

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

Jagdalpur
Bastar District (Madhya Pradesh)
13th, 14th & 15th March, 1955

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This is the Report of the Third Tribal Welfare Conference held at Jagdalpur, Bastar District (Madhya Pradesh) on 13th, 14th and 15th March, 1955, under the auspices of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi. The Conference was inaugurated by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and was presided over by Shri Raja Naresh Chandra Singh, Minister for Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh. The Welcome Address was given by Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh. At the time of the Conference, an exhibition depicting tribal art and handicrafts was organised. It was inaugurated by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramya, Governor of Madhya Pradesh. As usual, the Conference divided itself into three sections: (1) Social Institutions' Section, presided over by Acharya Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, (2) Anthropological Section, presided over by Dr. P.C. Biswas, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, (3) Tribal Representatives' Section, presided over by Shri Rupaji Bhavjibhai Parmar, M.P. On account of the unavoidable absence of Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar and Dr. P.C. Biswas, the two sections over which they had to preside, were conducted and presided over by Shri L.M. Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes and Dr. N. Dutt-Majumdar, Director of Anthropology, Government of India, respectively. It may be further noted that two of the above mentioned Presidents, Shri Raja Naresh Chandra Singh and Shri Rupaji Bhavjibhai Parmar themselves belong to the tribal communities. There is no doubt that the Conference which was attended by nearly 50,000 persons on the opening day, most of whom were tribals belonging to the Muria and the Maria tribes of Bastar, evoked enthusiasm and gave a fillip to tribal welfare work in Madhya Pradesh.

As many as 47 papers,— a much larger number than those contributed at the previous Conferences,— were submitted for being read at the Conference. Some of the writers could not be present. In printing the report, we have divided the papers under five different heads according to the nature of the subjects dealt with namely, (1) Social Service and Training of Tribal Welfare Workers, (2) Economic Welfare, (3) Land & Agriculture, (4) Health and Hygiene among the Tribals, (5) Anthropology and Tribal Welfare. We have devoted one section to the addresses delivered by the Presidents of the Conference and the Chairmen of the Sections. We hope that this arrangement will facilitate easy reference.

It is however a matter of regret that for want of proper facilities, it has not been possible for us to publish the discussions, verbatim, as was done in the previous reports.

We take this opportunity of thanking all our co-workers and friends and the Madhya Pradesh Government who have been kind enough by giving their unstinted help to make the Conference a success.

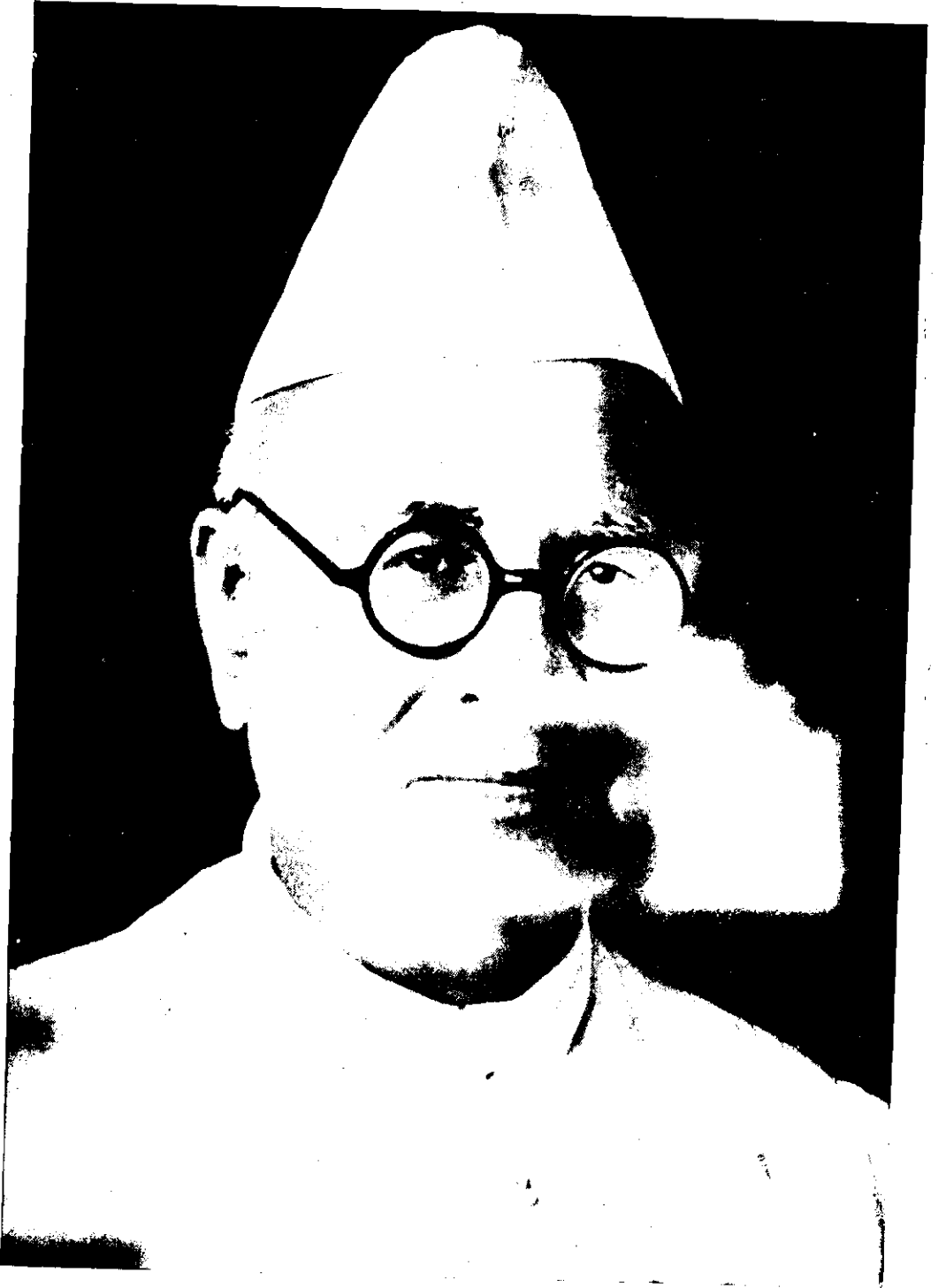
We also express our grateful thanks to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitarammaya and the Presidents of the Conference and of the various sections who have by their presence and guidance given a valuable lead to the social workers and others interested in tribal welfare.

March 4, 1955.

I am glad to know that the Tribal Welfare Conference is being held this year at Jagdalpur in Madhya Pradesh under the auspices of the Adimjati Sevak Sangh. Bastar, Surguja and Jashpur in Madhya Pradesh have a large population of tribals and it is therefore a happy idea to hold a Conference at Jagdalpur. I hope the Conference will make constructive suggestions for accelerating the pace of progress of these socially and economically backward people, so as to enable the State Government to take effective measures to protect them from social injustice and exploitation. I wish the Conference every success.



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LATE SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
Founder B.A.J. Sevak Sangh.

स्व. पूज्य ठाकर बापा

SECTION I

Inaugural Address

AND

other Addresses

भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण परिषद् के तृतीय अधिवेशन के अवसर पर पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल, मुख्य मंत्री, मध्यप्रदेश, का स्वागत भाषण ।

प्रधानमंत्री जी, राज्यपाल महोदय, अध्यक्ष महोदय,

प्रतिनिधिगण तथा उपस्थित आदिमजाति बहिनो और भाईयो,

हरे-भरे वनों और पर्वतों से घिरी आदिवासियों की सुरम्य भूमि में आप सब का स्वागत करते हुए मुझे बहुत प्रसन्नता हो रही है। बस्तर प्रकृति का बरद स्थल है। यहां की हरी-भरी भूमि, कलकल करती हुई नदियां, दूर-दूर तक फैले पहाड़, त्रैलाडोला का ऊंचा गिरिशृंग, अंबूममाड का घना जंगल, इन्द्रावती पर चित्रकूट का जलप्रपात, आदि मनोरम दृश्यों को देखकर मन को अपूर्व सुख, शान्ति और स्फूर्ति का अनुभव होता है। यहां के आदिवासी ही इस सुन्दर धरती के लाडले लाल हैं जिन्हें अपने जीवन के प्रति गहरा अनुराग है। उनके लोक नृत्य की पग-ध्वनि में तथा संगीत की स्वर-लहरियों में जीवन का उल्लास और आनंद सुखरित हो उठता है। उनकी स्वस्थ सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं से आज भी सभ्य संसार बहुत कुछ सीख सकता है। अखिल भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन के लिये मध्यप्रदेश और बस्तर जिले से अधिक उपयुक्त अन्य स्थल नहीं हो सकता। यह हमारे आदिवासियों की संस्कृति का विशेष केन्द्र है। मध्यप्रदेश में अन्य राज्यों की तुलना में आदिमजाति के लोगों की संख्या शायद सबसे अधिक है। यहां लगभग १२ प्रतिशत लोग आदिमजाति के हैं। सम्मेलन का यहां होना इसका द्योतक है कि हम आदिवासियों की संस्कृति

और उनके जीवन मूल्यों का समुचित आदर करते हैं तथा पहाड़ों और घने जंगलों के बीच भी हम उन्हें आगे बढ़ाने के लिये प्रयत्नशील हैं। हम प्रधानमंत्री जी के बहुत आभारी हैं जो कई दूसरे आवश्यक कामों के होते हुए भी यहां पधारे हैं। मुझे विश्वास है कि उनकी उपस्थिति से हम सब का उत्साह बढ़ेगा। मैं आप सब की ओर से उनका हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूं।

आप सब यह जानते ही हैं कि इन लोगों की उन्नति और खुशहाली हमारी सरकार का एक विशेष और पवित्र कर्त्तव्य है। संविधान द्वारा भी हम पर यह जिम्मेवारी आ गई है। लेकिन सब से पहले यह समझ लेना जरूरी है कि आदिमजातियों की भलाई का सही मतलब क्या है। ऐसे भी कुछ लोग हैं जो आदिवासियों को अपने दूसरे देशवासियों से अलग रखना चाहते हैं। वे चाहते हैं कि उनके इलाकों को वैसा ही रहने दिया जावे और मनुष्यों के एक अद्भुत नमूने की तरह उन्हें किसी सुरक्षित अज्ञाय-घर में रखा जावे मानो कि वे मृगवन के वासी हों। दूसरी ओर ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो आदिमजाति के लोगों को उनके घरों से बाहर निकाल कर उन्हें तथाकथित सभ्य समाज का पिछलग्गू बनाना चाहते हैं।

मैं समझता हूं कि आदिमजाति की भलाई की बात करने वाले ये दोनों तरह के लोग उनका नुकसान करते हैं तथा वे स्थिति को पूरी तरह नहीं

समझते। आदिमजाति के लोगों की भलाई का सही तरीका उन्हें इस योग्य बनाना है कि वे आधुनिक विज्ञान से प्राप्त सभी लाभ उठा सकें। अच्छे मकान, फूलती-फलती खेती, सुन्दर स्वास्थ्य, स्वच्छता और उत्तम शिक्षा से वे वंचित न रहें। किन्तु इसके साथ ही उनके जीवन के प्रति उल्लास तथा स्वभाव और संस्कृति के उत्तम गुणों को सुरक्षित रखकर, उन्हें राष्ट्र के जीवन में हाथ बटाने योग्य भी बनाना है। इसी प्रकार तो यूरोप के कई देशों और ब्रिटेन में भी आदिम पहाड़ी जातियां, अपनी आकर्षक संस्कृति को सुरक्षित रखने के साथ ही राष्ट्रीय जीवन में भाग लेती हैं और देश के धन-दौलत को बढ़ाने में हाथ बटायती हैं।

संक्षेप में, मध्यप्रदेश में और खास तौर से बस्तर में, आदिमजाति कल्याण योजनाओं के पीछे यही उद्देश्य है। पिछले सैकड़ों वर्षों से बस्तर की जनता की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया और उसकी उन्नति के लिये कभी कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया। काकतियों के जमाने से लेकर अभी उन दिनों तक जब अंग्रेजी अमलदार ही महाराज की तरफ से सभी लगान और महसूल वसूल करते थे और अमन चैन के लिये जिम्मेदार थे, यहां के लोगों का जीवन-स्तर ऊंचा उठाने के लिये जो काम किया गया वह नहीं के बराबर है। खेती, पढ़ाई-लिखाई, सड़कों, दवाई-दारू आदि की सुविधाओं के लिये कोई खास व्यवस्था नहीं की गई।

इसके बाद स्वराज्य आया और छत्तीसगढ़ की अन्य रियासतों के साथ यह रियासत भी मध्यप्रदेश शासन में मिला ली गई। उसी समय से हम बस्तर के लोगों की भलाई के लिये लगातार सभी संभव प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं जिससे कि उनका जीवन अधिक सुखी तथा सम्पन्न हो। पिछले छः सात वर्षों में यहां के लोगों को प्रगति के लिये शासन की ओर से जो

कुछ भी काम किया गया है, उसे देखते हुए मैं यह दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि बस्तर के जंगली इलाकों और गांवों में एक नई जिन्दगी और जोश पैदा हो गया है। जैसा कि आप सभी जानते हैं यहां की जनता मुख्यतया खेतिहर है। इसलिए कृषि के क्षेत्र में अभी तक जो कुछ किया गया है, पहिले उसी के द्वारा मैं अपना कथन और स्पष्ट कर दूँ। सन् १९४८ में जब रियासतें मिलवाई गई थीं, यहां खेती बहुत ही पिछड़ी दशा में थी और एक एकड़ पर धान की औसत पैदावार ३०० पौंड से अधिक कभी नहीं हुई। इसकी तुलना में यहां पिछली फसल में एक एकड़ पर औसतन करीब १,००० पौंड धान पैदा हुआ। इतना ही नहीं, धीरे धीरे धरती भी जोती गई और अब जितने एकड़ जमीन पर धान की खेती की जाती है वह रियासतों को मिलाये जाने के समय से ७२ हजार एकड़ अधिक है। उस समय बस्तर जिले से कभी १,००० टन प्रति वर्ष से अधिक धान बाहर नहीं भेजा गया। लेकिन नई-नई जमीनों पर खेती करने और पैदावार बढ़ाने के कारण अभी पिछले साल ही बस्तर से लगभग ८ हजार टन धान बाहर भेजा गया। इस सिलसिले में मैं यह बता दूँ कि यह धान किसानों ने स्वयं अपनी इच्छा से बाहर भेजा। सरकार की तरफ से इसके लिये कोई वसूली नहीं की गई। पिछले कुछ वर्षों में बस्तर में जो कुछ अनोखा परिवर्तन हुआ है उसका यदि और प्रमाण चाहिए तो मैं राजस्व की आमदनी में जो बढ़ती हुई है उसकी ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करूँगा। सन् १९४८ में बस्तर जिले से कुल ४३ लाख रुपये की राजस्व आमदनी होती थी। जंगल, आबकारी, लगान आदि से मिलने वाला यहाँ आमदनी सन् १९५४ में बढ़कर लगभग ६३ लाख रुपये हो गई। लेकिन आमदनी में यह बढ़ती टैक्सों को किसी तरह बढ़ाकर नहीं की गई। यह रियासत जब से मिलवाई गई तब से न तो किसी टैक्स को ही बढ़ाया

गया और न लगान की दर ही बढ़ाई गई। असली बात यह है कि आमदनी में यह बढ़ती इस जिले के लोगों की बढ़ती हुई खुशहाली और समृद्धि की सूचक है।

इस अवधि में अच्छी सड़कों और नदी-नालों पर पुल बनाकर आवागमन के तरीकों में सुधार करने से भी यहां आशाजनक प्रगति हुई है। इस सिलसिले में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तक यहां रेल की लाइनें नहीं बनाई जाती तब तक इस इलाके का पूरा पूरा विकास नहीं किया जा सकता। आप लोगों में से जो कोसों धूल भरे रास्तों पर चल कर यहां आये हैं, उन्हें यहां रेल की लाइन का न होना अवश्य खटका होगा। जगदलपुर से सब से नजदीक रेलवे स्टेशन भी करीब १४० मील दूर है और इस जिले में ऐसी बहुत सी जगहें हैं जहां से ३०० मील दूर तक कोई भी रेलवे स्टेशन नहीं है। यदि हम इस जिले के उपजाऊ इलाके में रेल का जाल सा बिछा दें तो उससे न केवल इस जिले के लोग और भी अधिक खुशहाल होंगे बल्कि हमारे देश के राष्ट्रीय धन में भी बढ़ती होगी, क्योंकि जंगलों से पटे हुए इस पहाड़ी इलाके में भरपूर खनिज और प्राकृतिक दौलत भरी पड़ी है। खनिज के जिन विशेषताओं ने इस इलाके का दौरा किया है उनका कहना है कि बस्तर की बेलाडीला और रौघाट पहाड़ियों में कच्चे लोहे के जैसे दो भंडार हैं वैसे संसार में किसी जगह नहीं है। इसके अतिरिक्त यहां रेतीला पत्थर, अभ्रक और रांगा भी मिलता है जिनके परिमाण के संबंध में अभी कोई अनुमान तक नहीं लगाया गया है। हमारी सरकार समय-समय पर भारत सरकार पर इस बात के लिये जोर देती रही है कि कम से कम जिले के सदर मुकामों को रेल द्वारा मिला दिया जाये। मुझे पूरी आशा है कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में शामिल की जाने वाली योजनाओं में इसे उपयुक्त स्थान मिलेगा।

रियासतें मिलाई जाने के बाद राज्य सरकार ने इस इलाके में जिस पैमाने पर नई सड़कें और पुल बनाये तथा पुरानी सड़कों को सुधारा उस पैमाने पर राज्य के किसी और इलाके में काम नहीं हुआ। कोंडागांव से नारायणपुर, कांकेर से भानुप्रतापपुर और जगदलपुर से भोपालपटनम तक तीन बड़ी पक्की लगभग १८२ मील लम्बी सड़कें बन गई हैं। इनके अलावा, गांव-सड़क-विकास-योजना और सामुदायिक योजना के अन्तर्गत ४०२ मील लम्बी कच्ची सड़कें भी बनाई गई हैं। नई सड़कों के साथ ही साथ बहुत से पक्के पुल भी बनाये गये। रियासतों के मिलाये जाने के बाद अभी तक इस जिले में सड़कें बनाने में लगभग २१ लाख रुपये और पुलों के बनाने में लगभग १७ लाख रुपये खर्च किये जा चुके हैं। आवागमन की सहूलियतों का नतीजा यह हुआ है कि लोगों को बजार-हाट करने में आसानी हो गई है और इस कारण जंगलों व दोंगर साधनों से आमदनी अधिक होने लगी है।

इस समय की थोड़ी सी बातचीत में मैं उन सब बातों की चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता जो बस्तर के लोगों की भलाई और खुशहाली के लिये की गई हैं। फिर भी यह तो अवश्य कहूंगा कि लोगों की पढ़ाई-लिखाई के क्षेत्र में उतनी ही प्रगति हुई है जितनी अन्य क्षेत्रों में। रियासतों के मिलाये जाने के समय बस्तर में कुल मिलाकर १०३ स्कूल थे जब कि आज यहां प्राथमरी, मिडिल और हाई स्कूलों की संख्या ३८८ है। शिक्षा की प्रगति में एक विशेष बात यह है कि यहां के अधिकांश नये स्कूलों को ऐसे बुनियादी स्कूलों में बदला जा रहा है जिनमें खेती-बारी एक मुख्य विषय है। प्रत्येक प्राथमरी स्कूल में खेती के लिये अपनी खुद की जमीन है जहां लड़के नियमित रूप से खेती-बारी का प्रायोगिक काम करते हैं। इससे आसपास के इलाके में खेती-बारी के पुराने तरीकों

को सुधारने में बड़ी सहायता मिलती है। खेतों से अधिक उपज, जिसकी चर्चा मैं पहिले कर चुका हूँ, इसी कारण संभव हो सकी है। इन स्कूलों में से एक स्कूल ने तो अपने खेत में ६,४०० पाँड धान पैदा किया जितना पहले कभी नहीं किया गया था। शिक्षा के संबंध में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। शासन ने अगले वित्तीय वर्ष से राज्य के समस्त अनुसूचित तथा गैर-अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों में रहने वाले अनुसूचित जनजाति के छात्रों को प्राथमिक से लेकर स्नातकोत्तर श्रेणी तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा प्रदान करने का निश्चय किया है।

जंगलों के प्रबंध में जो उन्नति हुई है उसके संबंध में भी मैं दो शब्द कहना चाहूँगा क्योंकि, जैसा मैं पहिले कह चुका हूँ, जंगल इस जिले की एक बड़ी दौलत है। सारे इलाके का करीब दो-तिहाई भाग ही जंगलों से ढंका हुआ है। निस्तारी जंगलों का प्रबंध हमने पहली बार ही पंचायतों के जिम्मे किया है। पिछले पांच वर्षों में बस्तर के २२ वर्गमील में फैले हुए निस्तारी जंगलों का प्रबंध पंचायत के हाथों में दे दिया गया है। ऐसा करने से पिछले पांच वर्षों में फिर से बड़े-बड़े जंगल लगाने के काम में बड़ी सफलता मिली है। जंगलों का प्रबंध दो उद्देश्य सामने रखकर किया जाता है—पहिला तो यह कि जंगलों को उचित ढंग से संरक्षित रखा जाय और दूसरा यह कि जंगलों की उपज का उपयोग करने में आदिवासी भाइयों के हकों की रक्षा की जाय क्योंकि जंगल ही उनकी रोजी के बड़े साधन हैं। जंगलों के उचित प्रबंध के लिये जंगली इलाकों में बहुत सी नई सड़कें बनाई गई हैं और कई जानकारों का कहना है कि बस्तर के इन इलाकों में बनाई गई सड़कें देश की अन्य ऐसी ही सड़कों में सबसे अच्छी

हैं। सबसे नई योजना है—अभूजमार के बीहड़ क्षेत्र में १०० मील लम्बी सड़क बनाना। यह एक बड़ा पहाड़ी इलाका है जिसकी समुद्र की सतह से औसत ऊँचाई ३,००० फुट है। इस सड़क के बनाने का काम शुरू हो गया है! जंगल की इन सब विकास योजनाओं का कुल असर यह हुआ है कि १९४८ में जंगलों से आमदनी करीब २२ लाख रुपये थी। लेकिन आज सिर्फ बस्तर के जंगलों से ही करीब ३६ लाख रुपये की आमदनी होती है।

मैं बड़ा खुश हूँ कि भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण परिषद् का यह तृतीय अधिवेशन आज बस्तर के इन्हीं भले, सरल और मेहनती लोगों के बीच हो रहा है। ये हममें से ही एक हैं स्वतंत्र भारत के नागरिक और उन सभी सुख-सुविधाओं के हकदार जो स्वतंत्रता के साथ हमारे राष्ट्र को मिली हैं। इन लोगों में कुछ ऐसे गुण हैं जो अपने आप को सभ्य कहने वाले हममें से कुछ लोगों में नहीं पाये जाते। इनकी परिश्रमशीलता, इनके चरित्र की दृढ़ता, इनकी सरलता और ईमानदारी—ये ऐसे गुण हैं जिनकी हमें प्रशंसा करनी चाहिये और जिन्हें स्वयं अपनाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। इनकी अपनी कला और संस्कृति है, जो बड़ी सुन्दर हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी को याद होगा कि इन्हीं में से कुछ नर्तकों ने दिल्ली में लोक-नृत्य-उत्सव में भाग लिया था और उन्हें नृत्य-कला में प्रवीण घोषित कर एक सुन्दर ट्राफी भी दी गई थी। इन स्त्रियों और पुरुषों में, जो भरती माता के लाल हैं, कुछ महान विशेषताएँ हैं और हमारा यह उद्देश्य होना चाहिये कि हम इनकी इन विशेषताओं की रक्षा करें और उन्हें बढ़ावा दें। साथ ही, हमारा यह भी कर्तव्य है कि आज के विज्ञान और अर्थ-व्यवस्था के सब फायदे

उन तक पहुंचाएँ ताकि वे भी अधिक नीरोग, सुखी और उपयोगी जिंदगी व्यतीत कर सकें। मैं पूरी आशा करता हूँ कि आदिमजाति कल्याण की यह परिषद् इस आदर्श को अपने सामने रखेगी और हमारे आदिवासी

भाइयों के सुख और कल्याण के लिये पारस्परिक विचार विनिमय द्वारा नई नई योजनाएँ प्रस्तुत करेगी। एक बार फिर मैं इस परिषद् में पधारने वाले आप सब लोगों का हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ।

स्वागत समिति चो मुखिया पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल चो स्वागत गोठ ।

प्रधान मंत्री जी, राज्यपाल महोदय, अध्यक्ष महोदय,

मुखिया मन अउर जुहुलार आदिवासी भाई बहिन मन ।

मोके खुबे हरिक लागे से काय काजे कि इथा चो वान रान डोंगरी ले धरेलो आदिवासी भाई मन चो भुईं भे एउन भाती आपन मन चो मान करुक पावले । बस्तर राज भगवान चो सुन्दर ठान आय ! एथा चो बोहतो खल खल नदी नारा, बडे बडे डोंगरी, बैलाडीला चो डेंग डीला, अबुभमाइ चो बियावान बन, इन्द्रावती नदी चो चितरकोट शुमर असन कितरोय सुन्दर ठान मनके देखुन मोचो मनके खुबे सुख लागेसे । एथा चो आदिवासी मन येई बस्तर भुईं चो लाडरा बेदा आत जे मन के आपलो जीवना सँगे खूबे लाइ आसे । हुन मन चो नाच गीत आउर मांदर चो शुमक ने जीवना चो हरेक अउर सुख जीतेसे । आपन मनचो रहन सहन खान पान आउर आपलो पुरखती रिवाज ले जमाय राज चो शहरो मनुख एबे बले खुबे सिक्कुक सकत । जमाय भारत भुईं चो आदिवासी मन चो भलाई बेठक काजे मध्यप्रदेश अउर बस्तर जिला ले अउर कोनी

सुन्दर ठान नी आय । ये राज आम चा पुरखतो रीति रिवाज चो जनम धर आय । मध्यप्रदेश ने जमाय राज ले खूबे आदिवासी मन एथाये रसोत । १०० आदिवासी मनुख ने १२ आदिवासी मनुख एथाए औसत ये आमन मन चो बैठक सांगेसे कि आमी तुमचो रीति रिवाज चो संस्कृति चो कितलो मान करूसे अउर आमी अपन मनके बढ़ातो काजे खुबे मेहनत करूसे ! आमी जमाय प्रधान मंत्री चो ऐसान मानुसे कायकाजे कि हुन आपनो जमाय जरूरी काम के छांडुन भाती एथा दर्शन दिलासत । मोके भरोसा आसे कि हुनचो हाजरी आमन मनके बढ़ावा देवेदे । मैं जमाय भन बाटले हुनके अन्तस ले स्वागत करूँसे ।

२. आपन जमाय मन जाना सत कि तुमन मन चो तरक्की करतो आमचो सरकार चो गोटक खास पवित्र काम आय । संविधान बाटले बले ये जवाबदारी इलिसे । अगाडी हमके ये समझुक लागेदे कि आदिवासी मनचो भलाई चो सही बात काय आय । असन मनुख बले आसोत जे मन आदिवासी मनके दूसर राजचो मनुख मनले भिने राखतो अकल कर सोत । हुन मन चो ये उवाठ आसे कि ये मन चो

इलाका हुसने रहे जसन कि वनचो चितर वनमें रहेमे । दूसर अमन मनुख मन बले आसोत जे आदिवासी मनक भरले निकराउन भाती शहरी समाज चो मनुखमन असन हुन मन चो पाटपाट चलातोर सिखासत ।

३. मोचो समझ ने ये आदिम जाति चो भलाई करतो दुनो परकार चो मनुख मन तुमचो नुकसान करसत । कायकाजे कि हुन मन तुमचो हालत के नी जानसत आदिवासी मनचो भलाई चो सही बाट आजकाल चो लवा जीवना देतोर आय जसन कि रतो काजे नंगत घर, नंगत खेती बाड़ी, साफ सफाई अउर देह के अच्छा राखतोर अउर पढ़ाई लिखाई करतोर आय । येचो संगे हुन मन चो पुरखती स्वभाव अउर रीति रिवाज अउर संस्कृति चो नंगत बात मनके राखुन भाती हुन मन के भारत राज चो काम काज करूक लागतो असन वनातोर आय ! बिलायत और यूरोप चो खुबे देश चो आदिवासी मन आमलो रीति रिवाज अउर संस्कृति चो नंगत नंगत बात मनके हुसने राखला सत जसन हुन मन चो पुरखा मनचो बेरा रली । संगे संगे हुन मन अपन चो देश चो जमाय काम धाम चो करसत अउर देश चो धन के बढ़ातो काजे बले मंग देसत ।

४. सार ये आय, कि मध्यप्रदेश ने अउर ग्वास करुन बस्तर राज चो आदिम मनुख चो भलाई करतोर ऐ ही उद्देश्य आय । जुग जुग ले बस्तर चो मनुख मन पीछे रला अउर हुन मन चो भलाई करतो काजे कौनी विचार नी करला । जेबे काफतोय राजा चो अउर अंग्रेजी राज रली हुदल दाय ले राजा बाट ले अंग्रेजी पट्टी अउर मासूल वसूल करते रला अउर हुनी मन ये राज चो मुख दुख चो जुवावदार रला यथा चो मनुख मन चो तरकी नाम

काजे करला । खेती बाड़ी पढ़ाई लिखाई सबक अउर दवादारू काजे खूबे विंडिक इन्तजाम करला ।

५. ये चो पाछे सुराज होतो के ये राज के बले दूसर छत्तीसगढ़ी राज संगे मध्यप्रदेश ने मिसाला । हुनी दिन ले आमन मन जमाय बस्तर राज चो भलाई काजे खुबे मेहनत करू से जेमे हुन मन चो जीवना सुखी अउर धनीमानी होवो । गेलोर ६-७ बरख न जोन जोन काम एथाचो मनुख मन चो तरकी काजे करलू से हुन के दखन मय जोद करुन बलें से कि बस्तर चो जंगली इलाका चो गांव मन ने नवा जीवना और जोश इलीसे । जसन तुमी जमाय जानासाहस कि इथा चो लोग खेतिहर आसोत । एबे खेती चो गोठ के धरा । सन् १९४८ ने जेबे स्टेट के जिला ने मिलाला हुदलदाय खेती चो हालत खुबे पाछे रली अउर एक खन्डी बुनता भुई ने पौने चार मन या साडे पांच खन्डी (३०० पौंड) ले जाया नी होते रली । ए. हिसाब ने गेलो साल ने एक खन्डी जुना भुई ने अंदाजन साडे बारा मन या अठारा खन्डी (१,०००) पौंड धान होती । इतरो ने बले नवा भुई जोतला । अउर एबे स्टेट के जिला ने मिलालोर बेरा ले ७२,००० एकड़ बुनता भुई बाढली से । हुन दाय बस्तर राज ले केबे बले १००० टन धान ले जुगे बाहर निकासी नी होली से । मान्तर नवा भुई जोपुन खेती करतो के गेलो बरख ने एह बस्तर ले ८,००० टन धान निकासी होली । एथा मै सांगेसे कि ये धान खेतियार मन आपलो खुशी ने निकासी करला । सरकार बाटले काई जोर जबर जबरन नी होली । गेलो विंडिक बरख ने काय तरकी होली हुनचो सबूत राज चो आमदनी देखले जानुक होयदे ! सन् १९४८ ने बस्तर चो आमदनी दुइ

कोड़ी तीन लाख रुपया रली। जंगल आबकारी मासूल पट्टी मिललो के १६५४ ने अंदाजन ३ कोड़ी ६ लाख रुपया होली। मान्तर ये आमदनी मासूल बढ़ाउन भातीन होली जेबे ले ये स्टेट मिलालोर आमे तेबे ले कोनी मासूल आउर पट्टी बढ़ालोर नी आय। ये जमाय चो असल कारन ये आय की आमदनी चो ये चाटले ये जानुक होये मे कि इश्चाचो मनुष्य मन चो बाढतो अउर हरिक धनवान होतोर आय।

६. येथा चो तरक्की काजे गेलो बरख ने आते जातो काजे नंगत सड़क, नंदी नारा ने नवा पुलिया मन खुबे मदद दिला। हुन बात ने मय सांगेमे कि जिरदल दांय ले ये राज ने रेलगाडी नी ऐयदे हुदलदांय ले ये ठान चो पूरा तरक्की नी होउक सकेदे। जे मन जगदलपुर ने कितरोय कोस धुरला चाट रेंगुन इलाक्यात हुन मन के रेलगाडी नी मिरती ने कितलो कसट होली से जगदलपुर लगे चो रेल स्टेशन तीन कोड़ी १० कोस आसे। अउर ये जिला चो कितरोयें असन गांव आसत जोन ठान ले रेल स्टेशन सात कोड़ी अउर दस कोस ले लगे नी आय। ये जिला चो जेवें आमी उपज इलाका ने रेल चो सड़क जाल असन बनाउक सकुदे तेबे ये राज चो रियाया मन तो हरिक होदे अउर उपरले आमचो देश चो धन बले बढ़ेदे। कसन कि येथा रान टापलो डोंगरी इलाका ने खूब भरपूर खदान अउर दूसर उपजास धन आसत। खदान जांच करतो विता मन ये इलाका चो दौरा करलासत हुन मन बलसत कि बैलाडिला आउर रावघाट डोंगरी असन लोहा चो खदान जमाय दुनियां भर ने बले कोनी कोनी ठान आसे। ये मन के छाडुन भाती उपर ले ये धाने कुपुर पखना, चमकी अश्रक (तारा-गू) आउर रांगा बले मिरसे जेचो एबले कई जांच नी होली से। आमचो राज

सरकार भारत सरकार लगे केबे केबे ये गोठ काजे जोर देयें से कि ये राज चो वडे वडे शहर मन के रेल ने जाउक देव। मै भरोसा करेसे कि यतो पांच बरख बीती योजना ने ये योजना के बले सामिल कर दे।

७. स्टेट के खाम करलो पाछे राज सरकार ये इलाका ने जितरो नवा सडक पुलिया बना लो, अउर जूता सड़क चो मरमत कर लो, हुतलो ये राज चो कोनी इलाका ने नी होली से। कांडागाव ले नारयनपुर, कैकर ले भानुप्रतापपुर आउर जगदलपुर ले भोपालपटनम ले तीन नवा सड़क चार कोड़ी ११ कोस लाम बनली से। येके छाडुन गांव सड़क विकास योजना आउर सामुदायिक योजना में १० कोड़ी १ कोस लाम काचा सड़क बनाली से। नवा सड़क संगे कितरो पक्का नवा पुलिया बले बनली से। स्टेट चो खाम होलो पाछे सड़क बनातो काजे इक्कीस लाख रुपया आउर पुलिया बनातो काजे १७ लाख २० खरचा होली से। आतोर जातोर चो नंगत मुर्भाता होलो ने लोग बाग के बजार हाट करतो काजे नंगत होली मे आउर असन होतो ने बन अउर दूसर उआट ने जुगे आमदनी होय से।

८. में ये समय ने खिडिकक गोठियाउन भाती जमाय बस्तर चो रियाया मन काजे करलो तरक्की के सागूक नी सके। रियाया चो पढाई लिखाई ने बले खूबे तरक्की होली से स्टेट खाम होलो दांय बस्तर राज ने जमाय मिलाउन पांच कोड़ी तीन स्कूल रली अउर एवे हिन्दी अउर अंग्रेजी के मिलउन भाती १८ कोड़ी ८ स्कूल आसत। पढाई लिखाई चो तरक्की चो बागे ने गोठक लाम गोठ ये आय कि जोन कूल ने खेता गडो चो काम सिवाय सत हुन स्कूल मन के बुनियादी स्कूल ने बदलुक मुरियाला

सांत । जमाय हिन्दी स्कूल ने खुद खेती करतो काजे आपलो भुँई आसे अउर लेका मन के खेती बाडी चो काम सिखाये जाय से । लगे लगे चो इलाका ने खेती बाडी चो जूनागढ़ ने बलें सुधार हाऊक मुरियाली से । जोन खेत चो मैं जिकर करले से हुनी खेती चो बाढतो उपजास चो येई कारन आय । ये जमाय इसकूल ने येथा चो गोटक स्कूल चो भुँई ने ८० मन सतर खन्डी धान होली येचो ले आगे बस्तर राज ने इतलो फसल केबे नी होउन रली । पढतोर लिखतोर गोठ आबत ने मैं ये बले सांगेदे के आमचो सरकार असन पक्का विचार करली से के आगे रल ले आदिवासी चो हुन लेका-लेकी मन के जे आदिवासी क्षेत्र या गेर आदिवासी क्षेत्र कानी ठाने रहत हुन मन के नानी पढाई ले खूबे बड़े पढाई लग बिन पैसा धरुन पढाये दे ।

६. बन (रान) चो तरक्की काजे मैं खिडिक सांगे दे । जसन मैं सांगलें मे कि बन रान एथा चा सबलें बड़े बन आय । जमाय ईलाका चो तीन भाग के दुई भाग भुँई ने बन आसे । निस्तारी जंगल चो बन्दोबस्त के आमी सुरु खेप पंचायत कें सुपुरद करुन दिलुत गेलो पांच साल लें बस्तर चो २२ वर्गमील चो निस्तारी जंगल के पंचायत मन च हाथ ने दिलो आसे । असन करले गेलो पांच बर खने फेरले बड़े बड़े रोपतो काम में खूबे मदद मिलली । बन चो बन्दोबस्त चो बुनियाद दुई बात ने आसे गोटक तो जंगल हिफाजत करतोर आय अउर दुसर आदिवासी रियाया चो हक राखतोर आय जेचोने आदिवासी भाई मन जंगली उपजास के अनुक सकत जोन हुन मन चो जीवना चो आसरा आय । जंगल चो बन्दोबस्त काजे खुबे नवा सडक बनालोर आसे अउ कौनी २ अपसर मन बलसोत कि बस्तर ने बनालो

सडक भारत राज चो नव सडके मन ने गनती आसे । जमाय ले नवा योजना अबुभमाड चो बियावा इलाका ने दुई कोडी १० कोस सडक बनातोर आय । येगोटक बड़े डांगरी इलाका आय । जेचो उचान समुन्द खंड ले ३००० फुट आसे । ये सडक चो बनातोर काम शुरू होली से । य जमाय विकास योजना चो ये असर होली कि १६४८ सन् बनचो २२ लाख रुपया आमदनी रली आसे एबे बस्तर जंगल ने ३६ लाख रुपया आमदनी होय से ।

१०. मके ये दखुन खूबे हरिक आसे कि भारतीय आदिवासी मन चो ये भलाई चो ब्रैठक आज बस्तर चो येई नंगइ, सीधा अउर मिहनती मन बीच ने होय से । ने मन आमचो मनुख आत आउर सुराज देश चो नागरिक आत आउर हुन मन बले हुन जमाय सुख आउर सुभीता चो हकदार आत ज सुराज संगे हमचो देश के मिरली से ये मन ने कौनी कौनी असन गुन आसे जे आपला के सम्प-सांगतो हामी मन असने कौने कौने के नी आय । ये मन चो कठिन मेहनत, हुनचो अच्छा चाल चलन सीधा सादा आउर ईमानदारी गुन चो हमके तारीफ करतार आय आऊर आमि बले हुन नगत गुन मन के धरतो काज कोशिश करतार आय । हुन मन लग आपलो आउर संस्कृति आसे ज खूबे सुन्दर आय । आमचो प्रधान मंत्री के सुरता हांयदे कि येई नाचतो-गीता ने कौनी कौनी दिल्ली ने जाउन भती 'लोक नृत्य उत्सव' ने मिसाला आउर आउर हुनी मन जमायले अच्छा नाचतो गीत साबितहोला । येचो काजे हुन मनके सुन्दर इनाम बले मिरली । ये मनुख आऊर बायले मन, जे धरती माय चो लाल आन, धाने बड़े बड़े गुन आसे अऊर आमके य दखतोर आय कि आमी हुन मन चोय । नगत गुन

मन के हुसने राखवां अऊर हुन के तरक्की बाटे बढ़ावां । संगे संगे आमचों यो असल बुता आय कि आज काल चो नवा विज्ञान आउर (अर्थ याने) पैसा कौड़ी चो हिसा चो नियम चो जमाय फायदा बले हुन मन के देउक सकूँ जसने हुन बले भला चंगा आउर सुख जीवना निभउक सकत । मै ये भरोसा

करैसे कि आदिम जाति कल्याण चो ये बैठक जमा दाय यके सुरता राखेदे आउर आमचो आदिवासी भाई मन चो भलाई आउर सुण काजे नवा २ सपाय सोचून काम करेदे । सरलो दाय मै फेर ले एक हार ये बैठका ने इलो विता जमाय लोग के अंतस ले सुवागत करैसे ।

Welcome Address by the Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Third All-India Tribal Welfare Conference, held at Jagdalpur on the 13th March 1955.

PRIME MINISTER, RAJYAPAL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE, DELEGATES & ADIMJATI SISTERS AND BROTHERS,—

It gives me very great pleasure to welcome you all to this beautiful homeland of the Adivasis, where nature seems to have spread lavishly her grandeur and splendour. Indeed, Bastar may be described as nature's own paradise. Here the vast stretches of green fields, the murmur of numerous mountain streams, the endless ranges of hills crowned by the lofty peaks of Bailadila, to thick forests of Abhujmar and the cascading waterfall of Indravati at Chitrakoot provide a feast of beauty and cast a spell of happiness and peace on the visitors. The Adivasis who live here are truly the beloved sons of the soil, passionately devoted to their way of life. They express their joy of life through the colourful forms of their folk dances and through the rhythms of their music. I am sure that the so-called civilized world can learn much from the tradition and culture of these people. There could have been no better or happier choice for

holding this conference than Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh. This is one of the important centres of Adivasi life in our country. Compared to other States, the Adivasis constitute the largest proportion of the population of Madhya Pradesh numbering about 12 per cent of our total population. Our holding this conference here is, therefore, a proof of our deep concern for the well-being of the Adivasis, and of our desire to uplift and improve their lives here in the midst of the hills and forests of their ancient homes. I am deeply grateful to the Prime Minister for agreeing to be present here on this occasion in spite of his numerous important engagements. I am sure his inspiring presence will be a great stimulus for all of us. On behalf of everyone here and on my own behalf I extend to him a most cordial welcome.

You all know that the welfare and uplift of the tribal people is a special and sacred duty of Government. It is in fact enjoined on us by the Constitution itself. But it is necessary first to be clear in our own minds what we mean by

"welfare" of the tribal people. There are some who advocate that the aboriginals should be isolated from the rest of our countrymen and preserved as if in a sanctuary as strange specimens of humanity in some anthropological museum. On the other hand, there is another school of reformers who would like to uproot the tribal people from their homelands and transform them into blind copies of so-called civilized people.

Both these extreme schools of tribal welfare are, to my mind, harmful and ill-informed. The proper approach to the welfare of the tribal people is to bring home to them all the benefits of modern science, such as, good homes, roads, better agriculture, improved health and sanitation, appropriate education; but at the same time preserve their zest for life, and the finer qualities of their nature and culture, and fit them to play their part in the life of the nation. This is how in many foreign countries in Europe as well as in United Kingdom, ancient races of highlanders continue to live today preserving their beautiful culture, but at the same time, participating in the national life and contributing to the national wealth.

This briefly is the purpose and object of tribal welfare activity in Madhya Pradesh and particularly in Bastar. For many centuries, the people of Bastar have been neglected and little had been done in the past hundreds of years for their progress and prosperity. Right through the history of Bastar from the days of the Kakatiyas down to the time when Bastar was virtually ruled by a British administrator who collected the taxes and maintained law and order on behalf of the Maharaja, very little had been done to raise the life of the people

to a higher level by means of better agriculture, education, better roads and public health.

Then came the great dawn of our Independence, followed by the merger of this State together with the other Chhatisgarh States into the administration of Madhya Pradesh. From that day we have attempted steadily and perseveringly to solve the various problems for opening the way to a better life for the people. On reviewing what has so far been done here, I can boldly say that during the last six or seven years, a new life and a new hope has been created in the villages and forest settlements of Bastar. The people of this area are, as you know, predominantly agriculturists. I may, therefore, illustrate my statement by taking the example of what has been done in agriculture. At the time of the merger in 1948 agriculture was in a very primitive state and the average yield of paddy per acre was never more than 300 lb. As against this, during the last harvest season the average yield of paddy was 1,000 lb. per acre. In addition, by a steady extension of cultivated land the area under paddy today is 72,000 acres more than what it was at the time of the merger. As a result of this remarkable increase in the total area under cultivation and in the yield per acre, Bastar district, which at the time of merger never exported more than 1,000 tons a year, was able to export last year as much as 8,000 tons of paddy. In this connection, I must add that this export was made voluntarily by the farmers without any form of Government procurement. If another proof is needed for the dramatic change that has come over Bastar in the last few years, I would like you to consider the growth

in the revenue income during this period. The total revenue from all sources in Bastar in 1948 was about Rs. 43 lakhs. As against this, the revenue receipt from various sources, such as, forest, excise, land revenue, etc., in 1954 was Rs. 66 lakhs. I should add here that this increase is not due to any increase in taxation. There has been no enhancement of taxes since the merger, nor has there been any increase in the rate of land revenue. The fact is that the increase in revenue is an index of the greater prosperity and material resources of the people of this district.

Another contributory factor towards this prosperity is the improved means of communication and building of better roads and bridges during this period. I should, however, say in this connection that no large scale developments of this area can be achieved unless it is opened up by extending railway communications. Those of you who had to travel along many miles of dusty roads in order to reach this place, will have already realized the inconvenience of not having a railway line. The nearest rail-head from Jagdalpur is about 140 miles away, and there are many places in this district which are over 300 miles away from the nearest railway station. If only we can penetrate the rich and fertile tracts of this district by a network of railways, not only will it bring prosperity to the people of the district, but it will be a great addition to India's national wealth. This forest-covered hilly region is full of vast mineral and natural resources. Competent geologists who have visited this place have stated that two of the richest iron-ore deposits in the world are situated in the Bailadila and Rowghat ranges of hills in Bastar. There are

besides other resources like sandstone, mica and even tin, the extent of which has not even been estimated. My Government have on different occasions impressed on Government of India the need to connect at least the district headquarters by railway. I do fervently hope that this will find a place in the projects to be included in the Second Five-Year Plan.

Meanwhile, the State Government on their part have built new roads and bridges and improved the surface of existing roads during the period after the merger on a scale much greater than has been done in another part of the State. Three major pucca roads, namely, Kondgaon to Narayanpur, Kanker to Bhanupratappur and Jagdalpur to Bhopalpatnam, totalling about 182 miles have been built. In addition to these, under the village road development scheme and the community project scheme 402 miles of kachha roads have also been built. The construction of new roads involved also the building up of several permanent bridges. During the period after the merger in this district alone, about Rs. 21 lakhs were spent on roads and about Rs. 17 lakhs on building bridges. One of the results of better communications has been the larger marketing facilities made available to the people which again has resulted in increased revenue from forest and other sources.

In a brief address of this nature it is not my purpose to give you a complete account of all that has been done in Bastar for the benefit and improvement of the people. I should, however, mention that in regard to education the progress is as striking as in other spheres. Whereas at the

time of the merger there were 103 schools, today there exist in Bastar 388 schools including primary, middle and high schools. One significant feature of the development of education is that most of the new schools are being converted into basic schools where agriculture is their main subject. Each of the primary schools has its own land for cultivation and the boys spend regular hours on practical agricultural operations. The effect that this has on improving the primitive methods of agriculture in the neighbouring fields is remarkable. The increased production from the fields to which I have already made a reference, is largely as a result of this influence. One of these middle schools succeeded in growing 6,400 lb. of paddy in their field, thus creating all-time record for Bastar. While I am on the subject of education, I should also add that from the next financial year my Government have decided to impart free education to the children of scheduled tribes from the primary to the university stage, both in the scheduled areas and in the non-scheduled areas of the State.

I must say a word about the progress achieved in forest management, because the forests are, as I mentioned earlier, a major wealth of this district and occupy nearly two-thirds of the entire area. We have, for the first time, introduced the experiment of placing nistary forests under the management of panchayats. In a pilot scheme the Bastar group of nistary forests measuring about 22 square miles have been placed under the management of the panchayats during the last five years. This has achieved wonders during the period in the regeneration of large tracts of neglected forests. The whole system of forest

management is based on two objects, firstly, to maintain the forest wealth in proper condition, and secondly, to safeguard the rights of the tribal people to use the forest products which is one of their major means of livelihood. For ensuring proper management of forests, several new forest roads have been built, and many authorities have stated that the network of forest roads in Bastar is among the finest in India. The latest scheme is to build a road of 100 miles across the impenetrable Abhujmar area, a vast mountainous region with an average height of 3,000 ft. above sea level. The construction of this road has commenced. The cumulative effect of all these development schemes in forest is that while the income from the forests in 1948 was about Rs. 22 lakhs, today the forest revenue from Bastar alone is about Rs. 36 lakhs.

I am very happy that this all-India conference of tribal welfare is meeting in the midst of these fine, hospitable, hard-working tribal people of Bastar. They are one of us, citizens of free India, who are entitled to share in all the blessings and opportunities that Freedom has brought to our Nation. They possess some wonderful qualities which are lacking in some of us who call ourselves civilized. Their capacity for hard work, their strength of character, their simplicity and honesty are qualities which all of us should admire and emulate. They have their own art and culture which are beautiful. Our Prime Minister will remember that some of these dancers participated in the folk dance festival in Delhi and they were judged the best folk dancers and were awarded the beautiful trophy. These men and women who are children of the



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India,
who inaugurated the Conference.

(Photo by Shri K. Natrajan)

soil possess remarkable gifts, and it should be our object to encourage and preserve these fine qualities in them. At the same time, it is our duty to bring 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 pro-

fitable life. I do hope that this conference of tribal welfare will keep this ideal in front of it and will discuss and evolve schemes and programmes calculated to bring about the prosperity and welfare of our aboriginal brethren. Once again, I warmly welcome you all to this conference.

JAI HIND

पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का दिनांक १३-३-५५ को जगदलपुर में दिया गया भाषण।

राज्यपाल जी, मुख्यमंत्री, इस कॉन्फेन्स के प्रधान, भाइयो और बहनो:—

मैं हमारे देश भारत में बहुत कुछ घूमा हूँ। दूर दूर तक गया हूँ। लेकिन आज पहली बार इधर अस्तर, जगदलपुर में आया हूँ। बहुत दिनों से इच्छा थी कि यहाँ आता क्योंकि यहाँ जो आदिवासी भाई रहते हैं उनसे मिलने की इच्छा थी जो आज पूरी हो गई। खेद तो यह है कि मैं थोड़ी देर के लिये यहाँ आया हूँ। यदि ज्यादा देर के लिए आता तो आप लोगों के गाँव जाता, आप लोगों से मिलता और बातचीत करता।

अभी २-३ माह हुए आपके यहाँ से, जो हमारा बड़ा दिन होता है २६ जनवरी, उसमें कुछ आपके गांव के देहाती भाई नाच करने दिल्ली आये थे जो हमारी बड़ी राजधानी है। उन लोगों ने वहाँ बड़ा सुन्दर नाच किया था। सारे देश के लोग वहाँ आये थे और आपको मालूम होगा कि यहाँ के लोगों का बड़ा नाम हुआ। आप लोगों का यह देहाती नाच देखा, अलग अलग जातियों का, उसको भी

सुन्दर पाया और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप लोग इसको और चलाने जयमे और उसमें अग्नी उन्नति करेंगे। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में नाच गाने खूब बढ़ें। खुशी से सब काम हों। यह नहीं समझिये कि हमें उन्हें छोड़ देना है। ये कोई बुरी चीज नहीं है।

कौन होते हैं ये आदिवासी? मेरी समझ में नहीं आया अब तक। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि हम सब आदिवासी हैं। हमारे राज्यपाल जी, शुक्रजी, हम सब। मुझे यह सब अच्छा नहीं लगता। हम सब आदिवासी हैं। हां कुछ फर्क हो सकता है। देश में आप लोगों की भिन्न भिन्न जातियाँ हैं। जहाँ इस ढंग की जातियाँ हैं, वे अपने को बाह्यण कहे चाहे क्षत्रिय वे सब आदिमजाति हैं। इन सबमें हमको ऊँच नीच निकालना है। आप लोग जहाँ रहने हैं, बड़ा अच्छा प्रदेश है। आप जहाँ भी रहें अपने अपने ढंग से रहें यह मैं चाहता हूँ। आपको ही निश्चय करना चाहिये कि कैसे आप लोग रहें। आपके पुराने रीति-रिवाज व रहन-सहन अच्छे हैं।

हम चाहते हैं कि ये सब बने रहें लेकिन यह ऊँच-नीच जाति को हमें इस देश से मिटाना है, इसे भारत से निकालना है। आप लोग पढ़ें लिखें, देश के कामों में भाग लें यह हम चाहते हैं। अब हमारा देश स्वतंत्र है। हमको स्वराज्य मिल गया है। स्वराज्य के माने क्या है? हमारे देश में कोई बड़े राजा महाराजा तो नहीं हैं। हमारे देश में हमारे राष्ट्रपति हैं। वे हैं डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद। आये थे यहाँ। आप से मिले होंगे। कौन हैं हमारे राष्ट्रपति? कोई राजा महाराजा नहीं हैं। वे भी हमारे सरीखे हैं। वे बिहार में खेती करते थे। तो अब राजा महाराजा के दिन तो चले गये। जब सारी जनता को बराबर रहना है, ऊपर उठना है और क्षिप्त बनना है। हमारे राष्ट्रपति कैसे राष्ट्रपति हुए। इसलिये कि जनता ने उन्हें पसन्द किया, उनको स्वीकार किया और उन्हें चुना। अब मैं इस देश का आजकल प्रधानमंत्री हूँ। कैसे प्रधान मंत्री हुआ? इसलिये कि जनता ने मुझे चुना। तो जिसको जनता चुनती है वही देश का बड़ा अफसर या अधिकारी होता है। जबतक जनता चाहे उसको वहाँ रखे। हमारे देश में बहुत लोग रहते हैं। बहुत जातियाँ हैं। उनमें से सबको अधिकार है कि वे देश के प्रधानमंत्री बने, राष्ट्रपति बनें। आप लोगों को भी अधिकार है कि आप लोगों में से भी कोई योग्य आदमी हो और वह देश का प्रधानमंत्री या राष्ट्रपति हो।

इस देश में बहुत सारे गोंड भाई रहते हैं। मेरे कुछ पुराने मित्र गोंड भाई थे। कभी कभी मैं एक गोंड लोगो के गांव में जाया करता था। उन्हें बहुत तगड़ा पाया। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि आप को कुछ और सीखने का मौका मिले तो आपके जीवन की

खूब उन्नति हो सकती है और आपके रस्म और रिवाज भी कायम रह सकते हैं। आपको यह बात याद रखना चाहिये कि हम सब लोग भारत के रहने वाले हैं। हम सब बराबर हैं, बराबर का हमारा हिस्सा है, बराबर के हमारे अधिकार हैं और हम सबको मिलकर अपने देश को आगे बढ़ाना है। आप दिल्ली गये थे। आपने देखा होगा कि दूर दूर के लोग वहाँ आये थे। दिल्ली हमारी राजधानी है। हमारे सामने बड़े बड़े काम हैं। काम यह है कि देश में बहुत लोग रहते हैं। स्त्री और पुरुष। इनको भलाई करना है। इनकी उन्नति करना है। यह सब करना है। बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें बनी हैं इनके लिये। आपके सामने प्रश्न खड़ा होता है कि इनके लिये क्या करना चाहिये। हम सरकार की चर्चा करते हैं। कौन है यह सरकार? मैंने आप से पहले ही कहा है कि राजा महाराजा तो रहे नहीं। अंग्रेजी सरकार थी। वह भी अब नहीं रही। सरकार तो आप हैं। आप हैं कोई और सरकार नहीं। भारत की जनता सरकार है। आप लोग जो गांव में रहते हैं वे ही सरकार हैं। लेकिन अब देश का प्रबन्ध कैसे हो। इन्तजाम कैसे हो। कुछ न कुछ करना है हमें। देश के प्रबंध के लिये मुखिया चुने जाते हैं। आप लोग ही चुनते हैं उन्हें। चाहे आप डा० राजेन्द्र-प्रसाद को चुने, चाहे आपके प्रदेश, जिले या तहसील से किसी को चुने। लेकिन वे तो आपको चुनना है। मालिक तो आप हैं। जनता है और आप लोग जानते हैं आपके द्वारा चुने हुए लोग ही सरकार बनाते हैं।

आप लोग जानते हैं कि आपकी जाति में भी अपने कायदे होते हैं। कानून होते हैं। सब लोग

उनको मानते हैं। यदि न माने तो गड़बड़ी पैदा हो जायगी। इसी तरह देश में भी कानून होते हैं। कानून बनाने होते हैं। वे जनता को पूछकर बनते हैं और जनता को मानना चाहिये उन कानूनों को, नहीं तो हुल्लाह मच जायेगी। जो कुछ हमको देश में करना है हम सब मिलकर करें। एक दूसरे की सलाह से करें, सहयोग से करें। जब हमलोग आगे बढ़ेंगे तो एक बात आप लोगों को याद रखनी चाहिये कि चाहे आप यहां बस्तर में रहें या दिल्ली में या देश के किसी हिस्से में रहें हम सब लोग एक किरती में हैं, समुद्र में हैं और याद रखिये सभी लोगों को उस किस्ती को ठीक से चलाना है। ठीक से नहीं चलाया तो सब लोग गोता खा जायेंगे। इसलिये हम सब लोगों का एक साथ मिलकर काम करना है और इससे देश को भी बढ़ाना है और अपने को भी।

अपने देश को स्वराज्य मिले ७ वर्ष हो गये। इन ७ वर्षों में बहुत सी बातें हुई हैं। हमारा देश आगे बढ़ा है। लेकिन हमारी इच्छा ता है कि और जोर से आगे बढ़ें, तेजी से आगे बढ़ें। हमारे पास बहुत बड़े बड़े काम हैं। हम यहां मिले हैं इसलिये कि जो हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं उनकी सेवा कैसे हा और वे अपनी उन्नति कैसे करें। यह हमें सोचना है। यह हमारे सामने एक बड़ा सवाल है। हमारे देश के जो आदिवासी भाई हैं वे सीखें, पढ़ें और आगे बढ़ें, खेती करें और अपने देश की उन्नति करें। हम चाहते हैं कि आपके रीति-रिवाज और धर्म जैसे हैं वैसे ही रहें। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि उनको उलाट-पलट कर दिया जाय। हम यह नहीं चाहते। हम तो चाहते हैं कि ऐसा प्रबंध हो जिसमें आप जैसा उचित समझें रखें। आपके समाज का जो संगठन है वह भी रहे, नाच-गान हैं वह भी रहें

लेकिन आपको अपने देश को, इस महान भारत को आगे बढ़ाने का मौका भी मिले। आप लोगों के सलाह-मशविरा से ही राज्य चलावेंगे। आप लोग इस बात को फिर से याद कर लें कि आपको जो स्वराज्य मिला है वह आपका नहीं सबका है। बहन, भाई, लड़के, लड़कियां सबका। और यह देश जो भारत है वह आपका है किसी और का नहीं। आपको भी उतने ही अधिकार हैं जितने किसी और को। हम सबको आगे चलना है अपनी उन्नति करना है। देश में जबरदस्ती हुकूम चलावें ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये। मुझे आप लोगों से मिलने का अवसर मिला। अब जब यहां और आऊंगा तो आपके गांव में जाऊंगा और आपसे मिलूंगा।

देखिये यहां एक बड़ी शिल्ड रखी है जो आपके नाचने वाले भाई दिल्ली से लाये हैं। उन्होंने वहां बड़ा सुन्दर नाच किया था। उसीका यह पुरस्कार है। यह तो बड़ी सुन्दर चीज है। इससे मालूम होता है कि आपके यहां कितना सुन्दर नाच होता है। हमारा देश भारत है। भारत देश के बहुत सारे नाम हैं। भारतवर्ष, भारत, हिन्दुस्तान, अंग्रेजी में इसे कहते हैं इन्डिया और हिन्द भी इसको कहते हैं। आपने सुना होगा कि हम अक्सर जय हिन्द कहते हैं, भारत-माता की जय कहते हैं। भारत-माता का जय के माने क्या? इसके माने हैं देश के रहने वालों की जय याने आपकी जय। भारत-माता कोई स्त्री थोड़ी है? भारत-माता तो हम हैं, आप हैं। हम सब भारत-माता के छोटे छोटे टुकड़े हैं। भारत-माता की जय कहने से हमारी जनता की जय होती है। इसी तरह हम जय-हिन्द कहते हैं। इसके माने हैं देश के रहने वालों की जय। इसलिये जब मैं जय-हिन्द कहूँ तो आप भी मेरे साथ तीन बार जय-हिन्द कहें।

जय-हिन्द, जय-हिन्द, जय-हिन्द।

**Inaugural Address of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at the
Third Tribal Welfare Conference held at Jagdalpur.**

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, THE CHIEF MINISTER, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE, BROTHERS & SISTERS,

I have gone far and wide in our country Bharat. But this is the first time that I have come to Jagdalpur, in Bastar. I had a desire to visit this area as Adivasis live here. I had a keen desire to meet them and this has been fulfilled today. But I am sorry, I have come to stay here only for a short while. If I had more time, I would have gone to your villages, met you all and conversed with you all.

It was only two or three months ago—on our last Republic Day, i. e. 26th January, some of the villagers from your area had come to Delhi—the Capital of India, for giving a dance performance. They performed a very nice dance there. People from all over India had come there and you might be aware that the people from this place came in flying colours. I have seen today your folk dances, separately of different communities and I have found them quite enchanting. I hope, you will keep up this art of yours and will make more progress in it. I want that, in our country, songs and dances should develop much and that people should do their work happily. You should not think that you have to leave your songs and dances. They are not bad.

Who constitute these categories of Adivasis? I have not been able to solve this puzzle. In my opinion all of us are Adivasis—our Governor, Shuklaji and all of us. I do not like this distinction. We

are all Adivasis. Yes, there may be some differences. In our country there are different kinds of castes. Where several castes are prevalent, whether they call themselves Brahmins or Kshatriyas, they are all Adivasis. We have to abolish all distinctions of high and low. The place where you reside is a very beautiful one. Wherever you live, you should live in your own way. This is what I want. You have to decide yourselves how you would like to live. Your old customs and habits are good. We want that they should survive. But at the same time this distinction of hierarchy of castes has to be abolished and uprooted from our country. We want that you should be educated and should do your part in the welfare of our country. Our country is free now. We have achieved Swarajya. What does Swarajya mean? In our country there is no King or Emperor. In our country we have our Rashtrapati (President). He is Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He had been to this place and must have met you. Who is our Rashtrapati? He is neither a King nor an Emperor. He is like us. He had been a farmer from Bihar. Gone are the days of Kings and Emperors. Now the people of our country have to live in equality and to progress and be educated. How did our Rashtrapati come to this position? Because the people liked him, accepted him and elected him to be the Rashtrapati. Now, I am the Prime Minister of this country. How did I become the Prime Minister? Because the people elected me for the place. So, whomsoever the people

elect, he rises to the highest position in the country. He will retain his position so long as the people want him to be there. Many people live in our country. There are many castes. Every-one of them has the right to become the Prime Minister or the Rashtrapati of the country. You too have got the same right. Any competent man from amongst you can become the Prime Minister or Rashtrapati of this country.

In this country there are many Gond brethren. I had some old friends among these Gond brethren. Sometimes I used to go to a village of the Gonds. I found them very healthy. I feel that if you get an opportunity to learn something more you can make much progress in your lives and your customs and traditions can also survive. You have to bear in mind that we all belong to our country—Bharat. We are all equal and we have all equal shares and rights in our country and we have all to forge our country ahead. You had been to Delhi. You might have seen that people from far and wide came there. Delhi is our Capital. There is a lot of important work before us. The country has a large population. Their welfare and progress are to be achieved. All this work has to be done. Many big plans and projects have been framed for them. The question arises before us what is to be done for them? We generally speak of the Government. Who is this Government? I have already told you that no King or Emperor remains now. There was British Government. They have also quitted our country. Now you are the Government. You are yourself the Government. There is no other Government. The people of India are the Government. The people who live in the villages are

the real Government. But how is the management of this country to be carried on? How it should function? We have to devise some ways and means. For the administration of the country, one headman is elected. You yourself elect him—Whether you elect Dr. Rajendra Prasad or any man from your province, district or tehsil. And this you have to do. You are the master,—the people of this country are the masters and you know that the people elected by you form the Government.

You know that in your tribe also you have your rules and regulations and all of you strictly follow them. If you do not follow them, there will be some disorder. In the same way, there are laws and rules in the country. Laws and rules are codified. They are codified after consulting the views of the general public. Hence they are to be followed and obeyed by the public. Otherwise confusion and chaos would prevail. Whatever we have to do for our country, let us do it collectively. Let us do in consultation and with the cooperation of all; and then only we can prosper. You have to bear one thing in your mind that whether you reside here in Bastar or at Delhi or in any other part of the country we are all sailing in the same ship in the sea. You must remember that unless all of us propel the ship in a right manner, we are doomed to be drowned in water. Therefore we all have to do our jobs in close cooperation and to forge ourselves and our country ahead to achieve progress and prosperity.

It is seven years since Swarajya dawned on our country. Many things have happened during these seven years. Our country has advanced far. But it is our desire that she should take more rapid

strides and rapid progress be made. We have many big problems before us. We have all assembled here to devise ways and means of how we can serve the Adivasis best and how they can prosper. We have to think and ponder over it. This is a big problem before us. The Adivasis of our country should learn, be educated and cultivate their lands and see that our country progresses. We want that your customs, traditions and religion should not be interfered with. Some people say that they should be changed. But I do not like it. I want that such arrangement should be made that you should decide for yourself how you would like it to be. Your own organisation should remain, songs and dances should survive and at the same time you have to work for the progress and prosperity of the great country of ours—i.e. Bharat. We shall take your advice and cooperation in the administration of the country. You should once more remember that the Swarajya which you have achieved is not of you alone, but it is of all—of mothers, sisters, sons and daughters. This country is yours and none else can claim it. You have the same right to it as anyone else has. We all have to march ahead and to progress. We should not have an auto-

cratic form of Government.

I got an opportunity to meet you all. When I happen to come next, I shall go to your villages and meet you all in person.

You see there is a big shield kept there which your dancing party brought from Delhi. They performed a very beautiful dance there. This is the reward of that performance. This is a very nice thing. This shows what nice dances are performed by you.

Our country is Bharat. This country of ours i.e. Bharat has many names; Bharat Varsha, Bharat, Hindustan; in English we call her India and it is also called Hind. You might have heard that we often say 'Jai Hind', Bharat Mata Ki Jai. What is the meaning of Bharat Mata Ki Jai? It means 'Victory to the people of the country' in other words 'Victory to you'. Mother India is not a woman in flesh and blood. We ourselves are Mother India—you are Mother India. We are all small ingredients of the Mother India. To say 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai' means victory to the people of the country. So when I say Jai Hind, you also join with me and say Jai Hind thrice. *Jai Hind ! Jai Hind ! Jai Hind !*

भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण परिषद् के तृतीय अधिवेशन के अवसर पर राजा नरेशचंद्रसिंह, आदिमजाति कल्याण मंत्री का अध्यक्षीय भाषण ।

प्रधान मंत्री जी, राज्यपाल महोदय, मुख्य मंत्री जी, बहिनी और भाइयो—

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ द्वारा आयोजित इस अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष पद का भार सौंपकर मुझे आदिवासी भाइयों की सेवा करने का जो अवसर आपने दिया, उसके लिए मैं आप सब का बहुत आभारी हूँ। मुझे आशा है कि उस जिम्मेदारी को निभाने में मुझे आपका पूरा पूरा सहयोग मिलेगा।

आप जानते ही हैं कि आदिमजाति सेवक संघ को संगठित करने का श्रेय स्वर्गीय श्री० ठक्कर बाप्पा को है जिन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन आदिवासियों की सेवा में लगा दिया था। बड़े सौभाग्य की बात है कि राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद इस संस्था के अध्यक्ष हैं। आदिवासियों के जीवन की समस्याओं को हल करने में उन्हें कितनी दिलचस्पी है यह सभी जानते हैं। इसीलिए दो साल हुए, राष्ट्रपति इस दुर्गम स्थान में पधारे थे। उसको याद हम सबके दिलों में आज भी ताजी है।

यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि इस अधिवेशन का उद्घाटन करने के लिए हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री० जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू स्वयं यहां पधारे हैं। राजकाज के कठिन कामों में उलझे रहने पर भी नेहरू जी ने यहां आने के लिए समय निकाला इसका कारण यही है कि आदिवासियों के सीधे-साधे जीवन, उनकी सादगी, संस्कृति और कला के प्रति उनके मन में बड़ा आदर है।

आदिवासी भाई-बहन आज बड़ी संख्या में यहां उपस्थित हैं। उनके चेहरों पर जो उत्साह दिखाई दे रहा है उससे जाहिर है कि अपने प्रधान मंत्री का स्वागत करने के लिए उनके दिलों में कितनी उमंग है।

अपने इन्हीं भाइयों से मुझे कुछ बातचीत करनी है। आदिवासियों की उन्नति के संबंध में देश में हर तरह के प्रयत्न किए जा रहे हैं। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के कार्यकर्ता भी इसी काम में जुटे हुए हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आदिवासी भाई-बहन, कार्यकर्ताओं की सहायता से, पूरा लाभ उठायें और दिनोंदिन आगे बढ़ते चले।

आज के सम्मेलन का बड़ा महत्व है। देश भर के आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में काम करनेवाले कार्यकर्ता, आदिवासियों की उन्नति चाहनेवाले विद्वान और आदिवासी कल्याण योजनाओं में काम करनेवाले सरकारी अधिकारी सभी यहां इकट्ठे हुए हैं।

वे सब अपने अनुभव एक दूसरे को बतायेंगे, अपनी कठिनाइयों के बारे में विचार करेंगे, और आगे के काम के विषय में चर्चा करेंगे। यह आशा है कि इससे आगे यह काम और भी अच्छी तरह चलेगा। यस्तर जैसे सुदूर आदिवासी क्षेत्र में यह सम्मेलन बुलाने के कुछ त्वास कारण हैं। एक तरह से यह इलाका आदिवासियों का केन्द्र है, और यहां पर आदिवासियों के रहन-सहन का, उनके दुःख-सुख

का, उनकी कठिनाइयों का पूरा पता बाहर से आने वालों को लगेगा। इसके अलावा ऐसे सम्मेलनों से आसपास रहनेवाले निवासियों में जागृति की लहर दौड़ जाती है और उनको ज्ञात हो जाता है कि उनकी भलाई के लिए क्या कुछ किया जा रहा है।

इस वर्ष इस सम्मेलन के सामने तीन मुख्य बातें हैं जिन पर हमें विचार करना है। सबसे पहले वृद्ध आदिवासियों की अर्थ-व्यवस्था या माली हालत के प्रश्न पर विचार करना है। दूसरी बात है ऐसे क्षेत्रों में फैलने वाले रोग और उनको दूर करने के उपाय। फिर आदिवासियों के बीच काम करनेवाले व्यक्तियों की सिखाई-पढ़ाई का सवाल भी हमारे सामने है।

आदिवासियों की माली हालत का विचार करने समय हमें इन बातों पर सोच विचार करना होगा:— खेती ज़ाड़ी में सुधार, सहकारी समितियों का संगठन, जंगलों में काम करनेवाले आदिवासियों की समितियों का संगठन, सिंचाई, हमारी कला और दस्तकारी, रोगों की रोकथाम और सहजता से मिलनेवाली जड़ी-बूटियों का उपयोग, चलते फिरते अस्पताल, भोजन में सुधार, शराबबंदी, और शिक्षा।

इन सब बातों का आदिवासियों की उन्नति से बहुत निकट संबंध है। इन विषयों पर इस समय मुझे अपने विचार प्रकट करने की जरूरत नहीं है। जो कुछ मुझे निवेदन करना है वह बाद में करूंगा पर जो समाज-शास्त्री और मानव-शास्त्री यहां एकत्रित हुए हैं वे ही इन पर अधिकारपूर्वक प्रकाश डालेंगे।

अपने देश में रहनेवाले आदिवासी नागरिकों को संविधान में कुछ खास सुविधाएँ, अधिकार और संरक्षण दिए गए हैं। इन विशेष अधिकारों को अमल में लाने और आदिवासियों की जल्द से जल्द तरक्की के लिए विभिन्न राज्य सरकारें काम कर रही

हैं। दूसरी तरफ कुछ गैर-सरकारी समाजसेवक संस्थाएँ भी इस काम में लगी हैं। जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ सरकारी और गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं की कल्याण-योजनाओं में आदिवासी उत्साह से हाथ बंटा रहे हैं। पिछले पांच वर्षों में इस दिशा में काफी काम किया जा चुका है पर यह मानना पड़ेगा कि अभी बहुत कुछ और करना बाकी है। सम्मेलन को चाहिये कि वह इन प्रश्नों पर भी विचार करे क्योंकि आदिवासियों की तरक्की का सवाल सारे देश का सवाल है।

आप सब को याद ही होगा कि यह निर्णय लिया जा चुका है कि राष्ट्र निर्माण का कार्य समाजवादी पद्धति पर किया जाय। इसका मतलब यही है कि देश के सारे वर्गों को ही नहीं, देश के हर एक नागरिक को आगे बढ़ने का एकसा मौका मिलेगा और सरकार ऐसा मौका देने में कुछ भी कसर न रखे।

जब भी जनता की उन्नति की कोई योजना हाथ में ली जाती है तब अकसर यह हिसाब लगाया जाता है कि इन योजनाओं पर खर्च की गई रकम कब तक वापिस होगी और उस रकम का ब्याज कब तक वसूल होगा। धीरे धीरे अब इस दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन हो रहा है क्योंकि कल्याणकारी योजनाओं में यह दृष्टिकोण सामने रखना ठीक नहीं है। आदिवासी क्षेत्रों की उन्नति के लिए जो योजनाएँ बनाई जाय उनमें यह विचार और भी निरर्थक है क्योंकि इन योजनाओं का लाभ एकदम तो हमारे सामने आ नहीं सकता। अगर हमारी योजनाओं से लोग खुशहाल और स्वस्थ हो जाएं तो हमें और क्या चाहिए?

पिछड़े हुए इलाकों की तरक्की में सबसे पहले

कदम होता है, वहां आवागमन की सुविधायें पहुंचाना। कुछ साल पहले जब आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में रेलें या सड़कें बनाने का सबाल हमारे सामने आता था तो कुछ लोग उसका विरोध करते थे। उनका कहना था कि सड़कें न बनाई जाएँ, नहीं तो साहूकार आदि वहां पहुंच जाएंगे और भोले-भाले आदिवासियों को नुकसान पहुंचेगा। नतीजा यह हुआ कि इन इलाकों में रेलें तो क्या मामूली अच्छी सड़कें भी नहीं बन पाईं। जो सड़कें हैं, उनमें बहुतसी तो ऐसी हैं जिन पर पुल नहीं हैं। फल यह होता है कि बरसात के दिनों में ये क्षेत्र दूसरे क्षेत्रों से बिलकुल कट जाते हैं। वहां पहुंचना तो दूर, किसी तरह की सहायता पहुंचाना भी असंभव हो जाता है। इसके अलावा कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि इन इलाकों में रेलें नहीं बनाना चाहिए क्योंकि इस काम में जो खर्च होगा वह बरसों तक व्यर्थ नहीं हो सकेगा।

यदि हमने इन विचारकों की बातों को मान लिया तो आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में न तो कभी सड़कें ही बन पाएंगी और न रेलें। अधिकतर आदिवासी क्षेत्र जंगली और पहाड़ी इलाकों में हैं। इन क्षेत्रों में बहुमूल्य खनिज पदार्थ पाए जाते हैं। खनिज पदार्थों का दृष्टि से भी इन क्षेत्रों में रेल्वे लाइनों का होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। उदाहरण के लिए, मध्यप्रदेश में जगदलपुर, रायगढ़ और सरगुजा जिलों को ही लीजिए। अभी तक इन जिलों में या तो रेलें बिलकुल नहीं हैं या नाममात्र के लिए ही हैं। नतीजा यह है कि इन जिलों के बहुमूल्य खनिज पदार्थ धरती के नीचे दबे पड़े हैं और उनका कोई समुचित उपयोग नहीं हो पा रहा है।

इस अधिवेशन की ओर से मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार के रेल विभाग से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे इस संबंध में अपनी नीति में आवश्यक फेरबदल करें, और आगामी पंचवर्षीय योजना में इन इलाकों में रेल्वे लाइनें खोलने की व्यवस्था करें।

इन इलाकों में बिजली पैदा करने की योजनाएं लागू करना भी आवश्यक जान पड़ता है। उनके संबंध में भी हमें आर्थिक लाभ या हानि की बात न सोचकर आदिवासियों के कल्याण की ही बात को महत्त्व देना चाहिए। मेरी राय में बिजली संबंधी नीति पर भी इस अधिवेशन में विचार करना आवश्यक है, ताकि हमारा मत स्पष्ट रूप से जनता और सरकार के समुच्च पहुंच सके।

एक प्रश्न और है। जो आदिवासी कल्याण योजनाएं अमल में लाई जा रही हैं वे पूरी तरह सफल क्यों नहीं हो पा रही हैं? मेरी राय में इसका एक कारण यह है कि हमें इन इलाकों में काम करने के लिए अच्छे कार्यकर्त्ता नहीं मिल पाते। डाक्टरों और वैद्यों की ही बात को लीजिए। शहर और रेल्वे लाइनों से दूर—इन पिछड़े आदिवासी इलाकों में, कोई डाक्टर कम वेतन पर काम करने के लिए तैयार नहीं होता। यदि कोई आ भी गया तो वह कोई न कोई बहाना बनाकर अपना तबादला करवा लेता है या फिर अपने काम में दिलचस्पी नहीं लेता। जरूरत इस बात की है कि इन इलाकों में काम करने के लिए खास अलाऊंस और आवश्यक सहूलियतें दी जाएं, जिससे वे इन सारी चिन्ताओं से मुक्त हो जाएं और अपने कर्त्तव्य को ईमानदारी और लगन से निभा सकें। फिलहाल मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत जरूरी है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों की दवादारू का इन्तजाम चलते फिरते दवाखाने (मोबाइल डिस्पेन्सरीज

के द्वारा किया जाए। परन्तु जैसा मैंने पहले कहा है, इस काम के लिए पहले सबके और पुल बनाने पड़ेंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं और कर्मचारियों की कठिनाई पर पूरा विचार किया जाए और जल्द से जल्द ऐसा कदम उठाया जाए ताकि इन लोगों में काम करने की हिम्मत बढ़ सके।

आदिवासी भाई शिक्षा में कितने पिछड़े हुए हैं यह बात सभी जानते हैं। परन्तु गए चार बरसों के अनुभव से मैं इतना कह सकता हूँ कि अब आदिवासियों को शिक्षा का महत्त्व और उसकी आवश्यकता पूरी तरह मालूम हो गई है। आपको याद होगा कि इस संघ के लुहारदगा अधिवेशन ने यह सलाह दी थी कि आदिवासी शालाओं में पहले और दूसरे दर्जों के विद्यार्थियों की पुस्तकें और उनकी पढ़ाई मातृभाषा में होनी चाहिए। खेद है कि कहीं कहीं यह भ्रम पैदा हो गया है कि मध्यप्रदेश शासन इस सुझाव के पक्ष में नहीं है। असल बात यह है कि शासन ने इस मसले को हल करने के लिए बहुत गहरा विचार किया है और उसके सामने कुछ ऐसी कठिनाइयाँ आई हैं जिनका हल निकाले बिना मातृभाषा में पुस्तकें तैयार नहीं की जा सकती। इस संबंध में मध्यप्रदेश शासन ने एक नोट तैयार किया है। नोट की प्रतियाँ आपको अलग से दी जा रही हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह अधिवेशन सब कठिनाइयाँ पर पूरी तरह विचार करे और सुझाव दे कि हमें क्या कदम उठाना चाहिए।

मेरा ख्याल है कि आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों को उच्च शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अभी तक बहुत कम सुविधाएँ प्राप्त हैं। आज के जमाने में यह जरूरी है कि दोनहार और योग्य आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों को

विदेश में शिक्षा पाने के लिए प्रत्येक राज्य से कुछ छात्रवृत्तियाँ देने का प्रबन्ध किया जाए। मैं आदिवासी नौजवानों से अपील करूँगा कि वे साइन्स, इन्जीनियरिंग डाक्टरों आदि वैज्ञानिक विषयों की ओर भुकेँ। इसी तरह वे अपने समाज को जल्द ही उन्नति की ओर ले जा सकेंगे।

आदिवासियों की समस्या ऐसी नहीं है जो किसी एक प्रदेश या किसी एक स्थान की हो। देश में लगभग दो करोड़ आदिवासी रहते हैं, जो जमाने के साथ आगे बढ़ने के लिए उरसुक हैं। आदिवासियों की अधिकतर समस्याएँ अपनी अपनी विशेषताएँ रखती हैं। उन्हें ठोक से समझने और सहानुभूति के साथ हल करने के लिए जितना हाँ सके, बढ़ावा देना आवश्यक है। हमें आदिवासियों का विश्वास प्राप्त करना है। हमें यह साबित करना है कि उनमें और भारत के किसी दूसरे नागरिक में कोई भेद नहीं है। वे सभी ऐसे अधिकार पा सकते हैं जो इस देश के किसी अन्य नागरिक को प्राप्त हैं। कभी कभी आदिवासियों को यह बताया जाता है कि उनका प्रतिनिधित्व उचित मात्रा में शासन की सेवाओं में नहीं है और उनको ऐसा आभास होता है कि उनकी संस्कृति और विशेषताओं की रक्षा के काम में जो लगे हैं उनमें उनका अपना कोई नहीं है। हम सभी जानते हैं कि केन्द्रीय तथा प्रादेशिक सरकारों ने इस संबंध में कई कदम उठाए हैं। फिर भी जब प्रत्येक जमात के प्रतिनिधियों को भिन्न भिन्न स्तरों पर स्थान दिया जाता है तो कोई कारण नहीं दिखता कि २॥ करोड़ जनसमूह के प्रतिनिधियों का कोई स्थान केन्द्रीय स्तर पर न हो। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि आदिवासी पदलोलुप हैं, यह अभाव अब उनको खटकने लगा है और यह बहुत हद तक

स्वाभाविक भी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कमी भी शीघ्र ही दूर हो जाएगी।

आदिवासियों के सामने अनेक समस्याएँ हैं और उन्हें बड़ी आशा है कि इस अधिवेशन में उन सब पर विचार अवश्य किया जाएगा। समय कम होने के कारण मैंने अपने भाषण में उन सभी समस्याओं का उल्लेख नहीं किया है। केवल कुछ ऐसे सवालियों की ओर ही सम्मेलन का ध्यान दिलाया है जो आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य के लिए बड़े महत्व के जान पड़ते हैं।

एक छोटी बात जो आदिवासियों के लिए बड़े महत्व की है, उसका जिक्र किये बिना मैं नहीं रह सकता। आप में से बहुत से, और खास तौर से मध्यप्रदेश के आदिवासी भाई, रानी दुर्गावती के इतिहास से परिचित हैं। रानी दुर्गावती ने भारत की आजादी की रक्षा के लिए अपने प्राणों का आहुति दी। यह उनकी और उन्हीं जैसे अन्य देशसेवियों के त्याग और तपस्या का फल है कि आज हमारा देश आजाद हो सका। 6 अप्रैल 1930 को उन्हीं महारानी दुर्गावती की समाधि पर हमने यह शपथ ली थी कि हम देश को आजाद करेंगे। रानी दुर्गावती की भी यही आकांक्षा थी। आज जब हम अपने उद्देश्य को पूरा कर सके तब यह सोच कर बड़ा दुःख होता है कि महारानी दुर्गावती का कोई

स्मारक हम अभी तक नहीं बना सके हैं। कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं कि रानी दुर्गावती की स्मृति के योग्य एक सुन्दर स्मारक बनाना इस प्रान्त के लिए ही नहीं, समस्त आदिवासियों के लिए गौरव की बात होगी। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारी यह इच्छा भी जल्द ही पूरी होगी।

अन्त में मैं आदिवासी भाइयों को यह विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी हर तरह की उन्नति करने के लिए प्रान्त की और केन्द्र की सरकारें तथा अन्य संस्थाएँ और वर्ग पूरी कोशिश कर रहे हैं। आदिवासी भाइयों को कमी यह नहीं सोचना चाहिए कि वे अन्य किसी जमात से अलग हैं अथवा उनका हित कोई और करेगा। वे भारत के अंग हैं। उनकी उन्नति से सारे भारत की उन्नति होगी। उनका कर्त्तव्य है कि वे अपने पैरों पर जल्द से जल्द खड़े हों और अन्य देशवासियों के साथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर चलें। उन्हें ऐसे लोगों की बातों पर ध्यान नहीं देना चाहिए जो अपने स्वार्थों के कारण देश को फिरकों में बांटने की चेष्टा करते हैं। हमारा एक ही ध्येय होना चाहिए कि हमारा देश सुखी और संपन्न हो और दुनिया के राष्ट्रों के बीच ऊँच से ऊँचा स्थान प्राप्त करे। मुझे विश्वास है कि प्रत्येक देशवासी इस ओर ध्यान देगा। मैं फिर से आप सब लोगों का आभार मानता हूँ और आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

आचार्य श्री काकासाहेब कालेलकर का अध्येक्षीय भाषण ।

देश की जाग्रति के साथ हमारे आदिम जाति भात्रियों की अन्नति होती देख कर खुशी होती है । हालांकि हरिजन आदि अन्य जातियों में जितनी जाग्रति हुआ है अतनी अभी तक अन्न में नहीं पाई गयी है, तो भी जहां देखें आदिम जाति के कच्ची लोग अपनी अन्नति के लिये कुछ न कुछ सोचते हुआ और करते हुआ देख पड़ते हैं । श्री ठक्कर बाप्या ने महात्मा जी की सहायता से जो काम शुरू किया, उसे सारे देश में अन्न तरह जोर पकड़ते हुआ देख कर किसे खुशी नहीं होगी ? आप के अन्न प्रदेश में, मेरे पुराने मित्र श्री वशीकर जी और आपट जी के मुंह से मैंने यहां की हालत बहुत कुछ सुनी थी । ओक दो साल हुआ, पिछड़े हुआ वर्गों के कमीशन का काम करते, देश में घूम कर हमने हमारे गिरिजन और भूमिजन भात्रियों की हालत भी देखी । आसाम से लेकर राजस्थान तक, और हिमाचल से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक हमारे गिरिजन और भूमिजन भात्रियों की हालत प्रत्यक्ष देखने के बाद जो कुछ अभिप्राय मन में बंध गये सो आप के सामने रखने के अदेश से आप के बीच आया हूँ । पिछली दफे जब जगदलपुर आया, तब आप के नोरोना साहब के द्वारा बहुत कुछ जानकारी हासिल की । लेकिन अन्न दिनों समय अनुकूल नहीं था । पूरी संख्या में आप लोगों का दर्शन नहीं कर पाया था; अन्न वास्ते फिर से आप लोगों के बीच आया हूँ ।

आप का यह प्रदेश बड़ा समृद्ध है । पृथिवी के पेट में तरह तरह के खनिज द्रव्य हैं ही । यहां की

वनस्पति सृष्टि की समृद्धि भी कम नहीं है । और जब चित्तल कोट का प्रपात देखा तब विश्वास हुआ कि यहां का प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य भी देश के और हिस्सों से कम नहीं । मेरी मध्य प्रदेश सरकार से सिफारिश है कि अन्न चित्तलकोट के दोनों तरफ अच्छे बढ़िया अतिथि निवास-गृह खड़े कर दें, ताकि दुनिया के लोग यह अद्भुत दृश्य देखने के लिये, हजारों और लाखों की संख्या में आ जायें और प्रकृति के परिचय के साथ यहां के भूमिजनों का भी परिचय प्राप्त कर लें । अगर यातायात के सब साधन यहां बनाये जायें तो यह प्रदेश आज है अतना अज्ञात नहीं रहेगा और अन्नको आमदनी भी बढ़ेगी ।

चन्द लोग कहते हैं कि अन्न भूमिजनों का जीवन जैसा है वैसा ही रहे । यह जीवन अतना आकर्षक है कि अन्नका काव्य बिगड़ने नहीं देना चाहिये । अन्न रसिकों को क्या पता है कि हमारे भूमिजन भात्रियों की जीवन-यात्रा कितनी कठिन और कष्टमय है । आदिम जाति के लोगों का ओक जिदा संग्रहालय बनाना रसिकों के लिये लाभदायी बनेगा । नृवंशशास्त्री Anthropologist लोगों के अध्ययन के लिये अन्नमें बड़ा सुभीता होगा । लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे अन्न भात्रियों को अन्नति और आनन्द के सब साधन मिले । अन्नका ज्ञान और कौशल्य बढ़े । जो तरह तरह के प्रगति के और आनन्द के साधन हमें हासिल हैं, वे सब अन्नमें मिले, और देश में अन्नमें वही प्रतिष्ठा का स्थान मिले जो औरों को आज मिल रहा है । पांडित रवीशंकर शुक्ल, जवाहर लाल नेहरू और राष्ट्रपति

राजेन्द्रप्रसाद जिन स्थानों पर आज विराजमान हैं, वे सब स्थान आदिमजाति भास्त्रियों के लिये भी खुले हैं। लेकिन अरुनकी महत्वाकांक्षा आज वहां तक नहीं पहुंचती है। किसी न किसी वस्तु अरुनको वहां तक पहुंचना ही है।

आदिमजाति के लिखे पढ़े नवयुवक आज अपनी जाति की अरुन्नति की बातें सोच रहे हैं। यह अच्छा ही है। लेकिन केवल अपने ही लोगों की अरुन्नति का ख्याल करने वालों का पूरा अरुत्कर्ष नहीं होता। जो लोग औरों के हित की-- सारे देश के लोगों के हित की बात सोचते हैं, अरुन्हीं की पूरी अरुन्नति हांती है। महात्माजी अगर सौराष्ट्र के मोठ बनियों की ही अरुन्नति की सोचते तो वे विश्ववन्द्य महात्मा नहीं बनते। भारत के सर्वोच्च सेवक जवाहर लाल जी भारत की अरुन्नति के लिये दिन रात लगे हुए रहते ही हैं, लेकिन साथ साथ वे दुनिया के अन्य देशों की भी सोचते हैं। अरुन्हीं लिये आज दुनिया में अरुनका अरुत्तना अरुत्ता स्थान है। और अरुनके कारण भारत की और सारी दुनिया आशा की निगाह से देख रही है। हमारे आदिम जाति भास्त्रियों की और बहनों की महत्वाकांक्षा को तानिक भी मर्यादा नहीं होनी चाहिये।

अरुन गिरिजन और भूमिजन भास्त्रियों की अरुन्नति की बात जब हम सोचते हैं, तब हमारी यह कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये कि हम उन्हें अपनी कोअी मनमानी सूत दे दें। अरुन्हीं हम अपने सांचे में ढाल दें। आदिमजातियां अरुश्वर की कलाकृति हैं। अरुनके सामने अरुस युग के सब आदर्श हम प्रेम से धर दें। अरुन्हीं जो बात पसंद आयेगी, ले लेंगे, जो पसंद नहीं आयेगी, छोड़ देगे। जैसी अरुन की खुशी हो, वैसा अपना विकास-क्रम वे पसंद करेंगे।

आज अरुन के आसपास की दुनियां जोरों से आगे बढ़ रही है। अरुन्हीं अरुस की पूरी जानकारी नहीं है। कअी स्वार्थी लोग अरुन भोले लोगों की अरुज्ञानता से लाभ अरुठाते हैं, अरुन्हीं निचोड़ते हैं। अरुन्हीं बचाना हमारा प्रथम कर्तव्य है।

अरुन्हीं बचाने का और अरुन की अरुन्नति का सब से महत्व का तरीका है शिक्षा। हम अपने बच्चों को जैसा शिक्षा दे कर बरिगाड़ रहे हैं, वैसी शिक्षा अरुन्हीं देंगे तो अरुन का सत्यानाश होगा। अरुन्हीं अरुनके जीवन के अनुरूप वहां शिक्षा देनी चाहिये जो महात्मा गांधी जी ने देश के सामने रखी है। लेकिन अगर हम अरुन्हीं अरुत्त शिक्षा का रास्ता और सरकारी नौकरी का रास्ता बन्द कर दें तो अरुनका विकास रुक जायेगा। आज की रिवाज शिक्षा के द्वारा बेकारी बढ़ती जाती है। यह बेकारी की शिक्षा अरुन के काम की नहीं है—किसी के भी काम की नहीं है। अरुन लोगों के लिये महात्मा जी की बताअी हुअी बुनियादी शिक्षा ही सब तरह से मुफ्ती है। लेकिन हम जानते हैं कि ये लोग यह शिक्षा लेने के लिये तभी तैयार होंगे जब हमारी सरकारें घोषित करेंगी कि सरकारी नौकरी देते वस्तु अरुन्हीं को ज्यादा पसंद किया जायेगा, जिन्होंने बुनियादी शिक्षा में प्रवीणता हासिल की है।

और भी अरुत्त बात है। बुनियादी शिक्षा के लिये आज तक हम ने अरुसे शिक्षक पसंद किये जो सुफेदपोष जाति के थे। अरुसे लोगों को परिश्रम के प्रति अरुरुचि होती है। हाथ पांव चलाना वे अपनी शान के खिलाफ समझते हैं। स्वयं काम करने की अपेक्षा औरों को निचोड़ कर ही वे अपने जब तर कर सकते हैं गांधी जी की बताअी हुअी शिक्षा अरुसे के हाथ में सलामत नहीं है।

आयंदा हम गांव के और देहातों के कारीगरों को बुलाकर कहेंगे कि गांव के गृहशुद्धि और हाथ-कारिगरी में हम आप का अतिमतेहान लेंगे। श्रुस परीक्षा में जो पास होंगे, श्रुन्हें सब तरह की अच्छी शिक्षा देंगे, और शिक्षण-शास्त्र श्रुन्हें सिखा कर श्रुन्हें बुनियादी शिक्षक बनायेंगे। 'और लोग सुधरे हुए हैं, हम पिछड़े हुए हैं, अइसी मायूसी श्रु नके मन में रहने नहीं पावे। श्रु नके मन में हमेशा अइसा विश्वास रहे कि सुस्तीदपोष लोग जो नहीं कर सकते हैं वह हम करके दिखायेंगे।

अइसे शिक्षकों के द्वारा आप लोग अपने लड़कों को और लड़कियों को, महात्मा जी की बताओ दुआरी नयी तालीम यानी जीवन शिक्षा जब देंगे, तब आप देखेंगे कि आप की जाति में नयी ही जान आयेगी। नया चैतन्य स्फुरेगा, और देश का नेतृत्व आप के हाथ में आप ही आयेगा।

फिर तो आप को सरकारी नौकरी मांगने के लिये नहीं जाना पड़ेगा। सरकार ही आप के पास आ कर पूछेगी कि 'सेवा करने के लिये आओगे? हमें विश्वास है कि आप के हाथों ही राज्य अच्छा चलेगा।'

शिक्षा के द्वारा सब तरह का कौशल्य बढ़ाना है। आगें तेज हों, कान तेज हों, दिमाग तेज हो और श्रु गलियों के द्वारा सब तरह का काम, विज्ञान युग चाहता है श्रु तना सूक्ष्म और बिना तनिक भी खामी का बने, यह है आज के कौशल्य की मांग।

श्रुस के अलावा विज्ञान से दूसरा भी अक काम लेना है। गांव के लोगों में और आदिमजाति के लोगों में भी बहम बहुत होते हैं। जादू-मन्त्र भूत-प्रेत पर विश्वास होता है। जहां बीमारी आओ, छूत का रोग आ गया, वहाँ तबीबी अिलाज करने की जगह जादू का सहारा लिया जाता है। कभी कभी तो जब जानवर मरने लगते हैं तब लोग हरिजनों को पीटते हैं, अइसा मान कर कि ये हरिजन ही सब रोग लाते हैं। अइसे बहमों का अिलाज अक ही है—विज्ञान का प्रचार। जब विज्ञान बढ़ेगा तब बहम आप ही आप दूर होंगे और साथ साथ कौशल्य भी बढ़ेगा। नयी तालीम में विज्ञान और कौशल्य दोनों का अच्चा स्थान रहेगा।

गिरिजन और भूमिजन खुली हवा में रहने हैं, धूप खाले हैं। वे परिश्रम करते हैं। श्रुन में रोग का फैलाव कभी भी नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन अज्ञान के कारण और निःसत्व आहार के कारण वे रोग के शिकार बनते हैं। आदिमजाति के लोगों में और भी कअरी रोग फैले हुए हैं, जिनका अिलाज तुरंत होना चाहिये।

स्त्री पुरुष संबंध और श्रुस की समस्याओं का शुद्ध ज्ञान भी शिक्षा के द्वारा श्रुन्हें देना चाहिये। और अगर आज की दुनिया में अइन्हें रहना है तो अपनी चीजें किस तरह से बेचना, जरूरी चीजें किस तरह खरीदना, पैसा कैसे बचाना, पूँजी का रहस्य क्या है, आदि सब बातें अइन्हें सिखानी चाहियें। कानून, कोर्ट का रहस्य भी अइन्हें समझना जरूरी है। वोट मतदान क्या चीज है, पार्लमेन्ट कैसा काम करती है, अन्याय का अिलाज कैसे हो सकता है, पंचायत के अधिकार कैसे और कितने हैं, अइन सब बातों से अइन्हें वाकफ करना चाहिये।

विज्ञान के साथ शुद्ध धर्म का ज्ञान भी शिक्षा के द्वारा दिया जाये और धार्मिक जीवन के विकास के लिये गीत, नृत्य, नाटक और चित्रकला का अुपयोग किया जाये। आदिवासियों के गीत और

नृत्य का पुरस्कार तो हम करने आये हैं। लेकिन अतिना काफी नहीं है। जहाँ जहाँ अिनके गीत और नृत्य संस्कारी और आकर्षक हैं वहाँ अिनका स्वीकार हम अपने जीवन में करें यह भी अितिना ही जरूरी है। जब वे देखेंगे कि अिनके पास देने लायक भी कुछ है जो हम अिनके पास से सीखते हैं, अिनका आत्मविश्वास बढ़ेगा और हमारे साथ घुलमिल जाते अिनको संकोच नहीं रहेगा।

गिरिजनों को और भूमिजनों को लोग जंगली कहते हैं। जंगलों के साथ अिनका घनिष्ठ संबंध रहता है। अिस अर्थ में अिनहें हम 'जंगली' कह सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर 'जंगली' के मानी असंस्कारी है तो यह शब्द अिन आदिमजातिओं के लिये बिल्कुल अनुचित है। अिन का सामाजिक संगठन, अिनकी सत्यनिष्ठा, खुले दिल में बात करने का अिनका तरीका, जहाँ विश्वास बैठ गया वहाँ अिनकी असाधारण निष्ठा—ये सब अिची संस्कारिता के लक्षण हैं। परिमित साधनों के द्वारा ये लोग जिस तरह अपनी जीवन-समस्याओं हल करते हैं, अिस में भी अिन की संस्कारिता और शक्ति प्रगट होती है। ग्रामोद्योग में अिनकी प्रवीणता और अिनका कला कौशल्य बड़ा ही आकर्षक होता है। अिनके औजार, अिनके वाद्ययंत्र, अिनके शिकार के साधन आदि हर बात में अिनकी संस्कारी सफलता पायी जाती है। अिनकी बनायी हुयी कलायुक्त चीजें हम केवल म्युजियम में न रखें। हमारे घरों में भी अिन का अिस्तेमाल बढ़ना चाहिये।

आदिवासियों के धार्मिक ख्यालों का हमें आदरपूर्वक अ्पयन करना चाहिये। अिसाअिओं ने अिनके बीच धर्म प्रचार बहुत किया है। दो

करोड़ आदिवासियों में से चार लाख आदिवासी अिसाअि बन चुके हैं। जो धर्म हमारे भाअिओं ने अपनाया अिसे हम अब पराया धर्म नहीं कह सकते। अिसाअि मिशनरी भले ही आदिवासियों के धर्म विचार के प्रति सहानुभूति या आदर न रखें। किन्तु हमें अिसाअि धर्म के प्रति अनुदार दृष्टि नहीं रखनी चाहिये। दुनिया में जितने भी महान धर्म हैं, हमारे आदर के अधिकारी हैं। जब दुनिया में अधर्म का फैलाव बढ़ रहा है, सब धर्मों को चाहिये कि वे अपनी अपनी संकुचितता छोड़ कर, परस्पर भाअि-चारा बढ़ावें और सब मिल कर अधर्म के खिलाफ मोर्चा बांध दें।

अिसाअि धर्म प्रचारकों को हम दुश्मन क्यों मानें? अगर अिन में संकुचितता है, तो वह हम अपनी अिदारता के द्वारा दूर करें। भगवान अिसा अिक परम भागवत थे। अिन की अिश्वर-निष्ठा अनन्य थी। वे बाल-ब्रह्मचारी थे। पतितोद्धारक थे। हिन्दू धर्म ने अैसे सब संतों को स्वीकार किया है। हम लोग जैसे अनेक त्यौहार मनाते हैं, नाताल (क्रिसमस) का भी त्यौहार मनावें। अिसा के अिपदेश में कोअि अैसे चीज नहीं है जो हमें आपत्तिजनक लगे। हम हिंदू रह कर अिसा का और अिसा के सदुपदेश का स्वीकार कर सकते हैं।

अिसाअि मिशनरिअों ने हमारे देश में बहुत कुछ प्रचार किया है। राज्य सत्ता की अिनहें मदद थी और अिनहोंने सेवा कार्य भी बहुत किया है। अिस लिये अिनहें कामयाबी मिली। चंद मिशनरिअों की कर्तृत्व अच्छी नहीं है लेकिन अिस से अिसाअि धर्म को हम बुरा नहीं कह सकते। हिंदू धर्म और अिसाअि धर्म दोनों की दृष्टि में अिक बड़ा फर्क है।

असिआसि धर्म के प्रचारक कुल असहिष्णु होते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि सत्य तो हमारे पास ही है। बाकी के सब धर्म असत्य में डूबे हुए हैं। लेकिन खूबी यह है कि अिन असिआसिआसि में अनेक पंथ हैं। अेक को जो बात सही लगती है, वह दूसरे को गलत लगती है। आपस में वे विवाद करते रहते हैं।

हम कहते हैं कि भगवान की दुनिया में तरह तरह के मानस होते हैं। अीश्वर की अोर जाने के रास्ते बहुत हैं आदिवासियों में भी सदाचार की चाह है। हिन्दूधर्म आदिवासियों के धर्मविचारों का अोर रुढ़ियों का तिरस्कार नहीं किया है। आदिवासियों के धर्मविचारों को हिन्दूधर्म में स्थान है। अगर ठीक सोचा जाये तो हिन्दूधर्म अेक विशाल धर्म-कुटुंब है। असिमें अनेक भागों का स्वीकार है। हम अपनी अुपासना में रोज कहते हैं "सत्र संतन की जय"। तंग बुद्धि के लोग असि चीज को नहीं समझ सकेंगे। वे तो वादविवाद करने को ही तैयार हो जाते हैं। अुनके प्रति हम दया भाव रखें अोर अुनसे चर्चा करना छोड़ दें।

आज दुनिया में तीन धर्म अनेक देशों में फैले हुए हैं। बौद्ध धर्म, असिआसि धर्म अोर असिस्लाम। तीनों के साथ हम प्रेम का संबंध रखें, भाअीचारा बढ़ावें। सब धर्मों के साथ सहयोग रख कर हम अपनी दृष्टि को जाभन (leaven) के तौर पर काम में लावें। जैसे हम दूध में दही का जाभन डालते हैं अोर अुसमें से मखन निकालते हैं, अुसी तरह हमारी दृष्टि का जाभन असिस्लाम करके हम सब धर्मों में से अुनका मखन निकाल सकते हैं अोर अपना सकते हैं।

आज दुनिया में, राजनैतिक विचारों का भगडा

चल रहा है। धार्मिक भगडों से थकी हुई दुनिया अत्र राजनैतिक वादों में लगी हुआ है। अोर अत्र वाद के isms के भगडे चल रहे हैं। पूंजीवाद, समाजसत्तावाद, साम्यवाद आदि के भगडे असे ही बढ़े हैं जैसे धर्म के भगडे चले थे। अत्र इनमें से अेक रास्ता निकल आया है जिसे कहते हैं Co-existence या सहचार। Coexistence के माने हैं "भैया तुम भी रहे, हम भी रहेंगे"। तुम्हारे अुसल तुम्हें मुबारक हों। हम अपनी जगह, अपने अुसल पर चलेंगे। भगडा करने से कोअी धर्म या कोअी 'ism' का नाश नहीं होता किसी अेक की विजय भी नहीं होती। सिर्फ भगडा ही बढ़ता है। तो क्यों न मान लें कि भगडे का मुंह काला। भगडा छोड़कर हरेक अपने रास्ते चलें। जब भगवान सब को बरदारत करता है तो हम क्यों आराम से साथ न रहें ?

अगर भगडा छोड़कर सहचार का स्वीकार किया, तो आस्ते आस्ते सहचार में से सहयोग पैदा होगा। आदान प्रदान शुरू होगा अोर अन्त में हम सम्भवत तक पहुँच जायेंगे !

असली बात प्रेम, सेवा, भाअीचारा अोर सहयोग की है। अगर हम अपने सब भाअीअों की सच्चे दिल से सेवा करें, अुनके जीवन के प्रति मन में आदर रखें अोर अुनके अुत्कर्ष से हम खुश हो जायें तो कोअी भगडा रहेंगे नहीं।

अिन दो साल हम सारे देश में खूब घूमे। जो आदिमजाति लोग असिआसि नहीं अने हैं अुनकी असिआसिआसि के खिलाफ शिकायत है कि अुन के मन में आदिमजाति जीवन के प्रति आदर नहीं है। वे अपने को श्रेष्ठ बताते हैं अोर चार लाख हांते हुए दो करोड के अगुआ बन बैठना चाहते हैं।

स्वराज्य सरकार का राज्य जय तक अंग्रेजी में चलेगा, तब तक अिमात्री आदिमजाति की प्रतिष्ठा कुछ न कुछ कायम रहेगी ही। हमारी सरकार भी अुनकी तरफ कुछ पक्षपात रखती है। अगर राजकाज हिंदी में चला तो स्थिति सुधर जायेगी। 'गैर अिसात्री आदिमजाति की जमात अलग करो; अुनके हिसाब से अिसापित्रों को अुनके अधिकार दे दो। और हमें अपने ढंग से जीने और बढ़ने दो। नहीं तो हमारा विकास रुक जायेगा और हम हमेशा दबे हुआ रह जायेंगे।'

जिस तरह आदिमजातियाँ अनेक हैं, अुसी तरह अुनकी भाषाओं भी अनेक हैं। अिन भाषाओं का अध्ययन हमारे सेवक तो करेंगे ही, लेकिन अुस के साथ हमारी विश्वविद्यालय-युनिवरसिटियाँ भी आदिमजाति भाषाओं का गहरा अध्ययन शुरू कर दें। पूना में Deccan College Research Institute के द्वारा डा० कत्रे अिस दिशा में जो प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं वह सराहनीय है। हमारे आदिमजाति सेवक अुनके साथ अपना सम्पर्क शुरू करें अुनकी सहायता करें और अुन से सहायता लें भी।

आदिमजाति भाषाओं के लिये या तो प्रान्तिक लिपि काम में ली जाये या देवनागरी। अिनका भाषा के कोश, व्याकरण और गीत संग्रह तो नागरी में ही छपने चाहिये। ताकि अुच्च और गहरा अध्ययन करने वालों को सहूलियत मिल जाये। और आदिमजाति नवयुवकों को भी हिन्दी संस्कृत आदि अनेक भाषाओं सीखना आसान हो जाये।

अितने विशाल देश में आदिमजातियों का जीवन सर्वत्र अोकसा नहीं है। जो लोग स्वराज मजबूत करना चाहते हैं, राष्ट्र संगठन का महत्व समझते हैं, अुनको चाहिये कि वे आदिमजातियों के

जीवन का अध्ययन गहरात्री से करें। अुनकी भाषाओं काम चलाअु नहीं—अच्छी तरह से सीखें। अुनकी भाषा में, उन्हीं के ढंग के नये नये शब्द बनाने की शक्ति भी सेवकों में होनी चाहिये। अुनकी भाषा के अच्छे, अच्छे शब्द हम हिंदी में और अपनी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में क्यों न लें? अिनके गीत और नृत्य भी हम अपनावें। अिनके साथ खानपान का परहेज भी न हो। अिस तरह दिल्ली के अुत्सव में हम अिन्हें बुलावें, और आमोद-प्रमोद में विलकुल अेक हो जायें।

जैसे हम अिनकी सेवा करें वैसे ही अुनकी सेवा लेते भी हमें संकोच नहीं होना चाहिये। आदिमजाति लोग प्रकृति के बालक हैं। वनस्पति का ज्ञान अिनके पास बहुत है। हमारे वैद्य और रसायनशास्त्री अिनकी अिस जानकारी से बहुत लाभ अुठा सकते हैं।

आदिमजातियों के शिक्षण-क्रम में भी हमें अेक अिस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि अिनका जीवन पशु, पक्षी, वनस्पति और खनीज द्रव्यों के साथ ज्यादा सम्बन्ध रखना है। अिस लिये अिन को वनस्पति-विज्ञान, पशु-विज्ञान, खनिज-विज्ञान आदि शास्त्रों का अच्छा परिचय कराना चाहिये। कायले के या लोहे के खदान में अिन लोगों को मजदूरों के तौर पर हम लेते हैं अितना अस नहीं है। अगर अिनमें से अच्छे होनहार नवयुवकों को हम mining और metallurgy में प्रवीण होने का मौका दें तो अिनके प्रति वह न्याय होगा और अिन से राष्ट्र की अच्छी सेवा भी हो सकेगी। अन्द युवकों को हम जर्मनी, रशिया और अमेरिका भेज दें और वहाँ की विद्या स्वदेश में लाने का बहुमान अिन्हें प्राप्त हो यह सर्वथा अुचित है।

कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज़ के बारे में मैं यहां ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहूंगा। अक्सर विषय के जो माहिर हैं अन्हों का यह अधिकार है। मैं जानता हूँ कि बम्बई राज्य में Forest Co-operative Societies बड़ी सफलता के साथ चल रही हैं। मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि आदिमजाति लोगों का स्वभाव अक्सर प्रवृत्ति के लिये सब तरह से अनुकूल है। जरूरी जानकारी पाने के बाद ये असी सोसायटी का काम बड़ी सफलता के साथ कर सकते हैं। कहा जाता है कि अनुकूल समय आने पर, जो सब से पिछड़े हैं वे ही सब से आगे आ जाते हैं—the last shall be the first.

हरेक देश की सुधरी हुअी सरकारें जंगल की हिफाजत की ओर खूब ध्यान देती हैं। हर साल जितने पेड़ तोड़ने की अिजाजत दी जाती है, अुस से दसगुने पेड़ बोने का प्रबन्ध भी किया जाता है। हमारे जंगल हमारी बहुत ही कीमती पूँजी है। अुसे घटने नहीं देना चाहिये।

साथ साथ अिस का भी ख्याल रहे कि जंगल में रहने वाले आदिवासियों को भी परेशानी न हो। आदिवासियों की मन्ध्या और शक्ति भी देश की कीमती दौलत है।

अरण्याविया का रहस्य अिन्हें सिखा कर, अिन्हों को अरण्यरक्षक के तौर पर नियुक्त किया जाये। Forest guard के तौर पर बाहर से लोगों को लाना बिल्कुल जरूरी नहीं है।

आदिमजाति के पढ़े हुअे नवयुवकों से मैं कहूंगा कि आप अपनी जाति की सेवा करें तो वह ठीक है ही। किन्तु अितने से आप अपना और अपनी जाति का पूरा अुत्थान नहीं साध सकेंगे। आप को भारत के समूचे अुत्थान में योग देना चाहिये।

जिस तरह राष्ट्र के अन्य नेता केवल अपनी जाति की बात नहीं सोचते। विश्व कल्याण का ख्याल रख कर ही सेवा में लग जाते हैं, वैसे ही आप को करना होगा। वही सर्वांगीण अुन्नति का अेक मात्र अुपाय है।

आदिवासियों के बीच रह कर अुनकी सेवा करने का व्रत जिन्होंने लिया है असे कअी सज्जन यहां अुपस्थित हैं। अुनका कार्य श्रीरवरीय कार्य है। अिस पवित्र कार्य में लगे हुअे लोगों को वंदना करना हमारा प्रथम कर्तव्य है। अिन से दो बातें करने का जो मौका मिला है वह तो परमात्मा की कृपा ही है।

हमारा तो आदर्श है कि जिनकी सेवा करते हैं अुन्हें भगवान का ही रूप मान लें। भगवान ने आदिमजातियों का भोला रूप धारण कर के हम से सेवा लेने का तय किया है तो हम पूरी निष्ठा से अुन की सेवा करें। हम अुनके विश्वास के योग्य बनें यह हमारा प्रथम कर्तव्य है। जब तक हम अुनकी भाषा पूरी तरह से नहीं सीखते हैं और अुसे नहीं अपनाते हैं तब तक अुनका हृदय-कमल पूरा खिलेगा नहीं। अुन की सेवा के साथ अगर अुन की भाषा की भी सेवा हमने की तो नये साहित्य के द्वारा हम अुनके कण्ठ में और हृदय में स्थान पा सकेंगे और आने वाली अनेक पीढ़ियों के साथ हमारा संपर्क बना रहेगा। कण्ठस्थ साहित्य हरेक समाज की कीमती पूँजी होती है।

हमारे देश में जाति भेद के कारण हम खान-पान का परहेज बहुत रखते हैं। असे सब परहेज छोड़ने में ही हम भाअीचारा बढ़ा सकेंगे। अभिन्न-मन्ध्या और अपेय पान की सिफारिश मैं नहीं कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन किसी के साथ बैठ कर खाना, किसी

के हाथ की बनी हुआ चीज खाना—अस में तो कोश्री कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिये ।

आदिवासियों को हिसाब किताब का ज्ञान जितना अधिक दें अतनी अन्नकी अन्नति तेजी से होगी । Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies चलाने के लिये भी हिसाब किताब का अच्छा ज्ञान बहुत जरूरी है ।

आरोग्य के बारे में भी हमारे पास अिन्हें देने लायक काफी ज्ञान होना चाहिये ।

असली बात तो यह है कि अन्नके बीच असे आश्रम चलावें कि जिसके द्वारा आदिमजाति के अनेक खानदान अकत्र रह सकें और सब धर्मों के प्रति आदर रखने वाला वायुमण्डल पैदा कर सकें ।

जीवन-शुद्धि और जीवन समृद्धि यही हमारा आदर्श हो । अिन लोगों के साथ अत-प्रोत हो कर रहने का जो आनन्द मिलता है, वही हमारे जीवन की सच्ची कृतार्थता है ।

**Address of Acharya Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar,
Chairman, Social Welfare Section.**

Friends,

It is a joy to see our brethren of tribal communities progressing along with the awakening of the country as a whole. It is true that the awakening amongst the tribals is much less than amongst the Harijans, but the tribal people have produced, during these few years, sufficient number of men who are struggling for the betterment of their own community. It is a joy to find the work of Thakkar Bapa, which he started under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, progressing in all parts of the country.

I have heard of the progress being made here in Madhya Pradesh, from my friends Shri Vanikar and Shri Bapat, and, during the last two years, having had to tour the whole country to study the conditions of the Backward Classes, we have been able to study the condition of our tribal friends also, whom I once called Bhumijans—children of the soil—but now I prefer

to call them Girijans—people of the hills.

Having seen the condition of the Girijans and the Bhumijans at first hand, from Assam to Rajasthan, and from Himachal Pradesh to Kanya Kumari, I feel like placing my impressions before this conference. Recently, when we had been to Jagdalpur, I heard much about the tribal people of this area from Shri Noronha, who has been, I am very glad to note, a true servant of the tribal people. But we could not come in contact with the local people here, because the season was not convenient. I was anxious, therefore, to come to Jagdalpur and meet our tribal friends.

The whole of Bastar State is rich, both in minerals and forest produce. And I can say with confidence that a region which could boast of a beautiful waterfall like the one at the Chitalkoot, can be inferior to none in the matter

of natural beauty. I should like to recommend to the Government of Madhya Pradesh, to have one or two rest houses on either side of the fall so that thousands and lakhs of Indians and foreigners may come here and enjoy the grandeur of nature. If communications are made easy, this area of India will not remain unknown and backward as it is today. Modern Governments have discovered that the income from tourist trade is no small addition to the State exchequer.

Some people want to keep the millions of tribals in their pristine simplicity. They find the life of the tribals so very poetic and attractive that they do not want to see any change in the conditions around them. These poetic people little know the hardships of the life of the tribals as it is today. It may perhaps satisfy the curiosity of the anthropologists who want to keep the tribals as a valuable museum piece. Anthropologists, whose interests are more scientific than human, may find such specimens of humanity, valuable objects of study. But we who love the tribals and accept them as our kith and kin, want these people to develop, in all the departments of knowledge and in the arts of life. Whatever amenities human ingenuity has devised must be made available to these people. They must have all the means for self-development and recreation which other people have. And the tribals must be helped to secure the same place of honour in the country as other sections of the population enjoy today. Young men of ability from amongst the tribals should be able to aspire to the same status which Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, or Jawaharlalji

or Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad are occupying today.

It is quite natural that some young men and young women from amongst the tribals, immediately on receiving some amount of education, should be thinking of the upliftment of themselves and their own people, but we must remember that no race and no people rise to their highest if they confine their attention, and limit their ambition, to the upliftment of their own kith and kin. Fullest development is possible only for those, who think of the development of all, i. e., of the country as a whole. If Mahatma Gandhi had limited his services to the Modha Baniyas of Saurashtra, he would not have been the Mahatma worshipped by the whole world. Jawaharlalji, the best and highest servant of India works, not for his own community or province, but he is serving the whole of India with rare devotion, and yet Jawaharlalji has not confined his ideal to India alone. He is working for all the unfortunate countries in the world, and he is also trying to save the whole world from suicide and universal destruction. That is why Jawaharlalji is occupying such a high place amongst the statesmen of the world, and the whole world is looking up to him and to India with reverence and hope. I do not want to set any limit to the ambitions and aspiration of our brothers and sisters of the tribal communities.

There is another consideration also which we have to keep in mind. Whenever we work for the betterment of the condition of the Girijans and Bhunjians, we must not try to impose on them a shape of our own making.

We should not try to mould them in a cast of our own liking and conception. The tribal people are an artistic creation of God. Let us place before them all the ideals and all the facilities devised by modern man and leave them to choose for themselves. They will assimilate whatever appeals to them. They must be free to reject whatever they do not like. They must be able to choose their own course of evolution.

The whole world today is progressing rapidly. The tribal people as a whole have no correct conception of modern conditions. Short-sighted selfish people exploit the simplicity and innocence of these people. It must be our first concern to save them from such exploitation. But this is to be secured, not by segregating them into close preserves for the anthropologists or the proselytising agents. The tribals must be encouraged to see the world around them. We must give special travelling scholarships to educated young men and young women from amongst the tribals. They should be encouraged to see the whole of India. They must be able to see how people of different provinces live and speak and struggle to make a success of life.

The best way to safeguard the spontaneous development and progress of these people is education. Let us not force them to accept a system of education which has proved to be detrimental to real progress in life. It is enough that we have spoiled our own children with the orthodox type of education, that creates unemployment and helplessness. We must profit by the mistakes of our past, and give these people a course of education which can be helpful to them in their life,

and such a system is what Mahatma Gandhi placed before the country, almost towards the close of his life, and he declared this Nai Talim or new education, as his best gift to the nation.

But this Basic Education should not prove a blind alley. Basic Education must open for the tribals, all the avenues of higher education and the highest employment in the State. There is no doubt that the Basic Education recommended to the nation by Mahatma Gandhi is best suited to the full development of the tribal people, but they will not accept this Basic Education unless they are assured by the Government that they will always prefer the products of Basic Education when recruiting people for Government services.

There is another point which Governments and champions of Basic Education ought to consider very seriously. So long, we recruited teachers for Basic Education from amongst teachers belonging to the middle classes of urban areas. These people generally, are averse to working with their hands. Moreover, they think that manual labour is derogatory to their status and education. They believe in getting work done by others rather than working for themselves. With this defective education and outlook, they can only think of profiting by exploitation of other people. Mahatmaji's system of Basic Education cannot be safe in the hands of such people. We must now change our policy and select teachers for Basic Education from amongst the artisans and occupational classes of villages.

Let us start with the examination of all people in nationally useful handicrafts. Those who prove their proficiency

in these domestic handicrafts should be given an intensive course of general education, and finally, they should be given a course of pedagogy of the Basic type; and we should then utilise them for the Basic schools that we shall open throughout the land. This one step will secure for us Basic teachers of the desired type, and the rural people will soon cease to cultivate that characteristic inferiority complex which is to be found amongst them because they are forced to compete with urban people. These new Basic teachers will soon discover that they are able to do things which the white-collared communities found it difficult to master.

Mahatmajī's system of education spread over rural areas, will create a new life and a new order of society and you will soon have a new type of leadership in the country.

You will not then, have to go to Government begging for service. It will then be the turn of the Government to go to you and appeal to you to offer your services to the Government. The Government will soon discover that administration will be more efficiently run if handed over to the genuine products of Basic Education.

Education must develop all the aptitudes that are essential for a successful life. The eyes must be keen to see; the ears should be trained to hear; the brain should be developed to its highest capacity; and the fingers must be able to rise to the highest dexterity which the present age of science demands. Scientific precision and artistic finish must be the special characteristic of the products of Basic Education.

There is another function which science has to perform through educa-

tion. The village people generally, and the tribals especially, are victims of superstition. They believe in magic and ghosts. If any epidemic visits their region, instead of consulting doctor, they rush to the magician and sorcerer for help. If their cattle die in numbers, they start belabouring the Harijans, because they believe that the Harijans, by their magic, have produced the cattle epidemic. The only remedy against superstition is spread of the knowledge of science. With the development of the scientific outlook superstitions will die away and the younger generation will have developed all kinds of useful and fine arts. Nai Talim or Basic Education will give the highest place to the study of science and art.

The tribals—the Girijans and the Bhumijans—ought really to have the best of health because their is a life of open air and hard work. They absorb plenty of sunshine through their skin. They must therefore be immune from many diseases. But actually they are victims of many diseases, chiefly because of their ignorance of the laws of hygiene and because of the poor food that they get. From what I have read about their life, it seems that some of them need better ideas about sex relations also.

We shall have to give them detailed knowledge about buying and selling, the importance of saving and the use of capital. They should also understand something of the law and law courts, of votes and voting, and the working of Parliament, methods of procuring justice, and duties of the Panchayats.

The teaching of science should be accompanied by true religious knowledge,—not religion as it obtains today but the cream of all religions. Song,

dance and drama could be utilised for evolving and developing of all-round complete life based on spirituality.

It is not enough to encourage or patronise the songs and dance of the Aborigines. It is necessary to assimilate in our own lives, all that is good and attractive in their songs and dances. When they see and feel that they possess something which we value, their self-confidence will increase and they will find it easier to mingle with us.

The Aborigines, though forest dwellers, are by no means uncultured. Their social organisation, their frankness and love of truth, their unshakable loyalty to those who win their confidence, are all signs of true culture. Their ways of solving life's problems also show capacity and culture. Their skill in cottage industries, their musical instruments and implements of work and their hunting weapons also show the success of their culture. The artistic things made by them we should use with pride in our houses more and more and not just exhibit them in our museums.

A deep and reverent study of the religious ideas of the Adivasis is very necessary. The Christians have done much to spread their religion among the Adivasis. Four lakhs out of two crores have become Christians. A religion accepted by so many of our brethren cannot remain 'foreign' for us any longer. Even if the Christian missionaries do not have respect and sympathy for the religious belief of the Adivasis, we should not harbour an ungenerous attitude towards Christianity. We owe reverence to all the great religions of the world. Especially when irreligion is stalking the world it is for all the religions to shed their own exclusive narrowness,

establish fraternity amongst themselves and set up a common front against irreligion.

Why should we consider the Christian missionaries as our enemies? If there is narrowness in them, let us overcome that narrowness by our own generosity. Lord Christ like our saints was a true son of God. His devotion to God was unshakable. He was the hope and saviour even of sinners. Hindu religion has always accepted all such saints with the utmost reverence. Let us celebrate Christmas as we do so many other holy days. Jesus' teachings contain nothing that we cannot accept. Remaining Hindus, we can whole heartedly accept Jesus and His teachings, though not perhaps in the narrow sense of Christian orthodoxy.

The missionaries were able to spread their religion in our country, partly because of the support of the British Government but also because of their devoted service. Though the behaviour of some Christian missionaries has been very objectionable, we cannot blame Christianity as such. There is one great difference between the points of view of Christianity and Hinduism. The missionaries of Christianity are often narrow minded and intolerant. They say 'We Christians alone are in possession of Truth and all other religions are steeped in error.' But even amongst the Christians there are many denominations. Doctrines and beliefs accepted by one as essential, are rejected by others, and there are often bitter controversies about them! We, on the other hand, say: 'Minds of men differ, and many are the ways that lead to God. The Adivasis also love goodness. Why then not respect their saints and their teachings? There

is no contempt in Hinduism for the beliefs and rituals of the Adivasis. In fact, most of these beliefs and rituals find some place in Hinduism. The Hindu religion is actually a grand family of creeds accepting many faiths and beliefs. In our daily prayers we always say: "Glory unto all the saints." Narrow-minded people cannot understand this. They are always only too ready for arguments and controversy. We can but pity such people and refuse to argue with them.

Today, three great proselytising religions are spread all over the world—Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. We should cultivate friendly relations with all the three. We should co-operate with all religions in their fight against evil, letting our particular catholic spirit work as leaven among them all.

Political disputes have now taken place of religious quarrels. It is now the various 'isms' and ideologies that are at war with each other. The controversies between capitalism, socialism, communism, etc., have now become as bitter as those between the various religions. Co-existence has shown a way out. Since bitter quarrels have helped none, why not get rid of them and allow every one the same right to exist as we claim for ourselves? When God tolerates every one, why should we not let others live in peace and live peacefully ourselves?

If, leaving intolerance, one accepts co-existence, co-existence soon will turn into co-operation and co-operation will lead us to synthesis.

The real need is for love, service, brotherliness and co-operation. If we serve our brothers with love, with reverence and understanding for their lives and

are happy in their progress, all dissensions would disappear.

During the two years in which we have toured all over the country, we have heard many complaints from the Adivasis against Christians Adivasis. They say that the Christian Adivasis have no respect for the ideals of Life of other Adivasis. They think themselves superior to the others. They claim to be the natural leaders of all Adivasis and though only 4 lakhs, they want to lord it over the two crores.

This superiority complex of the Christian Adivasis is bound to continue even today so long as the administration of the Swaraj Government is carried on in English. When the Government will be carried on in Hindi, conditions are bound to improve. The non-Christian Adivasis demand that the Christian Adivasis should be separated and they should be given due representation according to their numbers. "But", they plead, "allow us to live and grow in our own way: Unless this is done, our development will be retarded and we shall remain backward and suppressed for all times."

The different tribes of Adivasis speak their own languages. Not only should these various languages be studied by the social servants but our universities should also make a deep study of them. Dr. Katre of the Deccan College Research Institute is making a really praise-worthy beginning in this direction. Our social servants amongst the Adivasis should contact him, and co-operate with him.

Either the regional script or the Nagri script should be used for the Adivasi languages. All dictionaries, grammars

and songs should be printed in Nagri script. This will facilitate a thorough study of the tribal languages. It will also help the Adivasi youths to learn Hindi, Sanskrit and other languages.

Those who wish to strengthen Swaraj and who realise the importance of national solidarity, should make a deep study of the life and languages of the Adivasis, so much so that they should be able to coin new and apt words in the Adivasi languages. And why should we not ourselves absorb some of their very happy words into our own regional languages and into Hindi? We should learn their songs and dances. We should be able to eat with them and play with them. Let us invite them to share our regional festivals as we invite them to share our national festival at Delhi, and let us identify ourselves with them in our enjoyments and recreations.

And just as we serve them, we should accept their service also with joy. The Adivasis are children of Nature, they know many things about the various herbs and plants. Our Ayurvedic medicine-men and our chemists can learn much from them.

While educating the tribals it would be well to take into account the fact that their lives are closely connected with the animals, birds, beasts, vegetables and the minerals of the forest. They would find it easier to learn elementary Botany, Zoology and Mining. These tribals are often employed as labourers in iron and coal mines, but this is not enough. If intelligent and able young men from the tribals are given the chance of becoming experts in forestry or mining and metallurgy, it would be doing them bare justice, and it would give them the chance

of serving the nation. It would be only just to send some deserving youths to Germany, Russia and America and enable them to bring new knowledge to our country.

I will not say much here about co-operative societies. Let the experts who have gathered here discuss this subject. This much I know that the Forest Co-operative Societies are working very effectively and successfully in the Bombay State. I also know that the Tribals are by nature, well fitted for such co-operative activities. Given the necessary instruction and training, they can surely run the co-operative societies efficiently themselves. It is well to remember that under the new dispensation the last shall be the first.

Every civilised Government has to pay due attention to the protection of its forests. The Government has to make sure that at least ten times the number of trees cut are sown every year. Forests are our precious asset and must not be allowed to be wasted.

But it is equally important that the Tribal people living in the forests, should not be harassed or distressed. The number and the strength of the Adivasis are also valuable assets of the country.

After giving them a thorough grounding in forestry they should themselves be appointed forestguards. It will be quite unnecessary then to import forest-guards from outside.

To the educated Adivasi youths I shall only say "Do, by all means, serve your people, your own community. But by this alone you will be able to achieve the highest goal for your people. You must co-operate with the other great

leaders in the full development of the nation as a whole. This is the only way for complete and all-round progress."

There are many workers gathered here pledged and dedicated to the service of the Tribal people. Theirs is a blessed work. I am indeed grateful to God for having given me this opportunity of addressing a few words to them.

Our ideal is to see God in those whom we serve. Since the Lord has consented to accept our service through the form of these unsophisticated Adivasis, let us serve with all the devotion and loyalty that we are capable of. Let us strive to deserve their confidence. It is impossible for them to open their hearts fully unless we learn their language thoroughly. If, as we serve them, we are able to serve their language also, we shall, through the new literature that we create, win a place in their hearts and on their lips. This will also bind us to the unborn generations; unwritten recitational vocal literature is the prized possession of every society.

Our caste-prejudices make us a prey to many taboos about eating and drink-

ing. We can cultivate brotherhood only when we give up these taboos. I do not at all say that we should eat or drink things forbidden. But nothing should hinder us from sitting and eating along with anyone or of eating food cooked by anyone at all.

The more of mathematics we teach the Adivasis, the greater and quicker will be their progress. Book-keeping is very necessary for the successful working of the multi-purpose co-operative societies.

We should be able to give them adequate knowledge of health and hygiene.

The real need is for the establishing of Ashrams in their midst where several families both of Adivasis and others could stay together and where reverence for all religions could be developed. Our ideal should be purity and richness of a common life.

Our true reward is the joy which is to be had from our lives being interwoven with those of the Adivasis.

Jai Hind

Address of Dr. P.C. Biswas, Chairman of the Anthropological Section

Friends,

I am deeply conscious of the honour you do me in offering me the Chairmanship of the section of Anthropology of this conference. I feel confident that with your help and co-operation I will be able to discharge my obligations worthily. It is fitting indeed that our deliberations

should take place in Bastar in the midst of the tribal people, for whose welfare, the hearts and minds of men are at present bent, eager to contribute their mite for the general weal.

Recent developments in our country have left no doubt in our minds about the sincerity of the aim of improving the

lot of the Indian people. The stage is set for a reorientation of ideas concerning the backward section of the populace, and the country's programmes are pledged to the amelioration of the standard of living. It is at this juncture that a scientific analysis of the problems facing the population will be of vital significance, in shaping the future course of action at both governmental and private levels. It is my firm belief that this concentration of scientific zeal, as exemplified in this conference, will assuredly pave the way for the successful transition from the old to the new, keeping inviolate the essential values of the traditional patterns in relation to the changing context of culture.

Even in rapid retrospect, can be discerned the gradual though inevitable trend, towards a radical change in the lives of primitive people, a trend which now nears its climax in a veritable transformation of the values of life in context of present-day conditions. However, in the past much was inadvertently done, to hamper the healthy and natural growth of primitive people. In many cases an unguarded exposure to superior cultures tended by insidious means, to destroy the simple unsophisticated primitive cultures, resulting in exploitation and misery for the tribal population concerned. Fortunately such destructive trends have of late been checked and attempts are being made to repair the damage caused. To this end, the conclusions reached by men of science, will be of tremendous importance in the formulation of future methods and avenues of research and practical application.

In the past an attitude of superiority on the part of the more progressive people created an intolerant attitude towards the so-called primitive cultures—which

were viewed out of their context, and pronounced as low and uncivilized. Due to the natural lack of conformity with modern standards, the primitive cultures were given a derogatory tint and the element of good in them was either overlooked or disregarded, and the weakness of the pattern was exaggerated. Thus the damaging wave of reform sought to eradicate all vestiges of cultures, diverse from the evolved form then extant, in a bid to harmonise the mosaic of culture into one uniform pattern. No heed was paid, partly due to cultural arrogance to the fundamental precept of unity in diversity, with the result that destructive acculturative influences made short work of tribal cultures. It is my hope that such an unenlightened course will not be followed any longer.

This tribal welfare conference carries a multiple responsibility and has to evolve ways and means of best serving the interest of the tribal people of India. In broad outline, the problem facing us is the analysis and comprehension of the primitive culture and its adjustment and rehabilitation in the conditions prevailing today. This in particular is, I feel, a happy meeting ground of the Anthropologist and the noble minded, selfless social worker. Philanthropy and nobility of purpose or idea and selfless work are attributes of undoubted high value, but if this source is not scientifically trained and channelised it runs the risk of foundering on the rocks and spending itself to little avail. Science is the rudder that steers the ship of thought, to the golden shore of achievement, and the Anthropologist, trained in specific techniques of culture analysis, comprehending the intricacies of the social, religious and economic structure of society, can best diagnose the malady of

present day maladjustment, of the primitive people particularly, and can indicate remedies in specific cases.

Further, culture being dynamic and many faceted, admits of varied interpretations and herein lies the danger of random theorising. In the past much vagueness and generalisation persisted in the interpretation of anthropological data, but of late the emphasis is on a scientific evaluation. Anthropology achieves just such a discipline in the realm of ideas. Studies of Heredity and Environment, of Blood groups, Somatometric measurements and the detailed analysis of the Social, Religious and Cultural structure of given groups, help to concretise the interpretations of race and culture in conformity with the highest scientific standards. Thus, the Anthropologist can assess the scale of values prevailing in various groups and suggest methods of correct approach to seemingly incomprehensible traditions and customs. That which appears to be obnoxious and uncivilized from the modern stand point of the social worker, can be related by the Anthropologist to the specific culture, and its function, psychology and place in the tribal set-up can be explained thereby helping the worker to view the problem and its solution in the proper perspective. Thus an atmosphere of "sympathy" is created by an impartial anthropological study of culture patterns, laying the foundation of constructive, correctional thought, as opposed to rash intolerant action which is born of misinterpretation of observed phenomena.

Another very vital problem is the effect of acculturation on the primitive people. The spread of culture has not been uniform with the result that some groups have progressed in respect of

material culture, ethical ideas, social and religious institutions, whereas others have lagged behind, becoming pockets of an archaic culture showing diversity from that general pattern of surrounding areas. Modern technological development, developing at a rapid rate has resulted in bringing advanced cultural pattern in dangerous proximity to the out-moded simple cultural groups. At present increasing inroads are being made by elements of advanced cultures into the domain of the simple ones resulting in exploitations and destruction of the latter. It is recognized by all that this process of culture contact must be organised, so as to benefit the tribal. Steps are being taken to supervise and control the interchange of ideas and goods, allowing a gradual inflow of only those elements that are of value to the people and actively preventing destructive influences from breaking up the cultural pattern of the tribals concerned. Thus, proper education, both academic and practical, new methods of agriculture and subsidiary craft and the building up of the morale and nerve of the people, through dances, games, sports and contests—are being encouraged, in a bold plan, to uplift the backward sections of the population. In like manner, by a gradual change of heart and mind, practices like head-hunting and human sacrifice and destructive intensive Jhum cultivation are being slowly reduced, to be eventually replaced by better and healthier pursuits. It would be fitting to attempt to wean the tribals from addiction to drink and narcotics and to awaken them to the tasks of nation-building as equal partners in this noble venture.

The utility of research among the primitive population is undoubted, and

a systematic study will help throw into relief the vast store of valuable traits and knowledge which can be harnessed for the common good of all. In point of fact may be cited the vast store of tribal folklore, music, mythology, language and above all the knowledge of indigenous herbs and medicines. On the basis of such information a system of native medicine can be built up, with the attendant advantage that the tribal having faith in his own system of disease and cure, will be the more ready to undergo medical treatment. The incidence of disease can thus be lowered and the people made more healthy.

Another problem of vital importance to the primitive group today is the question of conversion to modern religions. Missions have for long been operative in the tribal areas and have sought to convert the people in their care to the new way of life. The record of missionaries has been a very creditable one in some respects, particularly in regard to education, sanitation, medical care and a general raising of the standard of living. However, in context of religion, the missionary zeal has been somewhat misdirected. In trying to solve the problem of poverty and material inadequacy, the missionary has confused the issue. To believe that material prosperity is only co-existent with a change of religion and not with an indigenous religious pattern, is to betray a dogmatic creed. Thus from a concern for the plight of the body, the missionary became a champion of the fate of the soul of the primitive people. Two decisive drawbacks are manifest in the pursuit of such an ideology. Firstly, the tribal tends to confuse the causal material prosperity

of the missionary converts, as the direct fruits of change of religion, and quite often such gains are incongruous to him in context of his surroundings. Thus he is dubious of accepting a new religion, even formally, since its gains do not suit him. Secondly, he ill-comprehends the philosophy of an alien creed, and at best becomes a poor convert, clinging to the mere fringe of the structure of the new ideology. In this respect he is worse off than his non-converted brother, who at least has the full solace of his belief in his own tribal gods and who is convinced of their power and interest in him.

Further, the tribals who actively seek the new folds, are either those who are fleeing from persecution of their fellow-men for irregularities like forbidden marriages etc. or those who are in dire economic distress, and who hope to gain employment and protection thereby. This creates an unhealthy rivalry among the groups and upsets the balance of the tribal society. Though there is no formal outcasting or persecution of the converted tribals, there yet exists a strained atmosphere created by the elimination of the common platform of tribal activity. Participation by converts in all ceremonies and rituals on marriage, birth, death etc. is not possible, and this creates a separative tendency, tending to the promotion of division among the group on economic, cultural and social levels. The tribal solidarity is broken and the group as a whole suffers from such fission.

It is imperative therefore that a reassessment be made of the position of the tribal in regard to religion, and the work and emphasis of the missionaries be modified accordingly.

These changes that occur in the social, political and religious sphere of tribal life have their own repercussions and quite often rapid deterioration sets in, eventually destroying the people. Reference can be made to the sad plight of the Australian aborigines and of the precarious condition of the Red Indians of America, as also of Todas, Kadar and Veddhas who are all being threatened with extinction, unless adequate measures are taken to prevent their gradual destruction. The Anthropologist is best suited for the study of the causes of such extinction of tribal people. In this context the recent improvement in the conditions of the Todas due to the application of methods, based on ideas suggested by Anthropologists is an encouraging sign. Further experiments of this type can be profitably conducted in other tribal areas and the annihilation of the primitive groups can be effectively checked. Perhaps it will also be of value to study the ill effects of inbreeding among tribals from the biological point of view. Such inbreeding tends to accentuate the destructive genetic strains leading to physical and mental deterioration. Doubtless there is the converse possibility also in inbreeding, of emphasising the healthy genetic strain, but an assessment will be valuable in either case. Such a function is beyond the purview of the social worker and the help of the Anthropologist must be taken. Thus in yet another field anthropology proves capable of contributing vital information for the good of the tribal people particularly.

For the achievement of the above aims a two-fold movement is imperative, namely a proper educational programme and a cadre of trained personnel to operate the scheme. The following is

suggested as a possible method for the education of the people :—

TRIBAL EDUCATION.

There exists a need of education for the tribal—so as to enable them to meet the challenge of changing conditions due to acculturation, and growth of civilization.

It is important to recognise that Tribals need a special approach to education due to their peculiar cultural background. The factors responsible for such a state are isolation, nomadic habits, primitive economy and poverty. Education can help remove these defects by making them conscious of them and of the remedies possible.

Ideas and values of a different world to theirs, should not be clamped down upon the tribal. Local traditions and all that is healthy in the tribal culture should be encouraged in the educational programme.

It is suggested that the system of Basic education should be adopted on scientific lines with the following aspects being borne in mind :

- (a) Instruction should be in tribal language and regional language should be a secondary language.
- (b) Along with work must be dances, play and tribal merriment and the weekly school holiday should coincide with the market day and the school should be closed on tribal festivals.
- (c) Along with education the basis should be the learning of a craft or trade—which will teach dignity of labour, will encourage

creative activity and will be a future source of income and a career in life consequent upon education.

- (d) Trained tribals in arts and crafts in such educational centres should be encouraged to take up teaching jobs in their areas so as to establish a link between the tribal teacher and the tribal taught.
- (e) Village welfare centres should launch three fold operations—
 (i) Education, (ii) Health, (iii) Economic condition, so that a new pattern may be produced and be able to stand up to the destructive influences of surrounding cultures.

Schools should be started with two types predominating

- (a) Primary Schools.
 (b) Vocational Schools.

This will look after the theoretical and practical sides of the education of the adivasis. In theory a syllabus having a "Tribal bias" should be included and more emphasis should be placed on practical training such as in

- (i) Agriculture, (ii) Living stock,
 (iii) Animal husbandry, (iv)

Poultry farming, (v) Apiary,
 (vi) Fishery etc.

Adult Education should also be taken in hand along with the education of children of the aborigines.

Due to its importance it is suggested that tribal education be taken up under separate Government Department such as an aboriginal Educational department and in its functioning the expert advice of trained Anthropologists must be taken.

It is evident therefore that the tribal population of India is in need of a dynamic policy of upliftment and gone are the days when they were stigmatized as barbarous. The time has come for a proper approach to these people so that they may be saved from the jeer and ridicule of the more fortunate section of the Indian population and be accepted as an integral part of the nation. The superior attitude of mere toleration of the aborigines should go, to be replaced by a clear recognition of their rights and position in the structure of Indian society.

In conclusion, I would appeal to all, to shoulder the responsibility and thereby contribute to the further development of our society in unity and peace.

Jai Hind

श्री रूपाजीभाई बी० परमार जी का अध्येक्षीय भाषण ।

आदरणीय सज्जनो और साथियो !

आज हम अपने संघ के तीसरे अधिवेशन में यहां इकट्ठे हुए हैं। अपने आप को अपने प्रिय मित्रों व साथियों के मध्य में देख कर बड़ा हर्ष हो रहा है। आज जो स्थान मुझे दिया गया है अपने विचार में तो मैं इसके योग्य नहीं हूँ। इतने बड़े महानुभावों व आदरणीय नेताओं के सामने जो यहाँ उपस्थित हूँ, मैं एक शिशु व अदना सेवक हूँ। यह स्थान तो आप में से किसीके भी योग्य था क्योंकि मुझ से तो सारे हर प्रकार से बड़े योग्य यहां उपस्थित हैं। फिर भी यदि अपना सेवक समझ कर मुझे सेवा के लिए यह आशा दी है तो मैं शिरोधारण करता हुआ आपको उदारता व सम्मान के लिए अति कृतज्ञ हूँ।

इस विचार के आते ही कि अभी हम पिछड़े हुए हैं बड़ा खेद होता है कि हम कहाँ से कहाँ अवनति को प्राप्त हुए हैं। कभी हम कितने उन्नत व अग्रसर थे। महर्षि बाल्मीकि, शकरी, एकलव्य और गृहक इत्यादि हमारे ही पूर्वज हैं। जो अपने जमाने में सर्वश्रेष्ठ व पूजनीय एवं आदर्शवान थे, जिनके चरणों की धूल सर पर लगाना लोग सौभाग्य समझते थे, हम उन्हीं की सन्तान हैं जो समय के परिवर्तन के साथ साथ अपनी उस असली अवस्था से इस अवनति तक पहुँच गए हैं कि हम हर प्रकार से पिछड़े हुए गिने जाते हैं। इस पर और खेद की बात यह है कि अपने उद्धार का प्रयत्न किसी ने भी नहीं किया। केवल महात्मा गांधीजी ने पिछड़े वर्गों के उत्थान की भावना फिर से पैदा की और

त्यागशील सेवामय पूजनीय ठक्कर बापा जी जैसे महापुरुषों के नेतृत्व में कुशल एवं भावयुक्त सेवकों ने आदिमजाति के उत्थान के लिए कार्य आरम्भ किया और उसी महापुरुष ने ३५ वर्ष पहले गुजरात प्रान्त में दोहद के स्थान पर भील सेवा मण्डल नाम की एक संस्था आदिवासियों के उत्थान के लिए स्थापित की। क्योंकि कार्य बड़ा महान् था और स्वार्थरहित अथकनीय कार्यकर्ताओं के सेवाभाव में प्रभावित हो कर बापा जी ने इस पवित्र कार्य की पूर्ति के लिए सारे देश भर में कई ऐसी संस्थाएँ बनाई जो पृथक-पृथक अपना कार्य करती थीं जो कि आज कल इस भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ को नीचे में कार्य कर रही हैं।

महात्मा गांधी ने हरिजन उद्धार व पिछड़े वर्ग के उत्थान के कार्य पर बड़ा जोर दिया था और इस महान् कार्य को कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रम में सर्व प्रथम स्थान दिया था। परन्तु विदेशी राज्य व भीषण स्थितियों के कारण जिनका उन्हें मुकाबला करना पड़ा उन्हें इतनी सफलता न हुई जितनी वे चाहते थे। स्वतंत्रता के पाते ही उन्होंने यह कार्य भारत की स्वतंत्र सरकार को सौंप दिया। अपने संविधान में इस कार्य की पूर्ति के लिए १० वर्ष का समय नियुक्त किया है और भारत की पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में भी इसका उल्लेख आता है। क्या हम इस महान् कार्य को इस सीमित समय में पूरा कर सकेंगे ? ऐसा विचार आते ही मन शोचमय हो जाता है कि जहां इस कार्य की पूर्ति को इतनी महत्ता दी गयी है उतना

ही आदिमजाति के कार्य को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए सन्ने भावनाशाली सेवकगणों की कमी है। इस कमी की पूर्ति हमें करना चाहिए। इस पूर्ति के लिए गत साल तालीमी शिविर के लिए हम ने सोचा था। मगर आप देख सकते हैं कि सारे साल में बहुत कम कार्य हुआ है। यह कार्य पूरा करने में बहुत दिक्कतें हैं। फिर भी यह कार्य किये बिना काम नहीं चलेगा। सो, मैं उम्मीद रखता हूँ कि इस साल सारे सेवकगण इसमें जुट जायेंगे।

यह हमारा सौभाग्य है कि हमें हमारे उत्थान के लिए जितनी सहायता चाहिए इतनी मिल रही है। सो, इस कार्य को बड़ी लगन से रात दिन बिना आराम करना चाहिए। आप लोग तो जानते ही हैं कि ईश्वर भी उन्हें मदद देता है जो अपनी मदद आप करते हैं। सो, जो जाति संसार में उन्नत हुई है वह अपने ही प्रयत्न और चरित्र से हुई है। किसी के सहारे कोई उन्नत नहीं होता है और न हुआ है। इस तरीके से अपनी उन्नति अपने हाथ में है। अपने चरित्र में है। अपनी सेवा में है। अपने त्यागमय सेवकों के पुरुषार्थ में है। सो, साथियों, हमें आलस्य और प्रलोभन को त्याग कर अपने उत्थान के लिए बड़े जोर से कमर कस लेनी चाहिए कि ताकि हम नियत समय में अपने ध्येय को सफल कर सकें।

हमें अपनी उन्नति सर्वांगीण दृष्टिकोण से करनी है। सो, पहले हम कहां-कहां अवनत हैं उसे समझ लेना चाहिए। ऐसे तो हम सामाजिक, औद्योगिक, शैक्षणिक और आर्थिक आदि सब प्रकार से ही अवनत हैं—जैसे कि हम अवनति की नींद में पड़े हुए हैं। मगर आज यह समय आ चुका है कि हमें नींद को छोड़कर जाग्रत होना चाहिए और जाग्रत हो कर दूसरे सभ्य और सांस्कृतिक समाज के साथ

कदम मिलाना है। यह कदम हम अपने प्रयत्न और महानुभावों की सहायता से ही मिला सकेंगे। सौभाग्य से हमको पूज्य बापू जी ने और पूज्य टक्कर बाप्पा ने यह रास्ता दिखाया है। यह रास्ता है स्वयं का सुधार—सो, हम स्वयं ही अपनी त्रुटियों को सोच लें और उन्हें दूर करने की चेष्टा करें जिससे हम उन्नत और सुखी बन सकें। इन्सान अपने ही त्याग और चरित्र से आगे बढ़ सकता है। सो, हमें साथ-साथ अपना चरित्र और त्याग वृत्ति को बढ़ाना चाहिए।

अब हमें व्यक्ति की उन्नति के साथ-साथ सामाजिक उन्नति के लिए भी सोचना चाहिए। सामाजिक उन्नति के लिए हमें तीन कदम उठाने हैं :—(१) शिक्षा, (२) किसानों और (३) सहकार। ये तीन कदम उठाने के लिए आर्थिक सहायता की भी जरूरत रहती है जिसके न होने से हम अपने आप को बेचस पाते हैं। यह सहायता हमें सरकार से मिलती है, सो हमें उसका पूर्ण रूप से यथोचित उपयोग करना चाहिए।

अब शिक्षा के लिए मैं कहूँगा—शैक्षणिक उन्नति के लिए केवल यही आवश्यक नहीं कि आदिमजाति के लोगों को अक्षर ज्ञान होना चाहिए, परन्तु अक्षर ज्ञान के साथ-साथ उन्हें सामाजिक, औद्योगिक व सांस्कृतिक शिक्षा भी मिलनी चाहिए जिससे हमारा वास्तविक रूप में कल्याण व उत्थान हो सके। आजकल जो कहीं-कहीं सरकार ने शिक्षा केन्द्र हमारे लिए खोले हैं वे न केवल कम हैं, किन्तु उनका अधिक लाभ भी नहीं है, क्योंकि जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा है, हम लोग गांव या नगरों के रूप में एकत्रित नहीं रहते, किन्तु दूर-दूर जंगलों में छोटी-छोटी पहाड़ियों पर एक-एक दो-दो भोंपड़े बनाते हैं और इनमें रहते हैं। ५०० मनुष्यों को आबादी पर एक शाला को खोलने से आदिवासियों को कोई

लाभ नहीं होता। वहाँ पर 'आश्रम शालाएँ' होनी चाहिए, ताकि बच्चे और बच्चियाँ साथ-साथ आश्रम में रह कर शिक्षा व संस्कार पा सकें। दूसरे यह कि जो थोड़े से शिक्षा केन्द्र आदिवासियों को शिक्षित करने के लिए खोले गये हैं उनमें केवल बच्चों को ही अक्षर ज्ञान देने का प्रबन्ध है। चाहिए तो यह कि हर आदिवासी को हर प्रकार की शिक्षा मिले इस लिए सरकार को हमारी जाति के उत्थान के लिए उन्हें शिक्षित करने के लिए हर उचित स्थान में ऐसी पाठशाला व शिक्षा केन्द्र स्थापित करने चाहिए जिनमें बच्चों व बड़ों मर्द व औरत को हर प्रकार की शिक्षा देने का प्रबन्ध हो। वैसे ही इन शिक्षा केन्द्रों में हमें अक्षर ज्ञान के साथ साथ औद्योगिक शिक्षा दी जाय, जिससे हम औद्योगिक धन्धों में निपुण हो सकें। हमें गृहस्थी सम्बन्धी व स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिए जिससे हम अपने पारिवारिक जीवन को अच्छा बना सकें और कला एवं संस्कृति सम्बन्धी शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिए जिससे हम अपनी कला कौशल व संस्कृति को अपना सकें। शिक्षा मिलने से ही हमारा असली रूप में कल्याण हो सकता है। हम अज्ञानता वश ही आज पिछड़े हुए हैं। अज्ञानता के कारण ही हमारे वर्ग में मदिरा पान अधिक है। इस का कानूनी रूप से निषेध होना चाहिये और सारे देश में आदिवासियों पर कानून लगाना चाहिए।

दूसरे हमारी अज्ञानता के कारण ही गैर धर्म वाले ईसाइयों ने हमारे वर्ग में धर्म परिवर्तन का काम जारी कर रखा है, यह भी सरकार को कानूनी रूप से बन्द करना चाहिए और यह कानून होना चाहिए कि देश भर में कोई भी दूसरे धर्म वाला आदिवासियों को उनकी अज्ञानता व गरीबी के कारण अपने धर्म में नहीं फँसा सके।

अब रहा किसानों और सहकार। इन दोनों की सहायता से हम आर्थिक रूप से संगीन बन सकेंगे। सो, आर्थिक सहायता के लिए मैं कहूँगा कि हर आदिवासी को आर्थिक रूप से सहायता मिलनी चाहिए कि वह अपनी रोजगारी व गुजारे के लिए अपने आप को विवश व असहाय न पावे। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उन्हें रोज रुपया बांटा जाए या उनकी वेतन बान्धी जाए। परन्तु आप जानते हैं कि हम आदिवासी लोग बहुधा दूर-दूर जंगलों में व पहाड़ों पर अकेले रहते हैं और वहाँ हम अपने निर्वाह के लिए खेती, व छोटा-मोटा उद्योग-धन्धा और कई प्रकार का परिश्रम करते हैं। बहुधा हम लोग कृषि पर निर्भर हैं। मगर हम पूरा पेट इसमें से नहीं भर सकते। सो इसके लिए हम साहूकारों व जमींदारों के पजे में फँसे हुए हैं। सरकार को चाहिए कि ऐसे आदिवासी कृषकों को आर्थिक रूप से सहायता करे ताकि वह अपने लिए भूमि, बीज, खाद व और कृषिक सम्बन्धी आवश्यकताएँ पूरी कर सके। सिंचाई के साधन और जिन कृषकों के पास भूमि नहीं उन्हें भूमि मिले। जहाँ हमेशा दुरभिक्ष व अकाल का भय लगा रहता है वहाँ इसे दूर करने का प्रबन्ध किया जाए व ऐसी योजनाएँ बनायी जाएँ जिससे सारा साल सिंचाई हो सके और आदिवासी किसान लोग सुखी हों। इसी प्रकार छोटे छोटे उद्योग-धन्धों में लगे हुए आदिवासियों को सहायता मिलनी चाहिए कि वह अपने उद्योग धन्धों को उन्नत करके और लाभ उठा सकें, उसे अपने कार्य सम्बन्धी वस्तुएँ आसानी से मिलनी चाहिए और उसकी बनी हुई चीजों का योग्य दाम मिले। सो, इस लिए हर जगह की आवश्यकतानुसार सहकारी मण्डली बना कर उन्नति के साधन प्राप्त करें।

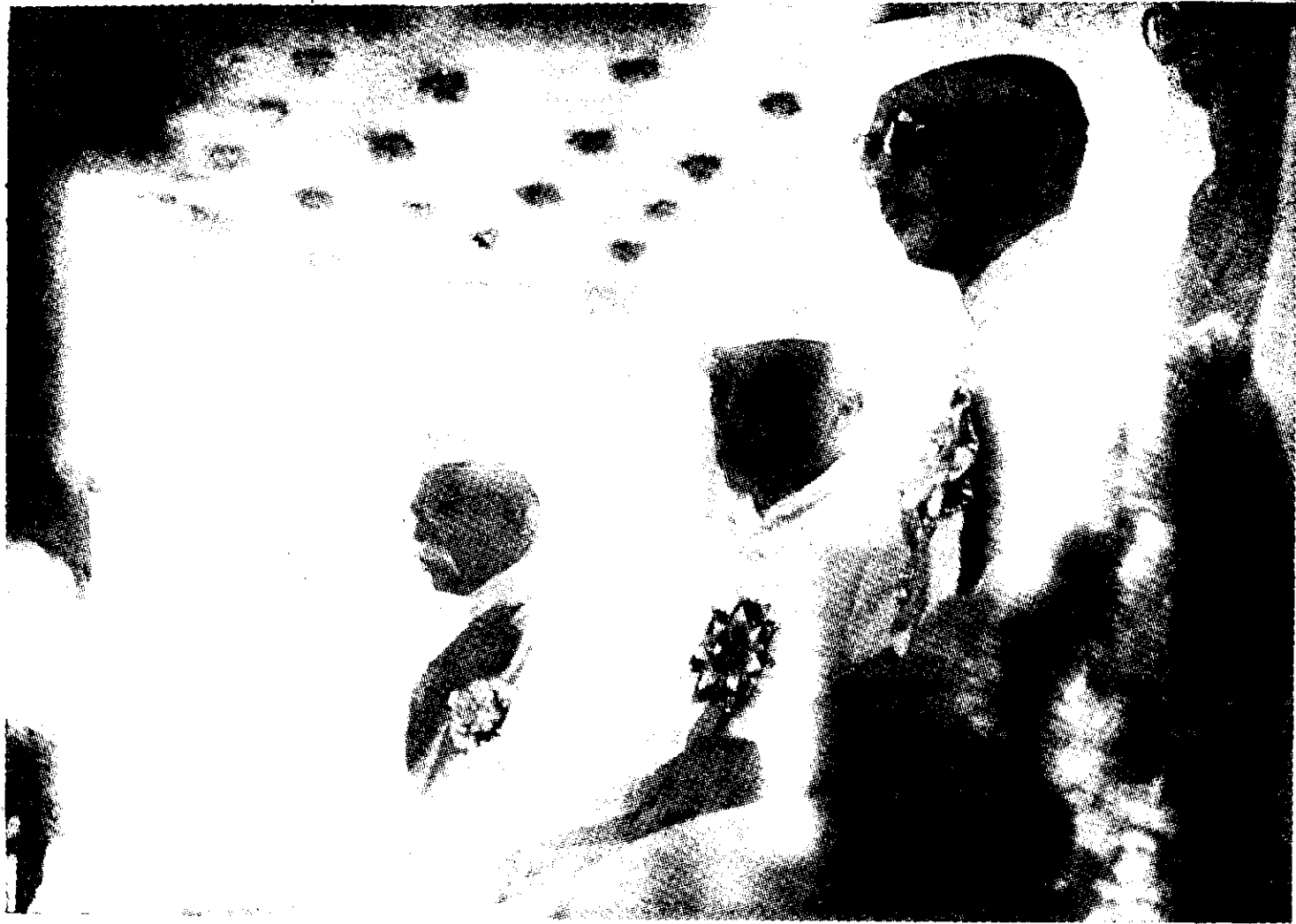
ऐसे उन्नति के साधन प्राप्त करने में और योग्य मार्ग दर्शन दिलाने के लिये जहाँ जहाँ हो सके वहाँ वहाँ सरकारी और गैर सरकारी संस्थायें काम कर रही हैं। मध्यप्रदेश और उड़ीसा में आप तो जानते ही हैं कि श्री वण्डीकरजी और श्री अम्बालाल भाई बड़ी लगन से सरकार की संपूर्ण सहायता लेकर काम कर रहे हैं। वे दोनों भाईयों ने वर्षों तक पू० ठक्कर बापा के मार्ग दर्शन अनुसार भील सेवा मण्डल की ओर से पू० बापू जी के आदेश अनुसार गुजरात में काम किया। जहाँ जहाँ कार्य के ढेर पड़े हैं वहाँ वहाँ पू० बापा की आज्ञा अनुसार वे पहुँच जाते हैं और वहीं ठहर जाते हैं। आज कई सालों से पू० ठक्कर बापा की प्रेरणा से यहाँ आये हैं और रात दिन आदिवासियों की भलाई और उन्नति के कार्य कर रहे हैं। यहाँ पर उन लोगों ने शालाएँ और आश्रमशालाएँ शुरू की हैं जहाँ पर हम अपने बच्चे बच्चियों को तालिमी शिक्षा दें और जीवन को संस्कारी और स्वावलम्बी बना सकें। साथ-साथ हम आर्थिक रूप में संगीन हो सके इस लिये सहकारी मण्डली और खेती सुधार भी शुरू की है। सो अब तो यह समय आ चुका है कि हमें इन चीजों को पूरी तौर से अपनाना चाहिये। हमें अच्छी तरह समझ लेना चाहिये कि यह सब चीजें हमारी भलाई और कल्याण के लिये हो रही है। वंपारी पंजा से बचाने के लिये सहकारी प्रवृत्तियाँ हैं, अज्ञान और गरीबी को दालने के लिये शाला और खेती सुधारण है। सो जहाँ तक ये सब चीजों को हम पूरी समझ से सहयोग न देंगे तब तक हमारा भला नहीं होगा। मैं आप को पूछता हूँ कि जब बारीस आती है तब खेत में नहीं बोयेंगे, तो बोयेंगे कब? आज अपना

कल्याण — अपना उत्थान की बारीस आ रही हैं। हमें यह बारीस का अच्छी तरह से उपयोग कर लेना चाहिये। जो हम आलस और अज्ञान से पड़े रहेंगे तो बारीस निकल जायगी।

मैं फिर यह महापुरुष को बंदना करता हूँ जिनने हम को जगाया। ये महापुरुष थे पू० ठक्कर बापा पू० बापा ने आदिवासियों की उन्नति और सेवा को अपना जीवन व्यय बनाया था और सारा जीवन इन में ही बिताया था। फिर बापा खुद ही विद्यापीठ बन गये, और अपने जीवन विद्यापीठ द्वारा सैकड़ों सेवक सेविकायें तैयार करके यह काम में लगा दिये। ऐसे सेवकों में आज भी श्री खेर साहब, श्री धर्मदेव शास्त्री, श्री डाहयाभाई नायक, श्री वापटजी, श्री भीसे, श्री वादरेकरजी, श्री जुगतरामभाई इत्यादि यही काम में लगे हुवे हैं।

आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा सौभाग्य है कि हमें श्री श्रीकान्त भाई जैसे सेवाशील, भावयुक्त सरकारी नेता मिले हैं जो कि इस महान् कार्य की पूर्ति के लिए तन-मन-धन से सेवा कर रहे हैं, इसी भाँति हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारियों में भी दिलचस्पी के साथ कार्य करने की आवश्यकता है। कहीं-कहीं तो कार्य कुछ अच्छा हो रहा है, परन्तु बहुत से प्रान्तों में कुशल व योग्य कर्मचारियों के अभाव के कारण यह काम अभी धीमा पड़ा हुआ है। हमें चाहिए कि हम उन कर्मचारियों को पूरा सहयोग दें और उन्हें कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के लिए यथा योग्य सुझाव दें ताकि यह कार्य हर स्थान में पूरे बंग और दिलचस्पी के साथ आगे बढ़े।

मैं ने जो यह तुच्छ बातें आपके सामने रखी हैं वह मेरे अपने ही यथामति विचार थे और मैं आपके इस प्रेममय सहयोग के लिए बड़ा आभारी हूँ।
जयहिन्द।



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla and
Shri Raja Naresh Chandra Singh at the dais

(Photo by V.A. Tijare)



A Maria Youth who garlanded the Prime Minister at Bastar Airfield
(By Courtesy : Shri V. A. Gizare)

SECTION II
PAPERS RELATING TO
Seva Mandals
AND
Training of Welfare Workers

सेवा संस्थाएं

(श्री लक्ष्मीदास मंगलदास श्रीकान्त, कमिश्नर हरिजन और
आदिवासी संबन्धी, भारत सरकार, नई दिल्ली)

हमारे देश में सेवा की भावना जैसे जैसे बदलती गई वैसे ही भावना के उपर आधारित संस्थाओं के स्वरूप भी बदलते गये। पुराने ज़माने में आने-जाने के साधन जब बहुत कम थे तब भी देहातों में सेवा का कार्य चलता ही रहता था परन्तु सेवा संस्थाओं की विशेष आवश्यकता नहीं थी। परिवार में अथवा रिश्तेदारी में समय पड़ने पर सेवा कार्य करने के लिए आज भी संस्था की आवश्यकता बिलकुल दिखाई नहीं देती बल्कि इस मौन सेवा में सेवा का सच्चा और शुद्ध स्वरूप टूटा पड़ा है। जब से संयुक्त परिवार विभक्त होने लगे, पश्चिमी सभ्यता से आवा-गमन के साधन बढ़ने लगे और जातियां भी एक स्थान का त्याग करके भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों में झिखर गईं, तब से फिर सेवा का स्वरूप बदल गया। आज रिश्तेदारी में बीमारी या दूसरे अवसर पर अनुकूलता का अभाव होने पर भी केवल समाज के डर से औपचारिक मुलाकात की जाती है, सेवा सुश्रुषा होती नहीं है। पश्चिम की सेवा संस्था यहां पहुंची नहीं है किन्तु उसके एक लाभदायी अंश का अनुकरण हुआ है और वह यह है कि जात-पात, धर्म और देश का ख्याल न रखकर दुःखी, पीड़ित और शोषित वर्ग की सेवा करना, इनके लिए संस्था स्थापित करके सेवा के दृष्ट स्वरूप को विकसित किया है।

भारत सेवक स्व० श्री गोखलेजी द्वारा स्थापित सर्वेंट्स ऑफ इण्डिया सोसायटी, पंजाब केसरी स्व० लाला लाजपतराय द्वारा स्थापित सर्वेंट्स ऑफ धी पीपल्स सोसायटी, हरिजन सेवक संघ, सोशियल

सर्विस लीग, रामकृष्ण मिशन, आदि संस्थाएं कुछ अंश में पश्चिम की संस्थाओं का ही अनुकरण हैं। स्व० गोखलेजी द्वारा स्थापित भारत सेवक समाज के उद्देश्य मुख्यतः इस प्रकार के हैं :—धर्म, जाति, देश तथा राजनीति से अलिप्त रहकर आजीवन सेवा का (कम से कम २० साल) व्रत रखना, परिवार की जरूरत और देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को ध्यान में रखकर मासिक वेतन का तय करना, बच्चों की शिक्षा, प्रोविडेंट फंड, तथा बीमे का प्रबन्ध रखना, रहने के मकान की सुविधा करना। इस संस्था का सेवक बनने के लिए ग्रेज्युएट होना और स्थायी सदस्य बनने के लिए कुछ समय तक उम्मीदवारी करना आवश्यक है। संस्था के लिए चन्दा इकट्ठा करना सभी आजीवन सदस्यों का फर्ज होना तथा संस्था की कारवाई के लिए मन्त्री, अध्यक्ष तथा व्यवस्थापक आदि स्वयं ही चुनना।

आज के समय में सर्वेंट्स ऑफ इण्डिया सोसायटी जैसी संस्था बनाने के लिये कोई प्रयत्न करना नहीं है क्योंकि उसमें बहुत-सी कठिनाइयां हैं। आज भारत सेवक समाज नामक संस्था तो बनी हुई है परन्तु इसमें ऊपर बताये हुए उद्देश्य बहुत ही कम दिखाई देते हैं।

जिस प्रकार हरिजन सेवक संघ हरिजनों की सेवा के लिए कार्य करता है उसी तरह आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में आदिवासियों की सेवा करने के लिये स्व० पूज्य ठाकुरभाषा की प्रेरणा से भारत के भिन्न-भिन्न भागों में ३०-३५ संस्थाएं बनी हुई हैं जिनमें सबसे प्रथम

स्थान भौल सेवा मण्डल, दोहद को दिया जा सकता है। इसका आजीवन सदस्य बनना आसान नहीं है क्योंकि सदस्य २० वर्ष तक जीवन निर्वाह के लिए निश्चितता से बैठ सके ऐसी संस्था की परिस्थिति होती नहीं है अथवा संस्था के व्यवस्थापक और प्रमुख कार्यकर्ताओं में जीवन निर्वाह के साधन जुटाने की श्रद्धा नहीं होती है जैसे कि :—

“योगक्षेमम् ब्रह्महम्”, इस भगवत् वचन पर श्रद्धा नहीं है। समय की रहोबदल से दानवृत्ति भी संकुचित हो गई है। इसी परिणाम में जीवन निर्वाह का प्रश्न भी जटिल हो गया है और जरूरतें बढ़ गई हैं। गांधी युग में शिक्षा पाये हुये सेवक आज अपनी तपश्चर्या के फलस्वरूप सरकारी दरबार में ऊँची पदवियों पर विराजमान हैं। ऐसे सेवकों के दल बनाने के लिये देश में आज यदि कोई विभूति है तो वह श्री विनोबाभावे हैं। परन्तु आज के वातावरण में ऐसी किसी विद्युत शक्ति का अभाव है जिससे ऐसे सेवकों के दल बनने सुलभ नहीं है।

सरकार से मिलने वाली ग्रांट और गांधी स्मारक निधि से दी जाने वाली आर्थिक सहायता से संस्थाएँ चलती हैं। सेवा संस्थाओं के पुराने सेवक भी आज चन्दा इकट्ठा करना भूल गये हैं। चन्दा इकट्ठा करना प्रत्येक सेवा संस्था का उद्देश्य होना चाहिए और थोड़ा बहुत चन्दा अवश्य ही एकत्र करना चाहिए। इस नियम का पालन भी कठोर रूप से होना चाहिए क्योंकि इससे संस्था चेतनामयी और स्वावलम्बी बनती है तथा सेवकों को भी नम्र तथा निरभिमानी बनाती है।

आजीवन सदस्य के लिए २० साल का समय शायद अधिक लगे तो भी कम से कम पांच साल का सेवा व्रत हर एक सेवक को लेना चाहिये क्योंकि

पंचवर्षीय योजना के आधार पर और यदि उनका कार्य भी संतोषजनक हो तो पांच वर्ष तक सरकारी ग्रांट नियमित रूप से मिल जाने की संभावना है।

संस्थाओं के द्वारा केवल प्रचार का कार्य ही होता रहे तो संस्था स्थायी रूप से न चल सकेगी और इसका परिणाम भी स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई नहीं देगा। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आश्रम चलाना, पाठशाला चलाना, अथवा शिक्षण वर्ग चलाना और आर्थिक क्षेत्र में सहकारी मण्डल चलाना। तथा स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी क्षेत्र में औपधालय चलाना, यह सब प्रवृत्तियाँ प्रत्यक्ष रूप से दिखाई देती हैं और समझ में भी आती हैं लेकिन प्रचार का परिणाम केवल डायरियों से नापा नहीं जाता। डायरियाँ तो एक बड़ा भय का स्थान है। सेवा संस्थाओं को अपना व्यवस्था खर्च बहुत कम रखना चाहिए अर्थात् अपने कुल खर्च का ५ से १० प्रतिशत से ऊपर नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए। संस्था के मकान भी उन्हीं के जीवन के साथ अनुरूप हों, जिनकी सेवा करनी है। वे मकान छोटे, साफ-सुथरे और सस्ते होने चाहिए जिससे आदिवासी या हरिजन भी उनका अनुरोध कर सकें। इस सेवा क्षेत्र में विवाहित पुरुष को अपने परिवार के साथ रहना जरूरी है जिससे वह सेवक अपने सेवा कार्य में पूर्णरूप से रस ले सके और उसको बार-बार घर जाने की इच्छा न रहे। वेतन और खर्च का प्रमाण सरकारी नीति पर नहीं होना चाहिए तथा मितव्ययता की नीति ग्रहण करनी चाहिए। आजकल सरकारी ग्रांट के लिये तो बरसाती के कुओं की तरह बहुत-सी संस्थाएँ बनती हैं परन्तु एक भी आजीवन सदस्य नहीं होता; व्यापारी की तरह उसको चलाने वाले डायरेक्टर या मैनेजिङ्ग एजेंट होते हैं, जो अपना बहुत कम समय संस्थाओं की देल भाल

में, या उसके पीछे लगाते हैं और उसका ज्यादा लाभ उठाकर अपने को देश सेवक प्रतिद्ध करते हैं। संस्था को कुछ दान देने वाले दानी, संरक्षक (पेट्रन) और वार्षिक चन्दा देने वाले सदस्य अपनी स्वेच्छानुसार अत्यन्त, उपाध्यन्त चुन लेते हैं और इससे आजीवन सदस्य का महत्त्व कम कर देते हैं।

उपर जिन सेवा संस्थाओं के उद्देश्यों की चर्चा की गई है उनमें रामकृष्ण मिशन जैसी सन्यासियों का समावेश नहीं होता है क्योंकि इस संस्था के आवश्यक त्याग और वैराग्य की भावना आज के जीवन में लाना बड़ा कठिन है। आदिवासी तथा हरिजन जैसे पीड़ित और शोषित समाज की सेवा करने के लिए निष्काम कार्य की भावना जरूरी है। वह तो स्पष्ट ही है कि यह गुण होना दुर्लभ है।

आजीवन सदस्यों को वर्षों तक आदिवासी और हरिजनों में सेवा करने के बाद अपनी जमी हुई गद्दी को त्याग करना अच्छा नहीं लगता और फिर उस गद्दी के लिये कशमकश चलती है और उसको अपना देने के लिये सबको लालच होता है इसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हरिजन और आदिवासी अपनी

संस्था संभालने के स्वयं योग्य हो जाँयं ताकि पुराने सेवक संस्था को २०, ३० वर्ष चलाने के बाद उन्हीं के योग्य बने हुये युवकों को सुपुर्त कर स्वयं अन्य नये सेवा क्षेत्रों को तैयार करें और उसके बाद अपनी की हुई सेवा की फल प्राप्ति की आकांक्षा न रखें। इसी का नाम वानप्रस्थ या संन्यास है।

आदिवासी सेवा संस्थाओं के अनेक प्रतिनिधि आज यहाँ उपस्थित है उनके समक्ष मैंने संस्थाओं सम्बन्धित अपने निजी अनुभव के विचार प्रगट किये हैं। इस पर विचार विनिमय होगा और उपयोगी बातों पर समालोचना हो तो मुझे विश्वास है कि आज की संस्थाओं का कायाकल्प हो जायेगा और अभी नई बनी हुई और भविष्य में बनने वाली संस्थाओं में चेतना आयेगी। प्रांट के लिये ही संस्थाएँ बनती है, ऐसा भी कहने में नहीं आयेगा और हरिजन तथा आदिवासियों की भ्रद्धा सेवकों और सेवकी संस्थाओं में बढ़ जायगी। इसमें शिक्षा पाकर अपने भाईयों की सेवा करने के लिये नवयुवक बन जायेंगे। यह सब लिखने या कहने पर भी यह स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि:—

सेवाधर्मो परमगहनो योगिनामप्यगम्यः ॥

SEVA MANDALS (Social Service Institutions)*

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In our country, the idea of social service and the institutions based upon it and the methods employed by them, all have been under-going changes in accordance with the requirements of the times. In very ancient times when the means of transport and communications were very few—next to nothing—the villages and the localities in a village did not need any institution for social service. Even today, without the institutions of social service, people do render help individually to families and relations and it must be said that this is real social service which is unostenstious as it is not advertised. On account of the contact with the Western civilization and education, the joint Hindu family system has broken up and side by side the means of communications increased. As a result of this, the castes and communities are giving up their habit of staying together in a particular locality and have dispersed themselves in distant localities and regions. Therefore, the method of social service underwent a change and the necessity for institutions was felt. Today what do we find on occasions of illness in a family? For want of time, relations pay only formal visits without rendering any help, only to satisfy public opinion. But the real service is not rendered to friends and relations. Social institutions of the West have not been copied so far in this country but one very desirable

aspect of the social service institution of the West has been adopted here much to our advantage. That is the starting of social service institutions to serve the under-privileged sections of the people irrespective of caste, religion and region. Thus, a very good type of social service organisation has come into being for the benefit of the depressed and suppressed sections of the community.

2. Institutions like the Servants of India Society founded by late Bharat Sevak Shri Gokhaleji and the Servants of the Peoples' Society founded by the Lion of Punjab, late Lala Lajpat Rai, the Harijan Sevak Saugh, Social Services League, Ramakrishna Mission, etc., have copied advantageously the methods of Western social institutions to some extent.

3. Let us now see what are the main features of the institution so well-known as the Servants of India Society founded by late Bharat Sevak Shri Gokhaleji. The life members pledge themselves for at least 20 years to serve the country irrespective of caste, religion and region; shunning politics altogether. Their honorarium has been fixed up, keeping in view the economic conditions of the country. Of course, the provision has been made for educating their children; and provident fund, insurance, residential quarters are also provided for them. But such life members were selected out of

* This paper is a translation into English of the previous article on Seva Mandal in Hindi by Shri L.M. Shrikant.

those only who were qualified up to a University degree stage. Every such life member was confirmed only after he had undergone the training for a period of a year or so. It is also incumbent on the life members to collect money for the institution and the whole institution was managed and administered by life members and the executive committee elected by them.

4. Today, in the present circumstances, it is very difficult to start such an institution like the Servants of India Society. The Bharat Sevak Samaj started recently falls short of this standard indicated above.

5. The Harijan Sevak Sangh was started for the removal of untouchability and social disabilities of Scheduled Castes. Similarly, at the inspiration of late Shri Thakkar Bapa, 30 to 35 social institutions were started for doing welfare work among the most neglected sections of people in India, namely the Scheduled Tribes, in different parts of the country. Bhil Seva Mandal can be ranked as the premier or pioneer institution of this type amongst them. It is true that it is difficult to become a life member for 20 years because there is no guarantee for maintenance of the families and the executive members of the institutions lack that robust faith in getting enough finances to maintain all the life workers, much less have they the faith referred to in Bhagwad Gita, namely योग न्नेमम वहाम्यहम् । With the changing times, charity has dried up considerably and with the necessities of life, increasing every day, the question of maintaining living standard has become a serious problem to many middle class people. The old social workers (creation of the Gandhi age of last 30 years) have now

secured very comfortable posts in Government and Legislatures justifiably as a result of their sacrifice in the past. If there is anybody today to inspire and instil the spirit of social service, sacrifice and dedication, it is only Shri Vinoba Bhave. But the atmosphere round-about today is not sufficiently electrified to instil in the people the idea of sacrifice and service. Therefore, social workers who are coming forward to render disinterested social service are few and far between.

6. Social institutions are now being conducted with the grants and financial help from the Government and from the Gandhi Samarak Nidhi. Even the old social workers have given up the salutary habit of making collections from the public. It should be one of the rules of social institutions and should be very strictly observed that every life member must make some collection. It will keep up the spirit of humanity and service among the life workers and make the institution self-supporting in course of time.

7. Under the circumstances, if a period of 20 years is too long, social workers can pledge themselves for five years at least in an institution because they should be assured of Government grants under the scheme of Five Year Plan provided the work of the institution is satisfactory.

8. The institutions which only engage propagandists cannot hope to have a sound foundation because it is not possible to assess concrete results only by propaganda. Institutions working, for instance, in the field, education should run ashrams and boarding houses, centres for training, and community centres and in the economic field to conduct the cooperative societies and in the medical

field to run dispensaries which can produce concrete results to be appreciated by the people. Diaries maintained by the propagandists are sometimes misleading and are a dangerous spot for the real work of the institution. The management charges of the social service institutions should not be more than 5 to 10 per cent of the expenditure. More money should be spent on welfare schemes for the people for whom the institution exists. Humble buildings should suffice for the institution and they should be in-keeping with the life of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes round about for whom the institution is meant, so that in the course of time they may be copied by the people themselves. It is very necessary that the workers in such institutions working for the Scheduled Tribes should be the married people and should stay with their families so that there may be no temptation for them to leave the field of work every week or every month. It is out of question that the honorarium and the T. A. expenditure cannot be on the lines of the Government rules. Strict economy in expenditure should naturally be observed in such institutions.

9. Institutions have sprung up recently like the mushroom growth on account of the Government grants. But rarely have they a scheme of life workers. Some of them are being managed by 'Directors' or 'Managing Agents' so to say who can give a part of their time for their supervision. The organisers of such institutions exploit social service sailing under false colours and posing as social workers. The donors and the patrons and annual members of such institutions elect their own secretaries and presidents belittling the importance of a life worker.

10. I have not referred to the great

institution of Ramakrishna Mission because it is mainly composed of people who have given up worldly life and dedicated themselves to the cause of the humanity. Such spirit of sacrifice is rarely to be found now-a-days. All the same, if you want to serve the cause of the depressed and the suppressed sections of the people, like the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, you have to be inspired by the spirit of dedication and dis-interested service.

11. It is regrettable that the life members, after years of social service amongst the Harijans and the Adivasis, find it very hard to give up the field of work and go elsewhere. In a sense it becomes a seat of privilege from which they do not like to be dislodged. Often times, spirit of rivalry for the seat of authority over-takes them. Even after working for the welfare of the people, in a particular region for 20 to 30 years, it will be better for life workers to hand over the institution to the trained and deserving young men who follow them and change their field of work elsewhere where they are very badly needed. If life workers can adopt this policy, they will spend the rest of their lives in the right spirit of *Vanprasth* and *Sanyas*.

12. I have placed briefly my views about social institutions based on my experience before veteran workers assembled in this conference in the hope that they will be thoroughly discussed and decisions reached thereafter will prove very useful to all of us. This will benefit the institutions and will strength them by reorienting them and putting life in institutions which have been started or are about to be started. If proper care is taken and the suggestions which I have put forward are accepted, I hope it

will not be said that the institutions have been started merely for distributing grants from the Government. If the social workers decide to do work on the lines laid down by the conference after this discussion, they will surely command

the confidence of Harijans and Adivasis. They will also be able to create new band of workers from amongst them inspired by spirit of service and sacrifice. All the same, after all that is said and done, I must confess this, that सेवधर्मो परम गहनोऽ योगीनामथगम्यः ।

TRAINING FOR TRIBAL WELFARE

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The end of the last century saw the beginning of an approach to tribal communities, and during the present century there has been continuous evolution in the approach to tribal problems. The British Government regarded the tribals as remnants of a primitive culture. They approached them with curiosity and desired to find out who they were and how they lived. They gave them a measure of sentimental sympathy and agreed to regard them as "something different" and to treat them differently wherever possible. At the same time their policies and administration penetrated their territories, disturbed their economics, and made them socially and culturally maladjusted with the rest of the community. The policies aimed to gradually settle the tribals on land, and led to economic exploitation, and increasing maladjustments to their natural habitat—the forest.

This attitude led to the emergence of what are generally called the cultural anthropologists, and sociology was later added to anthropology in the curricula of some of the Indian Universities. The Governmental approach also led to the gradual recognition of the tribals, along with the backward classes and others, as

one of the "underprivileged groups" in India.

A new approach to the tribals was pioneered by the late Revered Thakkar Bapa. I would call this the "Service" approach. This approach was natural in terms of our general attitude towards political problems at that time, and our anxiety and desire to help the masses who were struggling against heavy odds to eke out their livelihood. The desire to render continuous service to the tribals led to the emergence of organisations like the Bhil Seva Mandal, and later on the Adivasi Seva Sangh as private agencies to work for the welfare of tribal communities, and to rouse public opinion, and the Government to take greater interest in tribal problems.

As it has happened in other fields of social work, the services pioneered by private agencies compelled the attention of the State to their duty to organise more extensive State services in place of the mere symbolic effort that existed at that time. The work of the private agencies succeeded to reveal four major aspects of tribal problems (a) a knowledge of the conditions in which the tribal lived (b) the nature and extent of

specific problems revealed by these conditions, (c) the real and urgent needs of the tribals in terms of their conditions and problems, (d) and the possible manner in which the needs could be met by the organisation of programmes to deal with the felt needs of the tribal population.

The approach to tribal problems after Independence is a natural evolution of the previous approaches, and follows the keen interest shown in the tribals by our beloved Prime Minister, when he happened to contact them more intimately. The new approach has to be a scientific, and a comprehensive approach. It has to be a concrete and realistic approach, which is not satisfied by the mere desire for service. This approach has shown the need for deeper understanding of the different economic, social and political problems involved in what is generally termed "tribal welfare". This approach has revealed the inadequacy of the efforts of the early anthropologists. At the same time it is no longer possible to treat seventeen million of our people as backward and underprivileged, deserving some kind of special treatment and material assistance. The whole problem is now seen as a comprehensive field of national effort to meet the natural aspiration of a vital section of our population in terms of their physical habitat, economic life, social conditions, and political backwardness requiring extensive handling of large underdeveloped areas, the creation of an efficient administration, and social and economic services using the more advanced techniques known to the world

Need of a new leadership : The first need of this new and comprehensive approach to deal with the difficult problems of the tribes, and to help them

substantially to participate in the tremendous task of nation building is a new leadership, a leadership with sincerity, knowledge, understanding and ability and capacity for utilising vast resources that are to be expended for the recovery of tribal economy and the achievement of objectives that the Government has set before itself as a result of its new approach, policies and programmes.

A scientific approach to tribal problems requires four types of personnel for work in tribal areas : (a) Community social workers, (b) Tribal welfare organisers, (c) Administrators of tribal areas, and (d) Social scientists. Our new national efforts have revealed that it is not the mere existence of an impressive effort at top levels, and the expenditure of resources that lead to concrete results, but the sincere efforts at the community level by large numbers of local workers. The welfare organisers, unlike the social workers, move between their headquarters and the community, and help to organise, build up strength and resources, and deal with the difficulties of the people and the causes of failure. They help to improve the quality and standard of service and achievement.

The old revenue, forest and political administration in tribal areas is not adequate to achieve the more difficult tasks of the administrator in remote and undeveloped areas. The new administrators must be persons of conviction, with imagination, sympathy, character, strength and perseverance capable of inspiring confidence, love, loyalty and enthusiasm amongst the simple tribal people. They must be literally capable of driving the programme machinery. They must become leaders as well as friends of the people, coordinating efforts,

controlling resources, and helping all to reach a high standard of efficiency.

A type of social scientist—the mere academician, the ivory tower and abstract thinker and philosopher—is less needed today than social scientists who are rightly called social engineers, who can think and lead the social action of the masses. The needs of field research, social experiments, programme development and invention of new methods and techniques require a large number of social scientists than are available at the present day. The scientists in India are happily called upon to work in an atmosphere of high idealism and practical thinking, thinking independently, resourcefully and if possible originally to deal with and determining new objectives.

The training for four types of persons will have to be done at stages and many difficulties will have to be overcome in the preparatory stages of development. Three major problems are involved in the training of personnel for tribal areas :

(1) The absence of the right kind of teachers to carry out the training programme; (2) the location of training institutions and programmes; (3) the selection and screening of trainees.

In order to lay proper foundations, prevent waste of money and effort, and gradually develop the right type of institutions and organisations for the training of workers a five year programme can be envisaged for the first stage of development. This initial stage will aim : (i) to create the right type of social engineers with the help of existing social scientists, (ii) train social organisers in special institutions and universities in urban areas, with an additional programme of field work experience in tribal areas, and

(iii) create institutions in the tribal areas for the training of community workers which will eventually develop their programmes for the training of social organisers and higher personnel later on. Some of these may eventually become universities in tribal areas.

Thus in the first stage of development, training centres have to continue to exist in urban areas, and take the help of existing social scientists to carry out training programmes, but ultimately institutions and centres for the training of all cadres should be located in tribal areas.

Some of the difficulties which are at present experienced by the Community Development Projects will also be felt to a much greater extent when programmes for training are developed for the benefit of tribal areas. There will be difficulties regarding language and absence of a minimum standard of education on the part of trainees. In some cases it will be difficult to harmonise national ideals, needs and objectives with the aims of tribal welfare. Training courses for tribal areas must lay adequate emphasis on the need of knowledge of dialects and languages useful in tribal areas. The unfortunate absence of Hindi literature in Anthropology and Sociology needs to be stressed, and yet a number of tribal youths should be helped to aspire to become social scientists. Tribal youth, at a certain stage, must have opportunity for learning the English language. With the experience of other fields of endeavour in India at the present day, emphasis must be laid on the need of adequate scales of pay for community and field cadres in order that tribal youth after employment may concentrate on the creative aspects of their work without being unduly disturbed by the realities

of a hard and bitter struggle for existence. This factor is also intimately related to the need of the right type of psychological background of workers working in extremely hard conditions of region and surroundings.

The tribal areas require large numbers of tribal welfare workers to work as village level workers, local promoters of economic activities, social education teachers, women to manage nurseries and nursery schools in tribal areas, health visitors, and physical and craft instructors, etc. Large numbers of training centres employing different training methods and techniques should be created in all tribal areas to give some elementary training in the know how of these activities. The training periods may extend upto 120 days, though normal training camps of 90 and 30 days should be organised and run by tribal welfare organisers and other specialised agencies for social and economic welfare in the community. The services of teachers in the various schools of social work could be utilised during the vacation periods for the organisation of such courses.

These training courses should be especially organised for the benefit of young persons between 18 and 30 years of age, and the training camps can function during suitable seasons when the energies of these persons are not required for normal economic activities.

Creating Social Scientists : The training of social scientists at the university level presents many difficulties. The mere academic study of sociology, anthropology, psychology and other social sciences for obtaining university degrees is not sufficient for the treatment of complicated human problems of communities

living in isolated physical regions with different cultural backgrounds. Tribal welfare has to be understood in terms of the historical background of the communities, and social objectives have to be laid down to suit the requirements of national development at the present day. Over and above university degrees which can be obtained in about four to six years after matriculation intimate knowledge and experience of tribal life at different social development levels should be obtained through programmes of field work and social investigation. There is an urgent need to develop applied social sciences for the promotion of social engineering for the physical reconstruction, economic development and social organisation of the tribal communities. Besides, students of social sciences must develop the ability for independent and original thinking. The tribal population in the country is considerably large. It lives in distinct types of areas with their special climatic conditions. The communities are in different stages and levels of economic, social and cultural development. Great attention, therefore, ought to be given for the proper training of higher types of social scientists and at least some of them should belong to tribal communities. Special courses and improved training facilities for this purpose should be available especially in the Universities of Madhya Pradesh and Assam, and in all post-graduate institutions for social sciences throughout India. The number of social scientists and the higher types of social service administrators cannot be many in the country. It is unfortunate that courses in introductory sociology and elements of sociology and anthropology are not given in the graduate courses. The courses provided for the Master's and even Ph. D. degrees

are now-a-days inadequate for the promotion of higher knowledge of the social sciences. The low standard of teaching and absence of suitable text books for applied social sciences are responsible for the incomplete contribution made by them to the solution of important social problems. Besides, the knowledge of social sciences has to be correlated to the needs of scientific, economic and technical development, and the needs social service administration and social welfare. The Schools of Social Work in the country could help in this direction, if the work of the anthropologist and the sociologist is coordinated to the efforts for evolving the right types of social services in the tribal areas using modern techniques and programmes for the promotion of health, social education, and general well being of each section of the community.

Tribal Welfare Organisers : Therefore, if the right type of ideas, methods, techniques and programmes are known or are discovered, yet the extensive promotion of tribal welfare will depend upon the use of the Movement Method by the State as well as major private welfare agencies for tribal welfare in the country. Local initiative, organisation and action are imperative for the achievement of concrete results in extensive areas. These have to be primarily carried out by persons belonging to tribal areas, and by persons who have the inclination and ability to live amongst tribal communities. Local initiative and efforts of the community level workers needs the constant guidance of social technicians and engineers. The Movement Method, therefore, develops on a national scale with effective and powerful National and State Headquarters which employ social thinkers, develop

thinking, carry out practical experiments, and important social investigations. They discover the right types of approaches and equipment needed for field development. The headquarters then maintain a staff of national and State field organisers who constantly move about the community areas to stir initiative, develop programmes, give field training to local community workers, supervise activities, and evaluate the nature and quality of achievements. Workers for the Movement Method require special training for between two years and thirty months. The schools of social work, agricultural and craft training centres, institutions for developing forestry and small scale industries, are specially suitable for giving this type of practical training to tribal welfare organisers.

The subjects including for training welfare organisers for economic and social welfare programmes may include :

Development of forestry and hunting economy.

Hill side agriculture and terrace cultivation.

Animal husbandry and especially poultry farming, goat keeping and pig rearing.

Tribal crafts and small scale industries.

Organisation of co-operatives.

Social education.

Woman and family welfare.

Child welfare including organisation of pre-basic and basic schools, and children's centres.

Community recreation and cultural development.

Education. Special training should be given to pre-basic and basic school teachers

in institutions specially created for this purpose in tribal areas. The entire tribal education field should be manned as early as possible by teachers belonging to the tribal communities. As far as possible the teachers as well as tribal children should receive their training and education within the tribal areas. The problem of impact and consequences of interaction and contact between students of non-tribal and tribal communities with other rural and urban communities need to be carefully studied. There are obvious advantages and gains involved in contacts with communities outside the tribal areas, but there are also some serious and undesirable consequences on the outlook and material approach of tribals who develop objectives and ways of life at an immature age which are inimical to the harmonious evolution of tribal society. Teachers Training Institutions, as well as at least one Tribal University should be created and developed in suitable tribal areas and environments.

High schools and higher education institutions may take considerable time to develop in tribal areas. Besides there may be inability, inadequate preparation, disinclination, or lack of opportunity on the part of tribal youth to go to formal educational institutions. A number of tribal-youth, both boys and girls, may therefore be given an opportunity to receive training in centres which can serve the purpose of some kind of a bifurcation institutions. A bifurcation institution for tribals may aim at giving training in 'good ways of living' including the ability to be gainfully employed in suitably developed training centres within a short period of about 12 months. These institutions could be in the nature of farm schools, craft workshops, and the courses of training will include practical training

dealing with work life, physical education and preparation for marriage, social participation, and social service. These institutions could be joined by boys and girls after leaving the basic school. Students may be admitted at the age of 15 to 16 years, and they may live in hostels provided in community areas.

The training of personnel for tribal welfare will ultimately depend upon the nature of activities and programmes that are to be carried out in the economic and social field. The training of paid workers will depend on the type and quality of the employing agencies, the emoluments they are able to offer, and the type of workers that are likely to respond to the demand for employment.

The Central Government must employ personnel for tribal welfare for developing relevant social sciences and techniques, studying tribal problems, and organise pilot projects and field programmes in a few selected tribal areas. The State Governments, in their own areas, must man the administration of tribal areas with efficient personnel, develop their own projects of tribal welfare, and assist private agencies to carry on their programmes more effectively and extensively. As the demand for tribal welfare services becomes more extensive, private tribal welfare agencies will become less effective; and yet important national and local private agencies for community and economic development, health, education, social education, woman and child welfare, etc. must remain to maintain, to spearhead pioneering efforts, and act as guide for the State welfare activities. The maximum co-operation between State and agencies alone can assure the achievement of tribal welfare on a sound basis.

आदिवासी कार्यकर्ताओं का प्रशिक्षण

पा० गो० वर्गीकर

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वह भी एक जमाना था कि जब पराधीन भारत में आदिमजातियों की उन्नति के लिये सिर्फ युरोप-अमेरिका आदि पर-मुल्कों से सैकड़ों साल पहले से आए हुए मिशनरी लोग ही कार्य करते थे। उनको उनके देश से तो आर्थिक सहायता मिलती ही थी किन्तु उन दिनों भी प्रान्तीय तथा केन्द्रीय सरकारों से हर प्रकार की मदद मिलती थी और सेवा करने वाले पूरी तालीम पाकर अपने अपने देश से हजारों मील दूरी पर यहां आकर ब्रह्म जंगलों में, पहाड़ की चोटी पर, या दरी-कंदराओं में बसकर व अपने तरीके से आदिमजातियों में गुलमिलकर अनेक प्रकार के सेवा केन्द्र खोल के शिक्षा प्रचार, औपधी वितरण, स्वास्थ्य संवर्धन तथा आर्थिक विकास इत्यादि कार्य करते थे। हालांकि हो सकता है उनका हेतु उनकी सेवाएं अर्पित करने में कोई दूसरा हो जो आगे चलकर हमारे देशवासियों में, हमारे ही आदिवासी भाइयों में, भेदभाव निर्माण कर सकें। किन्तु एक बात तो सत्य है कि इस प्रकार की समाज सेवा का कार्य उन्होंने ही हमारे भारतवर्ष में शुरू किया और हमारी आंखें खोलके हमारे देशवासियों को हमें किस ढंग से सेवा करनी चाहिए उसका रास्ता उन्होंने बतलाया।

आज से ३६ साल पहले गुजरात में जब अकाल निवारण का कार्य करने को स्वर्गीय पूज्य ठक्कर बापा गये तब वे पंचमहाल जिले में रहने वाले भीलों के परिचय में आए। उन्होंने देखा कि

वहां हर तीन साल में एक अकाल निश्चित रूप से आता ही है और दीन-हीन-गरीब और दलित भीलों का जीना मुश्किल कर देता है तो १९२२-२३ में उन्होंने भोल सेवा मंडल नामक संस्था खोली और ३ साल के लिए १२ सेवक और सिर्फ ५३,००० रूपयों की मांग जनता से की। ५२,००० रूपयों की भीख तो बंबई, अहमदाबाद में बसनेवाले धनिकों से मिलती रही किन्तु १२ सेवक उन्हें न मिल सके। जो मुश्किल से ६-७ मिल गये वे कहां तक टिकेंगे, उसकी भी उन्हें परेशानी रहती थी। किन्तु भारतवर्ष में हरिजनों तथा आदिवासियों में मिशनरी ढंग का कार्य करने का जोड़ा उठाने वाला व पहले मिशनरी थे। उन दिनों वे सर्वेन्ट्स आफ इंडिया सोसायटी सरीखी प्रतिष्ठित व सरकार मान्य संस्था के सदस्य होते हुए भी सरकार से उन्हें उनकी संस्था के लिए न तो वार्षिक सहायता मिलती थी और न तो अन्य प्रकार की मदद या सहानुभूति ही। सरकारी मदद या सहानुभूति की तो बात ही रहने दीजिए, उन दिनों के सरकारी कर्मचारी उन्हें और उनके कार्यकर्ताओं को शायद क्रान्तिकारी समझकर अनेक प्रकार से दखल देते थे, कोसने थे, और झूठे आरोप-आक्षेप लगाके झूठे मुकदमे चलाते थे। इन सब कठिनाइयों का सामना करते करते, पूज्य बापा अपने सेवा कार्य में अडिग-अटल-टढ़ निश्चयी रहे। उन्होंने जनता की सहानुभूति प्राप्त कर आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्त की। कुछ चंद्र सेवक मिले उनको

प्रत्यक्ष तालीम देने का कार्य किया और स्थापित किए हुए आश्रमों में आदिवासी बालकों को इस प्रकार की शिक्षा दी कि वे शिक्षित होने के साथ साथ चापा का कार्य आगे चलानेवाले सेवक भी बन सकें।

इतनी लंबी प्रस्तावना पराधीन भारत में कार्य करने वाले परदेशीय तथा भारतीय मिशनरियों की दशा कैसी थी यह समझने के लिए की गई। किन्तु अब तो स्वतंत्र भारत में हमें कोई प्रकार की रुकावटें नहीं हैं। इतना ही नहीं किन्तु स्वतंत्र भारत के संविधान में आदिमजातियों की सर्वांगीण उन्नति के लिए कुछ विशेष सहायता तथा विशेषाधिकार दिए गए हैं और साथ ही साथ केन्द्रीय शासन से राज्य शासनों को ठीक ठीक अनुपात में अनुदान देने के लिए निधि का भी प्रबंध किया गया है। इतना प्रबंध और इतनी दिलचस्पी तो सदा से स्वतः को सुधरे हुए राष्ट्र मानने वालों ने भी अपने संविधान में उनके यहां रहनेवाले आदिवासियों को नहीं दी है।

संविधान में प्राप्त हुई इन सुविधाओं से भारत-वर्ष के हर एक राज्य में जहां-जहां अनुसूचित जातियां ज्यादा तादाद में रहती हैं वहां-वहां शासन की ओर से कई प्रकार की योजनाएं बनाई गई हैं। और उन्हें सरकार अपनी ओर से तथा संस्थाओं के द्वारा भी कार्यान्वित करने की कोशिशें कर रही है। किन्तु इन योजनाओं को ठीक ढंग से सफल बनाने में अब आर्थिक सहायता मिलने में कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। दिक्कत है केवल ठीक ढंग में कार्य करने-वाले सेवा भावी-नारिश्चल-प्रामाणिक और तालीम पाये हुए कार्यकर्त्ताओं का। इस दिक्कत या प्रश्न को हल करने के लिए क्या करना चाहिए, यहां इस लेख में यही बतलाने का मेरा आशय है।

पिछले ५०-६० सालों में हमारे भारतवर्ष में समाज सेवा करने वाली कई संस्थाएँ अपने-अपने ढंग से समाज सेवा कर रही हैं। उनमें से कुछ संस्थाओं की यह प्रणाली रही है कि जो सेवक कम से कम २० साल तक निस्वार्थ वृत्ति से और सेवाभाव से काम करने को तैयार हो उसी को संस्था का आजीवन सदस्य बना लेना और ऐसे १०-२० आजीवन सदस्यों से संस्था का कार्य निभाना। जब संस्था में २० साल की प्रतिज्ञा लेकर कार्य करने वाले सदस्य मिलते हैं वे निश्चिन्त हो कर अपने-अपने कार्य के संबंध में अभ्यासपूर्वक पूर्ण माहिती और ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लेते हैं और साथ ही साथ अपने अनुभव से उस ज्ञान में वृद्धि भी करते रहते हैं। यही तरीका पूज्य ठक्कर चापा ने अपनी संस्थाओं में कार्य करने वाले कार्यकर्त्ताओं के संबंध में अपनाया। किन्तु इस तरीके से कार्यकर्ता प्राप्त करने में बहुत देरी होती है और कभी कभी उन कार्यकर्त्ताओं की दली हुई मुरादें उभर जाने से वे बीच में से कार्य छोड़कर चल देते हैं या कभी कभी उनको निकालना भी पड़ता है।

अब परदेश से आने वाले मिशनरियों का तरीका देखिए। परदेशी मिशनरी जिस कार्य के लिए कार्यकर्ता भेजते हैं उसको उसके कार्य के लिए पूरी लगन है या नहीं वह प्रथम देखते हैं। बाद में उसको जिस देश में भेजना है उस देश की भाषा और यदि आदिवासियों में सेवा कार्य करने को जाना है तो उनकी भी भाषा सिखलाई जाती है। उसके कार्य की पूर्ण तालीम साल-दो साल की नहीं किन्तु ६-७ साल और कभी कभी तो उससे ज्यादा तालीम भी दी जाती है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि एक निष्णात डाक्टर को भी वैद्यकीय तालीम

के अलावा भवन-निर्माण कार्य, हिसाब-किताब वहां की, भूगोल, इतिहास और राज्य शासन (अड-मिनिस्ट्रेशन) इत्यादि की भी पूर्ण माहिती दी जाती है। इतनी तालीम देकर और उसकी लगन देखकर बाद में उसे परदेश में अपने मिशन के प्रचार कार्य के लिए भेज देते हैं। साथ ही साथ उसके उपजीविका का, स्वास्थ्य का और अन्य प्रकार की सुविधाओं का पूर्ण खयाल रखते हैं। यहां तक कि मिशन प्रचार के लिए भेजे गये सेवक को ठीक वेतन दिया जाता है। उसकी शादी होने के बाद वेतन में वृद्धि होती है, वच्चे होने पर और वृद्धि की जाती है। अच्छे स्वास्थ्यप्रद भूकान सभी को मुफ्त रहने को मिलते हैं। गरमी के दिनों में हवा खाने के लिए पहाड़ों पर जाने की सुविधाएं होती हैं, बीमारों में दवाई का प्रबंध मुफ्त होता है। साल भर में या तीन साल में एकाध बार मिशन के खर्चों से स्वदेश कुछ महिनों के लिए सबेतेन जाने की छुट्टी मिलती है। उनको वाहनादि साधन दिये जाते हैं। इस प्रकार उन कार्यकर्ताओं को उनके कार्य करने में जितनी सहूलियतें दी जानी चाहिए उतनी दी जाती है।

अब तीसरा तरीका भिन्न-भिन्न शासनों का देखिए। जहां जहां आदिमजाति कल्याण विभाग खोल दिए गए हैं वहां वहां उस विभाग का ज्यादा से ज्यादा १० साल का कार्य रहेगा यह मान्यता फैली हुई है। नतीजा यह होता है कि उस विभाग के कर्मचारी मन में सोचते हैं कि १० साल के बाद क्या? फिर दूसरी बात उनको जो वेतन मिलता है उसमें और जिनको केवल शहरों में तहसील या जिलों के स्थान में या अच्छे देहातों में मुख्यालय होते हैं उन कर्मचारियों के वेतन में कुछ फर्क नहीं

रखा जाता और विभाग में भरती करने का वही तरीका है याने कि अखबारों में विज्ञापन देना और लोक सेवा आयोग (पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन) द्वारा चुनाव से भरती करना। इससे सरकारी कर्मचारी हमेशा सोचते हैं कि जबतक और कहीं दूसरी गुंजाइश नहीं है तबतक यहां टिके रहो और जब जैसे ही अन्यत्र अच्छी जगह मिल जाए यहां से रुखसद् पालो। इस ढंग से भरती करने में सेवा-भावी, चारित्र्यशील-प्रामाणिक लगने वाले तालीम पाए हुए कार्यकर्ता कहां से और किस तरह मिल सकते हैं! तो फिर कैसे उत्तम कार्यकर्ता मिलने के लिए क्या करना चाहिए। मेरी राय में अच्छे कार्यकर्ता प्राप्त करने के लिए निम्नलिखित पांच उपाय हो सकते हैं :—

(१) विभिन्न राज्य शासनों तथा संस्थाओं द्वारा समाज सेवा करनेवाले कार्यकर्ताओं के लिए और उनमें भी खासकर आदिमजातियों में कार्य करने वाले सेवकों के लिए तालीम या प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र खोले जाने चाहिए।

(२) उन केन्द्रों में आदिमजातियों की भाषा से लेकर उनकी उन्नति के लिए जो जो योजनाएं बनाई गई हैं उनका अभ्यास, आदिवासियों में कार्य करने की विशिष्ट कार्यप्रणाली की शिक्षा, सहकारिता, खेती, औषधोपचार, पशुसंवर्धन, भवन-निर्माण, कार्य, समाज शिक्षा, मानववंश शास्त्र, समाज शास्त्र, आदिवासियों की कला संस्कृति, आचार-विचार का ज्ञान, उनका मानव शास्त्र, इत्यादि-इत्यादि विषयों की सम्यक् प्रशिक्षण प्रशिक्षण विद्यालय में दी जानी चाहिए।

(३) इस प्रशिक्षण की अवधि १ साल की होनी चाहिए और प्रशिक्षार्थी को प्रशिक्षण काल में दरम्यान योग्य छात्रवृत्ति दी जानी चाहिए।

(४) पूर्ण प्रशिक्षण-तालीम हासिल करने के पश्चात् उन कार्यकर्ताओं को राज्य शासन तथा सेवा संस्थाओं में सेवा कार्य करने के लिए भरती करना चाहिए और उनकी सेवा के संबंध में सुरक्षितता मिलनी चाहिए। याने जीवन भर सेवा कर सके ऐसी निःशंकाता प्राप्त होनी चाहिए।

(५) अखिर में उनको उसी प्रकार की सव सहुलियतें मिलनी चाहिए जो कि विदेशी मिशनरियों को यहां प्राप्त होती हैं।

जब तक हम ऐसी कोई निश्चित प्रणाली स्वीकार नहीं कर लेते तबतक आदिवासी उन्नति के कार्य में हमें सफलता प्राप्त होना असंभव है।

THE NEED FOR TRAINING WORKERS FOR IMPLEMENTING PROGRAMMES IN THE TRIBAL AREA

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It has now been accepted that social services is not just charity or philanthropy but a deliberate and positive approach to help the individual or groups in their relationships to face situations and to assist in the removal of causes for such maladjustment and social evils. With the change in the concept of the term 'Social Services' an agreement has also been reached that to do effective social welfare knowledge and skills are necessary and that as in the case of other professions social workers in this field also need specific training. Still there are many who think that any one with a dedicated spirit and sympathetic heart can do social work. These are necessary no doubt but a kind heart and a dedicated spirit are the basic materials which need to be moulded and properly trained before the social worker can handle situations. This does not mean that there is no place for voluntary workers. There is always an honoured place for them and will still continue to have a large sector and they can turn out

much more work in co-operation with trained staff. But so long as social work is considered as a leisure time pursuit and as one's hobby no continuous activity is possible and a constructive attack on social problems will consequently be delayed. Therefore those who are endowed with the dedicated spirit and a kind heart and are also anxious to give service, can take up social work as full time jobs, by equipping themselves with necessary skills, knowledge and techniques so very essential in handling these delicate human problems.

The need for trained personnel in the implementation of programmes for tribal welfare is even greater because of the special and highly delicate character of the work in this field. Because of historical and other reasons the tribals form a class by themselves with a diversity in their cultures; they have developed and lived in a way of their own which must be recognised, understood and should in no way be interfered with by any effort to

ameliorate them. Any change that must take its own time and must be the result of their own acceptance and even then only to the degree to which they do accept. Judged by our standards they are economically, socially and politically extremely backward. Therefore however enthusiastic and eager we may be to bring about certain changes, economic, educational and social, we all know from experience that it is not possible to adopt a set pattern or any particular approach. All that we need to bear in mind constantly is the human aspect and the realisation that these groups are still in the early stages of development because of their having kept themselves away from the rest of us. (Or is it the other way?) With this as our basis different approaches to the primitive culture types have to be made to suit the particular groups or even adapt them to different conditions and circumstances within one group. This needs time, patience, psychological understanding and tact, all centered round the human approach element. To denounce their habits, decry their customs or insist on immediate changes and introduce new factors which are strange to them would not only be not appropriate or correct but utterly useless. Even when we approach them with measures for their betterment they do not quite understand, though child-like they may give their consent to these proposals. For instance in one case the officers went to a tribal group, and told them that if good houses are built for them, would they come and live, they just said yes, without realising what it meant. The buildings were constructed; they were persuaded to go and live but they could not however adjust and they fled to the forests. In another colony they killed the cows and bulls that were

supplied, pulled down the houses and went back to their forest homes. Recently it was understood that some of the tribes were persuaded to stop serving liquor during marriage ceremonies, not to continue their dances beyond mid-night and to give up their practice of Ghotuls gradually and form separate dormitories for boys and girls. As already stated it is very easy to persuade the tribals to do what we want but it would be folly on our part to act on that. The tribes may be a party to the passings of these resolutions but it remains to be seen to what extent they will be obeyed. Drink, as we know, is so much connected with their ceremonies and religious functions that it is only by very slow persuasion they could be brought round without hurting their feelings. On the other hand their dances and music are the very breath of their life and one wonders if it is wise on our parts to persuade them to give up these. As for the Ghotuls, this practice is so deeply and intimately connected with their life and culture that the tribals attach considerable importance to it. Here again is an instance where interference is not only uncalled for but would be seriously disturbing their community life. This practice has several good points and by careful education and as a result of mixing of the tribes with the plains' people, the practice may get rid of those aspects which to us may be somewhat abnoxious.

While there is a diversity in their primitive cultures we must also remember that there is a need to remove as far as possible the great differences that exist between the tribal and modern patterns. But this has to be achieved in by an extremely cautious way as the tendency is always for the tribals nearing

civilisation to pick up the leavings of the more advanced culture and in this manner gradually bring about their own extermination by their ignorance, poverty, disease, want and frustration. One has to guard against the tendency of acculturation destroying the weaker pattern.

The above remarks only show how careful we have to be in our approach to those people and their problems and considering the very delicate and difficult nature of the work amongst them how great is the desirability for careful planning and careful implementation. The importance of these two aspects in all our dealings with the tribals can hardly be exaggerated specially because of the directives in the Constitution which expect us to implement these ameliorative measures for the tribals within the period stipulated. While it is realised that the programmes for the tribal welfare have to be implemented within a certain period, they cannot for obvious reasons be hastened. Due regard must therefore be given both to the planning and to their implementation.

It is extremely necessary that when programmes are planned these are based on a survey of the area and the people for whom these measures are designed. Without understanding their background and what their needs are and the environment in which they have lived and grown, it is not possible to effectively plan for these groups. Except in a few states the schemes generally laid down for the welfare of the tribals relate to just so many wells or schools or the supplying of a few agricultural implements. Schools and wells and implements no doubt are important but these should be related to their actual needs. A survey should take into consideration their

cultural background, their way of life, their economy and their needs in relation to these. Based on these economic, agricultural, educational and other programmes will have to be planned. For instance education has to be intimately related to their life and should be of the basic character and should also include community programmes making use of their own local institutions if any such existed such as their community halls, dormitories etc. Education for adults should never neglect their cultural heritage. Within the group tribal life is intergrated; their problems naturally are inter-related. Therefore every care has to be taken to see that programmes for the tribals are comprehensive in character so that they touch their life at every point. They should not be of a piecemeal type, which seems to be the character of most of the schemes now under implementation. What is needed is an *integrated total* programme based on their needs, their life and environment, and to effectively implement these it is most essential for a worker to live and mix with them and gradually educate them in all matters with reference to these programmes. The schemes will then have a meaning and will take shape and finally have a place in their life. Therefore from the survey to the final implementation of the total programme which means acceptance by the tribals and their proper utilization is one long continuous process. It is with this background that ameliorative programmes will have to be planned and implemented.

Having said that planning for their ameliorative programmes must be based on a study of the needs and environment of the tribal group, it follows that in the implementation of such programmes which, as already stated, should be based

on an individualistic and human-approach, the services of trained personnel will have to be utilized. In fact trained personnel is necessary even at the stage of survey, and their services could be properly utilized in formulating programmes. In the first place workers of the right type should be selected if possible those with certain amount of background and experience of having worked for the tribals and should definitely possess a love and a zeal for such work. On the part of the agency employing them it is most essential that they should be reasonably generous and offer fair terms of salary so as to provide good incentives to attract the right type of people. States should also guarantee that they will be employed for a definite period say 10 years. Government of India's grants to states and private agencies should be made conditional that trained staff must be employed.

Trained staff must be of three categories: the technical, the supervisory and the field staff. For the supervisory staff graduates with a knowledge of anthropology may be recruited preferably with a field experience and a practical approach. The idea being that even in their supervisory character they should be able to identify themselves with the tribals and their problems and also be in a position to understand and properly guide the field staff in their work. They may be given a two-months reorientation course. The minimum qualification for field staff must be at least matriculation and they should be given an intensive training of at least one year. The training syllabus must be drawn bearing in mind the fact that the field worker is a multipurpose worker in that tribal community. The syllabus will include among other things social sciences, giving them

an idea of tribal social structure, distribution of tribal people over the country and a comparative study of these, their cultural patterns, habitat and natural resources, problems of inter-tribal harmony and harmony between tribal and non-tribals, elementary principles of social anthropology etc. The course will also include patterns of tribal economy, agricultural and mixed economy, different types of cultivation, preservation of forests and wild life, forest produce and their utilization, cooperatives and crafts etc. In addition instructions should be given on their history, tribal and village community organisation, their assemblies, social and religious customs relating to marriage, divorce, deaths, mother-cult and animistic beliefs and practice of magic, witch craft and healing practices, drink, dancing, music and folk-lore, festivals etc. Syllabus must further provide for initiating social welfare programmes relating to education for children and adults, recreation, civics, health and hygiene measures; process of acculturation and assimilation and their effects and how to assist them to face these changes. In short the training course should provide these trainees with basic knowledge of tribal life and background, their problems and a good deal of emphasis will have to be placed on the techniques of approaching them and helping them to adjust themselves to new situations acceptable to them. Such a training should provide them with that knowledge and skill necessary to help them to appreciate the historical, diffusional or functional aspects of their culture and life and enable them to approach delicate tribal matters such as superstition, psychological complexes or credulous beliefs with sympathy and caution. Tribal youth conversant with the tribal

traditions should be encouraged to take up work in their own areas.

It would be better if zones are created in regard to the tribal population according to their culture and language and training is given with special reference to the particular problems of the respective zones. Training, however, must be given in tribal areas so as to facilitate field practice. Provision must also be made for periodical refresher courses which again must be conducted in the tribal area and tribal camps themselves. In other words in each State these courses could be conducted by rotation in one of the tribal colonies where the field worker works. This will not only help the field staff to exchange their ideas, but will be a worthwhile experience for the tribal inhabitants themselves. The educative value of such courses both for the trainees as well as for the tribals cannot be gainsaid.

It is very essential that the supervisory staff must be in frequent touch with the field staff. This will also help the field worker to get over the feeling that he is completely cut off from the rest of the world. The workers, and this is true of supervisory staff also, must constantly examine the relationships vis-a-vis the tribal people among whom they work and every care must be taken to see that nothing is done to weaken or in any manner impair these bonds. Pressure of any kind must be eshewed; on the other hand utmost confidence must be ensured. The final stage is when the workers find that the tribal people have understood the measures taken on their behalf and have accepted the services bringing with them the beneficial changes; they must thereafter endeavour to bring about a gradual desire in them to help

themselves. Slowly the group workers must refrain from providing services and should assist them to help themselves and stand on their own. This is a difficult part of their work for they must correctly judge at what stage the change over must take place and be prepared for this. Only trained and sympathetic workers with their knowledge about the groups can attempt this without undoing what has been done already.

In every state the department or the unit dealing with the welfare of backward classes should have a Research Institute with three units; one will undertake research studies and surveys which will be helpful for future programmes and adjustments and this unit should also be in a position to bring out suitable literature consisting of the experiences of the various workers and circulate the same amongst the staff. The second unit should consist of statisticians whose function will be to collect statistical data and factual information relating to tribals and also be in a position to assess the impact of the programmes implemented for them. The third unit must be responsible for conducting training classes and refresher course for the supervisory and field staff. The Research Institute with its three units must consist of experts and technicians. Except for the lower administration staff the technical personnel must have training in cultural anthropology and field experience and will be in-charge of each of the three units with a well qualified and experienced director as the overall head of the Institute. The technical personnel as already stated, must help the Department of Backward Classes in the preliminary work of survey and assist in formulating schemes which in a way will be the tribals' own schemes and therefore

implementation will be easier. They would be in a position to assess and diagnose problems and suggest remedies both at the time of framing schemes and later also in case any adjustments and changes become inevitable, if any misunderstanding needs to be cleared and in short would be better able to interpret issues satisfactorily both to the department on the one hand and the tribals themselves on the other through the field staff. The field staff therefore has to be given the training on the lines suggested above and must also be followed by effective and

helpful supervision and refresher courses so as to enable them to scientifically put into operation the suggestions given and thus avoid any harm that must result from careless indoctrination.

It is earnestly hoped that in the light of the experience gained, the importance as well as the urgency of the welfare measures to be implemented for the tribals will be realised and bearing in mind the difficult nature and special character of the work to be undertaken in this field satisfactory training programmes will be initiated without delay.

आदिवासी क्षेत्र और कार्यकर्ताओं का प्रशिक्षण

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भारतवर्ष में जो अनेक महत्वपूर्ण समस्याएँ हैं उनमें आदिवासी समस्या महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखती है। भारत के पहाड़ व जंगलों में आज करीब टाई करोड़ आदिवासी लोग अपना जीवन यापन कर रहे हैं। निर्धनता, अशिक्षा और बीमारियाँ ही उनके साथी हैं। शहर और रेल-मार्ग तथा पक्की सड़कों के किनारे बसने वाले वे वनवासी भाई कुछ विशेष सुधरे हुये दिखाई देते हैं परन्तु वे शहर वासियों के दुर्गुणों के ही शिकार हो गये हैं। हम सब स्वतन्त्र भारत के नागरिक हैं यह जापति उनमें शीघ्रातिशीघ्र हो और वे भारत के नवनिर्माण में अपनी अपार शरीरसम्पत्ति और सच्चाई का योगदान देकर हाथ बढ़ावें इसके लिये उनके बीच में रहकर अथक परिश्रम करने वाले बुद्धिमान और सर्वोदयी कार्यकर्ताओं की आज देश में अत्यंत आवश्यकता है।

इन कार्यकर्ताओं को आदिवासियों की आर्थिक, सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक और स्वास्थ्य विषयक प्रगति करना। आजकल का युग विप्लवों का है परन्तु सेवाभावी कार्यकर्ताओं की कमी होने के कारण अनेक विषयों के योग्य कार्यकर्ता एक ही स्थान पर कार्य करने के लिये मुरिकल से मिलते हैं। किसी विकास योजना क्षेत्र में जहाँ सरकार द्वारा काम होता है वहाँ अनेक आदमी या अनेक विप्लवों का संघ नियुक्त किया जा सकता है, जहाँ अत्यधिक खर्च किया जा सकता है परन्तु आदिवासी क्षेत्र की व्यापकता को देखते हुए ऐसे क्षेत्र जहाँ शासन द्वारा योजना चलाई जाती है अत्यन्त कम है। ऐसे अपार क्षेत्र हैं जहाँ कोई भी कार्य नहीं होता वहाँ जाकर काम करने के लिये जो भी कोई मेवक तैयार हो जाता है उसको मल्टिपरपज मेन या बहुविध काम

करने वाला व्यक्ति होना आवश्यक है। जबतक कार्यकर्ता को विविध प्रवृत्तियों का प्रशिक्षण नहीं दिया जाता तब तक वह आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में उपयोगी काम नहीं कर सकता।

प्रायः यह देखा गया है कि योग्य कार्यकर्ता के अभाव में हमारा कल्याणकारी जितना अच्छा कार्य होना चाहिये नहीं हो पाता। जहाँ सरकारी योजनाएँ संचालित होती हैं वहाँ आधुनिक शिक्षा प्रणाली की विशेष योग्यता पर जोर दिया जाता है। आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में काम करने वाला ग्रामसेवक या निरीक्षक या प्रबन्धक मेट्रिक, एफ. ए. वा बी. ए. होना चाहिये यह बंधन हास्यास्पद है। मेट्रिक और कालेज की पढ़ाई शहरों में होती है। शहर के वातावरण में रह कर प्रमाणपत्र प्राप्त करने वाला नौजवान सरकारी नौकरी के प्रलोभन से आदिवासी क्षेत्र में जाता है और जंगल के वातावरण के लिये अनभ्यस्त होने के कारण वह अपना काम ईमानदारी से नहीं कर पाता। उसका लक्ष्य शहर और उसके आकर्षणों की ओर होता है हमने देखा है कि सरकार आदिवासी कल्याण-योजना के कार्य के लिये नियुक्ति करते समय केवल विद्यालयी योग्यता का ही ध्यान रखती है और नियुक्त कर्मचारियों के प्रशिक्षण का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं करती इसके फलस्वरूप अपरिमित पैसा खर्च होता हुआ भी ठोस कार्य नहीं होता।

इधर गैर सरकारी आदिवासी कल्याण योजना का कार्य करने वाली संस्थाएँ भी अपने कार्य के लिये योग्य कार्यकर्ता नियुक्त नहीं कर सकती। इन संस्थाओं का कार्य प्रधानतः शैक्षणिक होता है। प्राथमिक शालाएँ, माध्यमिक शालाएँ और आश्रम : बोर्डिंग : संचालन करना इनका मुख्य कार्य होता है इस कार्य के लिये मिलनेवाले मेवक प्रायः हिंदी सातवीं

पढ़े हुये होते हैं कुछ ही कार्यकर्ता ऐसे होते हैं जिन्हें नार्मल स्कूल की ट्रेनिंग मिलती है! सार्वभौमिक प्रशिक्षण के अभाव में ये कार्यकर्ता समग्र ग्राम सेवा का कार्य नहीं कर सकते उनका वतन मान अपर्याप्त होने से कार्यक्षम और योग्य नवयुवक इस काम के लिये नहीं मिलते। इन ग्रामिण कार्यकर्ताओं में एक बात अवश्य पायी जाती है कि वे ग्रामों के वातावरण में अतिप्रतीघ्न घुलमिल जाते हैं। सादगी के कारण उन्हें देहातों में विशेष तकलीफ नहीं होती उनका शरीर भी कष्ट सहिष्णु रहता है! इस चीज मील पैदल यात्रा करना उनके लिये कोई मुश्किल नहीं होता। उनका सामान्य ज्ञान का स्तर यदि बढ़ाया जाय तो ये हिन्दी सातवीं आठवीं तक पढ़े हुए कार्यकर्ता केवल मेट्रिक पास शहरी सुकुमार नवयुवकों की अपेक्षा आदिवासी क्षेत्रों के लिये अधिक कार्य भ्रम होते हैं किन्तु उचित मार्गदर्शन और आवश्यक सार्वभौमिक प्रशिक्षण इन्हें प्राप्त न हुआ तो वे आलसी, व्यसनी, काम टालने वाले हो जाते हैं और योजना निष्फल होती है।

जहाँ तक मुझे शत है प्रशिक्षण की दिशा में जो हमारा प्रयत्न चालू है वह कार्य की व्यापकता की तुलना में अत्यन्त अल्प है। हमें जो भी स्वस्थ सातवीं पास नवयुवक मिलते हैं उन्हें छै माह से दो साल तक ट्रेनिंग द्वारा कार्य योग्य बनाया जा सकता है। जहाँ जहाँ वनवासी कल्याण योजना का कार्य चालू है वहाँ वहाँ माध्यमिक शाला के साथ ही साथ छात्रावास खोले जाते हैं जहाँ तीन या चार साल तक आदिवासी बालक गुरु के निरीक्षण में शिक्षा पाते हैं! यदि इन छात्रावासों का संचालन योग्य संचालकों के हाथ में हो तो इन्हीं आश्रमों से निकले हुए आदिवासी बालक एक या दो सालके विषय प्रशिक्षणसे अच्छे कार्यकर्ता बन सकते हैं। अतएव हरएक प्रान्त में

छात्रावास के गालकों के लिये कम से कम एक प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र आवश्यक ही होना चाहिये।

आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ता तीन श्रेणियों में विभाजित किये जा सकते हैं :—

(१) ग्रामसेवकों की श्रेणी— इस श्रेणी के लिये सातवीं या आठवीं तक पढ़ा छात्रावास का आदिवासी विद्यार्थी योग्य समझा जावे और उसे दो वर्ष तक समग्रग्राम सेवा की उद्योग प्रधान शिक्षा दी जाय। साथ ही साथ उसका बौद्धिक स्तर मैट्रिक के समकक्ष हो जाना चाहिये, दूसरी श्रेणी मैट्रिक तक शिक्षा प्राप्त परन्तु कृषि की प्रत्यक्ष शिक्षा जिसने प्राप्त की है ऐसे स्वस्थ नवयुवक इस श्रेणी में समाविष्ट किये जा सकते हैं इनके लिये एक वर्ष का समग्रग्राम सेवा का प्रशिक्षण पर्याप्त होगा और ये प्रशिक्षण के बाद आदिवासी कल्याण केन्द्रों के संचालन के लिये योग्य समझे जायेंगे। तीसरी श्रेणी महाविद्यालयीय स्नातक परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण कार्यकर्ताओं की होगी। इन कार्यकर्ताओं के दो वर्ग हो सकते हैं।

(१) ऐसे स्नातक जो तात्विक और शास्त्रीय दृष्टि से समाज शास्त्र तथा मानवविज्ञान का अध्ययन करना चाहते हैं। (२) वे स्नातक जो प्रत्यक्ष आदिवासी क्षेत्र में संघटक का कार्य करने की पात्रता प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं। इनमें से प्रथम वर्ग के लिये दो वर्गों का उत्तर स्नातक अध्ययन आवश्यक है और दूसरे वर्ग के लिये कम से कम छै माह तक सुयोग्य मार्ग दर्शन में प्रत्यक्ष कार्य करना।

दुख की बात है कि प्रशिक्षण का विषय महत्वपूर्ण होने पर भी हमारा इस दिशा में कोई कार्य नहीं हुआ। अनुसंधान कार्य के लिये कुछ विश्वविद्यालय अपने उत्तर स्नातक पाठ्यक्रम में मानव विज्ञान का समावेश किया है, कुछ विश्व-

विद्यालयों ने समाज सेवकों की शिक्षा के लिये स्कूल आफ सोशल वर्क जारी किये हैं परन्तु इन स्कूलों में जिन पदवी धारियों का प्रशिक्षण होता है वे आदिवासीयों के कष्टमय जीवन में समरस नहीं हो सकते। द्वितीय श्रेणी के कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये छिन्दवाड़ा में भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ द्वारा एक अखिल भारतीय प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र १९५४ में आठ माह के लिये संचालित किया गया। इस प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र में आसाम, बिहार, हिमाचल प्रदेश, बम्बई राज्य, मध्यप्रदेश तथा मद्रास के ३० कार्यकर्ता थे जिनमें १८ आदिवासी थे और ३ महिलाएँ थीं। यह प्रथम प्रयोग होने पर भी कार्यकर्ताओं ने आपस में मिलजुलकर तात्विक और प्रात्यक्षिक अध्ययन द्वारा अपनी योग्यता अच्छी तरह बढ़ा ली और आज वे सब अपने क्षेत्रों में अच्छी तरह कार्य कर रहे हैं। इस प्रकार दूसरे और तीसरे श्रेणी के कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये अखिल भारतीय प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। अलग अलग राज्यों की स्वतंत्र प्रशिक्षण केन्द्रों की मांग देखते हुए भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ ने अब उस केन्द्र को छै विभागीय केन्द्रों में विभाजित कर दिया है। यह प्रयोग किस प्रकार सफल होता है यह १९५५ के अन्त में मालूम होगा।

विभिन्न राज्यों ने केन्द्रीय सरकार की सहायता से अपने अपने आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में बड़े प्रमाण में आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य प्रारम्भ कर दिया है कहीं कहीं सहकार्य भी आरम्भ किये पांच वर्ष बीत चुके। हजारों की तादाद में कार्यकर्ता विभिन्न कल्याण कार्य करने में लगे हैं। शिक्षा विभाग, सहकारी विभाग, कृषि विभाग, वन विभाग और आदिवासी विभाग आदि अनेक शासन के विभाग और उपविभाग

आदिवासी उत्थान का कार्य करने में व्यस्त हैं अनेक संस्थाएँ भी जनता के सहयोग से तथा शासन के अनुदान से पूज्य ठक्कर बापा का पुन्य स्मरण करते हुये आदिवासी सेवा का महान कार्य कर रही हैं परन्तु केवल एक कमी के कारण यह सब प्रयास जितना सफल होना चाहिये उतना सफल नहीं हो सका और वह कमी है कार्यकर्ताओं के प्रशिक्षण की।

अतएव मेरा इस परिपद से विशेष अनुरोध है कि एक पंचवार्षिक योजना विशेष रूप से प्रशिक्षण के लिये बनाई जावे। कम से कम ५ साल के लिये आदिमजाति सेवकों के प्रादेशिक विद्यालय स्थान स्थान पर खोले जाय और सुलभयी परिश्रमी, सञ्चरित्त कार्यकर्ता चुनकर उन्हें ६ माह से लेकर २ साल तक का योग्यता अनुसार प्रशिक्षण दिया

जाय और प्रशिक्षण के बाद उन्हें वेतन, निवास और स्वास्थ्य रक्षा की विशेष सुविधाएँ देकर आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में कार्य करने के लिये नियुक्त किया जाय।

कार्यकर्ता प्रशिक्षण के पाठ्यक्रम में प्रत्यक्ष क्षेत्र-कार्य (Actual Field Work) को विशेष स्थान दिया जाय जो कार्यकर्ता प्रशिक्षित होता है वह चाहे सरकारी विभाग में काम करे या किसी गैर सरकारी संस्था में उसे इतना वेतन दिया जाय कि जिससे वह कुटुम्ब पोषण की चिन्ता से मुक्त रह सके।

अच्छे प्रशिक्षित कार्यकर्ता पर ही आदिवासी कल्याण योजना का उज्वल भविष्य निर्भर है।

TRAINING OF TRIBAL WELFARE WORKERS

DR. T. B. NAIK, DIRECTOR, TRIBAL RESEARCH
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With the increasing emphasis on Tribal Welfare, the State Governments are spending more and more money and the Central Government giving larger and larger grants-in-aid for Welfare Activities among the Adivasis of the states. Naturally the personnel employed by the Tribal Welfare Departments is very large in all states. In Madhya Pradesh alone there are 15 Area Organisers and 44 Circle Organisers over and above teachers and other workers. Tribal Welfare has become a specialised field from the Government's point of view because as Welfare States they would naturally expect the best returns for the money spent. From the humanitarian point of

view also, these people who have not been done their duty by us for hundreds and thousands of years as Jawaharlal Nehru so well said in the Constituent Assembly have to be fully looked after and thought in terms of raising their total standard of life giving them all opportunities for development to their fullest extent. From the tribal's point of view also they would like the people who work for and among them should be capable of fully understanding their difficulties and problems. All this can be achieved only if the workers, officials and non-officials both who undertake tribal welfare work are trained workers. From the scientific point of view, education—which has been

aptly called the third eye of man—in the field of tribal social work is based on the conviction that there is in this field a specialized and scientific body of knowledge and skill which cannot be imparted through mere apprenticeship and needs to be organised into a formal course of instruction. It also implies that this training is imperative for persons who could share responsibility in planning and administering services for the Welfare of the Tribal folk.

I will put down here as to what is expected of the social worker so that we can plan his training accordingly. Firstly, he is to work among the tribals who are very poor, simple and illiterate; whose cultural and sex forms are at times different from ours; whose economic and socio-cultural life has its own peculiarities and is full of vitality and who carry on their social, cultural and economic activities in their own fascinating maps are affected by the economic and social legislations of the states in which they live. All this has to be properly understood.

Secondly, he should primarily be a social worker and only then an official. He must have all the requirements of a social worker. Service of the people before self should be his motto. He should be able to take infinite pains as his work is arduous and the area in which he has to work is difficult without any modern amenities to offer. He also must be humble without any airs; he must not carry officialdom to these simple people. The success of social work is bound up with the training of a band of social workers who have acquired a human approach to the problems; who feel oneness with the unfortunates among whom

they are working; who have conquered the egoistic desire to teach and improve from a high pedestal and who have developed a sense of dedication of life to higher ends. He must be saturated with the quality of sympathy for these disadvantaged people and he must not attempt to forcibly change the tribal into a Saheb or a babu.

Thirdly, it is very necessary that he should be a man of upright character unmottled by money, human flesh or other vices, including idleness in as he has to outside the social controls known to him, the only thing to keep him on the right path is his character. In this honesty and an ever vigilant eye like Thakkar Bapa's, should also be included. He should believe in the basic democratic assumption of all social work that through self help on the part of the people and proper guidance on the part of social workers their problems can always be solved without creating any crisis in the life of the tribal people.

Fourthly as the welfare schemes for the tribal uplift have to be implemented on all the fronts such as economic, socio-cultural, educational and medical and as it is not possible to appoint a specialist for each field, the tribal welfare worker should be a multi-purpose social worker, having sound knowledge of co-operation, teaching and agricultural operations. He should be a dark youth and recreational leader and above all guide, friend and philosopher to the tribal people all rolled into one. It is now accepted in all hands that whatever the human qualities he may have, the social worker must know the techniques of social work. Mere emotions, self-sacrifice and sympathy though very valuable, cannot take the place of a

technical know-how of scientific social work, which is also called social engineering.

Mere class-room instruction in or book learning of social work techniques cannot make a practical social worker. It has been seen that many young persons with a degree in sociology or Anthropology or social work without much practical training do not prove as useful as the perseverant social workers who have learnt it the hard practical way. The courses should be prepared in such a way so that they help in creating an all round social worker. They also must undertake some small research assignment in a tribal problem to understand tribal problems at first hand.

Our expectations from these tribal social workers are quite many as enumerated above. It is, therefore necessary that their training must inevitably include the subjects mentioned below to be complete and sufficient for the ends laid down.

Principles of Anthropology are very useful from many points of view. For the solution of urgent and pressing problems rising now and then in the administration of tribal areas, anthropology giving intimate knowledge of the tribes can be very helpful. It can also help to establish a better communication line between the tribal people and the government. In periods of crisis, such as rise of aggressive cults and general disobedience to law and order the social workers and welfare officers having knowledge of anthropology will be able to advise the government on the best approach and thus help the Government to fare the situation in a right way.

For the understanding of the laws of land tenure these people are useful.

Through them, administration can learn how to properly assess the value of tribal evidences. Beaglehole says that the inoculation of administrators and officials with the anthropological point of view contributes immeasurably to a more efficient, tolerant, enlightened and sympathetic Government of the people concerned. The principles of anthropology will interpret to the students the cultural values of the tribes.

But anthropology is just one social Science. Knowledge of Sociology and social and primitive psychologies are also very necessary because they will give to the social-work-trainees an insight into the working of all human societies and into the psychological mechanisms which can move groups of human beings, including the backwards ones. The social controls, the factors behind social retardation, formation of leadership, the value of propaganda in tribal societies, the results of culture contact, all these are clearly understood after the study of these sciences. The aim of social science as Stuart Chase put it is to cut through myths and illusions and see truly how things are out there in the real world. Primitive psychology will bring home to the trainees the biological, psychological and cultural drives in tribal affairs.

Equally necessary is giving to the trainees an idea about the tribal cultures and problems of India. In this the trainees will be acquainted with the various tribes inhabiting different states. The course will include the knowledge about splendid war—like Nagas, the Mundas and Oraons of whom S. C. Roy wrote so prolifically, the artistic Santals, the two million strong Gonds, a once royal tribe who gave the name Gondwana to the area where they ruled, the Baigas, the Bhils

of Bombay and Rajasthan, the Reddis of Hyderabad and the few Todas of the Nilgiris. The trainees will know about the tribal social structure, their family life, their ways of getting livelihood, their panchayats, their arts and their songs. Provision should be made in the carrionlane for an intensive study of an important regional tribe e. g. the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh or the Bhils in Bombay.

In tribal welfare problems, their poverty and indebtedness and their causes, their illiteracy and ill health, some of their anti-social customs like head-hunting or some of their superstitions, their drink habits all will have to be thoroughly covered in the syllabus and taught to the trainees. The good and bad effects of the civilized peoples' contact with them will also have to be completely and dispassionately analysed in the classroom.

As was said earlier the tribals are affected by the land laws, forest rules, excise regulations and other acts of the Governments. An interpreters of the government's well-meaning measures, the social workers should completely know the a b c of all these rules. He must also be completely conversant with the different branches of the Public administration machinery of the States and a tribal welfare worker in Madhya Pradesh should for example have in his training provision of the Central Provinces Land Alienation Act 1916, of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act. 1939, the Central Provinces and Berar Local Governments Act, 1948 etc. If they know all these land, forest and excise rules and regulations they will be able to guide the tribals properly.

I also said that they have to be multi-purpose social workers. For this purpose

their training must include quite a short course in medicine. They should also know agriculture, badi-cultivation, poultry farming and pig-raising. They should be able to organise and run a cooperative society, ply a charkha, lecture on health, give a demonstration lesson in tribal school, organise a recreation programme or arrange a dance and song party in the tribals. Their responsibilities are many and given proper duty-consciousness on their part and extensive training coupled with intensive practical project methods they will surely be able to bear the responsibility successfully.

I mentioned above that the social worker should know the techniques of social work. Social work includes social case work where a single person in need is to be understood and helped and social group work which refers to all group life and in which the needs of the whole group are determined and action taken to fulfil these needs. Social work also includes Community organization i. e., the techniques of bringing all the resources of a community, men, materials, leadership, and environment for achieving a laid down goal. Our social workers must be expert in all these branches. Here I may mention the fact that now the tribal welfare activities are being organised after the pattern of the N.E.S. and community Development projects. While planning the course for such training it must be borne in mind that the training in these lines should also be included in the course. Practical experience is more useful than class-room instructions. The trainees should be asked to organise a cooperative society, or a social education class or a children's welfare centre or run an improved agricultural farm or a poultry farm or a recreational group among the tribals of a village near their training

school. For such type of practical work two or three hours per day should be set apart.

Field research work will also give them first hand knowledge of the tribals. As the field work has to be done in the place where the problem exists, they will automatically come in contact with the tribals and through the techniques of scientific investigation they will be able to go deep into their problems and will be able to know the how's and why's of the problem. An experienced teacher, of course, will guide both these practical activities.

A very important part of their training should be visits to places where social service work is carried out, in child welfare centres, in widows' homes, in Shramdan Yagnas, in Co-operative societies, in youths clubs and in tribal ashrams. In their training institutes the trainees should have the privilege of inviting social workers of repute whose example they may follow to the best of their capacities. They should also celebrate the anniversaries of great men so that they may derive inspiration from these immortal great men.

In the end I may mention a few other matters associated with the social workers' training which, though trivial, should not be lost sight of :

1. Emphasis must also be placed on the physical training of the social workers. They must be taught to be self sufficient.

2. It must, of course, be seen that it does not mean work for all the 24 hours for them. All work and no play and rest makes Jack a dull and disgruntling boy.

3. Stipends should be paid to the trainees. As far as possible the trainees

must be adivasis or those who have the characteristics shown above. They must try to learn at least one tribal dialects also. The trainees must be absorbed in service by the state or other voluntary bodies after their successful training. The idea behind such training schools is to have a staff College for welfare workers. They should be properly paid looking to the work expected of them.

An ideal syllabus based on the above discussions and also framed on the lines of reputed schools of social work at Bombay, Baroda, Benares, Delhi, Jabalpur, Madras and Nagpur with modifications to suit the requirements of the tribal social workers is given below :—

Paper I:— Sociology and Social Anthropology.

Nature and scope of Sociology and its relations to other sciences—Economics, Politics, Psychology and Anthropology; determinants of society, Geographical, social, economic and cultural; social institutions :—

Marriage, Family, State, Economic life, Religion, Social groups, social structure.

Survey of Geographical, Historical environments of the Indian people; Varnashram, Marriage and family; caste in India; the Indian village, Indian Urban life, Sociological analysis of contemporary social problems, linguistic tension, communalism, economic backwardness, untouchability, assimilation of tribal communities.

Scope of social Anthropology with a little historical background, Social Anthropology, and Sociology, methods of Social Anthropology, Economic institutions of primitive people, material, culture, techniques of farming, hunting, fishing, food gathering and methods of

communications, social institutions; marriage, family, clan, tribe, rank, property, Government and law, religion and marriage, language, culture and society.

Paper I—B :— Tribal Culture. (Social Anthropology).

Tribes in India; their population and distribution, social and linguistic classification; activities, totem and taboo. The economic life of different classes of tribes, cultural evolution of different tribes; cultural equipments of different tribes; their important social institutions; Panchayat, dormitories, Chiefs and Tribal Councils. Marriage, family, kinship, religion and its relations with their economics, rites of passage; birth, marriage and death.

Tribal recreation, songs, dances, folk-songs; assimilation and acculturation.

Detailed study of the tribes.

- (1) of India (any one) — Santhal, Naga, Bhils, Oraon,
- (2) of Madhya Pradesh (any two)—Gond, Korku, Baiga, Pardhan.

Paper II :— Social and Primitive Psychology

Scope of Social Psychology, roots of personality; culture and personality; social myths, crowd, prejudice; public opinion, propaganda and publicity, principles of leadership, significance of leadership for society; Social receptivity and social antagonism.

Primitive psychology, need of the study of primitive psychology. The relation of the primitive mind to the mind of civilized, characteristics of the primitive mode of thinking; imagination, fear and other instincts, imitation, suggestion. Determinants of primitive mind; capacity of learning and intelligence in

primitive man; theories of primitive psychology; psychological approach to the primitive people and their problems.

Paper III :— Principles of Welfare administration :

Village, District and State units. Constitution and constitutional provisions. Administration of welfare scheme with special reference to Forest, Revenue, Cooperation, Excise, Law and order. Administration of Tribal Welfare Department.

Principles of cooperation, Byelaws, Forest laws.

Paper IV :— Tribal Problems :—

Historical introduction; Economic problem :— Land, its distribution, nature of soil; debt, primitive methods of agriculture, lack of communications, marketing, storage facilities, cottage industries, cooperative societies, exploitation of forests, family budget, economic exploitations; drink habits, special legislation for the tribes, Cooperation.

Social Problems :—

Illiteracy, lack of leadership; detribalisation and problems arising out of culture contact; superstitions and prejudices; crime in tribal areas; prosyletisation.

Health and Hygiene :—

Ill health and diseases; insanity environment and living habits; prejudices; tribal materia medica; magic; need of education. propaganda; supply of clear water; malaria control operations; mobile dispensaries and first aid; maternity and child welfare.

Paper V :— Social service methods and techniques.

What is Social work? Group work, community organisation, from Philanthropy to social work, concept of social

welfare, peoples participation in welfare work, essentials of a good social worker, special method of tribal social work, propaganda publicity, leadership, organising welfare activities, communication and participation, interview and personal contact.

Organisation of Educational activities.

Problems of tribal Education; method and organisation of tribal education; Ashram; recreation of students; social and adult education; pre-primary education.

Organisation of Economic activities.

Cooperation and Cooperative societies; improved methods of agriculture; Poultry farming; piggery; gardening and Badi cultivation; cattle and dairy farming; utilisation of forest wealth; consolidation and application of new technique to cottage industries and other tribal crafts; Marketing.

Organisation of Health and Hygiene activities.

Educative Propaganda; teaching of healthy habits; home and village sanitation; preventive and curative medicines; distribution of medicines; malaria control; epidemic control; child and maternity organisation.

Organising Village uplift.

Setting up a village Panchayat; organisation of programmes of Village uplift; Shramadan; Self-help and Cooperation; needs of Villagers and their fulfilment by community effort.

Organisation of recreational and cultural activities.

Tribal Games and dances; tournaments; dramas; dialogues; exhibitions; Melas and Fairs; healthy competition and creation of leadership among tribal youth; Scout and Girl guide, Reading rooms.

TRAINING OF WORKERS OF PERSONNEL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF VARIOUS WELFARE SCHEMES

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Along with the growing demand for appropriate welfare measures to elevate the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other Backward classes the necessity is acutely felt for capably trained welfare workers. In post-independent India the Union and the State Governments are spending substantial proportions of their revenues on different measures for the upliftment of these backward groups. The Constitution of India envisages that within the period of ten years from the date of its inception the problems of the tribal people and other backward classes

are to be mitigated. For a pretty long time the modern concept of welfare was not clearly visualised in this country. Stray missionary and other agencies through other efforts were catering to the needs of the tribal people. There was never any systematic plan or projects to improve their lot.

2. At the changed circumstances we are now proceeding ahead in contemplating the different measures suitable for the upliftment of the backward people. The old ideas of segregation which aimed

at retaining a permanent Museum of primitive people for romantic pursuits and intellectual manoeuvres for a few, prevailed. The administrators and civilian officers also contributed to the knowledge about the tribal people. But all those were merely sketchy or one sided depictions of the tribal people. The Anthropologists of those times, permeated with the ideas of victorian civilisation, were sometimes exponents of the policy of segregation. In various monographs references were made towards preservation of the customs and practices of the primitive people, and as such to isolate them as far as possible from the external contacts. There were a few social workers whole-heartedly devoted to the upliftment of the tribal people before late Sri Amritlal Thakkar. The disciples of Thakkar Bapa, to start with, were not organised. The methods of social reforms at that time were thought in lines of general pattern of Hindu concept of society. Since a few years only the social workers have proceeded with well defined plans, and particularly after independence the role of the social workers has become one of prime importance for the welfare of the backward people.

3. In the beginning it was not felt that a correct idea about the culture of a people is pre-requisite for formulation of appropriate welfare measures. The help of the social Anthropologists was not sought for. This led to clashes between the social workers and Anthropologists, one looking at the other with curiosity and dejection. Fortunately at the present time these differences have been patched off and both the groups are proceeding ahead to help each other in providing information for mutual benefits. The social workers have now realised that they have to gain from the experiences of

the Anthropologists. Simultaneously the concept of welfare has been changed from heresay shreds and patches to scientific and critical. As a pre-requisite for scientific welfare the understanding of culture of a people is indispensable. But most of the social workers who have dedicated their lives for the betterment of the backward people as well as the official welfare workers required thorough scientific training. Such training is indispensable because the success of the welfare schemes is dependent on a correct approach towards the tribal life. Often we see that social workers devoted towards upliftment of tribes are forgetting that they are working among human beings who are plastic and fluid. Man is an animal with sentiments, emotions, consciences and reasonings. Therefore one cannot mould human wishes and desires, devoid from their traditions and faiths. Each man develops a personality in the background of his culture. He receives his endowments, to elevate his faculties, from his culture. In order to know different faculties of man the knowledge about his culture and change, in it through the process of time are to be visualised. No society or culture is static. Changes crop up from without as well as from within. In order to find out the wishes and desires of people to evolve suitable development measures the customs and practices of the group need be evaluated.

4. While touring among the tribal areas in the State of Bihar I have come across official and non-official social workers whole heartedly engaged in implementating the welfare measures. At many points I came across situations which have led to confusions inspite of their deep desires for upliftment of the backward people. One particular instance

I can not refrain from mentioning. The primitive Kharias were planned to be rehabilitated with land bullocks and other agricultural implements. In spite of all the facilities, in the beginning, large number of Kharias were abandoning the settlement. It was a problem for study. The desertions were mainly due to the lack of knowledge on the part of the social workers about the culture of the Kharias. They are a group of horticultural people, devoid of traditions for agricultural or settled ways of life. They were depending on the forest products or on the shifting cultivation. Rice beer was also an integral part of their life. But at the settlement there were abrupt changed circumstances which left very little time for adjustments. As a result of this diversity the Kharias could not cope with situations and were very easily provoked to abandon measures for their betterment. Many such instances occur in our every day efforts for the upliftment of the backward people.

5. On the economic front the different tribes exhibit varieties of dealings, and as such they expose an arena for study. Economic life among the Indian tribes can be divided into three major groups viz. hunting-collectional, horticultural, and agricultural. In the State of Bihar there is no tribe solely in a hunting and collectional stage of economy. The Kharias of Singbbum and the Palariyas of Santal Parganas are tribes resorting to horticulture. The rest are agricultural people. Any process of change in the traditional modes of life always effect the people concerned. Particularly the economic changes may give the most lasting imprint. Almost all the welfare measures, be official or non-official, principally they are devised to change the economic life

of a people. It is a well established fact that almost all the tribal people, even those who are fully agricultural people do not possess adequate land to provide them food for the whole year. Yet they are a people who are deeply attached to their homes and hearth. Most of them are sceptical about the changes. It is necessary for the officials as well as private social workers to mark the re-action of the people at the advent of the introduction of such changes. Sometimes the growth of a factory, a trade centre or a township affects the normal life of the tribal people in the area. The social workers must have to take stock of the new developments and the reactions therein. If necessary they are to contemplate changes in the mode of the welfare activities. For such understandings there is requirement of a thorough training.

6. Inter and intra group rivalries are often rampant among the tribes. It is for the social workers to ease the tensions thus prevailing and to canalise the potentialities of the tribal people towards the development of healthy and sound morale.

7. The dance forms, the art forms, the recreations and pastimes of the people need be honoured by the social workers, and thus they can be beneficially propagated and made known to others. At present the tribal dances and other artistic manifestations have become popular with the civilised people. There is always deep attachment of emotion with the dances and songs. A social worker must learn to regard the life and habits of the simpler folks so that they will inculcate feelings of oneness with the worker. There need not be any feeling of superiority or charity while dealing with the

tribal people, otherwise they will not seriously adhere to the measures undertaken for their welfare. The knowledge of tribal languages and capacity to carry on conversations in their languages, are integral parts of tribal work. Without those proficiencies it is not possible to be successful in attaining the goal. The missionaries always succeed for the same reason, while others fail.

8. Another important part of the training must be the knowledge of social Psychology and group mind. Unless and until there is clear picture of the ideas, attitudes and orientations of the people concerned the path of the workers or administrators will not be a easy one. A training programme need be definitely organised under the charge of an experienced Scientist. The period of training will be at least for three months in every year preferably during winter months. The training camp is to be situated inside

a deep tribal area, where the trainees will have sufficient scope for observing tribal life in its reality. In the training programme there will be an Instructor in Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and social work. Besides high administrative officers, welfare officers and eminent social workers are to be requested to deliver lectures on the applied aspects of tribal welfare work. Simultaneously there should be lectures in social Anthropology, Social Psychology, Agricultural economics, co-operative system, land-tenure system and social contact. Each batch of trainees need not exceed 30 in number and there will be a refresher course for already trained personnel at intermittent periods. After training the workers may be posted to hold charges of tribal Co-operative Societies, Graingolas etc. Such trained personnel will relax multiple difficulties which are now coming on the way of implementation of the welfare measures.

TRIBAL WELFARE

SRI RUPNATH BRAHMA, MINISTER, ASSAM

Thanks to Bapuji and Bapaji, but for whose lofty ideals and untiring and selfless efforts these teeming millions of so-called tribal people of India would have still remained deaf and dumb. Today both of our respected Rashtrapati and the Prime Minister as the worthy custodians of the legacy left by Bapuji are determined to see that these tribal people are rapidly brought up to the same level with other advanced people in educational, social and economic uplift in the new set up of the country after the attainment

of independence. We are ever grateful to both of them. We are indeed fortunate to have Pandit Jawaharlalji as our leader to mould the destiny of our great country in this difficult transitional period. Panditji has rightly grasped the needs of the tribal people and it is my firm conviction and I can boldly assert that under the leadership of Panditji the interests of the tribal people are quite safe and the tribal people have nothing to apprehend. In the first Session of our Conference at New Delhi our beloved

leader Jawaharlalji gave us a clear indication as to what should be our proper line of approach to the tribal people and we are now to proceed accordingly. The approach must be humane and psychological with proper understanding and spirit of service without any bias and prejudice. The tribal people are simple and unsophisticated. Those who are entrusted with the sacred duty of doing welfare works among the tribal people should go to the tribal areas and approach the tribal people with an open mind of doing good to these people. They are to make the tribal people realise by their words and deeds that they are there to do good for them without any ulterior motive. If they once feel that they are there to exploit them they will lose confidence in them gradually and the main object and purpose will be frustrated. Therefore, we shall have to be very cautious in our approach. We shall have to be careful in taking different measures for their general uplift. We shall have to study their living conditions and environment and gather sufficient knowledge about their different customs, rites, languages and habits before we go to tackle their problems. Today it is the sacred duty of all free citizens of free India to see that these tribal people are no longer neglected.

Provisions have been made in our Constitution to safeguard the interests of the tribal people. Besides the 5th and 6th Schedules there are some other provisions in the Constitution for financing the tribal development schemes and for protecting their interests in regard to fundamental rights of Indian citizens. Reservation of seats has been made for the tribal people both in the Central and State Legislatures. Reservation has also been made in different services for the

tribals. Opportunities are being offered to the tribal people in different spheres. Now it is for us, the tribal people to come forward and take the fullest advantage of these opportunities in right earnest.

Now I would like to make certain suggestions for the amelioration of the conditions of the tribal people in general. First I take up the tribal economy. Land is dear to the tribal people and without land we cannot think of tribal economy. Their land should be protected and they should be given adequate land. The simple unsophisticated tribal people cannot stand the approach of more advanced people, and due to their ignorance and illiteracy they fall easy victims of the money-lenders and other exploiters. Lands change hands from the tribals to the non-tribals. Adequate and stringent measures should therefore be taken either by the Union Government or by the State Governments to protect the tribal people from the clutches of the money-lenders, land speculators, traders and other exploiters. This is essential and along with this establishment of co-operative credit societies with multifarious purposes seems to be the only way to help and protect them. We require trained and reliable men to manage and run such societies in the tribal localities. It will be a great help to them if the State Governments arrange to place such trained and reliable personnel from the Government to look after such societies.

I am a tribal and I come from a far away State of Assam about which very little is known to the people outside Assam. It is a very very interesting State from many points of view and no less interesting from the tribal point of view also. Perhaps we have the greatest

number of tribes in our State, both in the hills and plains. The people who are now known as the plains tribal people, particularly the Bodo-Kachari people, were the most dominant people with their distinct culture and civilisation in ancient Assam. The tribal people in our State know how to weave and spin. Some of them are good agriculturists and some are rich in cottage industries, particularly in weaving and sericulture. They have their most attractive and colourful designs on their cloths which are in great demand. Our tribal people in other States should also take up cottage industries to improve their economic condition and the respective State Governments should encourage them by giving them special facilities in cottage industries, handicraft including carpentry and blacksmithy. Along with cottage industries and agriculture steps should be taken to encourage the tribal people in the matter of distribution and allocation of contract works under different departments.

We must have men from the tribal people at the top of the administration. We should not, therefore, confine their education to primary standard. Steps should be taken to give them secondary and higher education also. In the areas where the tribal people are concentrated

in a compact body full-fledged Government high schools should be started and there should be arrangements for good boarding houses to accommodate their children in high schools and colleges. Extensive and effective propaganda is necessary to improve and develop the health condition in tribal localities. They need dispensaries. They need medicine and good drinking water. Their housing condition need improvement. Today the tribal localities need more concentration in all respects.

We, the tribal people should always remember that we are part and parcel of the great Indian Nation. We are Indians. India is ours and we have to shoulder the great responsibility of maintaining her independence by our unity and solidarity. There must be strong determination to be united together in spite of different diversities. Today we must not do anything and speak anything which will tend to create division among ourselves. Let us prove ourselves worthy of the independence we have attained by achieving all necessary fitness. Let us no longer be dependent on others. God helps those who help themselves. If we are sincere in our efforts God will surely help us in our growth.

JAI HIND

TRAINING IN TRIBAL WELFARE

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Welfare services never needed such planning and organisation as they do now in the context of the Industrial civilisation and welfare States. In ancient India welfare work was almost exclusively left in the hands of individuals seeking religious merit (पुण्य). After the Independence India has turned her thoughts on planning her life including welfare services for her huge backward population. The tribals are not only the most important section in this backward population, they also present hardest problems in reconstruction of India. The tribals are under various stages of transition under rapid acculturation-processes. Therefore their problems are also varied and cannot be met by a steam-roller approach or a uniform remedy. It has been painfully realised that only good heart, only charitable motives are not enough, when they concern the well-being of a social group. We have learnt enough from the devoted foreign missionaries about the havoc that may be created by uninformed and biased goodwill and kindness in all good faith. It is, therefore a very healthy sign that planners and welfare agencies here have become conscious of the extreme necessity of sound training of welfare personnel. In this connection pioneering activities of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh in starting a Training Centre at Chhindwara in Madhya Pradesh are very significant and highly commendable.

Though I need not dilate long on the necessity for training in tribal welfare,

I should clarify the aim of tribal welfare in India. Because, much misunderstanding, vague thinking as also unbalanced emphasis have always characterised such discussion.

To my mind, the first and foremost aim of tribal welfare should be to help and raise an informed and accommodative leadership among the tribals. Leaders have played a very vital role in times of cultural change and adaptation. Introduction and extension of desirable changes in the economy and the life of the people should be done through the local leadership. In the beginning this leadership may be communal. That parochialism will be creative, if the spirit of healthy competition is infused to canalise it in a progressive direction.

The second aim of Tribal Welfare should be, as intended in the Constitution, the integration of tribals into Socio-economic and political life of India by building up a conscious and responsible citizenship of a classless and caste-less India through bonds of interdependence and mutual appreciation in all spheres of life. They should no longer feel either as a down-trodden class or as a privileged minority. But integration should not mean assimilation and eventual dominance of one group.

The third aim of Tribal Welfare is to help the tribals raise their standard of living in general, and in the economic, hygienic, and educational aspects in particular.

The fourth aim is to check and eradicate all sources of exploitation and

deprivations and other impediments in the way of progress and integration.

The last aim of Tribal Welfare should be to help, sustain and further develop such institutions or traits in tribal life, which are considered as rare gems of the human spirit and of the civilisation, e.g. those customs that reinforce communal and inter-communal co-operation. But enough precaution should be taken to see to it that backwardness is not given social premium.

A correct understanding and grading of these aim of Tribal Welfare in India is necessary while discussing on training of social workers and other personnel to take up this job. Obviously, after an intensive training at a Tribal Welfare Training Institute, social workers should be able, either individually or with the help of welfare agencies and the people concerned, to carve out a plan of action and to work for furtherance of the aims outlined above. Therefore, they should be equipped with methodology of planning and executing welfare activities among tribals. They should also be equipped with certain skills and practical knowledge about arts and crafts of the tribals and their neighbours and recent improvements on them.

For efficient execution, there should be a section of welfare personnel trained for thinking and planning and supervision, while the larger section be responsible for routine activities in a village or a group of villages. This routine personnel should, of course, be selected and trained and should be men with a wide understanding of the society, cultivated sympathy and broad outlook. They may be trained at a number of

feeder institutes like the one at Chhindwara.

My purpose, here, is to give a broad outline of a Central Institute of Tribal Welfare, which will train welfare personnel to enable them to plan and supervise and initiate welfare activities in a zone with a group of social workers helping in routine activities.

Contents and Courses : The contents of training at such a Central Institute will naturally be determined by the aims of tribal welfare and by our expectations from the personnel trained there.

We are fortunately in such a stage of scientific developments that social sciences have already acquired certain techniques and tools for analysing social institutions and for divining their trends and their general drift so as to enable planners, administrators and social workers to canalise the changes and the trends in a desirable direction. Social sciences have also compiled a large body of comparative knowledge from various cultures, living and extinct, on behaviour and functioning of social groups and their implications. Of all the Social Sciences anthropology has the pre-eminent place in this comparative study of the lives of peoples in their total aspects and it is specially concerned with tribal problems and affairs of social minorities all over the world. Therefore a thorough background knowledge of relevant aspects of tribal life and of human culture in general is essential.

But in India we have few precedents in framing the courses of training. To my knowledge, besides the Chhindwara experiment, the Tata Institute of Social

Sciences, Bombay, was the only centre where training in tribal welfare was seriously thought of in 1953. But mysteriously enough that course was abolished, presumably due to lack of teaching personnel. But what is important is that they invariably stressed knowledge in Social Sciences. In their prospectus the first year of the training courses is devoted to theoretical study of Anthropology and Sociology, General and Social Psychology, Indian Social Problems, Welfare economics, Social Research, Administration of social work, Community organisation, Social Case Work, Social Group work and Health and Hygiene. In the second year they provided for specialisation in Tribal Welfare including few months of field work.

At the outset it may be mentioned that their outline of courses on tribal welfare could not be completed and could not be given a fair trial in actual training for a long period. What is more important, they aimed at a very broad general knowledge of the society and its problems while leaving out theoretical study of many relevant subjects. Moreover, as this general first year course was meant for welfare personnel specialising in so many branches specialised attention to those topics particularly valuable as the background for tribal welfare could not be feasible. Besides that topics like social case work and welfare economics are not necessary for training in tribal welfare. Because tribal welfare is basically welfare of groups and not of individual cases, and secondly welfare economics is a too generalised study to be of any practical use to the tribal workers. Rather they need a thorough knowledge of the functioning of Co-operatives.

Very recently the Lucknow University has decided to open a course for Diploma in Tribal Welfare and Applied Anthropology as a post-graduate undertaking. But this course is meant for one year and primarily for students of anthropology or workers and administrators in the field of tribal welfare. Naturally the scope and provisions are limited. But our aim is to turn out a band of welfare personnel gathered from many disciplines, who may not have the basic knowledge about the society and tribal life.

The case for an adequate theoretical background is already made out, while the need for practical training in the field as also for knowledge of methods of planning and research and of carrying out welfare activities are obvious. I have suggested below an outline of the courses of study for a two year training scheme at the Central Institute of training.

Among the theoretical studies the proper and comprehensive understanding of the Indian Social organisation is essential. This includes a study of Indian castes system, the tribal life and the definition and classification of tribals.

Then tribal problems, tribal welfare policies and programmes and their assessment in some important regions of the world should be studied for clear comprehension and formulation of Indian tribal problems and their alternate solutions. This will naturally lead to discussion of problems in India in their different aspects of life. Following a primitive technology tribals present serious problems in economic integration of India. Similarly their food and drink, typical diseases like the yaws,

problems of population decay as among the Juang of Orissa, problems of preservation and development of their dialects and languages are also to be studied. Perhaps more serious problems centre round their education and political integration and also certain of their social institutions like head hunting and slavery as in North Eastern India, I would like the training Institute to take up problems of each and every tribe of India—not in isolation, but always with consideration already achieved or to be built up. In this sense, the trainees should know the detailed problems of different geo-ethnic areas and not merely of particular tribes. Only then their study will be fruitful in the practical field and they will gain real insight into the problems. And this geo-ethnic area approach will also carry forward our purposes of integration of tribals into the body politic of India without destroying their precious individualities.

Apart from studying problems of tribal India as a whole, a trainee should be required to specialise on a particular geo-ethnic zone. He should learn the local language, and should gather all available information about its geography, history, about its peoples and aspects of their life. He should not only study and formulate their specific problems but also should submit a plan of welfare and reconstruction for that area.

This sort of intimate and intensive knowledge of a particular area will not only equip the trainee to launch programmes immediately in this zone but also it will enable the general class to assess the results of different welfare programmes that have already been carried out there. Trainees also will have to be acquainted with the policies

and welfare programmes of different states and of the Union Government as of the non-official agencies so as to learn from their success as much as from their lapses or pit-falls. He should gather detailed knowledge about running of various co-operatives of welfare centres and of educational systems which are of vital importance in the present context.

Besides these, a trainee has to equip himself with various relevant titbits of knowledge. Because he is expected to be a Jack of all trades, an adviser on all facets of life. Tribals are not often victims of their ignorance, to great advantage of petty officials and money-lenders and touts. Therefore a trainee has to acquire basic knowledge about forest laws, game laws, revenue laws and land tenure systems, laws governing gram panchayat and other forms of local self-government and regulations concerning co-operative societies and rural credit. As in some areas like Bihar and Orissa many tribals are factory-workers, he has also to go through factory acts and labour laws. He should also gather some knowledge about the commercial value of different articles grown or found in tribal areas, about common diseases and epidemics and their prevention and cure as also simple sanitary arrangements. Knowledge in accountancy and auditing will immensely aid him in supervision work.

Last but not the least important are studies about culture change due to diffusion and acculturation and inventions and discoveries and cultural integration. Along with these problems of introducing innovations and the role and structure of leadership are to be studied. These are the pressing problems of the day. Fortunately for us Social Sciences and especially anthropology have made

our approach easier. It has been found out that each culture is apt to place exaggerated emphasis at least on one aspect of its culture and is ready to accept new ideas or things in that sphere. But leaders of the society are very important in this phase. All these studies are thoroughly practical in their implications. So also is the learning of some basic facts about psychology of group-behaviour or social Psychology and psychology of primitive peoples.

Coming to consideration of the Practical Courses we have to deal with methodology and Practical Works.

Various methods and techniques are employed in investigating intensively in a small area or in surveying over a large area. Trainees should be taught how to establish full rapport with tribals of different categories, how to determine their felt needs and other socio-economic facts and problems. Always scientific diagnosis precedes radical cure. Therefore, trainees should know how to correctly feel the trends and how to gauge their tendencies properly. Knowledge of methods of survey in various aspect of life including surveys of capabilities and skills in different arts and crafts, attitudes towards particular innovations or objects or mere, as also of demographic survey and surveys for assessing or evaluating the results of programmes etc. is obviously of immense practical value. Methods of field work like interview, observation participant observation, questionnaire and narrative method etc. should also be mastered by the trainee.

Therefore trainees may be taken into a tribal area for intensive and extensive field-work for about 3 months, On basis of this field research they will frame programmes of welfare and plan of action

and will try to launch some programmes in the field, like adult education, child education, starting or running a Co-operative, etc.

As the trainee is required, after passing out, to guide and supervise social workers he should acquire not only practical knowledge but also practical skill. He should be thoroughly acquainted with common skills found among tribals and in rural India and with the modern improvements. He is therefore expected to acquire skill in conducting adult education classes and primary classes, agricultural techniques, skill in identifying social types according to their suitability for different crops and manure, in methods of horticulture and fighting pests, locusts and blight. He should specialise in at least one handicraft like spinning and weaving, carpentry, tailoring, or beekeeping. Administering first aid and simple drugs including Homeopathic medicine should invariably be known by practice. Knowledge in live-stock farming and in selection and treatment of their diseases is very essential. A woman trainee would do well to be well conversant with mid-wifery and child-rearing and simple methods of family planning. As these personnel may be required to organise some fairs in the nature of exhibition on regional basis, they should gain experience in organising and arranging exhibitions. And not the least, they should be well-versed in country games and rural music and other forms of entertainment.

What I should like to specially emphasise that a trainee be asked to specialise in a particular geoethnic zone and the number of trainees for a particular zone be restricted to the number of personnel needed there in the immediate future. I have dwelt on the immense

practical advantages of this geo-ethnic approach in planning and extension of welfare services as well as in training welfare personnel. As is well-known a community cannot become progressive if its neighbours with whom it has strong traditional ties lag behind. This is true of almost all of our Indian tribals. Moreover, there is always the danger of a sabotage danger of an under-current if we do not take the neighbours also to our confidence. As we are going to destroy a pattern of exploitation—we should also try to replace it with a pattern of rehabilitation. The supreme value of this approach, as remarked above, lies in its prospects for national integration as against mental isolation and exclusiveness. But this approach should not mean a steam-roller method of dealing with the communities in a particular zone.

The Central Institute should be situated in a tribal area, preferably in a sub-divisional headquarters. This will give the trainees graphic ideas of the contact problems and also will facilitate their training in co-operation with skilled government officials and institutions. The Central Institute can develop best as a residential institution. There would be little difficulty and in fact great advantages, converting it into an ideal welfare centre for the tribal area round about. This will give the trainees unique opportunity for application and assessment of their methodology and approach.

This Institute should not confine its activities only to teaching and training, but should also carry out some residual

objectives of tribal welfare, which no other agencies are taking up at present. The prime need and therefore justification for a Research Section can not be denied. This section should busy itself in compiling and collating all available knowledge relating different tribes and should formulate specific problems and organise seminars to find out their specific probable solutions and to carve out specific welfare programmes. This section will also try to assess results of particular welfare policies and programmes initiated by Government and other agencies. Obviously the welfare personnel will be always in contact with this branch of the Central Institute for light and guidance. This section may organise studies of different tribal languages for compilation of their grammar, of dictionaries, and of their oral literature so that sufficient materials may be available for composing textbooks. It may have a further sub-section to compile knowledge about tribal medicine and herbal lore so that valuable local medicines may be scientifically examined. Raw materials for these compilations may easily be arranged through social workers as also samples of tribal dietary through the seasons.

Besides the library, the institute should maintain a representative and comprehensive Museum illustrating life of tribal communities and their neighbours in geo-ethnic zones. This will afford splendid opportunities for comparative study of different implements tools and devices as to their relative efficiency and suitability in different regions. This Museum will also maintain records of introduction and progress of different

innovations in the tribal areas so that it will have a dynamic role in planning and extension of welfare services.

The Institute should maintain a Handicrafts section, and agricultural farm and livestock farm including a poultry yard, so that trainees may acquire practical knowledge in handicrafts, agriculture and livestock farming. Experiments may be carried out in these farms in modern methods and with modern technology as also in various methods and with various implements found in the tribal areas. These experiments will point towards the improvements which can be easily made in methods and implements of tribals and which may be easily mended and easily manipulated or taken over.

Section of trainees is very important, especially so in welfare services. Tribal welfare not merely involves welfare services but also a cautious sympathetic and patient approach, in which gaining of goodwill and confidence of the people concerned is given prime consideration. Therefore I propose to keep all intending trainees under close observation for a fortnight or so. In this period their attachment towards and knowledge of rural India and its problems, arts, crafts and industries, their sympathy and human interests and their habits, attitudes and outlook may be subject to severe examination by the authorities of the Institute. Then only selected candidates will have all the prospects of fulfilling their promise.

As in case of personnel a welfare in industry or family, trainees at this Institute should be at least graduates preferably in humanities, like history, economics

and Social Sciences. They should also be of mature age and the age-limit may be fixed at 25 or above. Tribal candidates will of course be preferred but a strict screening is necessary. For, educated tribals are found in many cases to go against their own culture almost blindly. Very often they go to the length of deprecating many healthy institutions of tribal life, e.g. dancing and music in public or women labour. So only those candidates who have enlightened views about their own culture should be admitted into the Institute.

Conclusion : The Central Institute of Tribal Welfare can function properly only if substantial aid be extended by the Union Government and the State Governments. In view of the urgency of tribal welfare activities as the national and constitutional obligation we should not lose time in establishing this Institute.

But as inherent in its nature, this Institute will always depend on feeder institutes which will train social workers for taking up routine jobs in the field.

It is very heartening to recall that the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, the premier non-official organisation in tribal welfare is taking especial interest in training of welfare personnel. I hope, the Planning Commission has already come to appreciate their ventures and the feelings of anthropologists in India.

In this context, it is not a mere hope that in a year or two India will take definite steps to replace methods of trial and error by scientific and well informed approach in the field of tribal welfare as already achieved in many other allied spheres.

TRIBAL WELFARE IN BIHAR

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Tribal Bihar. Across the middle of India from the Western Ghat to the Eastern Ghat stretches a broad belt of hilly forested country. This tract, a substantial portion of which falls in the State of Bihar, is largely inhabited by tribal people. According to the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950, there are 15,227 square miles of Scheduled areas in Bihar which works out to roughly 21.9% of the total area of the State. The census of 1951 counted 40.49 lakhs persons as belonging to the 29 scheduled tribes of Bihar. They therefore form 10.50% of the State. During 1953-54 a sum of over Rs. 30,00,000 was spent on their welfare schemes.

The tribal peoples belong to different ethnic and cultural types. They live in various economic stages ranging from hunting and food gathering through shifting and terraced cultivation to plough cultivation in the level tracts in the plateau of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. The extent of their contact with non-tribal peoples has also a wide range of variation resulting in different degrees of acculturation.

Future of the Tribes. Social welfare work in tribal areas is intimately connected with the question as to what should be the place of tribal peoples in the national set up of our country. The Constitution envisages that during a short time the tribals have to come up to the standards of other peoples to take their rightful place in the democratic society of India. There are various schools of thought regarding the future of the tribes. One

school favours complete assimilation of tribals in Indian society. Through various welfare measures and through the force of events things are moving in that direction. Another school favours isolation for atleast some tribes who are yet uncontaminated by foreign contact. Members of this school are everyday dwindling and the range of isolation is also diminishing. There is yet another school which aims at giving cultural autonomy to the tribes and allowing them to develop in their own way according to their own genius. The cultural variety will only add to the beauty of cultural mosaic, that is India. But the fact remains that all the benefits and amenities of civilisation have to be brought to their doors and their living conditions have to be improved. Better sanitary conditions, wider education, freedom from scarcity and ignorance should be made available to them. Thus they would be integrated in the democratic socialist set up of the country. Some would call this a planned assimilation. But as the word assimilation is disliked and dreaded by the tribals, I would prefer the word integration. Some people wonder whether integration would not ultimately lead to assimilation. In spite of contra-acculturative trends in Bihar and elsewhere, the force of events will lead to standardization of culture for all intents and purposes. Forceful cultures have a tendency to absorb weaker ones. Indian history is replete with such examples. The logic of history points that way.

Directed Research. At the last two Tribal Welfare Conferences at New Diielh

and Lohardaga, the need for research in connection with tribal welfare was stressed. In some States research centres were opened. Still one does not feel that research is actually considered to be an essential factor in tribal welfare. The research to be conducted should be immediately connected with specific kind of welfare work contemplated for a particular area. General research on manifold aspect of tribal life, though important in its own way, may be conducted by the Universities or be taken up by the Research Institutes at a later date. The Institute should aim at studying all tribal problems in a distinct area and then on its basis set forth, both long term and short term plans for welfare work in that area. Anthropologists have done admirable work as area experts in United States and elsewhere and there is no reason why they should not produce area-welfare plans to suit particular localities. In drawing up such plans all the existing knowledge must be tapped. Government officials serving in the area may give ample information from their long association and experience. Particular mention may be made of government reports. Attention should be paid to the difference in local conditions which may vary in different areas even in the same tribe. Non-tribal populations living in that area have also to be included in the survey for drawing up the plan.

Tribal Education. The tribes of Bihar as elsewhere are educationally very backward. The literacy among them is hardly 2%. This figure represents mainly the converted tribes men among whom the missionaries have inculcated such a zest for education that it is remarkable. The bright homes of the converted tribesmen, the

spirit of optimism and their cleanliness do not fail to impress even a casual visitor between two tribal families one converted and another not but on the same economic level we can see marked differences in the standard of living. Education has a definite elevating influence on people and, therefore, I feel that in all welfare schemes education should be given priority. Some authorities are of the opinion that education should come after economic uplift. But I see no harm in both being taken up side by side. It may be that at the outset the efforts in the direction of education may not be so fruitful, but in the long run it is sure to augment the pace of improvement.

It is altogether a different question as to what type of education should be given to them, the duration of school hours and the school session, the medium of instruction and the kind of texts etc. There are no two opinions on the fact that the traditional type of education is fast becoming sterile. All the opportunities for the success of its products have been exhausted. When it is deemed to be inadequate even for the non-tribals there is no reason why it should be continued among the tribals. The Basic system which represents the latest fad in education is admirably suited for rural areas provided there are selfless and well qualified teachers who run these schools. Instead of being self sufficient as envisaged earlier they have proved to be a heavy drain on the provincial exchequer. Education with vocational bias together with crafts like spinning, weaving, carpentry, smithy, bee-keeping, agriculture, basketry etc., is the need of the hour for the tribal people. After passing from school besides engaging in their traditional

occupations they may supplement their income by following one of the trades they have learnt at schools in their leisure hours.

The school hours in the elementary schools should be such as do not interfere with the household work of the family. It is well known that the tribal people are not in a position to hire labourers to help them in their work so that their children can be spared for the school. Three hours in school are enough for a child in the elementary school. In the upper primary stages the school hours may be increased while in the middle school the full school hours may be observed. It is only in the lower stages that the number of children affected is the largest and have to be lured into the school. In the latter stages those who are intelligent and ambitious would themselves come to the schools without much persuasion and effort.

Since the school session was changed in Bihar from January-December to July-May, admissions in all types of schools has gone down by thousands. The reason is obvious. Tribal Bihar is a rice producing area. The beginning of the rain is a terribly busy time in which all members of the family including children are engaged. From July to December the agricultural operations continue. So parents do not feel like admitting the children to schools in this period and in January it is already too late for admission. It is imperative that the school session atleast in the primary school should be changed if education has to be widely spread. When the children pass out from the primary schools and are ready for the upper schools there is a gap of six months but it may be usefully employed in giving preparatory courses to

those who are keen in joining the next higher class.

The medium of instruction should be the tribal language in the lower primary stage. In the upper primary stage Hindi should be compulsory, second language, and from middle upwards the medium may be the national language though the tribal language may also be a subject of study. In the school texts in the tribal languages an important place should be given to their myths and legends, their heroes and some important Indian leaders and to the description of the country as a whole. It is happy to note that the state government has already appointed a committee to write such Mundari textbooks.

In the tribal areas we find six different kinds of schools run by different agencies each with a separate management, separate curriculum and separate modes of inspection. We find schools run by missionaries of different denominations, Basic schools run by the State government, schools run by the District Board, schools run by the Community Project Administration, schools run by State aided organisations and some traditional schools managed by private agencies and the State Government. It is time that all the schools be run on one agreed pattern under the control and if possible even under the direct management of the State government. This will end all the confusion and anomalies in the field of education.

Opening of hostels for Adivasi is an important item in the programme for the educational uplift of scheduled tribes in Bihar. It is proposed that up to 1960, 168 hostels would be constructed. Many of them have already been sprung up in the different parts of the tribal area. In

such hostels Adivasis are afforded a number of facilities which are denied to other poor people of the same locality. It would be desirable that such facilities be extended to all the poor people of the areas concerned and hostels should accommodate people of all castes and denominations besides the tribals, though a majority of seats should be earmarked for the latter. Separate hostels have fostered in them a sense of separatism and aloofness. Tribals live in their villages in harmony with non-tribals. This harmony may be sought to be extended by living together in the hostels. This would make a deep impression as it is the educated people from whom tribal leaders will spring up.

Grain Golas. Economic exploitation of the tribes men by greedy money and grain lenders who charged exorbitant rates of interest is a serious problem. It is difficult for Adivasis to free themselves from the clutches of these usures. To combat this evil the scheme of opening grain Golas was taken up. Grain Golas are an old institution the first being opened in 1902 by Mr. C. H. Bompas, Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas. Now-a-days grain golas are run by State government. In a paper contributed elsewhere I showed the abuses possible in a grain gola. Certain malpractices in the administration of the grain golas have come to light and they are an indication of the fact that all is not well with this scheme. There are at present 340 grain golas under the management of the Welfare Department. Each is under the charge of a Thana Welfare Officer who has to initiate starting of schools, to create taste for education, bring children to schools, suggest sites for and inspect execution of irrigation works, bring local needs and grievances to the notice of the

proper authorities and generally assist, advise and guide Adivasis in other ways. Some of these officers have not discharged their duties conscientiously and poor Adivasis have been duped. Due to malpractices in grain golas the latter are still going to the grain lenders for credit in times of need. With more and more pucca buildings for grain golas greater accuracy in physical verification of the stock will be possible and the loss through damp and rats would be eliminated. The rate of interest (25%) charged is kept rather high with a view to making the grain gola self-supporting in a few years' time. Certificate proceedings have been prescribed for realising the loan from defaulters. While it is true that grain lent should be returned with interest in time, it is ridiculous that welfare activities should lead to certificate proceedings.

To overcome these difficulties and remove the malpractices it is suggested that the grain gola may be transferred to the co operative department or it be run as a co-operative society under the fostering care of the Thana Welfare Officer. Alternatively it may be given over to the Gram Panchayat. Certificate proceedings should be avoided as far as possible and the rate of interest chargeable should also be reduced to 10% or 12½%.

Gram Panchayat. In Bihar the Gram Panchayat Act has been extended to the tribal areas. A village with one thousand people has such a Panchayat. Smaller villages are grouped into units for the purposes of a Panchayat. It is well known that tribal villages have still a system of traditional panchayats both at the village level and the higher level of a group of villages. The introduction

of the new Panchayat, while it has reduced the number of cases which used to be set to the courts, is looked upon with suspicion by the tribesmen. They are at a loss to understand why a new system of government sponsored panchayats have been forced on them instead of revitalising their traditional organization. They have their own traditional headmen, own elders, own code and method of punishment. The new panchayats are elective and have no respect for age and traditional authority. Those who are wealthy, educated and clever get elected to these bodies. Sometimes where native authority is not confined to social offenses, the two kinds of panchayats may come into conflict and more often than not it is the government body which has the upper hand. Some anti-government political parties are taking advantage of this reaction to revitalize the old Panchayat and Parha organizations. Through them they are also popularizing their political ideology.

The Gram Panchayat can prove a boon to the Adivasi if run on the right lines. They have the potentiality for doing a lot of construction work for the improvement of the village and it is only through it that decentralization can be effected to make these villages little republics.

Resettlement Schemes : The State government are spending thousands of rupees on the resettlement schemes of Kharias and Paharias. In 1951-52 ten Kharia families were settled on lands provided by the Government in the Manbhum district. Each family was given 5½ bighas of land for cultivation in addition to financial assistance for house building and purchase of plough-bullocks. The year after, fifty such families were

settled in Singhbhum district. Ten families of Paharias have been settled in Parher Kola, forty miles from Dumka. I, personally visited the latter place and saw the amenities provided for them. The families which have settled there have not actually been brought down from the hill tops and belong to the Kumarbhadg, which is the most advanced section of the Paharias. But even they are ill disposed to work in the plains with the plough. They still do not regard the plots allotted to them as their own and leave work at slightest pretext. A welfare officer is always on the spot to see that they become used to such life. The Paharias are shifting cultivators of the hills but it is neither possible nor desirable to bring them down. I saw the poor and miserable people drudging at the plough hating their work. Such forced resettlement may result in maladjustment and possibly a loss of nerve. Local social workers agreed with me that with the best of intentions and sincerity of purpose, such efforts of the State government were bound to fail. If Paharias have to be rehabilitated and welfare work is to benefit them, welfare activities have to be made available to them in their own homes rather than they be forced to gulp a heavy dose of welfare. These little colonies can at best serve as ill-conceived show boxes of the welfare activities of the State government.

Nutrition : Before any tribal welfare scheme can be rationally and successfully undertaken one of the most important things to be considered is with regard to their nutrition and health. It is to be understood whether foods are sufficient for maintenance or whether these provide adequate nutrition. It is a well known fact that in many Munda areas most families produce only as much food as

will last them hardly six months. The other six months they have to remain on starvation diet. The tribal drink rice beer provides some important nutritive elements. Efforts should be directed to increase the variety in their diet by introducing new crops or importing other kinds of food.

Community Projects : In tribal areas we have some Community Projects working. The projects are divided into several development blocks. The Community Projects have great potentialities to transform rural atmosphere. It can bring prosperity and plenty to under developed scarcity areas. Worked successfully the Project areas may become centres for the diffusion of new ideas and crafts in the surrounding villages. Ultimately it will result in revolutionizing village life. Improvements have been effected in agriculture, the Japanese methods being popularised, manuring emphasized and seeds and ploughs of better variety are being used to enhance the yield. Training in certain cottage industries by which the agriculturists can supplement their income such as spinning bee-keeping, basketry, soap making etc. are being given. Irrigational facilities are being provided, means of communication being developed, sanitary habits inculcated and primary education is being spread in such areas. But inspite of all this no public enthusiasm is visible. Co-operation which should have been spontaneous and forthcoming is not easily available. People seem reluctant to better their own fate. But why should be people so apathetic to all this. To my mind its main cause is that all these improvements are being forced from the above. Had there been a demand from below the slightest encouragement from authorities may have evoked adequate popular response. The

areas for development were evidently chosen without consideration of the comparative backwardness of areas. Considerations other than the most plausible seem to have weighed in the choice of sites. The same items of development are used in the different areas irrespective of the specific needs of each area. A local committee consisting of important people from each area may be appointed to advise the Project executives on the problems of each area. Unless we take the common man into confidence no amount of good intentioned benevolence will produce the desired results. It would do well to associate a sociologist or anthropologist in each Project area. Officers of the Project administration should forge new ways of establishing rapport with the people.

Bhoodan : The Bhoodan movement holds many possibilities for the future well being of the tribes. It is well known fact that though they were clearers of the forest and first tillers of the land much of their land is not in their hands due to the working of several factors which need not be detailed here. The zamindars of Chotanagpur have responded to the call of Vinobaji and have made gifts of hundreds of thousand acres of land. It is true that most of this land is covered by hills and forests but with the money pooled by Sampatti-dan and labour from Shram-dan a substantial portion of these tracts may be made cultivable and a good many landless tribals can have lands which they can call their own.

Welfare Agencies : The success of any welfare programme depends upon the nature and method of work of the welfare agency. Welfare work in tribal Bihar is done by the State Government through its various departments, the

Adim Jati Sewa Mandal in Chotanagpur and the Santal Paharia Sewa Mandal in Santal Parganas and by the missionaries. The main instrument of the State Government is the Welfare Department which operates through its District and Thana officers. The work of this department is expanding every day but strangely enough the D. W. Officers are generally regarded as Supernumery magistracy which can be drafted for any kind of extra work. They belong to the executive service and do not have any intrinsic taste for the work they are engaged in. They are liable to transfer in any other department at any moment. There is no Director as head of this department with the effect that the Secretary and the Government in the Welfare Department has both to frame policies and execute them. Inspection of sub-ordinate staff and establishments is therefore not so regular as desirable. Then there is the Gram Panchayat Department which looks after the running of panchayats all over the State. Naturally officials of this department are not expected to pay any special attention to the panchayats in the tribal area. Certain minor irrigation projects which will go a long way to make many wasteland cultivable and supply water in times of draught and in the dry season are in charge of the Revenue Department. In one district I found several Welfare Officers and such a state of affairs is sure to create confusion in work and also in the minds of those for whom it is meant. It is highly desirable that the State government should gather these scattered strands of authority and vest them in the hands of one person in the district. Such an officer should have a background of social welfare work, must have a grounding in the anthropology of the tribes besides being earnest,

enthusiastic and a man of wide sympathies. At present if a D.W.O. does good work, he earns promotion and is thereby lost to the Department.

Two big welfare organizations named above are working in the tribal areas in Bihar. Both of them and their executives have been connected with a particular party. Their history makes it difficult for them to shed their political colour. Employees of these organizations took active part in the last general elections and some of them were elected to the legislature as party men. These organizations between them receive grants which exceed Rs. 8,00,000/-. They run schools, dispensaries, hostels, industrial schools etc. and there is no doubt that they are doing useful work but I have a feeling that their work does not receive as much appreciation as it deserves. Whatever work they do is taken as being done for the benefit of a particular party to whose apron strings they are tied. As that particular party is out of favour with the tribesmen the latter are suspicious of the activities of these organizations. It would do well for the employees and those connected with these organizations to shed all their political strings and put their heart and soul into social work.

Last but not least in social welfare work in the tribal areas are the missionaries. They have been engaged in such work for nearly a century and were the first to appear in this field. We have reason to be grateful to them for all they have done in the sphere of education and by opening hospitals in such remote areas where our social welfare workers still hesitate to go. Without the aid of the government and depending upon funds from abroad they selflessly dedicated

themselves to all kinds of humanitarian work. In the British period they worked under the fostering eyes of English Officials. Conversion did have a disastrous effect on the tribals and as Hutton has observed: "Christianity has too often brought not peace, but a sword dividing father against son and a household against itself." Social solidarity of the tribal village was broken up and in short the convert was detribalized. This was indeed a heavy price to pay for the social amenities provided by missionaries. In some areas the policy followed by missionaries in their schools and hospitals has not been entirely in line with that of the State government. In such circumstances the State Government should exercise a strict control over the activities of the missionaries.

Conclusion. This survey of welfare work in Bihar makes it clear that the State Government is doing its best for the betterment of the tribes. All that is now needed is a touch here and there, some reform in procedure, some reorientation

of the perspective and better organization and coordination. If the suggestions embodied in this article are translated into action much wastage of money and human energy can be dispensed with and better response can be evoked from the mass of tribesmen. A reawakening of old tribal values has made the tribal suspicious of all uplift and reform programmes. So they need better psychological handling than hitherto. The great work of removing dirt, filth, ignorance and want from the tribal areas has to be swift without being abrupt and the appearance of being forced from above. Only then can we gain their confidence and our work receive just appreciation from them. Social work though apparently easy needs ample training to be successful. It is gratifying to note that the Union Government is contemplating to open a Social Workers Training School and that experts are already at work drawing up the courses of study. This is a step in the right direction as much good will come out of it.

TRAINING OF WORKERS

SHRI L.N. SAHU & SHRI R.K. SAHU, SERVANTS OF INDIA
SOCIETY, CUTTACK.

The need for training of workers for Tribal Welfare is very great. In the first place the worker must learn the language of the tribal people among whom he will have to work. For instance, if the worker will have to move among the Khonds of Orissa he must know their language. Or if he has to work among Todas he must know their language and so on.

Secondly he must carefully study the social customs of the aboriginals among whom his work lies. This is very important; otherwise there will be misunderstanding and many a mistake of serious nature may be committed to the wrath of the people.

Workers should first train themselves in new method of cultivation. They

should learn the latest methods including the Japanese method of cultivation. Aborigines should be taught not to destroy cow-dung. In some villages the practice is to burn away the dried cow-dung. It is good manure. It is to be heaped together under some shade. Rain-water should not be allowed to pass through the heap. The heap should be protected from sun as well. This process would help in making it a rich manure. Generally in some villages heaps of cow-dung are left in an open place. The sun and rain play their part upon the heaps. Thus the dung becomes less powerful. The field cannot yield much crop if that kind of manure is applied. So the workers should take particular attention to teach the aboriginal how to keep manures. They should be taught to apply green manure in the fields. "Dhanicha" seeds should be sown during the summer season. During the rainy season small plants would sprout up. Then that particular piece of land should be ploughed thoroughly so as to mix the uprooted plants thoroughly in the mud. This process increases the fertility of the soil. The green manuring can be done through other kinds of small shrubs also. This practice is extensively and intensively done in Japan.

Workers should teach the hilly people the method of preserving good seeds for sowing in the field. If seeds are kept in bad environment, good crops seldom grow. Those seeds for sowing should be kept like treasure. Before sowing, the grains should be thoroughly mixed up with Agrosan G. N. 10 tolas in a maund of grain. This would make the paddy plants disease-proof. When diseases appear Gempowder should be thrown on the fields. Workers themselves should

know much of cultivation. They must be experts in a way. The tribal people are ignorant people. The art of persuasion fails in most of the cases. So the workers should have utmost patience. On no occasion they should have pressure or show anger.

Developed method of irrigation should be taught. Through the help of Government, tube-wells should be constructed for winter crops and summer crops. Water pumps should be established at vantage positions in the area. Small scale exhibitions should be arranged in weekly markets. Improved method of cultivation should be taught through tribal tongue. Attractive features should be introduced in those exhibitions to draw crowds. Every worker must look after his own health and the health of the aborigines. He must have an eye of keen observation. Any outbreak of serious disease should be at once reported on higher medical authorities. Following the golden rule of "Prevention is better than cure" the worker must look after the general sanitary condition of the village. Water ditches should be filled in. Wild bushes and shrubs should be cleared away from the premises of the houses. The hilly people should be persuaded to build ventilated houses. The Kandhas are very dirty in their habits. They generally spit within their own rooms. They must be taught to give up such nasty habits.

Workers should have some amount of knowledge of homeopathic treatment. It would be much good for others if they carry first-aid box, the homeopath box with them always. They should take quinine at intervals and should take their bath with hot water. In the denser

parts of the jungle malaria takes a heavy toll of human lives. Workers should supply the aboriginal people with quinine and other simple harmless medicine judging the actual requirement.

The native mode of living is highly insanitary. Native huts are infested with rats and vermin. Certain tribal customs are responsible for the growth of various diseases of small children. The most prevalent maladies are yaws, venereal diseases, malaria, kalazar, enlargement of spleen etc. Most of the aboriginals drink unwholesome water without knowing its worst effect. So they are suddenly attacked by malarial fever. To save these people from such insanitary habits of discharging urination and evacuation in the very vicinity of their homes, workers should try their utmost to teach them good habits.

Workers should go in batches. They should try to win the confidence of the native people. Some interpreters should be taken along with them. They must sincerely and sympathetically understand the grievances and represent them faithfully. The workers must pay apt attention to their talks.

It is very difficult to kill the bad habits of the aborigenees. The habit of drinking cannot be done away with very easily. Some alternative drink like the juice of Salap trees might be helpful. The Government should abolish the liquor shops gradually. Workers should

try their utmost to bring about good atmosphere in the locality.

Workers should never interfere suddenly with those habits of tribal people which they hold as sacred. The hilly people believe in ghosts or supernatural agencies. It would take time to make them believe otherwise. So the workers should not be impatient in that matter. Workers should try to teach the tribal people the habit of co-operative farming and other types of co-operative work. Workers should know weaving, carpentry, basket making and other small works demanding craftsmanship. They must try to teach the tribal people those arts. Adult education should be encouraged.

Workers should visit those areas in a missionary spirit. They might have to face innumerable difficulties. They may at times not get good food to eat or even at times they might have to walk miles together without water. So they should be cautious enough not to fall into these difficulties as far as possible. They should take water bags with them. They must try to adjust themselves to various circumstances. But they should be ready to face difficulties with courage and with cheer.

Lastly workers should always work in consonance with the activities of the Government. Without co-operation from the Government nothing can be done satisfactorily. A warning should be sounded here.

NEEDS OF ANDHRA AGENCY HILL TRIBES

SHRI R. MANDESHWAR SHARMA.

Study: A committee of competent pracharaks and experts must be immediately appointed to study facts, and suggest ways and means for collecting folk-songs, anthropological and other materials on the hill tribes in the whole country and to think of reconciling their culture and using the materials properly for assimilating the hill-men in the general nation-hood.

Government Advisory Council: Every department of welfare of hill men of Central and State Governments should be divided into (1) Culture (2) Historical and Anthropological (3) Material and Economic and (4) Social Sections. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Governors and Advisory Councils should be associated with the experts in these fields and representatives of state non-official sanghs affiliated to the Bharatiya-Adimajati Sevak Sangh along with others.

The State Governments should primarily take advantage of existing Non-official sanghs in their work in the hills.

Help for Literacy Drive: Every effort in the 'Literacy Drive' begun or going on in the hills must be given top priority by Government by relaxing rules about qualifications of teachers of these literacy classes and by making liberal grants.

Hand Spinning and Weaving: These still pay in the hills. Whirlwind drive must be given by the Government and Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

Training Camps for Pracharaks: Grants for this work to non official sanghs, undertaking this work which is the dire need, must be given by the Government and G. S. Nidhi.

Journals: Local journals which are run for hill-tribe welfare and which are starving as they cannot get plains' subscribers and help must immediately be given help by G. S. Nidhi, Central and State Governments.

How to satisfy the spirit of the present constitution towards filling posts of vacancy in administration reserved for Hill Men: Hundreds, if not thousands of circulars on Government vacancies reserved from postal peon to high places in all departments for hill men, under our constitution are pouring into this hill tribe Board Office every day. If my interpretation of our constitution is correct, it is not by keeping these posts in demarcated percentage vacant for hill men that the purposes of the constitution is fulfilled in "spirit", though it may be so under its "letter". From the present position of the hill men, even after twenty years, they cannot occupy them all. To serve the hill men, not under the letter but under the spirit of our constitution, we must see that they start filling up at least all the administrative and welfare posts of the Government in hills, at least beginning with the lower cadre i.e. from the runners, and peons up to clerks and inspectors. For this, if you lower the qualifications, just a little for hill men, and change language to Vernaculars and give special training in their

respective languages in Revenue, Forest, Agriculture and other matters, method of keeping and running offices, you cannot get a better man in calibre and conduct than a hill man. This we say after sixteen years of contact. If we want to start an experiment, we can run the lower part of the "Gudem Hill Area" administration almost with hill men. There are hundreds of young men of fifth to eight standard or equal qualifications and even above in the Agencies of four Districts. Unless this sort of experiment is started, hill men will not quickly feel that their administration must be run by them.

Malayappan plan is fast becoming a dead letter in the Andhra State. We invoke the moral help of the Conference and the Central Government to spur them up and take it up as the first item soon after the Andhra Ministry is formed and we believe that on this alone the future of the Andhra Hill-man hangs. We suggest : (1) the opening of a Central Research and Constructive work centre in Andhra, (2) trying Homeopathy and Naturopathy methods of treatment in

the hills, where there is much congeniality. (3) devising suitable machinery with non-official co-operation for speedy action in petitions and grievances from hill men which are not only against redressal on *Muthadari* onslaughts, *shandy* irregularities and exploiting sowcars but also against witch-craftists. They should not be viewed from strict rules of evidence which is impossible in the atmosphere of the hills. Whenever the enquiring authority feels seriousness of the grievance and the sincerity of the petitioner, more can be done by general exhortation and admonition through public gatherings.

The programme should include the abolition of the *muthadari* and other emasculating systems and the distribution of land on a collective or co-operative basis for which experiment, the hills even to-day bear a congenial atmosphere, and making hill-man feel that the forests are not only for their fire-wood and other enjoyment but also a holy charge in them for larger social welfare.

These are some of the suggestions based on the realities on the Andhra Hills of four districts.

SECTION III
PAPERS RELATING TO
Economic Welfare

राजस्थान में जन-जातियों का आर्थिक विकास

श्री भोगीलाल पंड्या, मंत्री, हरिजन व आदिवासी कल्याण, (राजस्थान)

भारत प्राचीन देश है और इसका इतिहास आज से लगभग ६००० वर्ष पुराना है। यहां अनादि काल से आदिम जातियों का निवास रहा है। मुसलमान और ब्रिटिश शासन काल में ये जातियां शासन के लिये एक समस्या बनी हुई थी। यह जातियां पर्वतों और एकांत क्षेत्रों में रहती आयी हैं जो आज की तथा वर्धित सभ्यता से कौसों दूर है। देश के स्वतन्त्र होने के पश्चात् केन्द्र व राज्य सरकारों द्वारा इनकी दशा को सुधारने में सुदृढ़ प्रयत्न किये जा रहे हैं, क्योंकि हमारे संविधान में इन जातियों की सर्वांगीण उन्नति और विकास के लिये समुचित व्यवस्था की गई है अतः उसको कार्यान्वित कर इन जातियों के आर्थिक जीवन को सम्पन्न बनाना आवश्यक है। इन्हें आत्म निर्भर बनाये बिना आदिम वासियों के जीवन में अभ्युदय नहीं हो सकता। इन जातियों के रहन-सहन का तौर तरीका नगर व देश के शिक्षित समुदाय से बिल्कुल भिन्न है क्योंकि ये जातियां एकान्तवास करती रही हैं। राजस्थान में इन जातियों की आबादी अधिकतर अरावली शृंखला के सहारे स्थित प्रदेशों में पाई जाती है।

सन् १९५१ की जन गणना के अनुसार इस जाति की संख्या ११,६१,७४३ है जिसमें से ८,७५, ३६५ वे लोग हैं जिनको जन-जातियों में सम्मिलित करने के लिये पिछड़े वर्ग आयोग से सिफारिश की गई है। संविधान में राष्ट्रपति की अनुसूचित जन जाति सम्बन्धी आज्ञा १९५० के अनुसार राजस्थान में अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में रहने वाली भील ही

आदिम जाति मानी गई है। यह अनुसूचित क्षेत्र डूंगरपुर, बांसवाड़ा जिलों व चित्तौड़गढ़ जिले की प्रतापगढ़ तहसील के कुछ कस्बों व थाने चौकियों को छोड़कर मानी गई हैं।

ऐसे भीलों के अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्य जातियों को जन-जातियों में सम्मिलित करने के लिये पिछड़े वर्ग आयोग से सिफारिश की गई है उनमें डामोर, गरासिया तथा भील (पूरे उदयपुर डिविजन में केवल भीलवाड़ा जिले की जहाजपुर तहसील को छोड़कर) और जोधपुर डिविजन की पाली, सिरोंही, जालोर के मीनों (भील मीना) की जातियां भी सम्मिलित हैं। इसी प्रकार अनुसूचित क्षेत्र के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति के आदेश १९५० में संशोधन के लिये भी भारत सरकार से प्रार्थना की गई थी। नये क्षेत्र में डूंगरपुर व बांसवाड़ा के संपूर्ण राजस्व जिले (२) चित्तौड़ जिले के प्रतापगढ़ उपक्षेत्र (३) उदयपुर जिले की कोटड़ा, फलासिया, सराड़ा, सलूमन, खेरवाड़ा, लसाड़िया तहसीलों और गिरवा तहसील की बारापाल उप-तहसील (४) सिरोंही जिले के बूला व बलोरिया स्थान (५) पाली जिले की बाली तहसील नाना व बेरा के भाग होंगे।

आदिवासियों की मुख्य समस्यायें

इन भीलों का शैक्षिक, आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्तर देश की अन्य आदिम जातियों के समान ही है। उनके जीवन में एक प्रकार की निराशा तथा उदासीनता चिन्तमान है, जिसे सेवा, सहानुभूति, सद्भावना और विश्वास का दीपक जला कर हटाना

है। सेवाभावी व चरित्र सम्पन्न समाज सेवकों के सहयोग एवं मार्ग दर्शन से व्यवस्थित योजना के साथ शताब्दियों से उपेक्षित इन जन-जातियों के जीवन में नवचेतना का संचार करना होगा। यह तो निश्चित है कि शासन के उत्पीड़न व उनकी अपनी शंकाएँ व अस्वस्थ प्रवृत्ति को रोक कर उनको आत्म-निर्भर व चेतनाशील बनाना होगा। उनके लिये शिक्षा की व्यवस्था, सम्वर्धन, आवागमन की सुव्यवस्था व सांस्कृतिक वातावरण आदि के कार्यक्रमों के द्वारा आदिवासियों को देश के अन्य प्रगतिशील नागरिकों की श्रेणी में लाने की ओर कार्य करना है।

आदिवासियों की समस्याओं पर जब हम विचार करते हैं तो हमें देखने को मिलता है कि अशिक्षा, अस्वास्थ्य व आवागमन की असुविधाओं के अतिरिक्त उनकी मुख्य समस्या उनका शोषण, दैन्य तथा उत्पीड़न है तथा जन-साधारण की भाँति शासन की ओर से मिलने वाली सुविधाओं की कमी व शोषण है। जहाँ तक मेरा अनुभव है यदि आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति मजबूत बना दी जाय तो निश्चय ही ये जन साधारण के मुकाबले में अपनी स्थिति व्यवस्थित बना सकते हैं। राजस्थान के आदिवासियों के जीवन को जब हम देखते हैं तो यह मालूम होता है कि वे बिखरे हुये पहाड़ों की उपत्यकाओं तथा टोलों पर बसे हुये हैं और प्रायः यह स्थिति सभी स्थानों के आदिवासियों की है। उनकी वस्तियाँ ऐसी नहीं जैसी की हम गाँवों की शकल में पाते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि उनमें एक स्थान पर एक साथ सामूहिक सामाजिक जीवन बिताने की क्षमता नहीं आयी। यदि उनको कृषि जीवी बना दिया जाता और उनके स्वभाव में एक सामूहिक रूप से एक गाँव में बसने का परिवर्तन लाया जाय तो निश्चय ही उनका

जीवन संपन्न तथा सुव्यवस्थित बनाया जा सकता है लेकिन इस सपने का साक्षात्कार तभी हो सकता है जब कि उनके लिये निम्न व्यवस्था सुलभ करायी जा सकें।

१. कृषि योग्य भूमि का वितरण।
२. कृषि के लिये उपयुक्त औजारों तथा अन्य प्रसाधनों की उपलब्धि।
३. आवास का प्रबंध तथा पुनर्वास व्यवस्था।
४. सिंचाई की व्यवस्था।
५. जीविकोपार्जन के लिये उपसाधन।
६. सहकारी समितियाँ तथा उनका प्रभाव।

देखने में आया है कि राजस्थान में प्रत्येक आदिवासी परिवार के पास अधिक से अधिक ४ या ५ बोघा जमीन है और बहुत से आदिवासियों के पास तो जमीन ही नहीं है। इसका मुख्य कारण यह रहा है कि अधिकतर इन आदिवासियों के रहने के स्थानों में खेती के उपयुक्त समतल भूमि नहीं है अतः जहाँ कहीं उन्हें तलाहटी या ढाल मिला वहीं पर वे बस गये। दूसरा यह भी एक कारण है कि उन्हें कृषि के लिये मैदानी भूमि मिलने का अवसर ही प्राप्त नहीं होता क्योंकि कई पूंजीपति तथा प्रभावशाली व्यक्ति यदि उन प्रदेशों में खेती के उपयुक्त भूमि हुई तो उस भूमि को हथिया लेते हैं और उन आदिवासियों को इस भूमि का कोई हिस्सा नहीं मिल पाता है अतः जहाँ हम यह सोचते हैं कि उन्हें कृषि के उपयुक्त जमीन दी जाय वहाँ यह भी आवश्यक है कि इस प्रकार की होने वाली कार्यवाहियों की रोकथाम की जाय नहीं तो यह संभव है कि आदिवासी जो लम्बे अरसे से स्वतन्त्र रूप से अपनी जीविकोपार्जन करते आये हैं, उनके जीवन में भारी गत्यावरोध आ जाय

क्योंकि यदि उनके पास जमीन नहीं है तो निश्चित ही उन्हें मैदानों के खेतीहरों अथवा जमीनों के मालिकों की गुलामी हाली करना पड़ेगी। कभी कभी यह भी होता है कि कर्जों के भार से दब जाने के कारण रही सही भूमि भी भील आदिवासी तब तक के लिये किसी महाजन के यहां अपनी भूमि को रहन रख देता है जब तक वह लिये हुये कर्जों को अदा नहीं कर देता है। ऐसी स्थिति में उसे अपनी ही भूमि पर एक हलवाहक के रूप में कार्य करना पड़ता है। कहां-कहीं पर यह भी दृष्टिगोचर हुआ है कि जमीन नहीं होने के कारण उसे खेती का सारा काम हलवाहक के रूप में ही करना पड़ता है। और उस भील को भी कुछ अर्थ नहीं मिल पाता सिवाय इसके कि वह आधा भूखा नित्य सोये। ऐसी उस भील की स्थिति के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है जिसके पास जमीन ही नहीं है। मेरी दृष्टि में, मैदानी भूमि के वितरण में उनको प्राथमिकता दी जाय, वहां यह भी आवश्यक है कि पहाड़ी स्थानों में जहां कि इन आदिवासियों की जनसंख्या का बाहुल्य है, वहां मैदान से आकर बसने वाले लोगों को जमीन खेती के लिये नहीं दी जाय और तभी यह संभव है कि ये गरीब भील यह अनुभव कर सकेंगे कि वे स्वतंत्र हैं तथा अपनी नजदीकी भूमि पर उनका स्वामित्व हो सकता है और इसी आधार पर यदि उन्हें यह विश्वास पैदा हो गया तो निश्चय ही वे अपनी भूमि को उर्वरा बनाने में तथा उसे अधिक उपयोगी बनाने में अपनी पूर्ण शक्ति का उपयोग कर सकेंगे।

इतना ही नहीं मैं तो यहां तक विश्वास करता हूँ कि यदि उनको भूमि के प्रति कुछ स्वामित्व का

आभास हो जाय तो वे निश्चय ही अपने को सुरक्षित पाकर एक गांव की शकल में बसने के लिये भी तैयार हो सकेंगे अन्यथा यह सपना “हथेली पर सरसों का उगाना” जैसा होगा। इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि यदि इन आदिवासियों के पास जमीन नहीं है तो ऐसे सुरक्षित जंगल जो अनावश्यक रूप से खड़े हों, यदि उन्हें खेती की भूमि में परिवर्तित कर दिया जाय या आदिवासियों को दे दिये जायें तो संभव है कि खेती के योग्य भूमि इन आदिवासी लोगों के लिये पहाड़ी स्थान में भी निकल आये। मैं तो यहां तक विचार रखता हूँ कि यदि सरकार इन जंगलों को साफ करवाने तक का जिम्मा अपने पर ले तो बहुत अच्छा ताकि इस समस्या का शीघ्र ही अन्त हो जाय और इन आदिवासियों को कृषि जीवी बनाने का अवसर ही न मिले बल्कि वे अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुदृढ़ बनाने में अपने आपको समर्थ पा सकें।

राजस्थान सरकार ने भी खेती के उपयुक्त जमीन का वितरण करते समय भूमि हानि किसानों को प्राथमिकता देने के आदेश प्रसारित किये हैं, परन्तु कुछ ही समय पूर्व इस आशय के आदेश भी प्रसारित किये जा चुके हैं कि पड़त जमीनों का वितरण करते समय भूमि ऐसे भूमिहीन पिछड़े वर्गों के लोगों को दी जाय जिससे पड़त भूमि का तिहाई हिस्सा उन्हें मिल सके।

राजस्थान सरकार के यह भी विचारार्थन है कि ये लोग उस शोषण से भी मुक्त हो जाय जिसके कारण कभी-कभी वे अपनी भूमि से भी हाथ धो बैठते हैं क्योंकि भूमि के स्वामित्व-सम्बन्धी आंधकारों को जानकारी नहीं होने के कारण उन्हें बेदखल का शिकार

होना पड़ता है इसलिये राजस्थान राज्य सरकार ने सरकार के खर्चों से निःशुक्ल कानूनी सहायता देने की व्यवस्था की है ताकि वे अपनी भूमि के स्वामित्व के औचित्य को ठहराकर अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था को सुरक्षित कर सकें। हालांकि राजस्थान राज्य ने "टैनेन्सी एक्ट" को जारी किया है तथापि उन्हें बेदखली का शिकार बना दिया जाता है इसलिये राजस्थान राज्य की सरकारी निःशुक्ल कानूनी सहायता की व्यवस्था से उन्हें सुविधा मिलती है। मेरा विश्वास है कि यदि कृषि उन्नति के साथ-साथ उन्हें भूमि स्वामित्व का आभास करा दिया जाय और उन्हें कानूनी सलाह निःशुक्ल मिलती रहे तो निश्चित ही वे अपने आपको सुरक्षित पा सकेंगे और जिसके फल-स्वरूप इन जातियों में झलरा (शिपिंग कर्लटवेशन) नाम की जो प्रथा कहीं-कहीं प्रचलित है वह रुक जायेगी और वे निश्चित रूप में स्थायी कार्तकार ही नहीं उतरेंगे परन्तु उसके साथ-साथ हमारी वन संपत्ति भी सुरक्षित रह सकेगी।

कृषि योग्य औजारों की व्यवस्था व अन्य प्रसाधन

आदिवासियों के सामने एक मसला यह भी है कि यदि उन्हें उपयुक्त जमीन खेती के लिये मिल भी जाती है तो उस भूमि को कैसे खंवारी जा सके या उर्वरा बनाई जा सके? इसके लिये उन्हें हल तथा उचित खाद के प्रयोग का ज्ञान तथा इसी प्रकार उन्हें अच्छे बीज की उत्पादन शक्ति का ज्ञान होना भी आवश्यक है।

कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि जब तक हम आदिवासियों का विश्वास संपादन कर लेने में असमर्थ हैं तब तक उनसे किसी वस्तु विशेष के सम्बन्ध में

औचित्य स्वीकार करा लेना असम्भव नहीं तो कठिन अवश्य है। यदि उनको अच्छी खेती के प्रसाधनों का ज्ञान कराया जाय तो उसे वे तुरन्त स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे क्योंकि सदियों से उनका मानस उन्हीं औजारों के प्रति तैयार रहेगा जिनका कि प्रयोग वे करते आ रहे हैं। इसके लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हम उन्हें प्रयोग के स्वरूप कुछ औजार निःशुक्ल दें तथा उनका उपयोग करने का ज्ञान करावें पर यह भी तब संभव है जब कि हम उनसे होने वाले लाभ के औचित्य को स्वीकार कर सकेंगे। इतना ही नहीं, मैं यह भी आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि उनके बीच काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ता उन्हीं औजारों का उपयोग कर अपनी निजी खेती को एक आदर्श कृषि-क्षेत्र (माडल फार्म) का स्वरूप दे कर उनके समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर सके। राजस्थान राज्य ने भीलों को ४०,००० रु० की राशि देने की व्यवस्था की है जिसका वितरण समाज सेवी संस्थाओं द्वारा कराया गया है। इस प्रकार मेरा मत है कि रहँट या हल जो कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र के लिये उपयुक्त साधन सिद्ध हो सकते हैं, वे बाँटे जाय बल्कि यदि संभव हो सके तो पड़त जमीन की सफाई ट्रेक्टर से करवाई जाकर उसका वितरण आदिवासियों के बीच किया जाय ताकि वे आधुनिक यंत्रों का केवल लाभ ही नहीं समझें परन्तु उनको उनके प्रति जिज्ञासा उत्पन्न हो। मैं यह भी विश्वास रखता हूँ कि यन्त्र प्रणाली परिश्रम के बीच एक गहरी खाई ला सकती है परन्तु जहाँ हम आदिवासियों के पुनर्वास का प्रश्न लेते हैं वहाँ हमें यन्त्र-प्रणाली का उपयोग करने में संकोच नहीं करना चाहिये।

आवास तथा आवागमन की सुविधा

जैसा कि मैं ऊपर कह चुका हूँ कि आदिवासी गांवों की बस्तियों के रूप में बसे हुये नहीं हैं। अतः

यह अनुभव किया जाने लगा है कि जब तक उनको सामूहिक जीवन प्रणाली की ओर अग्रसर नहीं किया जाता तब तक उनके आर्थिक विकास के लिये कोई सामूहिक प्रयत्न सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं तथा हाथ में ली हुई कल्याणकारी योजनाओं की सफलता का परिणाम भी अंधकार में रहता है अतः राज्य सरकार ने यह आवश्यक समझा है कि उनके पुनर्वास की योजना प्रारंभ की जावे जिसमें कतिपय परिवारों को ऐसी भूमि में बसाया जाय जहाँ उनको कई प्रकार के साधन जुटाये जा सकें, उनमें से निम्न महत्वपूर्ण होंगे।

- (अ) मकान बनाने की सुविधा।
- (ब) बैल, बीज तथा औजार खरीदने की सुविधा।
- (स) जमीन की सफाई और उसकी उर्वरा शक्ति को बढ़ाने के लिये सहायता।
- (द) खेत पर सिंचाई के लिये कुँए बनवाने के लिये सहायता।

मकान बनाने की सुविधा

राजस्थान राज्य ने आदिवासी क्षेत्र में बसने वाली भील जाति के लोगों को मकान बनाने तथा लकड़ी के कृषि औजारों के लिये वन विभाग से निःशुल्क लकड़ी लाने की सुविधा प्रदान की है परन्तु फिर भी उपर्युक्त पुनर्वास योजना के अतिरिक्त यह प्रविधान रखा है कि अधिक से अधिक ३५० रु० की सहायता प्रत्येक परिवार को मकान बनाने के लिये दी जाय।

इसके अन्तर्गत बाँसवाड़ा में ३० परिवारों को बसाने का कार्य आरम्भ हो गया है इसके लिये २०,५०० रु० स्वीकृत बजट में से दिया जा चुका है। ये परिवार बाँसवाड़ा के पश्चिम में ६ मील की दूरी

पर बसाये जावेंगे। वहाँ आने के लिये सड़क की व्यवस्था है। सरकार ने अन्य परिवारों को बूंदी तथा उदयपुर जिले में खेरवाड़ा तहसील में बसाने के लिये सोचा है। इस प्रकार कथोड़िया नामक जनजाति ने ८६ परिवार उदयपुर की फलासिया तहसील के दायम्बासा गांव में बसाये जा चुके हैं। यह कथोड़िया कुछ वर्ष पूर्व बम्बई प्रान्त के खानदेश जिले से मेवाड़ के ओहरे ठेकेदारों द्वारा लाये गये थे। ये लोग जंगल में खेर के वृक्ष को छाल से कत्था बनाने का काम करते हैं। बसने से पूर्व इन लोगों को अर्द्ध नग्न और भूखे रहकर काम करना पड़ता था। यहाँ तक कि ठेकेदार के यहां इन्हें अपने आपको बिलकुल गुलाम के रूप में बेच देना पड़ता था।

बैल, बीज तथा अन्य औजारों के खरीदने की सुविधा

राज्य सरकार ने इसी प्रकार उनके जीवन में स्थायित्व लाने के लिये और जैसा कि ऊपर कहा गया है कि सुदृढ़ रूप से उन्हें बसाने के लिये उनके लिये पुनर्वास योजनाओं को कार्यरूप देने के उद्देश्य से पाल, औजार आदि के खरीदने के लिये ११० रु० व २६० रु० प्रति परिवार देने की व्यवस्था की है।

जमीन की सफाई और उसकी उर्वरा शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिये सहायता

मैंने ऊपर कहा है कि इनके लिये पड़त जंगल सफाई तथा पड़त भूमि को खेती के उपयुक्त बनाने के लिये ट्रेक्टर का इस्तेमाल कर जमीन को ठीक बनाई जाय परन्तु इसके अलावा राज्य सरकार ने यह भी निश्चय किया है कि यदि कोई आदिवासी उसको दी गई पड़त जमीन की सफाई करता है तो

उसे उस जमीन पर व्यय करने के लिये ५० रु० प्रत्येक परिवार के हिसाब से दिया जाय और उसकी जीविका के लिये भी कम से कम एक बार वर्ष में ५० रु० दिये जाय।

सिंचाई के लिये कुँए

आदिवासियों में यह भी देखा गया है कि वे कभी-कभी जमीन के अभाव तथा आर्थिक हालत ठीक तरह से न रहने के कारण एक गांव को छोड़ कर दूसरे गांव में चले जाते हैं जिसको उनकी प्रथा में भगना कहते हैं। उसका मूल कारण यह भी है कि उसके पास जीविका के साधन नहीं रहते और न वे आर्थिक जिम्मेदारी को ही पूरी तरह से अदा कर सकते हैं। इस शर्म के कारण उनके पास एक ही रास्ता है कि वह अपने पैतृक गांव को छोड़ दूसरे गांव में अपना बसेरा करें। यह एक दुर्देव ही है। यदि खेती योग्य जमीन उसके पास भी हो पर उस पर सिंचाई के साधन नहीं हो तो भी उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति डांवाडोल ही रहेगी। अतः राजस्थान सरकार इस परिणाम पर पहुंची है कि यदि जमीन के साथ उन्हें बांध देना है तथा अपने स्वामित्व के प्रति मोह उत्पन्न कर देना हो तो जमीन के स्वामित्व के साथ-साथ उनकी जमीन पर उनका अपना एक कुँआ हो ताकि वे अपनी स्थायी भावना के प्रति उदासीन न रहे बल्कि उनमें आशा का संचार हो और वे स्थायी रूप से कृषि जीवि बन सकें। राजस्थान के आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में बहुधा यह देखने में आया है कि अधिक से अधिक २०-२५ हाथ गहरा पानी मिल जाता है। इसे दृष्टि में रखते हुये सिंचाई के लिये कुँआ का निर्माण कार्य अपने हाथ में लेने का एक दूसरा कारण यह भी है कि पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में सिंचाई के बहुत ही कम

साधन होते हैं सिवाय इसके कि पहाड़ी नदियों को रोक लिया जाय। परन्तु पहाड़ी नदियों को रोकना उतना आसान नहीं है जितना कि सोचा जा सकता है और इसी प्रकार बांध तथा तालाबों के सम्बन्ध में है। आदिवासी क्षेत्र की कृषि मानसून पर निर्भर करती है। यदि मानसून नहीं हुआ तो निश्चित ही वहां सूखा और अकाल होगा। यहां एक और दूसरी समस्या है जिसका सामना आदिवासी लोग बराबर करते आये हैं और उसका बड़ा दुष्परिणाम उन्हें उठाना पड़ा। इसे दृष्टि में रखते हुये व्यक्तिगत रूप में प्रत्येक आदिवासी को अपनी जमीन पर कुँआ खोदने के लिये ५०० रुपये की धन राशि की सहायता राज्य की ओर से दी जाती है। इस धन राशि का दुरुपयोग न हो, उसके लिये भी कुछ ऐसे नियम बना दिये गये हैं जिससे यह आंका जा सके कि कुँआ की खुदाई की प्रगति निरन्तर बढ़ती जा रही है और उसका परिणाम निश्चित ही कुछ अच्छा होने वाला है। सन् ५१-५२ में ६० ४,२२,२५० की लागत की सहायता दी गई तथा सन् ५२-५३ में ६० ४,८६ ६६४ की तथा ५३-५४ में ६ लाख रुपये इस कार्य में खर्च किये गये जिनसे लगभग ३००० कुँए खुदे व मरम्मत किये गये। संक्षेप में नियमों का उल्लेख कर देना आवश्यक समझता हूँ। यह सहायता निश्चित किशतों में दी जाती है। वे इस प्रकार हैं :—

- ८ फीट गहरा खोदने पर ५० रु० की पहली किशत।
- १५ फीट की गहराई तक खोदने पर १०० रुपये की दूसरी किशत।
- २० फीट की गहराई तक खोदने पर १०० रुपये की तीसरी किशत।

इसी प्रकार प्रयाप्त पानी की सतह पर पहुंचने पर १०० रुपये की चौथी किंशत और अन्तिम पांचवी किंशत १५० की कुंए पर घाट तथा अन्य काम के लिये दी जाती है।

इसका सुपरिणाम भी दृष्टिगोचर हुआ है। आज आदिवासी अपने खेतों पर दूसरी फसल उगाने में सफल हुये हैं और इससे उनके जीवन में स्थायी परिणाम आने लगे हैं और जो उनके आर्थिक स्तर को उन्नत बनाने में सहायता पहुंचाते हैं। सन् ५४-५५ के लिये १० लाख रुपयों की सहायता दिये जाने की योजना है। इस धन राशि से १०५० पुराने कुओं की मरम्मत और १६२८ कुओं के नये बनाने की स्वीकृति प्रदान की जा चुकी है।

तालाब व बांधों का निर्माण

जैसा कि ऊपर उल्लेख किया गया है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र में यथा सम्भव जहां कुछ तालाब या ऐसे बांध बंध सकते हैं जिनसे जमीन की सतह को लाभ मिल सके, ऐसे स्थानों पर जहां छोटी रकमों को लगाने से निश्चित ही कृषि को लाभ पहुंचाकर आर्थिक जीवन में आदिवासियों को स्थायी बनाने में मदद मिलती है, वहां पर इन मदों पर भी रकम खर्च की जा रही है। अतः राजस्थान सरकार ने आदिवासी क्षेत्र में तालाब तथा कतिपय बांध बंधाने की योजना सन् १९५१ से अपने हाथ में ले रखी है। इस प्रकार की योजना से लगभग ४,००० एकड़ जमीन को सिंचाई योग्य बनाया जा सका है और उससे १। लाख आदिवासियों को लाभ पहुंचेगा। अब तक इस प्रकार ४५ तालाबों तथा बांधों की मरम्मत हो सकी।

व्यवसायिक शिक्षण

आज देश में जहां बेकारी एक भयंकर और जटिल समस्या है वहां व्यवसाय में शिक्षण प्राप्त टैकनिकल लोगों की भारी कमी है जिससे हमारे देश की प्रगति रुक रही है। आदिवासी लोगों को स्वावलम्बी बनाने के निमित्त उन्हें व्यवसायिक शिक्षा देने का प्रबन्ध भी इस विभाग के अन्तर्गत किया गया है।

इस वर्ष राजस्थान में इस विभाग के अन्तर्गत निम्नलिखित स्थानों पर ७ शिक्षण कक्षाएँ संचालित की जा रही हैं।

१. लोहारी शिक्षण कक्षा, सज्जनगढ़, बांसवाड़ा।
२. लोहारी शिक्षण कक्षा, फलोज, झुंजरपुर।
३. बढई गेरी शिक्षण कक्षा, सज्जनगढ़।
४. बढई गेरी शिक्षण कक्षा, फलोज।
५. सिलाई कक्षा, सागवाड़ा।
६. बांस और नैत बनाने की शिक्षा कक्षा, केसरिया बाद, उदयपुर।
७. सिलाई की कक्षा, प्रतापगढ़।

इसके अलावा जो छात्र इन ट्रेनिंग कक्षाओं में शिक्षण प्राप्त करते हैं उनमें से हरेक को ३० रु० मासिक छात्रवृत्ति मिलती है। इस वर्ष रु० ९७८९ की राशि छात्रवृत्ति के रूप में दी गई है।

इस योजना के अन्तर्गत सन् ५२-५३ में १४२ विद्यार्थियों ने और ५३-५४ में १४४ विद्यार्थियों ने लाभ उठाया।

बहुप्रयोजनीय सहकारी समितियाँ

आज के युग में सहकारी समितियाँ भी राष्ट्र के उत्थान में अपना विशेष स्थान रखती हैं। पिछड़े

वर्ग के लोगों को आर्थिक सहायता देने के निमित्त उनकी बहुप्रयोजनीय सहकारी समितियां संगठित की गईं जिनकी कुल संख्या ६७ हैं। इनमें से डूंगरपुर, बांसवाड़ा और चित्तौड़गढ़ में ३४ समितियां हैं। इन समितियों का सन् ५२-५३ में २०,००० रुपये का खर्च हुआ उसमें से १,८५,००० रुपयों की आर्थिक

सहायता २२ समितियों को दी गई है। इसी प्रकार सन् ५३-५४ में १४,३२७ रुपयों की सहायता दी गई है जिसमें से २,६७५ रुपयों की सहायता ७ नई समितियों को, जिनका संगठन इसी वर्ष हुआ था, दी गई। सन् ५४-५५ में ४,५७६ रुपये की सहायता दी गई।

बस्तर जिले में ग्रामोद्योग

श्री नरसिंहमूर्ति, मंत्री, बस्तर जनपद कर्मचारी सहकारी संघ, जगदलपुर।

बस्तर जनपद क्षेत्र, उड़ीसा, आन्ध्र व महाराष्ट्र प्रान्तों की सीमा से पूर्व दक्षिण व पश्चिम दिशाओं में क्रमशः समावृत्त होकर भारत के नक्शे में एक विशिष्ट भूखण्ड के रूप में स्थित है। यह भूभाग अधिक संख्या में आदिमजातियों का निवास स्थान है। यहां की प्रजा अपढ़, अशिक्षित केवल अर्ध नग्न तथा बहुत ही गरीब हैं। शिक्षा, सम्पत्ति, रहन-सहन आदि सब बातों में यह प्रदेश पिछड़ा हुआ है। प्रान्त के अन्य स्थानों की अपेक्षा इस क्षेत्र में व्यवस्था की सबसे अधिक कठिनाई है जिसकी उन्नति के साधन नितान्त आवश्यक हैं। बापू जी का यह भी मनोरथ था कि देश भर के इन आदिमजातियों का उद्धार शीघ्रताशीघ्र हो जाय।

इसका उल्लेख विपुल रूप से पंचवर्षीय योजना में किया गया है। उक्त प्रणाली में इसी के लिये जनपद सभाओं तथा सहकारी संस्थाओं को जिनके साथ जनता का अति निकट सम्बन्ध है, ऊंचा स्थान दिया गया है। ग्रामोद्योग, कुटीर शिल्प, हस्त कार्य इत्यादि पर अधिक प्रभाव डाला गया है। शासन

द्वारा आयोजित प्रत्येक प्रणाली में जनपद सभाओं तथा सहकारी समितियों की ही नहीं, बल्कि साधारण जनता की ओर से अधिकाधिक सहयोग वांछित है। इस तरह देश की सर्वतोमुखी प्रगति व उन्नति सिद्ध होना भारत के शासनकर्त्ताओं का ध्येय है।

उपरोक्त आशय को पूर्ण रूप से सफल बनाने के लिये जनता में उत्साह व शक्ति बढ़ाना चाहिये। कार्य तत्परता तथा एकता व समानता आदि भावनाएं भरनी चाहिये। पग पग पर उनके मनस्तत्व पर यह प्रभाव डाला जाय कि वे राष्ट्रोन्नति के प्रति स्वेच्छा-पूर्वक योगदान देने को उद्यत हों।

गत गणराज्य दिवस के पूज्य पर्व पर इस कुटीर के तत्वावधान में सूत्र-सत्र का आयोजन किया गया था। कई सज्जनों ने उसमें भाग लेकर पूज्य बापू तथा अन्य हुतात्माओं के प्रति अपना प्रेम व भक्ति प्रकट किया है। उस पर्व में जो सूत काता गया था वह मध्यप्रदेश के माननीय मुख्य मंत्री पंडित रविवंकर शुक्ल जी के करकमलों में समर्पित किया गया है। इस सत्र में यह अनुभव किया गया है कि समय

समय पर इस क्षेत्र में ऐसे सत्र व प्रतियोगिताओं की व्यवस्था रचने से अति शीघ्रता से जनता में उत्साह बढ़कर उनके हृदय-कुहरों में चिरकाल-स्थित राजभक्ति के स्थान पर राष्ट्रभक्ति का विजय प्राप्त कर एकता व समानता का भाव उत्पन्न होता ।

अतः इस कुटीर की उत्कट अभिलाषा है कि इस उपलक्ष में इस स्थान के प्रत्येक प्रमुख केन्द्र में एक एक प्रशिक्षणालय इस परिषद की ओर से खोला जाय तथा प्रत्येक ग्राम में ग्रामोद्योग तथा कुटीर शिल्पों की व्यवस्था वाणिज्य के तौर पर की जाय । प्रति वर्ष के गणराज्य दिवस सप्ताहों में तथा स्वतन्त्रता-दिवस के पर्वों में अन्य खेल कूद प्रतियोगिताओं के साथ साथ सूत्र सत्रों की भी जो कि पूज्य बापू का

अत्यन्त प्रियतम परिश्रम था, मनाया जाये । इससे जनता में बेकारी की समस्या दूर होजाने के अतिरिक्त उन का राष्ट्र की ओर मन संलग्न होगा । खास कर कृषकों के लिये चर्खा एक क्षतिपूर्णा उद्योग बना रहेगा ।

इस बात का भी जिक्र करना असंगत नहीं होगा कि श्रीमान काका साहित्य कालेलकर की अध्यक्षता में शासन द्वारा निर्मित पिछड़े वर्ग आयोग (Backward Classes Commission) ने इस स्थान की जांच की थी । उक्त आयोग का यह विचार था कि इस स्थान पर अखिल भारतीय खादी और ग्रामोद्योग मंडल व अखिल भारतीय कुटीर शिल्प-मंडलों की शाखाएं स्थापित की जाये ।

TRIBAL ECONOMY

SHRI V. RAGHAVIA, NELLORE.

It is not altogether correct to suppose that Tribal people, wherever they happen to be, monopolise poverty, misery and frustration. It is not at all true to say that they are unhappy and that they are all eagerly looking forward to some golden era which would transplant them in the midst of modern comforts and civilisation. The anxiety shown by several well-wishers including those who have spent their life-time in the service of the Adivasis, to dub all Adivasis as primitive has not been shared by others in spite of the obviously inoffensive root meaning the word carries of being ancient or belonging to the first times. The adoption by Adivasis of several practices which are at variance with ours need not necessarily

brand them as either inferior, or backward or uncivilised as even among the modernised peoples social customs, food and dress habits, marital relationships and bans, which are totally conflicting and appearing to be even grotesque, do exist.

There could be no doubt that tribal economy is based, shaped and fashioned on the prevalent social habits, physical conditions and even ancestral beliefs which we moderners are prepared to dismiss as superstition. It is as difficult for an Adivasi to tear himself out of his surroundings as it is for a fish to be out of water. If hillmen or jungle dweller refused to take to the plough but stuck

to 'bewar' or axe cultivation, it was more due to his innate, instinctive cultural idea of Gandhian self-sufficiency and cherished motto of the exploitation than to his much advertised superstitious reluctance to rip open the bowels of Dharithri Matha whom he adores quite as much as any Indian does. The Adivasi's incentive for production even now-a-days is to feed himself and his family and occasionally to entertain a few relatives and friends but never to sell. Even when he chooses to exchange or barter it is only for securing a few much needed necessities of life and rarely a few glass beads, coloured threads and just a few brass utensils. Formerly he was doing even without these. This limitation on large scale output and aversion to commercial production must in fairness to the Adivasi be attributed more to his ancient, ancestral and spiritual traditions and culture than to the absence of marketing facilities or inaccessible habitats as some would like to presume.

That the Aboriginal's economy is conditioned by his environment is amply proved by the Chenhu whom Anthropologists believe to be one of India's earliest inhabitants. Provision for the morrow appears to be quite alien to his mentality. His day begins and ends with food gathering, nine-tenths of which consists of the chase of the forest, a few edible roots, honey and a few vegetables he grows around his hut. The little path of hill millet he cultivates adjacent to his clearing would not last even for a couple of months. Very often if he had strayed far into the jungle, he satisfies his hunger in the forest itself and brings home the remnants to feed his family. No storing is contemplated to keep off the wolf on a rainy day and no thought of the future disturbs his little Republic.

His world is cabined by the present. It would be more correct to say that the Adivasi does not want to provide for the future than that he does not think of it at all. This does not mean that his way of hand to mouth existence is the best and that it does not require a little more planning particularly when the ancient gaining facilities no longer exist and when the impact of modern civilisation refuses to leave him in his seclusion. While a little more saving, a trifle more industry, a some more fore-thought are necessary for these people, it does not however follow that they should run the full gamut of modern industrial life with its relentless competition, uncertainty of occupation and sweated labour.

What is true with the Chenchu is true with the Enady, the Kadar, the Kanikar and the Irula, who inhabit the spurs of the Eastern and Western ghats, the Nilgiri Plateau and the Annamalai hills of South India. Most of the nomadic tribes of this part of the country do not have fixed abodes, shift their doorless leaf-huts from place to place as they wander in search of food. The fact that several tribes like for instance, the Enadis and Irulas even after migrating into the plains centuries before have not shed their primitive habits in this respect, fail to realise the value of time or money, do not keep to fixed habitations and settled occupations; resent any form of control and resist in a wandering life, proves that this trait of 'enough for the day' is deep rooted in their culture and cannot be easily cured even after closer contacts with non-tribals.

Even today the aboriginal has not much to do with money. There are few among the Jungle dwellers who might have handled the currency-note. There are

tribes living in such complete seclusion that they require little which they could not produce themselves. Tribal culture during its slow and steady progress through the ages did not fail to harness science to its advantage, though its achievements were subordinated to the basic principle of self-sufficiency that governed the tribal life. Skilled workers like for instance the Agarias of Chota Nagpur, were not wanting throughout the tribal India for making such agricultural implements and weapons of warfare which were in great demand from time to time. These and other occupations which provided a supplementary living were in the nature of cottage industries which required no capital and were pursued with leisure and comfort avoiding the dull and drab evil features of a mechanised industry with its inevitable and soul-killing factors like, over work, premature old age etc. which are the inescapable consequences of a modern industry.

As land was plenty and the reapers few, there were no boundary disputes worth the name. Tribal Panchayats settled all the major and minor disputes thus avoiding recourse to costly law courts and endless litigation which are the bane of the modern city life. The severity of caste punishments was so great that crime was low and even unheard of. Even today, cases of theft or of dishonesty are few and far between in the agency areas. Cases of murder do occur now and then but none of them are motivated by lust for filthy lucre. Comparatively greater peace and order rules tribal villages and except in the Naga villages of Assam, life can be said to be placid, peaceful and uneventful.

Tribal women are as industrious as men and sometimes even more. There

are several tribes like for instance the Mishmis and the Khasis of Assam and the Gadabas of Andhra among whom women folk as a rule are expert spinners and weavers and no bride who cannot weave her bridal garment can hope to secure a decent husband. The Assamis women rear silk-worms in every house and weave beautiful chaddars for domestic use. Lambada women spend long hours at gunny sack weaving. Erukala women make baskets even as they keep walking. Enady women are experts at hand-pounding and mat-weaving. The Bhil and Gond women-folk do not spare themselves in helping their men in agriculture. Toda women tend buffaloes with great care. The Munda, Oraon and Assamese women carry heavy loads across steep hills with surprising agility.

In tribal economy, there is not much scope or opportunity for accumulating wealth. All land as it is even today in several Naga villages, was common property held jointly by the members of the village and primitive agriculture permitted no grain reserves either for gift or for sale. Each man put himself to work on such plot as was allotted to him and no drones ever existed. Each man was a warrior ready and able not only to safeguard his hearth and home but even to fight for the honour and protection of his village or clan. The bachelors' barracks provided an excellent training ground for young warriors who always provided an unpaid army of ever ready volunteers necessitating neither conscription nor mercenary means. Redistribution of land took place from time to time and additional plots were reclaimed by the village commune as population increased. Though a few well-to-do

Adivasis are not uncommon in tribal villages, the disparity between the rich and the poor and its baneful effects, pride and prejudices are either negligible or totally absent. No restrictions are placed on the enterprising spirit of individuals and the ugly scar of untouchability which not only mars social harmony but even bars people of certain communities from following certain professions, do not occur in tribal society. Hiring of human labour either as wage-earners or as permanent servants is not a general feature of tribal life. All the members of the house-hold including prospective bridegrooms who enter and work for the family on contractual basis toil on the family land, each contributing what all he can and receiving in turn what all he needs. Even the polyandrous families of Jaunsar-Bawar have a flexible code of rights and obligations among the various members of the family under which the eldest brother who is also the manager acts as the recipient and guardian and the distributor of all the family incomes. The remarkable industry with which Jaunsar-Bawar tribes carry on terraced cultivation on every available inch of land around snow capped Himalyan ranges, speak volume of their hereditary skill and wealth of experience in agriculture.

Tribal Agriculture has been subjected to a prolonged process of transition from one of shifting axe cultivation to one of catted intensive are in various parts of the country. The small patches of jungle clearings either in the plain country around and in the proximity of tribal villages or along the slopes of hill-sides, where millet is grown after the trees are cut and burnt and the ashes strewn are fast giving place to compara-

tively bigger holdings where the plough takes the place of the hoe and fixed and permanent plots replace the shifting patches. Weary of building new villages once in every three or four years as the cultivation shifts, deprived by the game and the forest laws of the freedom to carry on bevar, and also considerably influenced by the example of the easy going people of the plains in taking better crops by improved methods of manuring and ploughing the tribal is getting accustomed to better and more permanent homes, improved and easier means of livelihood and expenditure on imported articles for which he had not much use or necessity before. This transformation had its disturbing effects on the slender resources and simple economy of the unsophisticated tribal folk. The initial successes in securing better crops lured them towards more modern productive methods and more expensive living conditions with the result that the Adivasi in some areas like for instance the Koya, the Savara and the Gond has ceased to be what he was hitherto resent being called by their Adivasi names, assume new ones and try to pass for non-tribals to raise themselves in social status. It is this transitional stage that has overtaken the marginal Adivasi and for which he was least prepared, that is causing anxiety to his well-wishers. Whether Podu should be continued despite the denudation of the forests it always entails or whether modern agriculture should replace the bevar is a problem that is engaging the attention of many a State Government. The forty square mile Baiga Chuk Reserve of Madhya Pradesh, the restricted exercise of dhya cultivation elsewhere are only temporary solutions to meet the transitional needs.

Settled cultivation and increased interest of the hill man in occupations other than ancestral began to deprive the plains contractors and dealers, the monopoly of cheap and uneconomical labour which the latter were enjoying in exploiting the forest wealth. The introduction of a new order based on demand and supply put not only more money into the pockets of the Adivasis but brought in its trail serfdom, loss of joy and dependance. Wants increased, earnings failed to keep pace, dignity of man disappeared and the happy Adivasis were reduced to humdrum life of ever-increasing penury and mounting indebtedness as is the case with the hill Reddis of the Godavary valley. The infiltration of the usurious money lender and unscrupulous dealer into the tribal parts coupled with ignorance and unbargaining stupidity of the hill-man resulted in large scale exploitation, increased litigation and consequent destruction of the peace in tribal villages. In some parts summary and cheap tribal justice yielded place to prolonged costly litigation and the slender resources of the Adivasi came to be subjected to such heavy strain that anti-alienation laws had to be passed not only in the Andhra Agency and Hyderabad State but in every other tribal area to protect rich alluvial tribal land from passing into the hands of plainmen almost for a song for satisfying spurious as well as usurious claims. Human ingenuity found ways and means to circumvent these restrictions and fresh safeguards were forged to protect the tribals.

The laws governing inheritance in polyandrous tribes like the Koltas, Rajputs and the Brahmins of Jaunsar-Bawar and Simla hill states have helped fragmentation which form of agriculture though unprofitable in plain country is

not unsuitable to hill side farming and terraced cultivation.

The absence of transport facilities has greatly hindered the growth of fruit culture in all hilly regions. This could be markedly realised when we observe the handicaps suffered by Adivasi fruit growers and tej pat exporters of the Assam's mountainous regions. The limping transport plane service between Shillong and Calcutta does not meet the growing needs adequately. Areas like the Andhra Agency where the orange, the jack fruit and the pine apple have found a congenial home, stand to profit if their surplus produce should find a ready market by the opening of canning industries, opening of motorable roads and the formation of forest contract societies where carpentry and other allied industries could be profitably encouraged.

Dress Economy. Next to food the Adivasi's other important problem is his apparel. A few centuries before, the Adivasi should have been going naked as the Nagas and the Mishmis of the un-administered areas of Assam even now do. Till perhaps a century before, they were wearing fibre clothes self-woven out of hand spun drawn from the bark of the trees, and dyed in red and blue by the vegetable dyes available in the jungle. In the past one century and particularly within the past 50 years, conditions have considerably changed requiring or inducing the Adivasi to import cheap mill or hand-made cloth, though several tribes like the Kacharis of Assam and the Gadabas of Andhra persist still in following their ancient occupation of hand-weaving. Even as such the Adivasi's dress is meagre. He still prefers to expose his limbs to the varying weathers and is therefore hardened and able to

heavy strain. Young children do not wear anything till they grow up. Adults among Chenchus, why among all jungle and hill dwellers, wear just a piece of cloth suspended to a waist thread or band in front and behind just to cover their shame. Tribal women in several parts, as for instance, Malabar, Orissa and Assam, do not cover their bosoms and are satisfied with a towel thrown single-fold around. The Bondo women of Orissa and the Naga women of Assam consider it not only hygienic but even aesthetic to put on minimum dress which practically amounts to no clothing. A mantle resembling the toga of Romans with embroidered edges and coloured tassels keeps off cold, serves as bed sheet, a pillow, an umbrella, a hold-all, or an elbow rest while sitting at ease to the Erukala, the Dommara, the Naga, the Lambada, the Toda and several others of the aboriginals. These garments last several months and a few years even if mended properly and promptly. The Adivasi has not to and need not spend much on his dress. He seeks beauty in his well-proportioned and shapely limbs, the multicoloured threads and beads that adorn his wrinklets, armlets and waist-belts and the myriad kinds of forest flowers and not an imported garment and artificial aids.

House Economy : Given food and dress, a home of his own comes third in the order of priority of the Adivasi's needs. As a rule all Adivasi homes are built of forest wood and thatched with jungle grasses or palm leaves. Neither iron nor teak play any part in the construction. No utensils are in demand, leaf-cups being used instead. Other house furniture is equally simple. The floors are either of mud or of raised

wooden platform covered by either bamboo matting or sago palm leaves or wooden planks. Long bamboo receptacles serve the purpose of pots. Huge leaf plates are used for eating and some of them are stitched into baskets, umbrellas and even rain-coats. Gourds are used for carrying water, Handi (fermented rice beer) and food. The omnipresent bamboo weaves itself so closely into the life of the jungle dweller that it replaces even iron and other metals. It provides ornaments, hats, skull caps, shields, spears and even plated dresses and what not?

Sacrifices : Sacrifices take a heavy toll of the cattle wealth of the Adivasis year after year and act as formidable impediments to the progress of improved methods of agriculture in Adivasi habitats. Buffaloes, cows and bulls are customarily sacrificed not only to propitiate village goddesses, but even the departed souls of ancestors. Sacrifices of plough animals take place on auspicious occasions also. The slaughter of animals to appease deities received greater fillip with the ban strictly enforced by the Governments on Meriah (human) sacrifices since the past half a century. That human blood improves the agricultural yield saves crops from all pests and helps to redden the turmeric crop is a belief deeply rooted among the Adivasis of every land. The Sakti type of worship to appease Kali and her various forms to which the Adivasis are particularly devoted lends a weird charm and mystic significance to bloody sacrifices involving sometimes wholesale slaughter of these innocent and useful domestic animals and disturbs the slender economy of the Adivasis in no small degree.

Have and Have-nots: Even tribes among whom private property is recognised, houses, apparel and food and general manner of living are the same for the rich and the poor and the importance of wealth any particular man possesses is manifested only on occasions like the propitiation of dead ancestors, and even that as a means of gaining prestige for himself. These costly rituals are so widely and evenly spread, that accumulation of wealth which generally takes the shape of cattle, swine or the hoarded produce of one or two years, is rendered impossible. Thus wealth is not hoarded but put into constant circulation or consumption at the innumerable ritual feasts. The care bestowed on the old and the infirm is so adequate that hoardings become unnecessary also. Another factor operating against hoarding is the hunt for prestige the accumulation of which rises with the expenditure or in other words the distribution of wealth as gifts, charity, pomp and even in the destruction of the same to over-reach one's rival in leadership of the society. Among certain western European tribes status is enhanced, we are told, by dissipation of wealth in competition with one's rivals. The rivalry between Kwakintl Chiefs and clans finds according to J. S. Slotkin Asst. Professor of Social Science, Chicago University, its strongest expression in the destruction of property. A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken". Property may not only be destroyed for the purpose of damaging the prestige of the

rival, but also for the sole purpose of gaining distinction.

Classification of General Economics and its Features: The central feature of tribal or primitive economy lies in its contrasts with other systems in the production of small surpluses as against those achieving large surpluses. The amount of surplus is a crucial determinant of many other aspects of the economy and social system of a people. The major types of primitive economics are classified by Melville Jacobs and Bernhardstern as follows:

(1) Hunting, fishing, food-gathering economics that lacked exchangeable surpluses or produced small exchangeable surpluses.

(2) Economics based on primitive agriculture or on pastoralism or on primitive agriculture *and* pastoralism, i. e. those that lacked pastoralism *and* produced small surpluses and those that with or without pastoralism and produced large surpluses.

The general economic features marking food gathering groups have been sparse populations, self-sufficient economic units with strengths ranging between 40 to 70 persons in each, seasonal moves made by the entire units in augmenting major food supplies, absence of money, commerce, trade or markets, communal or collective owning of fishing zones or hunting grounds and total absence of inequalities in the ownership of wealth.

Advanced food-gathering economy, a later stage in the food-gathering economics of the Adivasis resulted in larger populated units, formation of market villages consisting of many hundreds of persons, organisation of work-parties led by hereditary head-men or head-women

for hunting, fishing and other food-gathering work, unequal distribution among the members of these parties, thereby giving rise to an order of privileged persons, specialisation of industries like weaving, carving, canoe-making, slight selling of surplus products leading gradually to trading through the medium of shell-money, slave-owning, creation of an upper class such as nobility which gradually became hereditary.

When simple agricultural economy was followed later by advanced agricultural pastoral economics, agriculture became rapidly the most decisive of the various determinants of tribal economy. Improvements in agricultural technique, gradually increased production, resulting in the growth of population not only in the market villages but even in minor units. Specialisation received fillip which in its turn gave impetus to craftsmanship in several cottage industries and the release of many persons for such specialised purposes. During this stage of advanced agricultural pastoral economics denser population came into existence towns and cities came to be formed, markets increased, distribution became unequal, nobles and monarchs exacted taxation or tribute, sale and purchase came into greater play and several varieties and grades of bureaucracy consisting of tax-collectors, retainers, drones supported by armed police and soldiery came to operate. There is no doubt that this entire costly machinery was maintained by greater production, which resulted in greater specialisation, invention, trade, intercommunication and other factors.

Sex inferiority: Some writers hold that apart from certain natural activities relating to the welfare of infants, no labour is naturally masculine or feminine.

It is historical circumstances and cultural conditioning that accounts for the existing arbitrary division of labour between man and woman. Though it is not often, we come across women leading foraging parties, making wars and controlling turbulent elements. Among the Bhils the women take as much part in agricultural operations as the men do. Among the matrilineal tribes of the women do harder work and undergo greater strain than men. It can therefore be hardly said that the Adivasis were unaware of the advantages accruing to the family by the members of both the sexes working hard.

Ownership bans : Laws placing disabilities or bans on the ownership of land by Tribal population worked havoc on tribal economy throughout the world. Here in our country such restrictions are luckily so rare and whenever they happened to exist the Indian Government has taken effective steps to restore and safeguard the fundamental civic rights of the affected. An old law in Uttar Pradesh that prevented Koltas from owning land has been repealed by the State Government. The same Government has by legislation wiped out all the accumulated debts of Koltas and Bajgis contracted more than three years before. These tribes had to allow themselves to be sold into slavery for nonpayment of even ancestral debts in former times.

Taxation Methods : Taxation methods had also varied from time to time and place to place in the land of the tribals having their own repercussions on their economy. Whereas in the Andhra Agency taxation is based on the number of ploughs one possessed, tribals of Assam have to pay taxation on the basis of their houses and the people of Jaunsar-Bawar have to

pay taxes not only on the basis of land-ownership but even the ownership of several domesticated animals which is not done in many senior states of India. It is better to reach uniformity in this matter.

Call it superstition, call it faith cure, or call it by whatever name you like, nothing affects tribal economy and tribal life as belief does. Villages are entirely shifted on the ground that evil has overtaken them. Epidemics also produce abandonment of village sites.

Criticism against Penda cultivation answered: Criticisms levelled against Penda of shifting forest cultivation are ably met by Dr Elwin in his interesting book "The Maria Gonds of Bastar". He answers that the lament of the forestry enthusiast is of an alarmist character in that the Adivasi habitats in most places are "to remote and inaccessible even to be exploited, and that even though some time timber has been sacrificed, much that has gone was hopelessly over mature". He quotes the example of the Maria and states that forest clearing is done at definite rotations. He denies that there had been erosion on this account and that the rainfall in the Maria country has not been at all affected. He claims that "the axe and the fire of the Penda cultivator have let light and civilisation, penetrate slowly but surely in the Baisan-Horn country as nothing else would have done for centuries". They alone have prevented the Abujhmar hills remaining a trackless

wilderness". The learned doctor also adds that vast areas of forest have been reserved by the State and it has not been possible to work half of these reserves. As regards the charge that Penda cultivation breeds laziness, it is urged that this method is particularly arduous and that all that regular plain cultivators do with the aid of ox and plough is done and much more besides. No doubt Penda cultivators do not weed the crop and broadcast their seed. This is the only labour saving aspect.

Dr Guha's valuable remarks in connection with shifting cultivation are quoted below:

"Shifting cultivation is not merely a bad habit; it is a symptom of a stage of cultural development and appears all over the world among the primitives at a particular stage. Often as peoples develop, they abandon the practice of their own accord as the plains Savaras have largely done; or many of the Gonds or the Santals. If a developed community continues the practice either by habit or economic pressure, it can be checked without much difficulty; if the economic difficulties are removed without cultural or psychological damage to the people. But so long as a tribe is at the stage where shifting cultivation is a religio-cultural, as well as an economic necessity, prohibition will not only be difficult to enforce, but will may destroy or injure the morale of the people".

PRELITERATE ART AND HANDICRAFTS OF BIHAR

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From a very ancient past when man was living in the caves there was development of artistic designs and multiple varieties of artistic manifestations. In the caves of the Aurignacian period of the old stone age associated with the bones and animals, long extinct and with human remains and tools of primitive types are found horn, shell and stone worked into beads and pendants which early man adorned most. At about the same period we find the initiation of the extra-ordinary School of realistic paintings. This clearly showed that even before man knew about the cultivation, about the pots and wheel, he developed pictorial art, seeing which even modern artists stand in amazement. Those art forms are assigned motives which may be conflicting, but our antiquarian forefathers developed the paintings which have remarkable forms. Besides it is a well nigh established fact that in all stages of human development and culture there has been existence of artistic manifestations. Wherever the intrinsic values are given formal elaboration, we may speak of art.

2. The definitions of art may run to several pages. But one essential form is the existence in man of an esthetic emotion which can be evoked by qualities inherent in objects or activities. Art is an emblem of spiritual and natural feelings combined together. One aspect of it is the pleasure of creating beautiful forms as well as pleasure of contemplating them. "They may be beautiful", "significant form" etc. The standard of beauty is of

course, different in different societies. But in a given society all individuals may have identical conceptions of beauty.

Fechvier recognised the direct appeal of the work of art on the one side and the associated illumination that gave specific tone to the esthetic effect on the other hand. Woundt confined the discussion of art to those forms in which the artistic work expresses some thought or emotion. He further says that from psychological point of view art stands in a position intermediate between language and myths. Max Veroharn expressed art as the "faculty to express conscious process by emotion created by the artist aims in such a manner that they may be perceived by our sense organs." Richard Thurn-wuld expressed the view point of Woundt by saying that art is a human means of expression and that of course should be different according to language and writing. Yrjohirn emphasising a partial view point pointed out that art is dependent on certain functions from the another of which the specific artistic qualities may be derived. Ernst Grosse expresses similar views by tracing the particular purposes for which art forms stand, and thus the primitive ornament is fundamental for utility rather than as mere decorative. Emil Stephan through his detailed discussion of Melanasian art pointed out that the manifestation of art is a definite form of impression. Haddon and Holmes find the origin of all decorative art in realism, as well as for technical details. Gottfried Samper emphasised the importance of form determined by

the manner of use. Alois Rigle is also inclined to see the representative nature of the most important art forms basing his arguments essentially upon the realistic paleolithic carving and paintings.

3 The art forms may be decorative designs and may represent different styles. The old belief that among the primitive people there is no art form based on pure esthetic impulse is incorrect, because there are definitely certain forms which show the production of objects gratifying this urge. The art forms may consist of music, dance, literature, tales and riddles.

One difference of the modern art forms and the art forms of the unlettered people is the fusion or non-differentiation of the decorative and representative impulses. Another difference is that with latter people there is a greater proportion of the art objects which each individual uses for emotions. In general every adult member in a tribe possesses at least a moderate proficiency in the art in which a few are considered superior. Thus in primitive societies there is a greater emphasis on uniformity. Nevertheless technological influences strongly exhibit in art forms. A frequent trait of primitive art is its symbolic nature. For example a particular part may gain significance while the other elements are being suppressed. Data from multiple societies of the world indicate that much of symbolic art is not mystic at all, that is because in many cases the meaning of symbolisation is forgotten as soon as its function has seized. The original of geometric art in primitive potteries might have accrued from the atrophy of the original parts. This develops often to conventionalisation. The idea that decorative art prepondera-

tes over realistic form is due to our misconception about the primitive art forms. From the Archaeological discoveries it is evident that the primitive folk derive equal pleasure from the artistic form like us.

4. Among the tribal people of this country there are definite artistic manifestations. Most of them have remained completely unknown from our knowledge. Moreover until recent times few efforts have been made to uncover our tribal art forms. Fortunately at the present time we are keen to know more about the cultural impenderabilia of the tribal people. Therefore discussion about the art and handicrafts of our tribal brethren is very important for this purpose. The important role of art forms and handicrafts in the economic life need exploration. In this paper I shall mostly deal with different tribes in the State of Bihar, which has by far the largest tribal population in this country.

5. In the State of Bihar we have got 26 tribes enumerated in 1951 Census. Several others who were returned as tribes in 1931 Census have now been dropped out of the list. The tribes are mostly concentrated in the five districts of Chotanagpur Division and Santal Parganas and sporadically in other districts of the State. Among them the Mundas, the Oraons, the Santals, the Hos, and the Paharias are the major tribes. Ethnically they belong to the proto-australoid group of mankind with long heads, with well developed brow-ridges, broad noses, curly hairs, and short stature. Almost all the tribes excluding the Oraons and the Paharias who speak Dravidian languages, the rest speak languages belonging to the austic family. These people definitely belong to a very ancient human stock, and occupied this

territory of high lands, hills, forests and ravines since the time they were squeezed by the Aryans. Most of the tribal people of this area have been greatly exposed to changes arising from the growth of industries, towns and military centres etc. Most of them have been disintegrated. Yet these tribes have retained their art forms and handicrafts to a considerable extent.

6. In India the theme of art is mostly based on religion and mythology. The myths as an active force in moulding human behaviour have represented heroism, law, conflict etc. Therefore the art forms symbolised these qualities. The tribal art forms in Bihar sometimes do not adhere to the general Indian art forms. The natural designs have places in different tribal cultures. Decorative forms are not rare. Symbolic manifestations are also pronounced in the simpler designs.

7. Now coming to the Paharias of Santal Parganas we find multiple designs in clothes and ornaments. The Paharias are migrants from the South. But the Paharias' occupation of the Rajmahal hill tracts is no doubt a very ancient one dating back to several centuries. The Paharias still represent in their art forms a clear picture of heroism. The Paharias are a non-agricultural people. They collect their food by digging roots etc. They also resort to shifting cultivation through horti-cultural methods. Yet the Paharia houses on hill tops show excellent symmetry and handi-work. The pieces of bamboo are very intelligently cut and joined to give shape to the walls. In dress and ornaments the Paharias are great lovers of pomp and glamorous designs. They point out that the real

criterion of beauty is based on the choice of colours. The Paharia necklaces and beads are well chosen. In their dances they hang multiple coloured glass necklaces and fix feathers of birds on their turbans. When a group of Paharias are dancing the spectator finds the glittering designs reflected through the dim lamp lights. The Paharia women decorate their hands and feet with series of bangles of different designs. In their houses there are symbolic representations of deities. Nevertheless at the present time the Paharias are purchasing their clothes and ornaments manufactured in far off lands. Those items are always chosen on the basis of gaudy colours and glamorous designs.

8. Coming to the Oraons of Chotanagpur who also speak a Dravidian language like the Paharias, we find a brilliant expression of esthetic impulses. The Oraons like the Paharias are migrants to this land. Naturally they represent their buoyant spirit in their artistic expressions. The Oraon dress and ornaments, tools and implements, totemic representations have magnificent artistic forms. The Oraon youth is a sight. His body is full of hanging beads and necklaces with well set hair pierced with a comb. There are also tattoos of different designs all through his body. The necklaces of the lads are also significantly chosen. The girls are no way behind the boys. Their hair dressings and choosing of colourful sarees provide spectacle. In an Oraon house are carved the natural designs of plants and leaves. Geometric designs can also be seen.

The most interesting feature in the Oraon culture is the totemic representations. During any Oraon festival one can come across beautiful banners and

flags of prominent colours, with symbols of totemic animals. Each totem group possesses definite marks and there is also good deal of thinking in the society for the choice of the designs. The totemic horses or elephants or tigers according to clan are taken out in processions during the festivities. In dances and songs the Oraons except the converts and sophisticated ones, who retain Dormitory institutions in their culture, appear in grotesque forms. The Oraon songs are mostly conversational and duets. In the dance forms too, the Oraons show magnificent movements. Nevertheless in the present changed circumstances the Oraons have fallen to the pangs of sophistication. They are people who have been detribalised to a considerable extent. Particularly the army centres in Oraon territory have brought in considerable changes in the Oraon culture. As a result of this, multiple realistic art forms have given way to the artificial ones, but simultaneously we find that even on the face of artificial growths the Oraons always are aware of the esthetic impulses. It is seen that when girls and boys purchase their clothes or bangles from the towns they are very fond of brilliant colours and glamorous designs.

9. Now coming to the Munda tribes the little known jungle-tribe of Chotanagpur, the Birhors, who live in leaf-huts in the outskirts of settlements exhibit brilliant symmetry in the construction of their leaf-huts. The huts are conical and their shapes exhibit geometrical patterns. Though the Birhor material culture contains a few items of significance there is no dearth of artistic designs. The Birhors live on rope-making. A few tools and implements are used for making ropes. These tools are procured

from the iron-smiths. But the handle and other accessories are very often decorated with different designs. The hunting net, bamboo basket, small earthen jugs, earthen cooking pots are representatives of artistic designs. There is no attempt at sculpturing, or carving on stones or wood, to represent deities. Sometimes on combs there may be some crude figure of horses, birds or other animals. Painting is not prevalent among the Birhors. On certain festive occasions the Birhors besmear their bodies with rice flower. On bows and arrows there can be seen certain designs. At the present time with the coming in of changes in Birhor culture we can find the advent of certain new artistic productions. But most of them are borrowed plumes without any deep rooted base in the Birhor culture. The esthetic impulses of the Birhors are also expressed through dance and songs. Those invariably show identity with the Mundas, yet certain variations are typical to the Birhors.

10. The Asuras who live on 4,000 ft. table lands of Ranchi district were the traditional iron smelters of this area. As the name Asura, implies, perhaps it has its roots in some mythological stock. Nevertheless they are the most ancient tribe of Chotanagpur. Their crafts include implements for the extraction of iron from the ores. By smelting ores they used to manufacture different tools and implements and to supply those to different tribes. Though the Asura material apparatus lacks in multiple designs, yet there is no dearth of artistic forms. The Asuras manufacture the iron tools which differ from those of the iron smiths in the sense that with the former there is a good deal of personal touch, while in the latter those were more on commercial lines. The Asura clothes may

not be so glamorous, but the loin cloth is put on with due care and style. The women tattoo their bodies with ornamental designs.

11. The prominent members of the Munda speaking tribes are the Mundas, the Hos, and the Santals. The Hos of Singhbhum are a people with fine artistic temperament. The Ho houses are painted with multiple colours and show fine test. The Ho dress and ornaments are remarkable. The Hos of Singhbhum though they do not have dormitory institutions at the present time, usually have Akhara grounds where the young boys and girls congregate during ceremonies and on other occasions for dancing. The dance forms vary on occasions. The handicrafts on the Hos consist of well shaped-pots, baskets, clothes and other tools and implements. Attraction for colour is well manifested among the Hos, so-much-so that bottle of coloured lemonade is the most attractive drink, when the Hos visit the towns of Chaibassa or Jamshedpur. The bows and arrows of the Hos which of course are seldom used except in very remote parts of Kolhan, are decorated with designs. Sometimes the Ho boys put certain specific marks on their tools to identify the kill. In Chaibassa weekly market which provides a good gathering of the Hos from very far off places, we find representation of almost all walks of the Ho life. The Hos like Santals are a very clean people. Toilet and perfumes are widely used. Except those who have become sophisticated the others use local perfumes extracted from the herbs. Tattooing is also prevalent among the Hos.

In festivals, ceremonies or in fairs we find an epitome of the artistic temperament of the Hos. A sweet smiling face

of a Ho girl, her rhythmic process of dancing and her sweet songs expose an arena of beauty. In decorative designs the Hos are no less competent than the most civilised non-tribal groups.

12. The Santals are famous all over the country for their dance and songs. The rhythm exhibited in the Santal customs and practices, dance and songs, and other pursuits of life are unparalleled. The thrilling impulses exhibit a magnificent artistic life. The Santal plough, sickle, baskets, net, flute and other handicrafts are often carved with realistic designs. The plant and animal depictions preponderate, although geometric patterns are not rare.

The Santal houses are objects for admiration. The verandah and the court-yard are invariably separated. Among all the tribals of this State, the Santal houses and living are by far the cleanest. They besmear their walls and houses with coloured earth. Further multiple ornamental designs add to the beauty. All the designs and choice of colour show fine sense of esthetic impulses. At no place, even in the poorest house-hold, can be found lack of symmetry and proportion in the designs. The doors, door frames, and windows if there are any are equally decorated. The bodies are tattooed with different natural objects. The hair dressing of the Santals and the shape of the combs they fix are really attractive. So far as the ornaments are concerned the Santal choose designs, which can attract even the most sophisticated ladies. The sarees they put on at the present time are no doubt mill made, yet the indigenous Santal designs are simply marvellous. Toilet article are widely used, though modern

cosmetics have been incorporated extensively by the Santals. A large number of educated Santals very often use strong perfumes, and prefer silk dresses. Thus in general, Santal life and legends, festivities and ceremonies, birth and death rites are full of artistic exuberances. One who observes Santal life and customs, will clear himself of all doubts and misconceptions about the primitive art. The one-sided definitions which we have already seen fall flat on the face of this discovery.

13. Now coming to the other Munda tribes, we may not find the same grade of esthetic impulses as among the Santals or the Hos. The Santals and the Hos are the two cognate Munda tribes, who have scattered over a large area. They have also adopted vigorously the changed ways of life, more than any of their brethren. Thus their buoyant culture could perhaps provide adequate scope for the contemplation and expression of art forms. It is a well known social phenomenon, that a migrant people show greater skill and vigour in devising and utilising the newer innovations than a static group. Cultural transformations take constant paths of movement in the former, while the latter are more prone towards fixations.

The Mundas, have very few articles of their own. They always depend on the non-tribals or the other tribals to procure their tools and implements. The Mundas are a typical agricultural tribe. Their houses are invariably one roomed huts, except those of wealthy ones. The same room is partitioned into a kitchen, a cowshed and a bed room. The walls or floors are never kept in the form like the Hos and the Santals. The Munda women

pierce their ears and put on very large ear-rings made up of palmleaves. The hair dressings do not come in par with the Santals and the Hos. The virgins also do not pay enough heed for the personal decorations. The young boys even do not keep themselves well dressed. Thus we find in general that the Mundas are steps behind the other cognate tribes. The Kharias, Birjias or Vumijas are equally behind the Santals, the Hos or even the Oraons. The Mundas nevertheless have exhibited art forms and decorations at many places, which are unparalleled. The Munda rulers of this land were famous for their fortresses, now dilapidated. Nevertheless the Munda designs of sarees have attracted ethnographers. The weavers in Munda tracts have a flourishing trade. The Mundas are a tribe which has shown the least amount of adaptations, though all others round them have accepted changes accruing from contact, diffusion, industrialisation and urbanization etc.

14. From these analyses, it will perhaps be clear that the unlettered people of the State of Bihar are full of fine sentiments and esthetic feelings. The tribal tracts of Bihar can be divided into cultural zones. In each zone there may be different tribes, but there is a good deal of intra zonal identities. In one particular zone the handicrafts are similar. The similarities are mostly due to function and diffusion. Among the unlettered people premium is put on usefulness and practicability. As in one zone the needs are mostly identical each tribe follows the general patterns of life. The Mundas and Oraons are two tribes, who have very few cultural identities, yet in

material substrata of their lives, there are resemblances. No doubt due to transacculturation there have been mutual acceptance of useful crafts. The same is the case with the Santals and the Paharias of Santal Parganas, though Santals of Santal Parganas and Hazaribagh vary in material apparatus.

The type of study to show the effect of art forms particularly human figure drawing, on cultural differences, was first investigated by Paget in 1932. Later on, the same tests were conducted by Wechsler in 1944, and Cope-land in 1953. The tribal children of Bihar sometimes also draw human figures as well as other types of drawings. In those drawings there are many points of inter tribal differences. In general the children's art is confined to building miniature huts, miniature baskets, pots etc. In general they manifest their acquiring skill, in their creative art forms. From early childhood the children in tribal societies constantly make efforts for becoming competent in all phases of elderly life. There are few toys among the tribal children. But when they find some curious objects like bullet case, a cigarette tin or any strange object they utilise those for playing. At the present time a large number of dolls are sold in tribal areas. Those having curious look or uncommon features are preferred to the common types. The figures of Gods and deities are not very easily accepted. Commercial art forms have also come into being in the tribal areas. The masks occupy the principle place in that order. The famous 'Chhau' dancers of Singhbhum and Seraikella use masks. Though at the present time Chhau dance is monopolised by the non-tribals at its base there lies tribal concept. The masks used in Manbhum district and

also sometimes in Ranchi district, symbolise various spirits and ghosts. Those are equally used by the tribals and the non-tribals. The designs in baskets and pots have also been altered to fetch markets. Non-tribals who purchase a particular design indirectly prompt the same design to be adopted.

15. The co-relation of art forms and handicrafts with the tribal economy is of considerable importance. The tribes of Bihar are mostly in agricultural stage of economy, except the Bihhors, the hill Kharias and the Paharias who are in horticultural stage of life. Therefore their art forms and handicrafts exhibit deep co-relation with the mode of life. When circumstances or professions change, the idea and utility adhere to new shapes. Thus at present a large number of up-to-date crafts have been incorporated and used by the tribals. Tools and implements have been changed accordingly. Dances and songs sometimes have added new flavour. It cannot be said whether all these new acquisitions are to the interest or detriment of the life of the people concerned. But they provide a different stream of life. On the face of these changes it requires consolidated effort on the part of the Anthropologists, social workers and administrators to keep the tribal art forms and handicrafts alive. With those are associated a long tradition and deep psychological mooring which if up-rooted will not be very congenial for the people concerned. Museums must be opened to exhibit the dying art forms and handicrafts, to depict the glorious past of a culture. The social workers would try their utmost to collect those treasures and can utilise those for a better knowledge about the tribal people. Administrators

may also take a cautious step before introducing a new craft, in place of traditional crafts which might have become obsolete due to adverse circumstances. This cautious step is necessary, because, from our studies, it is crystal clear that with the art forms and tools and implements there is embedded the psychological frontiers of a group. The anthropologists in turn must try to sort out the forms and functions of art and their influence in a culture. Besides, the inter and intra tribal variations can be clearly drawn out for the benefit of all concerned.

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TRIBAL ECONOMY & CO-OPERATIVES

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The problem of the amelioration of economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes is baffling the social worker, the economist and the Government. It is a stupendous problem which requires herculean efforts in all directions for its solution. The economic conditions of the tribes who are still confined to their original secluded and almost inaccessible forest habitat and living a primitive life of hunting and fruit gathering and following shifting cultivation cannot be said to be satisfactory as a few of our learned friends believe. The small trader, the sowkar, the liquor vendor have penetrated these secluded and inaccessible areas and cast their nets of exploitation. The economy of the Tribes living in rural areas or rural-cum-forest areas and following agriculture

and its allied occupations like poultry-keeping, cattle breeding etc., has also been shattered down by the unscrupulous money-lender, rapacious forest contractor, liquor vendor, Jamindar and small trader. In this slow, but sure and steady process of exploitation, lands belonging to the tribals passed on to the hands of exploiting classes; thousands of Scheduled Tribes people became landless and became either tenants of their sowkar-landlords or agricultural labourers living the life of a serf. As for example, some of the tribes in Bombay State, namely Naiks of Panchmahals, Dublas (Halpatis) of Surat, Katkaries and Warlis of Thana, are the worst victims of the process of exploitation by the so-called advanced sections of the Society. No doubt, the primitive

method of carrying on agriculture, ignorance, spendthriftness, evil social customs are also some of the factors which contributed in bringing the economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes to a low level. But the most major factor which has contributed to the callous uneconomic condition of the Scheduled Tribes is unscrupulous and greedy exploitation. As against this, even during the days of British rule, the process of eliminating exploitation started and sporadic small experiments to save the tribal economy from exploitation and to rebuild it on a sound base were carried out by the most reputed social workers. These experiments have provided a good background to make them as much extensive as possible so as to encompass all the tribal areas.

These experiments which have been carried out in small areas are organisation of Co-operatives and remodelling tribal economic life. The question arises whether co-operatives are suited to the tribal mode of living and tribal culture. The answer is in the affirmative as experience tells that co-operative instinct is inherent in tribal economy. The Bhils of Bombay, Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat have a custom of carrying out agricultural operations by co-operative effort called 'Lah'. When an agriculturist needs help of others in carrying out major agricultural operations, he invites all the agriculturists of the whole village. All the people respond to his invitation and carry out the agricultural operations without any return except luncheon at noon time. Similar customs in other tribes do exist. The Panch System among the tribes is a co-operative democratic joint effort to maintain tribal solidarity. The whole tribal village rises like one man for hunting or for observing ritual customs.

The mode of co-operative living can fit in with the tribal mode of living; it may be safely said that it would fit in a much better way with the tribes than with the other sections of our society as the spirit of democratic co-operation is existing in their folk dances and social customs. The co-operatives can play a very effective and important role in improving the economic conditions of the scheduled tribes and bringing them to the standard of other advanced sections of society. Co-operatives will eliminate the exploitation of middle men and will make them self-reliant, self-supporting and conscious of their duties. 'Economic betterment through co-operatives is the panacea of all evils' should be the slogan for the tribes.

The following are some of the various types of co-operatives which should be started in the tribal areas for the economic betterment of the tribes.

Agricultural Co-operative Credit Societies : The Agricultural Credit Society is based on the Reiffesein model. It is the most common form of primary Society. The main features of this type of Society are (1) restricted area of operation, (2) joint and unlimited liability, (3) equal status of members and democratic control, (4) honorary service on the executive etc. The primary co-operative credit society can replace the village sowkar and put the tribal village economy on a sound footing. An experiment of the credit aspect of the movement which was launched among the Bhils of Gujerat by the revered late Shri Thakkar Bapa about 32 years ago has become very successful. In the initial stages of the experiment it was difficult to raise even a nominal share capital for the primary Society from the Bhils who could

not subscribe to it owing to their abject poverty; so loans from the savings of the famine relief fund were advanced for the purpose to the would-be-members to start with. The Bhils and other scheduled tribes have tendency to borrow and repay in kind and are not in a position to hold their agricultural produce after the harvest season for obtaining better prices; hence the credit aspect of the movement was linked with marketing of agricultural produce and supply of the necessities of life like cloth, kerosene, salt, jaggery etc. by starting at central places co-operative purchase and sale unions and affiliating the credit societies to the one or the other purchase and sale union as the case may be. Linking of credit societies with the purchase and sale unions serves all the purposes of a multi-purpose society in a better and more efficient way for backward people. The progressive development of the co-operatives has now fructified in a Central Financing Agency—a federation of the primaries, and purchase and sale unions working in the tract, and thus the whole chain of credit movement has become complete. This experiment of credit movement should be emulated in other tribal areas where the scheduled tribes people have agricultural and agricultural-cum-forest economy. The credit societies should serve as a centre for the general economic improvement by advancing short term loans for more production, for seed, manure, and maintenance, act as an agent for the sale of agricultural produce to the nearest marketing organisations; supply or should manage to supply consumers' goods like cloth, kerosene, salt, agricultural implements

and should encourage subsidiary cottage industries for its members. The Society should have its area of operation only in one village and should have not more than 100 members in order to have efficient supervision and effective control. The society should be a social organisation which should tend to promote better co-operative living and minor improvement in tribal village conditions and to eliminate feuds and friction.

Till a co-operative leadership is created in each and every tribal village, a system of Group Secretary with a Government Supervisor at the head should be introduced. Four to five societies should be placed in charge of one group secretary. The Supervisor should be invested with powers to exercise control over the movement of the whole area. As the people become co-operative minded and realise their responsibility, the control of the supervisor should be relaxed and the movement should be made completely democratic. The Tribals are proverbially spendthrift, especially during marriages and other social occasions. Thrift and self help are the two main planks of co-operative movement, which should not be lost sight of by the workers, and they should try to instil habit of thrift and self help among these unsophisticated sons of the soil.

The credit movement to be linked with marketing is best suited for the tribes who have settled down in rural or rural-cum-forest areas and are carrying on agriculture as their main occupation.

Grain Banks and Co-operative Supply Stores : For the tribes who are still confined to the forest habitat and

living mainly on shifting cultivation and collection of raw forest produce, a simple type of co-operative society for supply of seed and grain for maintenance and their other primary needs is proposed which can be easily managed by them. It is a grain bank to be attached with a supply store of the most essential commodities like salt, cloth (only those kinds which are in vogue among the tribe for whom the store is started), jaggery, kerosene and one or two more articles of daily requirements. It is the experience that stock of grain of an Adivasi family generally exhausts before the advent of monsoon. The grain bank, if started, can play an effective role in improving the lot of its members. Grains should be advanced to a member at the time of the sowing season which should be repaid at the harvest time at one and a quarter times, out of which $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ should go towards management cost, shrinkage etc., and the remaining $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ should go towards repayment of loans taken from the Government. The state Government should advance interest free loans to these grain banks. At the end of eighth year the grain bank will have its own grain reserves for the use of its members during scarcity periods. A small store as aforesaid should be attached to the grain bank from which necessities of life should be supplied in exchange of raw forest produce like lac, wax, honey etc.

Forest Labourers Co-operative Societies : The problem of eliminating the forest contractor should be tackled in all tribal areas, and exploitation and regeneration of forest which is the real home of scheduled tribes should be done on co-operative basis. The second main occupation of the scheduled tribes is to work as forest labourers under the forest contractor. They have become their virtual

slaves. The conditions under which they work are wretched in the extreme. The wretched conditions under which they worked in the province of Bombay were brought to the notice of the people and Government by one good officer Mr. D. Symington, who was appointed to inquire into the conditions of Adivasis of partially excluded areas in the following words :—

“Charcoal burning is practically a preserve of the Katkaries (Adivasi Tribe) who are more or less slaves of the sowkars. They work in groups of a score or so. Each man sells the charcoal to its sowkar. The Karkari is not paid in cash for his charcoal. * * * It is a very rare occurrence for any Katkari to receive cash at the end of this season. * * * Practically all are in debt to their employer, the reasons being first, that they have old debts on which an unconscionable interest is charged and second and more important is that the sowkar keeps false accounts. The Katkaris remain chronically in debt and virtual slavery.”

Generally all the tribes are victims of the greed of forest contractors. In order to save them from the contractors Shri Bala Sabe Kher, the then Chief Minister of Bombay and a great friend of Adivasis announced in the year 1947, a revolutionary policy of giving forest coupes to a co-operative society of Adivasi forest labourers at negotiated price, provided it is sponsored and supervised by a well established social institution working for their welfare. The movement of the forest co-operative societies was started in the same year with the object of not only freeing the Adivasis from the clutches of forest contractor, but improving their economic conditions and organising cultural and welfare activities among them.

The movement of the forest co-operative societies has gained momentum and is fast developing. It is expected that the co-operative organisations of the Scheduled Tribes of Bombay will within a period of five to seven years replace the present agency of forest contractors. The movement is also expected to improve the standard of life and conditions of work and to provide for them the necessary amenities of life. The number of societies has gone to 125 during these seven years with a total membership of twenty-eight thousand and odd; the share capital amounts to Rs. 2,89,000/- and the reserve fund and other owned funds amount to Rs. 13,00,000/-. The total number of coupes exploited during the year 1953-54 is 181. Labour charges and transport charges given to the labourer members and other labourers amounted to Rs. 26,00,000/- in the same year, which shows the magnitude, the movement has attained. This novel experiment started by the Government of Bombay with the help and co-operation of outstanding social welfare institutions has become successful and it can be extended to other states like M. P., Orissa and Bihar, where the population of Scheduled Tribes is very large, and where their economy largely depends on forest. It may be here said with great joy that the Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Castes Shri Shrikantbhai, has given a liberal grant of Rs. 1,50,000/- to the Government of Bombay for organising new forest societies and for undertaking activities conducive to amelioration of conditions of the Tribes through these institutions. It is proposed to give a grant of Rs. 6,000/- to each of the new societies registered after 1st October 1953, half of which

will go towards reserve fund and the other half towards the welfare activities to be started among its members and towards cost of management. Similar liberal grants can be reasonably expected by other States, if the movement is started and run efficiently and on sound lines.

To my mind the time is not still ripe for organisation of Co-operative Joint Farming or Collective Farming societies among the tribes because of its more intricate nature of working. Better Farming Societies should be started in the first stage which after successful working can be converted into Joint Farming Societies. A few experiments of co-operative farming in Adivasi areas of Bombay State are being worked out whose results are closely watched. It is not safe, at this stage, to extend this experiment to a wider field.

Co-operative Housing Societies can be organised if the people are prepared to live in a compact area. An experiment is being made among the Bhihs of Panchmahals, whose results should be watched.

In the end, I would emphasise that the whole movement depends on the honest, selfless and hardworking social workers with a burning desire to serve the cause of Adivasis. I appeal to young men to come forward to settle in tribal areas and work in a missionary spirit and zeal for the development of co-operative life among the tribals. It would be a red letter day for tribals when a leadership from amongst themselves will take over the responsibility of carrying on the movement selflessly. It is expected that such a day will come soon and the tribals will attain economic freedom and add to the strength of the nation.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO TRIBAL ARTS AND HANDICRAFTS— THE FIELD AND FUTURE

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1. The policy of encouragement to tribal arts and handicrafts may run along one or more of the following lines :—

- (a) Invigoration and if necessary re-generation and development of those arts and crafts of the tribals which have survival value in the present day world.
- (b) Protection of existing arts and crafts of the tribals against
 - (i) competition of the factory-made and other imported commodities,
 - (ii) onslaught of misguided zeal of the reformers,
 - (iii) corrosive influence of new fashions,
- (c) Revival of those arts and crafts of the tribals which are either little in practice or are in moribund condition at present.

2. It is apparent that though the above three lines are to some extent inter-linked, they constitute three different fields for operation of the policy of encouragement to tribal arts and industries. It is therefore necessary to examine the implications of each of the above fields and also develop the methodology for assessment of their limitations and possibilities.

3. The field defined in (a) i.e. that of invigoration and if necessary regeneration and development of those arts and

crafts which have survival value in the present day world, may on the face of it, be subjected to the criticism of being vague, and lacking in precision. One may ask, whether it is not a matter of opinion as to which arts and industries have survival value and which have not; and as such whether the field visualised above is not purely subjective in nature. In the present state of development of Social Science, it will be an overstatement to assert that subjective factors can be altogether eliminated. But on the other hand, it should not be ignored that subjective factors themselves can be harnessed to serve as vehicles of objective reality. If for instance in an "attitude survey" a number of persons are found to consider a trait of tribal craft, to be in possession of survival value, the trait can be conceived to have developed "acquired survival value" to that extent in the cultural configuration of the people concerned, even if it lacked the material basis for such survival. On the other hand, the frequency of occurrence of particular trait, as against others of the same utilitarian value, gives the measure of potential survival value of a trait. Without denying that uritan culturologists will perhaps be able to discover many a lacuna in the above premises, we may, on a common sense view of things, accept them as working hypothesis for our practical purposes. Further developing the logistic of the above hypothesis, we may arrive at the following formula for measuring "actual survival value" of

different traits of tribal crafts and industries.

$$A.L.S.V. = \frac{Ar. S.V. \times P.S.V. \text{ of Handi craft.}}{Ar. S.V. \times P.S.V. \text{ of factory product.}}$$

Al. SV. = Actual survival value.

Ar. S.V. = Acquired survival value.

P.S.V. = Potential survival value.

The greatest merit of the above formula, is that conclusions can be arrived at in quantitative terms and as such can readily be used as reference by the administrators and policy makers. But to discerning eyes there are deadly flaws in the formula which should not be ignored. For instance in measuring the acquired survival value, no weightage has been given in favour of significant attitude. Apparently in such matters the same value cannot be given to the attitude of a child and a grown up person. There will also be difference in the value in regard to the attitude of different sex, education, income and occupation groups etc. The whole problem is ultimately linked with the question of dynamics of tribal culture and tribal leadership. But these are matters of details which should be taken into cognizance in selecting the sample for attitude survey. The nature and size of the sample and also the method of selection of sample will thus vary according to the distribution and other antecedents of the people concerned. Further adjustments in these regards will have to be made from time to time for the same people also, in the light of changes effected in their life, as a result of the Governmental policies and other forces operating upon them. It will be the task of the cultural Research Institutes set up by the different State Governments, to carry on running researches, to keep pace with the changes in tribal life and make necessary adjust-

ments in the operation of the formula for assessments of survival value of the different elements in the material basis of tribal life.

4. (a) The problem of protection of tribal arts and crafts involves such questions as :—

(i) Industrial policy of the Government (ii) Import policy of the Government (iii) Technical level of the product, (iv) place of the craft or industry in tribal economy—whether it is the main occupation or supplementary work. In the latter case, leisure and physical strength of the worker left for supplementary work in view of the present calory and nutrition in-take should also be reckoned. (v) Then comes the problems relating to investment and financing of the capital required for the undertaking. (vi) sixthly is the marketing question (vii) and lastly comes the problem of organisations from procurement of the raw materials to the marketing of products.

(b) In view of the fact that, it is the primary intention of this paper, to draw attention to the sociological aspects of the question of encouragement to tribal arts and handicrafts, it seems better to leave the above practical details to be discussed more aptly by the constructive workers themselves. We can however appropriately discuss one aspect of the problem, viz. that of organisation, from the sociological point of view. Put in a different way, the problem of organisation is that of leadership. It is apparent that in the context of the present day world, it is impossible to limit the whole chain of operation—from procurement of the raw materials to be marketing of the products, within the tribal society itself. At some stage or other, transaction with

outsiders is inevitable. Hence the traditional leadership, based on the privileges and obligations of tribal community life cannot be adequate for the purpose. A new leadership is bound to emerge. The present tendency in different states seems to be towards filling up the gap of leadership by Government officials or non-official welfare workers. While to some extent this is unavoidable, it is high time that sociologists should strike a note of caution. The role of extraneous leadership may for the time being contribute towards material well being of the tribals, but it may destroy the spontaneity of the development of tribal culture and society, and thus ultimately destroy the very basis of their material welfare. The International Planning Team in their report on small industries in India in 1954, have also drawn attention to the harmful effect of too great reliance on Government action. This does not mean that the Government or non-official workers should adopt a passive laissez faire attitude. But the crux of the problem is to tap and generate those forces in tribal life that are capable of taking the right enterprise and also of carrying the community along with them. Evidently these sources will vary from tribe to tribe according to their peculiarities and historical antecedents. But certain broad outlines may be discussed here, at least for the sake of developing a sense of direction. In many parts of the country, some amount of stratification of tribal society has taken place in recent years, through pursuit of agricultural operations and other economic activities under the prevailing marketing conditions. The upper strata of the tribal society has very often emerged out as a separate entity flourishing at the cost of their tribal brethren. On the other hand

political leadership of the tribals has to a considerable extent passed over to them. No realistic approach to the question of regeneration of tribal life can be made without tackling the problem of this new phenomenon. Either this exploiting class is to be liquidated or its exploitation should be made socially useful as a transitional measure in the process of ensuring equity and social justice. Recent experiences in the autonomous regions of Assam, and in the tribal areas of Bihar and Orissa show that the tribal upper strata have deep lying root in the tribal community life and attempts to side-track them, not to speak of liquidate them, have frequently generated the suspicion and antagonism of the tribal people as a whole. This is bound to be, in the existing cultural and social backwardness of the people. It is better therefore to recognise the reality of the situation and think in terms of gearing the exploitation of the tribal upper strata to socially useful purposes. One concrete example from Jalpaiguri district, in West Bengal may illustrate what is meant by above. Here we have a small tribe, the Meches. They were shifting cultivators two generations ago. Due to quick growth of tea-industry and rapid growth of communication and other modern facilities of life, lands have been squeezed in by immigrants from all directions. The Meches have therefore been forced to adopt settled agriculture. In the process of settlement however most of them have turned landless and only a few, who could show enterprise and rightly harness man-power, and also discreetly withstand unscrupulous manipulations of outsiders have been able to accumulate large landed property. We thus find side by side, a few very rich tribal land owners and a great mass of

landless people who even now retain in the habits of their agricultural operations, the legacies of shifting cultivation to some extent. Redistribution of land by itself will not solve the problem of the latter, the question of capital and enterprise for switching over to improved and intensive agricultural operation will remain. This capital and also the leadership can however to considerable extent be supplied by the tribal jotedars of the district. Therefore rather than liquidating all the tribal jotedars without consideration of their present and possible role in future, it may usefully be stipulated that in future land reform measures, those jotedars who would invest a prescribed proportion of their profit to development of approved crafts and industries will get certain concessions in regard to the maximum size of the holding retainable by them. Evidently this will not end exploitation, nor perhaps it will contribute much towards removal of poverty of the tribal masses, but it will stimulate the productive activity of the tribals and help towards generation of a situation in which removal of exploitation will be possible. The suggestion should be appreciated dialectically, rather than by a straight logic. Further by activity associating the new tribal upper strata in the development of their arts and crafts, the problem of generating social demand of the products also can be

tackled to a large extent, and this will serve as a healthy brake against too quick imitation of others as a matter of fashion.

5. The question of encouragement to tribal crafts and industries should however be seen separately from the question of revival of those arts and industries which are now little in use or in moribund condition. It should be remembered that very often tribal arts and crafts are valued by them not because of their range of utility but because of their ceremonial and social associations. As such going out of existence of some craft and industries may be symptomatic of deep lying social facts. By trying to revive the crafts, those social situations may be unwittingly dug up, and undesirable practices and belief patterns may be revived. It is therefore necessary to proceed very carefully in matters which any way smack of revivalism. Cultural Research Institutes set up by the State Governments may perhaps help in this matter by a comprehensive study of the socio-cultural and economic implications of the different elements and relics of arts and industries of the tribals. In the meantime administrators and welfare workers would do well to remember that nothing should be done which may only emphasise the queerness of tribal life without correspondingly alleviating their social, cultural and economic status.

GRAIN GOLAS IN BIHAR

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Early History : The scheme of grain golas is considered as the unique scheme of the Government of Bihar for welfare of the Adivasis. It has a history of its own which dates back more than fifty years. The history can be traced with some interest. It is known that the grain golas were started first in the district of Santhal Parganas which ethnologically is one of the most interesting districts in Bihar. The earliest inhabitants of Santhal Parganas of whom there is any record, appear to be the Paharias, an aboriginal race abhorring regular labour. They were in a state of general poverty, living from hand to mouth owing largely to their drunken habits and idleness. The Santhals seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810 having made their way northwards from Birbhum where they had been brought in about 1790 to clear jungles and drive away wild animals which infested the country. When the Santhals began a settled life, their new homeland was flocked with Bengalis and other Dikkus i.e. non-Santhal immigrants who came there to carry on trade and money lending among them. The Santhal who was improvident and thriftless easily got into debt. Exorbitant rate of interest was charged and once he contracted a debt, he had a little chance of escape. He being ignorant and timid felt that it was a hopeless task for him to obtain redress against a wealthy oppressor.

There have been four famines in Santhal Parganas since the creation of the district in 1855 and each famine was due to the failure of rice crop which is the main staple food of the district. But what nature denied to aboriginal skill and industry, she to some extent granted relief unsolicited. The Mahua tree which studs the Santhal hills and uplands yielded bounteous crop. Unfortunately that was not so in the famine of 1897 when the rainfall was deficient and over and above Mango and Mahua trees were injured by storms in March. It was in this year the grain golas in the Damin-i-koh Governmet Estates, in Sankara Wards Estate and the Rohini and Punasi Estates under the Court of Wards in Deoghar sub-division came into being.

In the Rohini and Punasi Estates, the raiyats were lent Rs. 2,000/- and Rs. 1,000/- respectively which were recovered in paddy with interest at 50 per cent. Two Grain Golas were eventually started and were later on made-over to the Deputy Commissioner in the year 1903.

The idea of starting grain golas for the benefit of Damin raiyats first occurred to Mr. C.H. Bompas who was Deputy Commissioner of the district from 1900 to 1906. By August 1902, he got 7 grain golas in the Dumka Damin and 3 grain golas in the Godda Damin constructed at a cost of Rs. 1,16,000/- sanctioned by the Government. There is every reason

to believe that Mr. C.H. Bompas borrowed the idea of grain golas from Marwaris who were acquainted with this system of money lending through grain transactions. It is my experience that the practice of grain lending with an interest at the rate of 50 percent is prevalent in some parts of Saurashtra also where it is known as "Kadhara".

Grain Golas by Contractors. The Government of Bihar had also started grain golas in other parts of the State in the forties with the object to create a Central store of grains which might be readily available in times of scarcity or famine and which in ordinary times would be utilised to provide aboriginals with seed grains for cultivation and short term loans for subsistence during the period before the harvest.

The management of a graingola vested entirely in the Sub-Divisional Officer who was its executive head and was responsible for its proper and efficient working. Each gola was placed in the immediate charge of a respectable person of the locality appointed as Goladar by the Sub-Divisional Officer. The Goladar had to furnish the security for the purpose.

The duties of the Goladar were to keep the grains in the gola under proper care and to maintain accounts. He received applications for loans and sent them to the Sub-Divisional Officer for sanction. He disbursed loans and collected the same with interest at the rate of 25 per cent.

It was the liability of the Goladar for the petty repairs to the gola, for guarding charges and ordinary losses due to dryage, wastage and the like. As remuneration, he received a commission not

exceeding 15 per cent on the total collections of loans. A watch-man appointed by the Goladar to guard the Gola was allowed to recover $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of grain per maund from borrowers at the time of taking a loan and repayment.

It seems the grain golas through the Goladars did not work satisfactorily and ultimately the Government had to take over the full management of the same after the creation of the Welfare Department after Independence.

Grain Golas managed by the Welfare Department. After Independence, the Government of Bihar began to pay special attention for the welfare of the Adivasis who are in the largest number in a single State in the country. Economic improvement of these people was the important programme and opening of the grain golas formed one of the schemes aiming at the above end. Economic exploitation of the Adivasis by greedy money lenders who charged exorbitant rates of interest was a serious problem. It was hardly possible for the poor Adivasis to free themselves from the clutches of these usurers. To combat this evil, the scheme of opening grain golas has been taken up by the Government of Bihar with the object as has been described in the earlier paras.

It is the ambition of the Government of Bihar to open a grain gola for every unit of 20 aboriginal villages. Calculated on this basis, about 750 grain golas may be required for the whole State. At present the number of grain golas is 340 which is being increased year to year. Over and above there is a number of grain golas in Santbal Parganas run by Co-operative Societies and by Parganaits. They have not been taken over as yet by

Welfare Department. Most of the grain golas are located in hired houses which are hardly suitable for the purpose. Hence the Government are paying earnest attention for construction of pucca grain gola buildings.

Rules for loans in kind from grain golas. Special Rules have been framed by the Government in exercise of the power conferred by section 4 of the Agriculturists Loans Act, 1884 to loan in kind to owners and occupiers of arable lands for the relief of distress, for seed and other purposes not specified in the Agriculturists Loans Act, but connected with agricultural objects in the State of Bihar. Some of the important Rules are shown below :—

(i) The capital of grain golas shall consist of stocks of grains and assets of the grain golas in cash will be the property of the State Government.

(ii) Each grain gola shall have a minimum reserve stock of grains as may be specified by the Collector with the approval of the State Government from time to time.

(iii) The Thana Welfare Officer shall be incharge of the grain golas and he will be directly responsible for its proper and efficient working, maintenance of accounts and for its proper custody and storage of grains. He will disburse grains to borrowers as sanctioned by the District Aboriginal Welfare Officer.

(iv) Loans will ordinarily be granted to groups of not less than five persons of the same or adjacent village or villages. A group of lesser number or even individuals will also be allowed loans on proper security. Borrowers shall be jointly and severally liable for the entire loan issued

to the group. In each group there will be a headman who will assist the Thana Welfare Officer in making collection from the members of the group.

(v) A loan may be refused to a person who is in arrears of previous loans or if the security offered is not satisfactory.

(vi) If a loan is sanctioned, an agreement in the prescribed form shall be executed by the borrowers before they receive the grain. The bond will be cancelled after the whole quantity borrowed has been paid with interest. The payment shall be made to the Thana Welfare Officer who shall grant a receipt for each payment.

(vii) Loans shall be repayable between the 1st of January and 31st March of the year following that in which the loan was advanced and during the above period, the loan shall be paid with 25 per cent interest. Repayments shall be made in the same kind of grains as far as practicable. If the payment is made before the 1st January, a rebate of 2 per cent on interest will be allowed.

(viii) The Collector may grant suspension of repayment on account of failure of crops or any other exceptional calamity. In the event of such a suspension no extra interest beyond 25 per cent will be charged.

(ix) Money value of loans not paid by the 31st March each year shall become realisable on the 1st April following through a certificate issued for realisation of the arrears under the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1914.

(x) Recovery of the loan will be made immediately if it is misapplied or if it is not utilised for the purpose for which it was granted.

Over and above, important directions have been issued by the Government from time to time for the efficient management of the grain golas.

How do the Grain Golas work ? A grain gola is usually started with a capital of Rs. 6,000/-. The scheme of grain golas

being the scheme for the welfare of the Adivasis is recognised by the Government of India for grant-in-aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution. Amounts received for the maintenance of the grain golas from the Centre in the past years are as follows:—

Year	Total Expenditure.	Grant-in-aid received.	Physical targets.
1951-52	Rs. 2,59,443/-	Rs. 1,05,304/-	29 New grain golas were opened.
1952-53	Rs. 1,79,630/-	Rs. 1,58,000/-	238 Grain golas were maintained.
1953-54	Rs. 4,15,703	Rs. 60,000/-	251 Grain golas were maintained.
1954-55	Not available	Rs. 60,000/-	340 Grain golas to be maintained.

Shri L.M. Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, who toured in Bihar during 1952 has made some suggestions for the management of the grain golas which are embodied in his Report for the year 1952. It would be quite interesting if I reproduce the same here:—

(a) The grain golas working for two years or at the most five years under Government management should be converted into a Co-operative Society with the financial help of the Government for its Manager, which must cease after a period of another five years. Thus, a grain gola should be made self-supporting in the course of ten years. Non-progressive grain golas which can not be run on these lines may be advantageously closed. This will make the local people take interest in the work of the grain golas and build up the Co-operative spirit in the villages with proper leadership.

(b) The interest charged is exorbitant but can be reduced in the third year of the working of the grain gola to 12½ per cent and after the fifth year to not more than 10 per cent.

(c) The shrinkage and the wastage of grain should be set off by charging 1 per cent or 2 per cent over and above the interest.

(d) It is not necessary to have pucca buildings for the Grain Golas at the very start. Till the time a grain gola shows progress after a period of five years, it should be housed in a rented building, though the grain should be stored under the expert advice of the Government.

(e) Most of the grain golas had overdues in spite of the interest charged being 25 per cent and as the Bihar Government contemplate to have an Act for the recovery of the overdues as arrears of land revenue, it will make the grain gola unpopular and, therefore I have suggested a

scheme by which local interest can be created and the grain golas can confer more benefits than they are doing at present.

The Government of Bihar have given due consideration to the above. The desirability of converting the grain golas of two to five years standing into Co-operative Societies is being examined by the State Government. As regards reduction in the rate of interest, the State Government maintain that with interest less than 25 per cent the grain gola can not become self-supporting in course of ten years as envisaged under the existing scheme. As reported, the State Government duly considered also the question of applying the provisions of the Public Demands Recovery Act to the grain gola arrears. It was noticed that in the absence of the Law of recovery there was a growing tendency among the borrowers not to repay the loans and the legal provision which was made, immediately induced quick repayment. In practice however, the certificate procedure is resorted to sparingly and in recalcitrant cases only.

I have myself visited a number of grain golas in Bihar and enquired into their working. I contacted many Adivasis to study their reactions in order to determine whether the scheme has been useful in any way for their welfare. On the strength of the above experience, I can say that the scheme in itself is a brilliant scheme and renders good relief to the Adivasis whose holdings are not subsistent. I have come across representations from the Adivasis in Santhal Paragans for opening more grain golas in the district as they played a useful part in their economic life. I have come across complaints too from the Adivasis in other parts of the State which are all due to bad personnel

incharge of the grain golas. Drastic action is being taken by the State government against the Thana Welfare Officers who failed to manage the grain golas efficiently and in the interests of the Adivasis. However, in order to make the Scheme fool-proof certain drawbacks that are likely to occur should be guarded against in the management of the grain golas. If a Thana Welfare Officer is an unscrupulous man, he may abuse the scheme by carrying on some malpractices in the grain golas as shown below:

- (a) Not to make timely disbursement of paddy loans.
- (b) To issue the paddy loan less in weight than stipulated.
- (c) To realise more paddy than due.
- (d) To mix the paddy stock with sand and dust in order to cover up the deficit which he apprehends at the time of distribution.
- (e) To demand some consideration for paddy loans.
- (f) To issue loans in fictitious names.
- (g) To take thumb impressions of the applicants on the agreements and loan registers with a promise to make disbursement after some time which is never fulfilled.
- (h) To issue loans to persons who are non-Adivasi shopkeepers and who utilise the loans for advancing to the Adivasis at 50 per cent rate of interest.

The above malpractices can be eliminated in two ways, firstly by creating consciousness among the Adivasis and by educating them about their rights. The Adivasis should assert and refuse to take the paddy less in weight or if it is a bad stuff. They should not yield to illegal

demands for consideration or give thumb impressions on documents which go against their interests. Secondly, effective checking and regular physical verification of the stock of the grain gola by the officers of the Welfare and Revenue Departments also would go a long way to eliminate the malpractices in the management.

Remarks: The Government of Bihar are contemplating to open new grain golas in Santhal Parganas to be managed by the village Panchayats. Time is not ripe to offer comments about the efficiency of this type of grain golas. However there is every chance for its success if the Panchayat works unitedly in the interests of the people whom it represents.

I firmly believe that the Welfare Work can best be done by non-official agencies rather than the Government staff. The scheme of grain golas as executed at present aims at the welfare of the Adivasis who should be allowed an opportunity to get themselves associated with it. It can

be done only when the management of the grain golas is transferred to Co-operative Societies formed of the Adivasis. It is not a new thing to them, because I have seen a number of private grain golas in villages in Chotanagpur run by the village people themselves. The Co-operative Societies should be multipurpose whose activities should not confine to grain lending only but in all dealings in essential requirements of the Adivasis. The rate of interest in grain transactions at 25 per cent may be continued out of which 6 per cent should be credited to the members' accounts which may be invested in the Society for better returns.

Before this is done, I would like once again to repeat that the management of the grain golas can be improved if physical verification of the stock is taken regularly and by surprise visits by the Officers of the Welfare and Revenue Departments and by propaganda among the people about the rights and liabilities under the scheme for their welfare.

MULTI PURPOSE COOPERATIVES FOR THE TRIBALS

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It requires hardly any statistics to prove that the tribals are economically the worst off and, therefore, the immediate problem with regard to the tribal welfare is to raise their standard of living and usher as much economic prosperity in their life as possible. Cooperation is the only principle which will increase the power of the tribals for raising their economic standard.

Together with their poverty, their economic and environmental life has certain special characteristics which may be mentioned here :

(i) The presence of the middle man, be he the small trader, the forest contractor or the money lender who gets the lion's share of the things produced by the poor tribals.

(ii) The forests in which they live produce not only timber but other valuable minor products like gum, resin, lac, harra and aonla. It is difficult, nay impossible, for an individual tribal to collect them and derive profit from them.

(iii) The idea of cooperation is not new to their culture, in many of their activities they get together and complete the work. While engaged in cutting dahia, we find that the Tribals of Madhya Pradesh help one another on the basis of mutual and reciprocal cooperation. For food gathering from the forests, their men and women go in batches. When a family is in difficulty and none of its members can collect food from the forest, their neighbours supply their needs without expectation of reward. Even in the more difficult work of house building, such cooperation can be easily found. In hunting and fishing also, they cooperate with one another. Tribal panchayats also testify to the spirit of cooperation among the tribals.

(iv) Cooperation as an instrument of economic progress has had good results in rural areas in regard to agricultural credit and selling of crops. A good many of aboriginals are agriculturists and their requirements of credit for production and facilities for sale of surplus crops (if any) are not met under the present conditions.

(v) Their socio-cultural physical life requires many improvements. For this a social work agency getting vitality from the "Roots" i.e., the tribal people themselves, is very necessary.

Multi-purpose co-operation is the only plan which can cope up with all the above mentioned needs and difficulties. In fact, the basic idea of cooperation is

that an isolated and powerless individual, the more so if he is a tribal, can obtain by association with others and by moral development and mutual support the material advantages available to the wealthy, powerful and civilized persons and thereby develop himself to the fullest extent of his natural abilities. By the union of forces, material advancement is secured and by united action self-reliance is fostered. It is from the inter action of these influences that it is hoped to attain the effective realization of the higher and more prosperous standard of life which has been characterized as "better business, better forming and better living."

Every group of individuals associated to secure a common end by joint effort may be said to cooperate. Cooperation in its technical sense means the abandonment of competition in distribution and production and the elimination of middle men of all kinds. As cooperators Sathianadan and Ryan have so well said: Cooperation does not aim at enriching its votaries at the expense of others, nor does it endeavour to benefit others by doling out charity to them. Its object is to promote the economic welfare of its constituents through self-help and mutual help. This method can be applied to almost all forms of economic and social activity.

In his book "The Reddis of the Bison Hills" Haimendorf gives an interesting example of the cooperative efforts made by a Swami among the Reddis of Hyderabad. A Reddi Patel was shepherded by a Swami at a forest auction in which he was able to secure a bamboo coupe for Rs. 2,200/-. Under the Swami's supervision, the work of exploitation of timber and bamboo was carried out

strictly on cooperative lines. The sale of the bamboo provided Rs. 15,000/- out of which after paying cash wages of Rs. 3500/- to the Reddis and distributing grain, clothes, cows etc. to the Reddis at a cost of Rs. 7300/- and paying the usual duties and transport charges there was a surplus balance of Rs. 916/-. The effect of the society on the Reddis was very striking. The Reddis who two years ago wore little less than a few tattered rags, now possess dhoties and shirts and the women wear proper saris; they are evidently better fed and their food has become more substantial. The Reddis are now more self-possessed and cheerful and they now work with the consciousness of reaping the full fruit of their labour.

But this is not unusual. Thakkar Bapa, the arch-cooperator nearly thirty years ago laid the foundation of cooperative movement among the Bhiis of the Panchmahals. The results of his pioneer efforts were summarised in Symington's classical Report on Aboriginal and Hill Tribes of Bombay. Even in 1937, there were 92 societies in Dohad and Jhalod Talukas of the Panchmahals district with a membership of 4,000 persons and a working capital of Rs. 2½ lakhs. The movement spread steadily and in 1953 there were 268 primary societies, 8 purchase and sale unions and forest labour societies working in the area. The number of members in primary societies was 15,452. It is reported that many of them are self-supporting. The number of members in the sale and purchase unions is 7,378. Their central financial agency viz. the Purva Panchmahals Cooperative Banking Union is working with a share capital of Rs. 1,46,000/- and a working capital of Rs. 10,57,000/- and it earned a profit of Rs. 12,530/-. During the year 1952-53

all the forest cooperative societies with 4636 members worked 28 coupes whose negotiated price was Rs. 2,56,027/- and the material exploited from these coupes was valued at Rs. 7,35,000/- the profit earned in 9 out of 12 societies was Rs. 81,140/- the societies have been able to eliminate to a large extent the forest contractors. The adivasis now get the fair wages.

There are similar cooperative societies organized in the tribal population of Madhya Pradesh. As in other fields though the work on the whole is good there are in some places some flaws. The first thing that attracts the attention of any social worker is that as much attention as is paid to education is not paid to the cooperative movement among the tribals. The area of this very important field of social work must widen as much as possible.

Secondly, there are some defects in the working of the societies. As is usual with the cooperative movement in the country the tribal cooperatives also suffer from such defects as bad debts and unpunctual debt payments.

Thirdly, the workers are not trained. There are very few aboriginals except in the Panch Mahal Bhil Sewa Mandal and a few other places to man their cooperative services. The others who come from outside have at places embezzled the societies' money which has been known to be used in other welfare activities outside the legal scope of the societies.

Lastly, these societies are not multipurpose societies, at many places. If we should work cooperation among the tribals, it should be multipurpose cooperation. The duties and functions of such

tribal multipurpose cooperative societies will be :—

1. To take forest contracts, beginning with small coupes and gradually taking big ones.
2. To collect forest produce and purchase them at fair prices from tribal collectors.
3. To give credit to the tribal farmers on a low rate of interest.
4. To purchase raw materials for cottage industries to be started among the tribals and distribute them to the tribal workers ;
5. To collect the finished products from them and act as a selling depot for these products together with other agencies.

The other functions which can be easily taken up by such multipurpose societies could be to work as fair price shops for the articles of daily use of the tribals.

As a result of the starting of such a multipurpose cooperative society, a new

awakening in the people would be seen. A tribal leadership will be automatically trained up. The already existing virtues of cooperation will be strengthened and the day will not be very far off when out of the earnings of the multipurpose societies the new tribal leadership will be able to arrange for other beneficial activities such as child welfare, adult education, reading rooms, care of their cattle and cultural activities. Multipurpose cooperation for total welfare of the tribals, therefore, is a good slogan for tribal workers.

In order to help the tribals in this multipurpose cooperative movement it is necessary that—

- (i) Some loan-capital is given to these societies,
- (ii) Proper propaganda for the cooperative movement emphasising its advantages is done among the tribals,
- (iii) Guidance is given by official and non-official agencies to these societies.

TRIBAL ECONOMY

CAPT. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA, CHIEF EXECUTIVE MEMBER,
CARO HILLS DISTRICT COUNCIL.

1. Introduction: Economy is a comprehensive term. It affects our lives from the cradle to the grave. I can well understand why the sponsors of this Conference have subdivided Tribal Economy into four subdivisions and have also linked 'Land with Agriculture'. I am also happy to note that the Conveners of the Conference have considered it to be important to

make a special reference to 'Land and Agriculture' in the Tribal Economy. To the Tribals living in the Autonomous Districts of Assam and also in that part of India known as the North Eastern Frontier Agency nothing is more important to them than Land.

2. Importance of land to the tribal economy: The basis of tribal economy is

Land and Agriculture. It has been noticed that as long as the tribal people are allowed to keep their land they could also keep their independent outlook on life, their self-reliance, their honesty and integrity and all the other lovable characteristics which we usually associate with the tribal people wherever they may be. Once these people are uprooted from their land, they lose their independence and become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for other people. And I think this is true to a lesser or greater degree of tribals all over India. The Tribals, it appears to me, are at their best as long as they belong to the land.

3. Protection of the land in the tribal area: As all of you may be aware, land tenure in the Hills Districts of Assam differs from one District to another. In some districts, land belongs to the community while in others, land belongs to the head of the clan. We are not here, I believe, to engage in any theoretical discussion on the question of land tenure with a view to finding out the best system. I think I am well within the mark when I say that we are here to find out how to protect the backward people as far as their interests in the land are concerned. We have to protect them from themselves in that the tribal people have to be taught to put their land to such use as to conserve its fertility. We are also to protect their land from the clutches of all non-tribals. Unless we can protect and preserve their land for them the work of rehabilitating the tribal economy has no value whatsoever. The danger of the land within the tribal areas falling into the hands of non-tribals who have no stake in the welfare of the people is very real, very urgent and very grave. No amount of goodwill shown towards the tribals will save them from destruction if their

land is taken away from them. All our efforts to improve them will be of no avail if the land, which is the foundation of their economic life is allowed to be alienated. One cannot imagine the fate of the tribal people if their interests in their land are not adequately protected by a proper legislation. If the future of the tribal people is to be safe-guarded, their land must be protected. Land alienation in the tribal areas therefore should be regulated and controlled by law. No non-tribal should be allowed to obtain any interests in land within the tribal areas. While some restrictions exist with regard to the settlement of land with non-tribals in the tribal areas of the Autonomous Districts of Assam yet it is considered that this restriction is not sufficient for the proper protection of the interests of tribals.

5. It is seen therefore that if the tribal economy is to be improved and rehabilitated permanently our work should lie in the protection of the land which is so valuable to them and which forms an integral part of their economy. It may well be asked why land should be so important to the tribal people. They could more profitably be engaged in some other avocations. They could, with great advantage to themselves and others and to their economy, be taught some other trade. Indeed, why should the tribal people be condemned to tilling their land which yields so little as to be insufficient to maintain them and their families? And can their land, after all, support an increasing population; and above all will the present rising generation of educated youths be able to live the life and eat the food and wear the clothes of their forbears? Many such questions may be asked. To this, I would say that there is

bound to be a change. A change in the technique of agriculture. A change in the standard of living. A change in the very customs, of the organisation of tribal lives. Our forbears understood life as they found it and arranged their affairs and shaped their lives in correspondence with the circumstances and environments as existed in their times. Have you ever pondered, however, why these hills people prefer to live in their mountain fastnesses in spite of many hardships and discomforts that they have to encounter? I think the hold of the land on them is so strong that they would prefer to live their own lives in their own way rather than change it for something better without their land. And, as I said in the beginning of this paper, land is so important to them that without it they would not be able to survive as a distinct unit of the Indian Union. In order therefore to preserve them from extinction and to safeguard their economy their land must be protected. All our efforts for the improvement of the tribal economy should be subordinated to this important foundation of their economy. Once this is achieved, other steps for the betterment of our economy may begin. If on the other hand we work on the assumption that the betterment or improvement of tribal economy may take any shape in utter disregard of this basic fact, we shall be able to improve their lot perhaps, but at the expense of their individuality. Our aim, however, is to preserve the good points in the tribal way of life and not to destroy it. All our achievements in the realm of tribal economy are no achievements if such achievements fail to preserve the soul of the tribal people which is love of nature, love of things beautiful, love of their land and above all, love of truth. To me therefore land is the omega and alpha of tribal economy, and its

protection and reservation for the benefits and welfare of the tribal people must receive the most serious and urgent attention of the Government.

6. Forests: Land should necessarily include forests also. The forests in the hills area are very valuable to the economy of the tribal people as these forests consist of valuable timber and other forest produce which are important to the improvement of the tribal economy. The economic well-being of the tribal people may be said to depend a great deal on the forests. The protection of the forests is therefore very important. Apart from the economic consideration, the forests also play an important role in restoring the physical balance of land and in influencing the climatic condition and rainfall of the country. From the forests, our tribal people obtain a number of valuable materials for their handicrafts and on the forests they have to depend for the supply of many of their requirements for the construction of their houses. The conservation of forests is also important for the prevention of soil-erosion and the control of flood. Steps should therefore be taken to conserve the forests by jhum fire.

7. Agriculture: Land is meant to be utilised and utilise properly for the maximum benefit of the people. In the hills, an alternative method of agriculture in place of jhumming must be introduced. Jhumming is an expensive method of agriculture as it involves the destruction of forests containing valuable timbers; the burning of organic matter useful for the proper growth of plants and the extensive and rapid loss of valuable top soil. The continuance of jhumming coupled with the injudicious use of hill-sides lands for grazing purposes increases soil erosion and will ultimately result in the permanent

destruction of all cultivable land. This in turn will result in the gradual extinction of the tribal people. It may perhaps be known to many of us that some hills tribes who practice jhumming are gradually dying out. The problem therefore is to wean away the tribal people from this destructive method of jhum cultivation by introducing an alternative method which they can take up without much investment - a method which at the same time will improve and conserve the fertility of the soil. The absence of suitable flat lands in our hills, however, is a great stumbling block to the work of weaning away the people from the destructive method of jhumming. In spite of the fact that we know that Jhumming is bad, nevertheless, for lack of suitable flat lands for wet cultivation, our people cannot but continue the practice of Jhumming. It has been estimated that about 90% of the hills people are depending on Jhumming. The question of rehabilitating the economy of the tribal people therefore has to take this stupendous fact into consideration. And this fact constitutes one of the biggest problems for improvement of tribal economy.

When I advocate the protection of the land in the tribal areas I have the Jhummers in my mind. A mistaken idea, however, is in the mind of those who have not applied their mind seriously to the question of weaning away the tribal people from Jhumming and that idea is that there is sufficient land in tribal areas for all the tribal people and for others as well. This belief is not based on facts.

If Jhumming is to be discouraged and the tribal people are to be gradually weaned away from jhumming, these people must be provided with sufficient land in

order to enable them to take to permanent method of cultivation. Now, the question is, is there enough land for distribution to these people within the tribal areas? I maintain that there is not enough suitable land for them within the tribal areas. It is therefore very urgently necessary to find out enough land for settlement with the tribal people. And unless the tribal people can be provided with sufficient land for their wet cultivation we cannot stop them from Jhumming because this is their way of life. And unless we can stop them from Jhumming we cannot hope to improve their economic life. As you know this method of jhumming consists in the destruction of forests and going back to the same area after a period of six or more years depending on the availability of land when the forests have become rejuvenated under the natural conditions. It is therefore obvious that such a system of agriculture is only one degree removed from that of a nomad, a person who moves from place to place in search of new grazing areas or new lands for his cattle and his settlement. If therefore our people are compelled by circumstances beyond their control to continue shifting their villages at regular interval in search of new areas for jhumming, what improvement can we hope to achieve in respect of their economy—leave aside the question of improving their villages—of providing schools for their children, of providing them with dispensaries and the hundred and one amenities of life. It will be agreed therefore that the first and the most important thing for us to do is to settle them in land in which they can take to a more permanent method of cultivation and other improvements will follow. This is the reason why I plead for the proper and

adequate safe-guard of all land in the tribal areas and the reservation of all suitable flat lands for their benefit and rehabilitation.

8. Conservation of soil fertility :

Unless the top soil is conserved, the land will gradually lose its fertility. But fortunately for us there are many accepted methods used for the conservation of the fertility of the soil, among which are terracing, trenching, conservation of farm and garden wastes, composting etc. These methods cost very little, and therefore very suitable for the tribal people to practice. The methods are simple to learn but increase agricultural production considerably. Without soil conservation measures, mechanization of agriculture will not solve our problem. In fact, mechanization is not within the easy reach of many of our poor tribal population and it is also not very suitable to our needs. While the use of tractors may increase the yield of crops from certain land nevertheless the danger of rapid and unscientific exploitation of the land will result in destruction of agricultural land; the progress of soil erosion will be greatly accelerated and this in turn will result in flood and other natural calamities. Nature does not like to be disturbed and when disturbed takes a long time to adjust itself. In the process of adjustment it is likely to cause damage to life and property and widespread suffering to the people. The use of improved tools and implements would therefore appear to be more suitable for the improvement of agriculture in the Hills rather than the hasty introduction of machinery.

9. Marketing of agricultural produce : With the improvement in the

methods of agriculture and the rehabilitation of as many people as possible on the land available who will take to a more permanent method of agriculture, more will be produced which should find a market outside the tribal areas. Marketing facilities must be provided and this will encourage the tribals to grow more cash crops. The production of cash crops and the protection of the tribal people from the exploitation of the middle-men will increase the income of the tribal people and improve their economy. In the District of Garo Hills, prior to the promulgation of the Cotton Regulation by the District Council, the price of one maund of Garo Kapas (unginned cotton) was between Rs. 10/- to 15/- per maund; with the control of trading in cotton as provided for in the Regulation, the price of cotton varies between Rs. 40/- and Rs. 45/- per maund. This will show what can be done if proper marketing facilities are provided for all cash crops produced in tribal areas. And this is a practical way to raise the standard of living of the people and so improve their economy.

The provision of marketing facilities means also the improvement of communication. Lack of adequate communication is one of the causes why the produce in the tribal areas cannot be brought to market where it will fetch good and reasonable price.

10. The solution of the problem : I start this paper by saying that land is the most important single factor in tribal economy, and I plead for the protection of the land of the tribal people from falling into the hands of other non-tribals because land in the tribal areas is not so plentiful as some would think. I advocate also the gradual discontinuance of

Jhumming and the rehabilitation of the tribal people used to Jhumming in land where they can take to wet cultivation. I plead also for the conservation of the tribal forests and land by a systematic method of trenching, terracing etc. in order to prevent soil erosion and other attendant evils.

Now all these works cost money. And money is not easily available among the tribal people and the State Government cannot afford to undertake such extensive measures of soil conservation single-handed. But the soil must be conserved, and the tribal people rehabilitated. A stage has been reached in which the cycle of Jhumming is becoming shorter and shorter which is an obvious danger signal that suitable land for Jhumming is not now as plentiful as it used to be and that the population is increasing and the pressure on land is also increasing. This being the case, the solution of the problem lies with the Government of India. I would recommend that a scheme should be evolved whereby the people may be granted a subsidy by the Government for the improvement of their land and the reclamation of all cultivable flat lands at their disposal. The Government may also consider the feasibility of giving such financial and technical aids to the District Councils in the Autonomous Districts of Assam and other similar agencies elsewhere for the reclamation of all available flat lands within their areas which are suitable for permanent wet cultivation. Such lands should be distributed among the tribal people who are used to Jhumming.

Sceptics may say that the cost of such a scheme is prohibitive. To this I would

say that the expenditure on such schemes is not an expenditure but a defensible and in fact an unavoidable and important investment in National wealth in that the protection of the land and forests in the hills, and the discontinuance of Jhumming by the tribal people will prevent the occurrence of flood, increase agricultural produce, and improve the economic life of the tribal people.

It has been held by experts that while the Assam flood may have been helped by the Earthquake of 1950, the main cause, however, is the unscientific exploitation of our land resources throughout the hills region of Assam. Principal B.M. Pugh, of Barapani, Union Christian College and late of Allahabad Agricultural College, himself a tribal, opined that 'the Assam Floods, now widely known throughout the world, are mainly the result of extensive and injudicious use of the land for cultivation purposes or for grazing and by deforestation. I can therefore see very little hope of controlling the Assam Floods until we have a rationalized system of agriculture and forestry. Without this, not even the Damodar Valley Corporation can save Assam from floods; as its hills areas receive the greatest amount of rainfall in the world, and the soils derived from Himalayas, which extend to the Northern and Eastern Frontier of Assam are among the most unstable in the world.'

It is seen therefore that the conservation of the soil in the hills areas is a part of the scheme for the prevention of floods and other natural calamities. It is absolutely and imperatively important to discontinue Jhumming in the Hills

areas and this cannot be done if the tribal people are not provided with an alternative method of earning their livelihood.

Importance of education : As I said in the beginning, economy is a comprehensive term and tribal economy has necessarily to be comprehensive if the tribals are to be raised from the chronic poverty that afflicts them now. If the standard of living of the tribals is to be raised, more education should be imparted to them. That they are backward everyone of us knows but how backward and how deep is their ignorance, very few, perhaps, have ever cared to find out. This lack of education in our tribal people is responsible for their being so conservative. And conservatism breeds a number of evils and problems. Many unscrupulous persons have not failed to take advantage of this ignorance and conservatism and exploit it for their own benefit and profit. Not many years ago, doctors were paid for in our hills if they would allow Kala-azar patients to escape treatment because the people dreaded the injections more than they dreaded the lingering death from Kala-azar. They are continuing to eat the food which contains very little food value at the expense of their proper growth and the proper growth and well-being of their children because the tribal people have not been taught to take to more nutritious food available in their hills. Most of our people have an unhealthy contempt for vegetables and they have not learnt to consider fruits, available in plenty in their hills, as part of their daily meals. Many have not believed that drinking of milk is good for their health and the

health of their young ones. And many have yet to learn the good habit of eating dal—an item in Indian diet which is so rich in proteins. Many do not believe that the taking of quinine will prevent and cure malaria and so depend for relief in times of sickness on the village quacks at the risk of their lives.

Education, it should be clear, is necessary if the agricultural production of the tribal people is to be improved and stimulated. It is not possible to raise the economy of the people so ignorant, so conservative, so unhealthy unless their ignorance is removed first. The removal of ignorance will create an incentive in their minds to shed away their conservatism and their superstitions. This fact will help them to get rid of diseases and to improve their economic life.

Conclusion: Tribal economy therefore means the raising of the tribal people from poverty. To raise an ignorant people who for ages have not had the privilege of the education which others have had is a mighty task but not an impossible one. This work of raising the standard of living of the tribal people will mean an all-round development and improvement of their economic life. No half-measures will serve the purpose in this case. But the right approach is to protect their land, to rehabilitate their agriculture, to introduce improved methods of agriculture and to educate them. No other approach is suitable for their genius and tradition. All other approaches are fraught with grave risk of their being taken off their balances and swept off their feet. This work requires special type of men, men with vision and faith in what they do, men fired

with the love for their fellow-men, men with the zeal of the crusaders and the faith of Abraham who, when called by God, left his home, not knowing his destination except depending on God's promise that He would take him to the Promised Land, nevertheless obeyed the call and went whenever God led him. We know that our destination is to a land where there are no 'narrow domestic walls' where there is freedom from fear of hunger and want; where there is fear of God

and respect of our fellow-men. Unless we can procure the services of such men, all our schemes for the improvement of the lot of the tribals will founder on this rock of human relationship. Such men should come out from among the tribals themselves. Such men are required and we should so educate our youths so that the motto of their lives will be 'Service before Self'.

JAI HIND

TRIBAL ECONOMY

SHRI UMRAO SINGH, DEPUTY MINISTER, BHOPAL.

Apart from any other factor leading to the backwardness of the tribal communities at large, their deteriorated economic condition requires the immediate attention of the administration and the society. The results of their extreme poverty can be ascertained by studying the domestic and social life of the tribals. Their means and extent of income and its utilisation for daily necessities are obviously well known to those who are even slightly conversant with the tribal life. Their standard of living and culture including customs and usages visualise primitiveness. Similarly their economic standard is far below the conception of modern civic life. The kind of diet which the tribals take is clearly distinct from the diet of other communities. Tewra, Kodu, Kutki, Parso Sano, and Khagni etc., which are grown through shifting cultivation and are very inferior in nutrition, are their normal diet. Use of cereals is very little and even in some tribal communities and places it is taken only on religious occasions and festivals. The psychologist

might say that this is the result of preference to a particular type of food but the fact can not be denied that all this is due to their extremely low means of income, which makes the ordinary food of a common man beyond their reach. It is, therefore, imperative for the Governments to give as much weight in the regeneration of tribal economy as to their other problems in the sphere of culture, education and health etc. The improvement of their economic conditions means a better standard of living which gives them adequate food, good clothing and shelter. The efforts of the Government of India as well as the State Governments in the uplift of the tribes are displaying material results. I draw these observations after studying the progress reports and literature as far as other State Governments are concerned. But in case of Bhopal, I can say with confidence that the State Government by itself and also with the assistance of the Government of India have undertaken large scale measures for the amelioration of the tribes. Nevertheless,

the achievements should not make us complacent as the magnitude of the problems is so vast that consistent efforts are needed in the years to come.

Land and agriculture: Agriculture plays a very predominant part in the history of the tribal community of our country. Whatever the technique of agriculture and methods of cultivation which the tribes may have adopted, it is an acknowledged fact that most of them are very intimately associated with the art of agriculture. Their attachment with agriculture is however, some what distinct from others. Whereas most persons, with agriculture as their profession, are the owners of the holdings even to a small extent, the tribes generally are not in this advantageous position. Majority of them are working as landless labourers or what we call in the regional language of Central India as "Hallies or Harwahas". These landless labourers, more or less, are hereditary servants of the land-lords who bind them and their children to continue with them for their whole life in that capacity, only on such low wages or remuneration by which it is difficult to secure even the barest necessities of life. The second distinction between the tribes and communities is in the methods of their cultivation. The tribe still practices the most primitive methods of cultivation which includes shifting cultivation also, but an average cultivator has developed planned cultivation where he finds the prospects and extent of production comparatively better. The reasons for this may be as much due to the non-availability of proper assistance to resort to improved methods of cultivation as it may be due to their backwardness. The States which have got the problems of rehabilitation of Adivasis and where the land is also available in abundance should not find it very difficult. Bhopal

State upto this time has been fortunate to that extent. The number of tribes people in the State is 59,114 as against the total population of 8,36,474 which mostly consists of Gonds, Korkus and Darois. After the democratic set up in the State, the Government have become very keen to solve the economic problems of the Scheduled Tribes. Since the State had plenty of unoccupied land, the State Government adopted a policy to make allotment of Government land to the landless labourers at the rate of 15 acres per family. The execution of this policy has been enumerated in the land allotment rules specifying that preference will invariably be given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the State in respect of the allotment of Government unoccupied land. Approximately 16,000 acres of land have so far been allotted to the Scheduled Tribes of the State. This assistance has further been supplemented by grant of Taccavi loans in order to give them all facilities in the proper exploitation of that land. But still it is very difficult to meet the needs of land of all the Adivasis of the State. Accordingly the problem of those who do not get this benefit has to be settled in some different way. The tribes have remained under the grip of landlords to such an extent that they find it now difficult to detach themselves because of heavy debts which they owe to the landlords. It is, herefore, quite natural that the assistance of the Government in any form will not achieve any material objective unless the grounds for their free movement of life are cleared up. It is observed that the landlords take advantage of their backwardness and exploit them in such a manner which makes the tribes difficult to avail of the benefits provided by the Government. Simultaneously with the economic assistance which

any Government may provide, it is also very essential to adopt suitable legislation to relieve the tribes from the heavy debts as well as to give security of land tenure. Such a legislation, if executed in its true perspective, will certainly clear the path for an early and prompt solution of the problem.

Cooperative societies: It is a common feeling that whatever enterprise is taken up in life, if it is done on cooperative or collective basis in true spirit, the work can be undertaken more effectively and the objectives achieved successfully. In dealing with the problems of Adivasis in any aspect we have to keep in mind several factors. For example if we take up the issue of their settlement on land, the allotment of land and other ancillary assistance is not enough. They have to be trained up to make the best use of this assistance. Environments have to be created where they have to change their old conception of life. If they are permitted to remain with their customary ideologies, the amenities provided by the Government are not likely to bring forth satisfactory results. Consequently if we take up this gigantic task of the amelioration of tribes on individual basis, it is practically difficult to secure to them the available chances of education and training which they badly need. Whatever the scheme for their economic rehabilitation may be, it is very necessary that it should be undertaken on cooperative basis. Although in the initial stage it may appear difficult for the tribes to reconcile with collective and cooperative enterprise, but if constant efforts are adopted, they can gradually be prevailed upon to adjust themselves to the new phase of life. Cooperative functioning further facilitates the work of the Government in attending to the uplift of tribes scientifically and

speedily. Tribes are used to community living. They have only to be taught to practise and follow this collective way of life in respect of trades and profession. The Bhopal Government taking into consideration the advantages of cooperative societies, has embarked upon the scheme of their settlement on land since 1952. Uptil this time, 5 cooperative settlements of Scheduled Tribes consisting of 154 families have been organised. The Government has given each member land @ 15 acres per family along with other financial assistance for housing, bullocks, cows, agricultural implements, etc. These schemes have shown good progress. It is the desire of the Government to follow up these schemes during the next 5 year plan subject to the availability of finances and material resources.

Forest Cooperative Societies: The tribes in Central India mostly reside in forest areas. Those who are not attached to agriculture are working as labourers on petty wages with the forest contractors. It has been observed that these tribes are well aware of the technique of forest wealth and its exploitation. The lucrative profits earned by the forest contractors are due to the efforts of these tribe labourers. The Bombay Government has taken up schemes of organising forest labourers cooperative societies by eliminating intermediaries on the consideration that whatever substantial profits, a contractor earns, these may accrue to the labourers if they work collectively. The Planning Commission has reviewed this scheme of the Bombay Government and has recommended to the State Governments to take it up, if the resources of any State permit. The Bhopal Government taking advantage of this valuable suggestion of the Commission has decided

in the last year on the operation of similar schemes. As an experiment a society of 30 tribesmen was organised during the last year to which a forest coupe of 146 acres has been allotted on an upset price of Rs. 6,000/-. These tribes are the residents of a forest tribal village situated in the extreme interior of the State and surrounded by forests. It is only two months back that the coupe was handed over to the society. During this period, the society has sold timber worth Rs. 4,000/-. Except the purchase of coupe on concessional rate, the society has not so far asked any financial assistance from the Government. These members were previously working with the forest contractors on daily wages at the rate 8 annas to 12 annas per day. It is now, however, estimated that the society is likely to earn substantial profits within the year. It is only the first venture of the State Government. After examining its progress and gaining experience about the execution of the scheme, it is the intention of the Bhopal Government to expand this scheme from the next year and to adopt it on well organised and scientific basis. I might state that the profits to individual members under these schemes are so high that it can bring a quiet economic evolution amongst the life of tribes. I would appreciate the valuable suggestion of my official and non-official colleagues from various states about the expansion of this scheme.

Multipurpose Cooperative Societies: Multipurpose cooperative societies for the tribes are intrinsically useful which increase the scope of large earnings so very essential for the consolidation of the economic condition of the tribes. It is my feeling that the cooperative movements amongst tribes have so far been confined to one particular purpose, whether it may be agriculture or exploitation of forest products. Bringing the tribes in cooperative field is just in the preliminary stage. It will, therefore, be premature to organise the multipurpose cooperative societies or transform the existing single purpose societies into the multipurpose societies hurriedly. A multipurpose society needs specialised technique in attending to multifarious work which covers up all the objects of economic theory viz. production, distribution, exchange and consumption. Except when circumstances are favourable for the organisation of the new multipurpose societies, it will be better to develop single purpose societies in the first instance. It will be more advantageous to concentrate upon the societies with one specific objective. Once the members specialise in a particular subject, they can easily pick up other functions which are obviously subservient to the main object.

In concluding my observations on the subject, I would like to invite comments and suggestions from my friends who participate in the discussions.

MULTIPURPOSE COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES FOR THE TRIBALS

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Introduction : Cooperative societies began in India after the passing of the Cooperative Societies Act of 1940. These societies were based on the Raiffeisen model, the area of operation of which was a very small one. In India we adopted the slogan of one society for one village as our cooperative pattern was based on the German model. This type of cooperative activity continued for a very long time and the societies specialised in one type of cooperation only. Mostly we developed cooperative credit. Out of 1,80,000 cooperative institutions 1,15,000 were primary cooperative credit societies. Thus we had a lop sided development of cooperative institutions. These did not work well and hence did not profit rural classes.

In the last Great War, the shortages and food scarcities brought about rationing and controls and cooperative societies were encouraged to undertake distribution of food grains, sugar, cloth, kerosene oil etc. For this purpose existing co-operative institutions had to be made use of and thus the traditional outlook of having one society for one village and that too for one purpose, had to give place to a multipurpose Cooperative Society catering to the various needs of the Community. Thus the multipurpose concept of cooperation came to be accepted both theoretically and practically.

Multipurpose Co-operative Society:

In the context of our rural environment and more specially in the tribal areas, it is difficult to find literate personnel to man the various types of cooperative

societies if they function separately. They will not have adequate capital resources and thus may not prove very beneficial to the people intended to serve. The multipurpose concept therefore is the best one under the circumstances. The area of operation of such societies may include homesteads in the tribal areas which may belong to 3-4 adjoining villeges.

Location : The head quarters of such a society may be located at a place of a hat or Bazar where the people of the neighbouring localities congregate every-week. Such a location will facilitate the working of the Society.

Capital : The Capital resources should consist of a small nominal share capital, deposits of members, and funds borrowed from Central Banks. Such societies should actively encourage rural savings and by paying a little higher rate of interest on deposits, they can attract a sizeable amount of working capital.

Liability: Even though unlimited liability is best for the working of such a society, looking to the practical implications, it is best to advocate a limited liability for its members.

Membership : The membership of a such society should not be a very big one. A Multipurpose Co-operative Society has a temptation to enter into large scale commercial transactions of sales and purchases of members agricultural produce and there is a fear of losses and mis-management arising out of the handling of large produce. Instead of having a large membership for one society, it is

desirable to have more than one society, each manageable in size. This will enable the cooperative societies to have better personal contact with the members and the aim of cooperation of inculcating moral virtues amongst the members can be better achieved. One hundred should be a good limit of the membership. But there can be no hard and fast rule in this regard.

Activities: The multipurpose co-operative society may have the following type of activities :—

- (1) Giving of loans for productive purposes and for unproductive purposes as an exception.
- (2) Purchase and sale of members' produce both agricultural and non-agricultural.
- (3) Purchase and sale on behalf of or for members of agricultural cattle, tools, implements, seeds, manures etc.
- (4) Organising the sales of milk, ghee, butter and poultry products of the members.
- (5) Organising the sales of consumption goods to the members as well as to non members such as kerosene oil, sugar, tobacco, cloth and such other day to day requirements.
- (6) Organise seed stores or grain golas.
- (7) Undertake labour contracts on behalf of its members for road, tank, or well construction.
- (8) To undertake forest contracts for cutting, removal and sale of forest produce including charcoal-making either on behalf of itself or on behalf of other parties.
- (9) It can as well undertake brick making and tile production.

These are some of the purposes for which a multipurpose cooperative society can work but then this will need at its head sincere and honest band of workers. Our tribal welfare workers can concentrate on this type of cooperative activity and unless sufficient number of educated and trained workers do come forward to help such a type of multipurpose cooperative activity, it will be difficult to improve the economic condition of the tribals.

Profits: Profit earnings cannot be the aim of such a multipurpose society. But profits are incidental to it and can legitimately be expected after providing the best of service to its members in all its activities. Whether these profits should be distributed on a pro rata basis is an important question? The share capital being small very naturally the urge for distribution of dividends will not be great and can easily be resisted. After sending a portion of the profits to the Reserve Fund, the profits can be canalised for other developmental activities for the benefits of its members. Sanitation drives, provision of simple medicines, organisation of small reading rooms and libraries can be some of the activities which could easily be financed from such profits. Celebrations of functions, community dances and festivals can also be a legitimate charge on such funds.

Moral Effects: As I have said above, loans of cooperative societies shall be for productive purposes alone but in the peculiar conditions of custom-ridden Indian society, and more particularly the tribals, in whom customs and conventions play a large part, loans will have to be given for unproductive expenditure such as Nukta, marriage, litigation etc. But the amount for such things will have to be small and efforts will have to be made to persuade

members to restrict such expenditure to the minimum. Habits of thrift will be encouraged and extravagance of litigation will have to be curtailed by settling of disputes by the Panchayat of the tribe. Members will have to be weaned away from drink, and clean habits of life will have to be inculcated. More work in this respect will have to be done among women and children. This will produce enduring

effects.

These efforts will aim to reach the ideal of cooperation of "better farming, better business and better living". The reaction of the tribals may not be encouraging in the beginning but if with persistent effort the confidence of the tribals is gained, attainment of the objective of service to the tribal can be easily secured through the co-operative endeavour.

ECONOMICS OF TRIBAL HANDICRAFTS (A Study of the Baiga Handicrafts)

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Production for home consumption : Baiga's system of production is a typical example of production for direct consumption. Most of the products of Aboriginal's handicrafts are consumed by the producer and his family. Consequently there is a direct relationship between aboriginal's productive activities and his wants. The kind, the volume and the time of production are, therefore, largely determined by the pattern and the intensity of Baiga's wants rather than by the demand schedule of the general market. Generally speaking, the Baiga produces what and as much he needs himself and not what others need. For example, he prepares a basket when an old one is to be replaced by the new; he extracts oil from ramtila seeds with the help of 'petla' when his stock of oil has been exhausted; a new fishing net is woven only when the previous one shows holes. Since the Baiga produces for home consumption fluctuations in market prices of his produce do not generally affect his household

crafts. The rise in oil prices does not induce him to extract more oil with indigenous methods for selling in the market nor does he weave additional nets for reaping profits. Since domestic demand is the incentive behind handicrafts a vacuum exists between market conditions and his crafts. In recent times some of his handicrafts, like basketry and collection of forest produce, have begun to receive some external influences. But on the whole, the basic structure of Baiga's handicrafts still rests on self-sufficiency. His handicrafts are interwoven with the social life of the family standard of living, man-power and the degree of adaptation with the natural environment of the villages. Since most of these factors are not subject to rapid changes, the Baiga has established an equilibrium between himself and his handicrafts. This gives an impression to the outsider that Baiga handicrafts are static and crude. The fact, however, is that Baiga's pattern of life which propels his handicrafts has remained what it is since long.

The self-sufficiency basis has acted as a non-conductor between his handicrafts and the technological advancement made by others. The causes of this stagnation lie neither in the poor intelligence of the Baiga nor in the non-availability of natural resources but in the role which handicrafts play in Baiga's economic life. Their purpose is to meet Baiga's requirements and not the market demand. Consequently these handicrafts are not what technical progress could make them, but what Baigas want them to be.

Utilisation of local raw materials :

Unlike the modern man, the Baiga has a limited ambition of conquering nature. The pattern of his life is not the result of clash with and victory over nature but a harmonious adaptation to natural surroundings. Ordinarily a real Baiga does not consume what nature does not offer him nearby, except salt and cloth. Most of his handicrafts, therefore, utilise raw materials locally available without much difficulty. For basketry and mat-making, bamboo groves are ever green in the neighbourhood; for bows and arrows bamboo, reed, skin, locally smelt iron, and poisonous matter are available at hand; for nets and traps wild creepers and fibrous plants or locally grown hemp provide him with necessary materials. It is notable that unlike the artisan of today Baiga's handicrafts do not depend for supply of raw materials on modern factories and means of transport or the complex agency of middlemen. Dependence on local supply of raw materials limits the scope of handicrafts in respect of variety and volume of production; but at the same time it minimises those external influences which render present day artisan's position unstable and unremunerative. As raw materials are procured locally through personal labour

their cost remains stable which in its turn keeps the cost of production of handicrafts articles stable. Besides, the Baiga craftsman has an opportunity of selecting his raw materials. It enables him to control the quality of his goods. The practice of utilising the local resources has a wider effect on the employment situation in aboriginal villages. A close observation will reveal that a Baiga is not so much depending on agriculture like the cultivator in the plains. On an average he derives 44.8 per cent of his income from forest work. His employment is more diversified. Therefore he is less exposed to vagaries of agriculture. It is true that under this arrangement the opportunities of specialisation and technical progress are less; but the loss is compensated to some extent by the advantages of self-sufficiency, greater stability and increased volume of employment.

A family job : Baiga's handicrafts provide job for the whole family. The aged, children and women all join hands with an adult worker. The wife and husband together operate the 'petla' for extracting oil. The children hold an oil-receiving pot in a playful spirit. An old man unable to do arduous work in the forest engages himself in weaving a net and trap or in making a basket and 'supa'. Women are well adept in the art of preservation of wild roots and tubers, preparing articles of decoration and clay digging. The Baiga house has the appearance of a small workshop in which every member of the family is doing some work or other according to his or her capacity and aptitude. In a family atmosphere there is hardly any scope for labour unrest—a common feature of modern factory life. Since the worker is not divorced from ownership of the fruits of

labour, everybody works instinctively to the best of his capacity. The intensity and hours of work, rest intervals and co-ordination of work adjust themselves in a natural manner and not through strikes and lockouts as in the case of a big industrial concern. The absence of hired labour in the Baiga crafts should not, however, be interpreted as confinement of work within the family. Whenever the intensity of a craft is high or the craft requires labour of many, Baiga families cooperate on reciprocal basis. For example, if bamboos are to be felled for basketry two or three families will join hands. In clay digging women cooperate. But in none of these processes the participants are paid wages either in kind or cash. In fact, it is partnership rather than a paid work. Reciprocity and not wages, is the basis of such cooperation. Since all the factors of production are owned by the worker himself the distribution aspect of Baiga industries is simple. The product of an industry need not be distributed among the suppliers of various factors of production. The whole family, which is one unit, enjoys the fruits of its labour in an atmosphere of harmony. There is another interesting feature of Baiga's cottage industries. A Baiga boy automatically gets training in different handicrafts. Consequently by the time he attains adolescence he becomes the master of his crafts. He is not required to undergo schooling or training. Just as he learns to eat, a Baiga boy learns to weave net, operate petla, make basket, balance bow and release arrow.

Small Capital : Satisfaction of family wants being the main purpose of Baiga, the scale of production is very small. The Baiga industries, therefore, do not

require a large amount of capital investment. For example, about five rupees for blades and knives, and a couple of rupees for bamboos—this is all that is required for starting and keep running the bamboo work. Similarly a few poles, small planks, a small basket and an earthen pot and two slabs of stone complete the equipment of an indigeneous apparatus of oil extraction. In making bows and arrows, and nets and traps the Baiga does not invest much capital as most of the raw material is available free of cost from the forest.

As for Baiga's tools and implements, they are extremely simple and cheap. Most of them are made by the Baiga himself out of local raw materials except the iron tools which he obtains from the local blacksmith known as Agaria. Secondly, since the tools are simple and home-made, the expenditure on their repair and maintenance is not heavy. The Baiga can repair his bow and arrow, he can mend his net; and he can sharpen his axe and knife if they are not very much blunted. Thirdly, expenditure on replacements and renewals is not large. Therefore the craftsman need not create any reserve for this purpose. Thus the amount of capital required for making, maintaining and replacing tools is very small. In fact, the proportion of labour to capital is sufficiently high. Roughly speaking, the amount may not exceed rupees five per adult worker. The small capital investment has produced some important results. The overhead charges are low in aboriginal crafts. Secondly, labour can be switched from one job to another without much difficulty. Thirdly, low interest charges enable the craftsman to produce at lower cost of production. The whole arrangement fits in aboriginal economy smoothly. The Baiga does not reap profit

by selling his product in the market. Therefore, like a modern industrialist, he cannot afford to pay high over-head and interest charges. But the adverse effects of low proportion of capital investment on technological level of Baiga's crafts need not be over-looked. The Baiga has lagged behind other artisans in the technique of production. His tools are crude, methods arduous, efficiency low and the productivity not in proportion to the amount of labour which he puts in. He is not able to satisfy even his family wants. For example, the indigenous method of oil pressing does not produce sufficient quantity of oil for the family. Similarly the Baiga has to undergo a hard trial in climbing trees and scaring away the bees for honey collection. The method of taking honey out of hive by squeezing renders honey impure.

Seasonal character, Integration with agriculture : The Baiga does not carry on his handicrafts continuously and throughout the year. The majority of them is seasonal and irregular. The time and season of work depends on nature's gift of raw materials, spare time, forest work and finally the actual need of an article for consumption. In a few cases he operates the craft in response to market demand. Honey, herbs and roots are collected when their season has started. Ropes, strings, and cots and machais are prepared when mohlain's (creeper) fibre has become strong. A Baiga is seen weaving his nets and traps during the intervals between sowing and weeding; and harvesting and the next sowing. He prepares his bows and arrows when the hunting season has set in. But the oil pressing, patri and dona making, food collection and preservation are controlled by the actual need

as and when felt by the family. The aboriginal crafts are thus harmoniously integrated with cultivation and forest work on the one hand, and family requirements on the other. The Baiga engages himself in handicrafts when he is free from agricultural operations and then reverts to the collection of raw materials. The cycle of employment has been so wisely adjusted in respect of time, intensity of work and coordination that not only the jerks of change are avoided, an equilibrium is also maintained in different types of employments. Given adequate control over the flora and fauna of the region, a Baiga will seldom be found under-employed like the cultivator of plains. In old days since Baigas were free to cut forest for axe cultivation, agriculture did not dominate their lives to such an extent. Food collection, hunting and fishing, and the allied handicrafts occupied their time more than agriculture. In recent years with the introduction of plough cultivation and the curtailment of 'freedom of forest' the emphasis has shifted to cultivation proper. However, the basic integration of crafts with agriculture and forest work can be still seen in comparatively more insolated villages. The Baiga is conscious of the importance of this arrangement. Similarly where compulsory forest work has interfered with his usual timetable he grumbles against the forest administration. In many cases culture-contact and the forest laws have reduced Baigas' hunting and food preservation activities.

The main features of Baiga's handicrafts may now be recapitulated in a summary form. The Baiga craftsman mainly produces for home consumption, and not for the market. He utilises local

raw materials in his handicrafts. Therefore he does not depend upon external sources. An aboriginal handicraft is a family job in which one and all have the opportunity of contributing their own share of work. The amount of capital invested in these crafts is definitely

smaller than units of labour. Therefore the crafts have all the advantages of labour— incentive and industry. Technologically the standard of Baiga crafts is not very high, but they are in complete harmony with the agricultural operations and forest work of the Baiga.

NATURE AND SCOPE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN TRIBAL VILLAGES AROUND KONDAGAON BASTAR (M.P.)

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Introduction : India being a country where ninety out of every hundred persons live in villages, cottage industries form the most important and natural occupation and trade of our country other than agriculture itself. They are fitted to our national life and genius. From every point of view, the economic, commercial, political and even the spiritual aspects of the system of cottage industries are ideally suited to the conditions of our way of life. The place of the cottage industry, therefore anywhere in India, may it be a forest-covered aboriginal tract like Bastar, or in the plains of the Ganges, wherever it is, it is a very important one in the national economy. An all-round effort is being made elsewhere in India to develop the cottage industries, and thereby the village economy, on the basis of Mahatma Gandhi's plan for rural development; but here in Bastar we have a country which is situated so remotely from urban areas, almost untouched by the machine-minded conceptions of our times till very recently. It is only very recently by the establishment of the

Community Development Project Centres, that the aboriginals living here have seen a well-dressed man. Because of the remoteness and the adverse geographical conditions prevailing here they had hardly thought of going beyond their village boundaries except on the Dasera-festival, when the former princely state existed, when it was the custom for the majority of tribal population to convoke together to greet the Maharaja and get his blessings.

We, post-graduate and research students of the Department of Anthropogeography of Sagar University, have been working in different parts of this region and an integrated survey and the various phases of the work cover social anthropology, physical anthropology and anthropogeography. I, along with others, have surveyed the villages around Kondagaon, a tahsil place situated on the Raipur Jagdalpur motor road, the only metal road in this district, and it would not be out of place to give a brief geographical description of it before dwelling upon our subject matter.

Kondagaon tahsil occupies the great north-eastern plateau of Bastar. This plateau which is some 2,400 feet above sea level runs south of the Telinghat hill as far as Tuls-Dongri below Jagdalpur. To the east it extends into Jeypore and Kalahandi, and on the west is bordered by the Matlaghat and a range of hills extending south from Benue to Karikot. The scenery is green and pleasant, but rather monotonous except round Bade-Donger where there are picturesque hills. There are two main rivers in the Tahsil, Baodig and Narangi which become dry in the hot season. The entire area is full of forests of useful Sal, green all the year round, and is also rich in iron, manganese, mica and other useful ores. These ores are easily noticed upon the surface. There are no towns but there are a few important villages. The population of the Kondagaon Tahsil in 1951 was 144,563.

Observation:- In this region the premier occupation of about 98% of the population is agriculture. By tribal affiliation the majority of the people are Murias. Others are Bhatra, Gonda, Parja and Raut. Nearly all of them have permanent fields, used mostly for paddy cultivation. Yield of agricultural produce is quite low as compared to other regions of Madhya Pradesh.

The existing cottage industries play an important part in the livelihood of the people for the simple reason that their land-holdings are very small and their methods of cultivation are extremely resulting in a low yield. The majority of the families, each consisting of 4-5 members, own three to four acres of land.

In the olden days, these people had the freedom of the forest, and they got

their livelihood, partly from hunting, fishing and food collection from the forest, and partly from the practice of shifting cultivation. But now with the stoppage of shifting cultivation, numerous restrictions on hunting, fishing and food collection, imposed upon them by the administrative agencies, those people have been forced to seek new outlets for earning their livelihood. Hence they have taken to various cottage industries, however crude they are, to supplement their incomes. The economic importance of these industries in the lives of these people is really very great. Because of the fact that they have not to invest a large capital they are within the bounds of their ability to start them without having to run themselves into debt, nor having to beg for anything from others. Secondly, since for about 3 to 4 months they have no work (as their agricultural operations are carried on only from June to February), this period of unemployment can be productively used. Besides these factors it should be remembered that there are some who are particularly gifted in craftsmanship, such as those of the smith, potter, weaver and carpenter. Due to these specialities they have gained entirely a separate identity in the aboriginal society and now form a separate class.

Because of the existence of these craftsmen one can easily notice in the villages that the aboriginals produce all their really necessary things themselves and consequently by this means they could maintain their economic independence.

The prevailing cottage industries around Kondagaon are (a) weaving, (b) blacksmithery, (c) carpentry, (d) pottery, (e) basketry, (f) poultry, (g) hand

pounding of rice (h) liquor industry and (g) fishing.

Before proceeding to give any suggestions for the development of these crafts we will go into the details of their resources of raw materials, methods of working and other relevant things which have supported these industries so long.

A—Weaving : After agriculture handloom industry is the most important industry in this region. There are about 200 handlooms working around Kondagaon within a radius of about 15 miles. These handlooms are solely engaged in weaving cotton fabrics. Upto very recently only throw-shuttle looms were used but now fly-shuttles are being introduced by the Community Projects. These are more effective so far as quality, labour and time are concerned. Even then it is very difficult to introduce any new form of looms because of their conservative views, despite the fact that there are many defects in the existing throw-shuttle looms. These can prepare only three dhoties in a week, and that too of a very coarse nature, whereas the rate of production with a fly shuttle loom would be much greater and the quality would be superior. In addition to dhoties they sometimes prepare small pieces of cloth known as towels. They purchase the yarn for the purpose from the weekly markets at Kondagaon, Lanjoda, Baniyagaon etc. Mostly the yarn is number 10 count which is of a cheap and coarse variety. Owing to their poverty the villagers cannot afford to purchase more than the limited amounts required at any given time and that is why the production is comparatively low. Moreover it depends upon the demand by the villagers too. Most of it is locally consumed against actual requirements known

beforehand. But if any should remain it is sold in the weekend market of Kondagaon and other places. Recently the handloom weavers have suffered many onslaughts on their industry from outside the region by industrially operated mills. Kondagaon being situated on the main road the mill-made cheap cloth has flooded the market here and has adversely affected the handloom industry. Naturally the aboriginals prefer to purchase the finer and the cheaper cloth. The handloom industry nevertheless has in part survived this severe competition and so far as it can be preserved it is still possible for it to be a potent factor in the village economy.

This occupation is carried out mainly or largely by Hindu immigrants of long standing in the tribal areas. The main caste engaged in this occupation is the Gandas. Since olden days these people have been carrying on this industry. By their heredity or tendency and their conservative family tradition these people have remained firmly attached to this craft, and this combined with the social and economic necessity to earn a living, has been the driving force in keeping the looms running from generation to generation. The most notable fact about this industry is that, unlike Bonds Highlanders of Hyderabad, only the grown males are engaged in the occupation.

There is hardly any mechanism in these handlooms. No particular kind of wood is required for making its structure, and for that they have not to depend upon any carpenter, since they themselves make all their own implements.

B—Blacksmithery : Next to the handloom this is no less an important industry in this part. Generally speaking,

the entire Bastar tract is full of rich iron ore. From Bhanpuri, a place to the South of Kondagaon, up to Randhana on the North, the ores can easily be seen over the surface or found in shallow excavated pits. Almost every village has a blacksmith or two. These blacksmiths are thus able to get the ore very easily for making the agricultural implements required for the community, such as chains, locks, nails etc. The iron content in these ores is fairly good, being over 60% and therefore with a little more smelting better quality of iron can be had. (Randhana sample analysed in the Sagar University Geology Department.)

They adopt a very crude method for smelting this ore. They have a small furnace (Bhatti) or a kiln about $3\frac{1}{2}'$ high. The base is broader than the top, the average diameter at the top being about 1' and at the base $1\frac{1}{2}'$. There are two holes at the bottom of about 6" diameter. Through one of these a blower is worked and through the other smelted iron is removed. The furnace is set afire with charcoal of either the 'Dhawda' tree or the 'Sargi' wood. At some places the 'Saja' variety is also used. Because of the intensity of the heat the 'Dhawda' is preferred. Then the broken pieces of the ore are added to the burning furnace. The proportion of charcoal and iron is not definite. After four to five hours of continuous heating the crude iron collects at the bottom and is removed through the hole. Now this unrefined smelted iron is again heated with Mahua charcoal (*Mahua Latifolia*) in the open furnace from where it is intermittently taken out and hammered and again heated. This process continues until a refined variety of iron is obtained. The only other tools used in the process of making

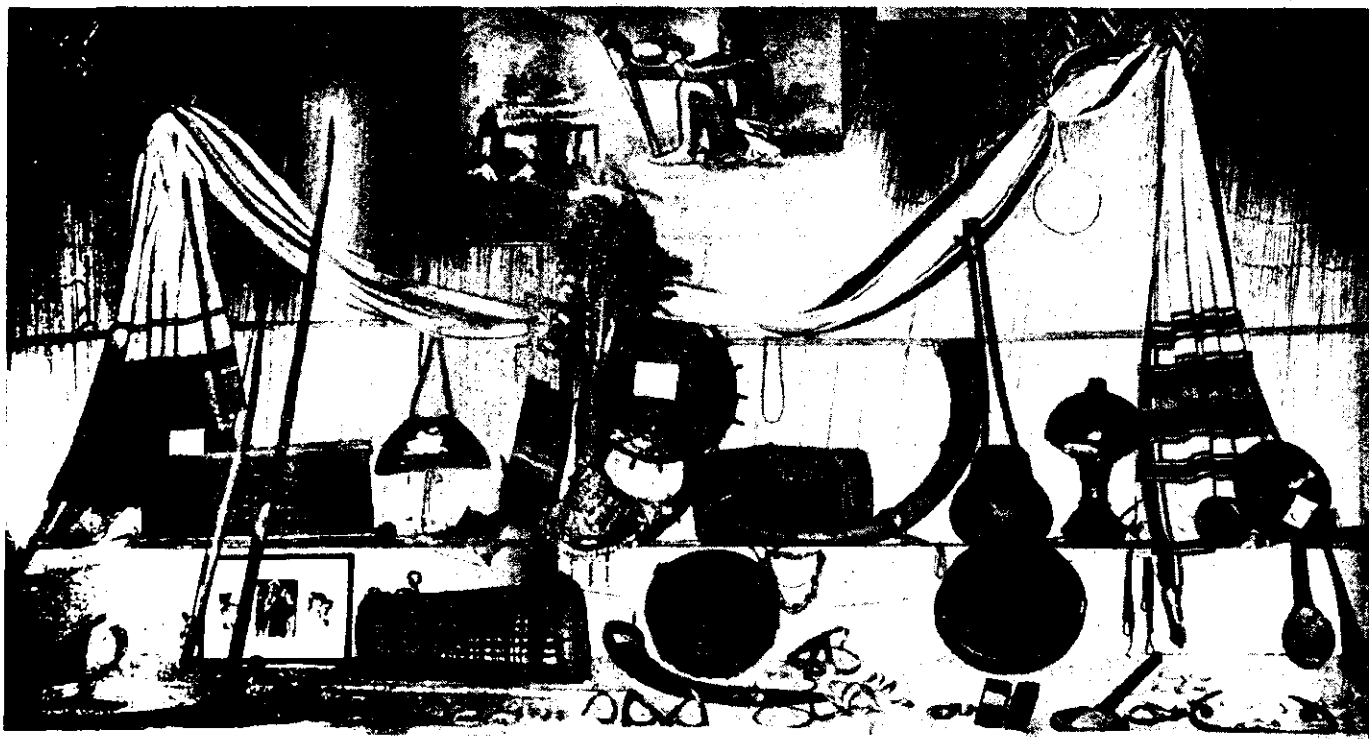
any article are a hard boulder in place of an auvil, a pair of tongs, bellows which are worked by foot pressure and a crude hammer.

Generally, three maunds of iron-ore produce about two seers of iron, despite the high iron content of the ore, due to the primitive methods employed.

There are two sections of aboriginals working in this craft. 1. Muria blacksmiths and 2. Bhattra blacksmiths. At and around Kondagaon most of these blacksmiths are Murias. During the process of smelting the division of labour is worth nothing. For the process of foot-blowing, women are mostly employed. The rest of the other operations are carried on by men. Generally in every workshop two to four persons are essential. Even if the members of the family are living apart, they have always a common workshop. The profit is equally distributed, regardless of how much labour one puts in. Sometimes the entire family might fall ill and in such a case other blacksmiths give out a share of their income to this disabled family for the maintenance until some one of the family gets cured.

Mostly the workshops are located on the verge of the village for the very peculiar reason that the leather used by the foot-blowers is raw and not tanned. It is not permissible, because raw leather is not to be touched by any other caste and this reduces these smiths (who are nevertheless so essential for the development of the community) to a category of untouchables.

Owing to the primitive development of the tribal peoples metal is not in such a great demand as it would be if they were more advanced, and, as a consequence all these blacksmiths have a very meagre



Handicrafts of Orissa.



A group of dancers

11.
(Photo by V.A. Gijare)

income, and, therefore, they have to supplement it by working on small farms which are allowed them by the chief of the village in exchange for work. The Bhattra blacksmiths appear to be slightly better off than the Muria blacksmiths.

These blacksmiths do not carry on their trade in money in the village itself. Instead of money they prefer salt, kerosene oil or sometimes rice. The author has seen at Masora an axe, ordinarily costing about Rs. 2/- being sold for a seer of salt.

These people always make the implements to order. They will never stock them on a large scale. The reason is that firstly, they have no certainty of the things being sold and secondly because of their poverty they have no capital resources and consequently cannot afford to lock up their labour in stocks which may take a long time to be sold. For instance to make a single thing like an axe or a chain takes more than a day or two. They do not even stock the ore. Whenever they need it, however distant the ore pit be, they will waste a day or even two in bringing in the ore. The day following will be spent in smelting and the next day thereafter in making one or two articles. In the weekly markets at Kondagaon spades, plough-shares, axes, sickles, chains and nails are the usual articles sold by them. These are sold here in the market only in exchange for money, especially coins, for they have a not unnatural healthy distrust of paper money. These blacksmiths have some very superstitious ideas. For example, if while working any of their tools breaks, they will think it is very inauspicious and that a god named 'Danda Deo' has been angry with them. To please that God they will worship him and offer the sacrifice of a

fowl. Likewise if in the midst of the work any physical ailment starts, it means 'Fuli Deo' is angry. To appease the anger they will kill a hen or a goat or whatever is possible, in the name of that God. Then again at Dahikonga the author asked the smith why he did not bring his ore from a place which is very near the village instead of going for it to a place five miles away. He said that since the ore near Dahikonga has not yet been touched by any of his ancestors or fellow-smiths, he has no right to utilise that ore, the reason being, he said, that before utilising the new ore some human sacrifice has to be made at that spot. It is clear that the mental outlook of the smiths is a very primitive, if not barbarous order. Therefore, to teach them better methods and improve their industry, the psychological approach must be made with full anthropological understanding, if success is to be achieved.

Pottery : This is the main occupation of the Kumbars who call themselves Hindus and are considered to be of higher status than the Murias. They have formed a sort of separate caste by themselves. This industry is carried on mainly in the villages around the market places. At Kondagaon proper there are about twenty potters, and at Masora, a place four miles from Kondagaon there are 10 potters and so on.

For making the earthenware they use a particular type of greyish coloured, smooth and sticky clay. It resembles somewhat the Ganges alluvium in nature. The chief articles which are used by the villagers here are earthen pots of different sizes dish-like covers, toys etc. Mostly they make pots which are sold for cooking, storing of grains, keeping water and other sundry purposes. Metallic utensils are

very rarely used, for the villagers cannot afford to purchase them. A few potters derive their livelihood entirely from this craft. But the majority are too poor and have to supplement their income through agriculture.

For making pots a wooden wheel of 4' in diameter is used by all the potters. In the family of the potters there is a clear division of labour. Generally women bring the clay and puddle it into shape. Later on, the baking operation is done by men only. In the collection of the clay children also share in the labour. Usually the potter can make eight pots a day labouring for about six to eight hours, which will bring him not more than a rupee or so in return, if sold. The potter can hardly sell articles worth as much as about a rupee and a half on any single bazar day.

Basketry and Mat Weaving : Kondagaon and the area around it has a dearth of bamboos, which are found at only a few places. This is unlike the forest around Narayanpur, a place 32 miles northwest of Kondagaon, or the forest of 'South Bastar' where bamboos are rampant. This is why basketry is not very common here. In Bastar baskets are generally made by Murias. Though the baskets are made in the homes of the aboriginal families here they are made only for their own use. The bamboos for this purpose are imported from the aforesaid parts. The baskets have varied uses like storing grains, carrying their loads etc. In this they do not require very great skill. Mostly women make baskets. The baskets are of various sizes depending upon the needs.

Besides baskets these aboriginals make mats as well. In this respect especially the Muria community is proficient

Around Kondagaon a type of grass, namely 'Botha' is found in large quantity and this is utilised for making mats. These are also usually made by female members of the family. The mats are of different sizes and very durable. They supply one of the most elementary needs of the people and are mostly used for squatting and sleeping purposes. The product itself is very crude and has hardly any artistic decoration associated with it.

As the profits which the Murias make from basket and mat making are not large, this craft does not substantially better their economic position. The simple reason is that the demand is very little for them outside of their own communities. In Sunday markets hardly a stall or two will be found selling these mats or baskets, so little is the trade in them.

Carpentry : This occupation is so common in all villages that every cultivator is a carpenter. Usually nobody purchases the implements required for the agricultural purposes. Besides the agricultural implements, carts also are made by them. Usually males do most of the works of carpentry, including bringing the wood from the jungles. In Lanjoda, Masora, Baniyagaon and a few other places there are some carpenters by profession who depend solely on this craft. Comparatively the number of such people is very small. These people are mostly Raut by caste which is supposed to be the highest caste in Bastar. As is said above the people have little or no work from March to June and in this leisure period they busy themselves in making new implements or repairing works. Wood for such purposes can be had freely from the Nistari jungles.

Poultry Farming : This again is an adjunct to the rural economy which is

thriving in every Muria family and some of the families of other Tribes. It would be a great assistance to the well-being of tribal farming if a small poultry unit were attached or established in the villages for raising pure stock, in which case an actual small scale poultry industry would soon take on a healthy shape and would better the economic status of the villager.

In comparison with other farm livestock the improvement in poultry can be effected quicker and the results are consequently more impressive.

Liquor Industry : To every villager here liquor-drinking is both a duty and a pleasure. Mahua liquor drinking is a duty because it must be offered to the gods at all festivals, at the birth of the child, at the naming of the child, at marriages and even at funerals. Thus it is a part of the life of the people. And this is the reason why the drinking of liquor is very common in every village. Many villagers consider this liquor as a part of their food.

Mahua tree is very common in the jungle here and this provides flowers from the pulpy part of which liquor is made. When the same fruit fully develops, it is named 'Tora' in the local language, and crushed to get oil which is used for all purposes. Therefore it is a dual purpose tree, and is greatly valued as a consequence.

Aboriginals here recognize the danger of drinking to excess. They have an adage amongst them which says 'Liquor is dangerous, even a wise woman falls through drinking'. Nevertheless many of them find it irresistible and they would sell anything to get it. For this reason and on account of the isolated nature of the country and its villages, prohibition could

not be enforced in these tribal areas. Excessive drunkenness, therefore, can only be reduced by a process of education.

In law, of course, home distillation is forbidden and the privilege of manufacture and sale of the spirit is sold to contractors in open auction by the Government. Nevertheless, we are reliably informed that home distillation of spirits as well as home brewing does take place, to such an extent that no excise service would be able to control it.

At Kondagaon there is one distillery where the production of the liquor from Mahua alone, on the commercial line is carried on. From here the supply of the liquor is made to their distributing agencies in different villages. Two kinds of spirits are manufactured from Mahua in this distillery. One is 'Phuli' and the other, is 'Rasi'. The difference between these two spirits lies in their alcoholic strengths. Here 'Rasi' is sold at strengths of 40° to 60° u.p. and 'Phuli' of 10° to 30° u.p.

Some of the Murias sometimes make what is called 'Surem', a concoction of Mahua flowers which have been boiled in water again and again, sometimes with slices of mango added.

Another type of liquor which is brewed in some Muria families is that from the mixture of kosra or rice and mandia. The rice is first soaked in water, then dried and ground in an ordinary hand-mill. The resulting flour is mixed with hot water into a paste. A woman places a large earthenware pot full of boiling water on the fire and fixes an inverted conical basket (called the jib) over its mouth. She fills this with the paste and steams it for about a quarter of an hour and then puts it aside.

The mandia grain would first be soaked in water, set aside for two or three days till it has sprouted and then dried and ground. The woman pours some of it into a very large pot, puts the rice paste above it, and adds more mandia flour in the proportion of one part of Mandia to two of rice. She then fills the pot up with cold water and puts it aside in a corner of the room. Here it stands for five or six days, when it is seen to be obviously fermenting and there is a bitter smell, they know it is ready.

The Muria do not use this intoxicant for ritual purposes. It is generally regarded as a sort of supplementary drink to be used when the supply of Mahua spirit is insufficient.

Another very popular drink is the juice of the sago-palm (*Caryota urens*). This tree is known as Salphi rukh in Halbi. It is widely distributed over the greater part of the State. It is an erect monoecious tree, with axillary spadices, which sometimes grow to the height of sixty or seventy feet. The aboriginals here regard these trees primarily as a source of liquor called 'Salphi' or toddy. The method of extraction of the juice is very simple. The ends of the flowering spadices are cut and hollow bamboos or earthen pots are fixed where they can catch the flow of sap. It is not considered good to drink it when it is too sweet, as it has a laxative effect. For this reason a little of the old juice is always left in the pot to ferment it.

Oil Crushing Industry : This industry has a large field for its development. Here every villager collects the mahua fruits, called Tora, to extract its oil. Unlike the practice in other parts of India the seeds are crushed in a very primitive fashion. They apply pressure by means

of huge boulders to crush the seeds. Owing to the primitive methods the quantity obtained is not even 10 percent of the weight of the seed, while the quality of the oil is less than it should be owing to the same reasons. In addition mustard is cultivated in good quantity and is used for edible purposes. Though the *til* cultivation is not carried on here, it can very well flourish in the present climatic conditions and it can be used for the extraction of the oil. There is a very great scope in this region for the introduction of Ghanies worked by bullocks. (Ghanis are the oil crushers used all over India).

Hand pounding of rice : In this region 95% of the population consumes rice as a staple food. And so the hand-pounding industry has a very great significance of its own. In fact, in other parts of Madhya Pradesh with the advent of rice mills, this cottage industry has almost disappeared, but this aboriginal tract has yet to face the onslaught of mechanisation. Around Kondagaon all rice is processed by hand pounding by the men and women in every family.

Fishing : The tribal folks here are not professional fishermen, but if they live near a river or a tank they naturally make every effort to supplement their diet by catching the fish. They distinguish a dozen type of fish. Among them the bodmin, sipa, dandai, nari, bote, dundum, luwe and bagum are important. The gall bladder of the bagum variety is regarded as an important remedy for snake bite.

The fishing apparatus is of the usual type. They use a hook and line suspended from a bamboo rod; the hook is baited with flies and worms. Nets are also used. They are all made by themselves.

The different kinds of nets are the changori tangra, jhorli and sarka. The traps made from bamboos and hemp are also used for fishing.

In a diet which consists largely of rice, fish is said to be necessary to balance the deficiency. Therefore, this industry has a definite place in the life of the people.

Scope and suggestion : In going from village to village in the area of Kondagaon we see a great diversity in the position of the crafts-men and an even greater variety in what could be considered their prospects of work. In trying to establish some coordinates and for clearer understanding we find that essentially, the situation of the craftsmen in each village is determined by the interplay of four factors :—

1. General level of prosperity and poverty in the village.
2. The amount of cultural contact which they have had with more progressive people.
3. The extent of the use by the villagers of outside products and services in competition with local craftsmen, and the tempo of such trend.
4. Opportunities for new type of work in the village and for its sale outside the village.

These factors if properly evaluated can tell us the scope and the prospects in this region where all the resources and raw materials are easily available for the proper development of these crafts. There are vast, thick and still untouched forests quite at hand for the introduction of other cottage industries, such as lac collecting, furniture making, bidi manufacturing and tanning.

This being a virgin tract, development of the old industries on improved lines and introduction of new cottage indus-

tries can be very easily done by the Government if properly trained persons are employed for the task.

The following illustrations could further clarify the author's view-point.

Blacksmiths : In the long run the best prospects of work still lie ahead for these people because of (i) the rich iron ores which are present here in unlimited quantities (ii) the fact that they have a capacity for hard work (iii) the facilities for training of the younger generations of the blacksmith families for making fine articles, which may be undertaken. This would give good opportunities for the development of the craft.

Carpenters : These do not have to fear from outside industrial competition. This is due to the fact that timber, teak, saja and other wood is available at any time and in any quantity. Here again a little training and education of the villagers would create in them great skill and an improved standard for housing demands and bring about a growing use of simple furniture.

The position is similar for most of the other crafts in these villages. As already pointed out there is also a vast ground for introducing new cottage industries here. For example, the bidi industry can very well thrive here because leaves of the tendu (which are required for this trade) are available in great quantity near Bhanpuri, a place 22 miles from Kondagaon. Then again, tobacco is easily cultivated in the geographical conditions prevailing in the region. Tanning is another industry which can thrive here if proper care is taken of the cattle. Most of the cattle are lanky and underfed and very few of them are used for dairy purposes. All the aboriginals eat their

meat. If they are made to realise the importance of cattle then there is scope for the development of dairying and along with it tanning. The production should have a great demand from outside. But this can be done only if the guidance and supervision is given by our Government.

Agriculture or bee-keeping also, could very easily be introduced. Honey is very much relished by the Muria. Often these people go out hunting for the wild bees nests in the jungle. They usually collect the honey in bamboo tubes. The Muria's interest in honey-gathering is indicated by their number of riddles about honey. Investigations at places like Chipawand, Bafna, Jugani, Lanjoda, Shampur and Kerawahi have shown that all different varieties of honey-bees exist here. The Murias themselves distinguish 4 different kinds of bees, the Bagh Ondar, which live on big trees; the Sataru Ondar; the small Kitka Ondar and the Lokti Ondar. It is said that the hives of the Bagh and Sataru Ondar are discovered when they go according to their habit to get water from a trickling stream. Honey is available all the year round. It is a very strong belief amongst the aboriginals that the regular use of honey ensures longevity (a belief which is world wide in extent) and this may be true as honey has a very high nutritive value, specially in connection with metabolism. It is high in vitamins of the B group.

Another valuable cottage industry which has a great scope is paper industry. Paper is made from wood-pulp and suitable varieties of wood are available in the jungle. The plans might well be drawn up on the basis of the methods adopted by Akhil Bharat Sarwa Sewa Sangh, Maganvadi, Wardha.

Experience elsewhere has shown that

once certain industries are established, others follow, such as toy and furniture making etc. All the resources are there both of raw materials and manpower. Though the people are very backward and superstitious, it is felt that if a proper approach were made to them it would create confidence on the basis of which they could be educated to develop the existing industries and welcome the new ones. For this there will be a requirement for effective assistance in whatever crafts they take up.

The requirements are :—

1. Periodical appraisal of the problems of the individual craftsman against the existing and changing background of the village.

2. The finding of qualified advisers to train them.

Now, this can best be done (in the writer's submission) if a type of "Co-operative Society" manned by efficient, trained and enthusiastic personnel were established in different village centres. The primary purpose of this society would be to provide the necessary incentives and help the existing cottage industries to improve their technique and production. This organization should also undertake marketing on behalf of the craftsman. This would obviously allay the fear of the craftsman who is otherwise apprehensive of being unable to sell his articles on his own and so would be reluctant to lock up his meagre investments in unsold stocks.

The detailed plans to develop cottage industries should be made by people who have close association not only with the problems of this area but knowledge of the difficulties to be experienced and the resources that would be made available through local co-operation.

TRIBAL ECONOMY (Land & Agriculture)

SHRI L. N. SAHU & SHRI R. K. SAHU.

No longer should the hill tribes be left to the tender mercies of nature to grow or decay as they choose. Land and agricultural improvement should be made immediately. Compost making should be introduced in tribal areas. Podu cultivation should be stopped immediately. This is harmful from the stand-point of agriculture, afforestation and rainfall. Podu cultivation is current in the interior parts of Koraput district in Orissa. Workers should be sent in large numbers to persuade the hill tribes to realise the injurious effect of the Podu cultivation. Attempts to eradicate this practice should also be made on governmental level.

The per capita income of the families of the hill tribes is Rs. 24/- approximately per annum in the Koraput district, where as the per capita (1942) average income of an Indian is Rs. 82/- per head annually (1942). Thus in comparison with the average income of an Indian, the average income of an aboriginal is very low. "It is almost a quarter of the average income of an Indian which means that the poor aboriginals of the Koraput district lead a life four times as poor, dreary and devoid of comforts as is led by an average Indian".*

Therefore, Orissa Government must come forward to bring better change in the lives of poor hill tribes. Otherwise, like the proverbial old woman perched on the shoulders of Sindbad the Sailor the hill tribes of Orissa will act as a dead-weight against Orissa's progress. All kinds of amenities of life should be supplied to the aboriginal people who form about 25 per cent of the population of the entire state.

Grain golas should be established to avert famine conditions. In this respect it can be mentioned that some amount of satisfactory work has been done. Canals and dams should be constructed. The most important step to be taken is to save the tribal people from the profiteers' hands. Any casual visitor to the Koraput district will find out how people of the jungle are being exploited mercilessly at the hand of trader class people who are cleverer. They simply suck the blood of tribal people. Agricultural products and other forest products are bought at nominal prices by these cruel profiteers. They have in their advantage the power of expression in the tribal language and by the clever art of persuasion many saleable commodities are procured and are sold in big towns at high prices. Ivory, ghee, fruits, valuable wood, oil seeds and such other things are bought at very cheap prices. Very little appreciative work yet has been done on the governmental level. Hill people rarely come down from their heights to visit nearby towns. Merely to get salt and oil occasionally they come. In exchange of a little salt or a little kerosene oil or clothes, they give away their valuable jungle products. Even now, this practice is going on in full swing. Workers should be deputed to save these people from this economic exploitation. The next great problem which demands immediate solution is to free these tribal people from debt. They do not realise the value of physical labour or limit of labour. They have no realisation of the value of time or passage of time. They hardly know the passage of week after week, month after month. For a nominal

* The Hill Tribes of Jeypore, p. 127.

given a share in cultivation. In the district of Koraput a large number of villages have donated all their lands in the Bhoodan Movement. Nowhere in India such an unique thing has taken place. Co-operative farming can be taught in those villages.

The aboriginal areas are infested by wild animals. Therefore the aboriginals should be provided with guns in order to ward off the wild animals such as elephants, boars, bears etc. that devastate and uproot the growing crops. This is a very great necessity which the Government should take note of without delay. During the last war, many of the aboriginals had to deposit their guns with the Government and when the war was over an agitation was made for getting back the guns by the aboriginals, they were no doubt returned but most of the guns were rusted and so became useless for further use. It is the duty of the Government to aid the aborigines freely with guns, otherwise economic betterment of the aboriginals would not be easy.

In order to reestablish the old tribal economy and in order to develop it two things are necessary. First the tribal people generally were wedded to drink and they are wedded to drink even now. But they have to waste much money over drink now which they had not to do in the past. Formerly the aboriginals were taking the juice of trees such as Salapa. It acted as a food also. But now they have been deprived from drinking salapa. They have to purchase the distilled liquor from the Government and that costs much to the aboriginals. It disturbs their economy. Not only that, their normal life is also degraded thereby. The Salapa drink makes the aboriginals tipsy but the distilled liquor in its concentrated form very

often upsets the people and they whenever drunk beat their wives and children in their frenzy. Therefore distilled liquor should be removed from their areas and they should be allowed to have their own salapa drink. If the Government want, they can control it by the number of Salapa trees that they would allow to the aboriginals. The second is that in order to improve their economy better fields should be given to them for agriculture. At present the lands that they had have passed into the hands of rich people, the money-lenders, the Banias, the lawyers and several others.

Co-operative farming would be easy in the case of aboriginals. Only there should be a guide at the top to see the work of the aboriginals and transport the products through co-operative channels so that the aboriginals may not be looted by clever people.

As regards handicrafts which would give them some additional income, it may also be done through co-operative societies. The aboriginals may be organised on a co-operative basis and various kinds of handicrafts may be received from them for sale by a common depot.

What is really needed is that there should be a man at every stage of their life to guide them. Therefore the Government through its machinery has to do it. Or it may give help to non-official organisations that would come forward to carry on such work. In any case the progress will be slow. But let it be steady; for instance if the aboriginal children are now learning the three R, s. let them not lapse into illiteracy by their not getting further help for going up. The whole thing hinges on more intimate and sympathetic co-operation between the aborigines and the organisations that work for them.

SECTION IV
PAPERS RELATING TO
Land & Agriculture

LAND AND CULTIVATION IN CHOTANAGPUR AND SANTHAL PARGANAS

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1. Physical Aspects. The Chotanagpur plateau forms the southern region of Bihar and comprises 6 districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau, Ranchi, Singhbhum, Manbhum, and Dhanbad. It consists of hills and jungles which extend to the hilly regions of Central India. There are numerous peaks in certain districts and the configuration of the plateau is confused, nevertheless, in its main features, it resolves into a series of ranges running in every direction. The intervening valleys contain most of the cultivation. All the rivers have the general characteristics of hill bed streams. Their beds are almost dry during the hot weather. The plateau contains extensive jungles scattered all over the face of it. The district of Santhal Parganas is an upland tract with a hilly backbone running from north to south. The district may be divided into three parts *viz.* the hilly portion which covers about three eighths of the entire area, the rolling country covering half of it, and the flat country which occupies the remainder. The area of Chotanagpur is 27,600 Sq. miles or say 1,75,07,000 acres. Santhal Parganas is 5459 sq. miles in area.

2. Classification of Soil. The soils in Chotanagpur are mainly red which are under the process of laterization. Due to undulating nature of the land, they are mostly eroded soils, acidic in nature and practically devoid of humus content. They are very deficient in plant nutrients and are unretentive of moisture. How-

ever, the soils in valleys are heavy and very fertile. In Santhal Parganas, we come across different types of soils. A heavy black soil which is a sticky clay becomes very hard when dry and is poor in quality producing only lesser millets and coarser grains. It improves however after having been under cultivation for some time when it turns into a good paddy land. There is a black clay soil which though hard when dry is friable. It is on the whole very fertile and is chiefly used for growing paddy. A clay loam or the sand soils are useless for agriculture. A reddish sandy clay found on the banks of the hill streams produces paddy under irrigation. Saline soil in Santhal Parganas are unfit for agricultural purposes.

3. Agriculture—kind and process. The whole of Chotanagpur with its beautiful configuration of hills and jungles is inhabited by the tribal people. Struggle for existence led to deforestation of the valleys for growing food crops. Population increased with the march of time. More and more people came to the plateau from adjoining areas and settled there. With the increase of population, more and more lands were brought under cultivation with the result that the tracts were exposed to torrential rains which removed most of the rich top soil. Rain water rushed down the steep slopes quickly causing severe erosion and formation of ravines. The uplands near the foot of the hills could not retain water

for long and used to go dry. People took to terraced cultivation in such areas which produced good results.

The agricultural land in Chotanagpur can be broadly divided into three classes viz. (a) low lands in the valleys, (b) midlands on the slopes of hills and valley sides which are terraced and on which only one crop during the monsoon is taken and (c) uplands which are poor soils. In Santhal Parganas, in the level strip of land along the Ganga, agricultural conditions are the same as in the alluvial plains of Bihar. The crests or ridges are very poor. Before I proceed to describe agriculture in these areas, it would be necessary to give some ideas about the domestic environments of the tribal people who are engaged in cultivation of the above lands.

In a village, attached to a comparatively well to-do Adivasi's house there is generally a plot of Bari land in which a few kitchen vegetables are grown. Just outside the cluster of houses or what are called Basti, there are plots of uplands of the same level as Basti. The soil of the lands in the vicinity of a village where the surface is fairly level, the soil is rich in organic matter derived from village refuse of all kinds, besides being artificially manured, and supports crops such as maize, mustard and other pulses. The Adivasis who are able to dig wells grow vegetables also in these lands.

Beyond these lands and further away from the village, come stretches of uplands with their sides sloping down into a depression. In this depression, are the best paddy fields of the village. The sides of the slopes are cut into terraces which present the appearance of steps varying from one to five feet in height. Here I would like to describe the process

of reclamation in the words of Sir Macpherson, "The Santhal is a born reclainer. He has an eye which is expert to take inequalities that exist in the surface of the country. He knows where to throw his cross bands and where to make his terraces. He loves to clear jungle and in areas that are now almost Hindu, he has often been the pioneer. In the areas left to him beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and consequences of his folly by a paternal Government and has settled down with intent to stay and continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the older areas from which he moved on at an earlier date he seems to have done the first cutting of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilised Bihari, Bengali and up country immigrants came to his heels, pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery and seized upon his improvements..... In many villages, one finds magnificent reservoirs which retain the supply of water throughout the driest years. They have been often begun by the Santhals and finished by others".

The low lands are rice lands and classified as first class—Aval. They are protected by their natural situation, springs or by numerous small embankments which the raiyats throw across the dips and hollows. The best of the first class rice lands are those which are fed by perennial springs from which moisture oozes even in the hottest months of the year. Midlands called second class—Doem—consist of rice fields on the smaller undulations and the lower terraced fields on the slopes. Each step acts as a shallow reservoir for the step below the higher to the lower levels. The uplands

or the third class-Soem consist of higher terraced fields which have been cut from the slopes and have only small ridges to retain rain water.

The uplands generally require manuring every year and most of the low lands generally at an interval of two to three years. The rice fields are generally manured in March and April. Lumps of decomposed or burnt cow dungs are first distributed over the fields and then are spread out by the spade or lightly covered over with earth by ploughing the land. There are two processes of growing rice in low lands *viz.* broadcast sowing and transplantation. Between April and June as soon as a few heavy showers of rain have fallen, the land is prepared for sowing by ploughing it up and again, breaking clods of earth and by pulverising the soil with harrow. Then the Adivasi sows the seeds broadcast. The soil is then lightly turned up with one or more ploughs. Finally the earth is again pressed down with the harrow and the seeds are thus buried up. In the case of transplantation, paddy seedlings grown in nurseries are taken into bundles to fields reserved for transplantation. A field which has been ploughed already is once again ploughed and harrowed so as to mix up soil and water into a uniform consistence. Adivasi men and women transplant seedlings each one making small holes in the mud with fingers at intervals of 6 to 9 inches and planting a few seedlings in each hole. The principal food crop in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas is rice which is usually grown on more than 60 percent of the total cultivated lands. Next in importance is a kind of millet called Gondli. Another millet known as Marua is also grown. Gondli and Marua form the chief food of

the poorer Adivasis for about two months in the year.

Fortunately, jhuming or shifting cultivation has not been a problem now-a-days in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. In a small scale it was practised in the past in Ranchi district in the hilly parts of Tamar and Sonahatu Thanas and in portion of Bishunpur, Chainpur and Simdega Thanas. The Kharias, a wandering tribe in Singhbhum district are accustomed to shifting cultivation. The Government of Bihar have formulated a comprehensive scheme to settle the Kharias on agriculture in the plains in order to win over them from the obnoxious practice of shifting cultivation which is extremely detrimental to the forest wealth.

The total area of Chotanagpur has been worked out into 1,75,07,000 acres out of which cultivable area is 54,38,000 acres as in 1953-54. It is estimated that an average holding is less than an acre while the subsistence holding cannot be determined below 5 acres under wet cultivation and 15 to 18 acres of uplands.

4. Irrigation: Ordinarily, the tribal people in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas do not practise artificial irrigation. But some well-to-do people who grow vegetables etc. on their Bari lands dig wells to irrigate them. The water is drawn from the well with the help of latha Khunta which is worked by a sort of lever arrangement. The water thus drawn is poured into shallow drains made on the ground or on a wooden canoe from which it passes into drains. In a very few villages one meets with reservoirs in which rain water has been stored by well-to-do agriculturists by raising embankments or bunds at their own cost and labour.

The irrigation works generally take the form of an embankment constructed across ravines, hollows or other natural depressions or at the head of numerous valleys which impound the drainage water and also dam up any stream there may be in the bed of a valley or ravine. Thus they form reservoirs from which rice fields stretching away each on a lower level than another and widening as they recede from the dam are irrigated. These embankments if they are small dry up after a month or two after the rains cease.

The main source of irrigation is rain water. The area under artificial irrigation is only 14 percent of the area under the plough. The area served by different means of irrigation in Chotanagpur is given below :-

Tank	950 Sq. miles	i.e. 12.3%	of the cultivated land.
Private canals	59.4 Sq. miles	i.e. 0.77%	of the cultivated land.
Govt. canals	22.0 Sq. miles	i.e. 0.3%	of the cultivated land.
Other means	62.5 Sq. miles	i.e. 0.83%	of the cultivated land.
Total		14.20%	of the cultivated land.

It is thus seen that the area under tank irrigation is itself about 87% of the total area under irrigation, the rest being negligible. The Government of Bihar thought persistently over these problems and made a beginning for providing irrigational facilities at the time of Grow More Food Campaign. Irrigation Schemes have been divided into three classes according to the size and expenditure involved namely, minor, medium and major schemes, details of which are as follows.

Minor Irrigation Works :-The scheme provides construction of small bandhs and

Ahars etc. for storage of rain water for irrigational purposes. Each scheme usually costs not more than Rs. 5,000/- which the Deputy Commissioner is authorised to sanction. There is a small committee of officials and non-officials which recommend to the Deputy Commissioner for selection of places where such minor irrigation works may be undertaken. At present the scheme is being executed by the Revenue Department under the supervision of the District Aboriginal Welfare Officers and Thana Welfare Officers. The Scheduled Tribe beneficiaries under the scheme have to contribute 50% of the cost with effect from 1952-1953, the remaining 50% being the responsibility of the State. The total expenditure on the minor irrigation schemes in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas is Rs. 63,46,153/- for three years from 1951-52 to 1953-54. The number of schemes completed exceeds four thousand. As the scheme is meant for the welfare of the Adibasis, it is approved by the Government of India for the purpose of grant-in-aid under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution. Details of the scheme will be discussed in next paras.

Medium Irrigation Scheme:-The scheme is executed by the Agriculture Department. During the year 1953-54, 16 medium irrigation schemes were taken up for execution in Chotanagpur out of which 8 schemes have been completed as against 12 in the previous year. 8 medium schemes were under progress at the close of the year.

Major Irrigation Scheme :-The scheme is executed by the Chotanagpur Water-Ways Division which has been created in the year 1947. During the span of eight years, this Division has completed seven schemes at a total cost of Rs. 10,56,533/- benefitting an area of 8021 acres. Nine different schemes at a total cost of

Rs. 50,17,315/- are under execution which will bring 30,300 acres under assured irrigation. Twelve schemes have been surveyed in detail and submitted to the Government for sanction at a cost of Rs. 1,04,62,014/- which will bring another area of 31,331 acres under irrigation. Besides twenty three schemes at a rough estimated cost of Rs. 1,08,50,271/- for irrigating 62,925 acres are under preparation, leaving 1222 schemes under investigation. Thus it may be summarised that having completed 51 schemes at a cost of Rs. 2,74,000,00/- by the end of 1960 an additional area of 1,33,000 acres will come under irrigation increasing the percentage of irrigated area from 14 to 17 excluding the percentage of the area that will come under irrigation later on by executing several feasible schemes out of 122 under investigation.

5. Agricultural Improvement.

Experimental farms:-As said above, agriculture in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas is still in primitive form. There is a good scope for its improvement. The Government of Bihar pay a greater attention to effect improvement in agriculture so that the standard of living of the people in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas may be raised. To study the agricultural problems and to demonstrate established results under local conditions, five experimental farms have been established in Chotanagpur. The experimental farm at Kanke is the Central farm. It is constantly engaged in conducting researches for agricultural development. It is carrying on experiments on the main agricultural problems and conducting trials on crops like paddy, maize, sugarcane, wheat and gram etc. Besides this it multiplies and produces pure strains of improved seeds for distribution and

multiplication amongst the cultivators. In addition it is also engaged in dairy farming and maintains a herd consisting of pure Sahival and Tharparkar breeds. The other farms also continue experiments and researches to find out suitable varieties of different crops under Chotanagpur conditions. Besides these, irrigational trials were conducted suiting this region.

Demonstrations:-Demonstrations were conducted in Chotanagpur in respect of improved implements, seeds of paddy, Jaunpur maize, Rahar, wheat N. P. 52, Napier grass and green manure in cultivators' lands. In all 546 demonstrations were conducted, 10 in Ranchi, 113 in Hazaribagh, 174 in Manbhum, 46 in Palamau, 162 in Singhbhum districts respectively in 1953-54. Demonstrations were given in compost making also and it was shown how usefully, the sweeping from the house and cattle shed and the refuse from the fields could be turned into manure and returned to soil for better yields. These demonstrations are proving their worth as is apparent from the demand of improved implements, seeds, manures which is ever on the increase.

Exhibition and Shows:-During the year 1953-54, officials of the Agricultural Department in Chotanagpur organised several exhibitions and shows in order to bring home to the Adivasi agriculturists the achievements of the experimental farms in respect of improvement in agriculture. The total number of such exhibitions and shows is 32 of which 10 were in Ranchi, 2 in Hazaribagh, 5 in Palamau, 7 in Manbhum and 8 Singhbhum.

Seed distribution:-During the year 1953-54, 2207 mds. 32 seers 13 ch. seeds of improved varieties were distributed to cultivators in Chotanagpur. Again

31,78,566 seedlings of various kinds of vegetables and 20 mds. 36 seers and 2 ch. of vegetable seeds of various hot and cold weather vegetables were sold.

Sale of fertilisers :-The sale of fertilisers is done by the Credit Agricole Depots. In all 236 tons of Bone meal, 115.5 tons of Super Phosphate, 1451 tons of Ammonium Sulphate and 1503 mds. of oil cakes were sold. The above figures will indicate that the Adivasis are slowly getting fertilizer minded.

Crop Competition :-In all 1834 entries in crop competition were received during 1953-54. The competition was held in respect of paddy (1455), wheat (160), Gram (77), Potato (30) and maize (112). The crop competition has given an incentive to the cultivators to increase the agricultural yield by adequate irrigation, use of improved seeds, and adopting improved methods of cultivation and proper manuring. Eleven persons received prizes of Rs. 100/- each for the highest yield in paddy and three persons received the prizes of the same value for the highest yield in wheat.

Intensive Cultivation Blocks :-The grow more food activities continued with greater intensity in the intensive cultivation blocks in 1953-54. There are 29 such blocks in Chotanagpur of which 6 are in Ranchi, 5 in Hazaribagh, 6 in Palamau, 5 in Singhbhum and 7 in Manbhum. Santhal Parganas has about 12 such intensive cultivation blocks.

Plant Protection Scheme :-The Plant protection unit advised and successfully controlled at many places the attack of Gall Fly, rui hispa, Dakhuri disease, Hairy

caterpillar, Mango hopper, white ants in cultivated fields. The unit took part in exhibitions and shows and availed of the opportunity for demonstrating the use of machinery and imparted the knowledge for the control of various diseases and pests common in Chotanagpur.

6. Tenancy Laws :

The Tenancy Laws both in Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargans have played a very important part in the life of the Adivasis and their interests in land. Before the advent of Britishers and even after that there was a Mundari system of village Government prevalent in Chotanagpur. The original founders of the village who reclaimed land from jungle derived interests in the same which descended in the male line. In the original system, the Munda is only a village official and in no way superior to the other Mundari Khuntkattidars in the village, and the Manki in historical times has never been more than a forwarding agent who passed the quit rents of the villages in his area on to the superior. The Mundari Khuntkattidars jointly exercise all rights in uncultivated land and jungles and pay subscriptions to the landlord. It was noticed at the time of the land settlement in Ranchi district that the Mundari system had been driven back into the wilder hills and only survived in Tamar and Khunti Thanas. It is the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 that has helped the preservation of the Mundari-Khuntkatti holdings. The act provided that no Mundari Khuntkattidari tenancy or portion thereof shall be transferable by sale or otherwise of course with some exceptions. Again where a Mundari

Khuntkattidari tenancy is held by a group of Mundari Khuntkattidars, no bhugat bhandha mortgage or mukarraai lease of the tenancy shall be valid unless it is made with the consent of all the Mundari-Khuntkattidars.

Besides Mundari-Khuntkatti lands, there are a number of other special aboriginal tenures in Chotanagpur. They can be divided into two classes; firstly lands which are really the ancestral holdings of the descendents of the aboriginal clearers of the villages, and secondly, lands which are service lands. A Bhuihar cannot legally transfer his land except by a mortgage or lease not exceeding 5 years, or by a Bhugat bhandha not exceeding 7 years. He is allowed to transfer in rare cases with the written consent of the Deputy Commissioner. In Bhuihari holdings, the provisions of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act have worked tolerably well.

Over and above the Mundari Khuntkatti or Bhuihari Tenures, there are raiyati tenures in Chotanagpur. The word 'raiyyat' is used as a general term to describe persons who are actual cultivators. Every raiyyat who has before the commencement of the Act by local custom a right of occupancy in any land shall have a right of occupancy in that land, even though he may not have cultivated or held the land for a period of 12 years. Occupancy rights in land on produce rent however do not accrue to a resident raiyyat until he has fulfilled the criterion of 12 years possession. A non-occupancy raiyyat when admitted to occupation of land becomes liable to pay rent as agreed between himself and the landlord.

The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act has not been a qualified success. One of the chief objects with which the Act was passed in 1908 was the protection of the more backward aboriginal classes of tenants. As far as professional money lenders are concerned, the Act has to some extent achieved its purpose. But there has been a tremendous increase of money lending amongst the raiyyats themselves and the Act has proved quite incapable of damping the flood of transfers. Leases, exchanges or gifts made between raiyyats have also been little reduced. The chief success of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act is that it has undoubtedly given the raiyyats a security of tenure as against their landlords greater than they had previously.

The Santhal Parganas was governed under various Regulations which were passed from time to time for the peace and good Government of the district. The practice of transfer of lands sprung up soon after the conclusion of Mr. Wood's settlement which gave the raiyyats stability of tenure and fixity of rents. The result was that occupancy rights became valuable and the village usurer was not slow to see that there lay a ready means of circumventing the usury laws. As cultivation extended, non-Santhal immigrants induced the Santhals to sell some of their surplus lands. They thus gradually extended their holdings and finally secured the best lands in villages by executing mortgages from improvident Santhals in return of loans. Fortunately, the prohibition on transfers was imposed by the enactment of Regulation III of 1908 by which a new section 27 to the above effect was added to Regulation III

of 1872. All such Regulations were later on embodied in the Santhal Parganas Tenancy Act.

7. Grant-in-aid from the Government of India for welfare schemes under the head—Agriculture.

The Government of India have approved certain welfare schemes for Scheduled

Tribes for the purpose of grant-in-aid under Article 275 (1) some of which relate to the development of agriculture. Some of the schemes are given below with necessary details.

Minor Irrigation Works:—The Scheme has been described earlier. It received grant-in-aid as follows during the past years.

Year	Total expenditure incurred	Grant-in-aid received	Physical targets
1951-52	Rs. 36,67,183/-	Rs. 10,00,000/-	2438 Works completed
1952-53	Rs. 16,85,743/-	Rs. 3,71,500/-	1501 Works completed
1953-54	Rs. 9,83,227/-	Rs. 3,71,500/-	not available
1954-55	Not available	Rs. 4,00,000/-	-do-
Total	Rs. 63,36,153/-	Rs. 21,43,000/-	

I have seen some of the minor irrigation works, a large number of which can be said to be a failure, because irrigation in any form is not possible from them. The Adivasis whom I met in Chotanagpur have had to express dissatisfaction at these minor irrigation works. In my view, the Adivasis for whose benefit the works are meant should be consulted and their view should be given due consideration in the matter of undertaking the same and selection of sites. They should be associated with the schemes which should also be executed through them as far as possible.

Graingolas :—Economic exploitation of the Adivasis by money lenders and grain dealers who usually charge interest at exorbitant rates was a serious problem. It was hardly possible for the poor

Adivasis to free themselves from the clutches of these usurers. To combat this evil, the scheme of opening graingolas was taken up. The scheme of graingolas is considered a unique scheme of the Government of Bihar for the welfare of the Adivasis. It has its own history behind it. The idea of starting graingolas for the benefit of the Damin raiyats first occurred to Mr. C. H. Bompas who was Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Parganas from 1900 to 1906. He got 7 graingolas in the Dumka Damin and 3 graingolas in the Godda Damin constructed at a cost of Rs. 1,16,000/- sanctioned by the Government. Grains stocked in these golas are lent out for seed as well as for consumption in times of scarcity and recovered at the next harvest with 25% interest.

The scheme is approved by the

Government of India who sanctioned grant-in-aid for the purpose as follows :—

Year	Total expenditure	Grant-in-aid received	Physical targets
1951-52	Rs.2,59,443/-	Rs.1,05,304/-	29 graingolas were opened
1952-53	Rs.1,79,630/-	Rs.1,58,000/-	238 graingolas maintained
1953-54	Rs.4,15,703/-	Rs. 60,000/-	251 Grain golas maintained
1954-55	Not available	Rs. 60,000/-	-do-

Settlement of Kharias:— In order to win over Kharias in Singhbhum District from shifting cultivation, a scheme has been formulated to settle them on plains. The important feature of the scheme is that each family gets 2 acres of land for

cultivation and .5 acre for homestead and Bari free of cost. Free supply of agricultural implements, bullocks, seeds etc. is also made. The scheme is approved by the Government of India for grant-in-aid. Amounts sanctioned by the Centre against the scheme are as follows.—

Year	Total expenditure	Grant-in aid sanctioned	Physical targets
1952-53	Rs.49,032/-	Not available separately	50 families settled.
1953-54	Rs.32,919/-	Rs.31,720/-	60 families settled
1954-55	Not available	Rs.47,000/-	100 families to be settled.

It is reported that the scheme is progressing well. A similar scheme for Santhal Parganas has also been formulated recently to bring down Paharias from hill tops to plains so as to make them settled agriculturists.

8. General Remarks.

Of the many evils that persists in the rural areas, in which Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas are not free, is the extent of unemployment, under employment and under production. It is necessary to recognise that a higher level of agricultural production cannot be maintained unless there is an incentive to the villagers to work more and grow more. This incen-

tive can only be in the form of increased amenities of life which are conspicuous by their absence in villages. Conditions are therefore to be created that will induce the villagers to demand and be prepared to pay for essential amenities for life. That effort therefore should be a concerted drive for all-round development with agriculture as the pivot. We have seen the effort made by the Government for the development of agriculture in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas through the experimental farms and irrigation schemes. The Adivasis are growing conscious rapidly about their rights in the free India. Let this

consciousness be exploited in creating the incentive among these people whose vast unutilised energy may be diverted towards improving the amenities available to the commodity as a whole.

Though I am not an expert on the subject, still as a common man, I can say that out of the many important activities of the Department of Agriculture, demonstrations of various improved methods of agriculture on the plots of Adivasis are sure to make them believe in the achievements of the Department. In view of the undulated nature of land in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas, major irrigation works may not solve the problem of irrigation totally. In my

opinion more weight should be given to well irrigation than minor irrigation works as are executed at present in the above regions.

Measures adopted by the Government for the welfare of the Adivasis can be fruitful only when full cooperation of these people is secured. It would be quite wrong to think that the Adivasis quite ignorant of agriculture or irrigation. Let him be associated with every measure that is adopted by the Government in the matter of agricultural improvement. Allow him to express his reaction of the proposed measure and give due weight to his view point. Once he is taken into confidence I am quite hopeful, he can be persuaded to work more and grow more.

LANDS AND AGRICULTURE OF THE ABORIGINALS

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I—The Problem.

No thoughtful person and no lover of the tribes can follow the news about the Aborigines in India without uneasiness and apprehension.

The new franchise of Free India, extending to all Aborigines has thrown a challenge to the tribals as well as to the non-tribals. Twentieth century technology has crashed into the valleys of ancient Stone Age cultures; twentieth century ideas of equality and democracy have had an impact no less profound and only men, devoid of sense, would try to halt the march of the Aborigines.

On the other hand, only in recent years did the bulk of India's intellectuals make a new discovery. For the first

time in history they *realized*, (formerly they only *knew*.) that there exists a Tribal India next to a non-Tribal India. The psychological process of acquaintance and friendship is still going on. They discovered them, the Aborigines, "the negroes of India" the best battalions more numerous than wishful thinkers, family planners or some tampering census officers would like them to be. They found them scattered all over India, but occupying in a special way the forest belt (Jharkhand), stretching from Aryavarta proper to the Deccan sweeping from the Lushai hills up to Karjat Extension Block near Bombay. They found them at various stages of development from Stone Age to Atomic Age. They began to realize that the root problem of the

Aboriginal is the *Agrarian problem*. It centres round the breaking up of ancestral lands, the slow but sure expropriation from the same ancestral fields, the consequent inexorable treck of expropriated Tribes to the proletariates of cities and industrial areas, the absorption of former flourishing and healthy, now disintegrated Aboriginal communities into the lowest strata of neighbouring communities, so well described by Sarat Chandra Roy.

Both Tribal and non-Tribal India have immense contributions to make to united Renascent India without liquidating each other. It is in the fire of India's love that both are called to grow into the living variegated pattern of a great and democratic India. Free India's constitution guaranteed to the Tribes equal rights and equal opportunities. The task of realizing the idea of equality and democracy between the two friends, the Tribals and non-Tribals, is not an easy one and only vested interests will ignore or stifle this problem. All honest social leaders know that the greatest problem of the Aboriginal centres round Land and Agriculture. No use for anthropologists to come and measure his skull. No use for the social worker, to teach the Aboriginal the latest methods of rice plantation, artificial insemination of his cattle, village co-operatives. No use for the politicians to help the Aboriginal with kindness. No use, if he, the Aboriginal has no land left which he can call his own, if he has been or is being reduced to the status of a landless peasant, at most allowed to work for others adbhatai lands, which only recently belonged to his ancestor or to himself.

The Aboriginal resents that social workers come to his villages with all the

possible remedies to all his possible ills, real or imagined, without even mentioning the chief disease of which he suffers viz: past or present expropriation of his lands. The reason for his oversight is that he, the Aboriginal is not consulted or not taken into confidence. The reason for this colossal oversight seems also to be that too many urbanised, unemployed and untrained youths have been drafted in Aboriginal areas even there where the Community Projects or Extension Blocks are situated in full aboriginal areas. He feels he is not trusted.

Last year during an intensive tour of several Community Projects areas, I came to know and to appreciate the record work that Free India is trying to achieve for rural India in general and for Tribal India in particular. Even so the main cause of the Aboriginal's poverty, illiteracy and disintegration seems to be lost sight of by minor officials some of whom are visiting rural India for the first time. The staffs of certain Extension Blocks, even in Aboriginal areas, are untainted by Aboriginal "sikkas" (Tribal mark on the skin of the Aboriginal). Urbanized youths, often untrained, inexperienced, wanting in respect for India's most ancient republics (the villages), are apt to overlook the vital problems of the Aboriginals which is *agrarian*. A few loans, irresponsibly doled out at random, or a few lectures, however stylish, on improved agricultural methods, are not going to satisfy the hunger of the Aboriginals which is first and foremost a land-hunger.

When the social workers of the great schemes of India will be recruited both from Tribal and from non-Tribal ranks, then the Community Projects, the extension blocks, the irrigation schemes

in Aboriginal areas will come into their own and they will start with the *problem of land and agriculture*.

Aboriginals appreciate working shoulder to shoulder and on equal terms with non-Aboriginals, as co-citizens of Free India. Their youths, many of them educated, resent being on-lookers only when their valleys are being opened up and their villages electrified. Aboriginal youths want to be associated in their thousands with India's gigantic effort for achieving freedom from want for all. Aboriginals want to be actors in the great drama and not simply *onlookers*; they want to be given responsibility in gram-panchayats, the community projects, the extension blocks the electrification schemes. In the last war, they did wonderfully well as soldiers, nurses, doctors. In this new war against ill-health and poverty, they want to be equally trusted, nay more trusted than before with responsible posts. They wish to be even more efficient than ever before in the service of their country.

II—Lands.

The main Aboriginal problem round which all the others turn like spokes of a wheel round its axis is the problem of land.

In the past, whole tribes have been expropriated from their lands, as for instance, the Aboriginals of the Karjat area near Bombay. Presently, wherever they are not protected, Aboriginals are losing on a gigantic scale their lands and with the lands, their culture. After he loses his lands, the Aboriginal joins the ranks of the voiceless propertyless proletariat of the industrial areas or he is

enrolled as a member of the scheduled castes and loses his identity for the worst not for the better. The census of 1951 has once again reduced the number of Tribals in India. Actually out of every 1000 Indians 200 belong to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. According to Sarat Chandra Ray both are aboriginals in the wide sense.

The Santhals in Bihar are the most numerous Tribe of the State. Wherever their lands have been properly protected from userers and "mahajans", the Santhals have prospered, are healthy and prolific, are well-to-do successful farmers. Such, on the whole, is the case in Santhal Parganas, since an arrangement was made for them a hundred years ago, after the Santhal revolt, which took place shortly before the first war of independence (the Mutiny). The average Santhal family is of nine members. In Santhal Parganas the Santhal is called Santhal and not Manjhi. By contrast with Santhal Parganas Santhal of the neighbouring districts of Hazaribagh and Monghyr districts are disintegrating; they are starving on un-economic holdings; they are oppressed by landlords and tax collectors as in Hazaribagh district, dispossessed as in Monghyr district where they are hanging on to "adhbatai" rights on lands of which, once upon a time, they were the owners. The average family is only of five members. They call themselves Manjhis. Rent receipts granted or refused, have become once again the gambling dice in the hands of minor officials. The courts are overloaded with cases referring to the agrarian problems of the Aboriginals. Zamindars have surpassed themselves during the last two years in their old records of expropriation by giving double settlement, by writing antedated

"permanas" and by expropriating old bonafide Aboriginal kisans from lands which were made with their sweat and blood.

I do hold that Tribal India is full of proofs that Aborigines stand or fall with their lands. It is not the missionary, but it is the loot of the lands, that has denationalized and isolated the Aborigines and that has chased them into uneconomic holdings in far away forest areas. Land must be restored to the Aborigines on economic holdings worthy of a human standard of living; it must be found if we honestly want the Aborigines to survive and to be integrated in the Indian nation.

In a country of chronic famines, bonafide cultivators are an asset to the State and to the nation. They should be given the tools to enable them not only to survive, but also to help copiously in feeding others. At this critical moment in India's history, when the mildewed framework of the Zamindari system is coming down with a crash, I plead that an early survey be made of waste lands and that the old Bakast lands be permanently settled as ryoti lands with these trained Aboriginal tillers of the soil. They alone can make something out of these lands. Large scale government farming or absentee-farming should be the great exception. The state-drilled farm-hands of a Russian Kolkhoz, or the mechanized large American type of farmsteads, have not got the answer to the problem of rural economy of thickly populated rural India. They will never fit into Free India's economic pattern. Aborigines want to be actors and not merely onlookers when their own valleys and hills are being opened up by the great schemes of the State.

Above all, within or without these great schemes, the Aborigines want to be peasant proprietors. The whole of rural India has cried out against the Zamindari system only in order to become present proprietors. Any other remedy may prove worse than the disease of the Zamindari system. Peasant proprietorship on an economic holding is the dream of every Aboriginal family and of the whole family of Aboriginal races. Government cannot brush aside this ancient ideal as a dream of children. In their dream of peasant proprietorship Aborigines prove themselves to be among the most progressive citizens of India and of the world. Peasant proprietorship has "delivered the goods" better than any other system. It has saved human freedom and human dignity. It has produced the highest yields of food. It can boast of the highest yield of milk within the zones of peasant proprietors in thickly populated parts of the world, as for instance, in my former country, Western Europe. It has made the best of "the human capital" element in all the numerous rural centres of the world. It has saved the Aboriginal races from chronic famines several times during the centuries or at least enabled them to survive without the help of government imported grain.

Suppression of the Zamindari system, even if honestly completed and realized, has no meaning without peasant proprietorship.

Industry must help the Aboriginal areas of India by diminishing the pressure on land; but even this is only a palliative. The Aborigines on the whole will remain agriculturists or perish. The Aboriginal races stand or fall with peasant proprietorship.

Western Europe's economy is primarily based on peasant proprietorship, and it has been proved, not only in Western Europe but in several other places in the world, that this form of economy gives the highest yield. Freedom-loving Aborigines do not wish to become little wheels in state-controlled-bulldozers. All they hanker for is land and peasant proprietorship. So my humble request is that at this critical moment, when the law has recognized the abolition of the Zamindari system due to the great victory of Free India, this victory be not twisted at the last moment into a defeat. Let then the tiller of the soil be given his land in full peasant proprietorship. These peasant proprietors, beginning with the youth should be organized into revived co-operatives; not bullied from above, but freely organized from below, into an all-state and all-India Cooperative Peasant League. If the Aboriginal family unit be given a plot of land, say ten acres, and if they are given the opportunity and the guarantee, without too much delay, of occupying and of cultivating that land, I can vouch that there will be no finer citizens in our great country than the Aborigines of Mother India.

III. Agriculture of the Aborigines

Once the Aboriginal is safely settled or resettled on an economic holding, we can start talking of improved agriculture. Here, he is in the same boat as other peasants except that, if given proper opportunity, the Aboriginal is more hard-working.

Free India has achieved a grand pioneer work in laying the foundation of improved agriculture. In this paper I only make mention of the following recent schemes, presently at work in the country.

(1) One of the oldest development schemes of India is Sriniketan's development scheme of rural reconstruction and Wardha, Sevagram, now centre of Basic Teachers Training.

(2) Allahabad's Agricultural Institute Pilot Plant Extension Project.

(3) Rural missions among Aborigines in Chotanagpur in Bihar run by the Catholic missionaries.

(4) Village town settlements organised by Shri S. K. Dey, I. C. S. then, in 1954, Secretary of the Irrigation and Agriculture, Fisheries Forestry Department; and actually, the able pilot of India's community projects.

(5) The Government Pilot Projects started at Ettawah under the motto of "the dirty hands method."

(6) The marvellous Firka Development Project in Madras area based on Mahatma Gandhi's idea of village swaraj, also Harijan welfare in Madras State (see report); Women's Welfare Scheme for village industries and co-operatives.

(7) The Community Projects that were inaugurated on 2nd Oct. 1952.

It is not necessary to describe here the magnificent and bold planning of these fifty-five projects; each consists of three blocks and each block covers approximately 100 villages with about 200,000 people and 150,000 acres of land. *Even so, the main problem of Agriculture in villages is a psychological one.*

Let me say a few words about this important aspect of rural reconstruction which applies to all kisans; yet in a special way applies to Aborigines and to their brother races, the Harijans. It is generally acknowledged that lasting results will only

be possible if and when the villagers themselves feel that reforms and improvements are necessary. The work is carried out according to plan, but it is far from certain that it has been drawn up in all cases after a careful socio-economic study of the area concerned. A cursory survey, often a priori and without consulting local leaders, is in many cases the only thing we read about. However, supposing that a suitable programme of work has been established really in accordance with the needs and the possibilities of the area*, will it be possible to carry it out with the full co-operation of the people concerned? Is it possible to "activate" villagers, to "change their mentality"? I think that some older schemes like those of Sriniketan have shown that change is possible although it is usually a very slow process. To produce results in towns is hundred times more easy than in villages. Furthermore, one should realize that the process is usually not very even and regular, it may be rapid at times, and stagnant in other periods. Events outside and inside the village may favour it. What is lacking is an inspiring ideal for the youths of the tribes.

This change in attitude, becoming more interested in higher production, being willing to work harder in order to produce better goods pre-supposes some inducement. In the economic world no great exertion can be expected without reward. This should be a higher income and it is only when people think it worth while to earn it that they will work harder.

However, only an individualistic mind will be interested in working harder in order to get a better income. When the community or the joint family dictate the pattern of life, then such an attitude can hardly be expected. The needs are limited and there is little interest in earning more than would be necessary to satisfy the traditional set of needs of the community. If, on the other hand, the individualistic attitude is gaining ground and people are really interested in getting a better living and are, therefore, prepared to be more alert and to work harder, then the community will slowly break up, or will further disintegrate where, as in many villages, this process had already started much earlier.

But the purpose of development is actually to strengthen the community, to stress community purposes like roads, village wells, community centres. It seems, therefore, that there exists a contradiction between the two main purposes of these schemes, namely, the increase of individual production and the emphasis on the community. Can they be reconciled? The only possibility seems to lie in the transition from a natural community to voluntary association. The village co-operative as a conscious effort to join individual forces in order to get, through association, ultimately better results for the individual may be the way out.

This is the spirit behind the cooperative movement in the most progressive areas of the world from the agriculture

* In this context the great stress laid on spinning and weaving especially in Madras and Bombay, but also in other Indian projects, may be relaxed in favour of other activities. In Madras, for instance, cotton was transported over a distance of 100 miles or more to make it possible for villagers to do hand spinning and weaving. It might be useful to calculate carefully whether this work is really remunerative. Mahatma Gandhi certainly stressed the use of leisure hours for spinning and weaving, but he also said that, whenever some other work enables the villagers to earn one anna more, they should drop Khaddar

point of view: I mean Canada (Anti-gonish), Sweden, Denmark, the Rhine, Holland. The cooperative movement combined the best features of both individual and of cooperative effort. Note that those cooperatives, which revolutionized whole countries from poverty to a high standard of living, were started from below not from above. The state only helped especially at the initial stages and encouraged. Aboriginal youths together with other youths in rural India are waiting for getting without further delay the required training to help to rebuild the whole of India into a free democratic, highly producing cooperative state. The proper timing of new activities in India's ancient villages is also important from the point of view of psychological approach.

For instance, although better communications may be urgently needed, the construction of a new road does not seem the best beginning for a new project, as most villagers will not be greatly interested in it: they have no jeeps. But, if they are interested in having the road, for instance, to make it possible for a film van to come to their village, they will see that the work is done. In agriculture the project which would seem most attractive for the villagers should also be studied carefully, and at the same time the one that is the least cumbersome and risky. Such projects should form the beginning of the work. If they succeed, there will be much greater interest in tackling more ambitious schemes because the villagers will believe that something worth while is being undertaken.

In the broad setting of India's multi-purpose schemes in rural India, a new question arises. The question is connected with the more general problem of *activating* the village; which is the agency that should be

selected to bring this about. Here we find that usually two systems are followed: the *village level worker* (under whatever name he may appear) or the *village society*.

The Government of India has in its Community Development Projects definitely chosen the first system, whereas Ceylon mainly relies on the second. As has been mentioned earlier already, the society (or co-operative, or panchayat etc.), has the great advantage of being an organization of the village as such without any foreign elements in it and therefore liable to be stronger in the long run, not dependent on just one man. This holds good especially in Aboriginal areas.

However, this system starts from the principle that the village organization, once established, will be active enough to carry out various new kinds of work, mainly on their own initiative though guided by some advice now and then from a professional organizer. This may be successful, but the odds are against it. There is such a world of difference between one village and another. What may work in one village with a high standard of literacy may not work in another. Why should 5 or 15 villagers, more or less ceremoniously installed as the Board of the Village Society, suddenly start all sorts of new things which they did not do when they were just individuals? The history of the co-operative movement in Asia has many stories to tell about co-operative societies established with great enthusiasm (or merely with deep respect for the Registrar who came the whole way to the village to explain that a co-operative would be so useful) which could not survive the slackening influence of traditional routine, or a certain amount of compulsion on one hand aided

by a sense of discipline on the other, may bring into being an organization which carried out what it is told to do, but that is not what is needed. Therefore, although a village society is preferable, it will be possible to use it in most cases only after some important changes have already activated the village community.

There is another thing. The village community (accepting that there is a real community) is organic in its structure whereas the village society has something artificial. The natural community does not work with by-laws and lists of members, with secretaries and treasurers, with all the organizational paraphernalia which are typical of an association, even if it is a simple one. The rather official way in which things are done calls for people who are literate. We see, therefore, that leadership in these village societies is different from village leadership which usually rests with the order, relatively well-to-do villagers. In fact, this change of leadership is actually what is needed. There can be no revival in Aboriginal villages unless the youths of the Tribe come into their own. Only the youths can be persuaded to whole-heartedly join the general village panchayats in which there are both Tribals and non-Tribal nationals.

The village elders are actually not really suited to bring about a change as they are the guardians of village tradition. The younger men who would like to turn to new methods, cannot easily do so

because the older generation has, an overpowering influence. It will only be possible, therefore, for a village society, led by the younger men of the village who are literate and stand for "progress", to take over the leadership from the traditional group if either this group happens to be weak and uninfluential, or is itself convinced that a change is necessary, and co-operates with the younger group. This latter case will usually occur only if a movement from outside has gained some influence. That is the reason why it seems more probable that a village society will be the proper agency to bring about change only in the second stage of development.

If, therefore, in many cases the initial change should be brought about by a force from outside the village, the problem is, of course, to whom this task should be assigned. In many schemes the reply has been: the village level worker*, although there is no perfect unanimity as regards his qualifications. What should be his own standard of education and social level? Should he come from outside the village or belong to it; what special training, if any, should he have had? That some training is necessary is generally accepted although the intensity and duration differ widely. There seems to be a frightful waste in ignoring the existence of trained workers on the spot.

The task of these village level workers is by no means easy and simple. They

* The Bihar Scheme is of interest in this connection: there the Gram Sevak serves as the Secretary to the Panchayat and has, if the Head of the Panchayat does not carry out his duties, fairly extensive executive powers as well. This means that the extent of the activities and leadership of the Gram Sevak is contrarily proportionate to what the Panchayat as such is willing and able to do. In most cases the Gram Sevak will probably do most of the work in the initial stages, but will leave more and more to the Board of the Panchayat when they are ready to take over. However, this is, of course, the ideal, and actual practice may be more complicated.

are supposed to be a source of activity as well as of information, they should be able to give advice on matters of agriculture, health, cottage industries, road repairs etc., and also possess practical skill in all these fields. They often conduct literacy classes. It is expected that a V. L. W. will get along well with rich and poor, young and old and that he knows the people so well that they trust him and come to him with their troubles. Finally, this man should not only be the guide for one village only but for four or more. (In the Community Development Project one V.L.W. looks after five villages). In fact, the village level worker is expected to be a miracle man, stimulating and initiating activities without, on the other hand pushing himself too much to the fore but, on the contrary, giving full opportunities to budding leadership in the village. Besides his manual skill and organizing abilities, he is supposed to have tact and powers of conviction.

It seems very improbable that all these qualities can be combined in one man and still more so in a man earning Rs. 80/- per month*. It is clear that one cannot expect too much. Most of them will need continuous guidance and control. But two things will be necessary : they must be able to command respect in the villages, and should have enthusiasm for the work and energy to carry it out. These are the first two qualifications every V. L. W. should have**.

A practical problem is whether they should belong to the village where they

work or should be recruited from outside. The man from outside may command more prestige, but will not easily be able to make contact. The India Village Service believes in the first system; Janta College, (which unlike the Bihar Youth College is not a real college but an institute for the training of rural leaders at Alipur, Delhi State), recruits one or two promising young men from a village, gives them a training of three months and then sends them back to their own village where they are supposed to be an example for their neighbours and to teach and demonstrate what they have learned. They do not receive a salary but their training is free. However, some requests are being received from past trainees saying that they are "college graduates" now, and that they should receive a salary. At Janta College, the system of honorary workers seemed better, because paid workers soon become officers with fixed working hours and little enthusiasm. However, remuneration in some form may be desirable, not only as an incentive and an obligation to serious work, but also as a public recognition of their position and achievements.

The problem of training these rural development workers seems of the greatest importance and it should receive the foremost place in the series of studies concerned with this work. First of all : it will be necessary to make clear distinctions between the village level workers and the supervisors, between the Village

* In the projects sponsored by the Ford Foundation they will earn Rs. 100/- per month ('Programs in India', page 24).

** These are derived from Dr. Mosher's note (page 3). As the third requirement he mentions fluency in Hindi, certainly meaning the local language.

Leaders or Gram Sevaks and the Rural Welfare Officers (to use the Ceylonese terminology). The V. L. W's should have simple and repeated training in order to suit their own limited education, and on the other hand, to keep a check over their activities. But not only that, frequent short training courses should also serve to encourage them and to give them the opportunity of discussing their problems. Dr. Mosher's mention in his note seems to combine all this. He does not require a more elaborate previous training than one of 5 days for his "Resident Leaders" but he wants them to come to the centre for 2 days every week-end in order to learn what to do the next week. The U. P. Scheme has longer training periods but also believes in often getting the V. L. W's together. The Ford Foundation does not mention this feature but it foresees a training of six months in special centres*. Five such centres have been set up under the responsibility of the Government of India and are financed for the first three years by the Foundation. They will turn out the badly needed workers in the Community Development Projects. "These newly organized training centres have three basic objectives" :

(a) Instilling in the future village workers a clear and challenging understanding of the nature of rural community development and the significance of this bold new program to the future of India;

(b) Developing in the trainees a spirit and philosophy of service to the people

so essential in effectively "helping village people help themselves" and

(c) Providing all the trainees first-hand experience in applying the extension principles and methods they study in the class-room to meeting the day-to-day problems confronting a village extension worker. Each training centre is located adjacent to a development project. This facilitates making the training practical with emphasis upon doing village work under supervision. Class-room discussions and seminars likewise deal with practical problems related to village work experience. The seminar discussions provide the trainees an opportunity to analyse their work experience and exchange ideas on effective methods of working with village people".**

The first centres were set up early in 1952 and there is little opportunity to test the effectiveness of the method. But fairly similar work has been carried out for a slightly longer period, namely one year, at the Alipur Janta College. Here we find the same blending of practical and theoretical methods, although more emphasis seems to be laid on handicrafts. There seems to be the danger, in the Janta College system, that an attempt is made to impart to the trainees a training in too many crafts. It is improbable that any one could learn 3 or 4 totally new crafts in the short period of three months, and besides this, theoretical instruction is given in various fields and new methods of agriculture are demonstrated.

* "Programs in India", August 1952, page 15.

** Ibid, page 14-15.

Therefore, limitation of the subjects taught seems essential to secure lasting results. Secondly, frequent contacts between former trainees and the centre are most useful not to say indispensable. The optimum period of training, the methods to be followed, and especially the walks of life from which trainees should be recruited, are questions which deserve still further careful study. Finally, the selection of trainees is a major point. Should they be young people or rather men of some experience? The Bihar project seems satisfactory on this point. They select, apparently, peasants who command respect in the village, who are not dependent on their very modest salary as Gram Sevak, but who are not supposed, on the other hand, to work in a purely honorary capacity, as the past trainees of Janta College. However, careful comparison of the results obtained with various sorts of trainees and training will be the only satisfactory method of arriving at a final conclusion.

The same problem arises in connection with the recruitment and training of the higher personnel. Whether an extensive tour through the U.S.A. as is planned in the Ford Foundation Scheme*, is the ideal preparation for work in India seems doubtful. It seems difficult to imagine two countries more different in agricultural conditions than America with its enormous farms, many machines and little labour and India where everything is exactly the opposite. What would be more profitable would probably be to organize such a tour to Japan where conditions, though different in many ways, are more comparable. In the

present scheme Japan will actually be visited but merely as a "brief stop over."

But what would be best of all would seem to be a thorough study of socio-economic conditions of the area where they will have to work, and intimate personal knowledge of its peculiarities. A training camp like the one organized in Nilokheri in June 1952 seems excellent to give these future leaders a more concrete idea of what working in a village really means. Future rural extension leaders should certainly have a sound understanding of the role of the seasons in agriculture. Anyway the principle of personal experience in rural work seems useful. Educated Aboriginal youths in the village are dying to join such training camps. Will they be given a chance?

One of the most important tasks of the development officers will be to consider measures to make the village more attractive. If there is continuous migration from village to town and city, it is clear that the villages will lose their best people. Of course, with this existing rural under-employment one can only welcome any decrease in the rural population, but as it is important to secure the co-operation of the most energetic and intelligent villagers in order to bring about a change in the general attitude which, in its turn, can result in a higher agricultural production, the loss of quality is far more important than the advantage of a reduced number of villagers.

This loss in quality can only be prevented if the village becomes a more attractive place in which to live. This aspect is mentioned in several schemes,

* Programs in India — page 16—19.

but it seems rather a theoretical than a practical point. Some schemes do give serious thought to this part of the work and it seems to be of great help in attaining other results as well. Sometimes the recreational aspect is especially stressed in the initial stage of the work, but it seems indispensable to give it the fullest attention throughout in order to keep the interest of the villagers. Sports, dramas, singing etc. need not be expensive pastimes and may have a cultural value as well. This latter aspect is especially stressed in the Firka Scheme (Madras) by the Committee which drew up the original programme. However, everything that may make the village attractive to its best inhabitants should be pursued, for, without the active co-operation of the *best* villagers, it is improbable that any change in attitude, resulting in harder work, more intensive and careful agriculture and so in higher productivity per head, will ever occur. A junior farmers' league in Aboriginal areas would help greatly in reawakening the old villages.

A Frontal Attack needed on Rural Unemployment: This is one of the typical problems in which the Aboriginal problem is an all India problem and not a special problem for anthropologists only.

Although an age-old problem in India, unemployment especially among Aborigines, has lately assumed serious proportions, and is giving a headache to our Governments and public men. Expropriated or educated Aborigines of numerous families call constantly at the Employment Exchange. This problem of unemployment of Aboriginal youths is the same as that of other unemployed youths of the village.

The present unemployment problem in India is not merely the old familiar underemployment among rural workers. It is of the cyclical type. Many of the unemployed are landless labourers. Many of the smaller industrial establishments in parts of India have lately closed down or are working short time, due largely to trade slump, and several lakhs of full-time workers have lost their jobs. Secondly, hand-weaving and other handicrafts which occupy millions of workers are having serious unemployment. The numerous youths whom schools and colleges are sending out every year are unable to find the kind of jobs they seek. Only this class of people approach the labour exchanges. Hence the limited use of our unemployment statistics. Fourthly and most important of all, there is the disguised unemployment among rural workers affecting not less than 60 million workers, i.e. a third of the workers in most states; but in Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal, between 50 and 70% of the adults in many areas are unemployed most of the year, and are eking out a bare existence on the income of others. This was borne patiently by rustics formerly, but now they have the vote, and their literate sons, who read newspapers and go to the cinema are eager to raise their living standards; they therefore look for full-time jobs, and are disgruntled if those are not available.

Even a slight spurt in unemployment in the U.S.A. is feared as a serious danger-signal to be avoided at all costs. But in this land of grim poverty and want, we have over 60 million largely unemployed persons, many of whom are in a rather desperate condition, there is comparatively little interest about tackling this ominous problem.

We have indeed a Five Year Plan in operation; but its chief aim is increased production, and in the peculiar conditions of India, production cannot advance substantially, owing to the meagreness of markets, arising from sore purchasing power deficiency. Already, many industries here are seriously worried about lack of markets. This is because Indian economy is subject to the virulent working of a vicious circle, resulting from retarded economic development, the over-dependence on agriculture and sad neglect of industry. The result is low production, meagre consumption and failing employment, all chasing one another. Hence the paradoxical situation that while most people in India are semi-starved and under-clad, large resources lie unutilised and numerous workers are without employment. With the largest labour force in the world (except China), ours is a very poor country. On the other hand, hardly any country in the world has had to face such a complicated economic situation. Countries that have come to the fore in recent times—U.S.A., U.S.S.R.—have had comparatively simpler problems to face. Not that India has nothing to learn from their example, but she had to develop her own technique of economic development based on her peculiar problems and needs both human and economic.

This menacing kind of unemployment coupled with a growing trade slump, facing us cannot be tackled merely by agricultural improvement, because improved agriculture will only aggravate the rural unemployment, nor even by increased industrial production, with all the foreign aid possible, because with such restricted markets open to us both here and abroad, any large increase in

production cannot now be a profit. Only by directly expanding *purchasing power* can any stable increase in production take place in industry or agriculture, so that they may absorb the large numbers of unemployed.

Therefore what we have urgently to do is to push through briskly a plan for pumping out purchasing power, *pari passu* with increase in production. This should be done by providing employment to numerous idle persons, especially literate youths, in development works like road-making, house building and land clearance, which will expand national wealth and ultimately lead to increased production, without immediately multiplying goods. Technical training must be provided to these workers simultaneously so that when demand for goods grows, most of these workers may enter into production and trade. But a proper organisation is necessary for this, many millions of literate youths, now idling away or drawn to disruptive activities, have to be given employment, have to be supplied with purchasing power by carrying out suitable development works in various parts of the country. Execution of the works through contractors in the usual P. W. D. way, will not meet our purpose, may even defeat it. Only by a semi-military organisation can this be properly done—some-what on the lines of the civilian conservancy corps (C. C. C.) of the U. S. A. in the thirties. The cadets must live in camps for work and training. Part of their work should be to build industrial or rural townships for themselves. The money given to them and spent for the works will all go to the purchase of goods and services. With the filip to trade thus given, existing industries can employ more men and new industries can be

started. Preference should be given to small units, even home units, so that the cadets may become independent producers and not mere wage-workers. This will lead directly to a new social and economic order which can defeat both Communism and the slave state of the Manchester type.

But if our objective is to be fulfilled we have to spend fairly large sums of money. Only then can any great impression be made on our employment problem. Part of this may come from loans, but the greater part will have to come from created money. Deficit financing has lately come in for a great deal of criticism, and there are indeed risks in the indiscriminate use of it, but in the peculiar conditions of Indian economy to-day, only by resort to it in great measure, can any rapid progress be made, so as to employ large numbers. This is especially the case in areas where there has lately been a severe contraction of purchasing power, due to drastic fall in the prices of most export staples.

The risks of inflation can be avoided by limiting the use of created money to suitable development works, carried out in areas where there is need, and in such a way that the new money goes directly into idle hands and empty pockets, and not to banks, so that the spiralling of prices may be avoided. A fairly large supply of food-grains and ordinary clothing is also essential, and this is now possible in India. If created money in war time led to inflation, it was because such provision was not made or was not possible then.

Conditions are now becoming propitious every way for such a frontal attack on unemployment. Inflationary pressure

has altogether ceased, the seller's market has given place to the buyer's market, and there is trade slump and wide spread purchasing power deficiency in many areas. Reflationary action is therefore essential and in view of the growing unemployment, only after such action can production be increased.

In these circumstances, expanding purchasing power and increased production have to be the two wheels of the coach of economic development. When the former tapers off, the latter will grow and continue to give more and more employment and raise national income to higher and higher levels. In this way, consumption, production and employment can be simultaneously increased and the standard of living of the common man can be substantially raised within a reasonable time, so that better human conditions may prevail and a better distribution of wealth may be achieved.

Quite naturally Aborigines want to be given the same chances in life as anybody else. They resent being isolated or being kept at the end of a microscope as some queer animal specimen. They want their problems to be studied together with the same problems of other Indian citizens on a national basis. That is why we have discussed in general the problem of unemployment which affects both the Tribals and the non-Tribals.

Conclusion : (1) Land and Agriculture form the main foci of the life of the Tribes. Even if, in ever greater numbers, Tribals will trek, and rightly so, to the industrial areas of Free India, survival of the Aboriginal families and of the Tribes depends on their survival in rural India as peasant proprietors. The family and the bulk of the Tribe must remain anchored in the lands of rural

India. Aborigines stand or fall with their lands. Certainly Aborigines have to be taught like anybody else better methods of intensive cultivation. Even so, the first task of social planning is to save their lands. The leaders of the Bhoodan Movement and the officials of the Revenue Department in various states should start distributing the wastelands among the tribals and the Harijans. Most of them are brothers both in origin and in misery.

(2) The youth of the Tribes has to be trained in the practice and the theory of co-operative methods and of co-operative societies. They should prepare themselves for an economic pattern based on both private property and co-operation. They should organise on a national basis in national junior farmers' leagues on the Australian or on the Belgian models. They should be trained in high class agricultural schools and in efficient technical schools and in national training camps. From early youth they should be trained in co-operative work and in co-operative methods. The youth of the Tribes has to be captured by the great schemes of the state. They want to be *actors*, in the great drama, not simply onlookers. They should not be offered palliatives in the shape of third class basic or traditional schools. They do not want schools for Aborigines only with third rate crafts or fourth rate agriculture. From baby class to the university, they want to be given equal opportunity in education and due to past neglect and present poverty, they insist on special arrangements to be made for their continued scholarships. Free India

is determined that they will be treated as equals in all states and in all communities.

(3) They want to be free to observe the feasts they want, eat what they want, and even, provided they do it with measure, drink what they want. They resent that on the plea of purification regular propaganda movements are started among them that will deprive them still more of the few vitamins left in their poor diets. Why should anyone interfere with his eating or with his social habits?

(4) The Planning Commission in their Report has pointed out that the success of the Community Project depends upon two vital factors which are but too often neglected in Aboriginal areas. Those two vital factors are :—

(a) The first relates to the imagination, sympathy, vision and other qualities of the Community Project officials.

(b) The second relates to the active good will, enthusiasm and co-operation of the citizen. Aborigines are fully ready to respond provided they are taken into confidence.

(5) Equal rights and equal opportunities based on mutual confidence and trust are the means to incorporate Aborigines into the great life of renaissance India on equal terms with anyone else. The isolation of the Tribes is a thing of the past. He insists on his own way of life without anyone interfering in his culture and in the choice of his religion. But he wants to be incorporated without delay in full life of the Indian nation.

JAI HIND.

कुओं और बंधानों द्वारा सिंचाई

श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद विलथरे, बनवासी सेवा मंडल, मध्यप्रदेश ।

आज हमारे देश के उत्पादन का सवाल अपना विशेष स्थान रखता है हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान है अतः कृषि की उन्नति के लिये हमें बहुत कुछ करना होगा । सरकार भी इस ओर अधिक प्रयत्नशील है । बहुमुखी योजनायें बनाकर वह इसे समुन्नत दशा में लाना चाहती है परन्तु कृषि पानी के ऊपर ही निर्भर रहती है । पानी की समस्या-पूर्ति के लिये सरकार सिंचाई के वैधानिक साधनों का भी उपयोग करने लगी है । अक्सर बंधानों जैसी बांध योजनाएं शीघ्र देश को जल भ्रावित कर उसे शस्यप्रयामल बना देगी यह कल्पना कितने ही विचारक मस्तिष्कों में जोर पकड़ चुकी है परन्तु हमें स्थानीय परिस्थितियों और देश के भिन्न-भिन्न भागों में बसने वाली भिन्न-भिन्न विचार धाराओं और संस्कार से जकड़ी हुई तथा जनता की ओर ध्यान देते हुए उन्हें दिये जाने वाले विकास के साधनों पर कुछ नये ढंग से सोचना होगा यह तो आवश्यक है कि लोगों को कृषि उत्पादन वृद्धि के लिये सिंचाई की व्यवस्था दी जाय पर यह तो समझी के लिये ही अधिक उपयोगी हो सकती है सवाल तो यह है कि हमारे पर्वतों की तराईयों, उबड़ खाबड़ भूमि में बसने वाली आदिम जातियों के लिये क्या ऐसी बड़ी-बड़ी बांध योजनायें उपयोगी हो सकेंगी अथवा कड़ी चट्टानों वाली भूमि में कुओं के द्वारा पानी देने की व्यवस्था सफल हो सकेगी । जब हम इस ओर विचार करते हैं तब हमें एक प्रकार से निराशा हो होने लगती है कि इन विचारे आदिम जातियों की इस समस्या का निराकरण कैसे किया जा सकता है ?

सरकार के बड़े-बड़े इंजीनियर और कारीगर भी इस ओर प्रयत्नशील हैं तो भी हमें यहां कुछ बातों पर प्रकाश डाल देना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है ।

आदिम जाति प्रधान क्षेत्रों में सिंचाई पर विचार करते समय हमें इन बातों पर ध्यान देना होगा ।

- (१) क्या उन्हें सिंचाई की सचमुच आवश्यकता है ।
- (२) किन-किन ऋतुओं में किन-किन फसलों को सिंचना चाहिये ।
- (३) सिंचाई के कौन-कौन से साधन सुलभ और विशेष उपयोगी हो सकते हैं ।
- (४) क्या सिंचाई के साथ ही पानी सम्बन्धी और आवश्यकतायें भी पूरी करनी चाहिए और क्यों ?
- (५) सिंचाई के साधन देने और पानी प्राप्त करने सम्बन्धी काठनाईयों को दूर कर पानी दूर भेजने में पम्प की व्यवस्था ।
- (६) सिंचाई की आवश्यकता और आदिवासियों की विचारधारा, संस्कार और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति का परिणाम ।
- (७) सरकार की सिंचाई सम्बन्धी नीति में उदारता-पूर्ण परिवर्तन ।
- (८) आदिवासियों के बीच काम करने वाले कार्य-कर्त्ताओं का चुनाव ।
- (९) भूमि क्षरण (Soil erosion) रोकने की व्यवस्था ।

(१) क्या उन्हें सिंचाई की सचमुच आवश्यकता है ? अधिकांश आदिम जातियां पहाड़ी पर थोड़ी सी समभूमि देख कर बस जाती है। ये पहाड़ों स्थल यत्र तत्र ही सपाट होते हैं अन्यथा ऊँची ऊँची गहरी खाइयां तरह तरह के चढ़ाव उतार ऐसे क्षेत्रों में अधिकतर रहते हैं। ऐसे स्थानों में तो वे प्रायः सिंचारी की फसल हाथ खेतों के रूप में अथवा बैलों की सहायता से करते हैं। उन्हारी की फसलें प्रायः कम ही बंते हैं। साग, भाजी और फल उत्पादन तो ये थोड़ी बहुत ही पैदा करते हैं। जहां तक हांता है बन की स्वाभाविक उपजों द्वारा साग भाजी कंद मूल और फल संग्रह कर लेते हैं जहां घने बन होते हैं और पहाड़ी स्थल कम होते हैं अथवा पर्वतों के बीच बीच की लम्बी चौड़ी समभूमि या किसी नदी या झरने का तट आ जाता है वहां सिंचारी की ऊँची फसलों के साथ साथ थोड़ी बहुत उन्हारी की फसलें पैदा कर लेते हैं। हां जो लोग बनों और पर्वतों से लगे हुए मैदानों में निवास करते हैं उनकी खेती तरकी पर पाई बाने लगी है और वे स्थानीय परिस्थिति और जलवायु को देखते हुए सभी प्रकार की पैदावार करने की चेष्टा करने लग गये हैं।

आदिम जाति के लोग कड़ा परिश्रम कर फसलें उगाते हैं। पर कभी-कभी पानी के अभाव से पहाड़ी बरफीली जमीन अथवा शहर या रेतीली जमीन उन्हें ऐसा धोका दे जाती है कि मकड़ों मील की पकने की दशा में आई हुई फसल खड़ा-खड़ा मूख जाती है वेम ही दुमरी उन्हारी की फसल की जमीन भी सूखा पकने में उनके हाथ में निकल जाती है तत्र उनके

सामने दुर्भिक्ष विकराल रूप धारण कर तांडव नृत्य करने लग जाता है। कुछ बुद्धिमान कृषक आस-पास के नालों को थोड़ा बहुत परिश्रम कर मिट्टी और पत्थरों या लकड़ों के सहारे ऊपर की ओर बांध लेते हैं और उसमें से पतली नालियां निकालते हुए खेतों तक लाते हैं। इससे कुछ फसलें सूखने से बच जाती हैं जैसे ही कुछ की जमीन भी गीली कर बने योग बना लेते हैं। इनकी इस गति विधि को देखते हुए यह तो अवश्य ही मालूम होता है कि यदि आदिमजातियों को समय-समय पर आने वाली भुखमरी से बचाना है तथा उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक करना है तो कृषि विकास के लिये उन्हें सिंचाई की ओर अभिमुख किया जाय और सिंचाई के साधन येन'केन प्रकारेण यथा सम्भव तथा उचित प्रमाण में दिये जायें।

(२) किन-किन ऋतुओं में किन-किन फसलों की सिंचाई चाहिये। जहां की एक फसली जमीन है जहां प्रायः वर्षा के अन्तिम महीनों में याने १५ सितम्बर से ३१ अक्टूबर तक जब अनावृष्टि का मौका आवे उन्हें सिंचारी की फसलों को अच्छी अवस्था में पकने के लिये तथा उन्हारी बने के पहिले जब पानी का अभाव दिखे और बीच में फसल के समय आद तथा जैसे ही कुछ साग-भाजी आदि के विकास का ध्यान रखते हुए उसमें सिंचाई की आवश्यकता की ओर लोगों को आकर्षित करना और उससे लाभान्वित करना चाहिये। ऐसे क्षेत्रों में प्रायः फलों के पीचे आसानी से बढ़ते हैं अतः फलवाड़ी का विकास करना सरल हो सकता है। ये फल बन-फलों की तरह विक्रय करने से आदिम जातियों की आर्थिक स्थिति भी सुधर सकती है और इनके सेवन से इनका

स्वास्थ्य भी उत्तम बन सकता है। अतः ऐसी छोटी-छोटी फलवाड़ियों के लिये भी सिंचाई के साधन देना आवश्यक है। इस तरह साग भाजी और फलवाड़ी के लिये थोड़ी बहुत सिंचाई शीतकाल और मीथमकाल में भी होनी चाहिये इस प्रकार यदि हम उगाई जाने वाली फसलें, उनका प्रमाण और श्रुतु की और लक्ष्य रख कर सिंचाई की व्यवस्था करना चाहें तो पहाड़ी और विपम क्षेत्रों में भी थोड़े भ्रम और खर्च से इस समस्या का निराकरण हो सकता है।

(३) सिंचाई के कौन-कौन से साधन मुलभ और उपयोगी हो सकते हैं। यह पहले ही बतलाया जा चुका है कि आदिम जातियों की खेती प्रायः पहाड़ी ढलुआनों, तराइयों, भरौली विपम जमीन अथवा शहरा रेतीली जमीन में होती है। नदी तट, बनों और पर्वतों के बीच में कभी-कभी इन्हें अच्छी सम और उच्च दर्जे की उपजाऊ भूमि प्राप्त हो जाती है। तो भी अधिकांश जमीन ऐसी ही होती है जहां किसी बड़ी नदी का बांध बांध कर सिंचाई के लिये विस्तृत क्षेत्र बनाना असम्भव सा ही होगा। नदियां भी सम और निचले किनारे वाली प्रायः यत्र तत्र ही प्राप्त हो सकती है ऐसी स्थिति में सिंचाई के कौन साधन यहां उपयुक्त होंगे यह विचारणीय विषय है इसके लिये यहां जो साधन मुलभ हो उनका ही उपयोग किया जाय तो ज्यादा लाभप्रद होगा। कुछ क्षेत्र तो ऐसे ही मिलेंगे जहां कुछ खोद कर पानी प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। कहीं छोटे-छोटे तालाबों का निर्माण किया जा सकता है। कुछ थोड़े बहुत साधारण बड़े तालाब भी उपयोगी हो सकते हैं। बड़ी नदियों में बड़े बांधान तो मैदानी हिस्सा अधिक देखकर कुछ प्रमाण में हो सकते हैं। सब से सरल साधन जो कहीं भी उपयोगी

और सस्ते हो सकते हैं वे हैं छोटे बड़े हर किस्म के नाले जिनमें से कुछ का पानी सियारी के फसल के लिये पूरा हो सकता है तथा कुछ का पानी उन्हारी की फसल अथवा साग भाजी और फलवाड़ी के लिये पूरा हो सकता है। इससे कृषि फसलों की उन्नति के साथ-साथ साग-भाजी और फल की खेती की और लोगों में अभिरुचि भी हो सकती है जिससे स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी और आर्थिक लाभ आदिम जातियों को पहुंच सकता है।

ये नाले कहीं-कहीं तो अत्यन्त अल्प खर्च और भ्रम से बंध सकते हैं जिनके द्वारा कहीं ५-१० एकड़ कहीं त्रिस-पच्चीस एकड़ और कहीं इससे भी अधिक क्षेत्र सिंचित किया जा सकता है। कुँआरों की अपेक्षा कहीं-कहीं सस्ते में बांधाई और सिंचाई की व्यवस्था हो सकती है। आदिम जाति के लोग आज जिस पद्धति से अपनी पांच-पांच, दस-दस एकड़ उन्हारी की भूमि सींच कर उसे बोने लायक तर कर लेते हैं और इसमें उन्हें कुछ खर्च भी प्रायः नहीं करना पड़ता बांध को अपने परिवार की सहायता से दो चार दिन में अस्थाई तौर पर बांध लेते हैं। दूसरे को कुछ बड़े क्षेत्र के लायक स्थाई तौर से तथा कुछ अधिक से अधिक कास्तकारों को यथोचित रूप से लाभ मिल सके। इस दृष्टि से बांधाई की व्यवस्था यदि सरकार करती है तो यह प्रणाली अधिक लाभप्रद होगी जहां एक बड़ा बांधान करोड़ों रुपयों में तैयार होता है, वहां उतने ही में हजारों नाले तैयार हो सकते हैं और एक बड़े विस्तृत क्षेत्र को जलप्लावित किया जा सकता है।

(४) क्या सिंचाई के साथ अन्य आवश्यकताएं पूर्ण करना चाहिये और क्यों? आदिम जाति प्रधान क्षेत्रों में अधिकांश में

पानी का अभाव पाया जाता है इससे उन्हें बरसात और गर्मी के दिनों में पाने के लिये एड़ी चोटी का जोर लगा कर गंदला पानी प्राप्त करने की आ पड़ती है। छोटी-छोटी भ्रूरियों का सहारा लेना पड़ता है जो प्रति वर्ष उगार ली जाती हैं। बरसात में प्रायः पूर वाला पानी ही पीना पड़ता है, इससे उनके स्वास्थ्य पर बुरा असर पड़ता है। वैसे ही नहाने धोने और मवेशियों के लिये भी पानी का अधिकतर अभाव ही रहता है। कभी-कभी तो पहाड़ी नालों या नदियों की धार गर्मी में रुक जाने पर छोटे-छोटे डबों में एकत्र हुआ पानी तक उपयोग में लाया जाता है जैसे नहाने, धोने, पाने और मवेशियों के लिये यह अत्यन्त अहित कर प्रथा अपनाने के लिये आदिम जातियों को विवश होना पड़ता है। अतः जब सिंचाई की ओर हम कोई व्यवस्था करने जायं तो उपरोक्त आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति का हमें ध्यान रखते हुए कार्य करना होगा। जहां हम नाले बांधे या तैयार करें यदि वहां नजदीक ही किसी गांव में पाने के पानी की या अन्य उपरोक्त कार्यों के लिये पानी की आवश्यकता हो तो उसके नजदीक ही कुछ स्वच्छ पानी की व्यवस्था कर देना ठीक होगा अथवा उसी में यदि व्यवस्था हो सकती है तो उस ओर ध्यान रखा जाय। पानी के साधन देने तथा पानी दूर भेजने में पम्प व्यवस्था प्रायः सरल नहीं होगी। पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में पत्थरों की अधिकता होने से कुआँ खोदना भी आसान नहीं होता। मिट्टी और मुरम के बाद थोड़ा ही गहराई में ग्रेनाइट जैसी कड़ी चट्टान की तह निकल आती है। इन चट्टानों को फोड़ना बड़ा कठिन श्रम है। बारूट और डायनामाइट भी कभी-कभी अधिक लाभ नहीं पहुंचा सकते फिर साधारण औजारों की तो बात ही जाने दीजिये।

अधिक श्रम और साहस से काम लेने पर लम्बी अवधि और रकम खर्च कर पानी निकाला जा सकता है जिसे कहते हैं पत्थर फोड़कर पानी निकालना। बेरिंग मशीनों का उपयोग भी कितना सफल हो सकता है यह उपयोग करने वालों के धैर्य पर निर्भर रहता है। कुआँ खोदने के बाद कहीं-कहीं पानी ऊपर लाकर दूर भेजने की समस्या भी आती है क्योंकि जमीन विषम और कहीं-कहीं उबड़ खाबड़ भी आ जाती है ठीक यही हालत पहाड़ी नदियों की भी होती है। कतिपय स्थानों में चट्टानी गहरी कगारें होती हैं तो कहीं मटीली किनारें इतनी कट जाती हैं कि खण्ड के खण्ड हो जाते हैं और वे खण्ड काफी गहरे होते हैं। कहीं-कहीं थोड़ी सी समभूमि होती है अन्यथा विषम और आड़ी टेढ़ी जमीन के छोटे-छोटे खंड ज्यादा पाये जाते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में छोटे-छोटे बांधन छोटे-छोटे नाले बांधना अधिक उपयुक्त हो सकता है और थोड़ी बहुत मात्रा में कुओं द्वारा भी सरलता से सिंचाई हो सकती है। परंतु कुछ और साधारण नदियों तथा कुछ नालों पर से पानी ऊपर लाने के लिये सुगम साधन पम्प ही हो सकता है। इसके द्वारा अनेक स्थानों में जहां पानी ऊपर उठाने और दूर तक ले जाने में कुओं और नदियों के पानी को किनारे तक उठाने के बाद भी दूर तक ले जाने में नहरों और सिंचाई की नालियों के बनाने में जो अड़चन आ जाती है सरलता से इसको हल किया जा सकता है। अतः पम्प की व्यवस्था आदिवासी प्रधान क्षेत्रों में सिंचाई के साधनों के सहायक रूप से हो जाने से सिंचाई व्यवस्था सरलता से हो सकती है। पम्प यदि अधिक तादात में रखे जा सकते हैं तो कहीं-कहीं बड़ी-बड़ी नदी व नाले बांध बिना भी सिंचाई की जा सकती है। इस व्यवस्था से कुओं और बांधों द्वारा सिंचाई से अधिक क्षेत्र लाभान्वित हो सकता है।



Prime Minister receiving presents from an Adivasi couple.

(Photo by Shri K. Natrajan)



Prime Minister of India, receiving Tiger Cubs from an Adivasi couple.

(Photo by Shri K. Natrajan)



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru being introduced to the Members of the Executive Committee of the Sangh.

(Photo by Shri K. Natrajan)



Two Muria Girls conversing with each other.

(Photo by Shri K. Natrajan)

(५) सिंचाई की आवश्यकता तथा आदिवासियों की विचारधारा संस्कार और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति का संभाव्य परिणाम है।

अधिकांश आदिवासी लोगों को प्रायः विकसित खेती के क्षेत्रों में कम सम्पर्क आता है। सस्ते नाज थोड़े श्रम से पैदा करने की और थोड़े स्तर से जीवन यापन करने की उनकी स्वाभाविक प्रवृत्ति सी हो गई है। प्रकृति शीलता की और अभी तक पूर्ण लक्ष्य हो नहीं पाया है। कतिपय जगह कूपमंडूकता पुराने संस्कारों से अभी भी जकड़ी हुई है। भगवान पर निर्भर रहने और देवी देवताओं के ऊपर विश्वास रखने के कारण कृषि सुधार सम्बन्धी बातें उन्हें अति उत्साहित कर कार्य करने को तत्पर नहीं बनाती ऐसी स्थिति में इनके क्षेत्रों की सिंचाई सम्बन्धी कठिनाईयाँ, ज्ञान की कमी, विकास की ओर जाने में संस्कारों के कठोर बांधन और जीवनस्तर बढ़ाने की कामना का प्रायः अभाव ये सब सिंचाई के कार्य को अधिक सफल बनाने में कुछ दिन बाधा पहुंचाएंगे। इनके अतिरिक्त आर्थिक स्थिति की खराबी भी इन्हें काफी पीछे ढकेल सकती है। आज हम देखते हैं कि अनेकों पीढ़ियों से कई कई स्थानों में आदिवासी लोग बरसात और ग्रीष्मकाल में छोटी-छोटी भिरियों का गंदला पानी ही पीते रहते हैं। सब प्रकार का गुजर उसी एक गंदी भिरियों से करते आते हैं और बीमारी आदि का सामना करते आते हैं। परन्तु सह-परिश्रम से न तो बांध ही बांध सकते हैं न कुए ही खोल सकते हैं। यह अत्यन्त विचारणीय विषय हो जाता है कि गरीबी अथवा कुसंस्कार जब इस प्रकार विवश कर रखते हैं, वहां सिंचाई की आवश्यकता उन्हें महसूस होना और प्रगतिशील योजना द्वारा खेती से उन्हें लाभ उठाने के लिये क्रियारत

करना किलना कठिन काम है। अतः इससे पूर्णतः सफलता तत्काल नहीं मिल सकती परन्तु यों ही उनमें टॉडस आया और उन्होंने लाभ मिलते देखा तो फिर यह कार्य तीव्र गति से प्रसारित होकर आदिवासियों की स्थिति ही बदल देगा। इन सब को देखते हुए यह आवश्यक है कि हर क्षेत्र में सिंचाई की व्यवस्था किसी न किसी साधन द्वारा की जाय और सिंचाई के लाभों की ओर आदिवासियों में अधिक तादाद में लालसा जागृति की जाय।

सरकार की सिंचाई सम्बन्धी नीति में उदारतापूर्वक परिवर्तन किया जाय। एक लाभ तो सिंचाई सम्बन्धी कुएँ और बांधन बांधने की कठिनाई और दूरगम सरकार की योजना में कुछ खास खास शर्तें रहती हैं जिनका मानना आवश्यक होता है। इस प्रकार के बांधन आवश्यक होते हुए भी आदिवासी भाइयों के दिल में मुश्किल से जाग्रति को नई लालसा को एक दम दबा देते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ ऐन केन प्रकारेण यदि आदिवासियों के समुत्थ इद्दय में सिंचाई करने की इच्छा-जाग्रति हुई तो ज्योंही उसे मालूम हो पाता है कि उसे सिंचाई का अलग महसूल देना पड़ेगा त्यों ही वह झुंभलाकर इससे दिलचस्पी लेने में हीला हवाला करते दीगने लगता है। इसी प्रकार कुछ और शर्तें या तो सिंचाई के साधन निर्माण करने या प्राप्त करने अथवा भविष्य में इन दोनों कार्यों के उद्देश्य से साइभ में ही उन्हें उलभन प्रद मालूम होते हैं। ये आदिवासी कृषकों में उत्पन्न किये गये उत्साह के लिये घातक हो जाते हैं। अतः सरकार को इन शर्तों को उदारता-पूर्वक या तो बदल देना चाहिये या कुछ दिन बन्द कर देना चाहिये या परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। यदि सरकार विकसित लोगों और विकसित क्षेत्रों के कृषकों की तुलना में यहां कुछ करना चाहती है तो यह एक दुराग्रह ही हो सकता है और कार्यों में विलम्ब के

साथ इच्छा अनुकूल जन सहयोग के अभाव में गति उचित मात्रा में नहीं आ सकती ।

(६) आदिवासियों के बीच काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ताओं का चुनाव ।

इस योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये काफी विचारशील, धैर्यशील, उत्साही, दृढ़, कर्मठ, अनुभवी और सच्चे समाज सेवी कर्मचारी आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में भेजे जाय क्योंकि पानी प्राप्त करने सम्बन्धी कठिनाईयां आदिवासियों को उसके प्रति उदासीन बना देगी । एक बार यदि आदिवासियों के दिल में अविश्वास घर कर जाता है और कार्यकर्ता की अनुभवहीनता, अधैर्यता, अस्थिरता, आदि से उन्हें यदि नुकसान उठाने का मौका आता है तो फिर इस कार्य में और विलंब हो सकता है तथा आदिवासियों में निराशा का भी वातावरण निर्माण होने लगता है । इसलिये जिन साधनों द्वारा हम सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं उन पर और उनके परिणामों पर कार्यकर्ता को पूर्ण आशा और विश्वास होना चाहिये । असफलता के बावजूद भी युक्ति खोज निकालने की शक्ति उसमें होनी चाहिये । वह स्वयं एक किसान की तरह सिद्धान्तिक रूप से सिंचाई द्वारा कृषि उन्नति का इच्छुक और कर्मठ व्यक्ति होवे ।

(७) भूमि क्षरण रोकने की व्यवस्था ।

सिंचाई के लिये कुएँ और बांधान की आवश्यकता तो है ही पर कहीं कहीं एक समस्या और आ खड़ी होती है । अक्सर तेज धार वाली नदियों के तट जहाँ मटीले होते हैं वह जमीन को तेजी से काटने लगती है और जहाँ मटीले हिस्से होते हैं वहाँ सिंचाई द्वारा अच्छे अनाजों का उत्पादन भी बढ़ाया जा सकता है । पर भूमि क्षरण होते रहने से इस कार्य में बड़ी अड़चन भी आ सकती है । अतः जहाँ कहीं ऐसी स्थिति आवे उसे रोकने के लिये भी सिंचाई के साधन देने के साथ सरकार को प्रयत्न करना चाहिये ।

कुएँ, बांध और पम्पों की सहायता से सिंचाई करने में आदिवासी लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति पर अभूतपूर्व प्रभाव पड़ सकता है, किन्तु इसे समुचित रूप से चलाने के लिये तकनी देना और वसूल करने के तरीके बीज, खाद, बैलों की भी व्यवस्था समय साधन फसल उत्पादन सम्बन्धी अन्य साधन भूमि सुधार सम्बन्धी योजनाओं तथा अन्य अन्य प्रकार की कीमती फसलों के उत्पादन का ज्ञान भी उन्हें साथ ही साथ देना अत्यन्त आवश्यक होगा तभी हम अपने उद्देश्य तक पहुँच सकेंगे ।

SIZE OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN BAIGA LAND

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Like other agriculturists the size of holding has a tremendous importance for the Baiga cultivator. If the modern cultivator needs a bigger and more fertile farm for raising his standard of living, the aboriginal requires it for meeting his bare necessity of coarse grains. In fact, the latter wants more land than the former, for he relies more on the natural powers of the soil, and has extremely limited means to augment the fertility of soil with artificial means. An analysis of the size of holdings in the Baiga region comprising the districts of Balaghat, Bilaspur and Mandla reveals certain interesting facts.

Out of 5,76,937, the total number of agricultural holdings in the Region, 1,42,633 holdings (24.7 percent of the total) are not more than one acre in size. 2,10,609 holdings, that is, 36.8 percent of the total, are between the size of 1 and 5 acres. The number of holdings ranging between 5 and 10 acres is 1,10,364 (19.1 percent of the total). The percentage of holdings ranging between 10 and 50 acres recedes down further to 17.8 recording 1,02,983 holdings. The following table sums up the position of size of holding in the whole Baiga region:-

Classification of Agricultural holdings of Baiga region according to size*

SIZE	Total No. of holdings	percentage of the total number of holdings.
Not exceeding 1 acre	1,42,633	24.7
Exceeding 1 acre but not exceeding 5 acres	2,10,609	36.8
" 5 " " " 10 "	1,10,364	19.1
" 10 " " " 50 "	1,02,983	17.8
" 50 " " " 150 "	9,779	1.6
" 150 " " " " "	569	—
	5,76,937	

Small size of aboriginal holdings:
The above table does not reveal a happy position of the size of holdings in the Baiga region. Out of 5,76,937 total number of holdings 4,63,606 holdings do not exceed 10 acres in size i. e. 80 per cent of the holdings in the region are between the sizes of 1 and 10 acres. Further analysis proves the poignancy and urgency of the

situation. 3,53,242 (over 60 per cent of the total) holdings are between 1 and 5 acres. Nearly one fourth of the total number of holdings are small patches of not even 1 acre.

The conditions in the aboriginal tract do not seem any exception to the State-wide chronic evil of multiplying number of small size holdings. A recent investigation

* District Census Handbooks (Balaghat, Bilaspur & Mandla). 1951.

conducted by the Revenue Department disclosed that small size holdings of 5 acres and 6 to 10 acres have increased by 34 per cent and 30 per cent respectively in the State. Holdings of 11 to 30 acres have fallen by 11.5 per cent, whereas the holdings of 31 acres and above have fallen by 27.5 per cent. Thus, during the last two decades small holdings under 10 acres have on an average increased by 1/3rd their number in 1930.*

Causes of small size of holdings. Although no data are available for the Baiga region (as no survey was done before) to prove with any Statistical accuracy that similar tendencies are in operation in the Region to the same extent, there are other collateral facts which lead us to the basic conclusion that even in aboriginal areas the number of small-size holdings is increasing. Briefly stated the reasons are: general increase in the population of the State and the consequent encroachment upon forest lands for cultivation; reservation of forests and the resulting shrinkage in agricultural land in forests; increasing pressure of cattle population on forest lands; more stringent rules regarding the utilization of forest lands for cultivation by Aborigines and the alienation of land from the aboriginal to non-aboriginals.

Though no data on the working of these forces are available, the high percentage (60) of small size holdings (below 5 acres) is a sure proof of the adverse results of these forces. The table at page 213 throws light on the conditions prevailing indifferent regions of the Baiga land.**

Size of Economic holding for Baiga Region: Before analysing the figures contained in the above table, it is essential

to state briefly the factors which influence the size of a holding in the Baiga Land. The type of soil occurring in the region is the most powerful factor in determining the size of the holding. The poorer the soil, the greater should be the size of holding necessary for raising a particular quantity of foodgrains. Most of the Baiga land is stony or barren soil quite unresponsive to manuring or irrigation. Therefore, the Baiga cultivator needs larger farms than the ordinary cultivator of the plains, to meet his food requirements. Further, unlike the Hindu cultivator the Baigas have no agricultural traditions. As they were nomads, they are not in the habit of making permanent improvements in their farms. Nor are they yet well versed in the technique of intensive cultivation so necessary for the small size farms. Baiga's traditional love of roaming in the forest for food gathering and hunting prevents him for concentrating all the year round on agricultural operations. He prefers to broadcast seeds on wide fields, and leave them at the mercy of nature, and go into the forest for hunting. Unlike the cultivator of the plains he is not a wholtime cultivator; he tries to include forest adventures in his annual time table. Besides, he is primarily a cultivator of coarse millets—his staple food—which give better returns through rotating cultivation than intensive or continuous cultivation on small fields. It is for these reasons that Baiga's economic holding has to be larger than that of an ordinary cultivator. In our opinion, an economic holding for hilly aboriginal areas should be 15 acres.***

To take a more conservative estimate, holdings falling below 10 acres may be considered uneconomic.

*Report of "Agriculture Policy Committee", (M. P.) 1951, P. 10.

** District Census Reports (1951).

*** See the Aboriginal Problem in C.P. & Berar, (1944) P. 82.

Classification of Agricultural Holdings of Baiga Land According to size

(Showing regional variations)

District	Not exceeding one acre		Exceeding one acre but not exceeding 5 acres.		Exceeding 5 acres but not exceeding 10 acres.		Exceeding 10 acres but not exceeding 50 acres		Exceeding 50 acres but not exceeding 150 acres.		Above 150 acres.		Total No. of holdings of all sizes in the District.
	Total No. of hold-ings.	Percent- age of total No. of hold- ings.	Total No. of hold- ings.	Percent- age of total No. of hold- ings.	Total No. of hold- ings.	Percent- age of total No. of hold- ings.	Total No. of hold- ings.	Percent- age of total No. of hold- ings.	Total No. of hold- ings.	Percent- age of total No. of hold- ings.	Total No. of hold- ings.	Percent- age of total No. of hold- ings.	
Balaghat	31,502	26.3	42,080	35.1	26,790	22.3	18,285	15.2	917	.76	70		1,19,644
Bilaspur	95,313	26.9	1,44,616	40.8	63,976	18.06	47,066	13.2	2,853	.805	408		3,54,232
Mandla	15,818	15.3	23,913	23.2	19,598	19.01	37,632	36.5	6,009	.06	91		1,03,061
Total Baiga Land.	1,42,633	24.7	2,10,609	36.8	1,10,394	19.1	1,02,983	17.8	9,779	1.6	669		5,76,937

But some adjustments will have to be made in the size of economic holdings according to the soil conditions obtained in different districts. The fields of the Baiga villages of Balaghat and Bilaspur districts are comparatively more fertile and better situated than those of the rugged Baiga tracts of Mandla district where two-third of the total Baiga population lives. Moreover, the Baigas of Balaghat and Bilaspur are more advanced

in agricultural technique than their counterparts in Mandla. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that in the case of Balaghat and Bilaspur holdings falling below 5 acres are uneconomic and those between 5 and 10 acres are on the marginal line. While in the case of Mandla where barren fields are common, holdings below 10 acres must be considered uneconomic. The following table sums up the situation obtained in different districts:-

District	Total No. of holdings	Uneconomic holdings		Holdings on the margin		Economic holdings	
		No. of holdings.	Percentage of total.	No. of holdings.	Percentage of the total.	No. of holdings.	Percentage of total.
Balaghat	1,19,644	73,582	61.4	26,790	22.3	19,272	16.3
Bilaspur	3,54,232	2,39,929	67.7	63,976	18.06	50,327	14.24
Mandla	1,03,061	59,329	57.5	18,596	18.0	25,136	24.5

It is clear from the above table that Bilaspur has the highest percentage of uneconomic holdings namely 67.7 while Balaghat comes second with 61.4 per cent, and Mandla has 57.5 per cent of its holdings uneconomic. The rate of increase

and density of population explain the reasons for varying conditions in different districts. A rough relationship between the percentage of uneconomic holdings and population pressure is shown in the table below:-

Districts	Percentage of Uneconomic holdings.	Density of Population per mile (rural)	Percentage Variation in population 1941-51.
Balaghat	61.4	618	6.94
Bilaspur	67.7	214	8.31
Mandla (Dindori tahsil where Baigas are concentrated)	57.5	91	3.95

The situation in Mandla is not so alarming as in Balaghat and Bilaspur. But the figures for Mandla should not lead us to complacency, for the population increase of the District as a whole has recorded percentage variation to the extent of 8.53 during 1941-51 and a further increase in population is bound to push its way into aboriginal areas. Moreover, soil in the Mandla tract is of the poorest

quality which can neither be improved in fertility within a reasonable time and cost nor can it bear pressure of population. Therefore, further increase of population in this tract will raise the percentage of uneconomic holdings, the consequences of which for the Baigas will be more disastrous as they are educationally and politically more backward than their tribesmen in Bilaspur and Balaghat districts.

LAND AND LABOUR AMONG THE MUNDA OF BIHAR

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To-day many speak about the tribes of primitive and backward people, many are planning for the tribes and many are engaged in the task of tribal rehabilitation in India. In Bihar as well, much is being done to bring these millions of people on the footing of the other advanced and modern cultural groups. Besides governmental machineries, several social agencies and missionaries are making tireless efforts to eliminate the black spot of backwardness and primitivism from the cultural canvas. It is indeed a good augury for the future of tribal Bihar.

To-day there are many specific problems before the tribal societies which are being attended to by the government and non-official organizations. Among them, the place of tribal economy looms large. The economic problems of the different tribes of Bihar, in detail, are different and specific studies are required for each tribe before any scheme is put forward for economic rehabilitation. Here in the present paper, I like to discuss the various implications of land and labour in relation to the Munda of Bihar.

The Mundas happen to be the oldest tribal population of the picturesque plateau of Chotanagpur and demographically as well they are the most numerous tribe of Chotanagpur, except the Dravidian Oraon. Census report of 1901, records their population to be 3,44,373 but in the census of 1941, it rose to 5,19,743 and it is evident, though not recorded, that their population has further gone up thousands in the last thirteen years. The great bulk of this population is mostly concentrated in the southern, south-western and eastern part of Ranchi Distt.

The Munda exclusively depend upon agriculture for their livelihood and door to door census of some Munda villages (Perka in the Khunti sub-division; Burhadih in Bundu P. S. etc.) brings to light that about 96% of the Munda population, are directly connected with agriculture, out of which about 20% are agricultural labourers and only about 4% of their population is engaged in other occupations.

Economic setting: Economically, they are very depressed and barring a handful

of families in each village, the bulk of population lives on the verge of starvation at least for three months. The plight of agricultural labourers is all the more pitiable. Agricultural labour can provide them livelihood for three months only; they have to seek work elsewhere as coolies, porters etc. for nine months. Migration of the Munda labourers to tea gardens of Assam, Bhutan and Darjeeling is everyday increasing by leaps and bounds. From recent times a large number of Munda also go temporarily for seeking their bread in Andaman Islands and in the villages of Bengal. And when they return from these areas, they not only find themselves misfit in their societies, but with them they bring in deviation, disease and death in the tribal society.

The size of holding per family is another clue for understanding the poverty of the Munda. From the census of village Perka in Khunti sub-division, we found that about 45% of the families have less than 5 acres of land and only 12% of the total families have more than 25 acres of land. The acreage per family is still less in many other Munda villages studied by us and it appears that on an average the size of holding per family is not more than 3 acres. With this should be considered the factors of infertility of soil as well as the inadequacy of irrigational water, and crude method of cultivation; which taken in all, reduce the agricultural income per capita to a very low extent.

The cattle wealth of the Munda also presents very gloomy picture. The cattle of this area are very poor, underfed due to the lack of good pasture and good fodder especially for seven months. The

cattle are of poor breed also. The poverty of the villagers affects the food stuff of the cattle which are compulsorily tamed by the villagers to give calves and not for the purpose of milk. As regards the number of cows, bullocks and buffaloes; they are only 1.5, 1.9 and 2 per family respectively in Perka village. But I was surprised to record only 9 cows in Burhadih where the number of bullocks was found to be 244 and of male buffaloes to be 18.

The poverty of the Mundas is brought out by the extent of indebtedness. Thirty to forty per cent of the Munda families show grain debts. The average amount in Munda villages varies from 2 to 4 maunds. Cash debt is also not small. In short, it may be said that the average amount of debt comes to be equivalent to one to two months' food.

Economy versus Education: This short resume of the Munda economy introduces to us the vast economic problems that threaten the very healthy existence of the tribe. In spite of their least wants and poor level of aspiration, they have to struggle hard for leading even hand to mouth existence. This master of poverty affects them in all spheres of life. It especially hampers the education of the Munda children who are miserably needed by their parents for sharing in their struggle for existence. Most parents want to send them to neighbouring schools and mostly do so, temporarily but their pressing need at their homes or fields compels the latter to abandon the schools. In some of the villages of Kunti sub-division, I found that about 56% of the school going children have not taken their admission while the rest took their admission but only 20% of the total school going children continued studies for some time.

How economic conditions in tribal areas affect the condition of children, can be also had if we compare the figures of students in various kinds of schools of Ranchi District in the year 1951-52 with these of 1952-53. In this one year under consideration, the strength of pupils in primary schools came down by 6481, in Middle schools by 1759 and in High schools by 2088. This alarming decrease in the strength of students in various grades may be due to some other reasons, but the main reason is suggested to be change in session of schools from July to January. In January after harvesting season, the economic condition of the tribal villagers is very much improved and they can think of sparing their children for admission in Schools. But July is the period of scarcity as well as the period of heavy agricultural engagements. During this period the tribal peasant and landless labourers don't find themselves at all economically comfortable to spare their hungry and naked children for school, when they are badly needed in the field to ensure rich harvest.

To be precise, the above economic factors and their integral relation with education lead us to infer that economic uplift should go hand in hand with educational rehabilitation. But in Bihar, we find more emphasis on literacy than economic problems. From the annual reports of the Adim Jati Seva Mandal it becomes evident that practically no amount is spent for economic amelioration of the tribal people. But the finding of the anthropologists share that in general economic rehabilitation should be more emphasised than education. In this connection Mr. Madan has aptly opined that "Literacy will have to be given a lower priority in an all India tribal rehabilita-

tion scheme than socio-economic uplift, medicinal and hygienic facilities and improved transportation and communication." This may be considered to be over simplification in case of the Munda for, economically they are not so depressed but at the same time there is no gain-saying the fact that both the economic problems and question of education should be considered and executed with equal seriousness and sincerity. But without entering into detail, little has been done except the establishment of a number of grain-golas and construction of a few tanks in the name of economic rehabilitation of the tribal Bihar. In the following paragraphs I like to suggest those problems one by one that need consideration for the scientific planning of economic rehabilitation of the Munda.

Land and Agriculture: From the agricultural points of view, the whole of the Munda area is undulating and can be divided into two major categories—the upland and the lowland. The upland in the local dialect is known as Tanr or danr and the lowland is known as Dons'o. Both the Tanr as well as the Don have been further divided into three types on the basis of their respective elevation, and fertility.

The elevation of the Tanr varies from 0' to 25 ft. and can be classified into Tanr I (0-10'), Tanr II (10'-15') and Tanr III (15'-25'). Tanr I, locally known as Dihari Tanr is the nearest to the village and is regarded as the part of the village site itself. Soil of such land consists of equal proportion of sand and clay and is used as "bari" for the raising of onion, garlic, potatoes, biras (paddy seedling) on a small scale. In Tanr I, a coarse type of paddy known as Gora is also extensively cultivated. On Tanr II, that contains

gravelly soil, maize and pulses are cultivated. The produce per acre varies from 6 mds. to 4 mds. Tanr III also contains Rugari or gravelly soil of very inferior quality. This type of land is utterly infertile and in some suitable places only hard corns like mustard seeds, til and Surguja are raised but the yield never exceeds 4 to 5 mds. per acre.

The second type of land, the Don, is lower than the Tanr in elevation, the depth varying from 0' to 22' from the level area. Soils of the Don land are very suitable for raising rich rice harvest. Don lands, have been also divided into three: (i) The garha loyang or the lowest Don land (ii) The Sokra land or terraces of middle elevation and (iii) the Badi or Chowra Don land, situated further up and immediately below the Taria Tanr.

The lowest Don lands, that are from 16 ft. to 22 ft. below the general surface show good deposits of black sticky soil known as Nagra soil which is the best suited for rice cultivation. This kind of land can retain moisture for very long periods and

yield rich produce of rice varying from 25 to 20 mds. per acre. The Sokra at the Dons of middle elevation (10' to 15' below the area) is characterised by a soil known as Khirsi, which consists of equal proportion of sand and clay. Nagra soil is also mixed with it. This area is also suitable for raising rice and winter crops, but the yield per acre is reduced to 15 to 18 mds. The badi or chawra, the highest among the Don land (10' to 0') is characterised by little deposits of brown Nagra soil and produces winter rice crop which is usually harvested in month of Aghan (December). The land is the least fertile among the Don lands and the average yield per acre varies from 10 to 12 mds.

As regards the proportion of land, under Tanr and Dons, it varies from area to area. In Burhdit village of Dundi Police Station, out of 761 acres of total land, there are 433 acres of arable land of which 248 acres are Don land and 185 acres are Tanr land. The average under three types of Tanr and Don in the village can be also classified in tabular form.

Types of Tanr	Acreage	Types of Don	Acreage
Tanr I	65 acres	Garha or Don I	56 acres
Tanr II	45 "	Sokra or Don II	87 "
Tanr III	75 "	Don III	105 "

Besides these arable lands, there is a large plot, carrying an area of 233 acres and barren uplands, and some portions of it are under natural vegetation. The rest are left as barren or wasteland. In other Munda areas, the pattern of land utilization presents a similar picture; the difference being only in the proportion of acreage under these types of land.

Now, from the brief survey of the agricultural land forms and their utilization, it becomes clear that a large acreage of the Munda country is lying barren and

ways and means should be adopted to reclaim them. It also becomes obvious that the yield of crop per acre, especially in Don III and Tanr lands is very low and needs prompt attention for its increase. These two problems of wasteland and low acreage are closely connected with the nature soil as well as irrigational problems and it is worth while to consider these two problems in some details.

Soil and Agriculture: The study of soil of the area clearly reveals that barring the

Don, the whole of land is mainly covered with sandy and gravelly soil. Besides the inferior quality of soil that covers the land, the area is further affected by soil erosion. Both the types of Sheet and Gully erosions are conspicuous in the Munda country. As the cultivated Tanr lands are not properly terraced with embankment, the running water removes the valuable top soil. The slopes of the field are also being eroded by the headward erosion of deep gullies, and everyday ravines and bad land are increasing in the Munda area.

Soil erosion is every day increasing in this area, some of the reasons of which are known but little attempts are being made to put a check upon them. As the Tanr and ridges are devoid of natural vegetation, sheet and gully erosions take place in such areas. This has got further fillip because of the clearance of forests and cutting of trees for domestic purposes. Deterioration of pasture because of overgrazing has further added to the pace of soil erosion. The erosion of soil from the Tanr upland is further facilitated by the ploughing of the land along the slopes. The ignorant tribals are not fully familiar with the implication of the soil erosion and they feel no hesitation in ploughing the land along the slopes rather than across them.

The soil erosion has been very adversely affecting the agricultural economy of the Munda. With the removal of top-soil, the fertility of the land has been very much reduced. The soil-covering on the sloping fields has become thinner and thinner every day as a result of which the yield per acre has been reduced. The gully erosion even transforms the rich fertile land into waste land. In order to preserve the peasants' property an earnest attempt should be made for the conservation of

soil. Restoration of the protective and binding vegetative cover and the controlled farming are the two main ways that should be applied for the conservation of soil in the Munda area.

There are some bushes and trees that can protect soil from erosion. Pulush and Sindnar are such bushes that can be planted to check the soil erosion in Munda area. Further more, trees like Palas, bair, Kusum can be also planted on the Tanr land with a view to check not only soil erosion but to rear lac insects for providing raw materials to lac cottage industries. The Munda area has its importance in commercial sphere for the production of lac. There are numerous factories of lac industry in Bundu, three at Khunti, two at Murhu, and one at Tapkara. Besides these, the Munda area provides also raw material to the lac factories at Jhalda located in Manbhum. Besides these trees, Sawai grass, can be also planted on a large scale in such areas. Even to-day, Sawai grass is found in the Munda area, here and there. Attempt can be made to tame them in such areas where soil erosion is rampant and where cultivation of crops does not appear possible. The sawai grass will be a valuable asset for developing paper industry, thereby it will create additional scope for jobs for many. Besides these, several fruit trees can be planted on such wasteland for profitable purposes. If this is implemented a vast tract of Tanr land can be reclaimed as forests and gardens which will provide raw materials for the development of cottage industries of lac, tussar, paper etc. This will ease the problems of landless labourers and can provide supplementary jobs to the petty farmers.

Secondly, control of cultivation is most essential in the soil conservation. It

should be controlled at critical points : (1) when denudation starts from the ridge down the slope, (2) where the gully is formed and multiplied. Attention should be paid to the contour ploughing. Furrows in such fields should never be parallel to the slope. They should be devoted to the cultivation of certain crops like Mug, Urid, Kurthi, Bodi etc.

Agriculture and Irrigation: It is needless to stress the need of irrigational water supply especially in the Taur and Don III of the Munda areas. The lower Don fields do not require additional water for the cultivation of rice if the monsoon rain is favourable. But in the case of the failure of the monsoon the provision of irrigational water becomes very imperative even for these lowlands. Moreover, if irrigational facilities are provided, not only yield of cultivated lands will go up but also a large tract of cultivable waste can be reclaimed.

Now, the question arises what are the resources that should be tapped for making provision for agricultural water supply. Of course there is a large number of rivers and rivulets in this area but they cannot be used for irrigational purposes because the condition of canal is very much expensive in view of the hilly and unduated topography of this area. Moreover, the rivers have attained their old stage, their beds are flat and they are not in a position to store and supply water when it is needed.

Tank and well-irrigation has great prospect in the Munda area. It is remarkable to note that water table in this area passes just below the Don land. Natural wells locally known as Dari or Chuan-- are available here and there on the low lands. Water of such wells is specially used for drinking purposes. Artificial wells can

be had only by digging 5 to 10 feet in depth. Hence the problem of irrigating the lowland is not at all acute. But it is very hard task for the resourceless, ignorant Mundas to manage to irrigate the uplands. The state (Government of Bihar) have dug a large number of tanks on such Tanr land. But these tanks become dry just after the rainy season and practically they are useless for the villagers. This project of minor irrigation in Munda area has ultimately failed and it has failed because the plans of such tanks could not take the local hydraulic condition into their consideration.

It is worthwhile to make arrangement for the storage of water on the plain area itself. Some rivers can be dammed. Some reservoirs can be made adjoining the vicinity of natural wells and tanks etc. can be dug in relation to the water table. Water from these tanks and reservoirs can be made accessible to the tenr land with the help of pumps. Of course, it is a bit expensive to purchase pumping machines, but the government must make them available to the people by way of loan etc. to enable them to reclaim such lands. Besides this tube wells can also be tried, in this area.

It is gratifying to note that the Seventh Day Adventist Mission (American) has actually converted about 100 acres of Tanr land into fertile field by applying this system of irrigation. At one mile from Khunti on the Simdega Road, we find a very large enclosure of tanr land under cultivation of raising not only oil seeds, vegetables, fruits, but also rice. The yield of this Tanr land has not only gone up, but doubles crops. The secret of its increased fertility is not to be sought in the use of tractors or the application of manuring but mainly in the

supply of agricultural water with the help of pumps, in the river flowing on the low land. It is actually an eye opener and challenge to those interested in the economic rehabilitation of the tribes.

Cattle and Agriculture. We have made an appraisal of the cattle wealth earlier and it appears relevant here to comment that with weak and inadequate cattle wealth, the agricultural economy of the people can not flourish. It is worthwhile to arrange for pasture for the "starving, dumb friends." Proper arrangements should be made to improve the breed of the cattle. The cattle of this area, mostly suffer from mouth and leg disease. Adequate facilities should be granted by establishing veterinary hospitals as well as breeding stations. The villagers should be enlightened on these points and breeding of cattle should be made easily available, acceptable to them.

There are various other problems connecting the land and the agriculture of Mundas. But they are of general types: lighter problems of manure and seed, method of cultivation and fragmentation of lands etc. These should also not escape the notice of the administrators in view of the ignorance of the tribal peoples, who are suspicious about the adoption of new things.

To conclude, poverty, misery, wants, indebtedness have become priceless property of the Mundas. A large bulk of the population live on the verge of starvation at least for a quarter of a year but in spite of such a depressing economic condition more stress is being given on tribal education than its economic conditions. This attitude and approach need revision. It would be

apparent from what has been said above that:

1. In the rehabilitational scheme of the Munda both their questions of education and economic rehabilitation should be considered on equal footing and importance of literacy need not be over emphasised at the cost of economic welfare, as both are closely inter-connected.

2. Attempts should be made for a comprehensive land utilization of the Munda country and ways and means should be devised for reclaiming the cultivable waste lands and increasing the fertility of the Tanr lands.

3. Bushes like putush, sinduar, grasses like sabai, trees like Bales, Bair, Kusum should be planted with a view to check devastating soil erosion as well as to provide raw materials for such cottage industries that depend on forest products for raw materials. This will ease the problem of landless labourers and may provide supplementary jobs for the petty farmers.

4. Efforts should be made to check sheet erosion and gully erosion by propagating controlled farming and sowing of certain crops like mug, urad, kurthi and bodi etc.

5. Tanks and wells should be constructed ensuring the supply of agricultural water to the Don land at the time of failure of the monsoon.

6. The natural well, known as Dan, should be further exploited for irrigational purposes.

7. Pumping system should be adopted and popularised for irrigating the Tanr land. Government should make adequate arrangement for making agricultural water supply available to the poor

tribal population for irrigating the suitable Tanr area for cultivation.

8. The cattle wealth of the Munda area should be improved by ensuring rich pastures, establishing veterinary hospitals and making available breeding stations easily to the tribal peoples.

9. Adequate facilities should be granted to these tribes for using scientific manures and seeds.

10. A team of trained workers should be entrusted with the work of economic rehabilitation of the Mundas under a Special Officer.

LANDS AND AGRICULTURE WITH REFERENCE TO THE SCHEDULED TRIBES IN MADRAS STATE

SHRI E. MUTHIRULANDI,
DIRECTOR, HARIJAN WELFARE BOARD.

In the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950, 40 Tribes were listed as Scheduled Tribes in the Composite State of Madras. Out of these 40 Tribes only 9 Tribes belong to the Madras State. They are (1) Aranadans (2) Kattunayakans (3) Kota (4) Kudiyas (5) Kurumans (6) Paniyans (7) Sholaga (8) Toda (9) Inhabitants of the Laccadivi, Minicoy and Amini Divi Islands. These aboriginal Tribes were once the original inhabitants of this land, but were pushed back into the hills and forests infested with malaria and wild beasts hundreds of years ago by the more advantageous people both indigenous and foreign. At present apart from the differences between the plainsmen and the tribes in certain customs and manners the glaring difference is mainly economic. Almost all the tribes are still in the primitive stage of food-gathering. They were following their own primitive modes of life when the exploitation of the forests started on a wide scale. The exploitation by the money-lender is common to both the backward villager and to the aboriginal. The hard conditions under which they have been living are enough to

damage the morale of any community and it is a matter of real surprise that they have survived all these ordeals. It will thus be seen that almost all the Tribes in this State have very little or no lands of their own to cultivate and lead an independent life. A short note is given below on each of the 9 Scheduled Tribes living in this State with reference to their land and agriculture.

Aranadans

The Aranadaus also called Ernadans are the most primitive of all the hill tribes living in the area north of Palghat gap. Their chief habitat is the Ernad Taluk near Nilambur. According to the 1941 Census, their population was 489. They are employed in felling trees in the Nilambur forests. They have no lands of their own. Almost all of them are agricultural labourers. They cultivate lands for Mohammadens. It is proposed in the 2-year plan to form 2 co-operative land colonisation societies, one at Thanuhal and the other at Thirunelli amsoms in Wynaad Taluk during 1954-55 with the object of settling Aranadans and other

tribes found in the area. During 1955-56, the settlers will be given agricultural implements and bullocks on half-grant and half-loan basis. The concession should be continued for at least about five years.

Kattunaickens

The Kattunaickens are very vile and backward Kanarese speaking tribe found in Malabar district. Their population in 1941 was 1520. They are usually employed as labourers by the Goundans and Nayars in Wynaad. It is proposed in the 2-year plan to provide agricultural implements and bullocks on half-grant and half-loan basis to such of those Kattunaickens who are willing to take to agriculture. These people also will be settled in one of the colonies proposed to be formed in Wynaad for Aranadans. The concessions should be continued for at least five years.

Kotas

The Kotas are another tribe living in the Nilgiris district. Their dialect is almost the same as that of Todas. According to a tradition of the Kotas, they lived formerly on Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore. There is a tradition that the Kotas were formerly one with the Todas with whom they tended the herds of buffaloes in common. But on one occasion they were found to be eating the flesh of a buffalo which had died and the Todas drove them out as being eaters of carrion.

The Kotas inhabit seven villages of which six—Kottagiri, Kilkottagiri, Todanad, Sholur, Kethi and Kunda—are on the Nilgiri plateau and one is at Gudalore at the north-west base of these hills. They form a compact community. At Kottagiri, their village consists of detached huts and rows of huts arranged in street. The huts are built of mud, brick or stone roofed

with thatch or tiles and divided into living and sleeping apartments. The floor is raised above the ground and there is a verandah in front with a seat on each side whereon the Kota loves to "take his siesta and smoke his cheroot in the shade". The door-posts of some of the huts are ornamented with carving executed by wood carvers in the plains.

The Kotas speak a mixture of Tamil and Kanarese.

The Kotas are a kind of carnivorous race who have a great craving for flesh and will devour animal food of every kind without any squeamish scruples as to how the animal came by its death.

The Kotas are blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, tanners, ropemakers, potters and washermen. They are the musicians at Toda and Badaga funerals. The Kotas receive at the funeral, the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes. They are an artisan class of people. They never cultivate lands.

In the two-year plan for Scheduled Tribes, the Government have sanctioned the following schemes for the welfare of Kotas. The Central Government have also approved these schemes and provided funds equal to half of the grant sanctioned for each scheme.

1954-55 1955-56

Provision of Protected Water Supply to the Kotas	Rs. 24,500 Rs. 24,500
Provision of approach road and bridle path for Kotas	Rs. 6,500

Government help is necessary to make them take to agriculture. Lands need to be assigned to them and monetary help is also necessary.

Kudiyas

Kudiyas are a mild and meek people short in stature, generally fair in complexion with a characteristic way of their own in tying their dhoties and sarees. The real hill Kudiyas called Mela Kudiyas live on the Western Ghats near Mysore. Many Kudiyas have left the hills and are found in Puthur and Mangalore. Their population in 1941 was 3941. The Kudiyas on the hills are attached to the temple at Sharmatsala, South Kanara District and cultivate the temple lands. Every one owns cattle, as well as milch cows. They use buffaloes for ploughing.

The Kudiyas near Shishila do not own lands. They cultivate lands on lease.

Near Neriya also there are some 60-80 families of Kudiyas containing some 250 members. They are doing some Kumri cultivation; but even this has been given up owing to the menace of the wild elephants. Cardamom estates afford occupation to these Kudiyas. The wages paid to the Male-Kudiyas are rations plus 4 or 5 annas per day. Proper help may be rendered to the community to continue Kumri cultivation.

Kurumans

The community Kuruman or Kurumban is also called Kurumbans. This community is found in Wynaad, Calicut, Ernad Taluks of Malabar and the Nilgiris districts. In the 1941 census, a difference has been made between Kurumban and Kuruman. In Malabar 4047 were enumerated as Kurumbans and none under the name Kuruman. In the Nilgiris 889 were shown as Kurumbans and 2244 as Kuruman. These Kurumans in Malabar district are mostly coolies in the estates and under Chetties. These tribes gene-

rally work for three kinds of masters, the local landlords, the forest department and the estate owners. They indulge in shifting cultivation when possible. It is proposed in the two-year plan for 1954-55 and 1955-56 for Scheduled Tribes to settle these Kurumans and other tribes in Malabar in the Wynaad area by providing them lands for cultivation at the rate of 2 families in a 5 acre plot of dry land with or without wet land and grant them financial assistance. In the Second Five Year Plan, provision may be made to give them financial or technical aid for their cultivation.

Paniyans

The Paniyans are the most numerous of the jungle tribes of Malabar. The number of Paniyans in Malabar district according to the 1931 census was 32,410. They are also found in Mudanad, Cheranogod and Nambalekod ansoms of the Nilgiris district. About 3000 Paniyans are found scattered throughout the Nilgiris district, most of them being employed as farm labourers under Chetty Ryots. The Paniyans are actually slaves bought and sold with the land to which they are attached as slave labourers. Families of Paniyans are now found settled on the farm lands of their temporary masters. They are very hard working. Very few Paniyans own lands and do agricultural work as independent farmers. Though land is available in plenty in Wynaad, the Paniyans do not have the capital to do cultivation themselves.

In the 2-year plan for Scheduled Tribes, it is proposed to supply plough bulls, seeds and agricultural implements to Paniyans who are willing to cultivate lands on lease from Jennies or Government

waste lands or both or who require agricultural facilities. The facilities should be extended during the second five years plan.

Sholaga

This tribe is found mainly in Coimbatore District and also in the Nilgiris District. In 1941 census 3724 Sholagas from Coimbatore and 554 from the Nilgiris were enumerated. They speak an old dialect of Kanada language, have scarcely any clothing, sleep round a fire on a few plantain leaves using the same to cover themselves. They live chiefly on the summits of mountains where the tigers do not frequent. Their hunts are most wretched—bamboos are bent in the form of an arch and both ends are stuck into the earth and plantain leaves are used as thatch.

In Coimbatore District the forest Department has formed five Settlements for the Sholagas in Kollegal Taluk. Lands were given to them free of assessment, in the Reserve Forest, and about 400 acres of land are under cultivation. In the two forest divisions of North and South Coimbatore, the department has leased land to about 61 family groups under darkhast rules. Some 170 acres in Gobichettipalayam taluk and 15 acres in the Kollegal Taluk have also been given to them. Malaria is the curse of the place. In 1953-54, the Sholagans in GeddasaI were supplied with ragi worth Rs. 95/-. Seeds worth Rs. 85/- were given to them in Bezolathi and other Settlements. In the 2-year plan for Scheduled Tribes, it is proposed to supply ploughing 40 pairs of bulls to the Sholagars for 40 families every year at a cost of Rs. 300/- per pair.

In addition it is proposed to form 2 land colonies of 100 acres each for 20

families by giving Rs. 100 per acre (i. e. Rs. 75/- reclamation charges plus Rs. 25/- survey charges). The financial help should be continued during Second Five Year Plan.

Todas

The Todas are called the aristocrats of the Blue Mountains. They were literally the lords of the soil before the advent of the Badagas and the Europeans and their *mands* were spread over the entire table land. Even now they are levying tributes on the Badagas. The Government also pay them quit rent for the lands alienated from them. The Todas have been enjoying about 3000 acres of land called the "Toda Patta lands" for the past about hundred years subject to the following conditions :—

(1) The annual permit should be renewed every year on or before the 1st April.

(2) The land should not be leased out to the non-Todas nor should they enter into partnership with them.

(3) They should not engage outside labour (non-Toda Labour).

(4) Only grass land should be cultivated. Should there be a shola, margin of 3 chains should be left between the shola and the border of the cultivated plot.

(5) Only potatoes and vegetables can be cultivated.

(6) The harvest should be done by the Todas themselves. The standing crop should under no circumstances be sold on contract.

(7) An assessment of As. 8 per acre should be paid.

(8) Breach of any of these conditions will result in the cancellation of the

license and in the sale of crop and the forfeiture of the sale proceeds to the Government. The Government will not be responsible for the loss incurred by the individual.

(9) The Todas are prohibited from appropriating for themselves, cowdung manure, stones, rock or gravel or trees that may be found on the land without permission from the forest department.

(10) No tiled houses can be built on the Toda Patta land or bricks manufactured.

(11) An assessment of As. 2 per acre is leviable for grazing purposes.

The European planters and the Badagas were able to get the Toda Patta lands alienated easily from the ignorant Todas. The Government had therefore to take over under their management such lands from further alienation. The Todas used these lands mainly for grazing their cattle. The Toda is well known in the anthropological world for his highly ritualised buffalo cult. Their grazing grounds have been curtailed to a considerable extent by the growth of hill stations like Ootacamund, Coonoor, Wellington, and Kotagiri and by the rapid expansion of Badaga Agricultural activity. The total extent of Toda Patta lands in the Nilgiris is 2795 acres.

Though the Todas are mainly a pastoral community, they are very enthusiastic now-a-days to take to agriculture. It is believed that by making the Todas agricultural minded and settling them in small farms, their social and economic conditions will greatly improve. From the experience of operation of the scheme for the past two years, it has been observed that more and more Todas are becoming agricultural minded and are

looking to cultivation for their livelihood and income. Within the course of two years, a total number of six pucca tiled houses each costing about Rs. 1,500/- were constructed by the Todas who live in them instead of their age-old thatched huts. About Rs. 2600/- was deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank and about Rs. 4000/- worth of gold and silver ornaments were either purchased or redeemed. All these improvements were possible by the income derived out of the cultivation. In G.O.Ms. No. 1871, Agriculture dated 7.6.54, the Government have sanctioned Rs. 1,03,114/- for the purpose of creating an agricultural bias among the Todas of the Nilgiris. Under the above scheme, the Todas are being supplied with the necessary seeds, manures and implements in kind as advance and the value of the same is collected at the time of harvest. The Todas are also helped in marketing their produce in the best advantageous manner. Since the year 1951-52, the Todas were supplied with 148 bags of potato seeds and equal quantity of manure mixture to cover 19 acres at a cost of Rs. 12851-8-9 including cost of implements. In 1952-53, 80 Todas were supplied with 292 bags of potato seeds and equal quantity of manure mixture to cover 37 acres at a cost of Rs. 21952-7-0 including cost of implements.

About 100 Todas were supplied with potato seeds and manure mixture to cover 75 acres at a cost of Rs. 45000/- during 1953-54. For 1954-55 it is proposed to issue seeds and manures to cover about 125 acres at a cost of Rs. 90,000/- to 120 Todas. Including cost of staff etc. an expenditure of Rs 1,02,953/- is to be incurred in 1954-55.

For 1955-56 it is proposed to issue seeds and manures to cover about 200

acres at a cost of Rs. 1,20,000/- to 180 Todas. Including cost of staff etc. the expenditure will amount to Rs. 1,50,000/-.

Cost of scheme including staff

During 1954-55	...	Rs. 1,02,953
1955-56	...	Rs. 1,50,000

There is a strong feeling among the Todas that the present land policy of the Government should be changed and that they should have security of tenure. They want that all the Toda Patta lands should be restored to them without any condition. This question is under the consideration of the departments concerned. Financial and technical aid should be continued during the Second Five Year Plan.

Inhabitants of Laccadivi, Aminidivi and Minicoy Islands who and both of whose parents were born in these Islands.

The Laccadivi group consists of the islands of Androth, Kavarathu, Kalperi and Agathi. These 4 islands and Minicoy are under the administrative control of the Collector of Malabar. The population in these islands is 13655 and it consists of Moplahs. The language of all the islands except Minicoy is Malayalam. The islanders of Minicoy speak 'Mahal'.

The 5 islands of Ameni, Kadath, Chetlat, Kiltan and Bibra are under the control of Collector of South Kanara. The population of these islands is 7047.

Coconut trees form the main vegetation of the islands and the main source of income of both the groups of islanders.

An I.C.S. Officer was deputed in 1951-52 for submitting proposals for the improving of conditions of the islanders so as to bring them on a par with the main

islanders. This Officer made certain recommendations, among other things, for the improvement of coconut growing, in these islands. The Agricultural department is taking action on the recommendation made by the Special Officer. One of the recommendations made by him was the establishment of a coconut nursery. In order to improve the coconut plantation in these islands a scheme for the establishment of a coconut nursery in Laccadivi and Aminidivi Islands is proposed in the 2-year plan for Scheduled Tribes. The scheme envisages the raising of about 3000 seedlings and their supply to the islanders every year at a concessional rate. Further, it is proposed to give necessary advice to the growers on the proper method of planting, spacing and maintenance of the seedlings. The programme of work is :-

(a) Survey of coconut growing tracts on the islands to find out the possibility of extension of area and estimate the requirements of seedlings for under-planting and fresh-planting.

(b) Selection of suitable parent trees for collection of seed nuts;

(c) Planting 5000 seednuts and raising 3500 selected seedlings and supplying them to growers at a concessional rate of 8 annas each, 'Ex-nursery'. The nursery is proposed to be run for a period of 5 years at the Headquarters of the Agricultural Demonstrator proposed to be appointed. The nursery will be in charge of the District Agricultural Officer, Tellicherry, or Malabar. The proposal is estimated to cost Rs. 13,150/- for a period of five years against an anticipated

receipt of Rs.7,150/- The net expenditure would therefore be Rs.6000/-. The Indian Central Coconut Committee is being addressed to meet Rs.3,590/- of the net expenditure. The balance of Rs.2410/- is required as a grant from the Govern-

ment of India under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution of India during 1955-56.

This help is not adequate. Facilities should be provided for marketing their produce and it is better to form a multi-purpose co-operative Society.

LAND PROBLEMS OF THE TRIBALS

SHRI SONARAM SOREN, MINISTER FOR
TRIBAL & RURAL WELFARE, ORISSA.

Some wonderful notions on the life of the Adivasis were current in India till recently. It was said that the tribal people, as a whole, were steeped in superstition and believed in witch-craft more than in medicines, that he was content to live in the hills and any attempt at settling him on the land was an imposition on him and that he was an animist fetish worshipper and his beliefs were far behind what could be called a religion. In my young days I read all these and wondered if I was myself or someone else. It would be gross exaggeration to say that all the Adivasis believed in witch-craft. Witch-craft still persists among upper class Hindus. The religious books provide for propitiation of the gods when all else has failed to cure a disease. Those who have come into intimate contact with the tribals know that the practice, system of medicine, is very much the same as the Kaviraji system, which fortunately for us is no longer so much sinned against as in the first quarter of the century. The adivasi is no more contented in the hills than if any of those present here chanced to be in them without a roof over head and a reserve to fall back upon in

the dark days. Apparently, he is contented, for long neglect and oppression has made him pessimistic and suspicious of the intentions of the governing class. I need not dwell here upon his beliefs. With us, religion is not an article of faith but a way of life. Those who have lived among tribals would bear me out that he has got in him the essence of all good religions. Some of them, without doubt, indulged in human sacrifices but many Hindus believe in sacrifices and those who sacrifice a goat have to do so because it is hard to get at a man to-day.

The Hindu cultivators of today observe many a rite and festivity which are connected with the processes of cultivation. In the beginning of February every year is observed the 'Agni-Puja' when from the ashes of a straw heap burnt in the evening under the full moon sky, ashes are collected by real cultivators. This is preserved till the Akshayapurnima Day when it is carried as manure with seed paddy for ceremonial sowing. In some cases the ceremonies include sacrifice of water-melon. A fruit is resorted to perhaps for want of a

human being. Every Hindu cultivator observes the Nabanna or eating of the new rice after offering it to the family diety in a ceremonial way.

The Kandha of Phulbani indulged in human sacrifice in the first quarter of this century and before, for observing the fertility ceremony in his turmeric fields. He had to fall back on the goat and then the hen and then perhaps the innocent water melon to observe the ceremony. The Adivasis all over the State observe fecundity ceremonies and attach great importance to the ceremony of 'Nabanna' which they observe religiously. Many of their songs are for invoking the aid of the dieties to give them a bumper crop. There is therefore remarkable similarity between the Hindu and the Adivasi celebrations relating to cultivation. It would therefore be unwise to brand the adivasi cultivators as either ignorant or superstitious as some do merely on the ground that they observe certain ceremonies in connection with the process of agriculture.

I would reiterate that the tribal is as anxious to own his own land and to take to settled cultivation as any other rural people in India. The Santhals of whom I am one, are good agriculturists. This is, more or less true of almost all tribal communities of whom there are over 40 in my State. I believe this is so in India as a whole.

History will prove that the Adivasi was not always a hill man. Not long ago there were independent Adivasi principalities in the hilly regions of Orissa. Some Adivasi Chieftains were ousted by non-tribals and others passed as Kshyatriyas. Even today there are some Zamindars who were originally tribals and still claim to be so. It is an undisputed

fact that quite a large part of the agricultural land of at least the hilly districts of Orissa was originally reclaimed by the Tribals.

It is believed in certain quarters that the Bhuyan, one of the principal tribes of Orissa, is so called because of his intimate connection with land which in Sanskrit and many other Indian languages is called 'Bhumi'. Bhuyan is said to be a derivation from the word 'Bhumi'.

Gradually, unscrupulous money-lenders and landgrabbers elbowed the Adivasi out of his land up to the hills, because of the influence that they could exercise in the courts of the Rajas and the British. Those who lost their all in the plains had to take to podu cultivation in the hill slopes. In time, they forgot their agricultural skill and of necessity developed contentment in their lot. The beautifully terraced fields in the Parlakimedi malais and the agricultural efficiency that the hill Adivasi has displayed in the new colonies started by us are proof positive that agriculture is in his blood.

In districts like Koraput and Ganjam, so serious did the depredation of the unscrupulous non-tribal become on the land of the tribal, that the old Madras Government were forced to frame a law forbidding transfer of land from the tribal to the non-tribal and providing for restoration of land fraudulently taken to the original tribal owner. This Act was in force in these and many other districts of Orissa. It has recently been declared ultravires, as I understand, not because it does not consider fraudulent transfer of land to be bad but for other reasons. Perhaps it was thought that it may not be expedient to disturb long-standing possession of land however obtained.

Wherever I have gone I have found that the Adivasi, in general, is land hungry. The problem, therefore does not consist in persuading the tribal to take to settled cultivation but in our difficulty in providing enough land for him.

Tribal population of Orissa may be divided into three categories, (1) those that live mixed up with the non-tribal population of the coastal villages, (2) those in the hilly districts and (3) those up the hills or in the hilly slopes. The problem of the first category is not different from that of the equally poor Harijans and backward classes. They equally suffer from the impact of the present cultivation. Education which is both expensive and time-taking neither suits them nor is within their means. The slump of the thirties left them very poor and the post war boom on agriculture failed to benefit them because of lack of capital. The little land that they possessed passed to richer people and they have been forced to eke out a meagre existence by labouring in other's fields or industrial concerns. Some of them still have land which they can not till. They have to be assisted with bullocks, seeds and agricultural implements. Some own holdings which are not economic. These have to be augmented through Government assistance. Cooperative Societies have to be popularised among them and they have to be taught cottage industries to supplement their income from agriculture. Above all a less expensive and more useful system of education has to be introduced.

The problem of the second category is not so simple or common with the non-tribals. They have long been exploited by their better-off neighbours. They have lost their land to the richer and cleverer

people. They live in segregated hamlets and console themselves with what they can collect from the jungles to supplement their meagre income from the marginal land which is still left to them. They need much greater assistance to be rehabilitated. There is a great demand for land among them. Leasing of fallow lands alone will not solve the problem. They will have to be assisted in reclaiming them, must have initial capital to purchase bullocks, seeds and implements, they must be assisted to rebuild their villages, sink wells, have schools etc. etc. The tribal does not have many social disabilities in Orissa. All that he has is due to his poverty. Once he is on his feet, he will not find it difficult to come up to the level of his more fortunate neighbour for the average tribal is a hard working determined fellow.

The problem of the third category is serious indeed. They have lived for too long in the hills. To remember their more prosperous past, they have developed a deep seated suspicion of the non-tribals. It is difficult to make them believe that the State means well by them. The problem does not end but begins when we would have successfully persuaded them to believe us. Sometimes the assistance given to them pampers them and when they feel the least inconvenience in the new colonies to which they have been brought they are eager to go back to the hills. Anti-government politicians find them very willing tools. Each word of suspicion or distrust told to them is taken at face value. Perhaps it will be for the Government of the time to employ their trusted Social workers in the non-official field to help the Adivasi in question, to develop a sense of trust and a desire

for progress. For the time being, at any rate, money invested on them will not give commensurate results.

The State Government is trying its very best to rehabilitate these tribals in settled cultivation and in village communities. Each family is given from 5 to 10 acres of land which he reclaims with Government assistance. Ploughs, bullocks and seeds are given to him free. Wells and roads are provided. In the first few years, these villages are looked after by Government. After they are established and the colonies have got attached to them, the proposal is to leave them to develop like all other villages. The landless Adivasis of the first and second categories are being given cultivable waste generously. In special cases, a part of the initial capital is given free. High priority is given to applications for lease of land of the tribal, second preference is given to scheduled castes and the third to others.

Fortunately, the State of Orissa is not so over populated as some other States like Bengal and U. P. The incidence of population per square mile works out, on the average, at 250. Of course in some coastal districts, the incidence is much higher. But in the hilly districts, the incidence is naturally lower than the average. In terms of acres, the total area of the State is 38,487,000 of which 15% is cultivable waste available for being leased out. The proposed land laws will release a large acreage of land from the hands of the landed aristocracy and will automatically go to the landless tribals along with non-tribals and Harijans. The growth of industries will naturally relieve the burden on agriculture.

We hope that all these will go a long way to meet the land problem of the tribals, but there is, among the tribals, a hunger for land and until that is satisfied, it will be difficult to divert them to industries and services.

The available land for agriculture will not be equally suited for wet cultivation. We are proposing to introduce lift-irrigation in the uplands and the minor irrigation and major irrigation projects of which quite a number have been taken up will convert many dry areas into paddy lands. There will still be many uplands where silviculture and horticulture will give useful occupation to many tribals.

Podu or shifting cultivation is bad indeed. But it is really harmful if it is practised in an intensive scale and without any effort at soil and forest conservation. It has been practised in some parts of India like Assam and outside India as in Congo Valley and Kenya in Africa where recently large forest tracts subjected to shifting cultivation have been grown under similar conditions with groundnuts and other crops alternating with horticulture and silviculture after proper terracing of the undulating land. Once the tribals are taught methods of contour cultivation, terracing methods, and realise the fact that burning of trees is not necessary for a good crop, they can be made to grow crops in the hills without damaging the forest. Horticulture can provide the means of livelihood to many tribals who are now forced to adopt podu cultivation for their living. Horticulture and silviculture, if properly planned, will deal with the problems of

soil erosion in the areas affected by podu cultivation. In this perspective podu cultivation will not appear to be as serious a menace as it is thought to be. But the problem as it occurs in Orissa is really vast. Podu cultivation is carried on in a number of places by quite a number of different tribes. It has been estimated that directly or indirectly it covers over

12000 sq. miles of lands of the State.

The problem is vast and large sums have to be invested at the outset. The State of Orissa formed of areas till only recently under diverse administrations, has been much neglected. Generous assistance of the Government of India to the schemes of the State Government is called for.

TRIBAL ECONOMY Land and Agriculture

SHRI BISHNURAM MEDHI, CHIEF MINISTER, ASSAM.

In the Hill Districts in Assam the land problem is generally not one of availability of land but the balanced and most profitable utilisation of land available. Unlike the plains districts, there are no intermediary land proprietors in the hill areas and so these areas do not face the same problems in respect of both rights and privileges of the occupants over land and the scarcity of land, as are found in the plains districts where legislative measures for the protection of tenancy rights and privileges and acquisition of Zamindaries have been and are being adopted by the Government. No such problems exist in the Hill Districts. Generally speaking it may be stated that there is enough land at the disposal of the community in all the hill districts. In some areas individual families of clans own land. In other areas land is at the disposal of the community, the allotment of land for cultivation to individual families during a particular season being, to a greater or smaller extent, controlled by the village chiefs and other functionaries known by different names in different areas. The Assam

Land and Revenue, Regulation, 1886 is generally not in force in the Autonomous Hill Districts except the Mikir Hills and the Plains Areas of the Garo Hills. The administration of land and land revenue has till recently been carried on under the executive orders of Government and their subordinate authorities (District Officers). This has now passed on to the Autonomous District Councils except in the Naga Hills where the District Council has not yet been set up. A peculiar land tenure system has been in vogue in the Mizo District (formerly Lushai Hills) under which the administration of land is vested in the Lushai Chiefs. This right of administration of land locally known as "Ram" of the Chiefs and their rights to a share of cultivated produce called "Fathang" are going to be acquired by the State Government on payment of compensation under the Assam Lushai Hills District (Acquisition of Chiefs Rights) Act, 1954. On acquisition of these rights the administration of land will be transferred to the District Council to enable it to levy and collect land revenue and land tax.

With a view, however, to protect the rights and interests of tribals over their land, provision has been made in para 3 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution empowering the Autonomous District Councils to make law regarding the allotment, occupation or use of land, thereby controlling the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals, and as a matter of fact, some of the District Councils have already enacted law in this regard. Other District Councils are also considering similar legislative measures.

2. As regards the best utilisation of land in the hills, the prevalent method of cultivation in the hills is of the shifting type, commonly known as "Jhum". The Jhum method of cultivation has not only led to the devastation of vast areas of rich forest but has also resulted in heavy erosion of soil in the hills, in the silting up of rivers, and heavy floods in the plains and all their consequent ravages. The tribal people have a more or less clear appreciation of the evils of the system of shifting cultivation, but have been sticking on to it for want of training in better and more scientific method of cultivation, and also lack of sufficient lands, where with irrigation facilities either ordinary cultivation or terracing would be possible. In 1952-53 the Inspector General of Forests and the Agricultural Commissioners, Government of India, visited these hills areas to advise the State Government on the utilisation of land in the hills areas to the best advantage, afforestation of barren hills, the agricultural methods which should be adopted and the crops which could profitably be grown in these areas. Based on the recommendations made in their report, a pilot project for the planned utilisation of land, afforestation of barren hills, building

up of soil and cultivation of suitable cash crops, has been started in the Garo Hills. It is proposed to start similar projects in other Autonomous Districts viz., Mikir, Lushai Hills (now Mizo District), North Cachar Hills and Naga Hills.

3. In the Mikir Hills Autonomous Distt. which is a most backward and undeveloped area, the State Government have initiated schemes of reclaiming available waste lands which are fit for wet and permanent rice cultivation and of settling the Mikirs living on the tops of the hills on the lands so reclaimed on a planned basis, giving them necessary assistance in the form of loans or grants to enable them to buy cattle, agricultural implements, etc.

4. The land problems of the tribal people in the plains are different. The plains tribal people are generally good cultivators and depend mainly on agriculture. The problem here is to prevent alienation of their lands to the more advanced and unscrupulous elements in the society. The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation which provides for the adoption of protective measures by the State Government in regard to the tribal people to ensure sufficient land for their maintenance meets the requirements in this regard. These protective measures include the constitution of areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal people into tribal belts and blocks where alienation of land to and settlement of land with the people other than tribals are prohibited. It is thus ensured that cultivable land in the possession of tribals is not alienated and they have enough land for cultivation.

5. The system of cultivation now generally prevalent in the hill areas is of the shifting type, commonly known as

"Jhum". The practice is to clear the hills of tree or bamboo growth, burn the jungle so cleared, and dibble the seeds in the soil beneath the ash. For the first year or two good crops are harvested, but the fertility in the soil is soon squandered away, and being left with no tree cover a good part of the soil also gets washed down the hills slopes during the rains into the streams. The system as now practised is undoubtedly wasteful. It has come in for serious criticism during recent years, for the reason that it leads to the rapid denudation of fertility in the soil, and in many cases is directly responsible for large scale soil erosion on the hill slopes. But it is often not appreciated that the system of jhumming has been resorted to by the Hills people, more due to their ignorance of any other more productive and scientific system of cultivation, than because of any special liking for it, or because it is comparatively easier than any other system of cultivation. It would not be wrong to say that the system of Jhumming calls for the most arduous physical exertion, in some cases, perhaps, even more arduous than what the ordinary settled wet cultivation would call for.

6. An alternative to this system of Jhumming would be the "Terrace System" of cultivation. In this system, terraces are made on hill slopes, and crops are grown in such terraces. Where irrigation facilities are available, the system is known as wet terracing, and where no such facilities are available, it is known as dry terracing. But it is not in every area that terracing will be feasible, or is really essential. So long as the "Jhumming Cycle" i.e. the period between two successive jhums on the same land is sufficiently large, the land gets a chance to get under vegetation and thereby build

its soil as also gain in fertility. The trouble has arisen in recent years primarily because the Jhumming Cycle has tended to become shorter partly due to pressure of increasing population, and partly due to some of hill slopes having become barren and denuded of soil, thereby leaving the land with no chance to build up its soil or fertility. Too frequent jhumming has naturally caused the hill sides to be denuded of soil and fertility, and resulted in all the consequent ravages both in the hills and in the plains. The soil washed down the hill slopes has been responsible, for the checking of some rivers, making them unfit for navigation, and also for floods.

7. The subject was investigated in some detail by the Inspector General of Forests and the Agricultural Commissioner of the Government of India in 1952-53. In their view, while it would be preferable to replace jhumming by a system of terraced cultivation wherever feasible, jhumming in itself is not to be regarded as something dangerous or entirely to be spurned. They have suggested that if almost simultaneously with the sowing of seeds in a jhum or immediately thereafter, steps could be taken to afforest the land so that a blanket of vegetation could be built up on it within a reasonable period, there would be no harm in subjecting the land to jhumming at reasonably long intervals. The blanket of vegetation would help in retaining the moisture and building up the fertility of the soil, and at the same time enable the soil to be retained on the hill slopes without allowing it to be washed away by swift and forceful current of water during rains. The species of trees for the afforestation of jhummed land have to be carefully selected. It should be easy to

propagate, ready to fell in a period of 8 to 10 years the reasonable jhumming cycle and should be able to build up the fertility of the soil during this period. These conditions are admirably fulfilled in wattle. It is easy to raise, ready to fell in 8 to 10 years, and after removing its bark which alone is of commercial importance, its wood can be burnt, the ash being utilised as manure in the jhums. Wattle bark is rich in tanning. India imports wattle bark every year. In the opinion of Inspector General of Forests and the Agricultural Commissioner, Government of India, the scope which the hills of Assam offer for raising wattle plantations is immense, and wattle being of the leguminous species fixes the nitrogen in the soil. It helps in building up fertility and also suppress weeds, which will otherwise tend to compete with food crops, reducing yields. Thus in wattle cultivation in the opinion of these experts lies the solution to the regeneration of jhummed land. The disposal of its valuable bark would help in bringing a good return for the tribal people and in strengthening their economy.

8. For putting the land available in the hills to the best use, the pattern recommended is as follows:-

- (i) Hill tops at steep slopes usually slopes steeper than 45° should be kept permanently afforested, if necessary by reservation. The cover of thick vegetation at the top will help in regulating and prolonging the flow of water for irrigation and in preventing soil erosion by fast moving currents of rain water.
- (ii) Lower down, jhumming could be practised. Here steps to afforest

the land, should be taken almost simultaneously with or immediately after the cultivation of food crops.

- (iii) Gentle slopes should be terraced, and these with the flat land in the valleys, should be utilised for the cultivation of agricultural crops.

9. The border areas of the Garo Hills and the United Khasi Jaintia Hills produce considerable quantities of perishable items like oranges, pineapples etc. Some cash crops such as fruits, betel leaves, bay leaves, chillies and betel nuts are already grown by the tribal people. These deserve to be further encouraged. But crops such as cardamom, pepper, coffee and cashew-nuts which have not yet been tried on any large scale are sure to thrive in these hills. The introduction of these crops would strengthen the economy of the people of these hills. These crops not being perishable, should present no serious transport difficulties, which perishables like oranges and pine-apples present now. Steps have been taken to introduce some of these crops in the hill areas, on a subsidy basis. Further possibilities of growing tapioca, sweet potatoes, and potatoes in some of these areas still remain to be fully explored, though a good beginning has been made. It will probably be necessary to replace some of the low yielding varieties by those which will bring in better yields.

10. Wherever suitable flat lands fit for cultivation are available, it is essential to reclaim such lands and resettle the tribal people on them, It would be necessary to undertake such reclamation mostly through mechanised means, as the implements to which the tribal people are used are generally of a primitive nature. The tribal families should be settled on the reclaimed lands in a planned fashion, plots of

land being allotted to individual families for cultivation, to cooperative farming societies formed by the tribal people. It might be possible to recover a portion of the cost of reclamation by the levy of prenia from those with whom the lands are settled. But preliminary calculation indicates that it would not be possible to recover the entire cost of reclamation from the beneficiaries. In special cases even the entire cost of reclamation will have to be met by Government as a grant-in-aid.

11. As stated above, in the plains areas the Government have taken steps to safeguard the interests of the backward classes including the tribal people in land by notifying the areas inhabited by such backward people as tribal belts or blocks. Alienation of land to, and settlement of land with people not belonging to backward classes within such notified areas are prohibited by law. Preference is shown in the settlement of land in these notified areas to tribal people and other backward classes. Thus it is ensured that cultivable land in the possession of backward classes and tribal people is not alienated and they have enough land for cultivation.

12. In the hills areas, barring the forests constituted as "Reserve" all forests are now under the control of the elected autonomous tribal district councils set up in these areas. In the exploitation of the forests under these councils, they would surely be guided by the best interests of the people they represent. So far as the reserve forests in the hill areas and the forests in the plains areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal people are concerned, preference is shown to the tribal people in the settlement of forest mahals. A prescribed percentage of the forest coupes in the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal people, is served for

being worked by the tribal people and the forest villagers, and non-tribals are not allowed to participate in auctions for their settlement.

The State Government would be glad to encourage cooperative societies formed by the tribal people in working forest mahals and coupes, if they are formed.

13. Apart from encouraging tribal people in taking to more scientific agricultural practices, undertaking cultivation of new cash crops which would command profitable markets, and in working forests, it is essential to encourage the development of Cottage industries in the tribal areas, with a view to raise their earning capacity and strengthen their economy. Fruit preservation, Bee-keeping, sericulture and spinning and weaving, soap manufacture, basketry and casework, hand made paper making, and umbrella handle making, are among the occupations which the tribal people could undertake with profit. The State Government provide scholarships to help these among the tribal people who desire to obtain training in these industries, and also grant limited subsidies to those who wish to take to these industries as a profession. There is great scope for the development of Cottage Industries in the tribal areas, as the necessary raw materials are available in an ample measure, and the requisite skill is also not wanting. Some of the cloth woven by the tribal people are exquisitely attractive and artistic, and is in great demand. The products of cottage industry from the tribal areas need to be popularised further through the establishment of emporia and the organisation of exhibitions of these products. The formation of producers' cooperative societies in these areas would help greatly in popularising the products of cottage industry from the tribal areas,

and in arranging for their marketing at prices profitable to the producers.

14. This year the State Government have taken steps to establish one emporium in each district and subdivisional headquarters of the Autonomous Districts for facilitating marketing of tribal cottage industries products and supplying essential raw materials. These emporia will be linked with the State Central Emporia at Gauhati and Karimganj.

15. There is a great dearth of technical personnel like doctors, engineers, compounders and other trained technicians in the tribal areas. For the development of

the tribal areas, to which Government have already allotted high priority, and for which Government have already undertaken development schemes, a large number of such technical personnel is necessary. It is difficult to find such personnel in sufficient numbers from outside. The gap has to be filled by training the tribal people themselves in these professions. This is being done by awarding scholarships to tribal students who offer themselves for training in these professions. By availing themselves of these scholarships, and the facilities for training in the technical subjects, new avenues of employment open out before the tribal people.

SECTION V
PAPERS RELATING TO
Health and Hygiene Among the Tribals

आदिम जातियों में कुष्ठ निवारण

श्री धर्मदेव शास्त्री, संचालक, अशोक आश्रम, कालसी

कुष्ठ रोग बहुत पुराने समय से चलता है। वैदिक साहित्य में भी कुष्ठ रोग का वर्णन मिलता है। समझा यह जाता है कि यह रोग सबसे पहले अफ्रीका में पैदा हुआ और सारे संसार में फैल गया। सारे संसार में कुल ५० लाख कुष्ठ रोगी बताये जाते हैं। जिनमें से भारत में करीब २० लाख हैं।

कुष्ठ रोग अधिकतर ग्रामों में ही फैला है। जिन प्रान्तों में चावल अधिक खाया जाता है, उनमें यह रोग अधिक मिलता है जैसे उड़ीसा, बिहार, मध्यप्रदेश, मद्रास, नेपाल और उत्तरप्रदेश के पहाड़ी जिले।

राष्ट्र पिता महात्मा गांधी ने कुष्ठ निवारण कार्य को भी रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम का अंग कहा है। उन्होंने कुष्ठ रोगी श्री परचुरे शास्त्री की स्वयं सेवा करके कार्यकर्ताओं को प्रत्यक्ष मार्ग दिखाया है। जिस प्रकार खादी, ग्रामोद्योग आदि रचनात्मक कार्यों में भी सभी योग दे सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार कुष्ठ रोग निवारण में भी सब का योग मिलना चाहिये।

कुष्ठ रोग भी और रोगों की तरह रोग ही है। परन्तु समाज में कुष्ठ रोगी के प्रति जो घृणा और उपेक्षा वृत्ति है उसके कारण कुष्ठ रोग हमारे लिये केवल शारीरिक रोग नहीं यह एक सामाजिक रोग है। इस कारण कुष्ठ रोग का उन्मूलन भी समाज ही कर सकता है।

आदिवासियों में भी यह रोग अनेक प्रदेशों में बुरी तरह फैला है। अज्ञान और गरीबी के कारण यह

रोग एक बार आने पर आदिमजातियों के बीच फैलने लगता है। कुष्ठ रोग के बारे में अनेक मिथ्या धारणाएँ ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में और विशेष कर आदिम जाति क्षेत्रों में फैली हुई हैं जिनके कारण कुष्ठ रोगी को समाज में अपमान की असह्य वेदना कदम-कदम पर अनुभव होती है।

कुष्ठ रोग के एक विशेष कीटाणु होते हैं जो अणुवर्द्धन यन्त्र द्वारा देखे जा सकते हैं। यह कीटाणु कटे घाव, रगड़, खटमल और मच्छर के द्वारा स्वस्थ मनुष्य के शरीर में प्रविष्ट होने पर उसे रोगी बना देते हैं। वर्षों तक कुष्ठ रोगी के साथ निकट सम्पर्क रखने से भी यह रोग हो जाता है। १२ वर्ष तक के बच्चों पर यह रोग जल्दी प्रभाव डालता है। इस लिये बालकों को रोगी के सम्पर्क से दूर रखना इस रोग को फैलने से रोकने में बड़ी मदद दे सकता है।

कुष्ठ रोग के लक्षण—यह बीमारी धीरे धीरे प्रारम्भ होता है। इसका लक्षण एक दम दिग्दर्श नहीं देता। इस कारण लोग इससे अनभिज्ञ रहते हैं। रोगी का ध्यान तब इस बीमारी की तरफ जाता है जब कि वह बीमारी से घायल हो जाता है, तथा उसके शरीर पर भद्दे धब्बे नजर आते हैं, और धब्बों का स्थान चेतना शून्य हो जाता है जिस अंग में बीमारी प्रारम्भ होती है वहां पर इन धब्बों की संख्या बढ़ती जाती है तथा हाथ पैरों में दर्द, खुत्कार और बेचैनी रहती है।

कुष्ठ रोग दो प्रकार का होता है। साधारण और असाधारण। कभी कभी साधारण प्रकार का रोग बढ़कर ही असाधारण अवस्था में पहुँच जाता है। शरीर का कोई भाग ऐसा नहीं जिसमें कुष्ठ रोग न होता हो। शिराओं का मोटा हो जाना तथा हड्डियों का गल जाना, जोड़ों का टूट जाना, उँगलियों का गिरना, चेहरे और शरीर का तमतमा जाना, नाक-खन और आँसुओं की शक्ति क्षीण हो जाना एवं आँसुओं का कतई बन्द होना, कलाई और पैरों का मुकुर जाना इस बीमारी की असाधारण अवस्था के लक्षण हैं। इसी प्रकार असाधारण अवस्था में आवाज भी भई हो जाती है तथा कभी कभी कतई बन्द हो जाती है। असाधारण बीमारी के चिन्ह चेहरे कान के पिछले भाग, घुटने, कुहनी और हाथ के पिछले हिस्से में स्पष्ट प्रतीत हो जाते हैं। जहाँ जिस अंग में बीमारी होती है उस जगह के बाल गिर जाते हैं। विशेषतया भौंह, ठुड्डी और होठों पर ऐसा दिखाई देना देना है। रुग्ण भाग चिकना और चमकला नजर आता है।

कुष्ठ रोग के उक्त दो किस्मों में से हमारे देश के कुल रोगियों की तीन चौथाई संख्या पहले प्रकार के अन्नगंत मिलती है। इन कारण कुष्ठ रोगी थोड़ा बहुत शारीरिक श्रम करने में समर्थ हैं। साथ ही यह पहले प्रकार की बीमारी इनको अधिक संक्रामक भी नहीं है। लेकिन असाधारण बीमारी अत्यन्त भयानक है। इस अवस्था का रोगी बीमारी से पूर्ण रूप से व्रत हो जाता है। जो संक्रामक अवस्था में होने के कारण मनुष्य वर्ग के लिये भी भयानक है। परन्तु यह सौभाग्य का बात है कि ऐसा अवस्था के रोगी हमारे देश में कुल कुष्ठ रोगियों के पचास प्रतिशत साधारण रोगी ही हैं।

कुष्ठ रोग का उपचार—बहुत पुराने समय से चालमुषित तेल ही किन्हीं मुख्य परिवर्तनों के साथ आज तक कुष्ठ रोगी की बीमारी के लिये प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। यह तेल हाइनोकार्पस के बीज से निकाला जाता है, जिसकी धार पर मालिश की जाती है तथा अल्प मात्रा में पिलाया जाता है और इंजेक्शन भी दिया जाता है। चालमुषित का तेल कई अन्य औषधियों के साथ मिश्रित करके कुष्ठ रोग के इलाज में प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। कुष्ठ रोग का इलाज बड़ा लम्बा चलता है। कभी कभी इससे मुक्ति पाने के लिये सालों लग जाते हैं। साधारण कुष्ठ रोग तेल द्वारा तथा नियमित उपचार से कतई बूट जाता है। वर्तमान (सलफोन) कुष्ठ रोग के लिये अत्यन्त लाभप्रद सिद्ध हुआ है। कुष्ठ रोगी के अच्छे होने में सलफोन ने अवश्य ही आधा समय बचाया है। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इससे बीमारी की बढ़ती हुई अवस्था रुक जाती है तथा ५ माह के भीतर ही इसके द्वारा किये गये इलाज का अच्छा परिणाम मिल जाता है, परन्तु पूर्ण रूप से सन्तोषजनक परिणाम एक या दो साल बाद ही मिलता है।

रोक-थाम—अन्य संक्रामक रोगों की भांति कुष्ठ रोग की भी रोक थाम हो सकती है। इसके इलाज की अपेक्षा रोक थाम अधिक लाभप्रद है। कुष्ठ रोगी अधिकतर तीर्थ स्थानों में पाये जाते हैं। जैसे पुरी, अयोध्या और ऋषिकेश में देखने की मिलते हैं। तीर्थ स्थानों में जाने के मुख्य दो कारण हैं। एक तो यह कि वे पवित्र स्थानों में ईश्वर की भक्ति चाहने तथा तीर्थ स्थानों में प्राण त्यागने से वे अगले जन्म में अच्छा जीवन प्राप्त कर सकें ऐसा विश्वास करके वे अपने पापों को क्षमा चाहते हैं। दूसरा कारण यह

है कि तीर्थ स्थानों में अधिकतर धार्मिक प्रकृति के लोग ही यात्रा करने जाते हैं, जिनसे बेचारे कुष्ठ रोगियों को पर्याप्त भिक्षा की आशा रहती है।

कुष्ठ रोग के रोक थाम के लिये मुख्यतया निम्न बातें होनी आवश्यक हैं:—

(अ) लोगों के आहार और रहन सहन में सुधार हो।

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(य) प्रचार और विस्तृत शिक्षा प्रसार।

(र) बच्चों की हिफाजत।

उक्त बातें सम्भव हो सकती हैं यदि राज्य सरकार और जनता का पारस्परिक सहयोग एक दूसरे को मिल सके तथा कुष्ठ रोग के लिये अधिक से अधिक दवाईयां वितरण की जावें।

आदिवासियों के बीच कार्य करने वाली संस्थाओं और कार्यकर्ताओं से मेरा अनुरोध है कि यदि उनके क्षेत्र में कुष्ठ रोग है तो उसके बारे में सर्वे करके क्लिनिक चलावें तथा ग्रामों में ही पृथक निवास की व्यवस्था करने की चेष्टा करें। यह कार्य शुद्ध मानवीय है। हमारे देश के कुष्ठ रोगियों की चिकित्सा भी विदेशीय व्यक्ति करें यह सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये चुनौती है। लज्जा जनक भी है।

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK AMONG THE TRIBALS

Mobile Medical Units.

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among the tribals. They suffer from many diseases, the chief of which are: malaria, yaws, leprosy, skin diseases and fevers. Though no survey of the prevailing diseases of the tribals in Madhya Pradesh has been done, the tribal areas are known to be highly malarial tracts and in some of the districts mostly inhabited by the primitive tribes, malaria takes a toll of 10 to 12 thousand persons per year. At other places, it has been found that about 80% to 90% suffer from malaria, a sure sign of which is the

कुष्ठ रोग दो प्रकार का होता है। साधारण और असाधारण। कभी कभी साधारण प्रकार का रोग बढ़कर ही असाधारण अवस्था में पहुँच जाता है। शरीर का कोई भाग ऐसा नहीं जिसमें कुष्ठ रोग न होता हो। शिराओं का मोटा हो जाना तथा हड्डी का गल जाना, जोड़ों का टूट जाना, उँगलियों का गिरना, चेहरे और शरीर का तमतमा जाना, नाक-कान और आँखों की शक्ति क्षीण हो जाना एवं आँखों का कतई बन्द होना, कलाई और पैरों का झुक जाना इस बीमारी की असाधारण अवस्था के लक्षण हैं। इसी प्रकार असाधारण अवस्था में आवाज भी भरी हो जाती है तथा कभी कभी कतई बन्द हो जाती है। असाधारण बीमारी के चिन्ह चेहरे कान के पिछले भाग, घुटने, कुहनी और हाथ के पिछले हिस्से में स्पष्ट प्रतीत हो जाते हैं। जहाँ जिस अंग में बीमारी होती है उस जगह के बाल गिर जाते हैं। विशेषतया भौंह, दुडू और होठों पर ऐसा दिखाई देखा देता है। रूग्ण भाग चिकना और चमकीला नजर आता है।

कुष्ठ रोग के उक्त दो किस्मों में से हमारे देश के कुल रोगियों की तीन चौथाई संख्या पहले प्रकार के अन्तर्गत मिलती है। इस कारण कुष्ठ रोगी थोड़ा बहुत शारीरिक श्रम करने में समर्थ हैं। साथ ही यह पहले प्रकार की बीमारा इतनी अधिक संक्रामक भी नहीं है। लेकिन असाधारण बीमारी अत्यन्त भयानक है। इस अवस्था का रोगी बीमारी से पूर्ण रूप से ग्रस्त हो जाता है। जो संक्रामक अवस्था में होने के कारण मनुष्य वर्ग के लिये भी भयानक है। परन्तु यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि ऐसी अवस्था के रोगी हमारे देश में कुल कुष्ठ रोगियों के पच्चीस प्रतिशत साधारण रोगी ही हैं।

कुष्ठ रोग का उपचार—बहुत पुराने समय से चालमुषित तेल ही किन्हीं मुख्य परिवर्तनों के साथ आज तक कुष्ठ रोगी की बीमारी के लिये प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। यह तेल हाडनोकार्पस के बीज से निकाला जाता है, जिसकी घाब पर मालिश की जाती है तथा अल्प मात्रा में पिलाया जाता है और इंजक्शन भी दिया जाता है। चालमुषित का तेल कई अन्य औषधियों के साथ मिश्रित करके कुष्ठ रोग के इलाज में प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। कुष्ठ रोग का इलाज बड़ा लम्बा चलता है। कभी कभी इससे मुक्ति पाने के लिये सालों लग जाते हैं। साधारण कुष्ठ रोग तेल द्वारा तथा नियमित उपचार से कतई छूट जाता है। वर्तमान (सलफोन) कुष्ठ रोग के लिये अत्यन्त लाभप्रद सिद्ध हुआ है। कुष्ठ रोगी के अच्छे होने में सलफोन ने अवश्य ही आधा समय बचाया है। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इससे बीमारी की बढ़ती हुई अवस्था रुक जाती है तथा ५ माह के भीतर ही इसके द्वारा किये गये इलाज का अच्छा परिणाम मिल जाता है, परन्तु पूर्ण रूप से सन्तोषजनक परिणाम एक या दो साल बाद ही मिलता है।

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MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK AMONG THE TRIBALS Mobile Medical Units.

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Some of the Tribal problems which deserve our immediate attention are :—

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enlarged spleens of the children that we come across in the tribal areas. In Bastar district, during the three years from 1951 to 1953, there were on an average, 4 thousand cases of yaws per year. Fevers of various types also account for large number of deaths and a rough estimate disclosed that in 8 tribal districts of Madhya Pradesh, fever took, on an average, a toll of 15 thousand deaths per year per district. Respiratory diseases are also widely prevalent although deaths do not occur on a large scale as in the case of malaria and other fevers. In some areas, venereal diseases are also rampant although deaths on this account are few. The urgent need to look into the health of the tribals is, therefore, self-evident.

2. The health of a community depends on three factors: (i) The higher the standard of living the better the health, (ii) The higher standard of education, the better the health, (iii) An organized public health service to prevent disease and arrange for early diagnosis and treatment.

In a total plan to improve the health of the tribals, all these three will have to be done well. But we are concerned for the present with the third alone, the organization of public health service or medical social work among these people. The social work year Book 1945 defines medical social work as a special field of social work and very clearly mentions that the changing trends in scientific and clinical medicine in public health and medical care are enlarging the scope of medical social work.

It is with this aspect of the medical social work that I am concerned here. Any social work programme must be chalked out within a frame of reference of the people's needs and the activities of

their economic social and geographical environments.

3. I have spoken above about the health needs of the people. They are entirely poor, living from hand to mouth. The average per capital income is estimated at -/2/- per day or even less. In the season before the rains, many live on roots and jungle fibres. It is impossible for them to pay for anything beyond on occasional bread and salt. Though they are superstitious in the extreme, taking recourse to magic and witch craft in times of illness, yet they are not purely dependent on magic alone. They do have their own pharmacopoeial herbal medicines which have been given great importance in their culture. If we examine the details of Gond medical and herbal remedies for fracture of bones, baby fits, wounds, fever, cough, stomach pains, cancer, snake-bite, scorpion bite, venereal diseases, small pox, eye sore, dysentery etc., it will be seen that these people are not averse to extra-religious or extra-magic treatment for their diseases. If they know the efficiency of a particular medicine, they do take to it very well.

4. The areas in which the tribals live are difficult to be approached. They live in hilly and mountains regions beyond many rivers and nullahs and in thick forests, many abounding in beasts of prey, serpents and other dangerous animals, there being no roads at all and wherever they exist, they are hardly all weather roads. As these areas are difficult for access and at times completely isolated, the problem of medical work among them becomes extremely difficult and has to be organized in the light of the special needs of the people and difficulties in approaching their places of habitation.

5. In these circumstances, what is necessary is the simplest kind of health and

welfare service to be provided, of course freely, to the people exactly like the UNICEF health service. In backward areas, the primary need is to extend basic care to the people. This can be better done by a mobile medical unit preferably one at each district prominently inhabited by Tribals. Such units can be run direct by the Tribal Welfare Department as a part of their welfare activities. The work load per mobile unit will have to be properly estimated. It must be able to reach all the villages in its area at least once a month or twice a quarter.

6. The problem of personnel is quite formidable. Perhaps no doctor with an advanced medical degree would like to devote the whole of his life for medical social work among the tribals. From the financial point of view also this may be costlier. As the U. N. have done in the UNICEF service, we should stick to the idea of not having a few highly skilled persons but to equip our unit with *many to serve the many*. These persons to man our units should be thoroughly and intensively trained in a short-term course. They should also be trained in tribal medical and other socio-economic problems so that they may not look upon their tribal patients as just patients but as human beings with other co-related problems. The personnel of the unit must also be infused with the idea of social service and not merely goaded by the mercenary aim for it has been seen that those who go to tribal areas as mere officials, attempt to return after a very short time as they find little to attract them. The mobile medical unit must also have an equally important preventive section which should work on such items as malaria control through spraying of D. D. T., tuberculosis control through B. C. G. vaccination, control of epidemics

like cholera etc. by proper inoculation and supply of milk and vitamins to children and expectant mothers. In these programmes, help can readily and easily be given by the State Departments and Central Ministry of Health, the Red Cross and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

7. The mobile unit must also have a Propaganda Section fully equipped with a projector, films and literature. The duty of this section should be to carry to the people ideas about health, sanitation, nutrition, child welfare and care of the sick and of the expectant mothers. This can be done through teachers, posters and films. Propaganda is a very important instrument of education, especially among the non-literates like the Adivasis. The operator also must be able to do the work of lecturing on health and allied topics together with the doctor.

The mobile unit must carry all the necessary medicines,—ayurvedic, allopathic and homeopathic. Care may be taken to see that refills are done properly. A proper register showing the name of the patient, his age, civil condition, tribe, village, disease and the medicines given together with the other necessary clinical information must be kept. The doctor, if he takes some pains, will be able to collect a number of tribal medicines which may prove useful to him medically and which may also increase his value as a doctor in the people's eyes.

8. Thus the multi-purpose mobile medical units will go very far in meeting the medical needs of the tribal people. It is, therefore, suggested that such units be organized in each State on as wide a scale as practicable. Only thus can we combat the evil that is cutting into the vitals of our Adivasi brethren.

आदिमजातियों की जड़ी-बूटियां

श्री डा० भा० नायक, डारेक्टर, ट्राईवेल रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, छिन्दवाड़ा (मध्यप्रदेश)

आदिमजाति अनुसंधान संस्था, छिंदवाड़ा मध्य-प्रदेश के आदिवासियों के बारे में सर्वमुखी अनुसंधान करने के लिये मध्यप्रदेश की सरकार ने १९५४ के अप्रैल में शुरू किया। मध्यप्रदेश की अनेकरंगी आदिमजातियों के रसमोरिवाज, आर्थिक स्थिति, सामाजिक गठन और मानसिक स्तर और उनके अनेक प्रश्नों के बारे में खोज करना उसका लक्ष्य है। साथ ही साथ ये जनजाती भूमि, जन्म के गीत, उसकी लोक कथाएँ और लोक कलाएँ जैसे की नाच, दस्तकारी, चित्र-काम इत्यादि के बारे में भी यह संस्था अनुसंधान करेगी।

अनुसंधान संस्था का एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण अंग उसका संग्रहालय है। मध्यप्रदेश आदिमजातियों की संस्कृति के अनेक पहलुओं को दर्शाने का इसका प्रयास है। इनके गहने, कपड़े, खेती और शिकार के साधन, इन के देवी-देवता, इनकी नृत्यानुसंगीत चीजें, बास और मिट्टी के रोजमर्रा के उपयोग की सामग्री इत्यादि जुटाने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है।

आदिमजाति अनुसंधान संस्था का संग्रहालय जब से शुरू हुआ तब से मेरा एक प्रयत्न और भी रहा है। वह है आदिमजाति वनस्पति उद्यान की रचना करना। कई सदियों से ये लोग अपनी बीमारियों में

तरह तरह की जड़ी बूटियों का उपयोग करते आये हैं। इन्हीं के सहारे ये लोग बीमारियों से और सर्पदंश, हड्डियों का टूटना या मोच आना इत्यादि अकस्मातों से बचते हुए हैं। मैं वनस्पति उद्यान की रचना दो कारणों से करना चाहता हूँ। एक तो इनकी संस्कृति के अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण अंग को सुरक्षित रखना और दूसरा शास्त्रीय दृष्टि से इन जड़ी बूटियों का परिचय करके और कराके इनका बढ़तीय मूल्य तय करना ताकि हो सके तो उसका बहुजन-हितायत प्रचार करना।

वनस्पति उद्यान के दो भाग होंगे, एक इन जड़ीबूटियों को अनुसंधान संस्था के परिशर में उगाना। इस दिशा में फिलहाल २०३ की एक बयारी में २० जड़ीबूटियाँ लगाई गई हैं और पिछले ८ महीने की मेहनत से ये ठीक निकल आई हैं। वनस्पति उद्यान का दूसरा अंग इन जड़ीबूटियों को इकट्ठा करना और संग्रहालय में अन्य चीजों की तरह रखना। इधर जगदलपुर में हुई प्रदर्शनी में मध्यप्रदेश की आदिमजाति कल्याण विभाग के एटालों में इन जड़ी बूटियों में से कुछ एक का प्रदर्शन किया गया है। इसमें से मुख्य मुख्य जड़ीबूटियाँ और जिन बीमारियों में ये उपयोग में लाई जाती हैं और उनकी सेवन विधि नीचे दिखलाई है।

नम्बर	नाम औषधि	नाम बीमारी	सेवन विधि
१	छिरोटा की जड़	नामदी	बासे पानी में ५ चावल बराबर पीसकर शहद के साथ प्रातःकाल लें।
२	करई पाट की जड़	खनिपात	१ गेहूँ बराबर शहद में चटावे दिन में ३ बार।

नम्बर	नाम औषधि	नाम बीमारी	सेवन विधि
३	मुस्टी की जड़	कूकर खांघो	जड़ से चार गुनो मिश्री के साथ चूर्ण कर पकान कर दिन में तीन बार ले।
४		सर्प के काटने पर	जड़ रोगी को खिलावे, जब तक मीठी के ऐवज कड़वी न लगे।
५	सिरपोंका की जड़	सुजाक	जड़ चूसे।
६	—, —पत्ती	गर्मा	चिलम में पत्ती भरकर पीवे और धुआं कीड़ों पर छोड़े।
७	खिरेटी का पानी	विषकुटी	बासे पानी में पीसकर (विषकुटी) फाड़े पर लगावे।
८	केवकांद	गटुआ वाय	} भजिया बनाकर खावे और केवकांद को बगनखी जड़ में मिलाकर पीस के शरीर पर बल्लिया के पेशाब से मालिश करे।
९	बगनखी की जड़	गटुआ वाय	
१०	ईश्वरी मूल की पत्ती	सर्प के काटने पर	काटे हुए स्थान पर लगावे एवं पत्ती को पीस कर आंखों पर आँजे।
११	ईश्वरी मूल की जड़	सर्प	सर्प को बताने पर सर्प अन्धा हो जाता है।
१२	वायचिडंग के फल	लडेरिया, शीत	फलों की भट्टी द्वारा खाक बनावे और शहद में गेहूं बराबर चटावे दिन में ३ बार।
१३	अंखफुटी (मरेटी)	मछली मारना	अंखफुटी पूरी उखाड़कर पानी में धोलना। मछली मर जाती है।
१४	विद्यानासी की जड़	सर्प	जड़ अगर पास में रहे तो सर्प पास में नहीं आ सकता, वह डरता है।
१५	भूअली की जड़	दस्तावर	१ माशा जड़ गरम पानी के साथ पीवे तो दस्त लगेगा और चांवल का भात खिलाने से बन्द हो जावेगा।
१६	वगपंजा	पथरी रोग	वगपंजा का काड़ा बनावे, १ तोला जतारखार मिलाकर २॥ तोला काड़ा पिलावे। भोजन:— चांवल का मांड पेट भर पीवे।
१७	ऊरैया की पत्ती	(१) सिर दर्द	(१) पत्ती के साथ नमक मिलाकर रस निचोड़ कर सिर पर लगावे।
		(२) कान दर्द	(२) पत्ती का रस निचोड़ कर कान में डाले उसी वक्त आराम होवे।

नम्बर	नाम औषधि	नाम बीमारी	सेवन विधि
१८	बरैरो की पत्ती	चोट या कटे पर	चोट या कटे पर, कटे हुए स्थान पर उसी वक्त इसका रस डाले खून बन्द होगा। फर्क नहीं और पके नहीं।
	"	विच्छु के काटने पर	इसकी पत्ती पीसकर काटे हुए स्थान पर लगावे।
१९	आंगालाल को जड़	वन्ध्यातव, संतान	जड़ की राख दूध में पीने तो संतान होवे। ७ दिन तक।
२०	आंगालाल फल	२१ दिन भूख न लगे	फल की खीर बनाकर खावे तो २१ दिन भूख न लगे।
२१	आंगा सफेद जड़	वीर्य वन्धेज	जड़ पीस कर दांतों पर लगावे तो वीर्यवन्धेज हो।
	"	मुंह का खून गिरना बन्द हो।	जड़ पीस कर हाथ पैरों में मले तो मुंह का खून गिरना बन्द हो।
	"	दूध उतरे	जड़ घिस कर स्तनों पर लगावे तो दूध उतरे।
२२	गंगेरुआ की जड़	घात की दवा	सुखा कर कूट ली जावे और तीन अंगुलियों से उठा कर उतनी ही शक्कर के साथ ७ दिन तक खावे आराम होगा।
२३	आंगा (आध्याभारा)	खांसी, दमा	जमाकर खाक तैयार कर पुराने गुड़ के साथ बेर बराबर गोलियां बनाकर सेवन करे।
२४	कसौंदी की पत्ती	जहर खा जाने पर	जहर खाये हुए मरीज को खिलाई जावे उससे वमन होगा।
२५	कसौंदी की पत्ती	सर्प की शत्रु	इसके पास रहने से सर्प डरता है और नजदीक नहीं आ सकता।
२६	कसौंदी फल	शेर का शत्रु	इसके पास में रहने से शेर मुकाबिला नहीं कर सकता।
२७	हाथी चिग्रार	पथरी रोग के लिए	बासे पानी में पीसकर पिलाना चाहिये।

जिसको अंग्रेजी में Herbarium कहते हैं उसका अर्थ यह होता है कि उसमें सूखे हुए पौधों को नमूने के रूप में शास्त्रीय अभ्यास के हेतु इकट्ठा करना। उसमें दो चार बातें जो हर एक पौधों या

जड़ीबूटियों के ऊपर लिखी जानी चाहिये वो हैं।

(१) Natural order

(२) नाम

(३) कहाँ से पाई गई

- (४) तारीख
 (५) टिप्पणी
 (अ) लौकिक नाम
 (ब) उपयोग
 और (क) खास बात
 (६) किसने इकट्ठा किया और
 (७) हस्ताक्षर

इन पौधों और जड़ीबूटियों को स्याही सोख से दबाकर सुखाने के बाद थोड़ा सा जहर का (Mythelated spirit और corrosil sublimate का ४०।१ के हिस्से का) लेप दिया जाता है ताकि ये कीड़ों से सुरक्षित रहें। इसके बाद इसको एक मोटे कागज पर सीं लिया जाता है और हर एक नमूने को एक अनेक खानों वाली अलमारी में रखा जाता है। अलमारी में डामर की गोली रखने से ये

दवाईयां और सुरक्षित हो जाती हैं। इसके दरवाजे अच्छी तरह बन्द करने चाहिये। ऐसा वनस्पति संग्रह वैज्ञानिकों के और जनता के बहुत उपयोग का है। अभी हमने जो दवाईयां बरनीयों में रक्खी हैं उसको ऊपर दर्शाए सही तरीकों में रक्खेंगे और इसके बाद इन सब का वैज्ञानिक परिष्करण करवाएंगे। Central Drug Research Institute, Madras राज्य का Agriculture Department, Calcutta का Indian Botanical Garden, देहरादून का Forest Research Institute, Bombay राज्य का Economic Botanist इनके साथ इस विषय में हमारा सम्पर्क है। संचालक आदिमजाति कल्याण मध्य प्रदेश ने मेरी इस योजना को बहुत प्रोत्साहन दिया है और इस राज्य का वन-विभाग भी सक्रिय सहयोग दे रहा है। इन सबका आभार मानना मेरा आनन्द-प्रद कर्त्तव्य है।

HYGIENE AND ACCULTURATION

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The aim of "Tribal Welfare" activities among the Highlanders of India should be integration in the ideal of a secular welfare state, without the disintegration of "Tribal Culture" if the directions given by the Prime Minister and the Government of India, are to be carried out.

The difference between plainspeoples and Highlanders, expressed in terms of numbers, wealth, prestige and experience with power-politics, is so great, that it would be tantamount to intentional destruction of the Highlander's culture if the acculturation process between the two

groups would be left to the free inter-play of forces.

Therefore a device to strengthen the politically weaker party, namely that of the Highlanders, will have to be found if they are to survive, culturally and biologically, the policy of reservation territories, as followed by the Government of the U. S. A., Australia and elsewhere, being impracticable in the present conditions of India.

Medical Assistance

Substantial work of this kind has indeed been done in the fields of medical

aid, particularly through treatment of malaria, yaws and prophylactic inoculations. Some results have also locally been achieved in fighting those ailments, which have been introduced to the Highlanders, by contact with the plainspeople, particularly venereal diseases, tuberculosis, cholera, typhoid and child-birth fever.

In these cases medical aid, rendered by plainspeople, is perhaps undoing some of the harm which their contacts have brought to the Highlanders, but does not go very much beyond that, though valuable help can be given by surgery in cases of accidents (falls from trees, violations by big animals or snake-bites). It is no doubt the duty of responsible plainspeople and their governmental representatives to do as much in the way of such assistance, as is practicable and feasible.

Hygiene and Acculturation.

Hygienic advice and prophylactic treatment play an important role in this sphere. Methods of material assistance (midwifery) in preliterate societies are sometimes crude and no doubt capable of improvement. However, along with such instruction goes the example, given in other spheres of life, by the instructors, their assistants and servants. The complex machinery of large-scale acculturation is thus set into motion, a process which raises a chain of problems. Let us take for example one single aspect of it which, insignificant as it may seem to be, is yet not without far-reaching consequences. Chewing of strongly limed betelnut, or still more of pungent tobacco, has been diffused to most Highlanders through contact with the plainspeople. Alongside with this, the habit of ear-splitting, throat-clearing and indiscriminate spitting has been introduced into the hills. Apart

from the aesthetic effects of these habits, on all who adopt them, or live in an atmosphere of them, they also cause serious damage to health through (a) loss of saliva and (b) contamination which is the more effective, as pools of slimy spittle are stagnating in the moist ground of cool and shady forest areas much longer, than they are in the sun-parched plains and thus become veritable centres of diffusion for contagious diseases. It would require a consciously and systematically pursued effort of self-criticism and discipline, on the part of the plainspeople, to avoid the setting of such examples and to stop the diffusion of such habits, if culture-contacts with the plains were to become an advantage, rather than the first step towards cultural death, for the Highlanders, which, indeed, they very often are.

Dress Habits.

Considerations of this kind raise yet another issue of universal applicability,—not only to the Highlanders of India, but also to all other working-classes in tropical countries.

The most far reaching change in an ordinary man's a woman's or a child's behaviour-pattern and day-to-day economy has been brought about, during the last three to four hundred years of European overseas-colonization in tropical countries, by the introduction of the all-covering style of dress. This type of dress has its justification in cold countries, but it is not suited to tropical conditions. Yet it has been thrust upon almost all peoples in the tropical regions of this globe, during the colonization-period which meant domination of the tropical, by cold-country-peoples,—mostly Europeans. A series of heterogeneous circumstances worked here together and created at

first in the minds of the conquerors the impression that their own dress-habits were "civilized", or superior and have later been accepted by the conquered themselves who came to think that their style of dress was "barbarian", (or "primitive"). The conquerors' naive assumption of their cultural superiority, the puritanic horror of the natural human body, or its sight, which has been preached by late mediaeval sectarian groups among European Christians, Jews and Muslims, specially of the Middle East, and, finally, the desire to create an ever expanding market for European cotton industries; all worked as incentives to speed up this process.

The introduction of all covering cold-country dress into tropical countries has set into motion a social process of disintegration, which could indeed be compared to a chain-reaction in the sphere of nuclear physics. I have described this process and its various aspects elsewhere* so this analysis need not be repeated. It may suffice to point to its main results here:

(1) All covering and sewn or stitched dress-fashions consume more material than traditional tropical dress (*mundus*, *dhoties* and loin cloths for men, *mundus* or $2\frac{1}{2}$ yard saris for women, and a free upper body part, occasionally covered, if need be, by an *angavasthrum* or *dupatta*). Additional cloth adds economic burdens not only on the individual, but also on society as a whole. This latter aspect is particularly serious in a country, like India, where food-shortage and rapid population-increase suggest the necessity of utilizing all cultivatable ground for

food production, rather than for money crops.

(2) All-covering cold-country dress fashions put a heavy strain on the permanently overheated body of its wearers in hot countries. This strain is particularly detrimental to those who work.

(3) All-covering, cold-country dress deprives the skin of direct contact with air, light and sun-rays. It is this contact which supplies vitamin D. Vitamin-deficiency being already one of the major problems in tropical hygiene, is thus artificially increased through over-dressing.

(4) All-covering, cold-country dress, if worn in tropical regions, gets sweat-soaked dust-impregnated, and thus acts as a excrement, and filth despository carried directly on the skin. Its effect is skin disease, uncleanness, lack of resistance and liability to attacks of "cold" or 'chill'.

(5) Changing, washing, starching and ironing of all-covering clothes has, in tropical climates, to be repeated so frequently and regularly, that it is quite outside the practical possibility of the average, with the result that working class people get accustomed to wearing these foreign dresses in a condition of filth, decay and ugliness which defies description. The rickshaw-puller with his load of human flesh, himself lean, half-starved, sweat-dripping yet spending a substantial share of his meagre income on European shirts and long, sewn trousers, hanging torn, sweat-soaked and stinking about his bashfully covered body, is a cruel caricature of "civilization". Yet it is this travesty of "progress" which is being fast spread to the formerly free, healthy and self-respecting Highlanders.

* *Kadar of Cochin*, Madras University, 1952 (Illustrated, Anthropology Series No. 1.) pp 213-226.

(6) The same sequence of events has a still greater bearing on the social position and the health of women, especially in the hills.

(7) The gulf between "well-dressed" rich and those who are lowered below human dignity by the enforcement of climatically unsuitable dress-fashions is deeper than the severest forms of caste-distinction could ever create.

The diffusion of this dress-type to the working people in tropical countries, must therefore be described as an unmitigated evil, done to them.

The peasantry, especially of the South, shows a certain resistance against this foreign type of dress. Their great numbers, combined with the well-settled tradition of Sudra village life fortify this class against too easy acceptance of foreign habits if found detrimental to their well-being.

Among Highlanders ("tribals" or "primitives" as they are called), the situation is different. They are so filled with a sense of being inferior in numbers, in political power and economic proficiency as compared to the plainspeople that, in spite of their being free from an inferior status within the hierarchy of the caste-system, they accept as superior and consequently imitate any example, set to them by intruding plainsmen more readily even than the farmers of rural areas except the examples of townsfolk.

The responsibility of the example.

This peculiar situation places very outstanding responsibilities on the judgement, behaviour and outward appearance of every plainsperson who goes to the hills

and more so, if in an official capacity. The example thus set, will have far-reaching effects on the shape of life for coming generation of Highlanders.

In my opinion the only hopeful attempt at solution of this problem lies in helping the Highlanders to shape a mode of life, a style of dress, dance, entertainment and work which is suitable to climate, environment and cultural tradition of the hills in this country. This is a creative process which can neither be dictated from above, nor postulated by majority decisions from below. It has to grow. But its growth can be encouraged by responsible representatives of the plainspeople generally, and Government in particular, or can be made impossible. The latter course is still being taken at present.

I have been criticized as "unrealistic"* because I am advocating a policy of the creative renaissance in the various fields of "tribal life", particularly also of dress, ornament, dance, art and religion. But if we see how successful the same line is being pursued in other countries, we may realize that the principles, laid down by the great genius of Indian Independence, Mahatma Gandhi, and their application to the culture of the Highlanders, as repeatedly recommended by his worthy successor, the Prime Minister of India, are in fact very practical; so practical that they are practiced in other countries, even if they may be at present neglected in their spiritual home-land, India. Folk arts, folk-lore and folk-costumes are being revived in Switzerland and Sweden, as well as in Scotland or Austria. In the latter country it was through the example, set by the intelligentsia of the towns,

* *CP.*: Review of my tribal monograph *Kadar of Cochin* in "The American Anthropologist"; February 1955.

Government officials and their families, that the use for example of *lederhosen* and *dirndlkleidern* as men's and women's clothing has been revived and re-diffused to a peasantry which is happily returning to genuine forms of art and every-day life. The now current series of Austrian postal stamps shows these folk-costumes, thus giving official support to the movement.

Signs of this development are not altogether missing in the development of modern Indian art either. Even official encouragement can be recognized in such moves, as for instance, the picture of a handloom, worked by a Naga in her genuine dress, on the three anna postal stamp of the new series showing Indian crafts and industries.

These are not more than first attempts, hesitatingly groping their way towards the creation of a truly suitable and at the same time genuinely Indian solution of the problem how to dress, to work and to shape life from day to day in rural areas of tropical countries, particularly in the hill-areas.

The process, no doubt, can *not* be ordered by Government decrees. It has to grow. But this growth can be muffled from the beginning, by setting the wrong example, which is being done now; or it can be encouraged and guided by an understanding administration and its policy.

That is the suggestion, recommended here.

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPRAISAL OF THE BAIGA DIET

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Food is the hum of primitive life. Like primitive forest tribesmen Baiga are traditional foodgatherers and hunters. Food quest is the propelling force behind cultivation, collection of forest produce, hunting and fishing. Baiga has to arrange tribal feast for stoning a breach of tribal law. Food offerings are made to gods to seek their blessings. The Guniya is given food gifts for curing disease. Dancing is followed by feasting. The yearly time table and daily routine revolve around the axis of food. Many of his rituals and ceremonies have food and harvest as their basis—Bidri, Hareli, Nava, etc. The songs testify to the importance of food. This forms the theme of many Karma and Dadaria songs.

The staple food of the Baiga is, however, the simplest and coarsest possible. Pej-gruel of Kutki or Kodon—is the main article of his diet. It is taken twice a day at the time of morning meal called juara, and at the time of marraiya in the afternoon. In the evening (Biyari) Baiga usually takes Kodai and dal and some vegetables. *He supplements his diet with a variety of leafy vegetables, roots, fruits, tubers and herbs.* Fish is not considered to be a heavy food for the Baigas believe it can be digested in half the time of usual diet. It is prepared in oil and buttermilk, spiced with turmeric, chillies and salt. Baiga relishes meat diet. Meat is first boiled in water and then fried in oil or cut into curry. They

specially delight in a roast goat, which is prepared for special occasions. A goat is suspended above fire, the party pull bits of the flesh out of the flames and eat them while drinking. Most of the Baigas keep poultry and thus eggs enter their diet frequently. But fowls and chickens are usually reserved for sacrificial food.

Ghee or oil is not consumed daily in a Baiga home. Baigas generally do not prepare ghee as the milk yield is very low in hilly regions. Similarly oil is a luxury enjoyed on rare occasions. Ramtilla oil is extracted at home with the help of an indigenous oil-extracting apparatus known as petla. But in the more opened up areas where Baigas have easy and regular access to weekly markets, til or mustard seed oil has come into vogue. Where mahua seeds known as gulli are available in plenty, gulli oil is extracted with petla and receives Baiga's first preference. Thus the *per capita* consumption of edible oil varies according to the availability of gulli, cultivation of ramtilla or nearness of weekly markets.

Unlike the caste cultivators of Mahakoshal Baiga is not a heavy consumer of spices. He takes chillies in light quan-

tity and goes without it when subsisting on pej and Kodai only. Not unoften his leafy vegetables and roots and tubers are boiled only with salt. But salt he must have. In fact, it is through the medium of salt that Baiga comes into contact with the civilised world as it takes him to the weekly markets at least once a month. Among other spices mention may be made of turmeric and garlic which are used in preparing meat or fish diet. Baigas are partially self-sufficient in some of the spices. They grow chillies, garlic and rai on their bari. Wild turmeric and Baigani masala are collected from forests. But for salt they depend on weekly markets. Sugar or gur is consumed rarely, only on ceremonial occasions. In most of the isolated villages sugar is still unknown and gur is considered a first class sweet both by the children as well as the old. Honey is easily available in the forest and, therefore, it serves the purpose of gur or sugar. A Baiga relishes honey very much and, therefore, calls it rasa.

A Baiga spends nearly 76 percent of his total cost of living on food—namely foodgrains, spices, oil, vegetable and gur etc. The following table shows the relative importance of different items in a Baiga's food budget :—

Baiga's Food Budget
(1951--52)

Articles.	Total expenditure of 350 families.		Average Expenditure per family per month.			Percentage to total cost on food.
	Rs.	as.	Rs.	as.	ps.	
Foodgrains & Pulses	1,01,226	8	24	1	7	98.02
Salt, Spices, Sugar etc.	1,861	10	0	7	1	1.80
Oils and Fats	157	0	0	0	7	0.15
Vegetables	29	14	0	0	1	00.3
Total :-	1,03,275	0	24	9	4	

An analysis of the food budget shows that 98.02 per cent of the total food expenditure is spent on foodgrains alone. The high percentage spent on foodgrains proves that settled life has converted Baiga's diet into a predominantly cereal diet. With the progress of plough cultivation the Baigas, it appears, are devoting less time to the collection of roots and fruits. As stated earlier they do not spend much on spices and salt. About 1.80 per cent of the total food expenses is spent on this item. Thus Baiga's food is not heavily spiced as in the case of ordinary cultivators or Marathi speaking population of the Berar region. Oil, fat and sugar are also of little significance as only 0.15 per cent of the total food expenditure is devoted to this item. It has not been possible to estimate the quantity of oil extracted at a Baiga's home as it is done irregularly and according to necessity. However, many Baigas said that they use oil in cooking very sparingly. Most of their vegetables are boiled in water, and oil is used only when fish or meat is prepared. Thus, it will not be far from reality to say that on the whole Baiga diet is primarily a boiled and not a fried one. Baiga rarely purchases vegetables from the market. He does not know the method of cooking vegetables like people of the plains nor does he relish them. Therefore his expenditure on vegetables is insignificant, 0.03 per cent of the total expenditure on food.

A region-wise analysis of the relative importance of different items of food, discloses that the percentage expenditure on foodgrains to total cost of living varies from 73.2 to 79.2, on salt spices from 1.9 to 1.0, on oil from 0.15 to 0.3. It may, however, be pointed out that there are differences in the kind of foodgrains

consumed in different regions. For example where rice is cultivated, it takes the place of Kodon Kutki to some extent. Gram may be consumed in gram producing areas or where the proportion of urd and masur is high they may displace shrar pulse. The effect of culture contact on dietary habits was visible among the Baigas of Baihar and Mandla. Here the Baigas have started eating wheat. Dal is now taken almost regularly. They also consume certain spices commonly used in the villages of the plains. Consumption of gur and sugar is on the increase in these areas. They are now familiar with the food of the rural population of the plains. Their food at the time of marriage or tribal feast is more elaborately prepared. It is surprising that Baigas of Baihar have now come to know of tea, probably due to the presence of larger numbers of forest officials and forest contractors. So also Baigas of Mandla forest villages are acquainted with tea and sugar. However, where undeveloped means of transport have kept some group of villages in isolation, new food habits have not affected the Baigas. In such places their traditional diet consisting of coarse grains—Kodon Kutki—supplemented with Kanda and some meat, still holds its own. On the whole, it may be stated, the standard of food consumption does not vary to any great extent among the Baigas of different regions. Due to topographical factors, working of the forces of civilisation, variations in family income and differences in the kind of agricultural production, there appears to be a sort of general uniformity in the standard of tribal diet from which the regional standards do not deviate too far. Traditional uniformity

in the standard of food is exhibited by the following table :-

Regional Variations in the percentage—expenditure
On Different Food Articles to Total cost of Living.

Region	Foodgrain Percentage to total cost of living.	Salt Spices Percentage to total cost of living.	Oils & Fat Percentage to total cost of living.	Vegetables Percentage to total cost of living.
Baihar	73.2	1.9	.12	—
Baiga Chak	75.1	1.0	—	—
Dindori	73.9	1.4	0.3	0.12
Mandla	73.4	1.4	0.15	0.1
Mungeli	79.2	1.3	-0.3	—
Kawardha	75.4	1.6	—	—

There are certain reasons for this *approximate uniformity in the standard of consumption of the Baigas*. Dietary traditions shaped by the conditions of forest life, agricultural production and seasonal cycles in the supply of food articles appear to be the main cause of this uniformity. Besides, absence of glaring economic disparities in terms of family income also explain the situation. The Baigas do not believe, it must be remembered, in multiplying their wants. One can hardly find any material difference in the standard of living of a Baiga with a surplus budget and another in deficit. The only difference is in the quantity of grain consumed and not in quality. The general pattern of diet practically remains the same. Whatever little surplus one has, rather finds outlet in drink. As will be seen later on there are variations in the percentage expenditure on drink in various regions.

Social Aspect of Food. Food is a means to satisfy not only hunger. It has a social significance too in Baigas' family and tribal life. Traditional, tribal or cultural attitudes towards food are among

the most important cohesive forces in the community, which unite its members to each other and differentiate them from the surrounding tribes. Baigas attach great importance to the production and the gathering of food as one of the main links of social cohesion within the family, and to a lesser degree within the village community—they assist one another in the production or acquisition of food. Ritual hunt is a co-operative activity. In chasing animals they act collectively and share the kill on a co-operative basis. Sometimes the animal is eaten communally. In everyday life, it is true, there are no social groupings. Food is consumed by the family. At feasts and ceremonies, however, all households of a village join in a common meal. At marriage, funeral or penalty feasts, food is shared by the whole tribal community of the village or group of villages, though food is offered by the individual family. On Dussearah festival the whole village contributes to the village food fund and the neighbouring villagers are the guests of the inviting villagers. A man or woman guilty of the violation of a tribal law can get his or her

offence condoned by giving a communal feast. Thus, the communal feast is the symbol of group-solidarity. The food among the Baigas is the main medium whereby defilement or impurity is transmitted, and this sentiment is reflected in the taboo that forbids women to cook during menstruation and after child birth, and prevents excommunicated members of the tribes as well as people of other castes from touching his food. Baigas attach extraordinary sanctity to sacrificial food. Rituals and customs prescribe the quantity and kind of such food. The priest *gunia* cooks it or at least men. The time and the manner in which it should be offered to the god and later on shared by the family or village community are laid down by customary laws. The Baiga's say, Bhagvan called all the tribes of mankind to a feast. On one side he put rice and dal, vegetable and meat curry for Hindus, on the other side he put chapati, ghee, and sugar for the Baiga and Gond. When everyone had come, Bhagvan asked them to sit down and eat. But at that moment, a rat came out of its hole, and ran across the floor. As Bhagvan had provided no meat for the Gond Baiga, they all jumped up, and chased the rat so that they could add it to the feast. But they could not catch it, and when they came back they found that the Hindus had come and taken all their chapaties, ghee and sugar, and there was nothing left for them at all. Then Bhagvan brought the water in which the rice had been boiled and gave it to them. "This is *pej*", he said, "and you will eat it for ever."

An Appraisal of Baiga's food. Baiga's food is simple, coarse, and also monotonous. Refinement and delicacy in preparation of eating are practically nil.

However some roots, leaves and fruits introduce some variety or a good catch of fish or kill in the hunt bring some tasty change. But the question remains to be answered: Is Baiga's food ill balanced and lacking nutrition? It is difficult to make any definite statement as the caloric value of Baiga's staple foodgrain,—Kodon and Kutki—have not been analysed by the experts of nutrition. Nor has nutritional survey so far been undertaken of his diet or tribal diet in this area. The innumerable roots, tubers, leaves and fruits which enter into Baiga's diet are probably still not known to the dietetic experts. They have come only on the list of a botanist or Forest Department. How these forest products pass through various processes at the hands of a Baiga's housewife and ultimately reach the Baigas dish is still a mystery not only to the urban population, but also to the villagers of the plains. In the absence of definite scientific calculation of the caloric value of Kodon and Kutki, it is difficult to give a nutritional appraisal of Baiga's diet. However, general opinion of some experts gives a rough idea about the nutritional value of tribal diet. In the opinion of W. V. Grigson who spent over twenty years among the hill tribes of Bastar State, the small millets, Kodon, Kutki, Kangri and Mandia are highly nutritive, and even the hand milled rice is less nutritive. Then again, the basis of aboriginal's diet has not been affected by contact with the men of the plains; it is extremely varied, with the flesh of animals from the rat to the tiger, and with great numbers of forest fruits, roots and tubers. Grigson is not in favour of introducing new vegetables and fruits for we are not sure that what we are advising is better than what the Baiga is already using, and it might be sounder to try

improving the forest *fruits and roots to which he is* accustomed and which are accustomed to his climate and soil. In the variety of his food may lie some nutritive salvation for the sophisticated villages of the plains. In his tour of the tribal areas of the Balaghat district, Dr. Aykroyd of the Nutritional Institute at Coonoor saw surprisingly few signs of under-nourishment among the aboriginals. However, there is evidence on the other side, too. N.V. Bapat, Secretary, Banvasi Seva Mandal, who tours the area in a Medical Van, gives a different picture. According to him the hard working Gond or Baiga does not get proper nourishment for the strenuous work he does. His poor stamina makes him subject to frequent attacks of malaria. The epidemics that rule supreme in changes of seasons, like small-pox, cholera and plague make him an easy prey. All types of diseases rule supreme in the tribal land. Skin, respiratory and stomach diseases and malaria are most common. A few diseases take a large toll of tribal life due to under-nourishment. The ordinary daily food of the

tribal should be carefully evaluated and additions of foodstuff easily available in the locality, to balance their diet, may be suggested.

A recent survey conducted by the Conservator of Forests, Eastern Circle, of the prevalence of yaws in the backward scheduled forest areas of Mandla, Bilaspur and Balaghat divisions revealed certain facts about the undernourishment of the tribal population. Out of 3569 inhabitants of 31 forest villages, 136 are reported to be suffering from yaws, 76 being men, 15 women, 33 boys, and 12 girls. Out of a total number of 136 affected, 90 are the Baigas and 46 Gonds. The number of Gonds is thus half and it may be due to their tribal or dietetic habits. The Conservator of Forests shows some doubt that the shifting cultivation reduces the nutrition value of the food crops grown by the Baigas on the denuded slopes. However, it is notable that the incidence of yaws is quite low or almost negligible in the predominantly Baiga areas. The details of the survey prove these facts :—

Incidence of Yaws among Baigas.

Division	Range	Total Population surveyed.	Number of Baigas affected
Bilaspur	Kata	442	18
"	Lormi	1072	50
"	Lamni	224	20
"	Karanjia	220	2
		1958	90
Balaghat	Supkhar	1438	(Nil) Baiga
Mandla	Sarastal	73	(Nil)
		1511	(Nil)

Dr. Rambo of the Christ Mission Hospital in Mungeli tahsil, found the physical condition of the Baigas pathetic. "There was much itch and ringworm. We came across some leprosy. We noted a good deal of gonorrhoea and syphilis. Malaria is the greatest scourage". He ascribes this state of affairs to a meat deficiency arising from the influence of Hinduism. Constantly being put to shame by Hindus for keeping and eating pigs and chickens is still further reducing their vitality. The game laws and the fear of forest officials have also played their part in reducing the proportion of meat in Biaga's diet. A vegetarian diet may well lead to a further degree of physical degradation. Taken as a whole, the Baiga's diet appears to be better balanced

in the hills than in the large villages of the plains. For the Highlander supplements his diet with wild fruits and roots of the jungle, and his diet seems to be a fairly satisfactory combination of fresh vegetables, rich in vitamins, and carbohydrates in the form of grain. In the plains, on the other hand, he devotes little time to collecting wild produce, raises fewer garden crops, and lives mainly on the grain grown on level fields; consequently his diet is overloaded with starch. As forest and game laws restrict hunting, and the contact with high caste Hindus leads them to replace the sacrifice of animals by the offering of coconuts, there will be fewer and fewer occasions for eating meat.

SECTION VI
PAPERS RELATING TO
Anthropology & Tribal Welfare

ANTHROPOLOGY AND TRIBAL WELFARE

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The number of Scheduled Tribes in India is 212 with a total population of 19,111,498. The tribal peoples constitute 5.36% of the total population of India. They are found mainly in the hills and mountains of Assam, and in the hills, mountains and plateaus of Peninsular India. But the greatest concentration of the tribal population is to be found in Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh.

Since the attainment of independence in 1947, our national leaders have been thinking hard about the ways and means of developing the tribal peoples of India. The Constitution of India has also made special provisions for their economic and educational advancement. A number of organizations, official, as well as non-official, have been working all over the country for tribal welfare and advancement. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh is in the vanguard of these organizations. The welfare activities of the various organizations may be broadly classified under four headings, namely, (i) educational (ii) economic (iii) medical relief and (iv) resettlement.

Educational activities include the establishment of schools (general as well as vocational), financial assistance in the form of free-studentship, lump sum grants and scholarships, and the establishment of special hostels for tribal students. Tribal welfare activities in the economic sphere

include the establishment of co-operative societies and grain golas, encouragement of cottage industries, prohibition of alienation of tribal lands to non-tribals, development of communications in tribal areas etc. Medical relief consists in the establishment of dispensaries, maternity centres, distribution of free medicines, the adoption of anti-malarial measures and so on. Resettlement measures consist in the establishment of forest colonies in order to wean the tribal peoples from a nomadic to a settled life. Tribal families in such colonies are given cash loans, raw materials like paddy seeds, and bullocks for cultivation.

Besides the afore-mentioned activities welfare centres and model villages are being opened to demonstrate the benefits of organized community life under modern conditions. Ordinary wells and tube-wells for the supply of drinking water are also being dug. A number of community projects have been started in selected tribal areas in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Tripura. Large sums of money are being spent for all these welfare activities. During the period 1951-54 a sum of Rs. 10,38,98,460 have been spent by the Government of India and different State Governments on the development of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas.

The welfare activities mentioned above are based on a great fund of goodwill and

strong commonsense. But there is not much evidence to show that serious efforts have been made to relate this general welfare programme to the state of socio-cultural development of the tribes intended to be helped. It is common knowledge that there is a wide range of variation among the tribal peoples of India in economic development and the degree of contact with modern civilization. The gamut runs from the food-gathering and hunting Birhor, Korua and Onge through shifting cultivators like the Naga, Juang, Pauri Bhuiyan and Kandh to settled plough-cultivators like the Munda, Oraon and Santal. All these tribes cannot be subjected to the same treatment, if tribal welfare is to be advanced.

The question then arises how the welfare programme can be formulated in conformity with the state of socio cultural development of individual tribes. It is here that the specialized knowledge of anthropology should be brought to bear on the problem. Anthropologists (here I mean Cultural and Social Anthropologists as distinguished from Physical Anthropologists) who specialize in making rounded studies of unfamiliar societies and cultures should be able to indicate the way in which the welfare programme or the plan of development of a tribe ought to emerge out of a study and understanding of its culture and problems. Anthropologists should also be able to point out the cultural spots of a tribe which are more amenable to change than others. In other words, anthropological knowledge should be applied not only at the stage of formulation but also at that of implementation of the welfare programme. This is the scientific approach to the solution of the human problem of tribal

advancement. Dependence on common sense in tackling human problems is good upto a point, but common-sense is not enough by itself. It must be reinforced by the application of science.

The objective of applying anthropological knowledge to the problem of advancement of tribal welfare can be achieved in two ways; either by engaging anthropologists in every welfare organization or by giving the welfare workers the necessary anthropological training and orientation. As in India today the number of adequately trained anthropologists is extremely limited, it would be advisable not only to make full use of the available anthropologists in the task under consideration but also to organize short-term courses to give the welfare workers the required anthropological orientation. The anthropologically-oriented welfare workers would be in a better position to understand the culture-patterns of the tribal societies to be dealt with and hence to assist in the formulation of the right type of plan and its implementation.

In conclusion, I should like to suggest that the existing welfare activities in the different tribal areas of India should be examined and evaluated by anthropologists in order to find out the extent to which these activities have been serving the purpose for which they are meant and also the lines along which the existing welfare programmes require modification and revision. Welfare organizations, official as well as non-official, should take the initiative in this matter. If this is done, a good deal of wasteful expenditure in human energy and funds will be saved. Besides, the primary objective of advancing tribal welfare is likely to be more expeditiously achieved.

WHO AND WHAT ARE THE TRIBAL PEOPLE, AND WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THEM ?

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At first sight this may appear to be a quite redundant question, but I hope to show that there is nevertheless some force behind it. Outside of the actual tribal territories most people know of these societies either by report or from books. The reports they hear are largely to the fact that they are primitive and backward, that they have different customs from the rest of the population which surrounds them, that they eat this or that, which may appear even quite shocking to outsiders, and that rates of crime are excessively high in respect of homicide, or, it may be, that the reports are more pleasant, and speak of the sterling honesty of tribes-people. The written works are largely those of social anthropologists, who are, in the main obsessed with certain facets only of the lives of the people. It may be sex-matters, which seem sometimes to engage far too large a part of interest in and interpretation of the lives of the people, or familial relationship, inheritance of property and the like.

While it cannot be said therefore that nothing is discussed or written about these peoples, for the very contrary is the case, it still is quite clear that if we have to answer the question which has been posed, it must be that the outside world (in India and overseas) knows remarkably little of a fundamental character about the tribal peoples of the country as a whole.

The late Sir S. S. Bhatnagar just before he died made a strong plea for

integrated researches, involving the fields of natural science and the social studies, and it is just because such a plea was necessary that our knowledge is so limited, lacking that very integration which of itself would give to us a really rounded and satisfying account of each tribal region and group in India to-day. Indeed, without that integration, the work of tribal welfare cannot proceed as satisfactorily as it ought, nor with the assurance of that success in its planning which it must desire. For, until properly integrated researches have been carried out, and their results synthesised, and these made available to the tribal welfare worker the basis for adequate and large-scale measures of social welfare do not in fact really exist at all. A detailed knowledge of the marriage customs of the Bhils, shall we say, coupled with the inheritance of property of the Gonds, and the ideas of agriculture of the Murias does not provide the basis of real understanding, even when the student has made himself acquainted with the works dealing with all these peoples, simply because most of the writings, if not all, have been concerned with looking at tribal peoples from the angle of specialisation.

Consequently, 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.

A survey of a tribal people, or of any people, no matter how primitive or how advanced, requires certain fundamental studies to be undertaken, and which may be enumerated as follows.-

1. The geographical background of the tribal area: This should, first of all, set out the type of rock and sub-soil of the region. Secondly it should describe, as cartographically as possible, the surface features - hills, valleys, plateaus, rivers, and the like. Following this the region should be described in terms of landscape, which itself involves the type of soil, and the flora which it bears.

Following that must come statistics of temperature and rainfall.

Only when these are accurately recorded are we in a position to understand the communications of the district, the reason for the growth of settlements in particular places, and the economy which these conditions all taken together produce. Thus, the studies must follow by laying down clearly the routes and communications, the economy of the territory, the distribution of settlements, and finally their types.

The settlement distributions give us a key to the development, or lack of it, or the potential development, of the region when taken in relation to the other data, as well as giving us some understanding

of what is the population in the various natural sub-divisions of the region.

Population statistics in relation to these same natural regions, and sub-regions are necessary, including data on longevity, ages of marriage, and the like, as well as indications of migrational tendencies.

When this has been done the basic facts of the physical environment as they affect the lives of the people both as individuals and as communities will become apparent.

2. The Physical Anthropology: Against this background we then must know something of what and who are these tribal peoples. For this is not merely a matter of academic interest, but it is a genetical matter as well, and that in its turn involves heredity, and without this knowledge, the potential resources of any group are not really assessable. For some strains are much more readily adaptable to a particular way of life or action than others, and unless this fact is appreciated much labour may well be less well directed than it otherwise might have been, it not, in some cases being entirely in vain.

To ascertain what the people are is obviously necessary since there is still much uncertainty as to their origins, inter-minglings, affiliations, and to which human stocks in the main we should consider each chief group of tribal peoples to belong. Consequently, the work of studying the tribal peoples involves therefore at the same time the work of the physical anthropologist in order to record their characters, and the ethnologist to analyse and synthesise the results.

These investigations should be reduced to cartographic expression so that the

distribution of strains may be correlated with the geographic and other data emerging from the researches.

3. The Cultural Anthropology: Next should follow the work of the Cultural anthropologist, who should study the settlement forms, and elaborate their distribution, the house-types, and their distribution, the forms of dress, of artefacts, of wagons and carts, and harness, the distribution of all of which in relation to the underlying geography and ethnology begins to build up a conception of the people and their land.

Language investigation is a first class necessity. The language spoken in the home, the degree of multi-linguality, the *lingua franca* of the area, and statistics on the recession of the languages under the influence of modern culture and education should all be recorded. The relationship of the languages to each other, and to the main historical linguistic groups of India should not be neglected, and with the aid of modern recording instruments the speech of the people should be noted, so that both grammars and dictionaries can be compiled, or where they exist already, can be enlarged and annotated in the light of this later information.

Historical considerations, as to the movement of the tribes, the shrinkage and expansion, between one and another, both of their languages and cultural motifs, should be disentangled where possible.

4. The Social Anthropology: When all this groundwork has been laid, and it is largely this huge area of knowledge on the tribal peoples which is most inadequately undertaken, or when done, carried out so sketchily and in so haphazard a manner as to be most unsatisfying, then, and then

only do we come of study the social anthropology of the region and the tribe. When all this has been done the social anthropology will be seen in terms of the geography, human and economic, and the physical anthropology, ethnology and cultural phenomena of the people. All these acting at scientific controls on each other, collectively act in that manner upon the social anthropologist's data, preventing the romantic flights of fancy which sometimes accompany the theories of the student of social customs, and causing them to serve more truly the needs of human knowledge. With this background of integrated knowledge provided by the geographer, physical, social and cultural anthropologists, a real foundation will then have been laid on which to carry out and understand sociological studies, and from these to arrive at realistic welfare proposals for the tribes concerned.

The integration of studies should not, however, be necessarily limited to the range which has been discussed. No understanding of the hunting aspects of the economy, for instance, can be properly understood without some knowledge of, and recording and cartographic representation of the flora and fauna, and particularly some consideration of their ecology.

While, of course, as part of the ethnological and physical anthropological studies, there would be a blood group survey, as well as investigation into the wide and important field of medical ethnology. It is all too common an error to assume that mankind *equally* suffer from the incidences of diseases, although, when we come to reflect upon the matter, we know that this is not the case, where the Irish are largely settled in the British cities, for instance, there is a higher incidence of T. B. than is the case in

cities where they are not so numerous, which would seem to indicate a lower resistance to this disease by the Irish (who are compounded from a racial amalgam in which the Atlantic race is a basic foundation). Furthermore, T. B. afflicts the Negroes in the northern part of the U.S.A. more severely than it does the white populations among whom they live. Skin cancer in India occurs in a higher degree among the fairer than the darker stocks.

It is said that there is a high incidence of leprosy among the Chhattiagarhi. This may be so or not. But it is obviously a case for investigation not solely on purely medical lines, but also on those of ethnology.

From these and other facts and considerations it is apparent that integrated

surveys and studies of the tribal peoples and their territories are not only necessary to widen our knowledge of the peoples themselves and their ways of life, but they are also of very great importance from the point of view of efficient understanding of the needs of the tribal peoples. Without such studies the whole range of welfare work, in whatever field, from the administrative to the educational and medical, will be sadly hampered. It is hoped therefore that this conference will give its fullest support to the extensive development of such integrated researches, not merely as of academic importance, but as a vital necessity if the work of tribal welfare, for which this conference is meeting, is to succeed to the fullest degree possible.

HORNED DANCERS — TREASURES OF TRIBAL ARTS

DR. (MRS.) FREDA MOOKERJEE.

It is hardly more than half a century since the discovery of tribal paintings revolutionized the discipline of the fine arts in a similar way as the discovery of Mohenjodaro and Rugar changed the traditional outlook on Indian history and culture. It was not only necessary to antedate the commencement of the history of art for many millennia, but scholars realised that these early beginnings as those of Harappa culture—showed a highly complex pattern and anticipated already the qualities of genuine art.¹

The fact is indeed puzzling that, in far remote times, long before the alphabet was invented (at a period when the people were not only illiterate, but had not yet the faintest notion of wheeled transport,

the domestication of animals and the tilling of the soil, when they were not yet acquainted with ploughing, potting, spinning, weaving and the working of metals), man was already a true artist. He was a painter whose creations still inspire because they are outstanding for their visual conception and vigorous skill.

Sheer accident brought the "cavasses" of the earliest painters in Europe into the glare of publicity. A Spanish wench, of an enquiring turn of mind, squeezing herself through a gap in the rocks while waiting for her *curiosa*-searching father, was the first to look at the famous paintings of Altamira. While in the Dordogne, France, a couple of boys became the discoverers of the cavern art

1. Bruils M. C. *Burkitt Rockpaintings of Southern Andalusia* (Oxford, 1929)

there. When diving in a brook in pursuit of their dog, they were caught by the underwater current. On emerging after a while they experienced a shock like the hero, Odysseus when he witnessed Circe transforming his friends into swines. The lads found themselves imprisoned in a huge enchanted dome and in the dim light they recognised animals of over life size dimensions gazing at them from the ceiling and the walls. Some were deep crimson, their outlines intensified with jet black colour, others were saffron, mauve or sepia brown.

Ever since this little "toros toros" crying girl of Altamira and the French boys of the Dordogne returned to civilization and told friends and parents of their remarkable exploits, a number of scholars have dedicated their studies to these beautiful cavern paintings which display an animal world long since extinct in Europe.

This cold fauna, the bear, woolly rhinoceros, reindeer and mammoth, flourished in Spain and France, when these parts of the world experienced the oscillations of the last, Würm, glaciation. The bony remains of these animals have been located at the bottom of the caves. Moreover, the painter's tools, his palettes made of flat bones, his grinding stones for pigment, chisels, pestles and scrapers have been traced in the immediate neighbourhood of their artistic activities. As a consequence, the specialists have therefore been able to give a clear strati-

fication and a dating of not less than 25000 B. C. for this earliest art².

Until the discovery of Altamira, the majority of the art—historians believed in evolutionary theories like those of G. Semper's propounding that art originated from the spirit of technique and that it was in the beginning a mere by-product of crafts. The development was understood to be unilinear starting from primitive, ideational forms and culminating in the modern visual style³. A. Riegl challenged these assertions emphasising that even ornamental art has a naturalistic basis and that an artistic drive which he called "Kunstwollen" is inherent in man⁴. It was only after the proper dating of the rock-paintings that the polemic tended in favour of Riegl whose views were backed by the psychologist, M. Verworn⁵, and the anthropologist Von Sydow. The latter styled the rock-paintings *visual* and *impressionistic* and contrasted them with the ideational creations of the later, neolithic, age⁶.

P. A. Sorokin had made it clear that the visual style is not a bare matter of evolution but that it is based on a distinct mental attitude. He explains that the sensory, visual, aspect is empirical as the artist regards only that the organ of sense, the eyes, discern as actually existing, and thus being real and true. The ideational artist on the other hand, renders forms quite differently from their ordinary appearance. He fashions things according to the idea that he has formed of

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2. General account on palaeolithic art in A. H. Broderick: *Prehistoric Painting* (Ldn, 1948) pp. 29ff; E. Windels: *les Laocaux Cave paintings* (Ldn, 1948) pp. 125ff.
 3. G. Semper: *Der stil in den technischen und tektonischen Kuensten* (186)
 4. In "Stilfragen" (Berlin, 1895)
 5. "Zur psychologie der primitiven Kunst" (Jena, 1917) pp. 1ff.
 6. "Die Kunst der Naturvoelkre und der Vorzeit" (Blu, 1927) pp. 16ff-

them. Both currents are according to Sorokin present from the earliest beginnings, in some groups the sensory attitude prevails, in others the ideational. He speaks of shifts from one line to the other and concludes the ideational style tends to occur in the more sacred aspects of social life while the visual style is found within the same culture in the more profane affairs of the daily routine⁷. We will later come back to these conclusions after a careful survey and interpretation of the rockpainter's exploits.

I

The beginnings of the Franco-Cantabrian art can be seen in the early Aurignacian. Here the painter's lines are still somewhat stiff and too labouriously executed. But soon he overcomes the initial difficulties, representing no longer his figures in a photographic manner but with selection and spontaneous skill. He makes use of the natural texture of his subterranean "canvas" on which he works by the scanty light of an oil lamp furnished with a wick of moss. He uses the clefts as natural contours for the frames of his animals and employs projecting parts on the rock for the body, thus giving roundness to the form.

From the onset of the Magdalenian period, the artist masters every technique and movement. His beasts—as a rule portrayed single—are wandering, walking wallowing, galloping and browsing; occasionally he produces a dramatic scene. There is the famous dying bear, an animal covered all over with pointed arrows. The muzzle of the black bull of Lascaux

is pierced by spear and the cow of the same cave is to be found struck in the nape of the neck by a mortal dart. Another figure represents a quivering bison experiencing the last minutes before death. Its belly is ripped open so that the guts sag out. A stylized man with a bird's mask lies at its feet and next to him stands a pole with a bird on top.⁸

The technique in which these Magdalenian paintings are executed is remarkable. The artist made use of smearing, dabbing, flat wash, brushing and spraying with a blowing gun. Patches of colour are worked into each other, the places of light and shade are contrasted and details are considered in the relation to the whole. Limbs, eyes and horns are no longer exactly defined but merge into a composition which displays the craftsmanship of the painter.

A. Hauser in his "Social History of Art" stresses the point that here at the beginnings of the human history we find already a conception and technique which rises to level of virtuosity and that we have to wait until the 19th century impressionism to find a parallel to this earliest tribal style.⁹

While the specialists were still hunting for Franco-Cantabrian rockpaintings, they discovered in the east of Spain another prehistoric animal style, but not in subterranean recesses but on open overhanging slabs of rocks. It is interesting to note that these Capsian artists painted by daylight while the Franco-Cantabrians worked under conditions

7. "Social and Cultural Dynamics" (Ldn, 1937) Vol. 1, No. 272, 270, 274.

8. W. Y. Sallas *Ancient Ylunters* (N. Y. 1929) p. 349, fig. 195 Windels 55. *Ibid.* 57; A. H. Brodrick *Lascaux* (Ldn, 1952) pp. 18ff.

9. The impressionistic style dominated from about 1870 to the end of the 19th century and culminated in the works of Manet, Renoir and Canguin.

which remind us of those of the artists of the Ajanta caves.

As different as the choice of the sites are the rhythm, colour-rendering and composition of these two animal styles. The Capsian artist does not care for plastic effects but merely aims at movement and speed. The colour technique is monochrome. Even if several colours are employed they are used in juxtaposition. Remarkable is the different attitude in the treatment of the beasts and men. The former are visually treated while the latter are given as a highly stylized silhouette with limbs and sexual organs proportionally much too long. As the figures do not stand alone but are conceived as part of a group in motion, simplification and distortion serve here as artistic means to enhance the strong atmosphere of hunt and pursuit.

This ideational treatment of the human figure anticipates already a conceptional change, and we can indeed observe a gradual process of modification in the palaeolithic art of Europe. The paintings become less vital and the art stiffens finally into rigid schematization, e.g. the antlers which had been always executed with particular care and great accuracy appear now as a simple 'V' design.

On the other side of the Mediterranean, the tiny Bushman of the Kalahari were still acquainted with the art of painting on rocks when European scholars hit upon them. The late Leo Frobenius told us that he observed a hunter sketching an elen in the sand. The whole night the hunter guarded his creation and when at dawn the first ray of the sun broke through, he shot his arrow into its heart.

He then went hunting and was fully convinced that he would succeed in killing an elen in the forest with the same ease as he had struck its picture in the sand.

Leo Frobenius who led over ten expeditions into Africa in order to trace and study rockpaintings, made his painters copy them carefully in their original size and colour rendering. Hence, in Frankfurt, is, today, the biggest collection of African pictographs. It contains the *Hajra Maktubas*, i.e. pictures in stone, from many places in the Sahara, which huge desert tract was once upon a time a savannah type of grassland and the abode of rockpaintings hunters. In addition there is the Rhodesian highly stylized *madsimu osangaras*, with portray the rain-making moon-king who is strangled by his sister-wife, and then enveloped in a bull's skin because he is magically linked with this horned animal.

Frobenius and other specialists succeeded in working out the relative age of the different styles by the study of superposition. Often he found not less than five layers and frequently he could state that the later artists were less gifted and copied from the former ones¹⁰,

Simultaneously, rockpaintings were recorded from Siberia¹¹ and even the Americas and from India where M. Ghosh and D.H. Gordon analysed four principal centres in the Son-valley and Banda District, U.P., in Singhanpur and Kabra Pahar, Raigarh State and in Hoshangabad and Pachmarbi in the Mahadeo Hills in Madhya Pradesh. So far five styles have been recognised and the age roughly

10. L. Frobenius Eryshaec (Bln, 1931) and L, Art African (Cahers d. Arts, Paris, 1931).

11. Appelgren-Kivalo : Alt Altaische Kunstdenkmaler (Helsinki, 1899)

determined between 500 B.C. and 1000 A.D.¹².

It is a pity that our scholars have not yet devoted more time to these early treasures of tribal art in India as what we still can find today might be tarnished or even have disappeared by tomorrow. Moreover, these rockpaintings of Madhya Pradesh might be connected with the forefathers of our Adivasis when poverty and restriction had not yet encroached on them. Already Verrier Elwin draws attention to the striking parallels between the hunting scenes from the rocks of Raigarh, the charcoal sketches on a number-board of Bastar, the wood-carving "men carrying home a deer" on a Santal marriage-litter and hunting sketches of the Konds.¹³ We entirely agree with his comparisons and believe that something of the spirits which enlightened the rockpainters is still alive among our tribal folks. We assume moreover that we can trace some motifs of the palaeolithic painters in the "derivative" art of our peasants whose *paglyas*, footprint designs, in *alpanas*, *rangolis*, etc. and red hand-points pressed on mud-walls bear a striking similarity to the finger-prints on the Altamira walls.

II.

If we compare the various scenes on the rocks and in modern tribal art, we find that mostly ruminants are depicted, preferably horned animals. The Magdalenian caverns are crammed with reindeers with beautifully executed antlers. The African artist painted again and

again the elen, and, on Indian rockpaintings and hunting-boards, the spotted deer figures prominently.

In order to understand the forces which animated the tribesman and qualified him to such outstanding creations, we have to make ourselves familiar with his particular way of seeing things. We can reconstruct best his theriomorphic outlook when we make an excursion into Siberia as many of the Siberian stock-breeders are still experiencing a life near to the hunting stage and have thus preserved many rituals which have been lost in other parts of the world.

Surveying northern and middle Asian tribal groups we find that most of them treat the various horned animals with attention and agree in the ritual killing of the deer. This sacrifice is usually carried out in the case of illness. If a man, as among the Voguls, is not in a position to afford immediately such a costly animal, he carves a reindeer of wood or bone and keeps it in the spirit box until he is able to pay for it¹⁴. The Ostjak shaman attaches a string to the reindeer and puts the end into the first of the man who is lying in bed. As soon as the patient pulls upon it, the reindeer is knocked down. Head and antlers are deposited near the sick man and his body greased with the animal's fat. The meat is boiled and ceremoniously eaten by the relatives¹⁵. The shaman of the Tundra-Juraks demands several reindeers in the case of a serious

12. M. Ghosh : Rockpaintings and other Antiquities of prehistoric and Later Times (Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 24 (1932), pp. 15 p. Mitra : Prehistoric India (Calcutta, 1927) pp. 20ff; D. H. Gordon Indian Cave Paintings (1 pek, Leipzig, 1935) pp. 107 ff.

13. V. Elwin : The Tribal Art of Middle India (Oxford, 1951) pp. 164ff.

14. K. F. Karjalainen : Die Religion der Jugraeoelker (FEC VIII-IX, Helsinki 1921/22) Vol. 1, p. 86.

15. S. Paikauov : Die Irtyshostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie (Spb, 1897) Vol. Ipp. 109ff.

illness. If the man recovers, an animal is buried alive¹⁶.

The Altai tribes use the stag and *marals* in their shamanistic rituals. When a man is suffering the shaman carves a stag of wood. Popatov has given illustrations and detailed descriptions of such carvings and he explains that the Turks regard pains as resulting from the bites of evil spirits and that the shaman tries to free the patient from them. He offers them some other food, either a living stag which is killed near the patient, or a wooden deer which had been soiled before with blood and coal. If the spirit agrees and enters the wooden figure, the shaman falls to the ground and the people are convinced that he is leading back the evil doer to their subterranean dwelling place¹⁷.

Similarly, the Tungus believe that malignant spirits gnaw at the body of a sick person. The Shaman kills a stag and fixes the heart and a tuft of its mane in the branches of a tree as a sacrifice for "those above". The warlock ascending to the upper world asks now the Almighty to render assistance. After his return to the earth, the shaman distributes the other parts of the reindeer to the spirits who caused the disease.

We see from these examples that the sacrifice in the case of illness signifies an exchange. The shaman offers the soul and body of the patient for the sacrificial

deer. In the case of death the motive is different. The animal killed serves as a guide for the soul into the other world. At the gravepit of a Vogul a reindeer is killed. Often sacrifice is repeated after a year¹⁸. The Ob-Ostjaks attach several stags to the funeral sledge, unharness them when they have arrived at the burial arena, and fix them with their hind-feet to a leather thong. Two men pull at them while four others throw themselves on the animals stabbing them with pointed sticks¹⁹. The Surugut Ostjak strangulate the stag before piercing a dagger into the heart. The meat is eaten and the bones which are enveloped in the skin are deposited on a platform near the grave²⁰. The Jakuts call the sacrifice of a reindeer "sending the stag to the country of shade" and name the animal "stag for the soul". On the third day after the obsequies they sacrifice another deer. The Kiles, a section of the Goldes, believe that a dead man needs nine reindeers, eight to carry his luggage and one as a saddle animal for his ghost²¹. Antlers adorn the Yukagbir graves particularly those of Shamans. In times of dearth a picture can replace the living stag. The reindeer Chukchee raise a pole at the side of the funeral pit and attach antlers or a reindeer carved of wood or bone to it²².

We see from the above that the spirit of the deceased bestrides his stag when

16. T. Lehtisalo: Entwurf einer Mythologie der Jurak-Samojeden (MSFO L111, 1924) p. 30.

17. L. P. Popatov: Sledi totemisticeskich predstavleij u altajcev (Sovjetakay Entnografija 4/5, Moskva 1935) pp. 134 ff.

18. Karjalainen: Jvgra Vol 1, p. 120.

19. G. Pallas: Reise durch die verschiedenen Provinzen des russischen Reiches (Spb 1771/760) VIII, pp. 54 ff.

20. Karjalainen: Jvgra Vol. 1 pp. 119, 121; Patkanov Vol 1, 127; Castren Reisen pp. 338, 343.

21. Pallas: Reisen Vol. III, p. 78.

22. W. Jochelson: The Yukshir and the Yukkagirized Tungus (MAMNH XIII, 1926) p. 215, 217 (see Plate XVI, fig 31) W. Jochelson: Religion and Myth of the Koryak (MAMNH 19) (5) pp. 87, 88, 90, 113, 114. See Ermaus's Archiv XIV. 1855, pp. 358 f

departing. Moreover, reindeers are needed in the other world which is conceived as similar to the world of the living. The dead man takes therefore his cattle along, his weapons, hunting implements and in more evolved societies, servants and wives who are ceremoniously killed at the grave.

Finally stags are sacrificed to the various gods. The Waldjuraks dedicate a stag to the Lord above, permitting the animal to move freely for seven years. Later it is killed and the skin drawn off, folded together and put on a *haehae* sledge until it is led down on a sacred spot. The European Samoieds offer an immaculate white stag to Num. The sorcerer leads the animal on to a high mountain and while putting a sling round the neck prays: "We give our stag to you. Take it." Afterwards the meat is ceremoniously eaten and the bones carefully placed aside.²³ If a reindeer is sacrificed for the sprite of the water, the legs of the animal are bound together and loaded with sinkers and while drowning it the warlock chants: "Spirit of the water. Send fishes in future." In case a reindeer is offered to the "Lord of the Forest" the mode of killing is by hurling the animals headlong over a precipice.²⁴ When the Jurak Samoieds arrange a big sacrifice they offer five reindeers to the heaven and five to the earth. The skins of the first are hung up in trees and those of the latter spread on the ground. When the wizzard fixes the string for stangula-

tion, he addresses the spirits of the under-world, saying: "Old One. Here are your five sacrifices. Old Ngaa, here are your five sacrifices. Take them." Pulling the sling he then pierces a dagger into the hearts of the animals. After the meat is eaten, the people flee from the place as they are afraid that Ngaa might steal their shadow.²⁵ The Karagas, a people of Samoiedic affinities, sacrifice the heart and the head of a stag when they enjoy luck in hunting.²⁶ The Jakuts dedicate a stag to the "Lord of the Animals", tie it to the *turu*, or shaman's pole, give it a new saddle and employ it henceforth only for carrying the hunting implements. The wild sochat and wild reindeer are regarded as particularly powerful, and they immediately eat their hearts when they have killed such animals. They are very careful with the bones of all hoofed animals as they believe that an animal cannot come back to life when a bone is missing.²⁷ The Reindeer Korjaks kill dogs for evildoers and reindeers for benevolent beings. The antlers bone skulls, or stags carved of wood or prepared of grass, are set up on a pole. During the sacrificial ceremony the shaman must be careful that the *Kalau*, evil spirits, do not steal the animal on its way to the upper world.

An interesting ceremony takes place when a wild stag joins the herd. The people then sing for several days, and kill the wild stag together with a tame

23. Lehtisalo 81, 34.

24. Ibid. 45 f.

25. Ibid. 81-

26. Georgi: Bemerkungen III-IV, p. 292.

27. Pallas III, p. 76.

28. Jochelson: Koryak 279.

hind and sacrifice the next day to further reindeers. Every guest receives some of the hair of the mane and skin, and he fixes this badge on his shoulders where the token is allowed to remain until it falls off by itself.²⁹

To summarize, reindeers are sacrificed to the various gods according to different modes: by strangulation, beating, piercing, drowning or battering to death. The most important part of the ceremony is the sacramental meal in which the deity and worshippers join. These feasts must go back to Altamira times and are rooted in the inherent feeling of want and guilt. These early hunters could not do without meat but felt uneasy when they had killed a stag. They had shed blood and taken something out of forest. Had they offended some one, such as the Lord of the Dschungela, or the Lord of the Game, how were they to prevent Him from being angry?, or again were they to compensate Him for the life which the hunter had taken?

We get a good insight into this problem of the hunter when we take into consideration the ceremonial killing of the bear among the Goldes. These Amur tribesmen address the bear before giving him the deadly blow and explain to him that they want only his own good. If they do not free his soul he will not be able to join the other gods in the forest. When they have finally killed him they pull off his skin and set it up on a pole and collect carefully the bones placing them on a specially erected platform in order to protect them from the ever hungry dogs.

We see here that the bear is treated as a god and then killed. They are

cunning and shrewd in their arguments when trying to convince the animal, or as they conceive him to be the "Lord of the Animals", that they have only good intentions and that they do not want to inflict harm upon anyone. This attitude is still more clearly illustrated in a report which an early observer gave from the Jakuts. After they had eaten the bear, they enveloped his bones in the bark of a birch tree and tried then to deceive the god with the following chant: "Grandfather, the Russians were those who killed you and ate you. We found your little bones and collected them carefully."

We see that the god is either outwitted or invited to accept some of the sacrificial meal and the tribesman is convinced that commensalism will remove the anger. But apart from appeasing the god, the hunter has to solve another tribal problem and which was how they were to ensure the further supply of game? For he knew that there might come a time when food would be scarce. Thus therefore arose the problem of what to do then and how he should live without the necessary meat. Moreover, he could not manage without skin which provided clothing leather for his vessels, tents, boats, girdles, straps and thongs, and without the antlers which were so useful for arrow heads, picks, needles and throwing sticks.

The hunters who believe that life is somehow connected with the bones and that the animal will come to life again if its bones are uninjured and ceremoniously treated, handle therefore the bones with

29. Bogoraz : Chukohee 379 ff.

great care and render them the same respect which they show to the mortal remains of their shamans³⁰.

III.

This survey of the ceremonial killing of the stag made it clear that the shaman as the sacrificer stands in a particular relationship to the world of the deer. We will try to make these connections still clearer illustrating them again by middle and northern Asian materials. The Samojets believe that an invisible thong connects the shaman with a spirit stag. When he is in difficulties, his stag approaches in haste and starts fighting for him. Often it happens that spirit stags of hostile shamans involve themselves in a fierce struggle. If one of the stags is killed, his master dies at the very same moment. Similar beliefs are prevalent among the Forest Juraks who say that when a shaman dies during such a fight "his stag gads round" and similar ideas are prevalent among the Lapps who relate numerous stories about combatant spirit stags³¹.

Among the Altai tribes the most important helpmate of the shaman is *tyn bura* or *tag bura*. The sorcerer of the Shor receives this spirit stag from Bai Uelgaen, the highest god, and keeps the animal hidden in the mountains. It comes immediately when the shaman calls for it. Fights of *tag buras* are considered to be terrible and Shor are very careful when hunting as they believe that stags of any special appearance might be *tyn buras* which have gone astray³².

The Teleuts regard *adam burul* as the ancestor of the mankind. *Burul* means a horned animal. They believe that if shamans send their spirit stags on journeys they become involved in fighting. The Sojot shamans pray to the "wife of the maral" which they call "my grandmother", and the Jakuts, who likewise believe in the theriomorphic relationship of their priests, say that strong shamans have the stag as their guardian and weak warlocks the dog as their spirit animal. They moreover believe that the invisible helpmate of the shaman appears only once a year in

30 A. Friedrich in "Knochen und Skelett in der Voraltertumswelt Nordasiens (Winener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik) V, 1943) 189 ff dealt in great detail with this interesting home complex of the Eurasian hunters and links it with the idea in the resurrection from the bones which is incorporated in Egyptian, Parsi and Christian eschatology. We recommend warmly the study of this valuable paper for further information on this interesting question. See further H. Websler *Magic* (Ldn. 1948) 318 ff who discusses rites for the increase of animals entering into the tribal die boy. Compare the ritual bull fight of the old etoucars, in Spain and probably Mohenjo daro H. Meras; studied in *Proto-Indo-Mediterranean culture* (Bombay 1953) 244 & 7. B. Ylronmy: *Ancient History of western Asia, Yndia and crele* (Prague,) pp. 192 ff stresses similarly the fact that bull must have been an important feature of harappan culture.

31. U. Tlarva: *See religioeen Voraltertumswelt altaischen volker* (F.F. Com. Vol. III No. 125, Ylolsunki 1938.)

32. Popatov 137ff. The authors remarks that the former inhabitants of the Altai most probably called all wild horned animals with the term *pur-bur* *pur-bur*. He assumes that originally this term referred only to the wild animals but was later used for the domesticated ones. In the Jakut language *bur* means deer; in Sojotic *pur-a*, *pur-u* has the meaning of bull and camel; in the Karagas dialect *pur* means elk; in Altaic *pura* is the work for the soul of the sacrificial horse, or for the horse which is set up on a pole. The Shor interpret *pura* with sacrificial horse. The Kumandines explain *pura* as those heavenly horses which appear on the paintings of the drums and are often equipped with horns. Moreover the same term *pur-bur*, *pul-bul* is known to the Altai people, Shor, Teleutes, Agaj, Kchunze, Koilbales, Urianchaj and Sulyman in the meaning of elk or sochat or "wife of the deer". Concluding Popatov points out that the elk must have been the important animal among the early Turcs and was most probably the animal which was most important economically. Therefore its designation had been later transferred to all those animals which were in course of time included into the economy of these tribes.

the world of the living at the time when snow is falling. In a number of songs the shaman refers to his helpmate, often equating himself with the spirit stag:

"Mighty stag of the earth, horse of the steppe.

I am a strong stag. I am roaring.

I am neighing like a tundra horse.

I am the highest among the people.

A man I am, created by the highest Lord.

Horse of the steppe come. Speak to me.

Shaman's stag of this earth come on.....".

A story makes us acquainted with the wife of a warlock who witnessed two fighting bulls. The fur of the one was blue, the other's was reddish. She understood that one of the bulls was a shaman warding off the spirit of the small-pox. As she went nearer she recognised her husband in the bull who was gazing at her and then piercing his horns into his adversary's womb³³.

The hero of another narrative took off his clothes, rolled on the floor and started roaring like a bull. Horns grew in the middle of his crown and he began pulling up the earth. He made a hole under the door-frame, pressed himself through it and went into the court-yard where the neighbours saw him soon afterwards fighting with spirit who was in the shape of a bull³⁴.

Quite a number of stories begin with the sentence: "Once upon a time the shamans roared like bulls. They had horns on the foreheads." Other stories

refer to the mother of the shaman who is often called *deer-mother*. She appears in the tale of the shaman-child who was brought by a raven to the shaman tree and put up in a nest. A flying deer came and made herself comfortable in the branches of the tree. Her nipples were falling into the baby's mouth and he began sucking. The deer-mother fed the child for three years. But her services are not only needed for the young shamans but essential when the sorcerer is approaching death. As soon as he has done his last breath she picks off his neck vertebrae and carries them off between her teeth³⁵.

This spirit-mother of the shaman shades into the cosmogonic figure of a deer which the Samoeds imagine as a huge animal controlling the weather. When this stag expels breath its muzzle is surrounded by flames causing the northern lights at the sky in winter; in summer the breath ascends as clouds. When the stag shakes its fur, it starts snowing and when it inflates its nostrils, wind emerges³⁶.

The shaman refers in his songs to this mythical stag and calls him an iron animal :

"Strong vertebrae

Backbone of my father

The smith fashioned me out of you.

My face measures seven span.

The vertebrae of my neck measure a whole *Klafter*.

My eight horns on the forehead.

Swing in the distance of a *Klafter*.

In the tracks of my hoofs—

Deep patches of water.

On my backward bended horns

I carry hearts."³⁷

33. G. V. Ksenofontov V : Legendry rasskary o samanach (Maskva, 1930) 1, pp. 47 ff., 50 f.

34. Ibid. pp. 49 ff., 52.

35. Ibid. pp. 50 f., 40, 61, 62, 79.

36. Lehtidalö : Myth. p. 25.

37. Ibid. 15.

The shaman of the Tundra-Juraks sings a similar song :

"In the shape of a young stag along the sky I walked.

Again I started. In the shape of a stag seven days I marched along towards the earth."³⁸

In an epic of the Irtysh—Ostjak we hear of a stag at the end of the world having horns adorned with forty antlers on which people were living, engaged in trade. Any person obtaining a bit of the antlers can get power over this giant stag. Once a man succeeded in this and the stag followed him to his hut. There the brother said to the sister : "This stag will never die."³⁹

The same people tell of the god Tun—pox that he hunted an elen with six legs. Putting on his snow shoes he stalked the elen to earth and there he cut off two of its legs. Ever since stags have had only four legs.⁴⁰

The Georgians in the Caucasus believe in a mythical stag with huge antlers on which the hero climbs up into the world above⁴¹ and the Tungus imagine a huge stag in the underworld. The cunning Shaman transforms himself into a fly and stings the bull on his nose. The bull starts sneezing and at this moment the soul escapes through his mouth.⁴²

The Giljaks narrate that at the beginning the "Lord of the Sea" bestrode a

stag and rode to Sochalin in order to create rivers. The god had in his hands a switch. Wherever the reindeer went rivers came into being. As the stag did not walk steadily but moved sometimes to the one and then to the other side, the rivers are not straight but flow in meanders. This work was so difficult that the stag finally broke down and it can be seen still today in the form of a stone.⁴³

Interesting parallels to these cosmogonic beliefs of the Siberians are found among the American Indians where the stag is regarded as the one who stole the fire.⁴⁴

IV.

If we put all the various information together we get the following picture : the stag is a godlike creature, as a creator making river, as a culture-hero supplying man with fire, as a weather-maker bringing snow, rain and wind. The stag is a nourisher, the deer-mother feeds the shaman. The stag is a fighter, slaying the shaman's enemies. The stag ascends to the skies as a gift to the Lords above and gallops to the nether world as the guardian of the souls.

We have seen already that the shaman equates himself with his spirit stag and that shamans have been observed roaring and on all fours like bulls. This equation of the shaman and the stag becomes

38. Ibid. p. 14.

39. Falkanov Vol II, p. 167.

40. Id, I, p. 118.

41. Dirr : *Kaukasische Maerchen* pp. 11 ff., 24 ff.

42. Kaenofontov I, 40, 61.

43. E. A. Kreinowitsch *Ocerkkosmogoniceskich predshavljeny* (Moskva, 1928) p. 89.

44. Selser : *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* pp. 14, 19. The cosmogonic beliefs of the American Indians concerning elk and deer would be worth a while studying. We know that numerous beliefs and folktales were brought via the Bering-straits into the American and were there preserved sometimes in old forms while the some myths experienced in Aiberia a considerable change. See F. Kretschmar : *Hundstammvater ind Kerteroa* (Stuttgart 1938).

clearer when we cast a glance on the shaman's ceremonial dress. Already Holmberg and Shikogoroff have referred to the animal character of the shaman's dress. Besides bird-costumes the most important shaman gown symbolizes a stag. Some explorers still observed shamans forging the appendages of their costumes and consecrating them in the warm blood of a sacrificed animal. Then its hide was used for the tailoring of a coat in the form of a kaftan which was decorated with the consecrated iron amulets. Now-a-days the reindeer gowns are often made of cotton. The leather or cotton fringes along the fringes are style "hair". We have already seen that the hair played quite an important part in the sacrificial ceremonies. It was dedicated to the Lord above and fixed on the shoulders of the communicants. The hair of a sacrificial stag was believed to possess magical properties.

In a Samojedic tale we hear of a shaman arriving at a hill which was open on one side. He went in and saw two naked women. The one had natural—the other iron antlers on the crown. One of the women said to the man: "I am pregnant and I will soon bear two fawns. One you should take as a sacrificial animal for the Dolganes and Oevenki, and the other for the Samojeds." And, indeed, soon afterwards this woman gave life to two reindeers and the other woman too

bore two stags. She extracted one hair from each of them and gave them to the shaman saying: "That will make you a good shaman's gown"⁴⁵.

A number of shaman costumes are decorated with a deer-skeleton forged of iron alluding to the belief in the life-containing bones. Other are decorated with stylized horns and antlers. The museum in Copenhagen is in possession of a beautiful deer gown belonging to the Tungus of Transbaikal. The costume is open in front and equipped with a wrap ornamented with iron pieces in the form of horns. To this costume belong two sticks in the form of forelegs. The man who collected the costume attached a note to it telling that he saw the shaman who owned it behaving like a deer and using these sticks as legs when he bent his body forward.

As the most important part of a deer are the antlers, it is the deer-crown which is more important than the coat. European observers described crossed iron bands adorned with a pair of iron antlers. They were observed in Kamtschatka among the Tungus, the Manchus⁴⁶, the Golds⁴⁷, the Burjats⁴⁸ and the Jenissej Ostjaks.⁴⁹ The size and the number of the antlers vary. The shamans of the reindeer Tungus in Mandchuko are proud to have crown with three to six antlers. They say the bigger

45. U. Holmber: The shaman costume and its significance (An. Un. Fennicae, B. Vol. 1, 1922/23).

46. Beniewsky: Reisen durch Sibirien und Kamtschatka ueber Japan, China nach Europa (der wichtigstigen Reisebeschreibungen Vol. V. 1792) p. 184; Jochelson: Jukaghir 187, Fig. 15; p. 159, fig 21; Plate x (2) Shirokogoroff: The psychomental Complex pp. 290, 291.

47. O. Genest: Kapitän Jakobsens Reise in lande der Golden (Globus LII, 1877) p. 222.

48. Pallias III, p. 182, 344, Grube R. 91.

49. G. Nioradze: Der Schamanismus vi den sibirischen Voelkern (Stuttgart, 1925) p. 76.

the horns the stronger the shaman ⁵⁰. The Goldes have headwear with seven antlers adorning the horns ⁵¹.

Some tribes make artificial antlers of hide and sow them to their bonnets ⁵². Shirokogoroff describes a crow adorned with the real antlers of the Cervue Elaphus from the middle Amur. This crown is now in the museum of Blagovescensk ⁵³.

It is obvious that the iron casket is a later imitation of the crown with natural antlers. Such antler crowns are often equipped with fringes covering the face as the shaman wants to evoke the impression that he is nothing else but a stag. Or a deer—mask is hiding the face and such deer—mask dancers are known to us from the Tibetan and Bhutanese temple festivals ⁵⁴. They have their striking parallels in the stagmen who roam round with the wild huntsman on the twelfth. They are reported from the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Norway and Denmark. In England a myth tells that a man was wounded by a deer. A dark man approached the injured man and made him wear the skull of a deer with the horns attached to it. Immediately the man felt better and forgetting about his headwear he went into the woods and became the wild huntsman. In his honour the Christmas dancers still adorn themselves with antlers. In the German carnival the deer

mask is still prominent. The "Hoerner-nickel" is characteristic for the Odenwald, in Henneberg the "Hersche Ruperich" haunts the place and in the village of the Rhoen appears the "Herscheklas" and his followers. Still now-a-days Christmas and New Year biscuits have the form of deer and I think it is not without importance that the Satan against whom the medieval Church was bitterly fighting is always equipped with a comely pair of horns and show cloven hoofed.

F. Moessinger tried to explain these European deer-dancers as characteristic for the Teutonic setting. I think we can link them beyond this with the famous man disguised as a buck who figures prominently on the rock-walls of Trois Freres in Dordogne ⁵⁵. More important than this is a picture from the same Magdalenian site known as the "Sorcerer", where we find a man clad in deer's skin and with huge antlers attached to the head and face out of which circular eyes bewitch those who look at them ⁵⁶.

Our Magdalenian magician has a parallel in the horned huntsman equipped with a bow on a vessel from Susa⁵⁷, in the horned god fighting a lion on a seal of Lugal-lam, a scribe living in the reign of Sargon of Akkad (2341—2300) in the

50. Shirokogoroff p. 291.

51. Jettmar p. 254.

52. Shirokogoroff p. 290.

53. *Ibid.* p. 295.

54. Filchner: *Das Kloster Kum Bump*. 330; F. Maraini *Secret Tibet* (Ldn, 1952 p. 48, Fig. 10.)

55. F. Moessinger: *Hirschmasken in der Mittwinderzeit* (Germanien No. XII Dec. 1938) p. 498 ff.

56. A. H. Breuil: *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art* (Motignac) p. 164. It would be a fascinating study to find out the under-connection of these prehistoric stag and bullman with the old mediterranean bull cult on which T. Alshem has published in "A History of Roman Religion" (Ldn, 1938) pp. 64 ff. He already refers to the representation of bulls in Ligurian rock paintings.

57. R. Ghirshman: *Iran* (Hardmonsworth. 1954) p. 40. fig. 3.

horned man on the horse—bit of Luristan⁵⁸ the winged Chinese stag-man⁵⁹ and finally in the horned god of Mohenjodaro⁶⁰ who survived (as Kirfel has recently shown in his fascinating study on the problem of Trimurti) in the Shiva whose crescent on the head are the horns of his Harappan prototype⁶¹.

If we go to the east of India we find helmets equipped with mithan horns playing an important part in the equipment of the Naga-warrior and finally we have to mention the dancers of the Marias who decorate themselves before they start dancing with a headwear surmounted by huge mithan horns or antlers of the spotted deer⁶².

V.

We have mentioned above the statement of Sorokin explaining that the visual representation of art occurs often in the secular aspects of daily life while the ideational show is characteristic of religious association. We think, contrary to him, that the visual was in olden days characteristic of hunters living on the borders of the forests, in more or less open land and preoccupied to shape their fate by means of magic. The ideational forms are, on the other hand, the expression of the mystic mentality of the settled forest people with agricultural pursuits who

again and again portray in beautiful plastics the *manes* who direct their life. The hunters who exclusively concentrate on rockpaintings do not fashion pictures of ancestors but create in the true sense of the word, animals⁶³. Already the superposition of the paintings points to the fact that the pictures were not made with the intention of providing the eye with an aesthetic pleasure but that they served some other purpose. Moreover, they were more hidden in recesses than exhibited. In some caves the one wall is covered by numerous single animals while another wall stands completely blank. We derive from this fact that the rockpaintings were not produced to be seen but drawn for the sole purpose of creation. The animal at the wall was the equivalent of the living. The frontiers between art and reality are here blurred and the art is still entirely in the service of life.

Frobenius who tried to make us understand the mentality of these rockpainters told us repeatedly the story of the child which played with three matchsticks Hensel and Gretel and the witch. Suddenly the child frightened screams: "Mother, mother, the witch comes." The equation between the matchstick and the witch which had been first played has been completed and the child sees now actually the terrible witch.

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58. E. Diez: *Iranische Kunst* (Wien, 1945) Abb 3 already Diez painted to the intrinsic connection between the Luristan bronzes and the Middle Asian animal style. Compare W. Jacobsen. *Origin of Sino Siberian animal Bronzes* (Nationalmuseets sniffer 1, Copenhagen, 1941) pp. 91 ff.
59. A. Leroi-Gorhan: *Documents pour l' Art Compare de l' Eurasie Septentrionale* (Paris, 1943) p. 83, Fig 345.
60. B. C. Majumdar: *The Vedic Age* (Ldn. 1951) Plate VII, fig. 4-8.
61. W. Kirfel: *Die Dreiköpfige Gottheit* (Bonn, 1948).
62. Elvin p. 67 Fig. 57, p. 58, Fig. 58 both plates showing the buffalo-horn head dress: p. 59, Fig 59 shows a Dorla Maria with head-dress of chital-stag antlers. p. 61 shows the head-dress but instead of natural wooden horns are fixed to the cap: p. 62 portrays a Kuttia-Kond dancer with again the same headress but this time the horns are made of brass.
63. Compare Frobenius cultural classification into the plastic shaping, ancestor loving people of the Hylea and the desert and STEPPE folk of rockpainters who shun the ghosts of the deceased and employ methods of deceiving and sympathetic magic in pursuit of game.

We can quote numerous equations of picture and person. The warlock when involved in black magic fashions the figure of the person to whom he will do harm. The belief in this congruity explains why so many tribal people are afraid of the cameraman. Other examples are the pictures and statues of deceased who are clothed and fed like living people. The Egyptian *ushtabis*, double of the mummy, served in the same way as a refuge for the prowling "ka" as the actual body. The Japanese *haniva* replaced the living in the Daimyos grave.

Children too believe in the identity of painting and person. I often observed children portraying their friends. Just a circle for the head, two points and strokes for nose and mouth and some scribbles for the hair. But then a huge ribbon is drawn with great accuracy and filled in with a brilliant red. "This is Lina". "Why?" "Girls have ribbons" is the categorical answer. "And Lina will be pleased that I have given her such a lovely one."

Verrier Elwin refers in his beautiful "Tribal Art of Middle India" to the aphrodisiac purpose of the Gond wall-paintings at the time of Krishna's birth festival. On this occasion the unmarried boys and girls paint scenes of the life of Lord Krishna on the mudwalls of the houses and after offering curds to the picture the boy prays: "As the seven hundred milkmaids followed you, so let the girls of this village follow me." He connects these Krishna pictures with the *ittals* of the Saoras which are painted in honour of the dead and in order to avert disease and promote fertility. After rice and wine had been offered the artist starts to paint with riceflower on the mudwall newly daubed with red clay. After he has finished the first draft, the

shaman is called to worship before the picture. He invites the gods or ghosts for whom the picture is created and while he is calling them falls into trance. The spirit enters his body and utters his criticism on his lips. "You have not given me a comb," the spirit may complain, "or why have you not given me more chaprassis," or "while I was alive I rode once on a bicycle. Why have you not given a bicycle to me?"

This equation of artistic creation and model is an essential prerequisite of genuine art. It did not only inspire the Magdalenian to such unique creations, but underlies moreover all eastern art. A Chinese legend tells that the famous painter Wu-Taotze painted a mountain grotto at one of the walls of the imperial palace. When the Son of Heaven approached to admire the fresco he wanted to know what the grotto contained. Wu Taotze simply clapped his hands. At this moment the mountain-gate opened its leaves. Wu Taotze stepped through and the gate shut itself behind him. At the same moment the picture disappeared from the wall and the room stood white and pale as it had been before the master's hand had touched it. The story ends that Wu Taoze had never been seen again.

Another equation of art and object is evident in the story of the princess of Malwar who sang so beautifully in honour of Lord Krishna that the icon opened and the singer entered it. Finally, we have to mention the case of Pygmalion who fell in love with the statue he had produced.

Verrier Elwin expressed in his introduction to his "Tribal Art" an appeal to be careful with the few institutions which

the tribal people have still preserved. They have not much benefited from the encroachment of civilization. They have only lost quite a good deal of their innocence and ability to enjoy. He quotes S. P. Rice on the Konds: "Once they loved gay colours. The Konds' dresses both male and female, are full of stripes and patterns, in blue, yellow and red. Where has gone the love of colour? Once the women took delight in decking themselves with flowers and a pride in silver ornaments that jingled on their naked breasts. Where are now the grasses that adorned them and the innocence that allowed them to go clothed only *at* the waist? Gone. Withered by the blast of a breath of superior civilization. Gone are the hairpins of sambhar-bones, an inestimable treasure in the eyes of the true hill Kond. Gone are the floral decorations and the fantastic headresses which are the pride of the mountain tribes. In dull, unromantic squalor our Kond lives, moves and has his being. And ever as he moves, he hears the clanking upon the wrists of the fetters of his debts."

We do not want here to discuss the various reasons for the present situation of our Adivasis who are exploited by middleman and lack the raw materials and encouragement to cling to their ancient art and crafts. Amongst the Asuras, once famous blacksmiths, W. Ruben did not find a single kiln at work. And Elwin states that the ornaments are already produced by castemen or the tribal people who still indicate their patterns but do not execute them anymore.

If we want to stop this terrible process of deterioralization and decay let us act similarly to the people of the Gold Coast in Africa. There in the College of Achimota, a department for tribal arts and crafts has been set up. The wood-carving classes are under the guidance of the chief wood-carver of the Ashantee who teaches his fellow tribesmen the traditional methods and styles of African art. In another department the old Bronze art of Benin is taught. The Oba, king of Benin, is particularly interested in the work of this section and has sent the chief of the brasscaster guild to act as demonstrator in casting bronze. The idea behind these college courses is to show to the students how to select what is valuable and genuine in African arts and crafts and how to adjust it to the needs of the changing society of the Gold Coast. Similar attempts to revitalize tribal art have been made among the west coast tribes of U.S.A.⁶⁴.

We propose therefore to set up tribal art schools in tribal regions where the tribesman receives materials, needed instruction, and encouragement to express his own ideas and feelings without inhibitions. The cultivation of old tribal lore, songs and dance is another task. Only a free and happy people who are rooted in the soil are able to create new things out of the old.

Often when I stroll along the bazars I feel sorry that so few genuine articles and displayed. Nearly all children's toys are bad European choices. I can only say the same for the majority of prints. We have a good internal market which

64. L. Adam: *Primitiv Art Bungay* (1954) p. 204 ff.

should be supplied with tasteful designs and our tribal people trained in tribal art schools could have a considerable share in it.

Last summer when All India Crafts and Art Society arranged an exhibition in Germany I had the honour to lead the President of the German Republic round it. Professor Heuss who was a well-known architect before he entered politics showed

great interest and remained more than two hours in the exhibition halls. When I asked him at the end to tell me which of the pictures of our modern Indian artists he liked best, he pointed to the "Three Women" of Jamini Roy. "Here" His Excellency said, "can one see something newly created out of very old conceptions. People forget too often that art must be rooted in the soil."

EFFECTS OF CULTURE CONTACT ON THE TRIBES OF ADILABAD*

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1. Introduction. Adilabad District of the Hyderabad State is a paradise for the Anthropologists. The Raj Gonds, the Thottis, the Pardhans, the Naikpods, the Kolams and the Andhs inhabit the plains as well as the hilly parts of the district. Christople von Furer Haimendorf's first volume, *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad*, is a thorough and painstaking study of the myth and ritual of the Raj Gonds of Adilabad. P. Setumadhavrao† has published a few articles on some of these tribal groups. My doctoral thesis in Osmania University (1954) deals with the marriage and family life among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad. Besides these studies, no scientific work is done on any of these tribes, inhabiting this area, except the Raj Gonds. According to the census of 1951, the tribals number 166,941 in the Adilabad District.

The main lines of modern communication in this area are the bus routes

joining Nirmal and Mancherial, Nirmal and Adilabad and Mancherial and Rajura. Besides these main routes, two branch roads, running from Gudi Hatnur to Utnur and from Nirmal to Beath Taluq have opened up the district. The railway lines joining Mancherial and Balharshah and Mudkher and Adilabad are also important. Rough cart-tracks often unserviceable during the rains and precipitous footpaths provide the only connection with outside world for a large number of villagers living in the interior.

2. Tribal Economy. In the tribal groups inhabiting this area, settled cultivation is the primary occupation of the Raj Gonds and the Andhs. The Thottis and the Pardhans are the musical bards of the Raj Gonds. They are economically dependent on the Gonds and regard agriculture as a secondary occupation. The Kolams and the Naickpods are shifting cultivators. Their secondary occupation is basket-making.

* This paper is based on my field investigations during 1951-54.

† Setumadhavrao, P. *Among the Gonds of Adilabad, Hyderabad, 1949.*

With the improvement in the communications, new settlers such as traders, money lenders, and officers have come into the habit of these aboriginals. For a few decades, the tribals have been subjected to various influences of these so-called 'civilizing orders'. The effect of their contacts with these more advanced people has been significant in several ways.

When agricultural populations from neighbouring areas first infiltrated into Adilabad district, the aboriginals in the hills remained long undisturbed. But the Government's encouragement to new settlers, by granting them Patta lands in this area, created the acute problem of land for the tribal groups. The newcomers such as Marathas and Kapus affected the tribal groups of this area. As they were advanced agriculturists, the Raj Gonds and the Andhs could not compete with them. Their best choice of lands resulted in their prosperity and decline of Gond Culture. The efforts of Dr. C. Von Furer Haimendorf, then Tribal Advisor to the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam, in improving the economic condition of these tribals, proved to be fruitful. An outline of the uplift schemes was prepared by the Social Service Department on his recommendations. The allotment of land to aboriginals in Adilabad was begun in 1944 and by the beginning of 1948, a total of 1,30,000 acres had been allotted to aboriginals on Laoni Khas. The number of aboriginal Pattadars has risen from 600 to 11,198 in that year. The following table gives us an idea of the land holdings of 394

Raj Gond families in eight villages¹ :—

Possession of land (in acres).	No. of families
No land	192
1-5	40
6-10	43
11-15	78
16-20	13
21-25	7
26-30	10
31-35	4
36-40	1
41-45	1
46-50	0
51-55	2
56-60	2
61-65	0
66-70	0
71-75	0
76-80	1
TOTAL	394

From the above it will be clear that out of 394 families 192, i.e., 48.7, per cent do not possess any land. They are agricultural labourers working on daily, monthly or yearly wages. Compared to other tribal groups of this region, the Raj Gonds are in better economic condition. These statistics may lead to the hypothesis that even today many aboriginal families do not possess land. The tribals of this region who are agriculturists grow cotton, castor-seeds, Bajra (*Pennisetum typhoides*), Maize, Til (*Sesamum indicum*), Sama (*Panicum miliare*), Bari (*Panicum italicum*), Wheat, Gram (*Cicer arietinum*) and Jawar millet (*Sorghum vulgare*). Though the tribals work hard on land throughout the year, yet they retain only a fraction

1. P. R. Sirsalkar., Marriage and family life among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad, MS. Doctoral thesis in Osmania University, 1954.

of the produce for families consumption. Though I had not made detailed enquiries regarding indebtedness of these peoples, yet their close association with me for four years had convinced me that inspite of the Government's Co-operative Credit Societies, Grain Banks, Co-operative Stores, Rural Banks and Co-operative Sale and Purchase Depots, they borrow money from Money-Lenders on heavy rates of interest. Their enormous expenditure on marriages and other social customs cause indebtedness to them. There is the need of the Government effort in providing them cash and kind in time, on Co-operative basis. The co operation of the tribals is also a vital factor in running these schemes successfully. But if the Government will provide them facilities in time, I hope that the people will certainly co-operate. The sympathetic approach of the Government Officers can improve their economic condition to a great extent.

At Marlavai, in Utnui Taluq, there is an agricultural Farm for teaching the tribals advanced methods in agriculture. There is the need of more model Farms of the Government in this region, so that the tribals may be benefitted by them. The practical demonstrations on these Farms can convince the aborgines for using the new methods in agriculture for raising the yield per acre. Distribution of plough bullocks under higher purchase system and loans for agricultural development will also improve their economic status.

No one has studied the tribal art of this region. The tribal deities and their shrines reveal their artistic urge. Some of the tribal families are experts in handicrafts. They show their mastery over it through their works on wood and metals.

Tribal Art must be survived through the encouragement of the Government. Similarly, tribal carpenters, black-smiths and other artisau groups must be encouraged.

3. Health and Medicine. The tribals of Adilabad, like other tribal groups of India, have not yet inclined to take the medical aid from the Government Hospitals and Mobile Dispensaries. They depend on the use of indigenous wild roots and herbs in their sickness. Sometimes they attribute the disease to the wrath of some supernatural power and offer sacrifices for the cure. The common diseases in this area are malaria and fever. As they live in thick jungles and care little for using clean water for drinking, they suffer either from malaria or from fever. The majority of deaths are caused by these diseases. Good water for drinking is available in a few villages. The shallow wells are the places of their diseases. The advanced agriculturists like Marars, Kapus or Marathas have created the sense of cleanliness in some of these aboriginal families. The tribals have adopted their mode of dress, and use of necklaces, glass bangles, hair-pins, nose-pins etc. The tribals are learning sanitary habits from their advanced neighbours. There is the necessity of providing them necessary information with regards to the factors affecting adversely on health. The principles of sanitation and hygiene should be taught to them either through the Films or through the lessons. They must realise that their magico-religious practices may treat psychologically but could not root out the diseases. In short, there is the need of re-orientation of their thoughts so that they may believe in medicines. Apart from this, the scientific analysis of their herbs can not only add to our scientific knowledge of medicine

but may be useful in many diseases. Through the close contacts which their advanced neighbours, there is a break-down in such practices and few aborigines have taken to medical treatment. Their dietary survey is also essential for improving their health. Their staple food is Jawar and pulses. Their close contacts with the advanced neighbours have diverted them towards the growing of vegetables. Many tribals have taken to grow vegetables either in their fields or in the back side of their houses. Practical lessons in kitchen gardens can help them in growing vegetables. The Agriculture Department can lead them in this direction and improve their diet. The tribals distill the Mohua liquor and take it either during festivals or marriages or deaths. Very few of them were noted as addicts during my stay in this territory.

4. Training : The Social Service Department's efforts, in the implementation of various welfare schemes, are praiseworthy. The Department is striving hard for the tribal welfare in the State. Yet there is no provision for the training of workers in this field. Refresher courses are conducted once in a year at Marlawai on an elementary stage. The help of the social scientist is essential for the better execution of the welfare schemes. Researches may be conducted through the Department. A Training Centre should be established for the social workers. The aboriginal teachers can play the roll of the social workers, if they are properly trained in that direction.

After analysing the tribal economy, health and medicine and training, it is essential to study the effect of cultural contacts on these people for their welfare. As they are coming in close contacts with the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Christians, consciously or unconsciously they are adopting their ways of life and there is a break-down in their social customs. For example, among the Raj Gonds the cow was being slaughtered on important religious festivals. They were practising it upto the Police Action. But after the Police Action, on account of the fear of the Hindus they have stopped this practice. Many Gonds have taken worship of Hindu Gods and Goddesses, such as Hanuman¹, Mahadeo², Nandi³ etc. A few tribals construct *Tazias* and participate in the *Moharrum*⁴ festival. Some of them burn incense near the tombs of Muslim divines and seek their blessings for health and prosperity, and also for overcoming diseases and difficulties. A few of them have converted themselves as Christians and have lost the faith in their tribal religion. Many Gond women have taken to tie the *saris* in the same way as their neighbouring women do. Those who get education are feeling shame in participating in their folk songs and folk dances. They are copying the aliens without knowing the advantages and disadvantages of their culture traits. There is a notable break-down in their culture-values and themes. When we make a comparative analysis of the tribal groups of this region in the effects of culture

1. *Hanuman* : This monkey God is a great devotee of Rama, the hero of the epic Ramayana.

2. *Mahadeo* : Shiva, one of the three main Gods of the Hindus.

3. *Nandi* : Shiva's Bull.

4. *Moharrum* : Moharrum is celebrated by the Muslims in remembrance of the death of Hassan & Hussain on the battle-field of Karbala.

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peoples in far off lands. Thus the Todas have been food for intellectual speculation for many scholars. But my fear is that these scholars have generally started at the wrong end. They have presumed either openly or in their subconscious minds that this tribe is foreign to India and the Nilgiris and have then tried to link them with other distant peoples. That is perhaps the reason why many such theories have been advocated by able scholars beginning with W.H.R Rivers whose monumental work on the Todas is very exhaustive and is still highly respected though written 50 years ago and ending with the renowned Prince Peter of Greece who published as recently as in 1951 his fascinating thesis about the "possible" Sumerian origin of the Todas. But in naming his thesis as "Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual", and qualifying it with an adjective like "Possible" he has betrayed the weakness of his case and the remoteness of the possibility. The discovery of the scholar Prince, who by the way is also a true and great friend of the Todas, of eleven Sumerian names of gods and goddesses which are even now in use among the Todas, is of course interesting. But, as Dr. Aiyappan asks pertinently in his introduction to the thesis of the Prince, "How did these Sumerian names survive in such pure form among the Todas? (And) are only the names Sumerian or were the Todas themselves Sumerian in origin?"

Thus the life of the intriguing mystery is prolonged. One Western scholar, who made an anthropometric study of the Todas recently, however said that the tribe was "North-Indian" in features, to which group belong the Sikhs besides others. But of J.W. Breeks, one of the

early British administrators of the Nilgiris, (he was the Commissioner of the Nilgiris) and Dr. Aiyappan, our contemporary and an acknowledged Indian authority on anthropology, do not accept this contention. As Breeks said about eighty years ago, the Todas look like their neighbours (the Southern Indian type) when they put on the costume of the latter.

Regarding the presence of Sumerian elements in Toda religion, one can say that such elements are found even in Hindu religion itself. And in Sumeria are found many traces of Indian religion. Figures of Naga-kanyakas and Purna Kalasa are seen there. The pattern of the South Indian temple *Kovil*, meaning literally the house of the king, can be seen in Sumerian temples organized as palaces. And only last week Dewan Chamanlal propounded in Madras his theory that the ancient Mayas and Incas of America had much in common with Indian religion and in fact the Incas were Brahmins! There are of course quite a lot of other theories, mostly of the bazaar-variety, regarding Toda origin, connecting them with the Jews of Cochin, the Syrian Christians of the West Coast, the palanquin bearers of Kandyan kings of Ceylon and the heirs of Alexander's Macedonians left in India. Even Madam Blavatsky has a book on Todas, their divine nature and supernatural appearance and powers. Celtic origin has also been suggested by some.

To us on the coast of Kerala, it would be certainly interesting to note the undoubted fact that the Toda diviners called the *TEUOLS*, when prophesying, usually rave using some Malayalam words, a knowledge of which is denied after the trance. Of course Rivers has said that

the Todas can at least be traced back to Malabar on account of polyandry, inter-caste companionship between sexes, the giving of a piece of cloth as a symbol of wedlock, the posthumous "Kalyanam" ceremony of unmarried dead girls and the Nair ceremony of *Pulikuti* (similar to Toda *Pulpali*), all of which can be seen in Toda life.

However, Emeneau of the University of California whose study of the Todas has been one of the very best examines this theory and disproves it. But Dr. Aiyappan thinks that "Rivers was right, in a way, in regarding the Malayalis as the closest cultural allies of the Todas". Let me hope that his being a Malayali has not imperceptibly influenced Dr. Aiyappan's thinking on this subject.

The Toda himself however generally contradicts all these theories. He believes that he has been there in the Nilgiris from the beginning of time and is the lord of the soil. His gods and goddesses sent him from heavens to step on the Nilgiris first. Perhaps he is more correct than all the bewildering scholars.

The name 'Toda' itself is foreign to the race, probably given by their neighbours the Badagas. They call themselves 'Oikh' or "The Men". The Toda gods and goddesses are today somewhat hazy. But in ancient times they lived, according to Toda belief, with the Todas on the Nilgiris. They must have been very democratic gods to do so and probably that is why the Toda tribal life is even today highly democratic.

These gods led the same pastoral life as the Todas but later on all of them except about 600 left the tribe for a life in the underworld.

On or En, who according to Prince Peter is the same as the Sumerian god An or Anu, is the Lord of the underworld or the dead according to Toda religion. And his sister Tekirsi (or Terkish or Teikirzi), the creator of the Todas and their buffaloes, is the mother goddess presiding over the destinies of the living. The Nilgiris are called by the Todas 'Terkish-nor' after this goddess who is omnipresent. The Toda will tell you that benign Tekirsi is found even in London and New York.

The Todas are buffalo herdsman and do not tend cows. Their religion is centred round the buffalo and is a highly ritualistic buffalo-cult. Certain of the Toda buffaloes are sacred animals and the dairy where the milk is churned to the accompaniment of chanting is practically the Toda temple. Women are not allowed to approach even the ordinary dairies, let alone the more sacred ones. The *Polol*, the priest at the highest *Ti* dairy or temple has to lead a celibate life and loses his office if touched by any person. The Toda temples are like their huts generally. But there are three with conical roofs.

The Toda funeral is observed twice. Both the green and dry funerals are accompanied by buffalo sacrifice, the *Kotas*, another tribe of the Nilgiris, taking away the sacrificed animal. Todas cremate the dead soon after death. However, after a little time, a second ceremony is observed with a lock of hair of the deceased which is burnt within a stone circle.

Being a pastoral people and migratory too, the Todas are peace-loving and they lead a very quiet life, with very few jealousies with regard to property or even

sex. The Toda is a strict vegetarian and his chief diet is even today milk and milk-products. But this does not apply to the Christianized members of the Tribe who now number half of the total population of about 500 Todas.

The Toda is attractive not only in features but also by his dress. The Toda *Putkuli* which both men and women wear somewhat in the fashion of the Roman *Toga* is a red-striped white cloth with exquisite embroidery in blue or black at the borders which is done by Toda women whose skill in the art of embroidery is superb. Even experts in embroidery in modern civilized society have to bow down before this skill of Toda ladies.

Having had something to do with this tribe in general and the schooling of their children in particular for about 5 years past, I have been greatly struck by the dignity and majesty of the Toda language. The tribe is very poetical and the ever increasing Toda songs will appeal to your sense of rhythm. In the residential primary school founded by the Servants of India Society for Todas we are always encouraging the Toda children to speak in their language which has captivated us by its majesty—though we teach them through the medium of the regional language Tamil which is also well known to them. All the 35 Toda children living and studying in this residential school, situated at a distance of about eight miles from Ooty, amidst enchanting landscape and panoramic beauty of rolling lawns on round topped hills wear *Putkulis*, whose beauty the children are taught to admire in spite of the derision of narrow-minded social workers of the dangerous "Uplift" mentality.

The Toda hut, shaped like the half of a barrel, is an interesting object. One can

enter it only on all fours as the only doorway is generally 30" high and 18" wide. It is closed from inside either by a stone slab or a wooden plank. The roof is made of reeds and thatch. The reeds are woven very skilfully.

The Tribe has two main divisions based on endogamy (or marrying within the division) and those two divisions have a number of sub-divisions or clans practising exogamy (or marrying outside the clan). As among Dravidians in general, a maternal uncle's daughter is coveted as a wife.

Fraternal polyandry was very common formerly. But monogamy has replaced it almost fully. There are not more than two polyandrous families now. Polygamy, *i.e.* having more than one wife in common among brothers, was also practised in days gone by. But even as recently as in 1951, Prince Peter mentions the following customs which of course are not detrimental by themselves but have however become so for various reasons.

Early defloration of immature girls (by a strong man selected for the purpose, considerable promiscuity irrespective of clan and divisional barriers, the *Tereshti* custom of carrying off others' wives; the prevalence of cloth-wives and cloth-husbands (or recognized lovers) in addition to legal husbands and wives.

If it were not for their excellent milk diet and robust physique, venereal disease would have wrought greater havoc. But the disease spread to the whole tribe not so much on account of their own customs but by external contacts. Till recently the Toda women were exploited by outsiders in this matter. For nearly two decades past there was a great and genuine fear that the race

would become extinct. Sterility was widespread and death rate was increasing. But thanks to the agitation of the Servants of India Society, who brought this subject to the close attention of the authorities, the Government of Madras started a mobile medical unit for the Todas in 1952 which has done remarkable service with the most encouraging results by regular penicillin treatment. The tribe is deeply indebted to the first doctor in charge of this Mobile Unit, Dr. A. Kanaka Raj, who saved them from the danger of extinction. We are now seeing 50 new Toda babies a year. Perhaps family-planning has to be adopted after a little time.

The tribe has been really fortunate in recent years to have found a small corner in the heart of our great Prime

Minister, who has been making kind enquiries about them every now and then. In 1952 he was good enough to send a donation of Rs. 1,000/- for the Toda residential school run by our Society.

No less important than the problem of venereal disease, which fortunately has been arrested and the future of the tribe assured, is the land problem of the Todas, which is of course a knotty one. The Todas are very much worried over it at present. But this subject needs greater attention than can be given in this talk. It is hoped that Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of Madras will solve this Toda land problem too in a satisfactory way in the near future, as they did the problem of V.D. and sterility among the Todas.

SETTLEMENT AND VILLAGE PLANNING IN TRIBAL VILLAGES AROUND KONDAGAON (BASTAR, M.P.)

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The area under discussion stretches for about 150 square miles around Kondagaon—a tahsil headquarter situated on Raipur-Jagdulpur road in Bastar district, M. P. The whole area has been studied in detail and several noticeable differences have been found as regards the type of human settlement in the form of villages. These differences exist mainly due to environmental variations.

The differences are not only confined to this region, but all over the world the people of different places vary in appearance, dress, manners and ideas. They

differ in the way they work and get a living and in their government, education, and religion. Above all, they vary in their capacity for work and for progress. The houses, villages, towns and cities not only differ in their functions and nature from one geographical environment to another but also in their shape and size.

The agglomerations of human dwellings—that is the form of the houses and villages - interests us not for its details, but as a whole for its general plan and the way it is adapted to the geographical and social environmental conditions. Before

putting forward some suggestions for the improvements in the form and size of houses or in the sanitation and general health of the people, it will be proper to have an idea of the historical growth of these houses and villages within this area.

The area under discussion includes forty villages, adjoining Kondagaon located in the valleys of rivers Bhaordhing and Narangi—both tributaries of the great river Indrawati.

The area is inhabited mainly by the Murias, to whom Verrier Elwin has given the name of 'GHOTUL MURIAS'. These Murias form 60% of the total population and have and are still partly forest dwellers, living mainly on agriculture and partly on forest resources, skilled in herbs and roots and expert exercisers of magic and witchcraft. Their traditions, customs and manners and even the whole social environment have made them very conservative in outlook. During the last century, the hills and forests, the favourable abodes of the Murias, have been invaded by the plough, and a good amount of cultural contact with the more progressive peoples has occurred and this has disturbed their time-old isolation. Moreover, the recent contacts with the new settlers and traders and their merciless exploitation, which have made them suffer at the hands of the latter and have made them sometimes indifferent to the ideas put in them by welfare workers, and certainly suspicious of the new-comers, their ways and ideas.

Hamlets and their Causes of Origin.

The study of the settlements of the region reveals certain fundamental facts, one of which is the prevalence of several 'paras' or hamlets in the one 'village'. The so-called 'village' being not a real village,

is a collection of houses larger than a hamlet and smaller than a town, but an administrative unit consisting of several paras or hamlets. To avoid confusion with the village proper throughout this paper, we have referred to this type of village as the village unit. Though these 'paras' are quite an independent unit, still they form an integral part of the village-unit. Here a hamlet is a collection of about 10 to 30 houses regularly scattered. In the 40 village-units examined there are altogether 128 hamlets with an average number of 31 houses and 30 households.

In explaining the distribution of these hamlets, one will have to go back to the history of these people. It may be recalled that most of the aboriginal people of the area are either the descendants of the 'abujhmars Maria' now inhabiting the inaccessible and heavily forested western part of the district, or the original inhabitants of Warangal—the original home of the ruling family of Bastar—who migrated to this part generations ago. There, people were in the habit of practising shifting cultivation for growing their minor millets like Kodo (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), Kutki (*Panicum miliaceum*), Madia (*Eleusine coracana*) and Jawar (*Andropogon sorghum*) etc. Here in this region, the extensive forested areas and the sparse population favoured this type of cultivation. They used to cultivate the favourable and easily accessible areas from one hamlet-site and when the land which could be cultivated conveniently from that particular site was exhausted, they moved to the next area and made new fields by cutting and burning the forests. Thus one site was only occupied wherever the surrounding fields remained fertile and productive. Not only were such natural factors responsible for the

practice of this shifting of the hamlets but also sometimes religious and superstitious matters also led to the changing of the hamlet's site from one place to another.

When people discovered on the one hand that some of the lands could be cultivated year after year without any important loss of production, the hamlets began to become somewhat more permanent in their nature and, on the other hand, when pressure on the land increased, causes were established which led to the growth of permanent settlements. Thus the site of a 'para' or hamlet which used to shift from one place to another in rotation during the past, became permanently occupied. Now for administration and revenue purposes a number of 'paras' have been grouped to form one village-unit.

Site of the Villages:

After the relationship of the hamlets to the village-units, we come to the consideration of the site. In determining the site of the village-units mainly three factors are involved:-

1. The type of the economy followed by the people of the region.
2. The physical environment of the region.
3. The nature of the people and their society itself.

1. The type of the economy followed by the people: The people of this area are entirely dependent on agriculture, though to some extent, collecting and hunting economies are also important. About 85% that is 18310 persons out of the total population of 21357, are engaged in direct agricultural production. Hence it is clear that agriculture must have played an important role in determining the site of the hamlets. The site is much dependent

on its convenience as a centre from which all the agricultural land can be cultivated and looked after without any trouble. When fields are much scattered in the forested areas, the hamlets are then also scattered, and the number of houses are entirely governed by the productivity and the extent of the agricultural land. A glance at the village-unit maps explains this fact more clearly. The three village-units Palli, Lanjoda and Dongriguda, have miles of open rice-fields and hence these are among the densely populated villages with a total number of 18 hamlets and an average density of 215 persons per square mile. On the other hand, where the agricultural area is limited by the rocky nature of the soil and the rugged relief as in Sithli, Keoti and Indagaon village-units the total number of hamlets is only 4 and the average density only 39 per square mile.

Thus the distribution and the number of hamlets is obviously controlled by the character of the area and the nature of the distribution of the agricultural fields.

2. Effect of the Physical Environment on the Settlements: A comparative study of the physical map and the settlement map of the area clearly indicates the fact that the villages generally avoid the moist and damp valley bottoms of the rivers. Settlement in the valleys is sparse, as these areas are not only damp and moist, but also covered with the thickest growth of forests.

In addition to this, the rivers are neither useful for irrigation nor for navigation. The river beds are rocky and uneven. Unlike the north Indian rivers, the rivers of this region for example Bhaordbng and Narangi remain only shallow channels of water during the dry

season though in the rainy season, they assume a gigantic form and overflow their banks. So, instead of being a natural factor for encouraging trade and commerce, the streams and rivers have served as barriers.

This whole region is a part of the great Sal (*Shorea robusta*) clad north-eastern plateau which extends from the Teharighat hills in the north to the river Indrawati in the south. Hundreds of streams and waterpools have given the plateau a very dissected and fragmented relief. From river-valleys the land gradually rises to watershed areas thus presenting a hummocky appearance. The hamlets generally occupy regions of high elevations so that they may have the natural advantage of drainage. Moreover, the soils of these uplands are not so agriculturally desirable, hence each family can have a large area of bari land—that is the gardens attached to its house.

3. Influence of the people's nature and society on the site of the hamlets: It has been already stated that the Murias are very shy and always suspicious of outsiders. They seem to be afraid of any outside interference in their normal life. It should be remembered that the tribal peoples sought refuge from their foes in these jungle areas and therefore it is not unnatural that the habit of building houses away from roads and frequented communications should occur in them. Moreover being of a very conservative disposition and adhering strictly to the rule of endogamy, they prefer to have a village or hamlet exclusively to themselves. They think that this is one of the safest ways of keeping the purity of tribal blood. For these reasons, most of the villages are situated in the heart of forests. The people, therefore, can be said to prefer

the wild life, seclusion and isolation, as it is the key-note of the environment in this area.

Again many superstitions and beliefs also determine the site of a hamlet or sometimes cause its shifting to some new site. If the crops fail for two or three consecutive years or cattle die in large numbers, people think that the village-gods and deities have become angry. When it seems difficult to please the village-gods, they shift to some other adjoining villages. Six years ago in Umargaon—a village of only one 'para', 7 miles west of Kondagaon—about 25 persons died of small-pox and due to this, the whole village was practically deserted.

It is difficult to ascertain the importance of all these factors individually. They are not independent factors, but all closely connected with one another. Certainly we can assume that anthropological considerations as well as purely geographical, influence the location of the settlements in this area.

A Typical Village-unit:

As already mentioned, a village-unit comprises 1 to as many as 7 'paras' or hamlets. These hamlets are located on a raised piece of land, 1 to 2 miles away from each other and the intervening area is either agricultural land or pasture land. Generally a hamlet comprises about 10 to 30 houses scattered without any pretence of formal alignment. Their setting is only such as suits the lie of the land and the dimensions of the gardens.

The houses are just small butts having walls built of stakes, cut from the nearest jungle, entwined with rude wicker-work and plastered with mud. It is not the usual custom to have a big court-yard as found in the northern part of India. The

walls stand on the ground without a plinth. The front caves at the door are only 4 to 5 feet high so that a person has to stoop low to enter the house.

In front of the house, a cattleshed is built, attached to one of the sides while to the other, there are pig-sties or a verandah. Each house has a big garden fenced by wicker-work of the tender branches of Sal. The intervening land between the houses is either a garden area or a wasteland covered with grass patches with trees like Mango, Pipal, Jamun etc. On the outskirts of the hamlets, such trees like Saja (*terminalia tomentosa*), Mahua (*Madhuca latifolia*), Harra (*Terminalia chebua*) are commonly found.

No definite arrangement of the houses is to be found. The cart-tracks and foot-paths run in a circuitous way joining all the houses. Sometimes there is a main village street between the two parallel rows of houses as in Lanjoda, Shampur and Mulmulla village-units.

The house of the village headman or 'Malguzar' is generally in good condition as he is usually a substantial man having several ploughs. Another important personality of the village is the 'Baiga' or 'Siraha'—the village priest and the medicine-man. Then there are other people of the artisan class for example, the village blacksmith (Lohar), the Panka Kosta and Ganda who makes cloths, the Ghasia who supplies ornaments and the Rawat who takes the village cattle for grazing. Except these aboriginal castes, many other castes of Hindu origin such as Kalar, Bania etc. are also found.

Setting of different clans and castes in the villages:

Formerly each hamlet was settled by the members of one clan. The

adjoining agricultural land was the 'bhumi' (land) of that clan. Each clan had its own communal landed property quite distinct from that of the other clans. But now there has been a great mixing and in one hamlet besides the original clan, there may be many representatives of other clans or the clans of the wives. Though it is said that a certain village is the 'Bhumi' (land) of the clan that founded it, yet in actual fact, now the village and the land are not looked on as the property of that particular clan.

Even so, although not all the people are of the same tribe or caste, a remarkable segregation within the hamlets is to be found—the houses of different clans and castes being separate from each other. Thus the Murias' houses are located at one place in one hamlet exclusively away from those of the other castes forming to an extent a separate and independent unit of the village. This is due to the fact that Murias' social customs and manners differ greatly from those of the other castes, even from those people, who had been at one time the part of the Muria tribe like the Kosta, Panika, Lohar, etc.

The houses of newly-settled Hindu castes like Kalars, Baniyas and others are at one place, away from the houses of the tribal people.

Houses:

After the examination of a typical village, we come to the study of dwelling houses, its shape, size, space and its relation to other parts of the houses like the cottlesheds and granaries.

Environment has been the prime factor in determining the way of life and the stage of civilization of the people. The environment dictates the shape and size of the human dwellings through the building materials. Local availability of the

materials is noticed to play the leading role in the composition of houses of any region. For example, the Nowakhali area of Bengal has mostly bamboo-houses, U.P. has mud houses with tiled roofs, while in Rajasthan as well as in Sagar, we find much use of stones in house erection.

Here, in this region, enveloping the Murias' villages and agricultural fields is the surrounding green vegetable world—the Sal forests with their dominating effect on all aspects of Murias' life. Wood is the easily available building material and therefore throughout the region the materials used for the construction of houses are of wood in the form of the planks and posts.

The walls are made of vertical poles and logs. The side walls are of strong forked posts, while the inner partitions are of lighter pole stockadings. At the corners the size of the posts is generally 4' to 5' thick reaching the height of about 8' at the centre. At intervals, the poles have forked tops to support the horizontal beams on which the thatched roof rests. The walls and inner partitions are plastered with mud and then washed either by cow-dung or coloured clay.

For the roofs the *chhind* (*Phoenix sylvestris*), which appears in abundance is used. Tiled houses are very rare. Even the houses of well-to-do families are of thatch. It seems that people think it useless or extravagant to cover the roofs with tiles, when they find that a good matting of thatch protects them from the effects of cold, rain and heat better than the tiles. Not only dwelling houses but all kinds of huts—granaries, pig-sties, cattlesheds—are covered with thatch.

Throughout the region the houses are of only one type with practically no

difference in the shape except in their size and space. According to the size of the dwelling houses the form and slope of the roofs also varies—thus giving mainly three types of roofs :—

- A. Only one side sloping roof which usually covers single-room houses.
- B. Two sided sloping roof with a ridge in the middle which is very common, as it can be used to cover all types of houses—big or small.
- C. Pyramidal shaped roof or roof with all side slopes, which covers very spacious and large houses with a big central room and verandahs attached to all its sides.

This difference in the roofs is due to the varying needs of space and accommodation of each family. A well-to-do cultivator needs a spacious house, hence either his roof is of the two sides-sloping type with verandahs attached to it or it is of a pyramidal shape, covering the rooms and the verandahs.

The striking thing regarding the houses is their poor shape and size. As there is no scarcity of land and materials for the construction of houses, there seems no geographical factor to explain the prevalence of these small houses.

The explanation of this, on the other hand, lies in the social and economic condition of the people. The people, especially the Murias, have not been able to develop any taste for big and spacious houses. In all the spheres of their life, they seem to be satisfied only after acquiring the barest necessities. Simple food, simple clothing of only 1 to 3 yards and an equally simple-hut for shelter, serves their purpose. Their economic activities are limited. The surrounding forests and patches of agricultural lands do not yield

much. Moreover the people are so easily satisfied that after raising only one crop in the fields, they remain content. There are no good means of communications to keep them in touch with the outer world and so to inspire ambitions in them. Consequently, the Murias with their limited knowledge and equally limited economic resources seem to be easy going people satisfied by whatever they could get from their immediate surroundings.

Therefore the small houses are in keeping both with the poor economy and the social stages of development of Muria-society. Poor people, with poor agricultural land and equally poor cattle certainly cannot have spacious and comfortable dwelling houses.

The houses of these people are usually of two rooms and one verandah. The cattle-sheds and pig-sties (as already mentioned) are attached to the sides of the dwelling houses.

Muria houses have collection of many varied things. In the inner-room in one of the corners, the 'Hanal Kunda' or the 'Pot of the Departed' is kept. This is an earthen pot, in which the housewife deposits a little rice or other grains for the Departed. The pot, it is said, is never touched by the husband. This room also serves the purpose of kitchen. The other room has the collection of each and every kind of thing. Grains are kept either in earthen pots or in granaries built on wooden poles raised from the ground. Forest products like 'Mahua' (*Bassia Latifolia*), 'Tora' (Mahua seeds) fresh or dried fruits of 'Imli' (*Jamarindus indica*), tendu (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) and various roots and tree leaves are stored either in bamboo baskets or large 'chiptis' prepared from the big leaves

stitched together and supported by strings. Besides these, each and every corner is crammed with different kinds of things, such as agricultural implements, bows, arrows and various traps for rats, hares, mice and fish.

Planning of the houses. It is apparent that with their present ignorance and crude implements, the Murias have fully exploited the natural environment. But even then, their adjustment to it has been only to a bare existence level. Before putting forward any suggestion for the uplift and development of the people, these environmental conditions should be kept in mind. At present, such agencies are needed which can determine the ways and means of utilizing the present natural resources for the use of the tribal people in the villages. Their whole life requires reorientation and remoulding, to be achieved gradually and over a long period of time.

About 95% of the houses are very small and flimsy. The manure pits and refuse dumps are near the houses. The wooden walls do not allow the construction of windows, ventilators and almirahs. Moreover, these houses suffer much from the white-ants. I have seen good houses being demolished and new ones erected in their place only due to the swarming attack of white-ants.

Conditions of housing in the villages have become serious and urgent. In this direction, for the general betterment of the existing conditions, a planned approach is needed.

Construction of modern houses suitable for rural people can be undertaken easily in community project areas. The village level workers of the project can be very helpful in this connection. Every

year many new houses are constructed and old repaired. If the village level workers begin to take an interest in the construction of the houses and if they ask the villagers to build their houses in a particular manner with a number of spacious rooms, windows and ventilators, according to the needs of the family, it is just possible that every year the number of good houses will gradually increase. Moreover, the villagers will themselves begin to take the initiative, when they will find their neighbours of the same economic and social status having good houses.

It is not necessary that the construction of these planned houses should involve much expenditure. While planning the economic condition of people must be considered. The cost of a house in the main includes the cost on labour and materials. In the construction, mainly, local cheaply available materials may be used for evolving a house suitable for rural areas. Again, the labour of the farmer himself and his family should also be utilized. By this means the basic problem of building of houses can be related to the income of the occupants.

For the walls instead of wooden posts and planks mud should be used, since

they will be as durable and what is more they will be free from the troubles brought about by white-ants. Moreover, in the mud walls, the construction of windows, ventilators and almirahs will be much more conveniently carried out than in wooden walls.

The present way of roofing does not need any change, Chhind (Phoenix Sylvestris) used for roofing is better than tiles in cheapness, availability and protection from rain, cold and heat, being warm in winter and cool in summer.

Spacious courtyards in front as well as in the rear are necessary for the adequate provision of cattlesheds, storage of fodder and the grain. Cattlesheds and pig sties should be a little away from the residential houses so that the animals may not be a source of insanitation.

However, it must be remembered that nothing should be done in haste and without detailed study of Murias. Before undertaking any kind of work for the welfare of the people, we should first acquire a good knowledge of every aspect of their lives so that our approach to the problems involved may be right and the response of the people to the changes encouraging.

CERTAIN ESSENTIALS IN TRIBAL RESEARCH

SHRI P. G. SHAH, PRESIDENT, GUJARAT RESEARCH SOCIETY AND
PRESIDENT, ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY, BOMBAY.

The question of tribal research has been receiving attention of the Tribal Welfare Conference for the last several years. The present energetic Commissioner of Scheduled Castes organised a meeting of several anthropologists in 1951, in connection with the Tribal Welfare Committee of Indian Conference of Social Work held at Calcutta. This Committee gave an opinion classifying the tribes with the following four groups (1) *The Tribal communities* (forest inhabitants with a distinct pattern of life, (2) *Semi-tribal communities* (settled in rural area with agriculture and allied occupation), (3) *Acculturated Tribal communities* living in urban and semiurban areas and engaged in industrial and other occupations and (4) *Totally assimilated communities* e. g. Rajgonds, Pateliyas.

2. The First Tribal Welfare Conference held in Delhi in 1952 made other recommendations for research in tribal areas. But an important decision in respect of Tribal Research was taken at the 2nd Tribal Welfare Conference held at Lohardaga in November, 1953. At this Conference several important decisions were taken. It congratulated the States of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh for having decided to start Tribal Research Institutes, and exhorted other States to do the same. It expressed the opinion that these Institutes should be attached to the Tribal Welfare Department. The present writer, who then officiated for sometime as President of the Anthropological Section pleaded for laying down a somewhat uniform plan of research on the lines of the Yale University which may be consulted for all such research centres.

3. I now expand the idea and place in greater detail before the 3rd Conference. The suggestion is not intended to control or restrict research but to canalise the plans of research in the main direction of tribal welfare. For well planned schemes of tribal welfare, we require certain minimum data regarding each tribe, its social, cultural and economic life, its language, folklore and folk art, its religious life, the conditions of its health, diet, and state of nutrition. We also need the records of measurements of the body, bones etc., of the nature of their blood, of their psychological traits, (tests of their mental aptitude for language study, mechanical ability etc.) The recording of such multi-purpose information may be beyond the means of individual Research Institutes, but with the National Anthropological Department of the Government of India and the resources of various well-equipped University laboratories a plan of multi-purpose research should not be difficult to organise. This should form an important point for discussion.

4. I have initiated a tribal Research Centre in the hilly tracts of Surat District on behalf of the Gujarat Research Society and the Anthropological Society of Bombay, with a grant from Government. I feel that the information that we collect should be on a standardised pattern. I regret that my present duties prevent me from joining the deliberations at the 3rd Tribal Welfare Conference at Jagdalpur. I send, however, a provisional list of the subjects for research regarding a tribe. It is difficult to find time for a proper examination and discussion during the

bustle and turmoil of a big Conference. I hope that it will be possible to call a small committee of scientific workers actually engaged or interested in tribal research. The Universities have to co-ordinate their research programmes especially for the higher degrees on an international level, and it is not suggested that they should be either cramped or controlled, but the research work for a tribe should have a definite aim *viz.* providing facts and data for preparing schemes for bringing the tribal people into a line with the normal rural life of the area, without disturbing their culture and confidence.

5. The following is a provisional list of items of Research which may be further discussed before acceptance:-

I. *Environment:*

- (i) Housing condition—size, nature, of the house—air space per individual.
- (ii) Village conditions—Roads, approachability in all weathers.
- (iii) Water supply—drinking and other water.
- (iv) Hospital, dispensary, medical help for human beings and veterinary help for cattle.

II. *Social, educational, cultural and religious life.*

- (i) Social contacts—The individual vs. family with reference to the tribe, the village and other tribes.
- (ii) Social taboos and privileges; customs of life, marriage, kinship, dance, music, and folkart.
- (iii) Customs regarding death, beliefs in life after death, myths about creation of the world, origin of the tribe etc.
- (iv) Migration—effect of migration and change of occupation on social life and taboos.

(v) Frustration and evil effects of any violent or unfavourable social changes.

(vi) Education—literacy; adult and vocational education.

III. *Economic life:*

(i) Land—Land tenure—difficulties in cultivation, jummi and its effects.

(ii) Income in money. Real income, Average per family.

(iii) Unemployment; New occupations.

IV. *Physical, somatological and serological studies.*

V. *Health, nutrition and diet surveys.*

VI. *Psychological tests* like Pass-along tests (ability to profit by experience), Dearborn test (ability to show relationship of two things, Cube Constriction test manual dexterity required for skilled jobs.)

6. The essential point in these studies is one that was stressed by Dr. Malenowski in his famous book "Dynamics of Social Change". Anthropology must be practical and should favour slow, gradual and well-planned transformation against haphazard, fortuitous and uncertain efforts. The special privileges enjoined for these tribes in the Constitution of India have to be modified and scientific research must provide independent evidence as to how far these privileges require to be continued and with what, if any, modifications in the present administration of tribal welfare.

7. I have every hope that the Planning Commission with its elaborate machinery and its various Programme and Research Committees, will provide enough funds and facilities for such composite and multi-purpose research schemes.

ENVIRONMENT AND HUMAN RESPONSES IN TRIBAL VILLAGES AROUND KONDAGAON (BASTAR) M.P.

SHRI H.K.D. KAPUR, MEMBER, BASTAR FIELD EXPEDITION,
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHY,
UNIVERSITY OF SAUGAR, SAGAR, M.P.

The Bastar district covers an area of about 15,000 square miles, and lies in the southern part of the state of Madhya Pradesh. The geographical location of the area under study around Kondagaon lies in the mid eastern part of the district. Geologically the whole of the district lies on the Deccan tableland. Granitic outcrops are found in the area. Towards the northern part quartz also occurs. The average height ranges between 1800'—2000'. The general slope of the area is from North-East to South-West. The surface of the land is rolling plain type. There are a number of nullas. The rivers Narangi and Bhawardig are the two main rivers in the area.

The whole of the district is full of tribal people of several tribes, which are sometimes divided into castes. The important castes include the Marars, Pankas and the Gaudas. The Murias as a tribe are in the majority, constituting 2/3 of the total population. The racial characteristics show that the tribes are of mixed origin. Probably they have been driven into the forested interiors as places of refuge, firstly because of the onslaught of the advancing Dravidians at a very early stage of prehistory and secondly due to that of the later Aryans. These tribes have survived in the interiors of the surrounding forests in all their primitiveness till modern times.

While detailed information about the climate is lacking, broadly speaking the area receives about 60" rainfall. About 80% of the rainfall is received in the rainy season, Mid-June to

September. The average maximum and minimum range of temperature varies from 106° F during May-June to 45° F in January. The climatic condition, combined with the type of soil, favours the growth of trees in this area. About 70% of the area is under forests. At the same time there is much undergrowth of bushes and grasses.

The tribal people living around Kondagaon are to some extent influenced by modern civilization. In their original state they belonged to the hunting and wandering class, inhabiting the dense sal forests in remote interior. They knew much about the animals, forests and weather. Their life was adjusted to the environment in which they lived. The physical conditions (the location of relief features, streams, the types of soils and climatic conditions) are the chief controlling factors which are responsible in determining the characteristic type of forest vegetation and the animal life of the area. How these tribals have been affected in determining their mode of life due to all the environmental factors forms the core of the subject under discussion. These environmental factors determine the type of food, clothing, shelter, tools, and means of transport. Secondly, they determine the different types of occupations *i. e.* hunting, fishing, farming, lumbering, manufacturing, and trade. Thirdly, they determine the efficiency of the tribal peoples as represented by their health, their recreation, and also in the activities of the village or clan organisation.

The whole of tribal area is greatly forested by nallas and rivers. These features have little affected the life of the people, though they sometimes account for the location of the villages. The nature of these water-courses is such that during the rainy season they have a good flow of water while during summers they become dry. Thus, they become useless when the water is most required. The people obtain their drinking water from ditches or the building of dams across the nallas. Wells are few in the area, probably because digging of wells in a granitic area is difficult.

The area now under forest is about 70% although all of it was formerly forested. The common trees in the area are Sal, teak, saja, bija, tendu, mahua, harra, baheda and chhind. Creepers common in the area are siyari and peng. Grasses commonly found in the area are botha, phoolbahari and dab. Although formerly hunting peoples, in this forested environment, nearly 95% of them have turned to agriculture in one form or the other, which is mainly dependent upon the nature of the forest soil fit for agriculture, and the climate. After coming in contact with more advanced peoples it is clear that they at first made forest clearings and started cultivation in them. As the fertility of the soil became exhausted they cleared some other patch of forest and moved to it. Thus, the shifting type of cultivation came into existence.

Rice is the major crop while Madia an inferior grain comes second in importance. The usual way in which Madia is prepared and taken for food is as 'Pej'. It is a semi-liquid preparation. 'Pej' occupies the same place in food of tribes-people a 'basi' amongst Chhattisgarhis. The 'Pej' is prepared by grinding the grain

and boiling it well in plenty of water, to a consistency of thin gruel. To make it tasty they eat it with salt and chillies. We may here mention that 'Pej' has special significance on account of its cooling effect. Apart from Rice, other crops grown are Madia, Maize, Tilli, and Ram-Tilli. The later two are important on account of oil. The Murias supplement their food with meat and the jungle products. The jungle products include Anwla, Tendu, Mahua, Kanda, Char and scores of others. Due to cultural contacts they have taken to the use of goats, pigs and poultry, which form important sources of animal food. Poultry are kept by all the families. The Murias are said to eat rats as delicacy, and also, to eliminate their nuisance value. Even to day the appearance of a rat is sufficient to cause a complete cessation of work until it has been killed. Meat is generally eaten on festive occasions, when sacrifices are offered to appease the Goddesses.

The typical clothing of the people is well adapted to their life. In all seasons both men and women put on light cotton clothing about three yards in length and a yard in breadth, which is wound around their waist. Apart from this, a piece of cloth round the head, an axe on the shoulder, and occasionally a gourd-flask completes the picture of the typical village man in the area, irrespective of castes. Along the road side villages due to cultural contacts with the more advanced peoples, some men can be seen wearing a shirt or some other garment. Tribal women on the other hand put on cloth similar to that of the men, but slightly longer. Apart from covering the waist, one end is carried across the breast. As the average temperature is fairly high in the area this clothing is sufficient. The

small piece which men have around their heads is to protect them from the scorching sun. During the rains they also protect their head by a 'hat' called 'Khumri' made with bamboo and leaves, shaped like an umbrella. The winter temperature usually does not go below 46° F and winter does not exceed more than a couple of months (November to January). They bear the temperature during the day without any difficulty, but at night when the temperature falls, they light fire in their houses to keep warm. They sleep on the ground with the fire in the centre of the room to keep them warm.

Just as their food and clothing are determined by their geographical conditions in which they live, so also are the types of shelter in which they live. Living in a forested area, they naturally use wood from the forests abundantly in the construction of their houses in addition to making use of mud for plastering the wooden walls and leaves and grasses for thatching the roofs. Chhind is most common thatching material. The houses in the area have generally two-way slanting roofs with a ridge between them. The wooden walls are made of vertical planks stuck to the ground. Plastering the wall is done to provide protection, against cold breezes on winter nights, against hot summer breezes and showers and from catching fire. It is, of course, also possible that plastering of walls has been influenced by contacts with more advanced peoples. Bricks are nowhere used by these people. Pure mud walls, as in the villages of northern India, are also uncommon because of the abundance of wood and secondly because of the quickness and the ease in erecting the walls. Almost all the houses have courtyards adjacent to the Bari enclosure which is surrounded by fencing of logs and twigs.

The most important tool of the people is an axe of varying shapes. Sometimes they carry a knife, like a sheathed dagger, locally called 'Katri'. The blade is narrow, curved about 9" long. While these form the common instruments, people of specialized occupations have additional instruments. There are a variety of instruments based on the principle of the bow and arrow, for killing birds and other animals. Traps for catching fish, mice, etc. are commonly found. Earthen-ware pots are very common, being used both for storing and cooking purposes. Now, however, on account of cultural contact people have begun using aluminium utensils. For carrying water or 'pej' they use dry hollow gourds. Leaves of trees such as the 'Sargi' (sal) are used for making a hollow drinking vessel called a 'dona' out of which the 'Pej' is drunk. Women generally make these 'Donas'. Solid food is eaten from a 'Patri' or leaf plate. Thus the tribes have adjusted themselves to the forest environment using the simplest utensils for house-hold purposes.

The dense sal forests have been responsible to a great extent in determining some aspects of the way of life of the tribes people all over Bastar. "Datoon" of sal and other trees are used as a mouth brush, sal and siyari leaves (as mentioned above) are used for making 'Donas'. Siyari is commonly used for chordage; botha grass (which is found near Nullas) is commonly used in making 'Chatai' called 'Masni' mainly used for sleeping. A large variety of fruits such as tendu, char, mahus, kata khuli are eaten by the people, and so also are a large variety of roots which are dug for food purpose during the rainy season. Tora and Peng oil are used for burning. All these show how the forest comes into every walk of life

and thus it becomes a determining factor in moulding the life of the people.

The forests and the tribes people are so closely related that the true picture of tribal response to the forest cannot be drawn unless a detailed study of forest is first made.

Agriculture is the most important occupation of tribal people all over the area. Every family has a piece of land attached to his house. The cultivation is of two kinds, the 'badi' and the 'beda'. In the 'badi' type minor crops such as maize, pulses, inferior grains as madia, cash-crops as tilli and sarson are grown. Apart from these, seasonal vegetables are also grown. The point in having these crops near their houses is that proper attention can be given to these crops. The 'badis' are adjacent to the houses while the 'beda' (fields) lie towards the outskirts of the settlements. The 'beda' type of cultivation is carried on in those fields which lie away from settled area. Wells in the area are meagre and so also are tanks. The rivers are torrential in the rains and gradually dry up by the time February or March is reached. At some places nullas are bunded and the water thus trapped is used. Other occupations like cattle-farming and hunting are also found. Cattlefarming is practised all over the area, the chief purpose being to get bullocks. Hunting serves in the interior. Hunting as a means of occupation has become extinct in the area. According to the members of expedition in South-Eastern part of the area, till recent past, the Murias used to move in large organized parties (of few hundreds to thousand in strength) from south to north killing mercilessly any animal they came across. There seem to be two

probable reasons for it. Firstly, a reduction in the number of animals is either due to the too much killing and secondly, due to the movement of the animals to the interior caused by clearance of the forests. The tribes people having come in contact with the agriculturists have found it a better source of livelihood than hunting.

Shifting cultivation is not common in the area. In this system small trees are cut while the bigger ones are ringed and are allowed to die. The land thus deforested is under cultivation for two or three years and is again left over for about ten years. Obviously the system was ruinous to the forests.

They appear to have no enthusiasm for changing from the old order to a new one. All the tribes people have (as we have already observed) some land for cultivation of their main crop, rice. While during their spare time which they have ample at certain times of the year they engage in fishing, mat-making, and collection of fruits and roots. Their environment thus meets all their essential demands. They have, therefore, probably a greater degree of basic social security than more advanced people of the same class. Consequently this will (apart from any natural look of ambition in any case) leave them with no desire of improvement

It is not easy to gauge the efficiency of the people mainly due to lack of data to show whether they lack in mental power as compared with other people. But their environment is clearly not conducive to developing a progressive attitude to life. No exact or detailed figures are available but they do not seem to be very healthy and not very long lived.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MESSAGES

अखिल भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन के लिये प्राप्त शुभ संदेश

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Vice-President of India :*

Best wishing for success of the Conference.

SHRI G. V. MAVALANKAR, *Speaker, Lok Sabha, New Delhi :*

"In my opinion, it is the duty of everyone in the Indian Union to do his best for the cause of our Tribal brothers and no effort on our part can be said to be too much. They are a fine people and I am sure, if properly educated and helped to advance economically, they will form a fine part of our nation. I wish your Conference all success."

SHRI U. N. DHEBAR, *President, Indian National Congress, New Delhi :*

"The problem of the tribal people in India is now coming to the forefront, partly because of the rising consciousness amongst them and partly because of the endeavours of the Government and the social organisations.

"The tribal problem exposes the neglect of the past generations of mankind in India and elsewhere towards a constituent section thereof. They are not different from the rest of mankind. The only thing is that these people have been forgotten in the din and noise created by ambitious men. To consider them as essential pieces in a world museum, will be to place premium upon

the centuries of grossest dereliction of duty on our part. We have an urgent duty to wash off this sin. The question is how can we do it. To use the tribal question for securing some political advantage for a group, will be loading sin upon the already heavy load of sins. To prepare them only for entering into the mad race for power and pelf, will also be a disservice. As it is, we have to salvage the humanity in India which is involved in that mad race. It would not be proper to serve them that way. We have still to serve them. There can be no greater service that we can do to them than preparing them for honourable membership of a social order which has a prospect of survival; that is an order based upon social justice and equal opportunity for all. India has taken a stride in that direction. May it be the privilege of this Conference to play a worthy role in the evolution of such a social order. I wish the Conference all success.

SHRI G. B. PANT, *Home Minister, Govt. of India :*

Conveys his best wishes on the inauguration of the Conference.

SHRI B. N. DATAR, *Dy. Minister for Home Affairs, Govt. of India :*

"The Tribal Welfare is a subject in which I am deeply interested, not only

because the Home Ministry has to deal with it, but I personally feel that tribal people have to be brought up to the same level of education and general advancement as the other more advanced communities, for the simple reason that no democracy can succeed when there are people in varying degrees of backwardness in the country concerned.

"I am looking forward to the resolutions that may be passed at the Conference. I am sure they will be of much use to us here. I wish the Conference all success. May God give us the vision as also an intense desire to serve these poor and down-trodden people."

SHRI C.D. DESHMUKH, *Finance Minister, Govt. of India* :

"It is an irony of history that those who held the earliest tenure of this land had to seek the security of wilderness for preserving their own way living. The country is the poorer for what happened. Happily the dividing wall of suspicion and ignorance is crumbling under the impact of independence and of the irresponsible forces of development that have been released in its train. The Scheduled Tribes have evolved social organisations but not participated in the country's material advance. How to enable them to do so without impairing their special cultural contribution to society is the central problem of Tribal Welfare. I hope this Conference will suggest practicable ways and means of doing so. I wish it god-speed and all success for the attainment of its purpose."

DR. H. N. KUNZRU, M.P., *New Delhi* :

"The Conference will have to devise measures for the development and welfare of nearly two crores of our countrymen whose interests received but little attention at our hands till the other day. The experts who will assemble at Jagdalpur will be in a better position to suggest that steps should be immediately taken in order to enable these people to come up to the level of those among whom they live and have confidence in their ability to protect their own interests. I venture to suggest however that the development of communications should be given the highest priority in any programme that may be chalked out by the Conference, and that it should stress the important role that the Cinema and the Radio can play in opening their minds and enabling them to understand the world around them."

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM,
Governor of Assam :

I wish the coming session of the Tribal Welfare Conference all success. Under the inspiring lead of our Prime Minister and the guidance of the experienced workers gathered at the Conference, may the varied tribes of India while retaining all their attractive features rise to their full stature as citizens of our great country.

SHRI CHANDU LAL TRIVEDI, *Governor of Andhra* :

"I send my best wishes for the success of the conference. Its importance can hardly be overrated, and I am confident that its deliberations and conclusions will be of great value".

SHRI SRI PRAKASA, *Governor of Madras* :

Conveys his best wishes for the success of the Tribal Welfare Conference.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR, *Governor of Bihar* :

"All Tribals our Brothers. Their life and culture entitled to respect and protection. We have much to learn especially simplicity, solidarity of feeling and capacity to enjoy life. Wish Conference all success."

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI, *Governor of U. P.*
He wishes the Conference success.

SHRI P. S. KUMARASWAMY RAJA,
Governor of Orissa :

"I send my best wishes to the Conference which is meeting at a time when the country's attention is focussed on the problems of the tribal population as never before. These tribals are the forgotten sons of India and are, therefore, entitled to the Nation's best attention in consonance with their position in our Republican policy, having equal rights as other citizens. While the State undoubtedly ensures everything in many ways to promote their well-being, all honour is due to the efforts of BAJ'S Sangh for rousing the conscience of our people in regard to their duty to their less-favoured brethren, who have been virtually outside the periphery of civilisation so far, for no fault of theirs.

"I am glad that the ensuring Conference is being inaugurated by our illustrious Prime Minister and that my friends the Governor and Minister for

Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh, as well as many other compatriots are participating in the various functions connected with the session. I have no doubt that the Conference as well as the Exhibition and the other cultural events organised in that connection will help to sustain the interest of the people in the various matters governing tribal welfare.

"I wish every success to the Conference, and trust that deliberations will be a source of great inspiration to the people and the Government in promoting tribal welfare."

SHRI C. P. N. SINGH, *Governor of Punjab* :

"It is needless for me to emphasise how essential it is for every one of us to take genuine interest in the welfare of the tribal people. Their important problems deserve very close attention of our social workers and all those interested in their welfare. The Indian tribal arts and handicrafts must be preserved and encouraged. The land problems of the tribals and their economy are also some of the basic issues which the Conference will have to tackle. Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies for them will definitely prove very useful. We, however, really need a long line of genuine social workers to contact the tribal people and it is necessary to train these workers for implementing programmes in the tribal areas. While regretting my inability to attend due to previous engagements, I whole-heartedly wish the organisers of this Conference and its deliberations all success."

SHRI B. JAGANNADHA DAS, *Judge, Supreme Court of India, New Delhi* :

"In the field of reconstruction of our Nation after attaining independence, there is no greater and nobler work than the work of Tribal Welfare. I wish the Conference every success. I take this opportunity to pay my homage to the large number of self-less workers like you and other friends who have concentrated in this field under the great and inspiring lead of our revered leader, Shri Thakkar Bapa, who has been my inspirer in an allied field."

SMT. DURGABAI DESHMUKH :

"Though ample money has been provided for in the Plan for Tribal Welfare, yet when it comes to programmes the Tribal Welfare is one of the most difficult subjects to handle as the approach has to be one of great sincerity seasoned with caution and planning, without seeming to interfere into Tribal habits and modes of life. But I am sure under the able Chairmanship of Shri Raja Naresh Chander Singh and the guidance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself, enough directive and inspiration will be forthcoming for us all. I wish your Conference every success".

मोगरजी देसाई, बम्बई ।

आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की ओर से जगदलपुर में तीसरी परिषद भरी जाती है, यह जान के खुशी हुई । आज देश भर में इन पिछड़ी हुई जातियों के लिये कई योजनाओं अमल में लाई गई है । सरकारी

और विन सरकारी तौर से इस काम को हमें तेजी से चलाना चाहिये । मेरा विश्वास है कि परिषद में इस अटिल प्रश्न को सुलभाने में जरूरी मार्गदर्शन दिया जायेगा । आपके कार्य को मेरी ओर से शुभेच्छा भेजता हूँ ।

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA, *Minister, Assam* :

"Many many thanks for your invitation to Tribal Welfare Conference. Extremely regret inability to attend meeting, owing to Busy Assembly Session. Wishing Conference success".

SHRI D. N. WANDREKAR, *Dy. Minister for Backward Classes, Bombay* :

Wishes the Conference a success.

SHRI K. KOCHUKUTTAN, *Minister for Local-Self Government, Travancore-Cochin* :

Wishes the Conference every success.

SHRI BRIJLAL, *Minister, Madhya Pradesh* :

Wish the Conference every success.

SHRI D. N. MAJUMDAR, *Head of the Deptt. of Anthropology, Lucknow University* :

"I wish your Conference every success. Under the secure umbrage of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, I wish for the day when the tribal people will be able to take their future into their own hands. As one who is deeply interested in the tribal people of our country, I am anxiously watching this transition and

believe that the day is not far distant, when we shall feel, that we are all 'Shal Chai' and 'Khan-cha' in the social context.

"I believe as I have on often reiterated that 'we cannot be considered civilized unless all of us are civilized,' whatever the world may want to the steps of our levels of living."

SWAMI BHABAN, Andhra

It is very happy augury that the Conference should be inaugurated by the Prime Minister of India. *Manvadhya* is the only means of achieving *Swadaya* and *Swarajya*.

I wish every success to the Conference. I regret that I am unable to attend it on account of my poor health. Please convey my Namaskar to all present and my Aardra to youngsters. *Jai Hind*

विद्यार्थी हठि, दिवली ।

बलवाणी जातिवाँ के बीच में कल्याण काने करने वाली ह्य मेवकी की वया पर भ्रान में रमना है कि इनकी अलग धारावाही संस्कृति और नैर्गमिक जीवन पर ह्य अपने कल्याण वकरी विचारों की लागने का प्रकण न करें । किन करे जातिवाँ की वया निष्कृती जालिष करने है, ये किनाही ही मानी में रमने आने कदी ह्यै जातिवाँ है । इनकी सेवा ह्यै सेवा-साधना से ही रम करें, किन्ती अलग हेतु से नहीं । पूरा प्रकण वया से प्रत्यय धारण की कारीकिर्ती और ह्यिहास की सिद्ध और अविद्ध ह्यीनों में प्रकण बलवाणी जातिवाँ और दिवली की सेवा साधन बाध पूजा की ही साधना है वया की गी । वही आवरी ह्य मेवकी की आत्माना काक्षि ।

यह अमीजन साधुनाथक वं जवाहरलाल नेहरू के सांघीवधीन से ह्य परहू से लागत ही पर वया वय की नागा है ।

बाबा साधुब्रह्म, सेवापुरी (बनारस)

आपका सांघनाय सात्वा । साधन पर हीने जीव परकी से सुवान विनया के करे आनरथक कारीका वय जाने पर आने में असाधन है । नरीजन की संकलना वय में जावता है ।

उया सर्वथा में आदिवाणी वय पूरी (विनया विरौधु) में सुवण प्रकण आदिवाणिवाँ की लगने का है, ह्य के भाय मनीन नहीं है । उया सर्वथा की संकार में आदिवाणिवाँ में वरिजे के लिय आने भाय की एक जाँच प्रकण-धुति सुवान सांघिनी की ही कीर आदिवाणिवाँ में कारीकनी सेवा करनी के सिद्ध आत्मन संचालन के सिद्ध वय न करे मनीन ही है । विनया का फल ही वया है । आत्मन का काने ही आत्मन ही प्रकण है । आदिवाणी वय में जी वय मीवनी वही मनी साधनधाणी अहन वी साधन वनी की साधन पर ही ह्य और में आत्मनीय सिद्ध की लया वृद्धि नेवाकी का भ्रान आकर्षित करना है कि वय सर्वथा पूरा विनय की और भ्रान विधा बाधि । आदिवाणिवाँ में एक लाल बीहारी है जो विरौध संकार का कण लाने से हीनी है । अत्म के आत्म में पर कण लाने के सिद्ध आदिवाणी मनीन मही विनया हीने है । ह्य सिद्ध वयासे सिद्ध आनरथक है कि वय इनकी मीजन का भ्रान रवि । ह्य जय में साधन का सिद्ध रीकसाधन नार का ही रीकसाधन विरौध कण से हीना है पर साधनीय काकलादी के असाधन में से आदिवाणी मही पूरा लान नहीं वका भाधि । वरीर पर लय सुलभ है

कि भारत सरकार की ओर से जो लाह की प्रयोग शाला रांची में चलाई जा रही है इस की एक शाखा दूधी मिर्जापुर क्षेत्र में हो, जो आदिवासियों को इस विषय की आवश्यक शिक्षा देकर योग्य बनाने में सहायक हो।

हिमाचल प्रदेश के आदिवासियों का प्रश्न भी महत्वपूर्ण है, वहां विनिरियल तथा कुष्ठ रोग का काफी फैलाव रहता है, हम चाहते हैं कि इस रोग से मुक्ति के लिए इन भाईयों को खास तरह से आवश्यक सहायता दी जाए। इन आदिवासी भाईयों में बीमारी का भी महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है, अगर भारत सरकार इस विषय की ओर ध्यान देकर उस्ताही आदिवासी तरुणों को उद्योग की आवश्यक शिक्षा देने का प्रबंध कर सके तो इन दुखियों को राहत दिलाने में सहायता होगी। आप का सम्मेलन इस दिशा में हमारा मार्ग दर्शन करे, यह नम्र निवेदन है।

SHRI JANARDAN PATHAK, *Assam* :

Due to pressure of work here, I shall have to miss the opportunity of attending the Tribal Conference this time and meeting friends and co-workers.

We send our humble greetings to all fellow workers and wish the Conference all success. The various complicated problems of the tribal people in Assam are well known. I beg to draw the attention of the anthropologists and social workers in the field to those problems and humbly request that some of them should come to Assam, study these problems and if possible take up work among some of the tribes. These our brethren are in various stages of developments, and many of them inhabit in the far off mountain ranges bordering China;

Burma and Pakistan. I appeal to our leaders that social welfare activities should be organised in these frontiers region through the agency of trained and experienced workers without delay.

SHRI A. VEDARATHNAM, *Sanchalak, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Tamilnad* :

"I wish the Conference every success and pray that it will be useful to promote the ways of service to our forlorn brethren without changing their long-standing inherent Culture of Bharat."

In addition to the above, messages wishing the Conference all success were received from the following : --

- (1) Shri Shivbhou Solanki, Parliamentary Secretary, Madhya Bharat
- (2) Shri S. R. Venkatraman, Servants of India Society, Madras.
- (3) Shri Om Prakash Trikha, Sanchalak, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Himachal Pradesh.
- (4) Shri R. K. Sahu, Servants of India Society, Cuttack.
- (5) Shri S. S. Misra, Servants of India Society, Cuttack.
- (6) Shri M.C. Goswami, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University.
- (7) Shri Laxminarayan, Bharatiya, Editor, *Sarvodaya*, Wardha.
- (8) Shri M.V. Ramachandran, Principal, New Art & Commerce College, Raipur (M. P.)
- (9) Shri G. Yognandan, Raipur.
- (10) Shri Gopinath Sen, Bharat Mahajati Mandali, Calcutta.
- (11) Shri J. L. Sehgal, Nagpur.
- (12) Shri Shyam Dutt Jaunsari, Kalsi (U. P.)

APPENDIX II

**RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD TRIBAL WELFARE
CONFERENCE HELD AT JAGDALPUR (M.P.)**

on 13th, 14th and 15th March. 1955.

Resolution No. 1 :- *Second Five Year Plan-
Framing of tribal Wel-
fare Schemes:*

The Conference resolves that the Central and State Governments be requested that while framing the schemes for tribal welfare under the Second Five Year Plan, they should take the advice and seek cooperation of tribal M.L.A.s, tribal M. P.s and the non-official organisations working for the welfare of the tribals before finalising them.

Resolution No.2:- *Second Five Year Plan-
Priority of Schemes:*

The Conference is of opinion that while framing the schemes for tribal welfare, the foremost thing to be borne in mind is that the means for the physical development of the tribals and the necessary facilities thereof should be created so that the necessities of life like pure water and healthy food etc. are easily made available to them.

Resolution No.3 :- *Economic, Social and
Cultural Survey of
Tribal Areas.*

The Conference expresses its satisfaction that under the First Five Year Plan, Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Blocks are being opened in large numbers in tribal areas. But at the same time it is of opinion that unless a survey is taken of the physical, economic, social and cultural

background of the tribal areas, it is not possible to assess the exact results and achievements of those projects. Therefore, this Conference requests the Central and the State Governments that arrangements should be made immediately to conduct a survey in the tribal areas. Before a complete survey is made, it is necessary that to start with, a sample survey of at least the important tribes of every State should be undertaken and completed within three years. In this work necessary help should be sought from the Universities, Social Welfare Institutions and Bharat Sevak Samaj. The Central Government is requested to give financial help to the State Governments under Art. 275 of the Constitution for the purpose of conducting this survey.

Resolution No.4:- *Local Contributions for
Tribal Welfare Scheme:*

The Conference is of opinion that for the implementation of the Community Development Projects, National Extension Service Blocks and other development Schemes, the policy of fixing the proportion of local contributions as at present should be changed in accordance with the financial conditions of the tribals of the areas concerned. As the tribals are very backward, the practical aspects of the schemes should be settled according to the local conditions.

Resolution No.5:- Trained Personnel for Tribal Welfare Work :

(a) The Conference is of opinion that arrangements should be made immediately to give training to the non-official workers and Government officials working in the tribal areas and that a Committee should be formed for this purpose. Shri L. M. Shrikant, Vice-President of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh is empowered to nominate the members of the Committee. This Committee should submit its report within three months to the Executive Committee of the Sangh. The Committee should present its report on the period of training, its syllabus and other matters relating to it.

(b) Non-official tribal welfare workers and Govt. officials should be given training by competent and recognised institutions.

(c) The Conference requests the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Govt. of India that for non-official institutions or State Governments getting grant from the Central Government, the training of non-official

workers and Govt. officials should be made compulsory. A maximum time limit should also be fixed for it.

Resolution No. 6:- Medical Aid to Tribals

In the tribal areas, medical help and facilities are almost negligible. Therefore, to encourage and attract medical men to serve in tribal areas, special allowances should be paid to them according to local conditions.

Whenever it is not possible to have a dispensary to give medical aid, mobile dispensaries should be started.

Resolution No. 7:- Primary Education upto Second Standard:

The Conference is of opinion that in those Scheduled Areas where tribal dialects are prevalent, primary text books in Nagari and provincial script should be prepared for the purpose of imparting education upto Second Standard to the tribal boys and girls in their own dialect. The Conference therefore requests the State Governments to take necessary steps in this direction.

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ दिल्ली की तृतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण परिषद् में स्वीकृत प्रस्ताव

(१३, १४ व १५ मार्च, १९५५)

प्रस्ताव १

यह परिषद् केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों से अनुरोध करती है कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य की रूप रेखा बनाते समय आदिमजातियों के विधान सदस्यों और संसद् सदस्यों तथा आदिमजाति कल्याण कार्य करने वाली गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं का सहयोग और परामर्श प्राप्त करके ही योजना का अंतिम रूप निश्चित करें।

प्रस्ताव २

परिषद् का यह अभिमत है कि आदिम जातियों के कल्याण कार्य की योजनाएं बनाते समय सर्व प्रथम इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाय कि आदिम जातियों के भौतिक विकास के साधन और उसके अनुकूल वातावरण विकसित हों जिससे उन्हें जीवन की अनिवार्य आवश्यकताएं जैसे पीने का स्वच्छ पानी, भर पेट स्वास्थ्य प्रद भोजन इत्यादि सुलभ हो।

प्रस्ताव ३

परिषद् को यह जानकर सन्तोष है कि प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में आदिमजातीय क्षेत्रों में सामुदायिक विकास योजनाएं और राष्ट्रीय विकास खंड अधिक संख्या में खोले जा रहे हैं। परन्तु जब तक आदिमजाति क्षेत्रों की भौतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक सर्वे नहीं की जाती तब तक इन योजनाओं की सफलता का सही अनुमान लगाना सम्भव नहीं हो सकता। इसलिए परिषद् केन्द्रीय सरकार तथा

प्रादेशिक सरकारों से विशेष अनुरोध करती है कि आदिमजाति क्षेत्रों में सर्वे कराने की अविलंब व्यवस्था की जाय। पूरी सर्वे करने के लिए, प्रारम्भ में कम से कम प्रत्येक राज्य में प्रमुख आदिमजातियों के नमूने की सर्वे तीन साल में ही अवश्य कराई जाय। इस कार्य में विश्वविद्यालयों, सामाजिक संस्थाओं तथा भारत सेवक समाज से आवश्यक मदद ली जाय। सर्वे के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार से विधान की २७५वीं धारा के अनुसार प्रादेशिक सरकारों को आर्थिक सहायता दी जाय।

प्रस्ताव ४

परिषद् का यह निश्चित मत है कि सामुदायिक विकास योजनाओं और राष्ट्रीय विकास खंडों तथा अन्य विकास योजनाओं की पूर्ति के लिए स्थानीय आर्थिक सहायता का जो अनुपात निश्चित किया गया है उसमें आदिमजातियों की आर्थिक स्थिति को देखते हुए विशेष रूप से परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। चूंकि आदिमजातियां अभी तक अविकसित अथवा अर्ध विकसित दशा में हैं। इसलिए योजनाओं को व्यावहारिक स्वरूप स्थानीय परिस्थिति के अनुसार निश्चित किया जाय।

प्रस्ताव ५

(अ) परिषद् यह अनुभव करती है कि गैर सरकारी कार्यकर्ता और सरकारी कर्मचारी जो

आदिमजाति क्षेत्रों में कार्य करते हैं उनको आवश्यक ट्रेनिंग देने की शीघ्र व्यवस्था की जाय। इसके लिए एक समिति बनाई जावे। जिसके सदस्यों को मनोनीत करने का अधिकार भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के उपाध्यक्ष श्री ल० म० श्रीकान्त जी को दिया जाता है। यह समिति तीन माह के भीतर संघ की कार्य कारिणी समिति को अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत करे। समिति अपनी रिपोर्ट ट्रेनिंग केन्द्र सम्बन्धी पाठ्यक्रम, समय तथा अन्य सभी आवश्यक विषयों पर दे।

(आ) आदिमजाति सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं कर्मचारियों को उपयुक्त तथा मान्य संस्थाओं द्वारा ट्रेनिंग दी जाय।

(इ) परिषद् आदिमजाति कमिश्नर से अनुरोध करती है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार से अनुदान प्राप्त करने के लिए कार्यकर्ता तथा कर्मचारियों की ट्रेनिंग को आवश्यक बनाया जाय। इसके लिए अधिक से अधिक कुछ समय की अवधि निश्चित की जाय।

प्रस्ताव ६

आदिमजाति क्षेत्रों में डाक्टरी सहायता नहीं के बराबर है। अतः इन क्षेत्रों में जाने के लिए प्रोत्साहित करने की दृष्टि से चिकित्सकों को विशेष भत्ता, स्थानीय परिस्थिति के अनुसार, देने की व्यवस्था की जाय।

जहां चिकित्सालय खोलना सम्भव नहीं हो वहां डाक्टरी सहायता सुलभ करने के लिए चलते-फिरते चिकित्सालय रखने की व्यवस्था की जाय।

प्रस्ताव ७

परिषद् का अभिमत है कि जिन अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों में आदिमजातियों की स्वतंत्र बोली प्रचलित है वहां आदिमजातियों के बालकों को उनकी मातृ भाषा में दूसरी श्रेणी तक शिक्षा देने के लिए नागरी लिपि में अथवा प्रादेशिक लिपि में प्रारंभिक पुस्तकें प्रकाशित की जावें। इस सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक कारवाही करने के लिए प्रादेशिक सरकारों से परिषद् अनुरोध करती है।

APPENDIX III

LIST OF DELEGATES & VISITORS WHO
ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE*(a) Delegates—Executive Committee Members :*

1. Shri L. M. Shrikant, New Delhi.
2. Shri V. Raghaviah, Nellore.
3. Shri Dharamdev Shastri, Kalsi.
4. Shri R. S. Misra, Sarsa.
5. Shri N. M. Wadiwa, Chhindwara.
6. Shri D. J. Naik, Dohad.
7. Shri N. V. Bapat, Chhindwara.
8. Shri P. G. Vanikar, Nagpur.
9. Shri D. Rangaiya, Delhi.

(b) Delegates from our Affiliated Institutions :

1. Shri A. K. Patro, Kovvur.
2. Shri K. Matsyalu, Kovvur.
3. Shri M. R. Sastri, Kovvur.
4. Shri K. Venkayya, Gurzala.
5. Shri S. M. Mastan, Gurzala.
6. Shri E. Ganganna, Guntur.
7. Shri T. Sambayya, Guntur.
8. Shri J. Apparao, Guntur.
9. Shri Jataji Bhagat, Ratlam.
10. Shri Somaji Bhagat, Ratlam.
11. Shri Nathaji Bhamar, Ratlam.
12. Shri G. P. Masram, Yeotmal.
13. Shri M. G. Wadiwa, Chhindwara.
14. Shri S. R. Madhavi, Nagpur.
15. Shri Jankinath Raina, Bhopal.
16. Shri Raja Premshahji, Bhopal.
17. Shri Ram Dayal Srivastava, Bhopal.
18. Shri L. N. Rao, Kozhikode.
19. Shri T. Muthicane, Kozhikode.
20. Shri K.N.V. Nambisan, Kozhikode.
21. Shri D. M. Bidkar, Nasik.
22. Shri B. L. Agnihotri, Nasik.
23. Shri Dongar Rama Naik, Nasik.

24. Shri S. R. Bhise, Bordi.
25. Shri R. L. Shinde, Bombay.
26. Shri Rajnandan Singh, Deoghar.
27. Shri Gopal Lal Verma, Dumka.
28. Shri Lalchandbhai Ninamma, Dohad.
29. Shri Jaljibhai K. Dindod, Dohad.
30. Shri Chotubhai Naik, Vedhhi.
31. Shri Nanubhai Desai, Vedhhi.
32. Shri J.G. Natawadkar, Nandurbar.
33. Shri B. G. Choudhary, Nandurbar.
34. Shri Surindar Singh Visht, Kalsi.
35. Shri Maheswar Dutt, Kalsi.
36. Shri Jagat Singh, Kalsi.
37. Shrimati Suresh Kumari Pande, Sarsa.
38. Shri Vasantao Wickey, Nainpur.
39. Shri Adityapratap Singh, Bilaspur.
40. Shri Dr. S. J. Sane, Harda.
41. Shri Randaman Singh, Rewa.

(c) Visitors from our Affiliated Institutions :

1. Shri M. B. Khandate, Yeotmal.
2. Shri H. S. Maskam, Yeotmal.
3. Shri D. Veeranna, Kovvur.
4. Shri Churuli Muthuvan, Kozhikode.
5. Shri S. Narasimham, Kozhikode.
6. Smt. C. Sarojini Sastriar, Kozhikode.
7. Shri Nanuji, Ratlam.
8. Shri S. A. Aahire, Nasik.
9. Shri K. B. Rout, Nasik.
10. Shri A. R. Khambavat, Nasik.
11. Shri Gopal Das, Dohad.
12. Shri Parthibhai Rathod, Dohad.
13. Shri Budh Singh, Kalsi.
14. Shri Omanand, Kalsi.

15. Shri Nain Singh, Kalsi.
16. Shri Shivaram Singh, Seoni.
17. Shri Raja Raghuraj Singh, Jabalpur.

(d) *Visitors—Anthropologists :*

1. Dr. B. H. Mehta, Bombay.
2. Shri B. Chatterjee, Bombay.
3. Dr. N. Dutta Majumdar, Calcutta.
4. Shri H. K. D. Kapur, Raipur.
5. Shri Shankar Roy, Kondagaon.
6. Shri N. S. Deshpande, Sagar.
7. Shri P. R. Sirsalkar, Hyderabad.
8. Shri B. B. Verma, Delhi.
9. Dr. Freda Mukherji, Delhi.
10. Lt. Col. Dr. G. R. Gayre, Sagar.
11. Dr. Hans Koester, German Council General, Delhi.
12. Edmund Siang Uk, Bombay.
13. Shri Andrew John, Umanga, Bombay.
14. Shri Roop Singh Bhil, Bombay.
15. Dr. Christer, Delhi University.

(e) *Visitors—Officials :*

1. Shri K. K. Leuwa, Regional Asstt. Commissioner for S. C. & S. T., Ranchi.
2. Shri R.S. Choudhary -do-, Nagpur
3. Shri P. C. Dave, -do-, Baroda
4. Shri O. K. Murthy, -do-, Madras
5. Shri T. Nageswararao-do-, Visakha-patnam
6. Shri Sashimearn Aier, -do-, Shillong.
7. Shri U. J. Kuruwa, Backward Class Officer, Kutch.
8. Shri Nityananda Das, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Patna.
9. Shri V. A. Gizare, Tribal Welfare Department, Nagpur.
10. Shri Ramnath, Cottage Industries Department, Nagpur.
11. Shri V. V. Tiwari, -do-
12. Shri Gope, -do-
13. Shri A. L. Dube, -do-

14. Shri Partity, Cottage Industries Department, Nagpur.
15. Shri M. D. Patil, -do-
16. Shri H. B. Aggarwal, -do-
17. Shri Pandhri Pande, -do-
18. Shri T. Y. Deo, -do-
19. Shri S. Bhattacharya, -do-
20. Smt. P. Parijatham Naidu, Planning Commission, New Delhi.
21. Shri S. N. Kunzru, Director, Tribal Welfare Department, Nagpur.
22. Shri R. S. Shukla, Secretary, -do-
23. Shri R. Prasad, Secretary, Tribal Welfare Department, Patna.
24. Shri C. Misra, Secretary, Tribal Welfare Department, Bhubaneswar.
25. The Director, Backward Classes Welfare, Poona.
26. Shri T. C. Srinivasa Varadan, Deputy Commissioner, Jagdalpur.
27. Shri J. K. Razdan, P. A. to the Commissioner for S. C. & S. T. New Delhi.
28. Shri F. Bahadur, Social Service Department, Rewa.
29. Shri G. N. Das, Dy. Director, Tribal Welfare Department, Bhubaneswar.
30. Shri Amhalal Vyas, Tribal Welfare Deptt. Bhubaneswar.
31. Shri B. B. Misra, Welfare Officer, Bhubaneswar.
32. Dr. T. B. Naik, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara.
33. Shri B.K. Roy Burman, Secretary, Cultural Research Institute, Calcutta.
34. Shri T. N. Rao, Tribal Welfare Deptt, Bhubaneswar.
35. Shri J. S. Mehta, Director, Tribal Welfare, Jaipur.
36. Shri V. P. Rode, Museum Curator, Raipur.
37. Dr. S.S. Patwardhan, -do-, Nagpur.
38. Shri M. G. Dande, Museum, Nagpur.
39. Shri S. C. Verma, Additional Deputy Commissioner, Jagdalpur,

(f) *Visitors—Miscellaneous :*

1. Rev. E. D. Meulder, Hazaribagh.
 2. Rev. T. Whyte, Ranchi.
 3. Shri Natwar Thakkar, Naga Hills, Assam.
 4. Shri Sukumar Pagare, Imphal.
 5. Shri Kanahiyalal Vaidya, Jhabua.
 6. Shri Chhaganlal Joshi, Rajkot.
 7. Shri B. R. Yadev, Chanda.
 8. Smt. Rani Shyam Devi, Fingerwas.
 9. Shri Randhir Singh, Jabalpur.
 10. Shri Prabhakar Bapat, Nagpur.
 11. Shri Brijesh Verma, Nagpur.
 12. Shri B. K. Patil, Dohad.
 13. Shri Pardesi Singh.
 14. Shri Sitarama Ananda, Nasik.
 15. Shri M. P. Pethe, Morsi.
 16. Shri D. M. Ilpate, Bombay.
 17. Shri Manganlal G. Soni, Kutch.
 18. Shri Kamle, Bombay.
 19. Shri Francis, Nagpur.
 20. Shri Payarelal Chatre, Raipur.
 21. Shri Jhabu Singh, Itarsi.
 22. Shri Chajn Singh, Itarsi.
 23. Shri G. Maskole, Itrasi.
 24. Shri Nanelal, Itarsi.
 25. Shri A.K. Ramnathan, Kozhikode.
 26. Shri T. Manikan Toda, Kozhikode.
 27. Shri B. Angaram, Kozhikode.
 28. Shri Sennimutu Kambatan, Kozhikode.
 29. Shri Budhu Singh, Bhopal.
 30. Shri Himat Singh, Bichia.
 31. Shri H. M. Emerson, Methodist Church, Jagdalpur.
 32. Shri Balramdas, Ghatshila.
 33. Shri J.H. Chinchalkar, Chindwara.
 34. Shri M. E. Sirasaw, Chhindwara.
 35. Shri D. L. Devpujari, Chhindwara.
 36. Shri V. S. Mehta, Raipur.
 37. Shri M. L. Chaturvedi, Raipur.
 38. Shri G. P. Khare, Mandla.
 39. Shri G. S. Dube, Mandla.
 40. Shri B. M. Machave, Chhindwara.
 41. Shri Purandre, Chhindwara.
 42. Shri Brij Mohan Krishna, Delhi.
 43. Shri Baldeo Dudeja, Delhi.
 44. Shri Chandar Singh, Delhi.
 45. Miss. Sheela Deshpande, Chhindwara.
 46. Shri Shivhare, Chhindwara.
 47. Shri Jai Singh, Bondar.
 48. Shri Dumarji, M. L. A., Nagpur.
 49. Shri Bhandari Ram, M. L. A., Nagpur.
 50. Shri Suraj Pal Tiwari, Jagdalpur.
 51. Prof. Bhansale, Takali.
 52. Miss. Pushpa, Takali.
 53. Shri D. P. Bilthare, Bondar.
 54. Shri Akali Bhoi, Nagpur.
 55. Shri Harihar Vyas, Jabalpur.
 56. Shri Bhanupratap Singh, Jagdalpur.
 57. Shri Shardacharan Tiwari, Jagdalpur.
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