among tribes and also to organise industries dependent on forest produce like collection of mahua seeds, honey, leaves, medical herbs etc. and also processing of timber, teak, bamboo etc. on co-operatives lines.

This Conference requests the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission to make suitable recommendation for making tribal economy self-dependent in every respect and restoring to the tribes their original rights in the land and forest.

PART 5
APPENDICES

पाचवां भाग
परिशिष्ट

APPENDIX I

MESSAGES

अखिल भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन उटाकमंड के लिये प्राप्त शुभ संदेश

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT, *Home Minister of India* :

I am glad to know that the Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference organised by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh is to be held shortly at Ootacamund. The need for dedicated service for the welfare of the tribal people is as urgent as the scope for it is vast. The problems of the tribal people are, it must always be remembered, essentially human problems and can be dealt with satisfactorily only if approached in a spirit of fellowship and understanding. Welfare work amongst them therefore requires a band of devoted workers, keenly sympathetic of the tribal way of life and culture and in rapport with it. I trust that the deliberations of the Conference will be helpful in promoting understanding of the problems of the tribal people and send my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI, *Finance Minister of India* :

The need for uplifting the tribal communities in India, socially, economically, and educationally so that they may be able to take their legitimate place in the national life of the country, requires no emphasis. While I am glad that a great deal of quiet work has been done

to arouse and stimulate a desire in the Tribal communities for the development of their potential capacities, I must say that a great deal more needs to be done before they are rid of their poverty, ignorance and their socio-economic backwardness. It should therefore be our endeavour to remove these handicaps and enable them to participate in the developmental activities of the country.

The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh has been doing very useful work in this regard and I trust that that the Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference will take steps to intensify their efforts in this direction. I wish this Conference every success.

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI,

During my tours I have found artistic and other qualities in the tribal people which could make a rich contribution to our national life. While ameliorating their economic condition, care should be taken that they do not lose these qualities and other virtues peculiar to them.

I am glad to hear of this Conference at Ooty. It is certainly important for the tribals to understand the outside world, but it is equally important that the outside world should try to understand the needs and problems of the tribals.

I wish all success to the Conference,

GENERAL S.M. SHRINAGESH, *Governor of Assam* :

The problem of tribal welfare is one that is engaging the constant and earnest attention of the Government of India. Large sums have been given during the Second Five Year Plan to help our brethren in the hills and forests, so long neglected, to progress side by side with the rest of the country, and even larger sums will, I understand, be allocated during the Third Five Year Plan period. It is thus essential that we should all plan carefully to ensure that this money is spent well and for the greatest benefit of the tribal people and that we should give some of our best doctors, engineers and teachers to work for the development of the remote and difficult areas in which they live. Here is a challenge and a privilege which we must not ignore. I send my greetings to the Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference with the hope that it will materially assist in the plans of development for the tribal people who, in their turn, will one day make their contribution to India as a whole.

SHRI V.V. GIRI, *Governor of Uttar Pradesh* :

I am very glad to hear that the Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference is going to be held at Ootacamund from the 20th to the 23rd May. It is acknowledged by all that in free India our Tribals should be treated with sympathy and understanding so that they may become honourable citizens of the country. I am glad that distinguished personages are attending the Conference. I wish it every success.

SHRI GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH, *Governor, Rajasthan* :

I am glad to hear that the Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference will be inaugurated on the 20th May, 1960 by our Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and that it will be presided by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddi. Such annual functions provide a useful opportunity for stock taking of the welfare work done by official and voluntary agencies, and for finalising the plans for future. The Constitution of India has laid due emphasis on the Union and the State Governments providing for the welfare of the tribal people. In order to implement expeditiously the various schemes we require a large number of social workers who are well conversant with tribal culture and way of life and can thus win their confidence.

The work of the uplift of Adivasis has to be pursued with greater vigour. Besides imparting literacy, emphasis has to be laid on bettering their lot economically keeping intact their traditional culture that does not stand in the way of their progress.

I wish the Conference success and hope that it will create new enthusiasm and tempo for welfare and development work in the tribal areas.

SHRI MOHANLAL SUKHADIA, *Chief Minister, Rajasthan* :

Tribal welfare programme is designed to provide modern amenities to the tribal people making them economically advanced and eradicating social evils from the tribal societies; at the same time preserving their colourful traditional culture which is so important for the diversified Indian culture. Tribal

Welfare, therefore, forms an integral part of the programme of national reconstruction and development. I hope the Conference will mark another landmark in the programme of Tribal Welfare and will be instrumental in speeding up the work in the right direction.

I wish the Conference all success.

Governor of Orissa :

I am glad to know that the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh is holding the Sixth All India-Tribal Welfare Conference at Ootacamund this month. Since attainment of independence no section not even the backward sections of our country must lag behind and all of us must endeavour to see that every single community in India takes its proper place in the onward march of progress. The efforts of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh in the direction deserve full support. I wish the Conference all success.

SHRI MANGALDASS PAKVASA, Governor of Mysore :

It gives me great pleasure to send a message of good wishes to the ensuing Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference.

Since the advent of independence, greater attention is being paid to the amelioration of the condition of scheduled castes and tribes. Active steps have been taken by the Central and State Governments to implement the constitutional directives for the promotion of their educational and economic interests.

I wish the Sixth Session of the Conference success in its deliberations.

SHRIMATI PADMAJA NAIDU, Governor of West Bengal :

Conveys her good wishes on the occasion of the Sixth All India Tribal Welfare Conference.

SHRI N.V. GADGIL, Governor of Punjab :

I send my good wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI H.V. PATASKAR, Governor of Madhya Pradesh :

I extend my best wishes for the success of the function.

SHRI Y.B. CHAVAN, Chief Minister of Maharashtra :

Since its inception the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh has been rendering invaluable service to the progress of the Adivasis. It is the duty of every citizen of India to see that the tribal folk receive every facility for developing their economic and social conditions. The lead given by the All India Tribal Welfare Conference in furthering the cause of the tribals is worth emulating. Unless tribal people are socially, culturally and economically on par with the rest of the population, our development programme will be hampered. I am therefore particularly happy that the Sixth All India Tribal Welfare Conference is being held at Ootacamund from May 20 to 23 to discuss various ways and means to improve the conditions of the people. The conference which is being inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, our esteemed Vice-President, and presided over by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, President of the Indian National Congress, will, I am sure, be a source of inspiration

and guidance to the adivasis for bettering their conditions. I send my best wishes for the success of the conference.

—
SHRI JIVRAJ N. MEHTA, *Chief Minister of Gujarat* :

I regret very much that owing to previous engagements I am unable to be present at the Conference. I wish the Conference all success.

—
SHRI K.N. KATJU, *Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh* :

It would have been for me a great pleasure to be present, but I am very busy owing to many urgent engagements elsewhere. You will please, therefore, excuse me. I wish the Conference all success. The promotion of the welfare of the Adivasis is of paramount importance. We in Madhya Pradesh look upon them with the greatest respect and affection and we are doing our best in this direction.

—
SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA, *Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh* :

I wish the Conference will serve a useful purpose. I wish it all success.

—
SHRI B.D. JATTI, *Chief Minister of Mysore* :

Wedded as we are to the principle of establishing a socialistic pattern of society in our country with equal rights and opportunities to all sections of the people, it is but very essential that we should spare no pains in achieving the welfare of the backward classes of our people, especially the tribal people, who had, all along, been shut out of the civilised society. After the attainment

of Independence, both the Central and State Governments, as well as several Social Welfare Organisations, are striving hard to ameliorate the conditions of these people and bring them on a par with the other progressive people of the civilised society. But there is no gain-saying the fact that much still remains to be done, and so much so, we have no other alternative but to intensify our efforts more and more, so that our cherished goal of establishing a welfare state in the country may be achieved.

I wish the Conference all success.

—
SHRI PARTAP SINGH KAIRON, *Chief Minister, Punjab* :

I regret very much my inability to attend this important conference owing to my preoccupations in the home State. I, however, send my hearty greetings to the organizers and participants of the conference and wish it the best of success in every respect.

—
SHRI G.L. NANDA, *Minister of Labour Employment and Planning* :

Welfare programmes for tribal people have to be based on understanding of their culture and traditions and an appreciation of their social, psychological and economic problems. There is a well-conceived tribal welfare programme already under implementation. I have always felt that in the formulation and execution of such programmes, tribal leadership should always have a major role and any suggestion of imposition from without should be avoided. The tribal people should feel that these programmes are, in a real sense, a response to their own urge for better standards of

living and the development of their culture. It will give them a sense of partnership and integration with the nation as a whole.

I wish the Sixth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference all success.

SHRI S.K. DEY, *Minister of Community Development & Co-operation :*

I do hope and pray that your conference can inject in those assembled greater respect for and understanding of the tribal culture and more realism as to how this can be conversed and promoted while catering to the economic and physical welfare of these long depressed communities.

SHRI K.C. REDDY, *Minister for Works, Housing & Supply :*

I convey my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH, *Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel :*

Since the attainment of freedom, every effort is being made to ameliorate the condition of socially backward classes in our society, and in fact, their welfare forms a very significant factor in the various schemes undertaken, and those under contemplation, by the Government. I have every hope that these efforts will continue to be pursued with vigour and enthusiasm.

I take this opportunity of sending my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI MAHENDRA NATH HAZARIKA, *Minister of Assam :*

I wish all success of the Conference.

Minister of Assam Tribal Welfare :

For and on behalf of the people of Assam I wish the Conference all success.

SHRI N.K. BOSE, FNI, *Director, Department of Anthropology,*

I hope that the conference will prove successful. With best wishes.

Messages were also received from the following workers and sympathisers.

1. Shri K.T. Chattopadhyaya, Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

2. Shri T.C. Das, Reader in Anthropology, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

3. Smti. P.P. Naidu, Director (Social Welfare), Planning Commission, New Delhi.

4. Shri Lalita Sen, Sundarnagar (H.P.)

5. Shri Bhagirath Kanoria, Calcutta.

6. Shri R.S. Misra, Sarsa.

7. Shri Manikyalal Verma, Udaipur.

8. Shri Janardan Pathak, Gauhati.

9. Shri Janki Nath Raina, Bhopal.

10. Shri Shyam Sundar Misra, Cuttack.

11. Shri D.N. Wandrekar, Khar, Bombay.

12. Shri Gurucharan Naik, Keonjhar (Orissa).

13. Shri E.W. Aryanayakan, Sevagram.

14. Shri S.R. Bhartiya, Allahabad.

15. Shri Denis Lakra, Uttarpanilguri (W. Bengal).

16. Shri Sarayu Prasad.

17. The Editor, 'Adivasi', Ranchi.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF DELEGATES

*Ex-officio Delegates :**Members of the Executive Committee*

1. Shri U.N. Dhebar.
2. Shri L.M. Shrikant
3. Shri D.J. Naik
4. Shri Dharamdev Shastri
5. Shri N.M. Wadiwa.
6. Shri Narayanji
7. Shri N.V. Bapat
8. Shri Bhayyaram Munda.
9. Shri Bhogilal Pandya.
10. Shri V. Raghaviah
11. Shri N.D. Majumdar.
12. Shri Dr. S. Narasimhan.

Life Members of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Singh

1. Shri Sukumar Pagare
2. Shri D.M. Bidkar
3. Shri Gauri Shankar Dalmia.
4. Shri J.H. Chinchalkar
5. Shri Jaljibhai Dindod.

President of the Conference and Chairmen of the Sections.

1. Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddi.
2. Shri S.R. Bhise, Chairman, Social Welfare Section.
3. Dr. A. Aiyappan, being absent Shri P.G. Shah, Chairman of Anthropology Section.
4. Shri Chhaganlal Kedaria, Chairman, Tribal Representatives Section.

Elected Delegates

1. T. Sambaiya
2. Smt. T. Sarojini,
3. Shri Lal Naik.
4. Shri S.R. Venkatraman, Madras.
5. Shri Lakhamsay, Madras.
6. Shri Lalchand Ninama, Dohad.

7. Smt. Hirabai Ninama, Dohad
8. Shri R.B. Parmar, Dohad.
9. Shri Satyan, Alwaye
10. Shri Konthi, Alwaye.
11. Shri Papachan, Alwaye.
12. Shri R.P. Pawar, Nasik.
13. Shri D.A. Bowa.
14. Shri W.S. Patel.
15. Shri B.L. Agnithotri.
16. Shri R.C. Kulkarni.
17. Shri N.B. Dixit.
18. Shri Balram Das, Ghatsila
19. Shri Banvarilal Gaud, Jaipur.
20. Shri S. Kistaiya, M.P., Bastar.
21. Shri B.P. Adarshi, Bastar
22. Shri Bhusroo Muria, Bastar.
23. Shri D.P. Bilthare, Bondar.
24. Shri Himmat Singh, Mandla.
25. Shri Jai Singh, Mandla.
26. Shri Aditya Pratap Singh.
27. Shri T.P.R. Nambisam, Kerala.
28. Shri C. Ramulu, Hyderabad.
29. Shri H.C. Heda, Hyderabad.
30. Shri Ramdev, Hyderabad.
31. Shri R.V. J.S. Ramachandra Murthi, Kovvur.
32. Shri K.V.N. Apparao, Kovvur.
33. Shri Shri A.K. Patro.
34. Shri Mahabir Prasad Mahato, Gosaindih.
35. Shri Tikaram Manzi, Gosaindih.
36. Shri R.S. Yogi, Gosaindih.
37. Smt. Pushpa Desai, Takli.
38. Shri Dindayal Gupta.
39. Shri Braj Raj Singh, Rewa
40. Shri Balwant Singh Mehta, Udaipur.
41. Shri Pellican, Kotagiri.
42. Shri M.Y. Kavanthan, Kotagiri.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 43. Shri Chinmudi, Kotagiri. | 46. Shri K.B. Konga Gowder, Nilgiris. |
| 44. Shri Pyare Kerketta, Ranchi. | 47. Shri Ramaswami Adigal, Nilgiris. |
| 45. Shri A.A.D. Luiz, Kerala. | 48. Shri P.G. Shah, Bombay. |

LIST OF VISITORS

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Shri Bishnu Ram Medhi, Governor of Madras. | 18. Shri T. Nageswara Rao, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. |
| 2. Shri B. Gopalareddi, Minister, Union Government. | 19. Shri Kalyanam, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. |
| 3. Smt. Violet Alwa, Dy. Minister for Home Affairs, Delhi. | 20. Shri F. Bahadur, Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. |
| 4. Shri Raja Naresh Chandra, Singh. Minister, Tribal Welfare, M.P. | 21. Shri Gian Chand, Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. |
| 5. Shri Shiv Bhanu Solanki Dy. Minister, Tribal Welfare, M.P. | 22. Shri P. Damodaran, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. |
| 6. Smt. Masuma Begum, Minister for Social Welfare, Andhra. | 23. Shri L.O. Joshi, Dy. Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs. |
| 7. Shri Rachappa, Minister, Mysore. | 24. Shri Vidya Sagar Sharma, Director, Social Welfare, H.P. |
| 8. Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, Delhi | 25. Shri R.R. Bahl, Secretary to Tribal Welfare, M.P. Govt. |
| 9. Shri C. Subrahmaniam, Minister, Madras. | 26. Shri Khan, Director, Tribal Welfare, M.P. |
| 10. Shri C. Bhaktawatsalam, Minister, Madras. | 27. Shri Bhaurasker, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara. |
| 11. Shri Manickavelu, Minister, Madras. | 28. Mrs. Bhanot. |
| 12. Smt. Lourdhanmal Simon, Minister, Madras. | 29. Shri Ahluwalia. |
| 13. Smt. Rajvallabh Misra, Minister, Orissa. | 30. Shri Ahir. |
| 14. Shri Vimal Chandra, Asstt. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. | 31. Shri H. Saksena. |
| 15. Shri K.K. Lewa, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. | 32. Shri Tripathi. |
| 16. S.K. Kaul, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes. | 33. Shri Nityanand Das. |
| 17. Shri P.C. Dave, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. | 34. Shri L.N. Rao, Dandakaranya Project. |
| | 35. Shri T.R. Sarma, Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi. |

36. Shri Vinayakan, All India Handicrafts Board.
37. Shri Singaravelu, All India Handicrafts Board.
38. Dy Director, All India Handicrafts.
39. Shri Ramakrishna Verma.
40. Shri P.K. Nambiar, Delhi.
41. Shri Muthappa.
- Visitors from Institutions.*
1. Shri B. Hammantayya, Andhra.
2. Shri E.Venugopal Reddi.
3. Shri T. Harnath.
4. Shri M. Jalaiya.
5. Shri P. Krishayya.
6. Shri Danaiya.
7. Shri B. Krishna Murti.
8. Shri P. Virayya.
9. Shri P. Tirupithanna.
10. Shri Ch. Janaki Ramarao.
11. Shri K. Papaiyya.
12. Shri P. Koteswar Rao.
13. Shri N. U. Hathila, Dohad.
14. Shri M.K. Wagh, Nasik.
15. Shri K.R. Bendkoli, Nasik.
16. Shri U.R. Rant, Nasik.
17. Shri S.F. Valvi, Nasik.
18. Shri Subru Bhatra, Jagdalpur (Bastar).
19. Shri Durga Bhatra, Jagdalpur (Bastar).
20. Shri Sukha Maria, Jagdalpur (Bastar).
21. Shri Chaitu Dhurve, Jagalpur Bastar).
22. Shri Baliram Bhatra, Jagdalpur (Bastar).
23. Shri G.S. Dubey, Mandla
24. Smt. Bapat. Mandla.
25. Shri P.L. Vinode, Mandla.
26. Shri P.G. Gedam, Mandla.
27. Shri Dhurve, Mandla.
28. Shri Ram Pratap Singh; Mandla.
29. Smt. Sonabai, Mandla.
30. Shri Natesh Naikan, Vellore.
31. Shri R. Masalamani, Naikan, Vellore.
32. Shri D. Hammantha Rao,
33. Shri D.P. Uike, Takli
34. Shri Rev. D. Meulder.
35. Shri P. Toppo, Bihar.
36. Shri A. Lakra, Bihar.
37. Shri J. Baora, Bihar.
38. Shri P. Ekka, Bihar.
39. Shri A.K. Kamantham, Kotagiri.
40. Shri T.A. Soluban.
41. Shri Muthigan
42. Shri Mankad, Godhra.
43. Shri Ramesh Bajaj, Delhi.
44. Shri C.L. Sharma, Delhi.
45. Shri D. Rangaiya, Delhi.
46. Shri S. Murgesam.
47. Shri K. Rajaram Naidu.
48. Shri Matha Gowder.
49. Shri Lakhan Singh.
50. Shri M. Mahalingan.
51. Shri C. Natesa Udayar.
52. Shri T.M. Nanjan.
53. Shri S. Tiruvengadam.
54. Shri O.V. Alagesan.
55. Shri B.R. Krishna Murthi.
56. Shri B. Kulla Gowder.
57. Shri T.R. Ponnuswami Pillai.
58. Shri T.M. Thangavelu Pillai.
59. Smt. N.D. Majumdar.
60. Smt. Vimal Chandra.
61. Smt. Kaul.
62. Smt. Lewa.
63. Smt. Joshi.
64. Smt. Indira Chinchalkar.
65. Smt. Heda.
66. Smt. Sarla.
67. Smt. Sarojini Nanavati.