

Thakkar Bapa Publications

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

रिपोर्ट

चतुर्थ अदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन, कोरापुट

Koraput
April, 1957
अप्रैल, १९५७

PUBLISHED BY BHARATIYA ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH, KINGSWAY, DELHI-9
PRINTED BY D.R. SARDANA, MANAGER, CAMBRIDGE PRINTING WORKS,
KASHMERE GATE, DELHI-6

CONTENTS

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

SECTION I—INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND OTHER ADDRESSES

1. Welcome Address of Dr. H.K. Mehtab (English) ...	...	1
2. Welcome Address of Dr. H.K. Mehtab (Hindi) ...	...	4
3. Inaugural Address of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant (Hindi) ...	...	7
4. Presidential Address of Shri Dhebarbhai (Hindi) ...	...	11
5. Address by Raja Naresh Chandra Singh (English) ...	...	14
6. Address by Raja Naresh Chandra Singh (Hindi) ...	...	15
7. Address of Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose (English) ...	...	17
8. Address by Shri L.M. Shrikant (English) ...	...	26
9. Address by Shri L.M. Shrikant (Hindi) ...	...	28
10. Address of Shri Bahadurbhai Patel (Hindi) ...	...	32
11. Closing Address of Shri Dhebarbhai on 1-5-57 (Hindi) ...	...	36A

SECTION II—PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE

1. Bihar Tribal Research Institute & its future Programme of Work, by Dr. B.S. Guha ...	...	37
2. Approaches to Tribal and Rural Community Development and Organisation, by Dr. B.H. Mehta ...	...	41
3. Classification of the Tribals of India by Prof. T.C. Das ...	...	61
4. Some Aspects of Tribal Welfare Work by Shri G.N. Das ...	...	67
5. Social Education—The Sheet Anchor of Tribal Welfare by Shri K.K. Leuva ...	...	73
6. Evaluation of some Important Welfare Schemes for Tribal People in Bihar by Shri K.K. Leuva ...	...	75
7. Tribal Welfare Agency : Official and Non-Official by Shri Ambalal Vyas ...	...	83
8. Co-ordination of Tribal Research and Tribal Welfare Activities in India by Shri P.G. Shah ...	...	86

9.	Tribal Research Work and Tribal Welfare in Saurashtra by Shri B.R. Desai	90
10.	Evaluation of work of the affiliated institutions of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and some suggestions for the future by Shri J.H. Chinchalkar (Hindi)	93
11.	Cults and Castes in Orissa by Shri N. Patnaik and Shri A.K. Ray ...	100
12.	Tentative Scheme for the Lifeworkers among Adivasis by Shri P.G. Vanikar (Hindi)	103
13.	Evaluation of the work of Bhil Sewa Mandal, Dohad, by Shri D.J. Naik (Hindi)	111
14.	Work of the Adim Sabar Jatiya Sabha by Shri Balramdas (Hindi) ...	117
15.	The Role of Forestry in Development of Tribal Areas by Shri K.R. Datye	129
16.	Tribal Research & Welfare by Shri Nityananda Das ...	132
17.	Anthropological Research in India by Shri J.D.N. Versluys ...	137
18.	A few Observations about the work among Primitive Tribes by Dr. I. Karve	143
19.	Tribal Welfare and its Implementation by Shri Paramananda Pramanik	145
20.	An investigation into the Children's problems of Tribal M.P. by Shri D.P. Misra	149
21.	Outline of the scheme for the Rehabilitation of Landless Bhils in Jhakhm River Project Area, Udaipur District by Shri Ram Singh Chauhan	152
22.	Multipurpose Development Block in Rajsthan by Shri Ram Singh Chouhan (Hindi)	158
23.	Himachal Pradesh Administration by Shri Premraj Mahajan ...	162
24.	Place of Research in Welfare of the Tribals by Shri B.K. Roy Burman	170
25.	The Kols by Shri S.L. Dube	179
26.	Bharias of Patalkot & their Dahiya Cultivation by Shri B.K. Khurana	186
27.	Tribals of Nilgiris by Shri K.P. Raju	191
28.	What is Hill Tribe Work on hand to day ? by Shri R. Mandeshwara Sarma	193
29.	Tribal Economy by Shri T. Sanganna	199
30.	Accelerating the pace of development in Adivasi Areas and the unified role of Social Sciences by Shri Pandit Patankar ...	200

31.	An Appraisal of Ashram School Education by Shri Nityananda Patnaik	...	...	...	200
32.	Some Observations on Tribal Welfare Work by Shri Shyam Manohar	...	...	...	201
33.	Crime and Aborigines by Shri L.N. Sahu	...	...	...	206
34.	Some Practical Suggestions by Shri Lakshmi Narayan Sahu	...	...	...	209
35.	The Necessity of Fundamental Research by Shri Kulamani Mohapatra	...	...	...	211
36.	The Assessment of Non-Tribal Welfare Work Experience and viewpoint of the Adivasis by Shri M.P. Mahato (Hindi)	...	...	..	214
37.	Tribal Welfare in general by Shri G.L. Marskoley (Hindi)	...	...	...	216
38.	Evaluation of the Tribal Welfare Work by Non-official Institutions by Shri D.P. Biltbare (Hindi)	...	...	...	221

APPENDICES

Appendix I—Messages

<i>Appendix II</i> —Resolutions passed at the Fourth Tribal Welfare Conference (in English and Hindi)	...	...	...	229
			...	234

<i>Appendix III</i> —List of Delegates and Visitors	236
---	-----	-----	-----	-----

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

We are encouraged to publish this volume containing the proceedings of the Fourth Tribal Welfare Conference held at Koraput in April—May 1957, on account of the warm reception which the reports of the previous conferences had at the hands of the public. The fourth Conference has a special significance, in as much as it was held in a district which had the unique honour of having contributed about 1400 Gramdan Villages inhabited mainly by tribals, where the Sarva Seva Sangh is carrying on a great experiment in social uplift of Tribals unparalleled in History. The Conference was inaugurated by Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India and presided over by Shri U.N. Dhebar, President of the Congress. Dr. H.K. Mehtab, Chief Minister of Orissa was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Conference as usual was divided into 3 sections, (1) Social Welfare (2) Anthropology and (3) Tribal Representatives, which were presided over by Shri L.M. Shrikant (due to unavoidable absence of the Chairman—elect, Shri Bhogilal Pandya), Shri N.K. Bose and Shri Bahadurbhai Patel (Deputy Minister, Bombay State) respectively. An exhibition was also arranged during the session, which was inaugurated by Shri Raja Naresh Chandra Singh, Minister for Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh. The Conference was very largely attended by the tribals of Koraput district.

The report contains 38 articles contributed by eminent anthropologists, social workers and thinkers and Government Officers with experience in tribal welfare work. They deal with the following subjects mentioned in the Circular dated 15-9-1956 issued before the conference.

(1) SOCIAL WELFARE SECTION.

- (a) Assessment of non-official tribal welfare work, the experience of non-official workers and institutions and the reaction of tribals to it.
- (b) The evaluation of work of official schemes of Tribal Welfare, including Community Projects, and N.E.S. Blocks in Tribal areas, in the First Five Year Plan and suggestions regarding the working of the Official Schemes during the Second Five Year Plan.

(2) ANTHROPOLOGY SECTION.

- (a) Work of Tribal Research Institutions in the States and suggestions if any, for their future programme.
- (b) Coordination between the activities of Tribal Research Institutes and the Office of the Commissioner for S.C. & S.T. and the Department of Anthropology.

- (c) Plan of classifying the tribals at varied levels of development according to the scientific formulae suggested in the Conference of Social Work and Anthropologists.

(3) TRIBAL SECTION.

- (a) Tribal welfare in general.

For shortage of time, only the first 16 articles published in the report could be read at the Conference and discussions held therein.

We regret that for want of proper facilities we are unable to publish the discussions, verbatim.

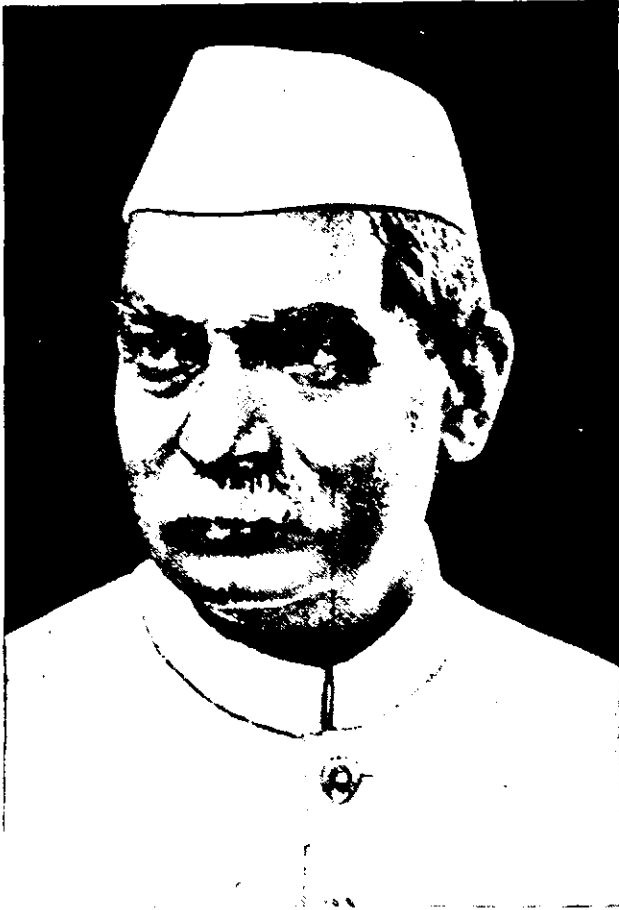
We offer our sincere and heartfelt thanks to Shri G.B. Pant, Shri U.N. Dhebar, Dr. H.K. Mehtab and Shri Raja Naresh Chandra Singh and the Chairman of the three Sections of the Conference, who have been kind enough to accede to our request to participate in the Conference in different capacities.

We take this opportunity of expressing our deepfelt thanks to Sarva Seva Sangh, Koraput and its band of workers led by Shri Annasabeb Sahasrabudhe, and also to the other institutions and workers of Orissa who have contributed to the success of the Conference.

The State Government of Orissa and in particular, the Chief Minister and Shri Manmohan Pradhan, Minister for Tribal Welfare have helped us in many ways and our thanks are due to them also.

We are grateful to the writers of the articles who have by their contributions given inspiring thoughts and ideas to serve as basis for discussion at the Conference.

Dated : 10th January, 1958.



DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

President : **BHARATIYA ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH**

डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

अध्यक्ष : भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ



राष्ट्रपति डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी का संदेश

नई दिल्ली

दि० १८ अप्रैल, १९५७

कोरापुट, उड़ीसा, में होने वाले आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के वार्षिकोत्सव की मैं सफलता की कामना करता हूँ। देश का शिक्षित वर्ग और भारत सरकार इस बात को स्वीकार कर चुकी है कि पिछड़े हुए वर्गों विशेषकर आदिमजातियों की स्थिति में सुधार करना हमारा राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्य है। इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिये काफी प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है, किन्तु जब तक दूसरे उन्नत वर्गों की तरह हमारे आदिवासी भाइयों की शिक्षा, आर्थिक स्थिति और रहन-सहन के स्तर में काफी सुधार नहीं हो जाता हमें अपने प्रयत्न बराबर जारी रखने चाहियें। मुझे आशा है कोरापुट में होने वाले सम्मेलन की कार्यवाही के फलस्वरूप इस कार्य को प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद



LATE SHRI THAKKAR BAPA

Founder B.A.J. Sevak Sangh

स्व. पूज्य ठाकर बापा

SECTION I
Inaugural Address
AND
Other Addresses
उद्घाटन भाषण
और
अन्य भाषण



Dr. Mehtab, Chief Minister, Orissa with Pandit G.B. Pant.

Welcome Address

by

Dr. H.K. MEHTAB, Chief Minister, Orissa,

delivered on 29th April, 1957.

RESPECTED PANTJI, DHEBARBHAI,
SHRIKANTJI, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

On behalf of the Government and the people of Orissa, and as Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference organised by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, I welcome you most sincerely to this conference which is being held in a State where the percentage of tribal population is the highest in India. About 21 per cent of the population of the State constitute various tribes spreading over from the north to the south of the State. About one-third of the total area of the State is inhabited by the tribal population. For the first time the Tribal Welfare Conference is being held in a State where the problem of the tribal population occupied the attention of the Government of Ashoka. One of his rock edicts, which stands at a distance of 150 miles from Koraput and which was specially intended for this region of the country then known as Kalinga, specially referred to the *Pratyantavasinah*, meaning the tribal population. The Great Emperor says in that—"The Tribal population will ask—How does the Emperor look upon us? Tell them that the Emperor looks upon them as he looks upon his own children and in their welfare lies the welfare of the Emperor and his children. The Emperor wishes them to adopt the path of *Saddharma*—true civilisation."

This message, even though it is about 2000 years old, is still pointed enough to spur all of us to fulfil a duty and a pointed reminder that in course of these

ages India has failed in fulfilling a duty which was cast upon her by Providence.

Orissa is a State where the link of intimate connection between various strata of civilisation which has grown in course of the last thousands of years and which has left behind various shades in course of development is still visible and is a matter of study for all historians and anthropologists. The merger of pre-Aryan civilisation in the Aryan civilisation which has been completed beyond recognition in many parts of India has left behind traces in this State to prove conclusively that the so-called tribal civilisation and the more advanced one, by whatever name it is called, are not really two separate entities but in fact one is the development of the other. Customs and usages which are prevalent amongst the tribal population in a crude form today exist almost in the same measure in a finer form amongst others who consider themselves as distinct from the tribal population. The origin of many a noble and ancient family in Orissa can even now be traced to the castes and communities which are described as tribal. In course of time when the work of civilisation has gone uniformly and unequally in this vast country and when there has been impact of one civilisation upon another, a gulf of difference has been created between sections and sections, but unfortunately the uninformed historians have succeeded in creating the belief that these sections are completely distinct from

one another and one should be called tribal or aboriginal. This, in my opinion, is wholly incorrect and it has caused great harm to the development of this country.

Fortunately for us the history of India and of her population, as it is more and more studied by eminent historians and anthropologists, is gradually dispelling that old theory of aboriginals and the rest. In fact we are all tribes and those of us who are today considered as more advanced are the descendants of those who have remained less advanced and are called tribes. As an educated son should not look upon his uneducated rustic father either with contempt or with patronising sympathy, so also we who are in a better position not because of any merit in us but because of various circumstances should not look upon our own kith and kin—the tribal population—either with contempt or with patronising spirit. We are one and the same and it is our bounden duty to bring all of us to the same level of development and to the same path of true civilisation which Ashoka pointed out to History.

I have tried to study the mind of the so-called tribal people and on occasions have lived amongst them to study their psychology in the course of my study of their history. Those whom we call tribes are very proud people. As we take pride in the history of battles which our forefathers fought against others, they too take the same pride in those battles which their forefathers fought against others. As we look upon them with contempt, they too do the same. They do not appreciate our patronising attitude. Their pride is hurt. They are powerless and helpless. A feeling of defeat has penetrated into their mind

from generation to generation since the time they were pushed into forests as civilisation grew. They have the spirit of revenge also against others who have deprived them of their land and authority which they enjoyed long according to their religion. Apart from this psychology of theirs, they today possess the same political right as the rest of the population and they are exercising it most intelligently and according to their cherished notions which nobody has got the right to question.

We have to keep all these facts in view when we start doing the work of bringing them to the path of true civilisation, as has been enjoined upon us by Ashoka. There is no place for any kind of patronising spirit in this work. I do not exaggerate when I say that the work itself will not bear any fruit if it is done in a patronising spirit. It is to be done with a humble spirit of service. Whatever is considered disrespectful or distasteful to the castes and communities to which we belong should be considered the same with regard to the tribal people. They feel it very much when we ask them to do something which our castes and communities do not do or consider as disrespectful.

The tribal mind is engrossed with fear and it has become exclusive as civilisation has grown. Their mind is one of running away from the rest with whom they did not succeed in competition. No advantage should be taken of this psychology of theirs. Their fear has to be dispelled and their exclusive mind should be corrected. This can be done only if we consider them as our kith and kin and treat them as an educated son should treat his uneducated rustic parent.

स्वागत भाषण

डा० हरेकृष्ण मेहताब, मुख्यमन्त्री, उड़ीसा राज्य (स्वागताध्यक्ष) का भाषण

आदरणीय पंतजी, डेवरभाई, श्रीकांतजी, बहनों और भाइयो !

उड़ीसा राज्य की जनता तथा भारतीय आदिम-जाति सेवक संघ की स्वागत समिति की ओर से उड़ीसा के आदिवासी क्षेत्र में होनेवाली इस परिषद में आप सबका मैं हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। इस राज्य में एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक बसे हुए आदिवासी समस्त जन संख्या का २१ प्रतिशत है। दूसरे शब्दों में, आदिवासी राज्य को पूरे क्षेत्रफल के एक तृतियांश हिस्सों में रहते हैं। उड़ीसा राज्य में पहली बार इस तरह की आदिवासी परिषद हो रही है। सम्राट् अशोक के समय से ही इस क्षेत्र के आदिवासियों का प्रश्न प्रमुख रहा है। कोरापुट करीब डेढ़ सौ मील दूरी पर इस उड़ीसा राज्य में जो उन दिनों कलिंग कहलाता था, एक शिलालेख पाया जाता है। उसमें सम्राट् अशोक कहते हैं “आदिवासी जनता पूछेगी कि सम्राट् किस दृष्टि से हमें देखते हैं? उनसे कहना सम्राट् उन्हें उसी प्रकार देखते हैं जैसे वे अपने स्वयं के बच्चों को देखते हैं। सम्राट् का तथा उनके कुटुम्ब का कल्याण इसीमें है कि वे सुखी रहें। सम्राट् की यह इच्छा है कि वे सद्धर्म के मार्ग पर चलें।”

यह संदेश यद्यपि आज से दो हजार वर्ष पूर्व कहा गया है, फिर भी आज हमें उसकी उतनी ही आवश्यकता है जितनी पहले कभी रही थी। क्योंकि भरतवर्ष ने अनेक शताब्दियों से अपने इस पवित्र

कर्तव्य को पूरी तरह से नहीं निभाया है जिसकी हमसे अपेक्षा रही है।

उड़ीसा उन महान संस्कृतियों के मिलन का क्षेत्र रहा है जो यहां हजारों वर्षों में फली फूली और पैदा हुई है। उसने जो अपना अस्तर हमारे मानस पर छोड़ा है वह तो इतिहास वेत्ताओं, नृवंश शास्त्रियों के खोज की चीज है। आर्यों के पूर्व की सभ्यता और आर्य सभ्यता का जो मिलन इस देश में हुआ और वह जिस प्रकार से एक दूसरे से घुल मिल कर एक हो गई, उसका प्रमाण उड़ीसा राज्य में अत्यन्त जीवित रूप में मिलता है। वह इस दाने का भी खंडन करता है कि भारतीय सभ्यता कुछ और है व द्रायवल् सभ्यता कुछ और है। असल में तो वे दोनों एक दूसरे की पूरक रही हैं। आदिम जातियों के रीतिरिवाजों और पहनाव में जो एक प्रकार की नैसर्गिकता दीखती है वही अन्य जातियों में कुछ उन्नत स्वरूप लेकर सामने आती है। उड़ीसा के कई प्रसिद्ध और पुराने कुटुम्बों के इतिहास आज भी बताते हैं कि वे उन्हीं जाति और समाजों से आते हैं जिन्हें आज हम आदिमजातियां कहते हैं। समाज के विकास में इतने बड़े और व्यापक देश में यह स्वाभाविक था कि उन्नति की दौड़ में कुछ समाज और क्षेत्र आगे बढ़ गये और कुछ पीछे रह गये और यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि गलत ढंग के

इतिहासकारों ने उन्नत क्षेत्रों के लोगों को सभ्य कहना शुरू कर दिया और अनुन्नत क्षेत्र के लोगों को असंस्कृत तथा आदिमजाति बना दिया। मेरी नम्र राय में यह बिल्कुल गलत तथा देश को हानि पहुंचाने वाला दृष्टिकोण रहा है।

सौभाग्य को बात है नये इतिहासकार और मानस शास्त्री देश के इतिहास के गहन अध्ययन के बाद अब इस संबंध में नयी व्याख्याएं करने लगे हैं और आदिमजाति तथा अन्य जातियों में इस प्रकार की धारणाएं अब समाप्त होती जा रही हैं। सत्य तो यह है कि हम सब आदिमजाति के लोग हैं और उन्हीं की संतान है जिन्हें हम आदिमजातियां कहते हैं। जिस प्रकार एक पढ़े लिखे पुत्र को अपने कौर पढ़े लिखे पिता को घृणा की दृष्टि से नहीं देखना चाहिये अथवा दया का पात्र नहीं समझना चाहिये। उसी प्रकार भारत की उन्नत जातियों को किसी ऐतिहासिक कारणवश इन जातियों को पिछड़ी हुई नहीं समझना चाहिये। इसलिये अब हमारा यह पवित्र कर्तव्य है कि सम्राट् अशोक द्वारा बताये हुये मार्ग पर चलकर विकास के मार्ग में अपने बराबर लेकर चलें।

मैंने आदिवासियों के जीवन और उनके चरित्र को समझने की कोशिश की है। समय समय पर उनके बीच रहकर उनके मानव और उनके इतिहास को समझने की कोशिश भी की। वे बड़े स्वामि-मानी होते हैं। जिस तरह इतिहास में हम युद्धों की कथाएं पढ़ते हैं और अपने पूर्वजों की बहादुरी पर गर्व करते हैं उसी तरह वे भी अपने इतिहास से प्रेरणा प्राप्त करके और पूर्वजों के बहादुर कामों से गर्वान्वित होते हैं। जिस प्रकार हम लोग उन्हें

घृणा और हेय की दृष्टि से देखते हैं वे भी हमें हेय समझते हैं। उन्हें यह बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं है कि हम अपने आपको बड़ा समझें और उन्हें छोटा समझ कर उनकी देखभाल करें। आज वे निर्धन और असहाय हैं। हार की मनोवृत्ति पीढ़ियों से उनके हृदय में घर कर गयी है। उस समय से जब कि नई सभ्यता के धक्के उन्हें लगे और वह पहाड़ों और जंगलों में खदेड़ दिये गये। वे उन लोगों के भी खिलाफ हैं जिन्होंने पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी से और उनके समाज के नियमों पर आधारित उन्हें प्राप्त होने वाली संपत्ति, जमीन आदि उनसे छीन ली है। यह सब होते हुए भी आज भी वे भारत के सम्मानित नागरिक हैं और उन्हें वे सब सुविधाएं प्राप्त हैं जो कि देश के और लोगों को मिली हैं। वे अपनी योग्यता के अनुसार इन सुविधाओं का उचित उपयोग भी करते हैं। उनके इस संबंध के निर्णयों के खिलाफ कुछ भी करने या कहने का किसी को भी हक नहीं है।

उनमें काम करते समय और उन्हें सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान और जागरण की ओर बढ़ाने की दिशा में जिसका महान सम्राट् अशोक ने भी निर्देश किया था ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमें आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में ऊपर बताई गयी पृष्ठभूमि को समझना आवश्यक है। आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य में अपने आपको बड़ा समझकर कुछ करने की वृत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। यदि यह कार्य उस वृत्ति से किया गया तो मैं निश्चयपूर्वक कह सकता हूँ कि उसका कोई फल नहीं निकलेगा। यह काम तो निष्काम सेवा की दृष्टि से ही होना चाहिये। जिस काम को हम अपने लिये बुरा और अरुचिकर समझते हैं वह हम उनसे भी क्यों करवायें? जब हम

ऐसे काम उन पर लादते हैं जो हम स्वयं नहीं करते हैं तो उन्हें बहुत दुःख होता है। डर आदिवासियों के दिमाग में घुस गया है और जैसे-जैसे आज की सभ्यता बढ़ी, यह डर और उसके साथ पृथक्त्व की भावना बढ़ती गयी है। जिन लोगों के साथ वे स्पर्धा में टिक नहीं सकते उनसे वे दूर भागना चाहते हैं। इस डर अथवा दूर भागने की वृत्ति से हमें फायदा नहीं उठाना चाहिये। उनका डर दूर कर, उन्हें अपने नज़दीक लाना चाहिये। यह तभी हो सकता है जब हम उन्हें अपना समझें। ठीक ऐसा जैसा एक पढ़ा लिखा अच्छा लड़का अपने बगैर पढ़े-लिखे, सीधे-सादे बाप को समझता है। इसीलिये मैं यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में यातायात के प्रचुर साधन उपलब्ध किये जायें और उन्हें ऐसा शिक्षण दिया जाय जो उन्हें बराबरी में लाने के लिये उपयोगी सिद्ध हो। अपने लिये समाज का एक टंग और उनके लिये दूसरा टंग यह इस देश की राष्ट्रीयता के लिये घातक तो है ही स्वयं आदिमजाति के लोग भी इसे पसन्द नहीं करते चाहे वे इस बात को बता नहीं सकें।

उड़ीसा में पिछले १० वर्षों से आदिमजाति के कल्याण कार्य को बढ़ा रहे हैं। इस कार्य में हमें कितनी सफलता मिली यह तो हम नहीं कह सकते किन्तु हमने पूरे समाज का ध्यान उनके चतुर्दिक विकास करने की ओर अवश्य खींचा है। श्री श्रीकांत जी का इस कार्य से सम्बन्ध पिछले सन् १९४७ से है जब वे कमिश्नर भी नहीं थे। मैंने उड़ीसा के मुख्य मंत्री के नाते इस कार्य की योजना बनाने में उनकी मदद ली जिससे उन्होंने सहर्ष स्वीकार किया तथा उचित दिशादर्शन तथा कार्यकर्ता आदि देकर हमारी सहायता की। आज उड़ीसा में, इस दिशा में

जो कुछ हो रहा है वह उन्हीं योजन है जो श्री श्रीकांतजी ने १९४७ में हम

भारत गणतंत्र विधान के अजाति की उन्नति की प्रथम जिम्मेवारी के यह सचिवालय की है। यह हम कि हमारे बीच में पं० गोविंदवल्लभ पंत जैसे व्यक्ति हैं जो कि न केवल इस देश के गृहमंत्रो हैं किन्तु इस देश के एक ऐसे बड़े नेता हैं जिनसे हम नेतृत्व और दिशा दर्शन पा रहे हैं। हमें इस बात की भी खुशी है कि भारतीय नवजवानों की सेवा और लगन के प्रतीक श्री डेवर भाई भी हमारे बीच में हैं जिनसे हमें उचित प्रेरणा मिलेगी। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि यह परिषद आदिवासियों के निर्माण के इतिहास में अपना एक अपूर्व स्थान रखेगी और भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ जैसी विशिष्ट संस्था जिसको कि देश के सभी अंगों का साथ प्राप्त है उसके द्वारा सम्रट् अशोक का महान स्वप्न पूरा होगा जो उसने सदियों पूर्व देखा था।

उड़ीसा की सरकार ने अपनी क्षमता के अनुसार इस परिषद की सफलता के लिये यथोचित प्रयत्न किये। उन्होंने न केवल आर्थिक सहयोग दिया किन्तु अपना पूरा आदिवासी और जनकल्याण विभाग इस कार्य के लिये दे दिया। मैं कोरापूट जिले और आदिवासी और जनकल्याण विभाग के कर्मचारियों का कृतज्ञ हूँ जिन्होंने इस परिषद के लिये कुछ भी नहीं उठा रखा। अन्त में मैं उन गैरसरकारी नेताओं और गैर सरकारी कार्यकर्ताओं को बधाई देता हूँ जिन्होंने इसे सफल बनाने में योग दिया। मैं एक बार पुनः सच्चे अन्तःकरण से आपका स्वागत करता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हमें आदिवासियों के उत्थान के इस महान कार्य में सफलता प्राप्त हो।



Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant addressing the Conference at Koraput.

चतुर्थ आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन, कोरापुट, के अवसर पर पं० गोविन्दबल्लभ पन्त, केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री, का उद्घाटन भाषण

श्री मेहताबजी, श्री देवरभाई भाईयो और बहिनो,

आज यहां हम लोग आदिमजाति सम्मेलन के चौथे बृहद अधिवेशन में एकत्र हुए हैं। मुझे इस बात का हर्ष है कि मैं इस शुभ अवसर पर आपके बीच उपस्थित हुआ हूँ। यह कार्य हम सबके लिये और विशेषकर आदिमजाति के कल्याण के लिये उपयोगी होगा। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि दूर-दूर से जो भाई और बहिनें यहां आये हैं वह जो भी विचार और प्रेरणा लेकर जायें उन पर विचार करेंगे और अपने को इस प्रकार बनायेंगे, अपने जीवन को इस प्रकार ढालेंगे कि अपने कार्यों और सेवाओं द्वारा अपने दूसरे भाई बहिनों के कष्टों को दूर कर सकें तथा उनकी सामाजिक और आत्मिक उन्नति में सहायक हो सकें।

आपके इस स्थान को जहां हम इस समय एकत्र हुए हैं मैं जहां तक जानता हूँ भूदान कार्य में अच्छी सफलता मिली है। संत विनोबा भावे को देश में वैसे तो बहुत जमीन और ग्राम दान में मिले हैं पर उन्हें जो सफलता यहां मिली वह हिन्दुस्तान के और दूसरे भागों में प्राप्त नहीं हुई। ग्राम दान का कार्य यहीं से प्रारंभ हुआ यह हमारे देश के लिये एक आदर्श और अलौकिक बात है। जहां ऐसे विचार के लोग रहते हैं और जहां ऐसे कार्यकर्ता हैं जो समाज की विषमता को दूर करके, ऊंच-नीच की भावनाओं को खत्म करके समता के प्रसार में, समाज के उत्थान में संलग्न हैं ऐसे स्थान पर इस सम्मेलन का होना अत्यन्त सराहनीय है।

आप जानते हैं, आपका यह उत्कल प्रदेश उन प्रदेशों में से है जहां आदिवासियों की संख्या काफी बढ़ी हुई है। लगभग भारत के आदिवासियों की संख्या का पांचवा हिस्सा यहां रहता है और बाकी आसाम, महाकौशल, बिहार और मध्य प्रदेश में भी बहुत रहते हैं। पिछली बार जगदलपुर में आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की ओर से सम्मेलन हुआ था और आज यहां दूसरी बार हो रहा है।

आज हम और आपको समझ लेना है कि हमने अपने देश का जो विधान बनाया है। उसका उद्देश्य एक कल्याणकारी राज्य बनाना है अपने देश हिन्दुस्तान में, जिसमें हम सब लोगों का कल्याण हो, विषमता कम हो और लोगों में समानता की भावना बढ़े, उन्नति करने का अवसर बराबर से मिले। हमारे संविधान में इस बात की जिम्मेदारी हम लोगों पर—जनता पर रखी गयी है कि पिछड़े हुए लोगों को ऊपर उठायें। जो लोग पीछे रह गये हैं उन्हें आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करें, उन्हें अपने साथ लायें। यह एक सबसे बड़ा सिद्धान्त है। सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि हम एक ऐसा निजाम बनाना चाहते हैं जिसमें विषमता को दूर करके सबको समान अधिकार प्राप्त हो। इसी ध्येय को लेकर हमारे संविधान में नागरिकों के बीच, जनता के बीच कोई खाई नहीं रखी है। इसी आधार पर हर एक व्यक्ति को, वयस्क व्यक्ति को मत देने का कानूनी अधिकार है। अभी हाल में चुनाव हुए, उसमें आदिवासियों ने भी मत दिये। और सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह कि यह मानवता का तत्त्वज्ञान

है कि आगे बढ़े हुए लोग गिरे हुए अपने भाइयों को उठाएँ, सुखी लोग दुःखियों की सहायता करें, उनके कष्टों को दूर करें। ऐसी मनोवृत्ति हमारी होनी चाहिये। यह सिर्फ सेवा या पुण्य का भाव नहीं है बल्कि अपनी रक्षा का प्रश्न भी है। यदि हम अपने देश के इन दो करोड़ पिछड़े हुए भाइयों को न उठा सकें, तो वह पिछड़े हुए रहेंगे और कमजोर रहेंगे, तो हमारा देश भी कमजोर रहेगा। किसी जंजीर की एक कड़ी कमजोर रह गयी तो सारी जंजीर कमजोर रह जाती है। पता नहीं कि वह कमजोर कड़ी कब धोखा दे जाय। समय पर यदि वह कड़ी टूट गयी तो सारी जंजीर बेकार हो जाती है चाहे उसकी अन्य कड़ियाँ कितनी ही मजबूत हों अथवा मोटी हों। और हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारे देश में इस प्रकार की कमजोरी चली आ रही है और उस कमजोरी का असर पड़ रहा है।

हमारे समाज की विभिन्नता और असमानता का कारण हमारा अज्ञान भी है। हमने जो इतिहास पढ़ा है और जो अब भी पढ़ाया जाता है वह अंगरेजों का लिखा हुआ है। जो लोगों में भिन्नता पैदा करना अपनी नीति समझते थे क्योंकि उस पर उनका राज्य चलता था। लेकिन अब वह बात नहीं है। हमें अपने विचारों में परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। और देशों में सब तरह के लोग रहते हैं लेकिन उनमें सामाजिक भेदभाव नहीं होता है। यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स में सभी देशों के लोग रहते हैं, पर वहाँ सामाजिक भेदभाव ऐसा नहीं है। वहाँ अंग्रेज, अमेरिकन, फ्रांसीसी तथा नावों के विभिन्न देशों के लोग रहते हैं और सब एक होकर रहते हैं। आप जानते हैं वे सब अमेरिका या ब्रिटेन के लोग नहीं थे पर आज वे सब

एक देश के निवासी हैं। शुरू में वे लोग भी जंगली थे, तीर-कमान चलाते थे, जंगलों और पहाड़ों में रहते थे। पर वे पढ़-लिखकर और विज्ञान के जरिये आगे बढ़े। इसी प्रकार हमें आपस के भेदभाव छोड़कर ज्ञान प्राप्त करके आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। केवल दिल्ली में बैठकर यह काम नहीं हो सकता। हम दूसरे प्रदेशों में जाय, भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों पर जाय जहाँ काम करने की आवश्यकता हो वहाँ जाकर बैठ जायें। मैं नहीं समझता कि आदिवासी कहकर कुछ लोगों को अलग क्यों समझा जाय। हम सभी आदिवासी हैं। सभी कहाँ-कहाँ से आकर सदियों से यहाँ रहते हैं। हम सबको यह समझना चाहिए कि हम सब एक हैं। अगर आदिवासी या और कुछ कहकर भिन्नता का भाव होता है तो उसे अलग करें। यह सबसे जरूरी चीज़ है। वे भी हमारे राष्ट्र के शरीर के हिस्से हैं। उन्हें अलग समझना देश के लिये हानिकारक होगा। इसके लिये हम सब को समझना चाहिए। हम अपने को दूसरों से बड़ा समझें और अलग-अलग रहें तो यह सभ्यता के माने नहीं हैं।

सभ्यता या बड़प्पन के माने हैं सबसे समान बर्ताव करना, छुआछूत न करना और सत्यवादी होना और हम दूसरे से जो कुछ कहें उसमें कपट न हो। दूसरों से अनुचित लाभ उठाने का भावना न रखें। दूसरों के ऊपर अनुचित दबाव या बोझ न डालें। हम अपना बोझ आप उठाएँ। इस तरह की आपकी भावनाएँ होनी चाहिये। छोटी भावनाओं को दूर रखें। ऐसे लोगों पर देश को गर्व होता है। इन प्राकृतिक प्रवृत्तियों से लोग हमारी ओर आकर्षित हों तो हम अपने को बड़ा समझने लगें।

आदिवासियों की अपनी संस्कृति है। इसके

अतिरिक्त नृत्य आदि की कला का प्रदर्शन होता है तो हमको गर्व होता है कि हमारे देश में यह इतनी पुरानी उसको चीज है सुरक्षित रखना है। आज के आदिवासी चाहे कितने ही गरीब हैं पर उनमें एक मनोबल है। उनकी एक संस्कृति है। उनको उठाने में इन बातों का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाय कि उनके सुधार में अपने बल और संस्कृति को न छोड़ दें। किसी भी मनुष्य की मनो-वृत्ति बदलने के लिए मनोवैज्ञानिक पहुँच होनी चाहिये। इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए व्यवहारिक रूप से उनके बीच में काम किया जाय। हमारा और उनका जो हक था उसका बँटवारा नहीं कर सकते। इस लिये हमें उनका आदर करना चाहिये, उनसे प्रेम होना चाहिये, उनके प्रति सद्भावना होनी चाहिये। उनको इस योग्य बनाना है कि वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें, दूसरे की ओर अपनी उन्नति के लिये न देखें इस बात का ध्यान रखना है कि उनका बल दूर न हो, अपने को निर्बल न समझें। उनके पास रहने को मकान, खाने को अन्न और पहनने को कपड़ा नहीं है। पर उनकी सबसे बड़ी संस्कृति यदि डगमगा दें तो सबसे अधिक हानिकारक होगी। वह सबसे सुदृढ़ होनी चाहिये। इन बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए फिर आपको जो भी कार्यक्रम बनाना हो बनावें। हमारे यहाँ हज़ारों काम करने वालों की आवश्यकता है। दो करोड़ इन पिछड़े लोगों को अपने बराबर लाना है तो उनकी संस्कृति का ध्यान रखते हुए उनकी सांस्कृतिक और आध्यात्मिक उन्नति करने की ज़रूरत है। इस कार्य के लिये हज़ारों की तादाद में कार्यकर्ता चाहिये। हज़ारों स्वयंसेवकों और नवयुवकों की ज़रूरत है। हरिजनों की सेवा के लिये अमेरिका, ब्रिटेन और

हालेण्ड से बहुत लोग आते हैं। पुरुष आते हैं, महिलायें आती हैं। वह यहाँ की बोली भी नहीं जानते। रहने को भी उनको अच्छी जगह नहीं मिलती। फिर भी वह मानवता के इस तकाजे पर कि मनुष्य कहीं दबा पड़ा है, पिछड़ा हुआ है अपना घरबार छोड़ कर आते हैं और काम करते हैं। हमारा कर्त्तव्य है कि विदेशी भाईयों से इस प्रकार की सेवा करनी सीखें। ऐसे भाव उत्पन्न करें। हमें कल्याणकारी राज्य बनाना है। हमें समाजवादी समाज कायम करना है तो इस भावना को लेकर चलें। ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये शिक्षणालय खोले जायें और क्यों न उनमें आदिवासियों को ही शिक्षा दी जाय जो वह स्वयं ही अपने लोगों में और स्थानों में उपयोगी कार्य कर सकें। वहाँ का जीवन-स्तर उठा सकें। आदिवासी लोग पर्वतों पर रहते हैं। वहाँ पर मोटर भी नहीं चल सकती, चढ़ नहीं सकते तथा नये शास्त्रीय खोज से उन्हें कुछ भी लाभ नहीं मिल रहा है। पर वहाँ की जलवायु स्वच्छ है उनको खाने को भी पुरा नहीं मिलता—सुबह में कार्यकर्ताओं को मिला, पूछा इनको पैदावार कितनी होती है। बताया चार माह से ज्यादा नहीं—कन्द मूल पर ही गुज़ारा करते हैं। जो एक वक्त भी पूरा पेट खाना नहीं मिलता—साफ पानी भी पीने को नहीं मिलता। उनके लिये साल में बस चार महीने का खाना ही पैदा होता है। बाकी समय कन्द मूल और जंगल की दूसरी चीजें खाकर गुजर करते हैं। इसलिये वहाँ खेती के लिये अच्छी ज़मीन बनानी होगी, खेती के तरीके आसान बनाने होंगे और उनको जंगलों के ऐसे काम निकालने होंगे जिनमें वे खेती के अलावा समय में काम कर सकें। उनके लिए साफ

पानी का प्रबन्ध भी करना ज़रूरी है। जब पहाड़ों और जंगलों में पानी सूख जाता है तो उन्हें गन्दा पानी पीना पड़ता है जिससे वह बीमार होते हैं। उनके मकानों की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। सर्दियों में वे कभी-कभी ठीक मकान न होने से मर जाते हैं। इन सब दिशाओं में उनका मार्ग दर्शन करना है पर जब मार्ग ही न हो तो मार्ग दर्शन कैसे होगा। उसके लिये उनके स्थानों में सड़कें तथा यातायात के कुछ साधन भी होने चाहिये। जो लोग अच्छे दान देने वाले हैं उनके लिये यह बहुत अच्छा काम है—साफ पानी का इन्तज़ाम करना ताकि पानी साफ पीने को मिले, इस काम को करने से अधिक पुण्य कार्य क्या हो सकता है। साफ पानी न होने से यहाँ मलेरिया, आंख आदि की बीमारियां होती हैं। यह सब दूर करने के लिये क्या-क्या करना है ताकि ५, ७ या १० वर्ष में एक समता आ जाय व उनमें कोई भेदभाव न रहे। अभी तक इस क्षेत्र में ४००० के करीब अस्पताल खुले हैं पर यह काफी नहीं। टेकनीकल स्कूल और जगह पर भी खुलेंगे। पर आज तो हर जगह उनको कठिनाइयां प्रतीत होती हैं। पर्वतों में जहां वह रहते हैं वहां ठेकेदार काम करते हैं। इससे उनका शोषण होता है अतः जंगल में सरकारी अथवा गैर सरकारी जो भी काम हो उन्हें दिया जाय और मज़दूरी उनको मिले ताकि उनकी स्थिति सुधर सके।

कर्ज के बारे में देखिये, कभी कर्ज के लिये तो बेटे, परपोते तक दबे रहते हैं, ऐसा कानून बनने जो इसे दूर करे। इनके लिये जहाँ भी नये गाँव बसाने

हैं उन्हें अच्छी जमीन व बाज़ मिलना चाहिए। उनके लिये डिमान्स्ट्रेटिव फार्म (प्रायोगिक क्षेत्र) होने चाहिए। उसमें यह दिखलाया जाय कि इस तरह खेती करने से कितना लाभ होता है। कहीं-कहीं मधु, रेशम का भी काम कर सकते हैं। इसी के साथ-साथ नृत्य, संगीत को सुरक्षित रखा जाय ताकि उन्हें जीवन फोका न लगे। उनमें उच्च भावना पैदा कर उन्हें किस प्रकार मजबूत बनाया जाय। प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में ३६ करोड़ में से २५ करोड़ खर्च किया, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में ६१ करोड़ रुपये रखे हैं जिसमें आदिवासियों के लिए ४७ करोड़ हैं। पर कार्य-कर्त्ता अच्छे मिलने चाहिये। अच्छी योजना हो तो धन की कमी नहीं होगी, धन के बगैर काम रुक नहीं रहेगा। इस प्रकार हम अच्छी तरह से आदिवासियों की उन्नति कर सकते हैं। कर्षों आदि को इनमें पैलायें, इसके अतिरिक्त बढ़ई आदि के छोटे-छोटे कार्य इनको सिखाये जाँय। इसका बोझ हम सब के ऊपर है। इस प्रकार आदिवासियों में काम बढ़ाना याने ठक्कर चापा को श्रद्धाञ्जलि देना है। मैं आशा करता हूँ जो लोग पूरा समय दे सकते हैं दें जो पूरा नहीं दे सकते पर जितना भी दे सकते हैं दें। सभी को यह पुण्य कार्य करने के लिए यथा-सम्भव प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। जैसा कार्य करेंगे वैसा इसका फल मिलेगा। भाषण देकर भी संतोष न करें। अगर इस ढंग से चलेंगे तो इन सम्मेलनों से काम होगा। इस आदिवासी सेवा कार्य के अतिरिक्त बढ़कर हमारे देश के लिए कोई अन्य सेवा अथवा कर्त्तव्य-परायणता का कार्य नहीं है।

चतुर्थ आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन, कोरापुट, के अवसर पर श्री टेबरभाई द्वारा दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण

हमारे भाई साथी मेहताब बाबू, पूज्य पन्त जी, बहिनो और भाइयो !

आज मैं एक यात्रा के लिए यहाँ आया हूँ। दूर से मैं आया हूँ। आप हिन्दुस्तान के पूर्व के किनारे रहते हैं। मैं पश्चिम के किनारे का रहनेवाला हूँ। आपने वह जगह कभी नहीं देखी। पर उस जगह के पैदा हुए दो आदिमियों के नाम आपने सुने हैं। एक तो नाम है जगत मशहूर हमारे राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी का। दूसरा नाम है, जिस नाम को अभी हमारे दूसरे साथी भाई पन्त जी ने श्रद्धांजलि दी है, ठक्कर बाप्या का। मैं उधर से आपके दर्शनों के लिए आया हूँ। यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में करीब-करीब सब से ज्यादा आदिवासी रहते हैं और हमारे देश के शानदार वाशिन्डे हैं मैं आपके दर्शन के लिये आया हूँ और जो कुछ काम यहाँ हो रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान भर में हो रहा है, सरकार की ओर से, हमारी सार्वजनिक संस्थाओं की ओर से और आदिम जाति सेवा संघ की ओर से हो रहा है। इस काम की जानकारी लेने के लिये मैं यहाँ आया हूँ।

आप जानते हैं आज भारत आज़ाद है। भारत के आज़ाद होने के साथ-साथ भारत के आदिवासी भी आज़ाद हुए हैं। भगवान कृष्ण ने अर्जुन को जब किराट स्वरूप के दर्शन कराये थे तब उनके लाखों करोड़ों मुख नज़र आये थे। महात्मा गांधी ने भी भारतवर्ष के लोगों के दर्शन करवाये थे, आप लोगों के दर्शन करवाये थे कि आप लोग भी भारत मातृ की सन्तान हैं और इस तरह से, दाईं करोड़

आदिवासी भी भारत माता की सन्तान हैं। अभी तक हमारा देश पराधीन था। आज हमारा देश स्वाधीन है और हमारा कर्तव्य बन जाता है कि हम इन दो, दाईं करोड़ लोगों की देखभाल करें। बेचारे पहाड़ों में पड़े हैं, जंगलों में बस रहे हैं, कोई उनकी देखभाल कर नहीं सकता। आज जब भारतमाता आज़ाद हुई है तो इनकी देखभाल की जिम्मेदारी उसकी है, सरकार की भी जिम्मेदारी आती है और जनता की भी जिम्मेदारी आती है। अभी पन्त जी ने बतलाया कि सरकार की ओर से कितनी फिर की जाती है। सरकार हमारी है लेकिन हमारा कर्तव्य उससे पूरा नहीं होता कि केवल सरकारी आदमी काम करते रहें। मेरा और आपका सबका कर्तव्य है कि हम इन आदिवासियों को मले लगायें। सदियों से हम उनको भूल गये थे। जंगलों में बेचारे पड़े थे। कोई जानता नहीं या उनका क्या होता था। आज हमारे देश की हालत क्या है, हम जानते हैं। हम कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के रहनेवालों की औसत वार्षिक आमदनी ३७५ रुपया होगी। लेकिन कोई नहीं कह सकता कि आदिवासियों की सालाना आमदनी क्या होगी। वहाँ यह हिसाब कोई रखता नहीं है। उनके लिए कोई दफ्तर नहीं है। वहाँ कोई आँकड़े नहीं रखे जाते। हम कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग सूत्रों में कितने लोग पड़े-लिये हैं। लेकिन आदिवासियों में कितने लोग पड़े-लिये हैं कहना तो कफ़ी मुश्किल हो जाता है। बड़े शहरों में अगर पानी नहीं मिले तो बका हो-इस्का हो व्यक्त है लेकिन जंगलों में आदिवासियों

को पानी न मिले तो वहाँ शोर करनेवाला कोई नहीं होता। अस्पतालों में बिछौना नहीं मिले तो बड़े शहरों में बड़ा शोर हो जाता है। पर आदिवासियों को कितने प्रकार की दुःख-तकलीफ रहती है। वे कितने सालों से परेशान रहते हैं, यह कोई नहीं जानता। उनका सालभर में जो अनाज पैदा होता है वह सिर्फ ४ महीने चलता है, यह भी हम नहीं जानते। बड़े शहरों में एक दिन चावल न मिले तो शोर मच जाता है। परन्तु यहाँ एक दिन का सवाल नहीं, एक महीने का सवाल नहीं पर सारी जिन्दगी उनकी इसी तरह निकलती है। भारत माता की इस प्यारी सन्तान की हालत देखते हुए हम किस तरह चैन से बैठ सकते हैं। सिर्फ हुकूमत से यह बड़ा काम नहीं होने वाला है। हुकूमत तो काम करती रहेगी। हमें भी यह काम करना है। एक परिवार में एक पुत्र और एक पुत्री को जितनी सुविधा मिलती है वही सुविधायें दूसरे पुत्र और दूसरी पुत्री को न मिलें तो वह परिवार सुखी नहीं हो सकता। भारत की एकता का आधार हम एक दूसरे पर कितना प्रेम, कितनी मुहब्बत दिखाते हैं इस पर निर्भर है। भारत में यदि हमें संकट और संवर्ष को टालना है तो वह तब तक नहीं टल सकता जब तक वहाँ किसी पैमाने पर समता नहीं है। कानून से समता नहीं आ सकती। समता अगर कानून से आयेगी तो वह अलग प्रकार की होगी। कानून की समता जहाँ तक पुलिस की ताकत होगी वहाँ तक बनेगी। सही मानों में यदि हम समता चाहते हैं तो हमें अपने देश को एक बड़ा परिवार बनाना होगा। एक परिवार की तरह की समता लेनी होगी और लोगों में, समभद्रार लोगों में सेवा भाव होगा। लोग यह समझेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में मेरा एक भी भाई या बहिन परेशान है तो उसे उसकी परेशानी

में हिस्सेदार होना होगा। हमें दूसरों के दुःख में हिस्सेदार बनना है। हमारे पास अगर पैसे हैं तो पैसे का हिस्सा देना है। अगर जगह है तो जगह का हिस्सा देना है। बुद्धि है तो बुद्धि का हिस्सा देना है। और उनको उठाना है जो दबे पड़े हैं।

पन्त जी ने कहा कि यह मानवता का तकाज़ा है और आज हम मानवता का तकाज़ा ही पूरा करने के लिये मिले हैं। हमें सोचना है कि हम किस तरह आदिवासियों को, पिछड़े हुए लोगों को उठा सकते हैं और जो संस्थायें इस कार्य को कर रही हैं उनको सहयोग दे सकें। पहाड़ों की चोटियों पर वर्षा आती है तो कुछ पानी मिलता है और वह अनुकूल न हो तो सारी खेती खत्म हो जाती है। हमें देखना है कि उनकी खेती किस तरह बढ़ सकती है। हमें उनके बच्चों को जो इधर-उधर फिरते हैं, पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध करना है। उनको गरीबी के बारे में और दूसरी बातों के बारे में सोचना है। एक नयी चीज बनानी है। कोरापुट में और जहाँ-जहाँ आदिवासी बसते हैं हमारे मकान की, गांधी के बनवाये मकान की शोभा जब बढ़ेगी जब आदिवासी लोग, पिछड़े हुए लोग यह समझेंगे उनके जिले के लोग, बड़े लोग, उनकी सुसीजत में भाग लेंगे, सहरा देंगे।

हमें देखना है कि आदिवासियों का लड़का हमसे आगे बढ़े। आदिवासियों को लड़की हमसे आगे बढ़े। उनकी सुख की हालत हो। उनकी समभद्रार स्थिति बने। उनका देश में नाम बढ़े। यह सब हमें देखना है।

दो किस्म के लोग यहाँ हैं जो इस बात पर सोचते हैं। एक तो अस्पतालों में जिस तरह डाक्टर बीमारों की तरफ देखता है। उसका काम इतना ही

है कि मरोड़ अच्छा हो जाय। लेकिन दूसरे इस प्रकार के लोग हैं जो चाहते हैं कि चाहे वह दब जाँय, डूब जाँय लेकिन हमारी जनता हमसे आगे बढ़े। माता का काम वे कर रहे हैं। माता भूखी रहती है अपने बच्चों के लिये। लेकिन उसका ख्याल यह रहता है कि वह भूखी रहेगी मगर उसका बच्चा बचेगा, बढ़ेगा। आदिवासी तथा भारत के सभी पिछड़े हुए लोग बालक के समान हैं, हिन्दुस्तान और उसकी जनता के काम की यही कसौटी है। (भारत की जनता माता की तरह ताकती है कि इस प्रकार लोगों के कष्ट दूर हों)।

हमें देखना है कि भारत के आदिवासी मैदान के लोगों से आगे बढ़ें। क्योंकि वे अगर पीछे रहेंगे तो हमारे बच्चे पीछे रहेंगे, हमारा देश पीछे रहेगा। जिस घर में आदमी बीमार होता है उस घर के लोग परेशान रहते हैं। आदिवासियों की ताकत कम नहीं है। बुद्धि की भी उनमें कमी नहीं है। पर उनको मौका नहीं मिला है। वह मौका हमें उनको देना है। सामाजिक क्षेत्र में, राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में, तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हमें आदिवासियों को एक मौका देना है जिससे वे हमारे साथ-साथ आगे बढ़ें। प्रेम और मुहब्बत की दुनिया में रुपये-पैसे का हिसाब नहीं होता। हमको उन्हें अवसर देना है जिससे उनका बल बढ़े और अपनी ताकत और शक्ति पर भारत के उत्थान में वह योग दे सकें। यहाँ आपके बच्चों में आपकी और हमारी ओर से यह विश्वास दिलाने आया है। भारतीय जनता उनको और इस प्रकार देख रही है जिस प्रकार माता अपने बच्चों की ओर देखती है। भारत की जनता चैन से जब ही सोयेगी जब आदिवासी उन्नति के तट पर खड़े हुए होंगे। इसके लिये श्री पन्त जी काम कर रहे हैं। डा० मेहताब बाबू काम कर रहे हैं। इसके लिये महापात्र भी

काम कर रहे हैं। इसके लिये सारा भारतवर्ष काम कर रहा है। जिस तरह हुकूमत की ओर से काम हो रहा है उसी तरह आदिमजाति सेवा संघ की ओर से भी काम हो रहा है। १० साल से यह काम हम कर रहे हैं। ठक्कर बाप्पा ने मध्यप्रदेश और बम्बई में यह काम शुरू किया था। कितने हमारे साथी हैं जो कई साल से जङ्गलों में पड़े हैं, अपने परिवार को भूलकर, अपने सारे कारोबार को भूलकर। उनकी सेवा से त्याग की ज्वाला जलती रहती है जिसे बापू ने हमारे बीच में पैदा किया था, जो ठक्कर बाप्पा ने शुभ सन्देश हमको सिखलाया था, और अपने कार्य द्वारा वे उसे मूर्तिमत् कर रहे हैं। हमारा कर्तव्य है कि हम ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं को पूरी सहायता पहुँचाएँ। हमारे भाई जो जंगलों में पड़े हैं और काम कर रहे हैं, इतना कठिन कि अगर हम उनकी बातें आपको बताएँ तो यहाँ हमारा काम ही अधूरा रह जायगा। उनका भी मैं धन्यवाद करता हूँ, आपकी और अपनी ओर से। भारत की जनता उन्हें भूल नहीं सकेगी जो यह सेवा कार्य कर रहे हैं। और पन्त जी की भी विशेष दिल-चस्पी है इसमें। वे इतना कष्ट उठाकर यहाँ आये हैं और हमें जो सबको सिखलाया है तो हम कोशिश करेंगे उसे पूरा करने की। जिससे उन्हें और भारत की जनता को शान्ति हो। भारत की जनता ने बापू के चरणों में बैठ कर एक प्रतिज्ञा ली थी और वह थी दरिद्रनारायण की सेवा की प्रतिज्ञा। बापू की याद में, उस प्रतिज्ञा को याद करके फिर उसे अपने जीवन में उतारने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। मुझे विश्वास है कि उड़ीसा की जनता इसमें पूरा सहयोग देगी और आदिवासियों को भी हमारे शब्दों में विश्वास रहेगा। सरकार और हम मिलकर उनके दुःखों को, जो भी कुछ है, दूर कर सकेंगे।

EXHIBITION

Address by Raja Naresh Chandra Singh at the opening of the Exhibition

I am grateful that I have been accorded this opportunity to address you while declaring open the Exhibition.

Article 46 of the Constitution enjoins the development of tribal areas with special care. This constitutional obligation is being fulfilled with increasing intent of purpose. Under the First Five-Year Plan there was a provision of Rs. 35 crores and in the Second Plan there is a provision of Rs. 92 crores for the welfare of tribals. Since such concentrated attention towards activities for the welfare and development of tribal areas is of recent origin, it is likely that there is a certain amateurishness in our activities and it is also likely that there are honest differences of opinion as to the content and mode and manner of implementation. But the overwhelming sincerity of Government at the State and Central levels cannot be disputed. It cannot also be disputed that the Governments are anxious to foster the development of the tribals in a manner best suited to their genius. The Planning Commission has indicated that while a certain amount of disturbance of the traditional structure of the tribals is inevitable as a result of applying new technological devices, the effort should be to cause the least amount of disturbance. This maxim governs all our activities which are directed towards helping the tribal to become a full and responsible citizen of our country. With this end in view we are attempting to strengthen the economy of the tribal by teaching him more profitable methods of cultivation and helping him to organise supplementary sources of income. Along side of this efforts are being made

to eradicate diseases and to teach cleaner modes of living. All this is a stupendous effort though it looks simple in the manner that I have stated. In the midst of all this effort care is taken that the finer-sides of a tribal are not neglected.

It is commonly believed that the tribal has no art or artistic sense. Though it is a fact that tribal artforms look crude alongside of the magnificent artforms of the age that ended with the first world war, it is rather incongruous that the post-war generation should think of tribal art in the manner it does, since its own accomplishment is seen in the square monstrosities of buildings that are springing up and the vulgarity of the so-called Realistic School of Art and the incomprehensible lean lines of three dimensional art. But apart from this, it has to be recognised that the natural evolution of the tribal art-forms which are admitted to be ancient, was suddenly, arrested like all other processes of their development. Thus we find a certain monotony in their music and dancing and also an innocent simplicity in their other art forms. It is everybody's endeavour to revive the creative genius of the tribal by a properly planned training. The purpose of this training should be to give the tribal the advantage of the developed art-forms of modern art in all its various aspects; so that it would release the dormant genius and create the capacity to adapt the advantages of the one for the betterment of the other. This training has to be so carefully devised that it does not completely annihilate the tribal art forms but enrich them in a manner that would contribute to the



Raja Nareschandra Singh, Minister, Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh, opening the Exhibition at Koraput

rich variety of our country. This training will have to be individualistic and also different to suit differing local conditions. This is a task to which all of us should apply ourselves with equal enthusiasm as in our efforts to improve the living conditions of the tribals.

In this difficult venture exhibitions of the type that would presently be declared open are of great advantage as it is both an incentive and an attempt to remove prevailing misconceptions

about tribal art. It is an incentive because it caters to the thirst of being appreciated which is equally strong in the tribal.

I am afraid that I have taken too much of your time and in the process tried your patience, by this long talk. I desire once again to express my gratitude for having been given this opportunity. I have great pleasure in declaring open this exhibition.

Jai Hind

प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन

श्री राजा नरेशचन्द्रजी का उद्घाटन के समय का भाषण

भद्र महिलाओं तथा सज्जनों !

प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन करते समय मैं यह आभार प्रगट करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मुझे यह सुअवसर दिया है कि मैं आपसे कुछ कह सकूँ।

भारतीय संविधान की धारा ४६ ने आदिवासियों के आदिमजाति कल्याण क्षेत्र के विकास के लिये विशेष सावधानी का आदेश दिया है, और संवैधानिक जिम्मेदारी ज्यादा दिलचस्पी के साथ पूरी की जा रही है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत यह नियत था कि ३५ करोड़ रुपया आदिमजाति कल्याण के लिये खर्च किया जावेगा। और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में ६२ करोड़ रुपयों का समावेश है। चूँकि इतनी जोरदार योजना जो आदिवासियों की उन्नति के लिये है अभी, बहुत तज़्ज़ी है तो यह संभव है कि उसमें कुछ नयेपन के कारण अनुभव में कमी होने का आभास मिले, और यह भी संभव है कि मकसद में सही

होते हुये भी विचारों की भिन्नता दिखाई दे जोकि योजना में निहित कार्यों तथा उनके तौर तरीकों में फर्क के रूप में दिखाई दे सकती है। परन्तु सरकार की नितान्त ईमानदारी जो केन्द्रीय तथा राज्य सरकार के कार्यों के स्तर से दिखाई देती है उस पर किसी को संदेह नहीं हो सकता। यह भी निःसंदेह सत्य है कि सरकार आदिवासियों का कल्याण उन्हीं की उपयुक्त परिस्थितियों में तथा उनकी क्षमता को देखकर ही उनके विकास का लक्ष्य लेकर उत्सुकता से कर रही है। योजना आयोग ने यह प्रगट किया है कि यद्यपि नई विधियों को कार्यान्वित करने में उनके कदीमी ढाँचे में कुछ उलट फेर कम होना मुमकिन है फिर भी प्रयत्न होना चाहिये कि यह उलट-फेर कम से कम हो। यही सूत्र हमारी समस्त कार्यावाहियों का पथ प्रदर्शक है। जो आदिवासी संबंधी हमारी समस्त बातों से जिनसे आदिवासी पूर्ण रूप से हमारे देश के जिम्मेदार नागरिक बन सकें संबन्धित है, कि इसी ध्येय को दृष्टिकोण में रखकर हम आदिवासियों की आर्थिक

व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने में संलग्न हैं और इसी दृष्टि से हम उन्हें पूर्ण रीतियों से कृषि तथा अन्य आमदनी के साधन बढ़ाने में सहायता दे रहे हैं। इसी के साथ-साथ यह प्रयत्न भी हो रहा है कि उन्हें बीमारियों से छुटकारा मिले और वे स्वास्थ्य-पूर्ण जीवन व्यतीत करना सीखें। यह सब बहुत बड़ा कार्य है, यद्यपि कहने में सरल प्रतीत होता है।

इन सब प्रयत्नों के बीच यह विशेष ध्यान रखा गया है कि उनके जीवन का कलात्मक भाग वंचित न रहे।

साधारण तौर से यह समझा जाता है कि आदिवासियों में कोई कला नहीं होती है और वे कलात्मक भावनाओं से रहित हैं। यद्यपि यह सत्य है कि आदिवासियों की कला आधुनिक जमाने की कला की छलना में कुछ हलकी दिखाई देती है। विशेषकर उस समय की कला से, जिसका स्तर प्रथम विश्व युद्ध की समाप्ति पर आका गया है, किन्तु उसके बाद की पीढ़ी यदि ऐसा सोचती है तो यह अनुचित है, वह इसलिए कि आज के समाज ने जो हर पहलू से उन्नति की है, आकाशचुम्बी महलों और विकास की बातों को देखते हुए पुराने तरीकों का यह सीधापन तथा यथार्थवादी कला विशेषज्ञों का ख्याल कुछ उसके साथ इसका मेल जमता नहीं, फिर भी इसके जावजूद यह मानना पड़ेगा कि आदिवासी कला, जो पुरातन है उसका स्वभाविक विकास एकाएक उनकी दूसरी बहुमुखी प्रगतियों के साथ ही रुक गया है, इस प्रकार हम उनके संगीत नृत्य में कुछ वही पुरानापन तथा उनकी भोली सादगी में भी नीरसता पाते हैं। यह प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का प्रयत्न होवे कि हम आदिवासियों की

रचनात्मक योग्यता को पुनर्जीवित करें और उसकी उचित योजना बनावें। इस प्रशिक्षण का उद्देश्य यह होना चाहिये कि आदिवासियों की कला को आधुनिक कला का लाभ तथा सहयोग प्राप्त हो और वह हर तरफ से हो, इस प्रकार उनकी यह सुप्त क्षमता और सृजन शक्ति जाग्रत होकर एक की वृद्धि दूसरे की उन्नति में सहायक होगी। यह प्रशिक्षण ऐसी सावधानी से तैयार करना चाहिये कि उससे आदिवासी कला को हानि हुए बगैर वह और भी अधिक मूल्यवान बन जावे और इस प्रकार देश की कला-निधि में भिन्नता की वृद्धि भी हो। यह प्रशिक्षण व्यक्ति को केन्द्र मानकर तथा प्रत्येक क्षेत्र की उपयुक्तता को ध्यान में रख कर दिया जावे, यह वह महान कार्य है जिसमें हम सबको जुट जाना चाहिये और समान जोश के साथ कार्य करना चाहिये, ताकि आदिवासियों के जीवन का स्तर ऊँचा उठे।

इस कठिन कार्य में ऐसी प्रदर्शनी जो अभी खुलने जा रही है, बहुत उपयोगी होगी क्योंकि वह उत्साहवर्धक तथा गलतफहमी दूर करने में सहायक होगी। वह उत्साहवर्धक होगी क्योंकि उसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की आत्म प्रशंसा की धास शांत करने की क्षमता होती है, यह भावना आदिवासियों में भी उतनी ही प्रबल है।

मुझे भय है कि मैंने आपका बहुत सा समय ले लिया और ऐसा करते समय आपके धैर्य की भी परीक्षा हो गई। आपने मुझे यह अवसर दिया इसके लिये मैं आपका पुनः अनुग्रहीत हूँ, मुझे प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन करते समय अत्यन्त हर्ष हो रहा है।



**At Sunabeda—Pandit G. B. Pant and Shri Dhebarbhai with Shri Ambalal Vyas, Shri L. M. Srikant
and Dr. H. K. Mehtab, Chief Minister, Orissa and Minister for Tribal Welfare**



Dr. Mehtab, Chief Minister, Orissa with Pandit G.B. Pant.

Welcome Address

by

Dr. H.K. MEHTAB, Chief Minister, Orissa,

delivered on 29th April, 1957.

RESPECTED PANTJI, DHEBARBHAI,
SHRIKANTJI, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

On behalf of the Government and the people of Orissa, and as Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference organised by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, I welcome you most sincerely to this conference which is being held in a State where the percentage of tribal population is the highest in India. About 21 per cent of the population of the State constitute various tribes spreading over from the north to the south of the State. About one-third of the total area of the State is inhabited by the tribal population. For the first time the Tribal Welfare Conference is being held in a State where the problem of the tribal population occupied the attention of the Government of Ashoka. One of his rock edicts, which stands at a distance of 150 miles from Koraput and which was specially intended for this region of the country then known as Kalinga, specially referred to the *Pratyantavasinah*, meaning the tribal population. The Great Emperor says in that—"The Tribal population will ask—How does the Emperor look upon us? Tell them that the Emperor looks upon them as he looks upon his own children and in their welfare lies the welfare of the Emperor and his children. The Emperor wishes them to adopt the path of *Saddharma*—true civilisation."

This message, even though it is about 2000 years old, is still pointed enough to spur all of us to fulfil a duty and a pointed reminder that in course of these

ages India has failed in fulfilling a duty which was cast upon her by Providence.

Orissa is a State where the link of intimate connection between various strata of civilisation which has grown in course of the last thousands of years and which has left behind various shades in course of development is still visible and is a matter of study for all historians and anthropologists. The merger of pre-Aryan civilisation in the Aryan civilisation which has been completed beyond recognition in many parts of India has left behind traces in this State to prove conclusively that the so-called tribal civilisation and the more advanced one, by whatever name it is called, are not really two separate entities but in fact one is the development of the other. Customs and usages which are prevalent amongst the tribal population in a crude form today exist almost in the same measure in a finer form amongst others who consider themselves as distinct from the tribal population. The origin of many a noble and ancient family in Orissa can even now be traced to the castes and communities which are described as tribal. In course of time when the work of civilisation has gone uniformly and unequally in this vast country and when there has been impact of one civilisation upon another, a gulf of difference has been created between sections and sections, but unfortunately the uninformed historians have succeeded in creating the belief that these sections are completely distinct from

It is from this point of view I am strongly of opinion that opening of communications to those regions where they have been pushed into and live today, and the spread of modern education which has an equalising influence over the society, should be given top priority, in any development programme which may be undertaken for the upliftment of the tribal population. To think of a different pattern of society for the tribal people is not only harmful for the unification of India, but is looked upon with distrust by the tribal people themselves, even though they may not be able to express it.

In this State of Orissa for the last about ten years upliftment work amongst the tribes has been given top priority. I do not know whether our achievement is substantial or not, but we have succeeded in focussing the attention of the whole society on the urgent necessity of bringing round the tribal population to the same level where we are. Shri Shrikant has been connected with the work of tribal upliftment in Orissa since 1947 when he was not the Commissioner as he is today. As the then Chief Minister, I sought his assistance to draw up a scheme for the upliftment work amongst the tribes which he very kindly did. He helped us then with workers and guidance to work in the tribal areas. Whatever is being done today in Orissa owes its origin to the scheme which he initiated in 1947.

Under the Constitution, the tribal population is the first charge of the Home Ministry of the Central Govern-

ment. I consider it a privilege of ours today that we have got Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant amongst us who is not only the Home Minister of India but also our great leader, to guide and inspire us.

Shri Dhebarbhai who is the very symbol of service to the young generation of India is fortunately here to inspire us and help us in our work.

I am sure the conference which is being held here will be a landmark in the history of development work amongst the tribes in this State. The message of Ashoka is destined to be fulfilled under the auspices of this great institution—the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh—which has got the support of all who count in India today.

The Orissa Government has tried to make this conference a success. They have not only sanctioned money for the purpose, but also the entire department—the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department—has been placed at the disposal of this conference. I take this opportunity to sincerely thank the officers of the district of Koraput and of the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, who have done their utmost to make this conference a success.

I thank the volunteers and other non-official leaders who have spared no pains to make it a success.

I welcome you all again from the bottom of my heart and I trust with your blessings we shall show some tangible work in this great task of upliftment of the tribal population.

स्वागत भाषण

डा० हरेकृष्ण मेहताव, मुख्यमन्त्री, उड़ीसा राज्य (स्वागताध्यक्ष) का भाषण

आदरणीय पंतजी, डेवरभाई, श्रीकांतजी, बहनों और भाइयो !

उड़ीसा राज्य की जनता तथा भारतीय आदिम-जाति सेवक संघ की स्वागत समिति की ओर से उड़ीसा के आदिवासी क्षेत्र में होनेवाली इस परिषद में आप सबका मैं हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। इस राज्य में एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक बसे हुए आदिवासी समस्त जन संख्या का २१ प्रतिशत है। दूसरे शब्दों में, आदिवासी राज्य को पूरे क्षेत्रफल के एक तृतीयांश हिस्सों में रहते हैं। उड़ीसा राज्य में पहली बार इस तरह की आदिवासी परिषद हो रही है। सम्राट् अशोक के समय से ही इस क्षेत्र के आदिवासियों का प्रश्न प्रमुख रहा है। कोरापुट करीब डेढ़ सौ मील दूरी पर इस उड़ीसा राज्य में जो उन दिनों कलिंग कहलाता था, एक शिलालेख पाया जाता है। उसमें सम्राट् अशोक कहते हैं “आदिवासी जनता पूछेगी कि सम्राट् किस दृष्टि से हमें देखते हैं ? उनसे कहना सम्राट् उन्हें उसी प्रकार देखते हैं जैसे वे अपने स्वयं के बच्चों को देखते हैं। सम्राट् का तथा उनके कुटुम्ब का कल्याण इसीमें है कि वे सुखी रहें। सम्राट् की यह इच्छा है कि वे सद्धर्म के मार्ग पर चलें।”

यह संदेश यद्यपि आज मे दो हजार वर्ष पूर्व कहा गया है, फिर भी आज हमें उसकी उतनी ही आवश्यकता है जितनी पहले कभी रही थी। क्योंकि भगतवर्षों ने अनेक शताब्दियों से अपने इस पवित्र

कर्तव्य को पूरी तरह से नहीं निभाया है जिसकी हमसे अपेक्षा रही है।

उड़ीसा उन महान संस्कृतियों के मिलन का क्षेत्र रहा है जो यहां हजारों वर्षों में फली फूली और पैदा हुई है। उसने जो अपना अस्तर हमारे मानस पर छोड़ा है वह तो इतिहास वेत्ताओं, नृवंश शास्त्रियों के खोज की चीज है। आर्यों के पूर्व की सभ्यता और आर्य सभ्यता का जो मिलन इस देश में हुआ और वह जिस प्रकार से एक दूसरे से घुल मिल कर एक हो गई, उसका प्रमाण उड़ीसा राज्य में अत्यन्त जीवित रूप में मिलता है। वह इस दावे का भी खंडन करता है कि भारतीय सभ्यता कुछ और है व ट्रायचल सभ्यता कुछ और है। असल में तो वे दोनों एक दूसरे की पूरक रही हैं। आदिम जातियों के रीतिरिवाजों और पहनाव में जो एक प्रकार की नैसर्गिकता दीक्षती है वही अन्य जातियों में कुछ उन्नत स्वरूप लेकर सामने आती है। उड़ीसा के कई प्रसिद्ध और पुराने कुटुम्बों के इतिहास आज भी बताते हैं कि वे उन्हीं जाति और समाजों में आते हैं जिन्हे आज हम आदिमजातियां कहते हैं। समाज के विकास में इतने बड़े और व्यापक देश में यह स्वाभाविक था कि उन्नति की दौड़ में कुछ समाज और क्षेत्र आगे बढ़ गये और कुछ पीछे रह गये और यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि गलत दंग के

इतिहासकारों ने उन्नत क्षेत्रों के लोगों को सभ्य कहना शुरू कर दिया और अनुन्नत क्षेत्र के लोगों को असंस्कृत तथा आदिमजाति बना दिया। मेरी नभ्र राय में यह बिल्कुल गलत तथा देश को हानि पहुँचाने वाला दृष्टिकोण रहा है।

सौभाग्य की बात है नये इतिहासकार और मानस शास्त्री देश के इतिहास के गहन अध्ययन के बाद अब इस संबंध में नयी व्याख्याएँ करने लगे हैं और आदिमजाति तथा अन्य जातियों में इस प्रकार की धारणाएँ अब समाप्त होती जा रही हैं। सत्य तो यह है कि हम सब आदिमजाति के लोग हैं और उन्हीं की संतान है जिन्हें हम आदिमजातियाँ कहते हैं। जिस प्रकार एक पढ़े लिखे पुत्र को अपने बगैर पढ़े लिखे पिता को घृणा की दृष्टि से नहीं देखना चाहिये अथवा दया का पात्र नहीं समझना चाहिये। उसी प्रकार भारत की उन्नत जातियों को किसी ऐतिहासिक कारणवश इन जातियों को पिछड़ी हुई नहीं समझना चाहिये। इसलिये अब हमारा यह पवित्र कर्तव्य है कि सम्राट् अशोक द्वारा बताये हुये मार्ग पर चलकर विकास के मार्ग में अपने बराबर लेकर चलें।

मैंने आदिवासियों के जीवन और उनके चरित्र को समझने की कोशिश की है। समय समय पर उनके बीच रहकर उनके मानव और उनके इतिहास को समझने की कोशिश भी की। वे बड़े स्वामि-मानी होते हैं। जिस तरह इतिहास में हम युद्धों की कथाएँ पढ़ते हैं और अपने पूर्वजों की बहादुरी पर गर्व करते हैं उसी तरह वे भी अपने इतिहास से प्रेरणा प्राप्त करके और पूर्वजों के बहादुर कामों से गर्वान्वित होते हैं। जिस प्रकार हम लोग उन्हें

घृणा और हेय की दृष्टि से देखते हैं वे भी हमें हेय समझते हैं। उन्हें यह बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं है कि हम अपने आपको बड़ा समझें और उन्हें छोटा समझ कर उनको देखभाल करें। आज वे निर्धन और असहाय हैं। हार की मनोवृत्ति पीढ़ियों से उनके हृदय में घर कर गयी है। उस समय से जब कि नई सभ्यता के धक्के उन्हें लगे और वह पहाड़ों और जंगलों में खदेड़ दिये गये। वे उन लोगों के भी खिलाफ हैं जिन्होंने पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी से और उनके समाज के नियमों पर आधारित उन्हें प्राप्त होने वाली संपत्ति, जमीन आदि उनसे छीन ली है। यह सब होते हुए भी आज भी वे भारत के सम्मानित नागरिक है और उन्हें वे सब सुविधाएँ प्राप्त हैं जो कि देश के और लोगों को मिली हैं। वे अपनी योग्यता के अनुसार इन सुविधाओं का उचित उपयोग भी करते हैं। उनके इस संबंध के निर्णयों के खिलाफ कुछ भी करने या कहने का किसी को भी हक नहीं है।

उनमें काम करते समय और उन्हें सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान और जागरण की ओर बढ़ाने की दिशा में जिसका महान सम्राट् अशोक ने भी निर्देश किया था ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमें आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में ऊपर बताई गयी पृष्ठभूमि को समझना आवश्यक है। आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य में अपने आपको बड़ा समझकर कुछ करने की वृत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। यदि यह कार्य उस वृत्ति से किया गया तो मैं निश्चयपूर्वक कह सकता हूँ कि उसका कोई फल नहीं निकलेगा। यह काम तो निष्काम सेवा की दृष्टि से ही होना चाहिये। जिस काम को हम अपने लिये बुरा और अर्थचक्र समझते हैं वह हम उनसे भी क्यों करवायें? जब हम

ऐसे काम उन पर लादते हैं जो हम स्वयं नहीं करते हैं तो उन्हें बहुत दुःख होता है। डर आदिवासियों के दिमाग में धुस गया है और जैसे-जैसे आज की सभ्यता बढ़ी, यह डर और उसके साथ पृथक्त्व की भावना बढ़ती गयी है। जिन लोगों के साथ वे स्पर्धा में टिक नहीं सकते उनसे वे दूर भागना चाहते हैं। इस डर अथवा दूर भागने की वृत्ति से हमें फायदा नहीं उठाना चाहिये। उनका डर दूर कर, उन्हें अपने नज़दीक लाना चाहिये। यह तभी हो सकता है जब हम उन्हें अपना समझें। ठीक ऐसा जैसा एक पढ़ा लिखा अच्छा लड़का अपने वगैर पढ़े-लिखे, सोचे-सादे बाप को समझता है। इसीलिये मैं यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में यातायात के प्रचुर साधन उपलब्ध किये जायँ और उन्हें ऐसा शिक्षण दिया जाय जो उन्हें बराबरी में लाने के लिये उपयोगी सिद्ध हो। अपने लिये समाज का एक टंग और उनके लिये दूसरा टंग यह इस देश की राष्ट्रियता के लिये घातक तो है हाँ स्वयं आदिमजाति के लोग भी इसे पसन्द नहीं करते चाहे वे इस बात को बता नहीं सकें।

उड़ीसा में पिछले १० वर्षों से आदिमजाति के कल्याण कार्य को बढ़ा रहे हैं। इस कार्य में हमें कितनी सफलता मिली यह तो हम नहीं कह सकते किन्तु हमने पूरे समाज का ध्यान उनके चतुर्दिक् विकास करने की ओर अग्रसर खोला है। श्री श्रीकांत जी का इस कार्य से सम्बन्ध पिछले सन् १९४७ से है जब वे कमिश्नर भी नहीं थे। मैंने उड़ीसा के मुख्य मंत्रों के नाते इस कार्य की योजना बनाने में उनकी मदद ली जिसमें उन्होंने महर्षि स्वोकार किया तथा उचित दिशादर्शन तथा कार्यकर्ता आदि देकर हमारी सहायता की। अब उड़ीसा में, इस दिशा में

जो कुछ हो रहा है वह उन्हीं योजनाओं का प्रमाण है जो श्री श्रीकांतजी ने १९४७ में हमारे लिये बनाई।

भारत गणतंत्र विधान के अनुसार आदिमजाति की उन्नति की प्रथम जिम्मेवारी भारत सरकार के यह सचिवालय की है। यह हमारा सौभाग्य है कि हमारे बीच में पं० गोविंदवल्लभ पंत जैसे व्यक्ति हैं जो कि न केवल इस देश के गृहमंत्री हैं किन्तु इस देश के एक ऐसे बड़े नेता हैं जिनसे हम नेतृत्व और दिशा दर्शन पा रहे हैं। हमें इस बात की भी खुशी है कि भारतीय नवजवानों की सेवा और लगन के प्रतीक श्री डेवर भाई भी हमारे बीच में हैं जिनसे हमें उचित प्रेरणा मिलेगी। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि यह परिपद आदिवासियों के निर्माण के इतिहास में अपना एक अपूर्व स्थान रखेगी और भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ जैसी विशिष्ट संस्था जिसको कि देश के सभी अंगों का साथ प्राप्त है उसके द्वारा सम्रट् अशोक का महान स्वप्न पूरा होगा जो उसने सदियों पूर्व देखा था।

उड़ीसा की सरकार ने अपनी क्षमता के अनुसार इस परिपद की सफलता के लिये यथोचित प्रयत्न किये। उन्होंने न केवल आर्थिक सहयोग दिया किन्तु अपना पूरा आदिवासी और जनकल्याण विभाग इस कार्य के लिये दे दिया। मैं कोरापूट जिले और आदिवासी और जनकल्याण विभाग के कर्मचारियों का कृतज्ञ हूँ जिन्होंने इस परिपद के लिये कुछ भी नहीं उठा रखा। अन्त में मैं उन गैरसरकारी नेताओं और गैर सरकारी कार्यकर्ताओं को बधाई देता हूँ जिन्होंने इसे सफल बनाने में योग दिया। मैं एक बार पुनः सच्चे अन्तःकरण से आपका स्वागत करता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हमें आदिवासियों के उत्थान के इस महान कार्य में सफलता प्राप्त हो।



Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant addressing the Conference at Koraput.

चतुर्थ आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन, कोगापुट, के अवसर पर पं० गोविन्दबल्लभ पन्त, केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री, का उद्घाटन भाषण

श्री मेहताबजी, श्री टेबरभाई, भाईयो और बहिनो,

आज यहां हम लोग आदिमजाति सम्मेलन के चौथे बृहद् अधिवेशन में एकत्र हुए हैं। मुझे इस बात का हर्ष है कि मैं इस शुभ अवसर पर आपके बीच उपस्थित हुआ हूँ। यह कार्य हम सबके लिये और विशेषकर आदिमजाति के कल्याण के लिये उपयोगी होगा। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि दूर-दूर से जो भाई और बहिनें यहां आये हैं वह जो भी विचार और प्रेरणा लेकर जायें उन पर विचार करेंगे और अपने को इस प्रकार बनायेंगे, अपने जीवन का इस प्रकार ढालेंगे कि अपने कार्यों और सेवाओं द्वारा अपने दूसरे भाई बहिनों के कष्टों को दूर कर सकें तथा उनकी सामाजिक और आत्मिक उन्नति में सहायक हो सकें।

आपके इस स्थान को जहां हम इस समय एकत्र हुए हैं मैं जहां तक जानता हूँ भूदान कार्य में अच्छी सफलता मिली है। संत विनोबा भावे को देश में वैसे तो बहुत जमीन और ग्राम दान में मिले हैं पर उन्हें जो सफलता यहां मिली वह हिन्दुस्तान के और दूसरे भागों में प्राप्त नहीं हुई। ग्राम दान का कार्य यहीं से प्रारंभ हुआ यह हमारे देश के लिये एक आदर्श और आलौकिक बात है। जहां ऐसे विचार के लोग रहते हैं और जहां ऐसे कार्यकर्ता हैं जो समाज की विषमता को दूर करके, ऊंच-नीच की भावनाओं को खत्म करके समता के प्रसार में, समाज के उद्धान में संलग्न हैं ऐसे स्थान पर इस सम्मेलन का होना अत्यन्त सराहनीय है।

आप जानते हैं, आपका यह उत्कल प्रदेश उन प्रदेशों में से है जहां आदिवासियों की संख्या काफी बढ़ी हुई है। लगभग भारत के आदिवासियों की संख्या का पांचवा हिस्सा यहां रहता है और बाकी आसाम, महाकौशल, बिहार और मध्य प्रदेश में भी बहुत रहते हैं। पिछली बार जगदलपुर में आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की ओर से सम्मेलन हुआ था और आज यहां दूसरी बार हो रहा है।

आज हम और आपको समझ लेना है कि हमने अपने देश का जो विधान बनाया है। उसका उद्देश्य एक कल्याणकारी राज्य बनाना है अपने देश हिन्दुस्तान में, जिसमें हम सब लोगों का कल्याण हो, विषमता कम हो और लोगों में समानता की भावना बढ़े, उन्नति करने का अवसर बराबर से मिले। हमारे संविधान में इस बात की जिम्मेदारी हम लोगों पर—जनता पर रखी गयी है कि पिछड़े हुए लोगों को ऊपर उठायें। जो लोग पीछे रह गये हैं उन्हें आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करें, उन्हें अपने साथ लायें। यह एक सबसे बड़ा सिद्धान्त है। सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि हम एक ऐसा निजाम बनाना चाहते हैं जिसमें विषमता को दूर करके सबको समान अधिकार प्राप्त हो। इसी ध्येय को लेकर हमारे संविधान में नागरिकों के बीच, जनता के बीच कोई खाई नहीं रखी है। इसी आधार पर हर एक व्यक्ति को, ब्यस्क व्यक्ति को मत देने का कानूनी अधिकार है। अभी हाल में चुनाव हुए, उसमें आदिवासियों ने भी मत दिये। और सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह कि यह मानवता का तकाजा

है कि आगे बढ़ हुए लोग गिरे हुए अपने भाइयों को उठाये, सुखी लोग दुखियों की सहायता करें, उनके कष्टों को दूर करें। ऐसी मनोवृत्ति हमारी होनी चाहिये। यह सिर्फ सेवा या पुण्य का भाव नहीं है बल्कि अपनी रक्षा का प्रश्न भी है। यदि हम अपने देश के इन दां करोड़ पिछड़े हुए भाइयों को न उठा सकें, तो वह पिछड़े हुए रहेंगे और कमजोर रहेंगे, तो हमारा देश भी कमजोर रहेगा। किसी जंजीर की एक कड़ी कमजोर रह गयी तो सारी जंजीर कमजोर रह जाती है। पता नहीं कि वह कमजोर कड़ी कब धोखा दे जाय। समय पर यदि वह कड़ी टूट गयी तो सारी जंजीर बेकार हो जाती है चाहे उसका अन्य कड़ियाँ कितनी ही मजबूत हीं अथवा मोटी हों। और हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारे देश में इस प्रकार की कमजोरी चला आ रही है और उस कमजोरी का असर पड़ रहा है।

हमारे समाज का विभिन्नता और असमानता का कारण हमारा अज्ञान भी है। हमने जो इतिहास पढ़ा है और जो अब भी पढ़ाया जाता है वह अंगरेजों का लिखा हुआ है। जो लोगों में भिन्नता पैदा करना अपनी नीति समझते थे क्योंकि उस पर उनका राज्य चलता था। लेकिन अब वह बात नहीं है। हमें अपने विचारों में परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। और देशों में सब तरह के लोग रहते हैं लेकिन उनमें सामाजिक भेदभाव नहीं होता है। यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स में सभी देशों के लोग रहते हैं, पर वहाँ सामाजिक भेदभाव ऐसा नहीं है। वहाँ अंग्रेज, अमेरिकन, फ्रांसीसी तथा नावों के विभिन्न देशों के लोग रहते हैं और सब एक होकर रहते हैं। आप जानते हैं वे सब अमेरिकन या ब्रिटेन के लोग नहीं थे पर आज वे सब

एक देश के निवासी हैं। शुरू में वे लोग भी जंगली थे, तीर-कमान चलाते थे, जंगलों और पहाड़ों में रहते थे। पर वे पढ़-लिखकर और विज्ञान के जरिये आगे बढ़े। इसी प्रकार हमें आपस के भेदभाव छोड़कर ज्ञान प्राप्त करके आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। केवल दिल्ली में बैठकर यह काम नहीं हो सकता। हम दूसरे प्रदेशों में जाय, भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों पर जाय जहाँ काम करने की आवश्यकता हो वहाँ जाकर बैठ जाय। मैं नहीं समझता कि आदिवासी कहकर कुछ लोगों को अलग कर्ण समझा जाय। हम सभी आदिवासी हैं। सभी कहीं-कहाँ से आकर सदियों से यहाँ रहते हैं। हम सबको यह समझना चाहिए कि हम सब एक हैं। अगर आदिवासी या और कुछ कहकर भिन्नता का भाव होता है तो उसे अलग करें। यह सबसे जरूरी चीज़ है। वे भी हमारे राष्ट्र के शरीर के हिस्से हैं। उन्हें अलग समझना देश के लिये हानिकारक होगा। इसके लिये हम सब को समझना चाहिए। हम अपने को दूसरों से बड़ा समझें और अलग-अलग रहें तो यह सभ्यता के माने नहीं हैं।

सभ्यता या बड़ापन के माने हैं सबसे समान बर्ताव करना, छुआछूत न करना और सत्यवादी होना और हम दूसरे से जो कुछ कहें उसमें कपट न हों। दूसरों से अनुचित लाभ उठाने का भावना न रखें। दूसरों के ऊपर अनुचित दबाव या बोझ न डालें। हम अपना बोझ आप उठायें। इस तरह की आपकी भावनाएँ होनी चाहिये। छोटी भावनाओं को दूर रखें। ऐसे लोगों पर देश को गर्व होता है। इन प्राकृतिक प्रवृत्तियों में लोग हमारे ओर आकर्षित हों तो हम अपने को बड़ा समझने लेंगे।

आदिवासियों की अपनी संस्कृति है। इसके

अतिरिक्त नृत्य आदि की कला का प्रदर्शन होता है तो हमको गर्व होता है कि हमारे देश में यह इतनी पुरानी उसको चीज है सुरक्षित रखना है। आज के आदिवासी चाहे कितने ही गरीब हैं पर उनमें एक मनोबल है। उनकी एक संस्कृति है। उनको उठाने में इन बातों का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाय कि उनके सुधार में अपने बल और संस्कृति को न छोड़ बैठें। किसी भी मनुष्य की मनो-वृत्ति बदलने के लिए मनोवैज्ञानिक पहुंच होनी चाहिये। इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए व्यवहारिक रूप से उनके बीच में काम किया जाय। हमारा और उनका जो हक था उसका व्रंटवारा नहीं कर सकते। इस लिये हमें उनका आदर करना चाहिये, उनसे प्रेम होना चाहिये, उनके प्रति सद्भावना होनी चाहिये। उनको इस योग्य बनाना है कि वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें, दूसरे की और अपनी उन्नति के लिये न देखें इस बात का ध्यान रखना है कि उनका बल दूर न हो, अपने को निर्बल न समझें। उनके पास रहने को मकान, खाने को अन्न और पहनने को कपड़ा नहीं है। पर उनकी सबसे बड़ी संस्कृति यदि डगमगा दें तो सबसे अधिक हानिकारक होगी। वह सबसे सुदृढ़ होनी चाहिये। इन बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए फिर आपको जो भी कार्यक्रम बनाना हो बनावें। हमारे यहाँ हज़ारों काम करने वालों की आवश्यकता है। दो करोड़ इन पिछड़े लोगों को अपने बराबर लाना है तो उनकी संस्कृति का ध्यान रखते हुए उनकी सांस्कृतिक और आध्यात्मिक उन्नति करने की जरूरत है। इस कार्य के लिये हज़ारों की तादाद में कार्यकर्ता चाहिये। हज़ारों स्वयंसेवकों और नवयुवकों की जरूरत है। हरिजनों की सेवा के लिये अमेरिका, ब्रिटेन और

हालैण्ड से बहुत लोग आते हैं। पुरुष आते हैं, महिलायें आती हैं। वह यहां की बोली भी नहीं जानते। रहने को भी उनको अच्छी जगह नहीं मिलती। फिर भी वह मानवता के इस तकाजे पर कि मनुष्य कहीं दबा पड़ा है, पिछड़ा हुआ है अपना घरबार छोड़ कर आते हैं और काम करते हैं। हमारा कर्त्तव्य है कि विदेशी भाईयों से इस प्रकार की सेवा करनी सीखें। ऐसे भाव उत्पन्न करें। हमें कल्याणकारी राज्य बनाना है। हमें समाजवादी समाज कायम करना है तो इस भावना को लेकर चलें। ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये शिक्षणालय खोले जायें और क्यों न उनमें आदिवासियों को ही शिक्षा दी जाय जो वह स्वयं ही अपने लोगों में और स्थानों में उपयोगी कार्य कर सकें। वहां का जीवन-स्तर उठा सकें। आदिवासी लोग पर्वतों पर रहते हैं। वहां पर मोटर भी नहीं चल सकती, चढ़ नहीं सकते तथा नये शास्त्रीय खोज से उन्हें कुछ भी लाभ नहीं मिल रहा है। पर वहाँ की जलवायु स्वच्छ है उनको खाने को भी पूरा नहीं मिलता—सुबह मैं कार्यकर्ताओं को मिला, पूछा इनकी पैदावार कितनी होती है। बताया चार माह से ज्यादा नहीं—कन्द मूल पर ही गुजारा करते हैं। जो एक वक्त्र भी पूरा पेट खाना नहीं मिलता—साफ पानी भी पीने को नहीं मिलता। उनके लिये साल में बस चार महीने का खाना ही पैदा होता है। बाकी समय कन्द मूल और जंगल की दूसरी चीजें खाकर गुजर करते हैं। इसलिये वहां खेती के लिये अच्छी ज़मीन बनानी होगी, खेती के तरीके आसान बनाने होंगे और उनको जंगलों के ऐसे काम निकालने होंगे जिनमें वे खेती के अलावा समय में काम कर सकें। उनके लिए साफ

पानी का प्रबंध भी करना जरूरी है। जब पहाड़ों और जंगलों में पानी सूख जाता है तो उन्हें गन्दा पानी पीना पड़ता है जिससे वह बीमार होते हैं। उनके मकानों की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। सर्दों में वे कभी-कभी ठीक मकान न होने से मर जाते हैं। इन सब दिशाओं में उनका मार्ग दर्शन करना है पर जब मार्ग ही न हो तो मार्ग दर्शन कैसे होगा। उसके लिये उनके स्थानों में सड़कें तथा यातायात के कुछ साधन भी होने चाहिये। जो लोग अच्छे दान देने वाले हैं उनके लिये यह बहुत अच्छा काम है—साफ पानी का इन्तजाम करना ताकि पानी साफ पीने को मिले, इस काम को करने से अधिक पुण्य कार्य क्या हो सकता है। साफ पानी न होने से यहां मलेरिया, आरख आदि की बीमारियां होती हैं। यह सब दूर करने के लिये क्या-क्या करना है ताकि ५, ७ या १० वर्ष में एक समता आ जाय व उनमें कोई भेदभाव न रहे। अभी तक इस क्षेत्र में ४००० के करीब अस्पताल खुले हैं पर यह काफी नहीं। टेक्नािकल स्कूल और जगह पर भी खुलेंगे। पर आज तो हर जगह उनको कठिनाइयां प्रतीत होती हैं। पर्वतों में जहां वह रहते हैं वहां ठंकेदार काम करते हैं। इससे उनका शोषण होता है अतः जंगल में सरकारी अथवा गैर सरकारी जो भी काम हो उन्हें दिया जाय और मजदूरी उनको मिले ताकि उनकी स्थिति सुधर सके।

कर्म के बारे में देखिये, कभी कर्म के लिये तो बेटे, परपोते तक दबे रहते हैं, ऐसा कानून बनने जो इसे दूर करे। इनके लिये वहाँ भी नये गाँव बसाने

हैं उन्हें अच्छी जमीन व बीज मिलना चाहिए। उनके लिये डिमान्स्ट्रेटिव फार्म (प्रायोगिक क्षेत्र) होने चाहिए। उसमें यह दिखलाया जाय कि इस तरह खेती करने से कितना लाभ होता है। कहीं-कहीं मधु, रेशम का भी काम कर सकते हैं। इसी के साथ-साथ नृत्य, संगीत को सुरक्षित रखा जाय ताकि उन्हें जीवन फीका न लगे। उनमें उच्च भावना पैदा कर उन्हें किस प्रकार मजबूत बनाया जाय। प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में ३६ करोड़ में से २५ करोड़ खर्च किया, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में ६१ करोड़ रुपये रखे हैं जिसमें आदिवासियों के लिए ४७ करोड़ हैं। पर कार्यकर्त्ता अच्छे मिलने चाहिये। अच्छी योजना हो तो धन की कमी नहीं होगी, धन के बगैर काम रुका नहीं रहेगा। इस प्रकार हम अच्छी तरह से आदिवासियों की उन्नति कर सकते हैं। कर्षां आदि को इनमें पैलायें, इसके अतिरिक्त बढ़ई आदि के छोटे-छोटे कार्य इनको सिलाये जाँय। इसका बोझ हम सब के ऊपर है। इस प्रकार आदिवासियों में काम बढ़ाना याने टक्कर बाँपा को श्रद्धांजलि देना है। मैं आशा करता हूँ जो लोग पूरा समय दे सकते हैं दें जो पूरा नहीं दे सकते पर जितना भी दे सकते हैं दें। सभी को यह पुण्य कार्य करने के लिए यथा-सम्भव प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। जैसा कार्य करेंगे वैसा इसका फल मिलेगा। भाषण देकर भी संतोष न करें। अगर इस ढंग से चलेंगे तो इन सम्मेलनों से काम होगा। इस आदिवासी सेवा कार्य के अतिरिक्त बढ़कर हमारे देश के लिए कोई अन्य सेवा अथवा कर्त्तव्य-परायणता का कार्य नहीं है।

चतुर्थ आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन, कोरापुट, के अवसर पर श्री देवरभाई द्वारा दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण

हमारे भाई साथी मेहताब बाबू, पूज्य पन्त जी, बहिनी और भाइयो !

आज मैं एक यात्रा के लिए यहाँ आया हूँ। दूर से मैं आया हूँ। आप हिन्दुस्तान के पूर्व के किनारे रहते हैं। मैं पश्चिम के किनारे का रहनेवाला हूँ। आपने वह जगह कभी नहीं देखी। पर उस जगह के पैदा हुए दो आदिमियों के नाम आपने सुने हैं। एक तो नाम है जगत मराहूर हमारे राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी का। दूसरा नाम है, जिस नाम को अभी हमारे दूसरे साथी भाई पन्त जी ने श्रद्धांजलि दी है, ठक्कर बापा का। मैं उधर से आपके दर्शनों के लिए आया हूँ। यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में करीब-करीब सब से ज्यादा आदिवासी रहते हैं और हमारे देश के शानदार आशिन्दे हैं मैं आपके दर्शन के लिये आया हूँ और जो कुछ काम यहाँ हो रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान भर में हो रहा है, सरकार की ओर से, हमारी सार्वजनिक संस्थाओं की ओर से और आदिम जाति सेवा संघ की ओर से हो रहा है। इस काम की जानकारी लेने के लिये मैं यहाँ आया हूँ।

आप जानते हैं आज भारत आज़ाद है। भारत के आज़ाद होने के साथ-साथ भारत के आदिवासी भी आज़ाद हुए हैं। भगवान् कृष्ण ने अर्जुन को जब बिराट स्वरूप के दर्शन कराये थे तब उनको लावणों करोड़ों मुख नज़र आये थे। महात्मा गांधी ने भी भारतवर्ष के लोगों के दर्शन करवाये थे, आप लोगों के दर्शन करवाये थे कि आप लोग भी भारत माता की सन्तान हैं और इस तरह दो, टाई करोड़

आदिवासी भी भारत माता की सन्तान हैं। अभी तक हमारा देश पराधीन था। आज हमारा देश स्वाधीन है और हमारा कर्तव्य बन जाता है कि हम इन दो, टाई करोड़ लोगों की देखभाल करें। बेचारे पहाड़ों में पड़े हैं, जंगलों में बस रहे हैं, कोई उनकी देखभाल कर नहीं सकता। आज जब भारतमाता आज़ाद हुई है तो इनकी देखभाल की जिम्मेदारी उसकी है, सरकार की भी जिम्मेदारी आती है और जनता की भी जिम्मेदारी आती है। अभी पन्त जी ने बतलाया कि सरकार की ओर से कितनी फिक्र की जाती है। सरकार हमारी है लेकिन हमारा कर्तव्य उससे पूरा नहीं होता कि केवल सरकारी आदिमी काम करते रहें। मेरा और आपका सबका कर्तव्य है कि हम इन आदिवासियों को गले लगायें। सदियों से हम उनको भूल गये थे। जंगलों में बेचारे पड़े थे। कोई जानता नहीं था उनका क्या होता था। आज हमारे देश की हालत क्या है, हम जानते हैं। हम कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के रहनेवालों की औसत वार्षिक आमदनी ३७५ रुपया होगी। लेकिन कोई नहीं कह सकता कि आदिवासियों की सालाना आमदनी क्या होगी। वहाँ यह हिसाब कोई रखता नहीं है। उनके लिए कोई दफ्तर नहीं है। वहाँ कोई आँकड़े नहीं रक्खे जाते। हम कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग सूत्रों में कितने लोग पड़े-लिखे हैं। लेकिन आदिवासियों में कितने लोग पड़े-लिखे हैं कहना तो काफी मुश्किल हो जाता है। बड़े शहरों में अगर पानी नहीं मिले तो बड़ा हो-हल्ला हो जाता है लेकिन जंगलों में आदिवासियों

को पानी न मिले तो वहाँ शोर करनेवाला कोई नहीं होता। अस्पतालों में बिछौना नहीं मिले तो बड़े शहरों में बड़ा शोर हो जाता है। पर आदिवासियों का कितने प्रकार की दुःख-तकलीफ रहती है। वे कितने सालों से परेशान रहते हैं, यह कोई नहीं जानता। उनका सालभर में जो अनाज पैदा होता है वह सिर्फ ४ महीने चलता है, यह भी हम नहीं जानते। बड़े शहरों में एक दिन चावल न मिले तो शोर मच जाता है। परन्तु यहाँ एक दिन का सवाल नहीं, एक महीने का सवाल नहीं पर सारी जिन्दगी उनकी इसी तरह निकलती है। भारत माता की इस प्यारी सन्तान की हालत देखते हुए हम किस तरह चैन से बैठ सकते हैं। सिर्फ हुकूमत से यह बड़ा काम नहीं होने वाला है। हुकूमत तो काम करती रहेगी। हमें भी यह काम करना है। एक परिवार में एक पुत्र और एक पुत्री को जितनी सुविधा मिलती है वही सुविधायें दूसरे पुत्र और दूसरी पुत्री को न मिलें तो वह परिवार सुखी नहीं हो सकता। भारत की एकता का आधार हम एक दूसरे पर कितना प्रेम, कितनी मुदबबत दिखलाते हैं इस पर निर्भर है। भारत में यदि हमें संकट और संघर्ष को टालना है तो वह तब तक नहीं टल सकता जब तक वहाँ किसी पैमाने पर समता नहीं है। कानून से समता नहीं आ सकती। समता अगर कानून से आयेगी तो वह अलग प्रकार की होगी। कानून की समता जहाँ तक पुलिस की ताकत होगी वहाँ तक बनेगी। सही मानों में यदि हम समता चाहते हैं तो हमें अपने देश का एक बड़ा परिवार बनाना होगा। एक परिवार की तरह की समता लेनी होगी और लोगों में, समझदार लोगों में सेवा भाव होगा। लोग कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में मेरा एक ही भाई का बहिन परेशान है तो उसे उसकी परेशानी

में हिस्सेदार होना होगा। हमें दूसरों के दुःख में हिस्सेदार बनना है। हमारे पास अगर पैसे हैं तो पैसे का हिस्सा देना है। अगर जगह है तो जगह का हिस्सा देना है। बुद्धि है तो बुद्धि का हिस्सा देना है। और उनको उठाना है जो दबे पड़े हैं।

पन्त जी ने कहा कि यह मानवता का तकाज़ा है और आज हम मानवता का तकाज़ा ही पूरा करने के लिये मिले हैं। हमें सोचना है कि हम किस तरह आदिवासियों को, पिछड़े हुए लोगों को उठा सकते हैं और जो संस्थायें इस कार्य को कर रही हैं उनको सहयोग दे सकें। पहाड़ों की चोटियों पर वर्षा आती है तो कुछ पानी मिलता है और वह अनुकूल न हो तो सारी खेती खत्म हो जाती है। हमें देखना है कि उनकी खेती किस तरह बढ़ सकती है। हमें उनके बच्चों को जो अधर-उधर फिरते हैं, पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध करना है। उनकी गरीबी के बारे में और दूसरी बातों के बारे में सोचना है। एक नयी चीज बनानी है। कोरापुट में और जहाँ-जहाँ आदिवासी बसते हैं हमारे मकान की, गांधी के बनवाये मकान की शोभा जब बढ़ेगी जब आदिवासी लोग, पिछड़े हुए लोग यह समझेंगे उनके जिले के लोग, बड़े लोग, उनकी मुकदमत में भाग लेंगे, सहारा देंगे।

हमें देखना है कि आदिवासियों का लड़का हममें आगे बढ़े। आदिवासियों को लड़को हमसे आगे बढ़े। उनकी मुल की हालत हो। उनकी समझदार स्थिति बने। उनका देश में नाम बढ़े। यह सब हमें देखना है।

दो किस्म के लोग यहाँ हैं जो इस बात पर सोचते हैं। एक तो अस्पतालों में जिस तरह डाक्टर बीमारों की तरफ देखता है। उसका ध्यान इतना ही

है कि मरीज़ अच्छा हो जाय। लेकिन दूसरे इस प्रकार के लोग हैं जो चाहते हैं कि चाहे वह दब जाँय, डूब जाँय लेकिन हमारी जनता हमसे आगे बढ़े। माता का काम वे कर रहे हैं। माता भूखी रहती है अपने बच्चों के लिये। लेकिन उसका ख्याल यह रहता है कि वह भूखी रहेगी मगर उसका बच्चा बचेगा, बढ़ेगा। आदिवासी तथा भारत के सभी पिछड़े हुए लोग बालक के समान हैं, हिन्दुस्तान और उसकी जनता के काम की यही कसौटी है। (भारत की जनता माता की तरह ताकती है कि इस प्रकार लोगों के कष्ट दूर हों)।

हमें देखना है कि भारत के आदिवासी मैदान के लोगों से आगे बढ़ें। क्योंकि वे अगर पीछे रहेंगे तो हमारे बच्चे पीछे रहेंगे, हमारा देश पीछे रहेगा। जिस घर में आदमी बीमार होता है उस घर के लोग परेशान रहते हैं। आदिवासियों की ताकत कम नहीं है। बुद्धि की भी उनमें कमी नहीं है। पर उनको मौका नहीं मिला है। वह मौका हमें उनको देना है। सामाजिक क्षेत्र में, राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में, तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हमें आदिवासियों को एक मौका देना है जिससे वे हमारे साथ-साथ आगे बढ़ें। प्रेम और मुहब्बत की दुनिया में रुपये-पैसे का हिसाब नहीं होता। हमको उन्हें अक्सर देना है जिससे उनका बल बढ़े और अपनी ताकत और शक्ति पर भारत के उत्थान में वह योग दे सकें। यहाँ आपके बच्चों में आपकी और हमारी ओर से यह विश्वास दिलाने आया है। भारतीय जनता उनको ओर इस प्रकार देख रही है जिस प्रकार माता अपने बच्चों की ओर देखती है। भारत की जनता चैन से जब ही सोयेगी जब आदिवासी उन्नति के तट पर खड़े हुए होंगे। इसके लिये श्री पन्त जी काम कर रहे हैं। डा० मेहताब बाबू काम कर रहे हैं। इसके लिये महापात्र भी

काम कर रहे हैं। इसके लिये सारा भारतवर्ष काम कर रहा है। जिस तरह हुकूमत की ओर से काम हो रहा है उसी तरह आदिमजाति सेवा संघ की ओर से भी काम हो रहा है। १० साल से यह काम हम कर रहे हैं। ठक्कर बाप्पा ने मध्यप्रदेश और बम्बई में यह काम शुरू किया था। कितने हमारे साथी हैं जो कई साल से जङ्गलों में पड़े हैं, अपने परिवार को भूलकर, अपने सारे कारोबार को भूलकर। उनकी सेवा से त्याग की ज्वाला जलती रहती है जिसे बापू ने हमारे बीच में पैदा किया था, जो ठक्कर बाप्पा ने शुभ संदेश हमको सिखलाया था, और अपने कार्य द्वारा वे उसे मूर्तिमंत कर रहे हैं। हमारा कर्त्तव्य है कि हम ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं को पूरी सहायता पहुंचाएँ। हमारे भाई जो जंगलों में पड़े हैं और काम कर रहे हैं, इतना कठिन कि अगर हम उनकी बातें आपको बताएँ तो यहाँ हमारा काम ही अधूरा रह जायगा। उनका भी मैं धन्यवाद करता हूँ, आपकी और अपनी ओर से। भारत की जनता उन्हें भूल नहीं सकेगी जो यह सेवा कार्य कर रहे हैं। और पन्त जी की भी विशेष दिल-चस्पी है इसमें। वे इतना कष्ट उठाकर यहाँ आये हैं और हमें जो सबको सिखलाया है तो हम कोशिश करेंगे उसे पूरा करने की। जिससे उन्हें और भारत की जनता को शान्ति हो। भारत की जनता ने बापू के चरणों में बैठ कर एक प्रतिज्ञा ली थी और वह थी दरिद्रनारायण की सेवा की प्रतिज्ञा। बापू की याद में, उस प्रतिज्ञा को याद करके फिर उसे अपने जीवन में उतारने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। मुझे विश्वास है कि उड़ीसा की जनता इसमें पूरा सहयोग देगी और आदिवासियों को भी हमारे शब्दों में विश्वास रहेगा। सरकार और हम मिलकर उनके दुःखों को, जो भी कुछ हैं, दूर कर सकेंगे।

EXHIBITION

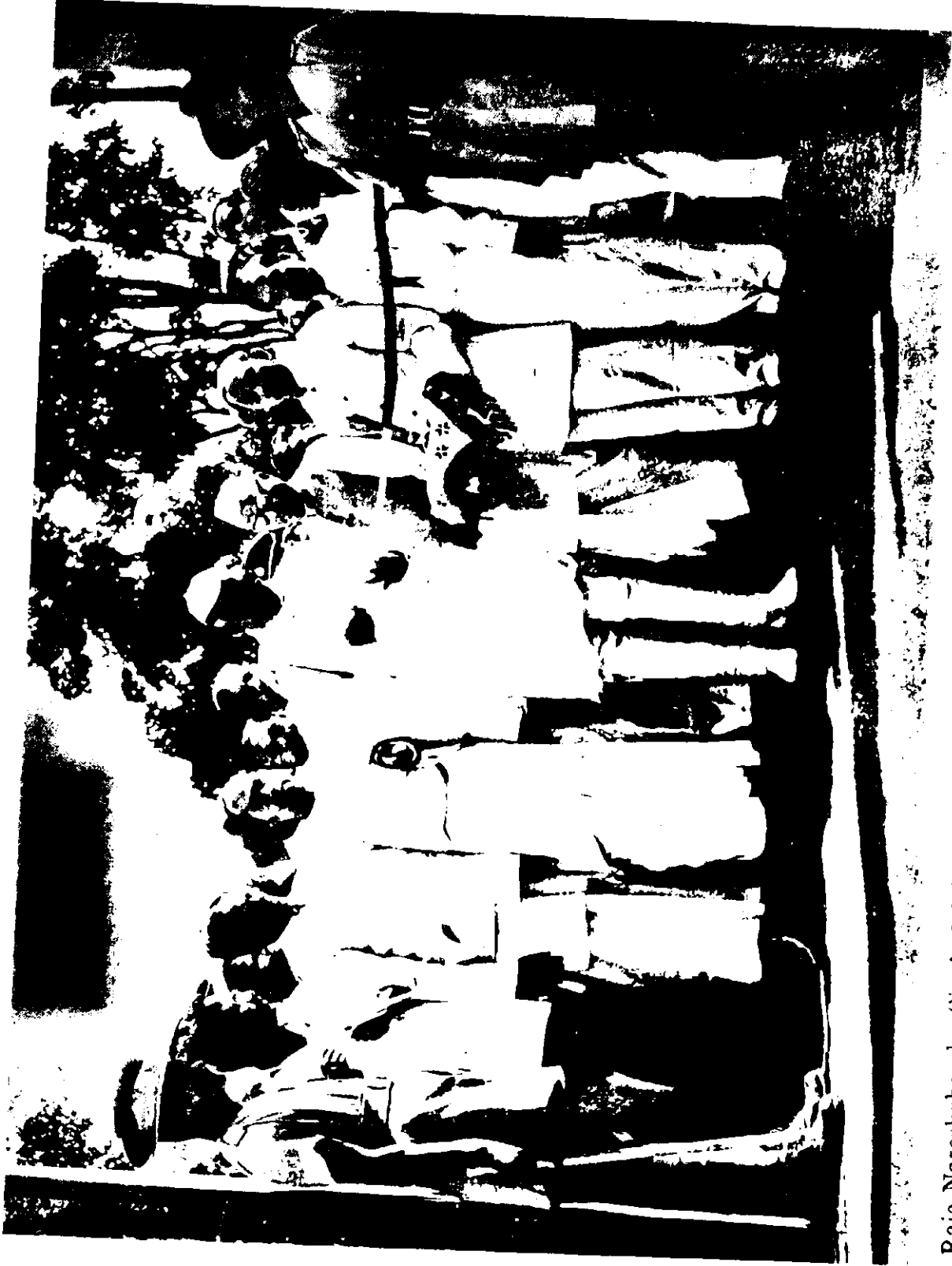
Address by Raja Naresh Chandra Singh at the opening of the Exhibition

I am grateful that I have been accorded this opportunity to address you while declaring open the Exhibition.

Article 46 of the Constitution enjoins the development of tribal areas with special care. This constitutional obligation is being fulfilled with increasing intent of purpose. Under the First Five-Year Plan there was a provision of Rs. 35 crores and in the Second Plan there is a provision of Rs. 92 crores for the welfare of tribals. Since such concentrated attention towards activities for the welfare and development of tribal areas is of recent origin, it is likely that there is a certain amateurishness in our activities and it is also likely that there are honest differences of opinion as to the content and mode and manner of implementation. But the overwhelming sincerity of Government at the State and Central levels cannot be disputed. It cannot also be disputed that the Governments are anxious to foster the development of the tribals in a manner best suited to their genius. The Planning Commission has indicated that while a certain amount of disturbance of the traditional structure of the tribals is inevitable as a result of applying new technological devices, the effort should be to cause the least amount of disturbance. This maxim governs all our activities which are directed towards helping the tribal to become a full and responsible citizen of our country. With this end in view we are attempting to strengthen the economy of the tribal by teaching him more profitable methods of cultivation and helping him to organise supplementary sources of income. Along side of this efforts are being made

to eradicate diseases and to teach cleaner modes of living. All this is a stupendous effort though it looks simple in the manner that I have stated. In the midst of all this effort care is taken that the finer-sides of a tribal are not neglected.

It is commonly believed that the tribal has no art or artistic sense. Though it is a fact that tribal art-forms look crude alongside of the magnificent art-forms of the age that ended with the first world war, it is rather incongruous that the post-war generation should think of tribal art in the manner it does, since its own accomplishment is seen in the square monstrosities of buildings that are springing up and the vulgarity of the so-called Realistic School of Art and the incomprehensible lean lines of three dimensional art. But apart from this, it has to be recognised that the natural evolution of the tribal art-forms which are admitted to be ancient, was suddenly, arrested like all other processes of their development. Thus we find a certain monotony in their music and dancing and also an innocent simplicity in their other art forms. It is everybody's endeavour to revive the creative genius of the tribal by a properly planned training. The purpose of this training should be to give the tribal the advantage of the developed art-forms of modern art in all its various aspects, so that it would release the dormant genius and create the capacity to adapt the advantages of the one for the betterment of the other. This training has to be so carefully devised that it does not completely annihilate the tribal art forms but enrich them in a manner that would contribute to the



Raja Nareshchandra Singh, Minister, Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh, opening the Exhibition at Koraput

rich variety of our country. This training will have to be individualistic and also different to suit differing local conditions. This is a task to which all of us should apply ourselves with equal enthusiasm as in our efforts to improve the living conditions of the tribals.

In this difficult venture exhibitions of the type that would presently be declared open are of great advantage as it is both an incentive and an attempt to remove prevailing misconceptions

about tribal art. It is an incentive because it caters to the thirst of being appreciated which is equally strong in the tribal.

I am afraid that I have taken too much of your time and in the process tried your patience, by this long talk. I desire once again to express my gratitude for having been given this opportunity. I have great pleasure in declaring open this exhibition.

Jai Hind

प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन

श्री राजा नरेशचन्द्रजी का उद्घाटन के समय का भाषण

भद्र महिलाओं तथा सज्जनों !

प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन करते समय मैं यह आभार प्रगट करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मुझे यह सुअवसर दिया है कि मैं आपसे कुछ कह सकूँ।

भारतीय संविधान की धारा ४६ ने आदिवासियों के आदिमजाति कल्याण क्षेत्र के विकास के लिये विशेष सावधानी का आदेश दिया है, और संवैधानिक जिम्मेदारी ज्यादा दिलचस्पी के साथ पूरी की जा रही है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत यह नियत था कि ३५ करोड़ रुपये आदिमजाति कल्याण के लिये खर्च किया जावेगा। और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में ६२ करोड़ रुपयों का समावेश है। चूँकि इतनी जोरदार योजना जो आदिवासियों की उन्नति के लिये है अभी, बहुत ताज़ी है तो यह संभव है कि उसमें कुछ नयेपन के कारण अनुभव में कमी होने का आभास मिले, और यह भी संभव है कि मकसद में सही

होते हुये भी विचारों की भिन्नता दिखाई दे जोकि योजना में निहित कार्यों तथा उनके तौर तरीकों में फर्क के रूप में दिखाई दे सकती है। परन्तु सरकार की नितान्त ईमानदारी जो केन्द्रीय तथा राज्य सरकार के कार्यों के स्तर से दिखाई देती है उस पर किसी को संदेह नहीं हो सकता। यह भी निःसंदेह सत्य है कि सरकार आदिवासियों का कल्याण उन्हीं की उपयुक्त परिस्थितियों में तथा उनकी क्षमता को देखकर ही उनके विकास का लक्ष्य लेकर उत्सुकता से कर रही है। योजना आयोग ने यह प्रगट किया है कि यद्यपि नई विधियों को कार्यान्वित करने में उनके कदीमी ढाँचे में कुछ उलट फेर कम होना मुमकिन है फिर भी प्रयत्न होना चाहिये कि यह उलट-फेर कम से कम हो। यही सूत्र हमारी समस्त कार्यावाहियों का पथ प्रदर्शक है। जो आदिवासी संबंधी हमारी समस्त बातों से जिनसे आदिवासी पूर्ण रूप से हमारे देश के जिम्मेदार नागरिक बन सकें संबन्धित है, कि इसी ध्येय को दृष्टिकोण में रखकर हम आदिवासियों की आर्थिक

व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने में संलग्न है और इसी दृष्टि से हम उन्हें पूर्ण रीतियों से कृपा तथा अन्य आमदनी के साधन बढ़ाने में सहायता दे रहे हैं। इसी के साथ-साथ यह प्रयत्न भी हो रहा है कि उन्हें बीमारियों से छुटकारा मिले और वे स्वास्थ्य-पूर्ण जीवन व्यतीत करना सीखें। यह सब बहुत बड़ा कार्य है, यद्यपि कहने में सरल प्रतीत होता है।

इन सब प्रयत्नों के बीच यह विशेष ध्यान रखा गया है कि उनके जीवन का कलात्मक भाग वंचित न रहे।

साधारण तौर से यह समझा जाता है कि आदिवासियों में कोई कला नहीं होती है और वे कलात्मक भावनाओं से रहित हैं। यद्यपि यह सत्य है कि आदिवासियों की कला आधुनिक जमाने की कला की तुलना में कुछ हलकी दिखाई देती है। विशेषकर उस समय की कला से, जिसका स्तर प्रथम विश्व युद्ध की समाप्ति पर आका गया है, किन्तु उसके बाद की पीढ़ी यदि ऐसा सोचती है तो यह अनुचित है, वह इसलिए कि आज के समाज ने जो हर पहलू से उन्नति की है, आकाशचुम्बी महलों और विकास की बातों को देखते हुए पुराने तरीकों का यह सांघापन तथा यथार्थवादी कला विशेषज्ञों का ख्याल कुछ उसके साथ इसका मेल नमता नहीं, फिर भी इसके बावजूद यह मानना पड़ेगा कि आदिवासी कला, जो पुरातन है उसका स्वभाविक विकास एकाएक उनकी दूसरी बहुमुखी प्रगतियों के साथ ही रुक गया है, इस प्रकार हम उनके संगीत नृत्य में कुछ बड़ी पुरानापन तथा उनकी भोली सादगी में भी नीरसता पाते हैं। यह प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का प्रयत्न होवे कि हम आदिवासियों को

रचनात्मक योग्यता को पुनर्जाँवित करें और उसकी उचित योजना बनावें। इस प्रशिक्षण का उद्देश्य यह होना चाहिये कि आदिवासियों की कला को आधुनिक कला का लाभ तथा सहयोग प्राप्त हो और वह हर तरफ से हो, इस प्रकार उनकी यह सुप्त क्षमता और सृजन शक्ति जाग्रत होकर एक की वृद्धि दूसरे की उन्नति में सहायक होगी। यह प्रशिक्षण ऐसी सावधानी से तैयार करना चाहिये कि उससे आदिवासी कला को हानि हुए बगैर वह और भी अधिक मूल्यवान बन जावे और इस प्रकार देश की कला-निधि में भिन्नता की वृद्धि भी हो। यह प्रशिक्षण व्यक्ति को केन्द्र मानकर तथा प्रत्येक क्षेत्र की उपयुक्तता को ध्यान में रख कर दिया जावे, यह बड़ा महान कार्य है जिसमें हम सबको जुट जाना चाहिये और समान जोश के साथ कार्य करना चाहिये, ताकि आदिवासियों के जीवन का स्तर ऊँचा उठे।

इस कठिन कार्य में ऐसी प्रदर्शनी जो अभी खुलने जा रही है, बहुत उपयोगी होगी क्योंकि वह उत्साहवर्धक तथा गलतरफहमी दूर करने में सहायक होगी। वह उत्साहवर्धक होगी क्योंकि उसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की आत्म प्रशंसा की प्यास शांत करने की क्षमता होती है, यह भावना आदिवासियों में भी उतनी ही प्रबल है।

मुझे भय है कि मैंने आपका बहुत सा समय ले लिया और ऐसा करते समय आपके धैर्य की भी परीक्षा हो गई। आपने मुझे यह अवसर दिया इसके लिये मैं आपका पुनः अनुग्रह ही हूँ, मुझे प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन करते समय अत्यन्त हर्ष हो रहा है।



At Sunabeda—Pandit G.B. Pant and Shri Dhebarbhai with Shri Ambalal Vyas, Shri L.M. Srikant
and Dr. H.K. Mehtab, Chief Minister, Orissa and Minister for Tribal Welfare

**Address of Shri NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE, Chairman of the Anthropology
Section of the Conference delivered on the 30th April, 1957.**

ANTHROPOLOGY AND TRIBAL WELFARE

FRIENDS,

Anthropology, Not a Science of Curiosities

Anthropology is often wrongly looked upon as a science dealing with curiosity. Unfortunately anthropologists themselves have occasionally been responsible for creating such misunderstanding; and it is time that in India, where a vast amount of useful and socially significant work can be done, one must make a special endeavour not to allow the science from being mis-shapen either by the spirit of curio-hunting or by an unbalanced, romantic concern for the hitherto neglected tribes inhabiting our land.

Even if it is agreed for the time being that the chief concern of a social anthropologist should be with the non-literate inhabitants of India, living in her jungles and hills, particularly those whose spoken language belongs to a family different from the language used by the literate Hindu or Muslim inhabitants of the neighbouring plains, it is necessary to exercise great caution when we try to present a picture of the actual, existing state of affairs among such people. As Professor D.N. Majumdar of the Lucknow University has ably said, all tribes in India are in transition. Just as in the case of language where no sharp geographical line can be drawn, but where the transition from one dialect to another can best be represented, not by a line, but by colours which fade into one another, so also in the case of tribal cultures, it is hard to say when a culture ceases to be 'tribal' and when it

has to be considered Hindu, in the usually accepted sense of that term in India. What may be true of the Jarawas of the Andamans, who live in real, and very nearly complete economic isolation, is certainly untrue of the tribes who live in the more sequestered portions of our vast sub-continent.

When anthropologists are confronted by the task of describing the culture of any tribe, which undoubtedly in India will be in a state of transition, he is unfortunately tempted to pick out those elements of culture which are not shared by them in common with their Hindu neighbours, and say that the latter constitute the *true* culture of the tribe in question. When this intellectual process of selection is made, one should not forget that extremeness of contrast need not necessarily reach us nearest the point of truth. The actual situation in which culture elements of different orders are mixed with one another in different proportions, both in the sense of geography as well as in respect of sections or classes of a population, may give us a more correct representation of reality than the process of selection and unconscious exaggeration which has been referred to above.

Let us take a specific example. The Birhors of Chotanagpur, who are known as the Makarakhiya Kulha in northern Orissa, and the Kharias of Mayurbhanj live in partial dependence on the forests. They gather some edibles from the jungle, whether from the

vegetable or animal kingdom ; but what is of greater significance is that they have certain industries like the manufacture of ropes from jungle creepers, or the collection of honey, wax and so on from the forests which are exchanged with the products of farmers or artisans living in the neighbouring non-tribal villages. An enquiry into their recently past history has tended to show that their present extreme dependence on the forests is not a 'survival' from the past, in the Tylolean sense, but is a new adaptation to nature, and to the presence of comparatively prosperous farming communities nearby. To paint the Birhors of to-day as representative of a bygone culture, and to state that their ties with the jungle as observed to-day are the *real* elements of Birhor culture is perhaps to misrepresent Birhor life and culture, maybe in an unconscious manner. Even from the point of view of the strict dictates of science, one should have been warned by the fact that careful observers like Sarat Chandra Roy failed to notice any specific religious ceremonies or rituals connected with rope-making or the gathering of honey or edibles of other kinds among the Birhors and Kharias, for it is well known that the long-established economic activities of non-literate peoples in India often tend to gather a ritual significance.

The danger stemming from selective sympathy is no less than the danger which arises out of hatred for those who have so long exploited the tribal people.

Some time ago, one of India's leading anthropologists* pointed out the fact that

the introduction of wet cultivation among a people like the Abors, who practise *jhum* or shifting cultivation, led to certain undesirable results. Among these people, women play a special part in connection with the *jhum* fields ; while their partial dependence on hunting and fishing in the hill streams, also leads to an enrichment of the diet by the inclusion of proteins. Wet cultivation leads to an extreme dependence on carbohydrates, and consequent nutritional deficiency, while the position of the women also suffers on account of the same change.

It was also stated on the basis of 'a careful survey made by the Department of Anthropology, Government of India' that nutritional deficiency led to an 'alarming fall in fertility rate' ; so much so that in six villages inhabited by people practising *jhum* cultivation, 'barren families constituted 8.7% of the total number, while in eight villages where wet cultivation had replaced *jhum*, the figure had gone up to 28%. Even if this astonishing figure be taken as correct, we are not told why the observed barrenness should be ascribed to 'malnutrition' following the change in agricultural practice, and not to other causes arising out of contact. For it is well known in other parts of the world that famine and malnutrition tend to increase rather than decrease birth-rate ; while a generous intake of proteins in the diet is supposed to be accompanied by a slowing down of reproduction.

In another publication issued by the Government of India†, P.N. Sen Gupta

* Guha, B.S., "Tribal Welfare in India" in *Social Welfare in India* issued on behalf of The Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1955, p. 499.

† Sen Gupta, P.N., 'Dietaries of Primitive Tribes' in *The Adivasis*, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1955, pp. 91-96.

of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, contributed a paper in which it is claimed that the food intake of the Abors practising *jhum* yields a higher calorific value (2,962) than that available to the average 'non-tribal Indian', which is given as 2,550. We do not know the source of the latter ; but the investigations of Robert McCarrison, W.R. Aykroyd or their successors in the Nutrition Research Laboratory in Coonor tend to show that the average Indian diet, whether in the north or south of India, tends to fall substantially below the recommended requirement of 2,590 calories. A paper was also read by Sen Gupta in the Indian Science Congress in Baroda in 1955, and during the discussion which followed, it was realized that the observations had not been spread over the whole year, and in significantly different ecological areas inhabited by the Abors or related tribes. Figures had also not been obtained as to how many persons could be supported per square mile at the observed optimum level by means of *jhum* cultivation.

To base comparisons on slender data without due regard to the carrying capacity of each productive system may lead to serious errors even though one might be prompted by real sympathy for a tribe which has been forced to change against its will due to the pressure of economically more advanced peoples.

Under such circumstances, more caution of a scientific nature is needed, while the fact that areas where shifting cultivation can be practised are becoming more and more scarce as the population in the hills and the valleys tend to increase, should also not be lost sight of. Our purpose in planning is not merely to feed a small number of people well,

even if that were possible by hunting and shifting cultivation, but to raise the standard of life of many, and by the promotion of methods of agriculture and industry which can carry more people for every square mile of land. At the same time, it goes without saying that there should be no social or economic degradation attendant upon such change. Conservatism is all right in its place, but it should never lead to the preservation of inefficient methods of production, which will eventually lead to famine of one kind or another. Desirable culture elements should undoubtedly be preserved, and the change achieved through the promotion of human freedom.

It has been necessary to begin with this rather longish introduction and warning, for otherwise there is likelihood of social anthropology being distorted by our inner sympathies and prejudices, when it will undoubtedly fail to raise itself to the height of its responsibility and usefulness to which it can reasonably aspire.

After Correct Description, What ?

While trying to attain a high measure of objectivity in respect of the tribal people whom an anthropologist usually studies we are immediately confronted by a significant fact in India. A tribe like the Gond has been broken up on account of various social tendencies into Raj Gonds who are very nearly Hindu in their social practices, and others who lie comparatively distant in the social scale. Under these circumstances, it is perhaps intellectually more reasonable to perform a rapid and over-all reconnoitre of the tribe, divide the whole into geographical and social divisions distinguishable by chosen criteria of culture absorption, and present descriptions of samples from

each of these distinguishable sections. When these isolated pictures are taken together, and when there is also an indication as to the quantitative position of each group in the total picture, then only shall we be able to approach nearest to reality than otherwise.

Supposing we do succeed in reaching this academic level of objectivity to a reasonable extent, what then? What shall we say about one section of the tribe or another? Shall we say that a tribe is a group distinguished by language? Shall we rather not indicate that those among them who are at an economically low level of productivity should be referred to as 'tribes', rather than those who, to all intents and purposes, have become part of the larger, specialized economy observable among the neighbouring Hindu or Muslim rural inhabitants of India?

The problem of placing a community in or outside a 'tribal' group is unfortunately no longer of academic interest, but has practical and very real repercussions upon the future line of procedure with regard to tribal welfare in India. Many tribes who have succeeded in retaining their language and some of their social and ceremonial practices, but who are indistinguishable from the vast mass of India's rural humanity in so far as economic enterprise or social neglect is concerned, have rightly sensed that the Government of India are anxious to raise them from the mire in which they have been kept submerged through an age-long policy of short sightedness. And, immediately, this promise of a kind of favoured treatment creates in them a desire to regard themselves as very different from the world of their Hindu

neighbours. To work for the removal of all social and economic disabilities, whether Hindu or non-Hindu, so that all traces of such inequality may no longer mar the face of New India is one thing; but to claim special privileges is to create inequalities by the backdoor; inequalities which may have tragic consequences in so far as the body politic is concerned.

In a memorandum submitted to the Backward Classes Commission*, the writer once suggested that only those should be considered backward who are so by three joint tests. One is that economically the particular group should be poorer in terms of the average income among all classes in the neighbourhood. Secondly, the percentage of education or literacy among them should be lower than the average in the neighbourhood. And, thirdly, the people are reckoned as among those from whom water is not acceptable to Brahmins, or who are not served by Brahmin priests such as also serve other castes. If any single test is applied for backwardness, like the last one, there is every likelihood that educated, or comparatively well-off, but socially degraded castes will monopolize all the beneficial measures introduced by the Government of India, and thus deprive those who need it more urgently from deriving adequate benefit from them.

If I am permitted to tread upon ground which is usually considered taboo in anthropological circles, may I draw a parallel from the history of our recent past? When Mahatma Gandhi tried to canvass for the support of the Muslims in the national struggle for independence, he invited the Nation to subscribe to the

* See *Man in India*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1964, pp. 89-98.

Khilafat movement. The essence of that support lay in the fact that the Muslims were considered to be a community who while residing in India might owe extra-territorial loyalty to a theocratic, and also secular, ruler outside.* How this consideration of the Muslim religious group as one calling for special treatment, *because* they were a culturally distinguishable group, eventually brought about most unhappy consequences in our march towards independence lies within the living memory of every one of us. Let us not, by a special concern for tribal people, as distinguished from other sections of our masses who suffer from very nearly the same disabilities, encourage a similar force endangering the social solidarity of the Indian people. Let us all unite, not in freeing the tribal people from all bondage, but in devising means which will free all disinherited people from bondages of any kind, whether they are tribal or non-tribal in origin.

Mahatma Gandhi's definition of Swaraj was that it ought to mean freedom of the masses from all forms of exploitation or inequality, achieved through the promotion and organization of their non-violent strength. And his 'masses' did not draw any line of distinction between the tribal and non tribal inhabitants of India.

Responsibility of Social Workers among Tribes.

A great responsibility therefore rests upon all social workers engaged in the education and economic upliftment of tribal people in particular.

Just as in our scientific responsibilities we must avoid drawing a picture of

tribal culture distorted by subjective sympathies and prejudices, so also in trying to work for them, and with them, we must be extremely cautious not to encourage separatist tendencies, and thus ultimately defeat the very purpose of an all round freedom, such as the Government of India have resolved to attain.

How can this be done? Anthropologists in India are very well aware of the fact that when one section of a tribe changes its occupation and becomes comparatively more wealthy than their brothers, they immediately tend to split off into another endogamous group marked by a higher status, add practising a slightly *purser* form of occupation, 'purer' according to the scale prevalent among Brahminical peoples. We know of tribes, sections of which have given up eating particular kinds of food, drinking particular drinks, and who have, at the same time, tended to give up love marriage, widow remarriage and broken up their ancient youth organizations, just because the economically superior Hindus do not have these practices and look down upon the tribes because of these practices. Many sections of tribes again have taken to specialized occupations, adjusted to particular situations in a geographical area, and tend to cling to it as many castes cling to their traditional occupation, because the latter gives them an assured status in the hierarchy of castes and also because it tended in the past to offer protection and economic security.

The most important task to which the social worker among tribal peoples must address himself is to combat *in every way* this advent by the backdoor of

* See 'Hindu-Musalman Samasyaro Gandhiji' (The Hindu-Muslim problem and Gandhiji) in *Sanibarar Chithi* (in Bengali), Chaitra, 1354 B.S.

practices and traditions, which are reminiscent of the caste system in India. While the progressive forces among the Indian people are trying to combat the caste system in so far as it creates the roots of inequality, they should, on no account, allow their battle to be weakened by a surreptitious invasion of the tribal world by weakening elements of caste.

But how can this be done ? In India, we have had the great leadership of Gandhi, and this is what he recommended in our battle against untouchability within Hindu society. In the world of Hindu, occupations are graded into many kinds according to status. Any occupation with which blood, death, and dirt (faeces), are connected, is looked upon as low. Ceremonial purity and its practice are important elements in the life of a Hindu. Gandhi knew this ; but he taught us instead that if any occupation was socially necessary and valuable it could not be given a low status. Following Ruskin and Tolstoy, he said that the labour of a lawyer and barber entitled them to the same wages, if both their occupations were needed by society. In his lifetime, he tried to enlist Brahmin and other 'upper caste', youth for learning and teaching to our rural people better methods of flaying dead cattle and producing well tanned leather. He loved to call himself a sweeper, *bhangsi* ; and we know how under the noble inspiration of this social revolution hundreds shed their horror of handling dirt, and tried to equalize the status of sweepers with the rest of the population of India.

The same lesson may be tried in respect of tribal uplift. While promoting new industries, while educating young people from among the Adivasis, our purpose must be not reformist, but revolutionary.

We must not aim at raising the status of the tribal people and find place for them in caste's social scale ; but should do away with all class-wise scales attaching to birth or to occupation altogether. If we encourage any scales at all, let it be on the basis of personal merit, for good work done in the interest of social service.

If the tribal people wish to raise their status, let it not be in hostility to the rest of their neighbours, but in close co-operation with similarly placed masses of submerged, or in Swami Vivekananda's words 'suppressed' humanity in a common social enterprise inspired by the highest ideals of equality and justice.

Tribal Research Bureaus

In this noble task of upliftment, even if that were temporarily restricted to the 'Scheduled Tribes' of India, there is a great part which the Tribal Research Bureaus can usefully play.

Anthropologists have often not been social workers, and social workers have not usually been anthropologists. Specialization has its obvious merits in any scientific discipline but when, as in social science, thought and action run hand in hand, it may be more fruitful to bring about a controlled co ordination between the two

A tree is held to the soil by many roots. It is only when we try to pull it out from the soil, that we realize at once which root holds the tree more firmly than another. In the same manner, it is easy to observe the roots which perpetuate a social system among a tribe. But when we try to deal with it actively, as a gardener does with a plant, we at once realize new features about the culture in question. We discover, for instance, the varying strength of the various roots

which keep it tied down to other parts of culture ; and this purely theoretical addition to knowledge cannot be gained except through the observation of, or perhaps participation in, social action.

Only, let our action in India be inspired by the noblest ideals to which we have been made heirs through the life and martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi. Nothing short of that ought to satisfy our great nation. And let our altruistic endeavours, at the same time, not be coloured by any kind of sentimentalism, but be inspired by the highest academic discipline which we can attain in our scientific enterprise.

Let us try to discuss the responsibilities and also opportunities of a rightly trained anthropologist in a concrete fashion.

The chief banes of tribal life in India have been poverty, disease and lack of education. The language of the child has undoubtedly to be employed for its primary education. But the teaching of language itself is not education. The Tribal Research Bureaus of the State Governments are, if I am not wrong, entrusted with the task of giving advice in the preparation of text-books in tribal languages. This is a difficult task, and the worker in the Bureau must not only be skilful in the use of a tribal language, but he must also know what he is about. The objects or things or actions which figure in the text-books must not belong to the language of the tribe *as in isolation*, but words and ideas or actions which have already been absorbed or are in common use among the tribe as it is in transition, must also find their rightful place. Great care should be exercised not in accentuating differences, but in showing how the tribe and their neighbours have

many points in common. While the special songs and dances and artistic attainments of the tribe, or their legends, should find a place in school-books, items from the neighbouring cultures should also be incorporated in the lesson so as to familiarize tribal children with the thoughts and activities of their neighbours.

By way of complement, one might suggest that the school-books of our rural children should have similarly a balanced measure of introduction to the traditions inspiring the life and activities of our tribal neighbours.

The task outlined above belongs not so much to an anthropologist as to linguist and educator. Let me now, finally, describe two fields of activity in which fundamental research of a more professional nature, undertaken by Tribal Research Bureaus, can prove to be of great value to the nation as a whole.

It is with some feeling of satisfaction that I beg to refer to the excellent work now being done by the Tribal Research Bureau of the State of Orissa. The population problem of India is one of our hardest problems to solve ; and there is a justifiable fear that the rate of increase in economic prosperity may be practically rendered nugatory by an equal increase in our population. Unfortunately we have no data on the net reproductive index of any section of our people. Fluctuations in total population as recorded in the census, are the result of many factors, of which the net reproductive index of different sections of the population is only one of the contributors. We know something about diseases in India, how epidemics reduce population ; but we have no data as to

whether poverty increases reproduction, or what happens to the latter on account of prosperity. We do not know again how endogamy and close inbreeding as through cross-cousin marriage or maternal uncle-niece marriage affects reproduction, if it does so at all.

While India has set its mind upon family planning, we cannot work in the air. The Tribal Research Bureau, through the generous policy of the Ministry of Tribal and Rural Welfare of the Government of Orissa, has undertaken investigation about the net reproductive index of the very nearly completely endogamous tribe of Juangs in Central Orissa. The tribe numbers 12,000 or more; and already the Bureau has covered a little over 20% of the sample. When the celebrated biologist, Professor J.B.S. Haldane was in India last year, he became interested in this work, as in his opinion, a larger sample of primitive endogamous people had been covered here than in any other part of the world. He also wrote that the data were likely to be comparatively more accurate 'since they are based on the work of a single anthropologist rather than of a number of enumerators trained primarily for economic work', as in the case of some of the parallel surveys undertaken by official agencies in the past.

Such work, not only among Scheduled Tribes, but also among Scheduled Castes all over India can be undertaken by scientifically trained investigators attached to the Research Bureaus in the States of India. The investigation among other castes would offer suitable comparative material for interpreting data derived from tribal sources. And this fundamental research will be of service, not

only in tribal upliftment, but in connection with our demographic problem which bids fair to defeat many of our otherwise laudable endeavours for the eradication of nation-wide poverty.

Let me take up, finally, another item of investigation which Tribal Bureaus can undertake apart from their normal, routine responsibility of investigation on the effect of new schools, or ashrama establishments set up in the midst of tribal areas. The latter work can and should be undertaken; but it does not usually call for any special competence not within the reach of administrative officers who are already entrusted with development schemes all over our country. Tribal Research Bureaus can and should have work entrusted to them which promises to be of a technical nature and of more fundamental importance.

We know very well that Hinduism has grown by the incorporation of many tribal cults, until it has become a kind of federation of religious beliefs and practices. In parts of West Bengal, there are castes who are probably tribal in origin, and who are entrusted with the worship of local gods and goddesses. Brahminical people offer worship to these local divinities through the help of the so-called 'lower castes'; and similarly in the temples where Brahmin priests are employed, tribal or 'low-caste' people, and even sometimes Mohammedans, come to offer a sacrifice or two. The relation which subsists between different castes, the way in which one group participates in the religious practices of another, may throw an important light on two of the obscure phenomena of Hindu civilization, namely, the growth and elaboration of the caste system itself, and the evolution

of the federation of religious beliefs which goes by the name of Hinduism.

Caste has to go. But it seems to have roots which prevent its final liquidation. If we are to hasten the process of the formation of a 'casteless, classless society', an ideal which the Indian Nation has determined to achieve, then, it is of the greatest importance, by way of fundamental research, to accumulate by

painstaking and intelligent endeavour information of the kind which will make our efforts more efficient and more fruitful.

Let me hope that the Tribal Research Bureaus, and perhaps more than they, the Universities and the Government Department of Anthropology, will address themselves to this noble task of furthering the cause of national reconstruction.

**Address by Shri L.M. Shrikant, Chairman of the Social Welfare Section of the
Fourth Tribal Welfare Conference held at Koraput, Orissa.**

Since last hundred years, if not more, the foreign Christian Missionaries have started welfare activities among the Tribals of India. It was probably in Bihar that a beginning was made in that direction by them. As a result of this we find that especially in Bihar and Assam a good number of Scheduled Tribes have been converted into Christianity. While the Hindu Missions, or the Indians as such, have started social service activities among the Tribals for the last 3 or 4 decades at the most, the credit for it goes to the great social pioneer worker of the Servants of India Society—the late Shri Thakkar Bapa. It is all due to his farsightedness and spirit of disinterested social service for the poor and the down-trodden that the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, a non-official organisation, was started, under whose auspices we are convening such conferences for the last 4 or 5 years to discuss various problems for the welfare of tribals. Forty and odd organisations which have been affiliated to this Institution have been organised mostly by veteran social workers who received their initiation at his hands. The conference, as you all know, is a forum not only for social workers but for tribals, for administrators and for anthropologists for exchange of views on different problems of tribals, from time to time.

It is very necessary to keep before one's mind, specially of the social workers, that their first and last duty is to serve the Tribal people who have been inhabiting inaccessible areas. They should not expect any return but do disinter-

ested work for their welfare. That is the royal road indicated unmistakably by our great social leaders like Gandhiji and Thakkar Bapa. At present, elections have in many cases influenced the social workers to some extent. Recent events proved that social workers are liable to be moved away by the non-sweeping waves of propaganda for elections by one group or the other. It is a well known fact that after Independence those who sacrificed in the fight for Freedom have been tempted to occupy places of power and social workers are not an exception to this. Election propaganda degenerates into party factions making one forget the ultimate object of social service which is the betterment of the lot of down-trodden and the suppressed. I am afraid, in that way the tribals may become so to say, tools on the chess board of politics for capturing power. We should be aware of this snare of getting involved in politics which is eschewed completely by the Harijan Sevak Sangh started by Mahatma Gandhiji. The harm that is done to the institutions involved in the election propoganda is not only that the spirit of self-sacrifice among social workers will be watered down, but it will also create factions in the tribals, which is more injurious both for them and for the country. It may not be possible in these days to remain perfectly aloof from the political propoganda of elections and I may not be misunderstood if I indicate the pointer "Beware of the consequences of such partisanship in politics". Let us not forget that the Father of the Nation and

late Thakkar Bapa, in season and out of season, emphasised that disinterested social service among the poor and constructive activities can never be efficiently done by people who have their own axe to grind. Taking part in active politics creates centres of bickerings and struggle for power among the workers. We should be always on our guard as we are dealing with tribal people who have so far been away from dirty politics.

Most of the veteran and tried social workers who have taken inspiration from late Shri Thakkar Bapa and have been working in the institutions started some time back, have not been able to contribute in the shape of articles, leaflets, etc., to this conference and to which, I regret, I have to draw their pointed attention. Even after putting in social service among the tribals for years together the tried workers have not been able to find time to contribute by way of articles about various problems of the tribals. It is regrettable that day to day working of the institutions takes away so much time and energy of the worker that no contribution is made by them for the guidance of others with regard to the welfare schemes and other activities among the tribals. The more experience we get among the tribals, the more we should be able to think about new ideas and to devise new schemes and enrich our experience by knowledge from books and by exchange of ideas. We should bear in mind that whatever little experience we have had in other institutions about the life and welfare activities of the tribals we have to pass it on to others and to the younger generation, either tribals or non-tribals, for the future development of the country. If we are not able to think side

by side while carrying on activities of every day routine, of the new problems and of the various welfare schemes, we are sure to make the institutions lifeless. We would not be able to inspire new workers and inject new spirit in them, which is the greatest problem that is facing us today. How to create new social workers who can dedicate themselves for the service of the Tribals is the urgent problem of the day? There is plenty of work to be done in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and even in Andhra, where non-official organisations are to be set up for carrying on welfare activities. New centres which have been started by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and others are far and few between. It is true that in order to attract young people as reliable workers we shall have to organise a cadre of Life-workers for which Government or the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi should guarantee grants, not for one year but at least for 5 years so that the great problem can be solved. The Central Organisation is trying to start centres in Assam and, as you know, have recently decided depending upon financial help from the Central Government, to open two centres in Mikir and Garo Hills, if workers are available. Assurances have been given by the Central as also State Ministries for financial help and it is a good sign if the idea of starting a cadre of national social workers materialises for this work. It has been admitted on all hands including the Government officials that non-official agencies can put more life in welfare schemes and tackle the welfare problem among the tribals more efficiently and economically than the Government machinery, as the Government servants are mostly for their career.

Just as it is necessary for tried and veteran social workers to think about day to day problems for the welfare of tribals, so also it is equally necessary for them to receive some training of theoretical nature. Sufficient experience of practical field work is no substitute for theoretical training gained through books, discussions and discourses though it goes a long way in preparing the ground for picking up theories in a short time. We should not be ashamed of our advanced age but should find time, though fully occupied in our day to day work, to read books relating to tribals and, if possible, to contribute our share in creating such literature. It is never too old to learn. We may take training for a period of six months and that will systematise our experience of tribal work and help us in the right evaluation of welfare schemes in the light of our experience.

Some of the institutions started for tribals have grown sufficiently old and have developed into big organisations. The various welfare schemes tried by these old institutions should be examined in the light of experience and papers relating to their experiences can be submitted to such conferences for the discussion and guidance of others. Senior workers of such institutions should make

it a point to visit other institutions in their States and outside, to gather information of the activities of sister institutions. I am not altogether wrong if I make a statement that workers do not find time to pay such visits to the sister institutions even in their own States. The Government wants the schemes to be studied and critically examined by such workers. We have to find out the reaction of the tribal to such schemes. If we spare some time in studying the life of the tribals and collecting sufficient material for publication, we cannot afford to neglect the study of the welfare schemes. Is it too much therefore to ask our social workers to give such conferences their own evaluation of the schemes undertaken by them or by Government, so far, for the tribal welfare and to suggest modifications, if any? I, therefore, once again, in spite of repetition, appeal to social workers to think on 3 or 4 points mentioned above, very seriously. If my arguments carry weight and conviction, we may be able to place before the next conference a good deal of material contributed by the workers in the shape of suggestions, schemes, articles, etc., for the ultimate good of the tribals and the country.

समाज कल्याण विभाग के ममापति

श्री ल० मं० श्रीकान्तजी का अध्यात्मीय भाषण

लगभग एक शताब्दी पहले विदेशी ईसाई मिशनरियों ने भारत में आदिमजातियों के बीच सेवा कार्य आरम्भ किया। सम्भवतः बिहार में सर्व प्रथम इस कार्य का आरम्भ उन्होंने किया। परिसराम-

स्वरूप विशेषकर बिहार और आसाम में अत्यधिक संख्या में आदिमजातियों ने ईसाई धर्म स्वीकार कर लिया। जब कि भारतीय प्रचारकों ने आदिवासियों के बीच अपना सेवा कार्य ३०-४० वर्ष पूर्व आरम्भ

किया। इसका श्रेय मुख्य रूप से सर्वेंट्स आफ इण्डिया सोसायटी के श्री ठक्कर बाप्पा को ही है। उनकी दूर-दर्शिता से तथा पददलित दीनदुखियों की निरपेक्ष समाज-सेवा को आन्तरिक प्रेरणा से भारतीय आदिम-जाति सेवा संघ नामक गैर-सरकारी संस्था का जन्म हुआ है। इसी संस्था के तत्वावधान में गत ४-५ वर्षों से हम ऐसे सम्मेलन आयोजित करके आदिम-जाति के कल्याण कार्य सम्बन्धी समस्त प्रश्नों पर विचार विनिमय करते हैं। इस केन्द्रीय संस्था से लगभग ४०-४५ संस्थाएँ सम्बद्ध हो चुकी हैं। इन संस्थाओं का संचालन करनेवाले ऐसे ही प्रमुख समाज सेवी हैं जिन्होंने पूज्य ठक्कर बाप्पा से प्रेरणा प्राप्त करके आदिमजाति सेवा का बीड़ा उठाया। जैसा कि आप जानते हैं कि यह सम्मेलन केवल समाज सेवकों के लिये ही विचारों का आदान-प्रदान करने का एक समान मंच नहीं है बल्कि यह आदिम-जातियों के प्रतिनिधियों, नृत्वशास्त्रियों तथा शासकीय अधिकारियों के लिये आदिमजातियों की कई समस्याओं पर समय-समय पर सोचने के लिये एक समान मंच (प्लेटफार्म) बन गया है।

यह महत्वपूर्ण बात विशेषतः समाजसेवी कार्यकर्ताओं को ध्यान में रखनी चाहिये कि उनका सर्वप्रथम कर्तव्य दुर्गम पहाड़ों में रहने वाले इन आदिम-जातियों की सेवा करना है। इस सेवा कार्य से फलाशा नहीं करनी चाहिये। किन्तु निरपेक्ष कार्य करते रहना यही उनका काम है। हमारे पूज्य नेता महात्माजी तथा श्री ठक्कर बापा के द्वारा दर्शित यही राजमार्ग है। आजकल चुनावों से कुछ हद तक हमारे कार्यकर्ता भी प्रभावित हुए हैं। यह देखा गया है कि किसी दलविशेष तथा गुट के चुनावों में प्रचारतन्त्र की इन

प्रभावशाली लहरों से हमारे कार्यकर्ता भी कहीं-कहीं विचलित हुए हैं। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति से पूर्व जिन लोगों ने स्वार्थरहित होकर देश की सेवा की, तथा देश की आजादी की लड़ाई में जिन्होंने अपना हाथ बंटया, वह आज अधिकार-पदों को लालच में फंस गये। समाज सेवक भी तो उसके लिये अपवाद नहीं है। चुनाव का प्रचार इतना प्रतिगामी होता है कि कार्यकर्ता अपने सामने के समाज सेवा तथा दीनदलितों की सेवा के ऊँचे लक्ष्य को भूलकर, दलबन्दी के फंदे में अपने को फंसा लेते हैं। सत्ता प्राप्ति की इस राजकीय शतरंज में आदिमजाति जन उनके हाथ के प्यादे (साधन) बन जायेंगे यह मुझे डर है। इस गड्ढे (फंदे) में गिरने से हमें अपने आपको बचाना चाहिये और महात्माजी द्वारा स्थापित हरिजन सेवक संघ की भांति राजनीति से अपने को दूर रखना चाहिये। चुनावों में शरीक होने वाली संस्थाओं का नुकसान सिर्फ यही नहीं होता कि समाज सेवकों की निःस्वार्थ भावना लुप्त होती है अपितु आदिमजनों में भी गुटबन्दी उत्पन्न होती है जो कि उनके खुद के विकास में तथा देश की प्रगति में हानिकारक सिद्ध होंगी।

यह भी सत्य है कि हम इन दिनों राजकीय चुनावों के प्रचारों से अलस और दूर नहीं रह सकते। मैं आशा करता हूँ जब मैं यह कहता हूँ कि राजकारण की दलबन्दी के परिणामों से दूर रहिये, तब कोई मेरे आशय को गलत न समझेंगे।

हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि राष्ट्रपिता महात्माजी तथा पूज्य ठक्कर बापा हमेशा कहा करते थे कि इन दीनदुःखियों की निरपेक्ष सेवा तथा रचनात्मक कार्य पद लालसा और स्वार्थ की पूर्ति के साथ कभी भी

नहीं हो सकते। प्रात्यक्षिक राजकारण में शरीक होने से मतभेद पैदा होता है तथा पद-प्राप्ति की लालसा कार्यकर्ताओं में उत्पन्न होती है। हम उन आदिमजनों से व्यवहार कर रहे हैं जो कि अभी तक इस राजकारण की गन्दगी से दूर तथा परे थे। अतः हमें अपने को संभालना चाहिये।

पुण्य ठक्कर चापा से हमारे अनेक पुराने अनुभवों साथियों ने विदित तथा प्रेरणा प्राप्त की है। ऐसे कार्यकर्ता कुछ समय पूर्व स्थापित अपनी-अपनी संस्थाओं में कार्य कर रहे हैं। यह अपने कार्य में इतने व्यस्त रहते हैं कि वे अपने विचार, लेख, पुस्तिकाएँ आदि कुछ भी साहित्य तैयार नहीं कर सकते।

खेद के साथ मैं इस विषय की ओर उनका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि इतने साल लगातार आदिमजातियों में सेवा कार्य करके भी यह कुशल कार्यकर्ता आदिमजातियों की समस्याओं पर अपने विचार लेखों तथा निबन्धों द्वारा व्यक्त नहीं कर पाये। दुःख की बात है कि उनके लिये प्रतिदिन के कार्य की व्यापकता इतनी होती है कि उनका सारा समय तथा उनकी सारी शक्तियाँ उसी कार्य में लगी रहती हैं। उन्हें दूसरे लोगों को मार्गदर्शन देने के लिये तथा आदिवासियों में शुरू किये जाने वाले अन्य कार्य कलापा का विचार करने के लिये भी समय नहीं मिलता। जितना अधिक अनुभव हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं को इस क्षेत्र में प्राप्त है उसके अनुसार नयी-नयी रूपनाएँ तथा नयी-नयी योजनाएँ बनाने में हमारे कार्यकर्ता अधिक समर्थ होने चाहिये।

हमें इस प्रकार अपने कार्य में पुस्तकों के पढ़ने से तथा विचारों के आदान प्रदान से विशुद्ध

भूमिका उत्पन्न करनी चाहिये। यह हमें ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि इन संस्थाओं का कार्य करते करते आदिवासियों के जीवन संबंधी प्रश्न तथा उनके कल्याण कार्य के विषय में जो भी अत्यल्प अनुभव हमें प्राप्त हुआ वह हम नयी पीढ़ी के आदिवासी या गैर आदिवासी कार्यकर्ताओं को दें जिससे भविष्य के विकास कार्य में इन अनुभवों का लाभ उठाया जाए। यदि कार्य करते करते हम दैनंदिन कार्य के बारे में तथा नयी नयी समस्याओं के विषय में या अन्य कल्याणकारी योजनाओं के विषय में नहीं सोच सकते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आप अपनी संस्थाओं का जीवन-रस नष्ट कर रहे हैं।

हमारे सामने सबसे बड़ी समस्या कार्यकर्ताओं में नयी लगन और स्फूर्ति लाना है। सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न है कि किस प्रकार आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य के लिये रचनात्मक कार्यकर्ता तैयार किये जावें। आसाम, बिहार, मध्यप्रदेश, उड़ीसा और आंध्र आदि के आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य का क्षेत्र बहुत बड़ा है और यह कार्य गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं के जिम्मे करना चाहिये। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ ने कुछ सेवा केन्द्र खोले हैं, पर वे कम हैं और दूर दूर पर हैं। कार्य सुचारु रूपसे चल सके इसलिये हमें जीवन सदस्य बनाने पड़ेंगे जिसमें सरकार या गांधी स्मारक निधि की सहायता आवश्यक है। जीवन सदस्य एक या दो वर्ष नहीं वरन् कम से कम पांच वर्ष की गारंटी के साथ ही लिये जाने चाहिये। संघ ने दो केन्द्र मिफिर और गारा की पहाड़ियों में खोलने का निश्चय किया है परन्तु इनके लिये विश्वासनीय तथा अनुभवी कार्यकर्ता मिल सकें इस संबंध में प्रादेशिक

तथा केन्द्रिय सरकारों ने सहायता प्रदान करने का आश्वासन दिया है, इस कारण भी अगर जीवन सक्षम योजना आरंभ की जावे तो अच्छा है। यह बात सर्व विदित तथा सर्वमान्य है कि कल्याण कार्य सरकारी पदाधिकारियों की अपेक्षा गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा ही अच्छा किया जा सकता है। सुचारू रूप से तथा मितव्ययता के साथ गैर सरकारी संस्थाएं ही आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में कार्य कर सकती हैं क्योंकि सरकारी पदाधिकारियों में पदलोलुपता, अहंकार तथा पदाभिलाषी रहती है।

हमारे परिपक्व समाजसेवी कल्याण कार्यकर्ता आदिवासी जीवन के सुधार के बारे में जिस प्रकार हर दम सोचते रहते और कार्य करते हैं फिर भी इन्हें कुछ न कुछ शास्त्रीय ज्ञान की आवश्यकता है। यह तो मानना ही पड़ेगा कि प्रत्यक्ष कार्य चाहे पुस्तक ज्ञान की बराबरी न कर सके फिर भी अगर प्रत्यक्ष कार्य की नींव पुस्तक ज्ञान पर आधारित हो तो बहुत ही सहज कार्य हो सकेगा। हम लोग जीवन की सही काफी ऊपर चढ़ गये हैं और कार्यरत रहते हैं, फिर भी अगर समय निकाल कर हम लोग पढ़ सकें और अपना ज्ञान औरों के सामने भी चारू रूप से रख सकें तो अच्छा है।

इस लिये यह सुभाव कि हम लोग 6 माह का प्रशिक्षण प्राप्त कर अपने कार्य को और भी वैज्ञानिक रूप देकर अधिक व्यापक करें-हमारे कार्य की दृष्टि से नितांत आवश्यक है। हमें बहुत कुछ मिलेगा भी और हम भी अपने अनुभवों को प्रकाश में ला सकेंगे।

आदिवासी क्षेत्र में कार्य करने वाली कुछ संस्थाएं जब पुरानी हो गयी हैं तथा उनका क्षेत्र भी बहुत व्यापक हो गया है। कल्याण योजनाएं जो

इन संस्थाओं ने अपनायी हैं, उनके बारे में जानकारी ये संस्थाएं ऐसे सम्मेलनों में दें तो अच्छा है, इससे और संस्थाएं जो कार्य प्रारंभ कर रही हैं या जो अपने शौरभ में हैं जानकारी प्राप्त कर अपने कार्य को सुचारू रूप से चलाने में समर्थ होंगी। ऐसी बड़ी संस्थाओं के अधिकारीगणों को चाहिये कि वे आदिवासी सेवा करने वाली अन्य प्रादेशिक संस्थाओं और आसपास के क्षेत्रों की संस्थाओं में अवश्य जावें, जानकारी हासिल करें और यथा संभव सुभाव आदि भी दें। मैं यहां गलती नहीं कर रहा हूँ अगर मैं कहूँ कि हमारे कार्यकर्ता समय ही नहीं निकाल पाते हैं ताकि अपनी साथी संस्थाओं तक जा सके। सरकार चाहती है कि आदिवासी कल्याण योजनाओं को ये विश्वस्त कार्यकर्ता समझें, सुधार करें तथा अपने सुभाव दें। हमें यह जानना नितांत आवश्यक है कि कल्याण कार्य का आदिवासियों पर और उनके जीवन पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ा और वह क्या सोचते हैं। अगर हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं को आदिवासी जीवन अध्ययन का समय न मिल सके तो कोई बात नहीं फिर भी कल्याण कार्य योजनाओं का अध्ययन करना आवश्यक है।

अतः अंत में मेरी यह आपसे अपील है कि आप इस चर्चा के सम्बन्ध में ध्यान से सोचेंगे और अगर मेरे सुभाव आपको पसंद हो तो यह अपेक्षित है कि अगली कान्फरेन्स के समय हममें से हर कोई प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव तथा अध्ययन करके योजनाएं, लेख आदि प्रस्तुत करेगा और इसी में हमें भविष्य की आदिवासी कल्याण योजनाओं की सफलता की भूलक मिल सकती है।

आदिम जाति प्रतिनिधि विभाग

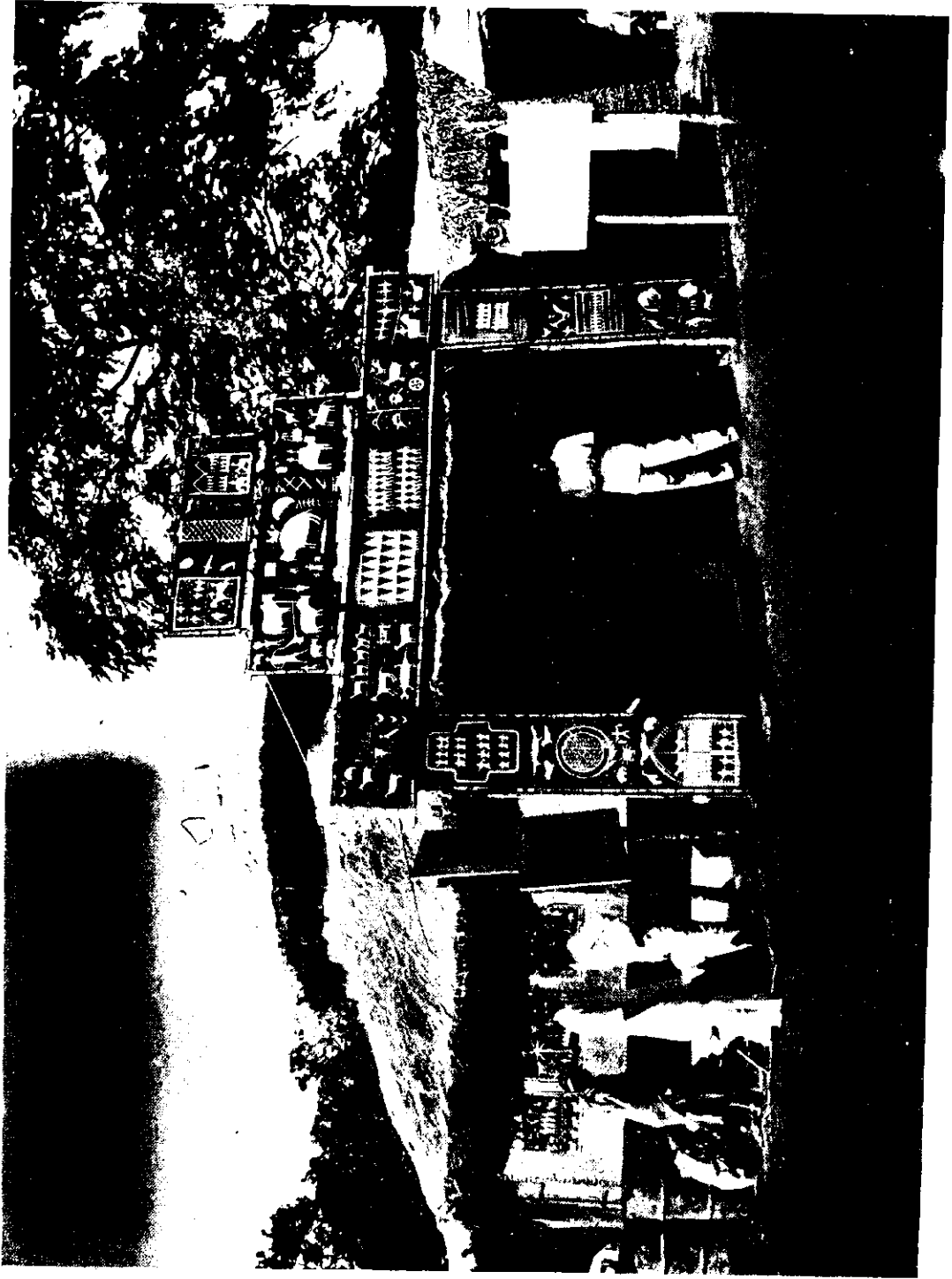
सभापति श्री बहादुर भाई पटेल जी का अध्यक्षीय भाषण

आदरणीय सज्जनों और साथियो !

भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ की ओर से आज हम चौथा अधिवेशन मनाने के लिए उड़ीसा राज्य के इस कोरापुट स्थान पर एकत्रित हुए हैं। यहाँ पर हमारे आदिवासी भाई, बहिन और उनके नेता-गण, शुभेच्छुक तथा अन्य साथी भारी संख्या में पधारे हैं। उनमें से मैं एक छोटा सा सेवक हूँ और यहाँ पर अनेक बड़े महानुभावों के उपस्थित होते हुए भी आज जो स्थान मुझे दिया है, वह मेरे लिए निश्चय रूप से पदपात पूर्ण है, क्योंकि मैं उसी समाज का सदस्य रहा हूँ जिसकी तरकी के लिए हम सब लोग यहाँ पर एकत्रित होकर विचार-विनिमय और सलाह मशविरा कर रहे हैं। अतः यदि मुझे अपना सेवक समझकर इस पद को ग्रहण करने की आज्ञा दी गई है तो मैं उसको शिरोधार्य करता हुआ आपकी उदारता और सम्मान के लिए अत्यन्त कृतज्ञ हूँ।

भारत में आदिवासियों की आज्ञादी करीब ५ प्रतिशत है। इस समाज की अधिकतर संख्या पहाड़ों और जंगलों में रहती है। कुछ लोग मैदानों में भी रहते हैं, उनका पोड़ी पट्टाई, आधुनिक संस्कार और सभ्यता का सम्पर्क हुआ है। सामान्यतः आधुनिक रहन-सहन, पट्टाई, धन-संपत्ति और संसार सभ्यता से वंचित होने के कारण इस समाज को पिछड़ा या

गिरा हुआ माना जाता है। हम लोग गरीब, अन-पढ़ और सम्पत्तिहीन होते हुए भी अपनी खास संस्कृति और सभ्यता को लेकर हजारों वर्षों से चलते आये हैं, जो आजकल अन्ध्रप्रॉलाजिस्ट के लिए अभ्यास का एक बड़ा भारी विषय हो गया है। महर्षि वाल्मीकि, हनुमानजी, शत्रुघ्नी, एकलव्य और गुहक इत्यादि हमारे पूर्वज थे, जिनको संसार में आज भी सर्वश्रेष्ठ पूजनीय और आदर्शवान माना जाता है। उन्हीं की हम सन्तान हैं जो समय के परिवर्तन के साथ-साथ अपनी उस असली अवस्था से इस अवनति तक पहुँच गये हैं, जैसे कि हम हर प्रकार से पिछड़े हुए समझे जाते हैं। दरिद्रनारायण की उस अवस्था दो देखकर पूज्य महात्मा गांधी और पूज्य ठाकुर बापा को बहुत दुःख हुआ और उसका निवारण करने के लिए अनेक कष्ट सहन करके अपने जीवन भर भारी प्रयत्न किये जिसके फलस्वरूप आज हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की उन्नति के लिए अनेक कार्य हो रहे हैं। शुरू में यह कार्य बड़ा कठिन रहा, किन्तु भारत आजाद होने के पश्चात् लोकराज्य की स्थापना होने से अनेक सुविधाएँ प्राप्त हुईं। हम लोग अपने को बड़ा भाग्यवान मानते हैं कि हमारी समझल करने के लिए आज हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार हर प्रकार का साथ दे रही है और बहुत सारे सेवक गण अपना जीवन दान देकर इस पवित्र कार्य में लगे हुए हैं। करीब ३५ वर्ष पहले गुजरात में दाहद नामक स्थान



The Tribal Research Museum at the Exhibition Ground, Koraput.

पर भीलसेवा मण्डल स्थापित करके स्वार्थरहित कार्य-कर्ताओं को सेवाभाव की तालीम देकर बिहार, उड़ीसा मध्यप्रदेश, आसाम, बर्माई, राजस्थान इत्यादि प्रदेशों में सारे देश भर में अनेक संस्थाओं द्वारा आदिवासियों के उत्थान कार्य में लगा दिया और आज अखिल भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ द्वारा यह कार्य बड़े पैमाने पर हो रहा है ।

महात्मा गांधी ने हरिजन और आदिवासी उत्थान कार्य पर बड़ा जोर दिया और इस महान कार्य को कांग्रेस ने सर्व प्रथम स्थान दिया । स्वतन्त्रता के बाद यह कार्य सरकार ने सम्हाल लिया और संविधान तथा पंचवर्षीय योजना में ठोक रूप से स्थान दिया गया है । भारत सरकार ने इस कठिन और महत्वपूर्ण कार्य को सम्हालने के लिये श्रीकांत भाई जैसे पूज्य ठाकुरबापा के बड़े सेवाभावी शिष्य और सहृदयी सेवक के हाथ में अधिकार दिया है । जो जातियाँ संसार में उन्नत हुई हैं वह अपने प्रयत्न द्वारा हुई है, इसलिये सरकार और चरित्रवान्, सेवारत तथा त्यागमय सेवकों का साथ लेकर श्रद्धा से हम जरूर आगे बढ़ेंगे । परम कृपालु परमात्मा इस कठिन कार्य में सफलता प्राप्ति के लिये सदा सहायभूत रहेंगे ।

आदिवासियों के जीवन के मुख्य उद्योग-धन्धे—
(१) शिकार, (२) जंगल की मजदूरी, (३) पशुपालन, (४) कृषि की मजदूरी और (५) कृषि हैं । आदिवासी लोग आमतौर पर जंगलों और पहाड़ों के बीच बसते हैं । उसका खास कारण यह है कि ये लोग निर्धन और अनपढ़ होते हुए भी अपनी मूल संस्कृति को संभालना चाहते हैं । खाना-भोजन की कमी के

कारण जंगल के कंद मूल, फल-पत्तो और जङ्गली जानवर तथा पक्षियों का शिकार करके या मछली मारकर पूर्ति करते हैं । जङ्गल में लकड़ी लेकर अपनी भाँपड़ी बना लेते हैं । थोड़ी-बहुत कृषि कर लेते हैं तथा जङ्गल और कृषि की मजदूरी में लगते हैं और पशुपालन करते हुए जङ्गल के शेर, बिछू इत्यादि से बचकर अपनी आजादी कायम रखते हैं । कपड़े, किराना और नमक के कारण परावलम्बी होकर महाजन, दुकानदार लोगों के पास जाना पड़ता है । वहाँ पर आदिवासियों के भोलेपन से बढ़िया-घटिया माल की परख, नाप-तौल, भाव-हिंसा का ज्ञान न होने के कारण ये लोग लेन-देन में दोनों तरफ फायदा मार लेते हैं, याने अपने सामान पर सवाई डेवड़े का फायदा लेकर सामान देना और उनसे कीमत के बजाय कोई गल्ला या तिलहन सौदों के निश्चित भाव से सवाई-ड्योदा बढ़ाकर ही लेना—इस तरह दुगुने से अधिक भार भोगना होता है । जमींदार और जङ्गल के ठेकेदार लोग उनके परिश्रम का फायदा उठाते हैं । अकाल या बेरोजगारी के कारण कर्ज लेना पड़ता है और एक बार कर्ज में फँसे हुए लोग पीढ़ियों तक छुटकारा नहीं पाते हैं । आदिवासी को हाथ-पाँव की बीस उँगलियों तक ही गिनती आती है । २० की एक कोड़ी बनाते हैं । इसके आगे का ज्ञान उन्हें नहीं होता है । एक कोड़ी के लिये ये किसी रस्सी में गाँठ बाँध देते हैं । एक कंकड़ किसी बर्तन में छोड़ देते हैं या दिवाल पर कोयले या चूने की एक लकीर मार देते हैं । लेन-देन की अज्ञानता के कारण आदिवासी को गाड़े पसीने की कमाई का एक बड़ा भाग लुट जाता है और आदिवासी हमेशा कंगाल रहता है ।

आदिवासी शांत, खुशामिजाज, कोमल हृदय और डरपोक प्रकृति के होते हैं। वे विश्वास, ईमानदारी और सत्य के रक्षक हैं। दावा चाहे भूटा हो, पर वे चुकावेंगे अवश्य और निश्चित समय पर। भोला आदिवासी एक बार भरोसा कर ले, उसे जीवन भर नहीं छोड़ता है। चाहे वह उसे गड्ढे में गिरा दे। वह जंगल के मागों, पशुओं, पक्षियों, फल-फूल, कन्द और वृक्षों से पूर्ण परिचित रहता है। यद्यपि वह स्वामी की कृपि तन मन से करता है; तथापि पर की खेती के प्रति सुस्त रहता है। अगर किसी प्रकार अपने लिये दो लँगोटी या पंचा, औरत बच्चों के लिये थोड़ा बदन टुकने लायक धोती या खड्डा प्राप्त करलें तो फिर ज्यादा कपड़े की कोई परवाह नहीं। फिर आग के लिए लकड़ी की कमी न हो। इसी तरह दो दिन या रबी फसल के वक्त ५-१० दिन के भोजन का गल्ला घर में हो जाय, तो फिर स्वतन्त्र बन जाते हैं। उस समय में वे फिर शिकार खेलना, घूमना, कहीं गप्पे मारना और समय पर भोजन खाना, यह दिन का कार्यक्रम और रात को कहीं सैला या कर्मा का नृत्य संगीत के साथ शुरू कर देना और कभी नृत्य के रंग में लुप्त होकर कितनी ही टंडी रात क्यों न हो, वह टण्डी उनके बदन को छू तक नहीं पाती, न उन्हें यह महसूस होता है कि आज टण्डी है या नहीं और बराबर उनकी रसभरी सुरीली तान, वह मृदंग की चहुमुखी ताल की आवाज आकाश में गूँकती रहती है। प्रत्येक रात आदिवासी गाँव के आकाश में मृदंग, मंजोरे और सुरीले कण्ठ गूँजते रहते हैं और धरती पर युवक-युवतियों के चंचल पाँव चिरकते हैं और कहीं शराब मिल जाय तो फिर पृथ्वी का क्या ? जब कभी खाना खत्म हुआ तब कहीं जङ्गल

की तरफ दौड़ना या कहीं मजदूरी की तलाश करना इसके अलावा उन्हें कोई बात की परवाह नहीं होती, ऐसा इनके स्वतन्त्र जीवन का स्वभाव होता है।

आदिवासियों के कल्याण का सबसे श्रेष्ठ उपाय शिक्षा है। प्राथमिक पाठशालाओं में कृषि और जङ्गल की शिक्षा दी जाय तो अच्छा है। जहाँ सम्भव हो उनकी भाषा भी शिक्षा-क्रम में सम्मिलित करली जाय। माध्यमिक और उच्च श्रेणी की शिक्षा को आदिवासी ले सकता है जबकि उनको ऐसा मौका दिया जाय। पाठशाला के बजाय शिक्षा के लिये १५, २० मील के फासले पर आश्रमशालाएँ आदिवासी लड़कों के लिये बहुत सानुकूल होगी।

उनकी भूमि समस्याएँ हल होनी चाहिए। आप किसी भी आदिवासी गाँव में चले जाइये, जो अच्छी जमीन दिखे उसका इतिहास पूछने पर पता चलेगा कि अमुक आदिवासी की यह जमीन थी। लेकिन थोड़े-से कर्जे में, नमक या तम्बाखू की कीमत में या शराब के कारण या धोखे से वह गैर आदिवासियों के पास चली गई है या कर्जे पर जमीन लिखी गई है। किसी आदिवासी का बाप मर गया, १०, २० वर्ष हो गये पर बेटे का नाम अभी तक पट्टे पर नहीं चढ़ा। वर्षों अंते भाई-भाई अलग हो गये किंतु खाता अलग नहीं हुआ। लड़का जिन्दा है पर लड़की के नाम पर जमीन लिखी गई है। दो पुरत से काश्त हो रही है; जमा दे रहे हैं, पास लिखा जाता है, आदिवासी खेत में काम करता है, किन्तु फायदा दूसरे लोग ले रहे हैं। जङ्गलों में उनका हक और हिस्सा स्थापित करना चाहिये, छोटे-छोटे उद्यान-धन्धे जङ्गल की पैदावार में खोले जाएँ और उनके प्रोत्साहन के लिए सड़कारी

प्रवृत्ति द्वारा उनको सहयोग दिया जाय। आदिवासी पंचायतों द्वारा शराब बन्दी और कम खर्चाले रीति-रिवाजों का प्रचार किया जाय।

वैसे आदिवासी दीखने को बहुत स्वस्थ दीखते हैं किन्तु यह भी सत्य है कि हजारों आदिवासी मामूली बुखारों में भी दवा की कमी के कारण मर जाते हैं। उनकी बीमारों का कारण दरिद्रता, गन्दगी और अपर्याप्त भोजन ही है। पानी भी उनकी मौत का कारण है। गाँव में पानी की कोई सुविधा नहीं है। गर्मी के दिनों में जब नाले सूख जाते हैं तब ये दबड़ों का सड़ा पानी पीते हैं, जो इनकी मौत का कारण बन जाता है। इनके पास इतने कपड़े भी नहीं होते कि ये ठण्ड से अपना बचाव कर सकें। होता यह है कि वे निमोनिया के शिकार बनकर मर जाते हैं, उसको भूत-प्रेत का प्रकोप मानकर मन्त्र-तन्त्र में लगे रहते हैं। ऐसे विस्तारों में चलता-फिरता अस्पताल होना चाहिये।

गरीबी, अज्ञानता और भौगोलिक परिस्थिति में आदिवासी सुधार का कार्य बड़ा कठिन बन जाता है। गाँव में आने-जाने के लिये रास्ते की सुविधा बहुत जरूरी है। शहरों में मुर्गों, कुत्ते का उपचार हंता है, पर इनका इलाज करने वाला केवल भगवान ही है। उनको दूध, घी तो दूर, तेल तक मिलना मुश्किल होता है। उनकी रसना सूखी हो गई है। अच्छा खाना उन्हें नहीं लुभा सकता। इसका जीवन-स्तर उँचा उठना चाहिए ताकि इनकी आवश्यकताएँ बढ़ें तो इन्हें पैसे की कीमत मालूम होगी और पैसे कमाने में दिलचस्पी पैदा होगी। फिर ये लूट से बच सकेंगे। गाँव में जबकि करनेवालीदेसी दासियाँ भी नहीं हैं। वे रहेंगी भी क्यों? इनके पास देने के लिये

भी कुछ नहीं है। आदिवासी युवतियों को नर्स और मिडवाइफ का शिक्षण देना जरूरी है।

देव-देवियों को मानने वाले वास्तव में हिन्दू रहकर आदिवासी अपनी संस्कृति के बहुत प्रेमी होते हैं। संस्कृति समारोह और सम्मिलित पूजा-पाठ में अमीर गरीब का कोई प्रश्न नहीं होता। अपनी संस्कृति को न मानने वाले सदस्य को वे जाति तक से निकाल देते। इसी संस्कृति कट्टरता का फायदा बहुत से गैर-आदिवासी और खासकर ईसाई लोग उठा रहे हैं। भोले-भाले आदिवासियों को डर बताकर या पैसे का प्रलोभन दिखाकर बाद में उनके धर्म का परिवर्तन करते हैं। इस रीति से अपनी संस्कृति नष्ट हो रही है। कोई भी दूसरा धर्मपाल आदिवासियों को उनकी अज्ञानता और गरीबी के कारण अपने धर्म में नहीं फँसा सके, ऐसा कानून होना जरूर है।

इस प्रकार आदिवासियों में सुधार करने का काम बहुत ही कठिन है। दूर-दूर जङ्गलों में छोटी-छोटी पहाड़ी पर एक-दो भोंपड़े बनाकर रहने वाले, अज्ञानता, मदिरापान, बहेम, कुरीति-रिवाज, आलस्य आदि दुर्गुणों के कारण पिछड़े हुए हैं और दूसरे उनका सामाजिक और आर्थिक शोषण हो रहा है। इस अवनति से रोककर उन्नति के मार्ग पर ले जाने के लिये बन्दनीय पूज्य महान्मा गांधी जी और पूज्य ठक्करशाप्पा ने हमको जो रास्ता दिखाया है उसके फलस्वरूप हर एक प्रदेश में आज सरकारी और गैर-सरकारी अनेक संस्थाएँ और सेवकगण इस पवित्र कार्य में लगे हुए हैं।

आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा सौभाग्य है कि हमें श्रीकांत भाई जैसे सेवाशील,

भावनायुक्त सरकारी नेता मित्र मिले हैं जो इस महान् कार्य को पूर्ण करने के लिये तन, मन और धन से सेवा कर रहे हैं। उसी भांति दूसरे सरकारी कर्मचारी भी दिलचस्पी के साथ कार्य करेंगे। हमें चाहिए कि हम उनके साथ पूरा सहयोग दें और उनकी कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के लिये यथायोग्य सुझाव दें ताकि यह कार्य हर स्थान में पूरे वेग और दिलचस्पी के साथ आगे बढ़े। पूज्य राष्ट्रपति और प्रधान-मन्त्री से लेकर

हर एक छोटे-बड़े महानुभावों का आशीर्वाद होने से हम जरूर आगे बढ़ेंगे। परमात्मा ने उनको सुन्दर अवसर दिया है, इसका लाभ उठायेंगे।

मैंने आपके सामने कुछ बातें रखने का प्रयत्न किया है। आपके इस प्रेममय सहयोग के लिये मैं आपका बड़ा आभारी हूँ।

जयहिन्द

श्री ठेवर भाई का अध्यक्षाीय भाषण

(दिनांक १-५-५७)

कोरापुट आने से पूर्व मैं सम्मेलन की कार्यवाही किस प्रकार की होगी इस विषय में सोचता था। मैंने पिछली दोनों कान्फरेंसों की रिपोर्ट पढ़ी थी। मैं दो दिन आपके बीच रहा। कार्यवाही देखकर थोड़ी सी स्पष्टता हुई और थोड़ी सी अस्पष्टता भी बढ़ी। श्री लुने ने कहा है कि वह पैच में पड़े हैं। मैं भी कुछ पैच में पड़ा हूँ। यहां आने से पूर्व मैं नहीं सोचता था कि आदिवासियों का सवाल केवल सोशल समस्या है किन्तु एकनामिक प्रॉब्लेम (आर्थिक) समस्या भी है। सोशल प्रॉब्लेम तो है ही किन्तु आर्थिक भी है। हमें आदिवासियों की आर्थिक पुनर्व्यवस्था पर जोर देना पड़ेगा। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि सामाजिक पहलू को छोड़ दें। मैं आदिवासियों के बारे में जानता नहीं, न आप जानते हैं। शेष मानव समाज में वह अलग हैं यह सिर्फ मैं जानता हूँ। सब सुविधाओं से जितने वंचित वह हैं उतने दूसरे नहीं हैं। मैंने जो देखा है और सुना है उससे मालूम होता है कि खाने के लिये जो कुछ जंगल में पैदा होता है वह उन्हें केवल पांच लुः मास के लिये ही मुश्किल से पर्याप्त होता है। जहरी पौधे भी सुखाकर आदिवासी लोग खाते हैं।

हमारे आदिमजाति सेवक संघ का जो काम चलता है उसमें हम लोग शिक्षा और सामाजिक पहलू पर अधिक जोर देते आये हैं। अब आर्थिक उन्नति पर जोर देना चाहिये। आदिवासी में जागृति

(Consciousness) को अग्रसर करना हमारा कार्य हो जाना चाहिये। जो जनता सही हालत से वाकिफ नहीं है उसे वाकिफ करना है। मैं २०-२५ साल से काम करता हूँ। उड़ीसा में जो हालत मैंने देखी है उसके सुकावले में सौराष्ट्र में आर्थिक हालत ज्यादा कठिन है। हमें आदिवासियों को आर्थिक सहाय देना चाहिये। जनता को जागृत करना हमारा काम है फिर भी यह सब भार हम हुकूमत पर डाल देते हैं। किसी भी देश की ताकत का नाप हुकूमत की ताकत से नहीं होता। रुपये पैसे में भी हम उसे नहीं आंक सकते। राष्ट्र की ताकत रूपों के मूल्यों से या धन से नहीं देखी जाती। हममें कुछ मूल्य है जो हमें ताकत देते हैं। देखिये गांधी जी के पास पैसे कहां थे। विनोबा जी के पास भी कहां है? किन्तु इनमें आंतरिक शक्ति (intangible source of power या Soul force) है। वह शक्ति देखने में नहीं आती लेकिन यह शक्ति बुनियादी चीज होती है, वह कहां है? जनता की जागृति में। जब जनता जागृति के मार्ग से पृथक् हो जाती है तो शक्ति लोप हो जाती है। उस समय तोफ का भी काम नहीं रहता। सवाल है जनता को जागृत करना। यह किस तरह से होगा? जनता के सामने एक हूबहू तसवीर पेश करें और जनता को खयाल हो ऐसी तसवीर उनके सामने रखें।

हम नहीं जानते हमारे सामने एक क्रांति का मसाला तैयार पड़ा है। जनता का इधर खयाल

नहीं है, ना हमारा है। हमारे सामने या जनता के सामने वह भविष्य का चित्र नहीं है। मैं पूछता हूँ बापू ने लंगोटों क्यों पहनी? जनता के सामने तसवीर रखने के लिये! सत्य चीज जनता के सामने किस तरह लाई जाय। भारत की जनता को हमारे भारतीय आदिमजातियों की क्या हालत है इसका पता कराइये। हमारा काम यही है।

दूसरी चीज जिसके बारे में मैं असपष्ट हूँ वह यह है कि इतना बड़ा काम है, किन्तु भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के पास पर्याप्त कार्यकर्ता नहीं है। बोझ है पर उठाने वाला नहीं है। इससे दो बुनियादी सवाल खड़े हो गये। श्री निर्मल कुमार बोस तथा श्री श्रीकांत जी पायलट (अग्रुवा) स्कीम शुरू करने के बारे में विचार कर रहे हैं। आपके पास फिलहाल ४५ संस्थाओं द्वारा काम हो रहा है। आपको पैसे की भी तकलीफ है। मैं बैंक में पड़ गया। नागा मीमा से लेकर उत्तर पूर्व दक्षिण सब जगह हमें पहुंचना है। लेकिन लोग क्या हैं? दूसरी बात समय हाथ से जा रहा है। बापू के आशीर्वाद हमें प्राप्त है। बापा के आशीर्वाद भी प्राप्त है जिससे हमें प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त हो गया है। यहाँ ऐसे भी अनेक मित्र हैं जो भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ में नहीं है। पिछले दस सालों की तबाराख देखिये। आदिमजाति का हिन्दुस्तान और दूसरा हिन्दुस्तान दोनों में फरक है। एक अन्न पद तथा जंगल में रहने वाले तथा दूसरे मैदान में रहने वाले। हम लोग थोड़े दिन आपस में मिलते हैं एक स्थान में और बाद में चले जाते हैं। इसका अच्छा असर इन लोगों पर नहीं पड़ता। कुछ विकृत कल्पनाएँ लेकर बह चले जाते हैं।

मैंने मुना पाकुर (संथाल परगना - बिहार) में

पुलिस ने गोली चलाई। गोली से जो आदमी मारे गये उनकी हालत क्या हो गई। मेरे एक मित्र ने मुझे बताया, मुझे नहीं जलाये गये न गाड़े गये। वैसे ही फेंक दिये गये - ला एन्ड आर्डर के लिये गोली चलाई गई होगी। बाद में मुझे को क्या करना यह समझने की बात है। पुलिस ने बेचकूपी की। यह बात आदिवासियों के दिल में घुस गई है उन्हें कोई समझने वाला नहीं। एक बार जो बात उनके दिल में घुस गई उसे हटाने के लिये कोई तरीका नहीं है। सरकार की रिपोर्ट से मुझे संतोष नहीं हुआ। तकलीफों के बारे में हम जानते हैं उनका दिमाग पर क्या असर होता है? भारत में बालिग मताधिकार दिया गया है। सब का वोट का अधिकार मिला है मानो वह क्या दिखता है? बालिग मताधिकार एक तलवार है जिसकी दो धारे हैं। लोगों की समस्याओं की तरफ वह कैसे देखते हैं। जाग्रत हाथों से यदि तलवार नहीं चलाई गई तो नुकसान होता है। बढ़ती गंगा के बीच हम बैठे हैं लहरें उठ रही हैं। जाग्रति-क्रान्ति सही ढंग से नहीं चलाई गई तो लोगों को खा डालती हैं। फ्रांस तथा रूस की क्रान्ति, चीन की क्रान्ति को समझिये। ३० साल पहले की भारतीय क्रान्ति की वजह से जितनी शक्तियाँ मुक्त हुई हैं उन्हें सही दिशा में ले जाना होगा। कितनी बड़ी यह जटिल समस्या है? कितनी कठिनाईयों के बीच हम काम करते हैं। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ जितना साफ दिमाग लेकर मैं यहाँ आया था उतना साफ दिमाग लेकर नहीं जा रहा हूँ। ईश्वर के दवाले हम काम करें। दो संमात्रों के बीच मैं आज हिन्दुस्थान की नांव चली है। कुछ लोग आगे बढ़े कुछ पीछे। हम भी कोशिश

करें कि हमारी नजर ३६५ दिन के लिये आगे ही रहे। ईश्वर से सहारा मिलेगा, सरकार की तरफ से सहारा मिलेगा। हम अपनी ताकतों को संगठित करें। इस क्षेत्र में निम्न प्रवृत्तियाँ और शक्तियाँ काम में लगी हैं।

१. एक्सपर्ट की शक्ति (विशेषज्ञों की ताकत) जो वैज्ञानिक खोज आदि के द्वारा सहायक होने हैं।

२. भूदान कार्यकर्ताओं का संगठन जो सर्वोदय विचार के अनुसार कार्य को अग्रसर कर रहे हैं।

३. राजनैतिक संगठन और संस्थाएँ

४. भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ। इस क्षेत्र में इन सब का कार्य होता रहना चाहिये। इस प्रकार आपस में भगड़ा नहीं होगा। काम के साथ साथ यदि यश का बटवारा होगा तो भगड़ा अवश्य होगा। हमें लोक प्रियता और कीर्ति के पीछे नहीं चलना चाहिये। ऐसी प्रवृत्ति का हम बाढ़ समझें। दुनिया अब बदल गई है। आखिर में देश बनता है देशवासियों के बल से बलपूर्ति से बल में बटवारा क्या किया जाय।

सौराष्ट्र में ५०० छोटे छोटे राज्य थे। सौराष्ट्र जब एक हुआ तब एक ग्रिड सिस्टम तैयार हुआ। हम को किस तरिके की तरफ जाना है ग्रिड सिस्टम की तरफ या पावर सिस्टम की तरफ। इस का निर्णय करना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ इस कार्य में आदिमजाति सेवक संघ काफी हिस्सा ले सकता है। एक वस्त्र के ताने में धागे पाने के लिये छोटे लगते हैं। आदिमजाति सेवक संघ धागा बनकर सब को एक में बांध सकता है। संघ शोषक को और शोषित लोगों को भी एक कर सकता है। राजाओं तथा जमींदारों का सब सवाल हल हो गया। इसी प्रकार शोषित और शोषका अन्तर कम करना है यह सामाजिक क्रान्ति है और ऐसी क्रान्ति भारतीय

आदिमजाति सेवक संघ कर सकता है। कार्यकर्ता कितने भी छोटे हों चापू तथा चापा के आशीर्वाद प्राप्त होने से उन्हें यश मिलने में दिक्कत नहीं रहेगी।

आभार प्रदर्शनी :-

उड़ीसा राज्य के उप मन्त्री श्री मन मोहन प्रधान द्वारा आये हुए सब निमन्त्रित सज्जनों का आभार प्रगट किया गया।

अन्त में श्री धर्मदेव शास्त्री ने अपने भाषण में कोरापुट में काँग्रेस करने से पूर्व जिस प्रकार कठिनाइयाँ थी इन सब का संचित में निर्देश करते हुए उन कठिनाइयों पर विजय पाने के उपलक्ष्य में सरकारी अधिकारियों और सर्व सेवा संघ के कार्यकर्ताओं को हार्दिक धन्यवाद दिया विशेषतः जिलाधीश श्री सोमनाथ मिश्रा, श्री अग्रणा साहेब सहस्त्रबुद्धे को आपने आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के कार्यक्षेत्र - प्रतिनिधि, कार्यकारणी सदस्य, तथा प्रतिनिधियों का आभार माना। भोजन की व्यवस्था करने में सर्व सेवा संघ के जिन भाई बहिनों ने दिन रात जागकर कार्य किया उनको हम किन शब्दों में धन्यवाद दें। सब से बढ़कर माननीय पंत जी, काँग्रेस के अध्यक्ष श्री देवर भाई और स्वागताध्यक्ष श्री हरेकृष्ण मेहता श्री राजा नरेशचन्द्र जी के प्रति भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की ओर से शास्त्री जी ने हार्दिक कृतज्ञता व्यक्त की, जिनकी कृपा से यह काँग्रेस सफल हो सका। विभागीय अध्यक्ष श्री निर्मल कुमार बोस, श्री ल. म. श्रीकांत तथा श्री बहादुर भाई पटेल को भी शास्त्री जी ने धन्यवाद दिया। उड़ीसा राज्य के आदिमजाति कल्याण विभाग के डायरेक्टर तथा डिप्टी डायरेक्टर श्री गंगानाथ दास श्री अम्बालाल व्यास व असिस्टेंट डायरेक्टर को भी धन्यवाद दिया। सोनेवाडा आश्रम के अध्यापक विद्यार्थी तथा जनपद के अधिकारियों ने भी काँग्रेस को सफल बनाने में पूरा पूरा योग दिया जिसके लिये उन्हें धन्यवाद दिया गया।

SECTION II
Papers Submitted
to
the Conference
विभाग-दूसरा
सम्मेलन में
प्रस्तुत निबन्ध

BIHAR TRIBAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE & ITS FUTURE PROGRAMME OF WORK

by

Dr. B.S. GUHA, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi.

The Bihar Tribal Research Institute came into existence in October 1953 with the object of conducting researches into the customs, manners, culture etc. of tribes inhabiting the State of Bihar. It actually however, started functioning from January 1954 in a rented house at Ranchi with a skeleton staff and a small budget. During the first two years it was engaged in making short reconnaissance surveys of a few of the more primitive tribes and investigated certain special problems on behalf of the Government. Collections for the Ethnographical Museum of the Institute were started and the nucleus of a library was also made. After taking over charge in March 1956, I found that for the objective of the Institute the present staff and equipment were utterly inadequate. The Institute had to be reorganised with competent trained personnel, adequate scientific appliances and a fully equipped library, if it was to help the Government on matters affecting the welfare of the tribal people for whom a very large sum of money was being annually spent. If this money is to be fruitfully utilised towards the betterment of those primitive folks, raise their standard of living and put them on their feet to take their place as worthy citizens of the State without disrupting their social structure and value system, it would be essential to develop the Institute on modern scientific lines with a complete reorientation of its approach and methods of investigation. It is true that the purpose of its investigations is primarily of an applied nature but to carry out the same effectively,

researches of a fundamental nature on the cultural pattern and personality of the tribes must be considered essential.

Bihar contains a large number of tribals, in fact it has one of the largest assemblages of tribal population in any State in India, with a percentage as high as 10% of the total population. The State is surrounded on all sides by the more advanced people of the plains who have been pressing on the high lands where the tribes have taken shelter from time immemorial. Some of these had come into contact with civilisation and in fact had been known to the rest of the country earlier than tribes in other parts of India. It is in Bihar that the first trouble from tribal people took place in 1772 in the shape of raids of the Mal Pahariyas of Raj Mahal hills and it is here under the genius and foresight of Augustus Cleveland that first steps were taken for tribal administration by resuscitating the Tribal Council for settling their disputes according to their customary laws and in harmony with the tribal way of life. In fact, the various measures of tribal administration which subsequently developed in the country culminating in the Sixth Schedule of our Constitution owe their inspiration to the method of indirect rule initiated by Cleveland. Naturally, therefore, a larger amount of information on the Major tribes of Bihar is available compared to those of others which for reasons of geographical situation and policy pursued by the British Government were kept comparatively insulated from the rest of India. The works of

Risley, Grierson, Bradley Birt as well as those of Sarat Chandra Roy may be mentioned in this connection. The Rev. P.O. Bodding's monographs on Santals' Medicine and Folk Lore and "How the Santals live" in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his Dictionary of the Santali language are lasting monuments of scholarship. It was my privilege as Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta to publish some of them. In the preface that I wrote to the last of these series I paid tribute to the great wealth and accuracy of details of the beliefs and practices of the tribes that Dr. Bodding had disclosed, as unique in Ethnographical literature in this country. It is a great loss to science that the rest of this great Scandinavian's MSS that he had completed before his death were destroyed during the World War II in Denmark where he had gone after retirement.

Similarly, the Encyclopaedia Mundarica which the Jesuit Missionaries under Rev. John Hoffman and Rev. Arthur Van Emelen brought out, of which 13 volumes have been published between 1930-50, is a work of unparalleled importance. These works, great as they are and extremely valuable, require however to be implemented by more intensive studies of problems affecting tribal life as a result of changes that have taken place and the impact of civilization on their total personality and physical constitution. In this connection, mention may be made of the researches carried out for nearly a decade by my esteemed friend and colleague Dr. Dorothy Spencer of the Pennsylvania University whose forthcoming work on the Mundas constitutes a new departure in such studies.

In order that this Institute may serve these purposes and act as adviser to the Government regarding the nature, scope and spacing of development measures as applicable to tribal people and also as a centre for scientific evaluation of their effects on tribal life, a Scheme of Re-organisation was drawn up in June 1956 which subsequently received the approval of the Government. The Scheme was intended to embrace the total horizon of tribal life and not limited to the social and linguistic areas only. It is a mistake to consider that the introduction of new measures affects only the economic or social side. Life is an organic entity made up of many essential facets, such as the biological, psychological and cultural which are organically linked with one another. It is not possible to confine the areas of the adjustment to only one or two of the spheres and blocking the rest. Among simpler folks, specially those living on the hunting and food gathering stages, the results of changes tend to spread all round very rapidly which may not have been covered or foreseen originally and accounts for much of the lethal effect of contact which caused the disappearance of primitive tribes in many parts of the world. In consideration of this in the section devoted to Applied Anthropology in the Fourth Session of the International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Philadelphia last September emphasis was laid on the need for a total life in matters concerning the effects of acculturation. The motion for undertaking a survey of the biological effects on the Jewish immigrants due to changed conditions in Palestine which was moved at the Congress by Prof. Zuckerman, seconded by me and supported by Professors Vallois, Hiene Geldern and

Fischer on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation was an earnest of the desire felt by Anthropologists in the matter. It is thus clear that the biological aspect of the study cannot be excluded from the scope of the Institute's activity without detriment to its utility. Consequently, in the scheme prepared by me the three main spheres of life were included as parts of integrated approach.

In the physical or human biology section it is proposed to study not so much the somatic characteristics of the different tribes, their deep-seated psychological characters, the incidence of blood group and other genetic traits but to lay emphasis on the differences in the metabolic behaviour due to changes in food and climatic conditions, variations in the sex ratio, differential fertility rates, vital capacity and particularly the effects of nutrition on the pattern of growth and resistance to disease. These considerations in the purely biological sphere of tribal life influenced by the introduction of development measures involving changes in their economic and psycho-social activities are of the greatest importance for assessing their utility and preventing if possible the onset of lethal trends which have caused the disappearance of primitive people in other parts of the world.

Similarly, the consideration of the effects on the personality structure of people as a result of changes in cultural pattern and the value-system under which it has developed from time immemorial is one which cannot be ignored. If the healthy growth of a people is to be ensured, psychological aspect of investigations to discover the trends in personality changes and emotional needs, and of undertaking a planned survey of the level of concrete

intelligence and special aptitude are matters of great concern. In the United States of America the system of Education applied to the Red Indian children in earlier years was of the pattern of the usual American schools. This proved a failure and people in charge of the Indian Administration even thought that the Red Indian tribes were constitutionally unable to profit by modern education. When however, John Collier became the Commissioner of the Indian Tribes, who was a trained Anthropologist and Professor in that subject in the University of Columbia, he made a new departure by having not only an objective assessment undertaken of the intelligence level of the children of six selected Indian tribes by his wife Dr. Laura Thompson and Psychologists of the University of Chicago but a scientific probe into their modal personality by the Rorschach and other projective tests. The scheme of educational curriculum prepared on the basis of these studies has completely revolutionised education of Red Indian children as a result of which the tribes now are successfully adopting many of the techniques of American life suited to their own special abilities. Lastly, in the culture sphere it is proposed to study the special features and characteristics of the tribal social organisation and their influence on group behaviour in the changed context. In this area a considerable leeway has to be made in filling up the lacunae on many trait complexes of tribal life of which we possess very scanty information. It is needless to say that in devising and implementing development measures these special features of tribal life have to be considered and seen that the latter do not conflict with the deep-rooted sentiments and emotional forces associated with them. Although the linguistic alignment of the tribes of

har is fairly well-known as a result of Grierson's pioneer work, intensive investigations on the phonetics and morphology of the languages have still to be undertaken. Bowles has recently drawn attention to the fact that the exact position of the Mundari in the Austric family of languages has not yet been determined and suggested further work in the line. The Institute proposes to undertake these studies according to the modern linguistic techniques with a well set up phonetic laboratory.

When I took over the charge of this Institute I did so on the conviction that there was a great deal of scope for a Scientific Institute of this type to help Government in planning and carrying out a rational and wholesome programme of tribal development. Although in the past my time was chiefly devoted to pure research in Anthropology, the experience that I had gained from intimate association with tribal folks in different parts of India extending over a number of years, has convinced me that most of the problems of tribal life need a scientific solution rather than reformist's approach. Anthropology in the view that I take cannot be divorced from the problems of actual life specially those that arise out of contact and inter-action between people. This Institute, although geared to the applied line, has a great task to perform by combining the research side with the planning scheme of gradual adjustment of tribes to the progressive changes that are taking place all round the country in a manner not in discordance but in harmony with their constitutional and cultural set up. Although I am averse to the idea of the Anthropologist assuming the role of a philanthropist, the human touch that a social scientist can give is bound to be of far-reaching effect in creating a two-way approach between the tribes themselves and the Government and the rest of the people.

With limitations of money and trained personnel, the institute has to develop

slowly on a rather modest scale and cannot spread its net too wide at the start. Its survey must therefore be confined to the more primitive tribes of the interior in whom the chances of disintegration are greater and about whom our existing knowledge is also meagre. In studying them it is proposed to keep in view the total life of the tribe integrated from the biological, psychological and sociological stand points. The Institute however, cannot fulfil its objectives properly as scientific adviser to the Government on the suitability of its welfare measures unless it can have a section for undertaking scientific evaluation of the effect of these measures.

Lastly, as their implementation will depend to a very large extent on the Government officers and social workers engaged for the purpose, it is essential that they should receive a training not merely in basic social sciences, but particularly in developing the correct psychological approach in dealing with simpler folks as well as be on the alert for the growth of any lethal effect from imbalance due to the improper and hasty implementation of otherwise well conceived measures. These three spheres of activity of the Institute are therefore inter-related. When its research programme on the total life of the tribes can go hand in hand with a Scientific evaluation Section and a centre for the training of workers among tribal people, I feel sure that the Institute cannot fail to serve a very useful purpose in helping to put the tribals in the general picture of the country.

In the above I have confined myself to the basic principles of its activity but there are many special points in which it can be of help to the State Government and to the Commissioner of the S.C. & S.T. if approached. Similarly, with its first hand knowledge of the tribes of Bihar, the Institute will be in a position to undertake short term research projects on behalf of the Central Government or Scientific Bodies of Indian or Foreign origin if the cost of these are borne.

APPROACHES TO TRIBAL AND RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANISATION

by

**Dr. B.H. MEHTA, Head of the Department of Tribal Welfare,
Tata Institute of Social Sciences.**

Since Independence, rural welfare has rightly received the highest priority among the major programmes for national development. The two most important items under the direct administration of the Central Government are the major Irrigation Projects, and the Community Development Projects which are now to be introduced over the entire countryside during the Second Five Year Plan Period including the tribal areas. Whilst the Central and the State Governments undoubtedly have to shoulder the heaviest burden of responsibility and administration for such extensive developments, private agencies should continue to increase their efforts to play their role in the promotion of the intensive schemes for rural and tribal welfare. The Government will find such efforts helpful to improve the quality and standard of services of their own efforts, receive the benefit of new ideas and perhaps find experienced personnel to man their programme.

Even under British rule, when the rural development departments took the initiative for the improvement of the living conditions and agriculture in some rural areas of the country, many private and philanthropic agencies and enthusiasts of tribal and rural welfare did pioneering work to bring to light the many difficult problems of rural areas and tribal people. They worked with zeal, and in spite of limited resources, laid firm foundations of the true philosophy and objectives of rural welfare. The early concepts of rural development took shape

out of the pioneering efforts against the evil of rural indebtedness. In tribal areas they laid the foundations of education. Rural welfare agencies also introduced the co-operative movement in the villages. The inevitable political struggle against a foreign rule naturally limited the scope for long and constructive efforts at improving the conditions and economy of rural and tribal communities. However, the introduction of the spinning wheel and the gradual unfolding of the "Charkha Economy", by Mahatma Gandhi awakened the country to the importance of the Rural Problem, and the complexities and difficulties involved in programmes of tribal welfare.

The role of the private agency in rural development :

Following upon Independence and especially as a part of the programme of the First Five Year Plan, the initiative for the expansion of rural development and welfare activities has passed to the State. In the tribal areas work is yet to begin on properly conceived lines. Under the present circumstances, it is but natural that extensive plans and programmes will be conceived for millions of people and thousands of villages by the Central Government and vast resources of the country will be quickly expended and programmes will be swiftly launched exhibiting the efficiency of the State sponsored schemes and administrations. Whilst the efforts of the State should receive the full understanding and co-operation of the people, a lot of

initiative must still remain with interested independent agencies that will carry out independent research, experiments and projects in rural and tribal areas. Where resources are available, concrete projects may be undertaken to seek the full and true meaning of rural development and tribal welfare and to implement the philosophy of community organisation. New ways of association with the rural and tribal population must be found in order to seek remedies most suitable to rural conditions, and to experiment with many new methods, techniques and programmes learnt as a result of the great progress made by the social sciences. India today has a unique opportunity for the development of applied social sciences and for the promotion of social engineering as a programme of concerted efforts to deal with all aspects of human life. Extensive government efforts covering vast areas cannot always find the personnel and time needed to make vital experiments to test the efficiency of theories and programmes. They also do not discover the most economic ways for the implementation of systematic activities to achieve defined objectives, determined after careful survey and planning. Therefore, when the Government is so seized with the "universal problem", small and private organisations interested in the welfare of the rural and tribal population must organise independent efforts to plan at the village level. They must undertake each new advance in every stage of local rural development only after adequate study of the conditions, problems and the real needs of the community. Such organisations will merit the fullest co-operation of the State.

The "Sympathy" approach to problems of rural welfare :

All undertakings of rural welfare involve a sympathy for the rural population. The primary object and motivation of rural welfare endeavours is the sympathy of the welfare agency supported by an intellectual interest in rural problems. This leads to what is generally described as the "programme approach" to community development. A series of activities are organised with a view to improving physical conditions and health, to promote education and give some kind of concrete assistance to the community in its economic activities. External personnel and resources are offered as aid to remove physical and social disabilities and to promote better standards of living. A brief period of organised welfare activities establishing close and friendly contacts with the community reveals the difficult complexities of the rural and especially the tribal situation. It is soon realised that there exists a great gulf between the preliminary sympathy approach to rural communities and the actual work of adjusting human communities to their habitat, and enabling them to develop suitable institutions for the careful organisation and management of all aspects of the life of the members of the community.

The concept and objectives of Comprehensive Rural Development:

In the following paragraphs a brief statement is made of eight fundamental factors of rural development which follow as a study of rural sociology and anthropology, and a careful analysis of rural and tribal problems. It is desirable to treat human life as a whole, for the neglect of any one factor creates new

social problems and weakens the ability of the community for economic efforts. It is wrongly believed that such a comprehensive approach is costly and requires vast resources for the entire development programme. On the contrary, a judicious use of resources to deal with all aspects of life, after a careful assessment of priorities reduces the essential cost of development and services which is spread over decades. At least a knowledge of all the factors of rural development helps a rural development agency to frame its objectives and determine its programme in terms of its available resources.

I. Concept :

Rural development involves a co-related and simultaneous treatment of the physical habitat, the economy, and the social organisation and social life of the entire community treated as a social unit. It is, therefore, desirable to use the concepts of "regional development", "economic development" and "community development" in their separate and distinct meanings. The concept of rural development as it is now understood is comprehensive. Rural development includes a number of community development programmes within a defined geographical region. Community development emphasises the execution of regional and economic development programmes for the benefit of the community, with the community itself as the primary agent of the development. By implication, community development emphasises the prevalence of community consciousness and the elimination of exploitation and social injustice within the social organisation of the community. It recognises the need for the gradual achievement of equality of opportunity to all members of the community to contri-

bute towards the common well-being, and help raising of the standards of living of all members of the community. To achieve such comprehensive rural development it becomes necessary to obtain an adequate knowledge of the history, structure and functions of the village community. This history of the village community reveals its economic and social problems, some of which are of general character, whilst others are peculiar to the local history and development. Few village communities are capable of developing a momentum of social forces from within the community to bring about social changes that can deal with most of its problems effectively and create such new conditions as will satisfy a minimum standard of social efficiency and a reasonable standard of living.

The concept of tribal welfare :

It is only vaguely realised by rural workers that the people living in the tribal areas are different from the villagers in the plains, and they are not easily accessible to forces of social change. It is not realised that conditions in tribal areas are so different that unless the regional and social situation is studied in detail, definite objectives of tribal welfare cannot be easily laid down. It is the common knowledge of anthropologists that most forest dwellers originally belonged to tribes, but the social structure of the tribe is no longer in existence. Many tribes have disintegrated beyond recognition, or they are acculturised with other human groups that surround them. Their history and story of migration is hardly known. Many tribes have assimilated or are assimilating with rural communities and some migrated to industrial areas to become town dwellers.

The real problem of tribal welfare is to facilitate their existence and social functioning in forest areas. Tribal welfare and development of forestry are very closely related. The Forest Departments may have partially succeeded in developing commercial forests; but they have rarely understood the natural forest and the life of people who made the forest their habitat. Good grasslands also exist in tribal areas, as the tribals rarely inhabit a plain unless they are driven to them by the force of circumstances. Here they could be assisted to develop a grassland economy.

The tribals, because of their unplanned and casual contact with non-tribals, undergo an unconscious acculturation that is often harmful to their natural development and tribal interests. Intelligent efforts of external social welfare agencies can help to bring about the assimilation of tribal with non-tribal through carefully prepared programmes of tribal welfare, where such an assimilation is inevitable. At the same time it is a fundamental aim of tribal welfare to preserve the culture and qualities of these good and ancient people, and assist them to make their individual contribution to national culture.

It is most essential that tribal people receive the benefits of a sympathetic political administration that is capable and efficient and which is dedicated to help the economy and development of tribal communities. When national welfare is being achieved, the tribal can no longer suffer neglect, ill treatment and social injustice.

II. The Human Habit :

The human habitat of settled rural and tribal communities is either a product

of history and selection, or it is an enforced settlement in underdeveloped areas as a result of pressure of more competent or competitive groups. Very often rural communities are so rooted to the soil and so adapted to climate and social situation that they manage to survive the ills of a hostile Nature with its semibarren soils, poverty of rainfall and water supply and a flora and fauna not too helpful for community economy. Thus where life is limited to bare survival and the energies of an entire community are concentrated on the struggle for existence, the community can hardly entertain the concept of better standard of living. The psychological and social consequences of poverty are scarcely realised and the community fails to visualise that night is different from day, that the hope of dawn is possible after centuries of surrender to a hostile Nature and to social disabilities.

The situation in many tribal areas is quite different. They are more adjusted to Nature, and unless disturbed by outsiders, they live in harmony with their habitat. But the march of history and national development is impatient of the kind of life they live. Their desire, effort and satisfaction patterns which are the result of centuries of experience are not congenial to the restlessness and materialism of our age. Hence the tribals in the natural forests become ununderstood outcasts in their historic home. Hunting is not possible in commercial forests and therefore their natural economy has to give way to other patterns of economy which are conceived for them by the agents of economic development who live outside the forests. These agents of an advanced economy forget that all economic development

must contribute directly to the economic welfare of communities that inhabit the region on which the economy is based. Adequate efforts have not been made to make the tribals the primary instruments and main beneficiaries of the forest and grasslands inhabited by them. Often they are compelled to migrate. Often external and clever communities with opportunities for education, occupy the tribal areas to reap the benefits of the homelands of the tribals. Colonialism on an international basis is condemned, but similar developments in far away and unknown areas often appear in the guise of national progress. Agencies for rural development and tribal welfare have therefore to study the habitat, the climate, geography and available natural resources, to determine the nature and degree of economic development possible for the benefit of communities concerned. The alternative is migration or serfdom. Rural and tribal development plans and programmes in India at present have given inadequate attention to the vital lessons taught by human geography and ecology. State agencies of rural development do not always pause and study adequately before planning and deciding the future development of forest, grassland, plain, shore and desert economies. Each of them is a great and distinct economy with special needs and problem of its own. The optimistic rural development administrator pins his hopes on irrigation and strenuous organised human efforts as two agents capable of defying and overcoming the worst rigours of Nature. It would be well to remember that there are areas which present grave difficulties to irrigation; and the capital cost involved in providing basic

opportunities for agriculture may be totally beyond the financial capacity of the rural development agency for the community. It is therefore necessary to carry out suitable surveys of the region to examine the elevation, the available flora and fauna and sources of water, the character of soils and sub-soils, the economic opportunities offered by the local flora and fauna and other natural resources which can be developed by the community in occupation of the habitat. This economy must as far as possible conform to the history, genius and traditional economy of the community.

III. The Basic Economy of Village Communities :

The basic economies of human communities spring from their natural physical environments. Hunting economy, grassland economy based on domesticated animal herds, agricultural economy, fishing economy etc., develop in the forest, grassland, shore and plain environments. The basic economies are affected by altitude and elevation, climate and soil, natural water and rainfall, and the flora and fauna and other natural resources of the regions. When India did not have a programme of planned economy, and only agriculture received the attention of the Rural Development Departments, perhaps it was proper to speak of rural economy in general. Now when economic development is planned to take place extensively in all areas, it is essential to realise the fundamental difference in the basic economies of four different types of regions—the forest, the grassland, the plain and the sea shore. Agriculture is mainly the economy of the plains. Forest economy is based on the exploitation of forest raw products. Agriculture in the forest areas

came to be developed as shifting cultivation as a secondary economy. It is desirable to pay attention to belts of grasslands that are usually found on the fringe of hilly regions. Though their soils are poor, if there is adequate water, there is scope for developing animal husbandry as a basic economy, with agriculture as a supplementary economy of the same region. Agriculture is naturally the basic economy of river valleys and plains, and animal husbandry develops as a supplementary economy to agriculture. Fishing is the basic economy on the sea shore, and it is often supplemented by agriculture, but rarely animal husbandry. Inland fishing is now being developed in India as a supplementary economy in all the three other types of regions. Agricultural economy varies from region to region. Shifting cultivation on the hillsides is very different from cultivation in regions with special soil and climatic features with their special primary crops of rice, wheat, cotton, jute etc. The type of region is again different in alluvial plains occupying river valleys fed by the soil and vegetation of the mountains and nurtured by waters of perennial springs which give bountiful and three season crops; leaving enough leisure for the community to build a culture around the creative and thoughtful life of the people.

It is the unfortunate practice in present day extensive rural development programmes to initiate hastily conceived general programmes of economic improvement without giving due thought and study to Nature which is man's greatest beneficiary. The more varied in detail the programme of economic development, the better will be the balanced basic

economy of each village. Agricultural economy is not the only economy to suit all areas. There is no single universal pattern of agricultural economy; and the effort pattern, character, food and habits of the people are based on the historic struggle for existence of the community in its physical habitat. The task of the rural and tribal development agency is to assist the village community to develop new patterns of economy without a shock to the prevailing system and without demanding thoughtless conformity to the whims of administrators of rural development agencies. The development of a sound basic economy in the village requires a series of surveys.

The surveys may reveal that the physical environment is such that without vast capital outlays, it may not be possible to provide a minimum basic economy to the community. The communities would thus be compelled to develop supporting secondary and even supplementary economies to sustain the population. Or, the surveys may reveal the need for large capital investments for irrigation purposes and soil development and conservation schemes. This is properly the scope of regional development and is outside the scope of community organisation, though it will be the main factor contributory to community development.

The problem of the relationship between the physical environment and population has also to be carefully surveyed by the investigator. Not only the quantity, but the quality aspect of population will have to be studied to examine the capacity of the community for initiative and effort, and the climatic conditions and seasonal variations that affect the energies, enthusiasms and

emotional responses of the people. Over-population often destroys the physical benefits of a region, as a prolific population decimates the economic gains offered by Nature.

IV. Secondary Economy :

A secondary economy is possible for a village community when there are specific raw materials available in the neighbourhood or when there is special talent and skill in the community, or when special opportunities are offered by developed communications or evolved specific needs of neighbouring communities. A secondary economy, functioning parallel to a basic economy, sometimes even overshadowing it, considerably helps to raise the standard of life of the community, and is of great advantage where the bounties of nature are limited and the basic economy is weak. Capital and organisation required to develop a secondary economy are not heavy and exacting and a strong section of the community is able to help a less competent section of the community. At times the only difference between a basic economy and a secondary economy is that whilst the first is entirely dependent upon the physical environment of the village community, the second is dependent upon several other factors, all of which are not within the boundaries of the village. The development of a secondary economy usually requires more technical and business skill, and adequate assistance for competent outside agencies.

V. Supplementary Economies :

Backward rural economies have to depend upon supplementary and casual gains to make up the deficiency of their

basic and secondary economies and to support any surplus population that the land is unable to maintain. Supplementary economy materialises either because the basic economy is very promising and leaves ample leisure to the community to earn additional incomes or it is imperative because the struggle for existence is very severe and several efforts have to be made to make up the deficiency of the basic economy. Supplementary economy must be found if there are few opportunities for developing a secondary economy. Secondary and supplementary economies are not always exclusive, but the latter offers small gain of a very casual character. Crafts, opportunities for seasonal employment in urban industries, and small incomes earned by women and children are the main items that contribute a small gain towards the total economy of a village community.

VI. Social Organisation :

The success of a community economy depends upon the efficiency of its social organisation and elasticity of its social structure to perform social functions. The backwardness of the rural economy is due not only to the weakness of its social organisation but can also be traced to probable presence of factors contributing to social disorganisation. The patterns of social organisation in the villages of India are different and complicated. Though the major features and problems of tribal and rural social organisation are well known, comprehensive observations and surveys are needed to determine the play of local social forces, the nature of social interactions and the causes and consequences of local forms of conflicts. Factors that produce social disorganisation and

contribute towards disharmony in the community are sometimes so powerful that they negate the value of programmes of rural development.

Early communities were based on kinship, and social authority governed all regional groups within a defined territory. Migration, conquest and rise of property concepts changed the nature of the social organisation. Even then, in many instances, social authority was responsible to the entire community and performed functions pertaining to marriage, economy and all local aspects of community life. Feudalism broke up the unity of the regional village community. Caste, sectarianism, the practice of untouchability, and concepts of power and position enabled small but powerful groups to dominate over large sections of hardworking agricultural populations. The most important binding factor in the past in the village was community consciousness. The rise of landlordism, the accumulation of gain, the small beginnings of formal education, and the opportunities that followed all these led to the growth of self consciousness and the beginning of individualism. However, as the individual was not then strong and able enough to wield power, and as absolute political power was centralised in the town, small groups with land and common heritage formed themselves into the upper castes that dominated village communities. They achieved position and prestige through power and property. Thus arose group consciousness which was even more detrimental to community consciousness than self consciousness. British rule and the uneven and elastic growth of Hinduism have created village communities with varied and intricate social structures

of varying degrees of community homogeneity and varying degrees of community strength and weakness. In all cases the functions of the village community have dwindled, being first appropriated by the caste and then by a centralised State. As the accumulated gains were invested in towns and village aristocracy and village intelligentsia migrated there, the village became an unimportant social unit, dominated in fact by the urban leadership and organisation. The village harboured still the roots of its own culture, but ceased to be the real vital unit of the nation and its culture. A country like India cannot become a great nation unless the village comes into its own, unless community consciousness reappears to recreate a social organisation which is simple, healthy and efficient in the performance of all real functions of the community. It is the task of rural development to make the village community the real unit of Indian society, the healthy nucleus that grows to make a virile and powerful organism of the nation.

Legislation is now enacted to initiate a new development of village panchayats. The village community is gradually being allowed to perform more functions. The panchayat is being clothed with a semblance of power. The centralised government created by a Federal Constitution is allowing the "power" concept to permeate the villages. It is but natural that simultaneously with the power concept the political party appears on the village scene. Such a Panchayat is dominated by elders, the male sex, property and the dividing ideologies of political parties. It may not be able to restore community consciousness and a

organisation based on the "service" concept, welding the entire community together, and restoring to it social health and harmony. A representative Panchayat rooted in the "service" concept alone can create social efficiency to build a strong village economy and a healthy social structure performing all local and community functions. Legislation can impose a social change but it cannot bring about the growth of the right consciousness and psychology which can take roots through the normal activities and participation of the entire community in all its affairs. An enforced social change may achieve the letter of the law without the real spirit of the social objectives.

Community Organisation as basis of Social Development :

The demand for universal well-being throughout the world and the evolution of social welfare techniques have created a new scope and meaning for Community Organisation. Unique experiments in community organisation are taking place all over the world. Reasonable advances have been noticed in Mexico, Israel, North America, the Scandinavian countries, Egypt, Burma and in some areas of India. In many countries community organisation is built around community recreation and social recreation, and social education fostering the growth of community consciousness. The community is free to exercise its initiative to apply its genius to economic activities. Community organisation dominated by a very powerful centralised State is achieving other types of results in the Communist countries.

The philosophy, history, genius and enlightened leadership of India ought to

help the country to develop genuine community organisation which will forge the unity of the community based on the free will of its adult members of both the sexes. Co-operation, and the practice of mutual aid in both the social and the economic spheres will gradually restore community consciousness provided community initiative is allowed to develop adequately in the performance of community functions. The chief aim of the community organisation is to achieve the unity of the community through a planned programme of community participation in activities beneficial to the individual and the community as a whole. The community will gradually become homogenous when the heterogeneous groups merge together as they learn to share a well conceived programme of comprehensive social and economic development to help raise the standards of living of all sections of the community. Community recreation, social education and the organisation and development of the co-operative movement are the three pillars supporting the edifice of community organisation.

There are serious difficulties in the way of the execution of the Community programmes. The chief amongst these are the dearth of workers, the lack of the community ability to lead from within, and the absence of community resources for development. Added to these are the difficulties inherent in centrally organised administrations and centrally conceived projects which may tend to smother local initiative, enterprise and vision. Nevertheless, ceaseless and sincere organised endeavours made with faith and confidence in the community, where the agents of community organisation work with, and

not above the people, in the triple programme of community recreation, social education and co-operative movement, will result in community organisation which may prove to be the right kind of social organisation for a long time to come. Work in this direction can profitably be carried out by private agencies with pioneering zeal and patience born of the belief in basic social experiments of fundamental value. Worthwhile achievements will follow by experience gained in working out programmes in direct association with the community.

It is necessary to survey villages and obtain a general insight into the present social structure and organisation of the communities, to understand the various factors of social strength and weakness of the communities; and, to comprehend the nature of social problems likely to assist or to hinder community organisation. Incidentally research work can establish contact with the community and gain confidence of members of the community. Competent investigators are also able to spot the latent leadership in the community, discovering spheres of activities of interest to the villagers, and securing their participation when such activities are organised.

VII. Social Services and Welfare of the Village Communities :

The objectives of community organisation take time to achieve. Meanwhile a mere study of the social organisation is not adequate to lay the foundations of a development programme. In the first stage it becomes necessary to stimulate and enthuse the community to merely participate in the community activities. An external agency may introduce programmes to improve housing and sanitation, deal with the health and

physical fitness aspects of community life, and help to assist and improve whatever limited facilities there may be in the village to provide pre-basic and post-basic education to children. Rural development requires a happy and hopeful community atmosphere in which defeatism, fatalism and anxiety are eliminated as far as possible. A programme of community recreation for all sections of the community and the youth in particular is, therefore, very necessary, not only to provide the right social atmosphere, but to provide an opportunity to bring together all groups in the village to participate in totally non-controversial recreational activities. The community recreation programme is ideally suited to engage the energies and interest of the active population of the community; to create an atmosphere of activity, willing participation, and enjoyment of life in face of the severe struggle for existence which is the normal experience of the community.

Nation building is primarily the function of youth; and the creative, recreational, educational and work life of youth must receive attention with the physical fitness and community recreation programmes of social service. Organised youth provides the main cadre of community workers for the promotion of every kind of activity for the benefit of the community.

The social behaviours and activities of the woman in the village are guided by tradition. Her position in the home and her status in the community often prevents her from becoming whole-hearted participant in the life of the community. Even in her role as a mother she requires help. Active assistance is absolutely necessary if she

has to endure widowhood or desertion. It is, therefore, very proper that the programme of woman's welfare receives special attention and high priority in the general programme of rural welfare. The programme sponsored by the Social Welfare Board of the Government of India can find a ready place in any programme of community welfare.

The true and eventual beneficiary of any community organisation programme is the child. The problems of child life, viz. survival, health, nutrition, growth, training and education merit the earliest attention. In future the child can grow up in the atmosphere of an organised community, community consciousness being a part of its life experience and training. Given all opportunities for the development of personality, character and work skills from the early years, the child will grow up capable of fulfilling its role of leadership and responsibility in the life of the community.

The programme of social services and welfare of the community is really the programme of social preparation that initiates the community in the more advanced programme of social education and co-operative effort in economic life. This programme develops community consciousness and creates an enthusiastic band of workers who visualise a new life for the community. Such a programme of social preparation is the real foundation of economic development and a comprehensive programme of rural development. Community organisation has now evolved a master technique whereby recreation, education, and work or occupation form one mosaic pattern of community activities, simultaneously promoting the social and economic wellbeing of the community. Leadership is born from

within and training of diverse kinds is given to all those who bear any responsibility in village life. Out of this energetic life of the community will emerge real community organisation. The community will then be ready to shoulder the responsibilities for the initiative, organisation and development of its economic and social life with itself as agency of development.

A survey has to be carried out to examine the entire existing programme of social services and welfare, the agencies responsible for the various activities, and their leadership, resources, programmes and ability to prepare the community for continued activities for the social and economic development of the villages.

VIII. Restoration of Social Health :

A study of the social maladjustments, maladies, and handicaps of each member of the community is necessary if social health of the community is to be restored and social efficiency is to be maintained. It is possible that due to the pressing needs of economic development, social problems may not receive immediate priority in the general programme of rural development. However, the basic survey will profitably discover the incidence of major diseases and physical disabilities of persons like the blind, the deaf-mute, the crippled, etc. Immediate protection, care and shelter ought to be provided for cases in urgent need amongst the vulnerable sections of the community like the widow and the orphan. Destitution and beggary are usually not known in the villages, but may occur near rural towns, or in the extremely handicapped regions. The disabilities of the underprivileged and

socially handicapped groups like Harijans need a special study in order to promote a relief and rehabilitation programme. Social organisation has to deal effectively with social ills and vices, especially with crime and juvenile delinquency. Prostitution, gambling, drinking, corruption and special types of anti-community behaviour can be more easily dealt with if the survey has measured the extent, nature and causes of such manifestations.

Need for scientific social experiments in Rural Areas :

In the previous pages, a brief elucidation is given of the eight fundamental factors of rural development. Such a comprehensive approach is possible and advisable, but State agencies of rural development can hardly be expected to pay attention to so many aspects of village life. The State is dealing with the problem extensively with a limited administration and often unqualified personnel, especially at the lowest level. Though the resources of the State are large, they are comparatively limited for the fulfilment of the real and direct needs of the village communities. The Government in its first efforts is naturally quite content with the stimulation of enthusiasm, the fulfilment of mechanically conceived physical and economic targets and the achievement of an increase in the total agricultural production in the village. The workers who work directly with the village community are temporary employees and consequently may lack the fervour and sense of responsibility of community organisers. They are agents of a regional and economic development programme; they receive an elementary and brief training; and they are responsible to higher administrative

officers for the execution of their plans and orders. It is now a policy in many States that after the execution of a three years' programme of the Community Development Projects the programme is wound up to give place to the National Extension Service under the Rural Development Department of the State. Evidently therefore the State agencies have a limited objective of initial rural development. It is expected that when the State withdraws its activities entirely, the village communities will be able to carry out their own plans and programmes. Time is not yet ripe to justify this optimistic assumption. Meanwhile, the scope for real and comprehensive rural development has increased and can be profitably explored by private agencies and institutions interested in the development of scientific programmes.

Depending upon available resources, methods and techniques of rural development can be applied either to a single village or to a group of villages, and results can be watched. These pioneer efforts have to be intensive and well organised as they will go to prove the correctness or usefulness or otherwise of new theories, techniques and methods which are suggested by sociologists and field workers in different parts of the world. These efforts will also reveal the original difficulties of rural development probably due to historical, social and socio-psychological factors. Moreover, they will demonstrate the abilities of village communities to absorb new methods and programmes. The present basic survey is carried out with a view to putting the real facts of their conditions and problems before the communities themselves. It will assist them to

think out plans of development within their capacity and within such resources and guidance as are available to them for the fulfilment of their community objectives. Any private agency sponsoring the rural development project will be able to provide the necessary help if it is cognisant of the nature of assistance expected by the community for the completion of its plans for village community development. It could also be possible for the sponsoring agency to determine scope and limitations of a development project before the initiation and execution of programmes.

Execution and rural development programme by stages :

A comprehensive programme of rural development in one village or a group of villages has to be carried out in stages, and the number and duration of the stages depend to some extent on the nature, methods and duration of the surveys which are carried out to plan the development in association with representatives of the village communities. Rural development programmes envisage the following stages of programme development :

Stage 1. The preparatory stage and the preliminary programme :
Maximum duration, one year
Recruitment of effective and minimum personnel to remain in direct contact with village communities. Preliminary activities for social welfare, specially to deal with drinking water supply, health, and aid to education. Preliminary survey of population and immediate needs of the communities.

Stage 2. Planning and execution of basic survey :

Programme of social preparation for community organisation. Aid to existing economy of the communities. Loans could be provided. Second and Third Year Welfare programme includes youth organisation, community recreation, programme for women and children and training programme for community workers.

Stage 3. The stage of basic development :

Planning and initiation of programme of economic development based on special surveys. Comprehensive programme of social education. Development of co-operatives, and training programme for workers of co-operatives. Training programme for welfare workers of a large area. Organisation of village Social Welfare Councils. Evaluation of welfare programmes. Fourth and Fifth Year.

Stage 4. The supervision stage :

External agency for development becomes a Counselling and Evaluation Service. Villages begin the return of capital loans. External agency concentrates on final improvements in housing and environmental services, health and education. Welfare programme and economic activities are entirely taken over by Community Welfare

Councils. The external agency, in co-operation with the State and the Community Councils may undertake any special programme of development of natural resources or organisation of small power industries and Land Settlement Schemes. Necessary training programmes also continue. Sixth and Seventh Year.

The external agency performs the following basic function 'to help the village communities to help themselves'.

1. Develops initiative and stimulates activity through programmes involving community participation.
2. Discovers and trains local leadership.
3. Executes preliminary, basic, special and evaluation surveys to help the communities
4. Educates in methodology of rural development and helps to raise the general level of community intelligence.
5. Provides initial resources for free welfare activities and elementary extension services, and gives capital grants and credit facilities at low rates of interest for economic programmes.
6. Provides evaluation machinery to measure the pace, quality and nature of progress of the rural development programme.
7. Provides counselling and guidance services and technical personnel for both social and

economic programmes as long as required.

Selection of villages for rural development :

There are thousands of villages in India which are in need of development programmes. Competent social service is an investment that yields dividends in terms of results. The benefits of service should be enjoyed not merely by the village communities served, but by larger populations and the country as a whole. Small intensive experiments in rural development and welfare are meant to benefit not only the undeveloped area concerned, but it is hoped that these experiments will guide villages in close proximity to the developed area and to create their own programmes of community organisation. The experience will also prove of great benefit to the State and many rural workers and organisers in all parts of the country. It is, therefore, necessary that great care is exercised in the selection of such villages and communities as will be able to benefit the most by the advantages offered to them by the development and welfare agencies.

When the motive of rural activities is one of mere promotion of welfare of small communities, then the initiative usually develops round the personal interest of some individuals in certain villages and areas. The external agency then does not visualise the comprehensive objectives of rural development and therefore activities begin with what is known as the "programme approach". No doubt a certain gain is derived by the communities through participation in a series of activities. But the general condition of the community hardly improves because there is no material

change either in the economy of the community or in the standards of living. Adequately trained personnel is costly and outside the means of limited resources. It is possible that the quality of service is poor and there is a general lack of organisation and efficiency. Such rural welfare activities may sometimes continue for more than a decade without drawing the attention of other areas. The failure of activities to develop community initiative and responsibility throws continuous and heavier burdens on the external welfare agency. To avoid the above pitfalls it is desirable that the welfare agency aims at comprehensive welfare results and with that end in view works in close association with the community and develops programmes in suitably selected areas by stages.

Classification of area for selection :

International and national agencies for welfare and development usually classify all regions into the following three categories :

1. *Developed areas* : These areas have already received the attention of competent communities and development agencies. There is a proper adjustment of the economy to the physical region, communications are well developed and the population has a reasonable standard of intelligence and living.
2. *Partially Developed areas* : These areas, in spite of handicaps and limited resources, have potential capacities for development with the support of the State. Both the region and the economy are capable

of development, and the communities have a reasonable standard of intelligence, energy and stamina to develop a full economy, social health and achieve a reasonable standard of living.

3. *Under-developed areas* : These areas require attention, study and effort to determine the possibilities of development and the nature and extent of aid that the communities will require to improve and develop the environment, to discover available resources, and to build up a strong community organisation to channelise all efforts towards a co-ordinated programme of social and economic development. As may be expected, these are handicapped areas, poor in soil and water supply, lacking in communications, facilities and resources for economic development.

Within the undeveloped areas there are villages difficult of development, or such as only can be partially developed after strenuous efforts and a great deal of capital expenditure. Deserts, highly undulating and hilly surfaces, eroded regions, areas with a small rainfall of 20" or less, areas which are not easily irrigatable, and areas with a population with a very low standard of intelligence and of a very low standard of living belong to this category. Such areas require a heavy capital outlay, with little possibility of a return on capital or on the original amount. They will continue to depend for long on external aid and on external leadership and guidance. The

pace of progress will be slow and the gains of the assisted communities will be too small to enthuse surrounding areas to develop their own resources and programmes.

Any private agency for rural development must determine its policy of development, its capacity to expend resources and the period it can devote to the development of an approved area. Usually private agencies with limited resources, desirous of obtaining quick results will concentrate on partially developed areas. Agencies with bigger resources, positive philosophy and a comprehensive objective of rural development may prefer to work in undeveloped areas, holding out a promise of results of a permanent character, so that the assisted communities as well as areas in the neighbourhood may develop their own initiative and achieve real community organisation to bring lasting benefits to entire communities. However laudable be the objectives, it will be a mistake to concentrate personnel, efforts and resources where Nature is violently hostile, or where communities are not readily responsive to efforts for their own wellbeing. At present, private agencies with large resources and interested in scientific rural development are too few, and their resources are not limitless compared to the resources of the State, and, therefore, it will be hazardous to initiate development programmes in areas which are not suitable for development. Personnel of a very high calibre will be required to work in unresponsive areas, financial resources will be locked up, returns will be very limited in comparison to the resources and efforts involved; and above all, it has been found that workers get discouraged and frustrated when their efforts do not meet with results.

The basic survey is of very great value in determining the possibilities of development of selected areas and communities. In case it is found that the areas selected for development are difficult it should be possible to limit programmes or withdraw entirely to more profitable areas.

Size and Unit of Rural Development Projects :

The unit of development in all cases should be a physical unit and it should be a village of manageable size. The development project may be fixed in terms of resources available for development. If resources are limited, it is advisable to concentrate efforts in a small area. If very large resources are available, or if it is possible to expand activities in co-operation with State agencies, a whole region could be developed. A region invariably has a geographical unity, a common history and a more or less homogeneous society. An area is an administrative unit, and in India at present comprises of about 100 villages. An area is broken up into divisions or circles for the efficient organisation of programmes and resources. It is desirable to aim at the development of a large area if the project is conceived to contain more than an "adopted village" than to seek intensive development of a small circle of villages in close proximity. When an entire area is to be developed, the burden on the external agency is smaller and the scope for community organisation and use of varied and elastic programmes is greater.

The nucleus and radiation method of development :

When an area or a region is to be developed, it is desirable to follow principles of natural organisation. In natural

organisation concepts are more precise than in social organisation, and the organism is born, grows and matures for the performance of defined functions. The origin of the organism is a cell, and similarly for rural development the cell should be the village. A beginning is made with some kind of programme with available leadership and selected activity. Growth is possible as a result of surveys, training of workers, development of resources, and a gradual and systematic increase, in terms of priorities, of programmes and activities. The climax of development is reached when a community is willing to develop its own plan and programme of development, probably with the assistance and guidance of competent State and private agencies engaged in rural community organisation. In Nature, living organisms have their allotted span of activity after which there is decay followed by death. Social institutions and organisations must possess the genius and ability to continue to function as long as possible, benefitting by experience and achieving efficiency. They have to develop new goals and activities which lead to continuous social change, which inevitably ends in social progress.

The beginning of rural development is a most critical stage in a programme of community organisation. Invariably the first programmes must centre around four factors: (a) Fulfilment of need, (b) leadership from within the community, (c) availability of resources, (d) and selection of one basic programme in a group of activities which can develop and increase the scope for community participation to achieve comprehensive objectives of community organisation after a certain period.

Leadership is a functional concept, and the 'discovery of local leadership'

is one of the vital factors to achieve community development. Leadership in a person implies the presence of one or more factors like idealism, general organisational ability, specific knowledge of subjects, or inherent and acquired creative skill or talent to perform functions. Such leadership, irrespective of education and training, often based on experience and service to the community, is always present in most villages communities. Such individuals must be discovered and given preliminary training by competent persons. This could lead to the beginning of programmes and activities in one or more directions.

Amongst the most suitable activities for development as a result of available community leadership are the following: Community recreation, youth welfare activities, activities for the promotion of woman and child welfare, Social investigation, social education, activities pertaining to agriculture, animal husbandry, etc., development of specific crafts and village industries, social organisation and panchayat programmes. If the principal of 'activity based on available leadership' is accepted, then any one of the above, in terms of need of the community and the availability of a small group of interested participants, can become the nuclear activity leading to comprehensive community organisation.

If work is done in a comprehensive area like a Block of Community Development Projects comprising about one hundred villages, then the application of the nuclear and radiation method reveals an interesting result. Over the whole area there will be a group of persons possessing enthusiasm, interest, and ability to carry out different activities. A number of villages will thus be stimulated into

activities of different kinds. Experience has shown that in the earlier stages of community organisation, too many activities lead to community disorganisation and lack of enthusiasm on the part of the participants; but concentrated and earnest effort in a few directions build up community consciousness and morale. A gradual introduction of programmes and activities based upto availability of local leadership and gradual training of community social workers, sustains interest, and achieves quality and standard in service. The community is on the right road to community development with its own leadership. It will be found that even community resources gradually become available reducing dependence on external help.

Certain activities in some villages, with more able and successful leadership, with guidance and encouragement, will reach a high degree of efficiency. Such villages should become training centres for workers in other villages to obtain experience in programme management and development. In this way interests and activities radiate throughout the whole area, the number of community workers is increased, and gradually a group of persons emerge who would become village community workers after receiving comprehensive training through a competent State or private rural community organisation agency.

Real community organisation requires careful education of the community, adequate time for gradual development, and above all the maximum scope for the use of community workers, leadership, skills, talent and resources. Only persons with real faith in community organisation, and belief and understanding of its principles, methods, and techniques can achieve results which can build up homogeneous,

creative, and self-dependent rural communities. All other methods and programmes will only remain programmes of regional and economic development without the sustaining base of scientific social organisation.

Intensive concentration on a village as unit of development:

Even when there is a development programme for a region, area or Block of villages rural development is only effective when there is an intensive concentration on each village as the unit of development. The difficulty of such an approach cannot be minimised, but a well thought of plan of an organisational approach will achieve the desired end. The approach is purely organisational, and it should not lead to a neglect of some villages, or windfall of undue advantage and gain to others.

Interesting results are achieved with a judicious use of personnel in the whole area. The total personnel in any area consists of administrators, project and programme organisers from outside the villages, and project workers and voluntary social workers from the community of the village. Leaving the village workers to carry out their respective programmes, the entire personnel, in a spirit of service, could undertake to concentrate their energies on one particular village over and above performing their formal duties. They will have no official responsibility, but they will assist and guide the less mature village workers to develop their programmes.

The Survey approach to Planned Development:

Having dealt with all the aspects of economic and social development, the objectives of rural programme and the

principle of selection of areas, it is reasonable to conclude that rural development with defined objectives should be based on knowledge of facts which constitute the reality of the situation. The survey method is a vital instrument to plan each stage of development; and the method also enables evaluation of programmes and the achievements of planning.

The Preliminary Survey:

A preliminary and quick survey must be carried out to find out the total population and its distribution by age and sex, the characteristics of the physical environment, main features of the seasons and climate, elementary data relating the basic and supporting economies of the village, the existing level of standards of living, the nature and qualities of the social structure, the content of social functions of the community, and the present standard of health, education and welfare services.

The Basic Survey:

The preliminary survey is followed by a basic survey. This survey seeks to obtain all general information regarding the region, history, population, economy, social organisation and social life of the whole area. The survey further obtains all vital and yet general particulars regarding each family and all its individual members in the village community. The information for the complete survey may be obtained from the following sources:—

1. Available published literature and data regarding the region, the villages and the communities.
2. Information gathered from Government departments and officials.
3. Information collected from village elders and important members of the communities.

4. Data collected from the head of each family in the village.

The basic survey is undertaken with a view to ascertain the suitability of selected villages for the purpose of development; to obtain comprehensive basic data of the families in the nine villages as regards their social and economic conditions; to obtain an insight into the general social conditions, social organisation and social problems of the villages; to evaluate the social services available for the welfare of the communities; and to estimate the needs of the community in terms of a programme of community organisation such as will enable the communities to deal with the entire development programme.

Need for Special Surveys:

The end of the basic survey is the right occasion to determine afresh the objectives, method of approach, and programmes and plans of development of a more permanent character. When the objective of comprehensive development is acceptable to the promoters of a rural scheme a decision should be taken as to whether a further experimental development on a planned basis should be attempted in a single village community. If successful, the programmes could later be applied to a group of villages or to a larger area using the method of Nuclear Development, with a programme approach to obtain more extensive results with a limited expenditure.

The following special types of short but intensive investigations or surveys may be required to plan and execute programmes of economic development or to deal with special serious social problems that hamper the social and economic

progress of the communities.

1. Investigations pertaining to soil, water supply, and climate for the maximum development of a basic economy.
2. Surveys pertaining to the physical environment and its development in terms of possible available resources.
3. Special surveys to examine the economic problems of each section of a village community, together with investigations to determine the feasibility and need of economic activities to promote supplementary economy, co-operation etc.
4. Studies dealing with vital social problems affecting the social health, morale and efficiency of the communities.
5. Studies of specific social problems that interfere with the economic development and programmes of the communities.
6. Maintenance of regular community statistics and evaluation data relating to the social and economic life of the communities; and the execution of annual investigations

and triennial surveys to evaluate the achievements of social programmes.

Preparation of Maps, Charts, Graphs and other pictorial representation of data:

These are necessary for the easy and quick understanding of problems and data by persons concerned with the planning and execution of all types of development and welfare programmes; they will also serve as vital material for social education programmes.

Planning at the village level:

The nation had adopted the methods of planned development. Planning at the Centre as conceived under the Five Year Plans is useful. However, private agencies interested in scientific development can prove the value, utility and methods of intensive local planning which engages the genius, common sense and energy of the people themselves and assists them to develop their own strength and resources with the help of minimum technical assistance and guidance. The science and principles of local planning need to be discovered by small experimental projects. The experience and knowledge gained will prove invaluable for the development of rural areas in India.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBALS OF INDIA

by

Prof. T. C. DAS, M.A., Reader in Anthropology, Calcutta University.

Introduction

According to the Census of 1951 the Scheduled Tribes number 19.11 millions in the Union of India. Of this population 18.64 millions are rural and only .47 million urban. Their distribution in different regions of India is as follows :

1. North India	... nil
2. East India	... 10.3 millions
3. Central India	... 4.37 millions
4. West India	... 3.41 millions
5. South India	... .7 million
6. North-West India	... .33 million

Total 19.21 millions.

“Though the tribals are found scattered over the entire country there are certain areas where they occur in a concentrated manner. The history of these peoples explains these concentrations. Some of the tribal groups are regarded as autochthones of this country. No one knows when the tribals came here or from which land. Once they occupied the fertile valleys of the vast rivers of this sub-continent. But successive hordes of more powerful races entered into this country and occupied its rich plains. Those of the autochthones who submitted to their conquerors were allowed to live and work for them as serfs and were ultimately absorbed in their social system. Most of the Scheduled Castes have been derived from this source. But the more virile and freedom-loving sections, the aboriginals, took shelter in the hills and jungles and thereby tried

to save their freedom and culture. The children of these people are the Scheduled Tribes of to-day”. (Social Organisation of the Tribal Peoples by T.C. Das in The Indian Journal of Social Work, Dec., 1953 p. 245).

“As a result of this historical process the tribals are now found concentrated in a number of blocks the most important of which are (a) the Assam Hills, (b) Chota Nagpur and Orissa Hinterland, (c) Chhattisgarh and the Districts of Chhindwara, Mandla, Drug and Raipur in the Madhya Pradesh, and (d) the districts of East and West Khandesh, Nasik, Surat, Broach and Panchmahal, Thana and Colaba of Bombay. Generally speaking these tribal blocks differ in race, language and culture”. (*ibid* p. 245).

The backwardness of the tribals has a retarding action on the onward march of the Indian nation as a whole. It is not an easy task to move forward with twenty millions of souls pulling from behind. The gravity of the situation has been early realised by the leaders of the nation and provision has, therefore, been made in the new Constitution of India for the rapid development of the tribal people. In Section 46 of the Constitution it has been provided that “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice

and all forms of exploitation". To give effect to this provision of the Constitution direction has been given to appoint a minister who will remain in charge of tribal welfare in each of the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Madhya Bharat. Other States also have appointed Ministers or Deputy Ministers for this purpose though there is no direction in the Constitution in their cases. For example, West Bengal has a Minister and a Deputy Minister to look after the welfare of the tribals. Assam also has a minister and Bombay, a Deputy Minister for the same purpose. The Constitution also provides money for this welfare work among the tribals from the consolidated fund of India. Article 275 of the Constitution states "there shall be paid out of the consolidated fund of India as grants-in-aid and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the States with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State". The different State Governments, connected with tribal welfare work, have been receiving grants-in-aid under this Section during the last six years and have organised welfare work with this money supplemented by grants from their own offers. But now they are confronted with the important question of priority in this respect. All the tribals do not stand on the same footing in either education or economic condition. In between the nomadic Birhors with

gathering-economy and the Rajgonds who live on income from land and professions there are numerous stages of socio-economic development among the tribals. The different strata do not require the same type or amount of help. There are some groups which do not at all require any help from this fund. But indiscriminate distribution of help during the last few years has raised hope in every mind and every one is clamouring for help.

Moreover, welfare work among the tribals would vary on the basis of the socio-economic condition of the groups and their educational achievements. For this purpose a scientific classification of the tribals based on factors like habitat, economy, education, psychological outlook, etc has become an imperative necessity now. Based on this classification, again, we shall have to plan out welfare work among them. In the following pages I shall try to give a bare outline of this classification.

Classification of the tribals

Several attempts have been made in the past to classify the tribals of India. The earlier ones were based, more or less, on race and language. In recent years the basis of classification has been changed and more emphasis is being laid on cultural assimilation and habitat. In 1943 Dr. Verrier Elwin divided them into four classes—the first two of which, according to him, were the "real primitives living in the hills" where geographical situation" has largely protected them from the debasing contacts of the plains" (Elwin—The Aborigines, p. 8). They numbered about five millions then and are now more than 25% of the Scheduled Tribes.

The first or the most primitive of these four tribal classes of Elwin is characterised by the following traits, namely, (a) "Its members live a large communal life", (b) "Economically they still share with one another", (c) "For them axe-cultivation is more than a form of agriculture; it is a way of life", and (d) "They are shy of strangers". As type specimens of this class he names the Hill Marias of Bastar, the Juangs of Keonjhar and Pal-Lahara, the Gadabas and Bondos of Orissa, and other small groups living in isolated villages. The second class of his tribals also lives in remote hills and forests but "they have begun to change in small and subtle ways". "Their village life has become individualistic". "They no longer share things with one another". "Axe-cultivation is more a habit than a part of their life" and "they are more accustomed to outside life". Type specimens of this class are the Bhuiyas, the Bison-horn Marias, and the Oraons. The third class of Elwin's tribals is the most numerous and practically form nearly three-fourths of the entire tribal population. They are the people "who under the influence of external contact have begun to lose their hold on tribal culture, religion and social organisation". They have been debased and made miserable—economically, socially and spiritually—through this contact. They need not be named one by one—they are the tribals of contact-areas. The fourth class "consists of the old aristocracy of the country...represented today by great Bhil and Naga chieftains, the Gond Rajas, a few Binjhar and Bhuiya landlords, Korku noblemen, wealthy Santal and Oraon leaders and some highly cultured Mundas. These retain the old tribal name and their clan and totem rules and observe elements

of tribal religion, though they generally adopt the full Hindu faith and live in modern and even in European style". "Other members of this class are those aboriginals who by their own energy and enterprise have improved their economic position and social standing" (Elwin—The Aborigines. pp. 9-11). The fourth class has properly assimilated the blessings of civilisation and is happy and satisfied in the position which it now occupies.

In December 1949, at the Third Annual Session of the Indian Conference of Social Work, held in Delhi, a resolution was passed recommending "that a comprehensive programme for social, economic and medical welfare of the tribal people should be drawn up by a committee consisting of experts and experienced men in the field". In pursuance to this recommendation Dr. Jivraj Mehta, President of the Indian Conference of Social Work (1950) appointed a Committee with Shri L.M. Shrikant, then Upa-Pramukh of Bhil Seva-mandal, Dohad, now Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, as Chairman. This Committee divided the tribals into the following four main divisions:

- (1) Tribals who confine themselves to original forest habitats and are still distinctive in their pattern of life. These are to be called Tribal Communities.
- (2) Tribals who have more or less settled down in rural areas taking to primitive agriculture and other allied occupations. These are to be called Semi-tribal Communities.
- (3) Tribals who have migrated to urban and semi-urban areas and are engaged in 'civilised' occupations, in industries and other

vocations and have almost been assimilated in the general population of the country. These are to be called Acculturated Tribals.

- (4) Tribals who have been totally assimilated.

Dr. Elwin's classification gives precedence to the nature and degree of contact influence or assimilation over all other characters. His first group is practically uncontaminated, the second one has begun to feel its impact, the third one has been fully emasculated and is subjected to all its evil effects but the fourth group has undergone the greatest change without its evil effects—rather it has won the battle of contact and has assimilated the blessings of civilisation. Elwin next takes into consideration the habitat of the group which he thinks to be an important factor in the process of change. His first two groups are inhabitants of the hills and the last two of the plains. He does not hold occupation as a very important character of the different groups but he lays some stress on the difference in psychological attitude of the different groups.

In the classification of tribes by Shrikant Committee more emphasis has been laid on the nature of habitat. The first group, here, belongs to the forest habitat, the second to the rural areas, and the third to the urban and semi-urban quarters. The fourth class is not given any special area but from the nature of its assimilation it is not difficult to imagine the nature of its habitat. Nature of occupations has been noted in the case of the second and third groups but omitted from the first and the fourth ones. Nature and degree of cultural assimilation has been indicated in the cases of the third and the fourth groups.

Neither of these two classifications can be said to be wholly satisfactory. The individuality of the different groups is not clearly brought out in all cases, the principles of classification are not uniformly used or adhered to, and important characteristics have been omitted. It is therefore desirable to attempt a regrouping on a number of fixed characters. For this purpose we would utilise habitat, economy, psychological attitude, socio-political organisation and degree of cultural assimilation as basic factors for classification. On these factors we may divide the tribals into the following five major groups :—

- (1) Timid, shy, nomadic food-gatherers and pastorals living on hills and in forests, and least affected by the culture of the plains-people who are always avoided out of suspicion. Struggle for existence is very hard, perhaps hardest, among them which stands on the way to development of arts and crafts which are very crude and merely minister to the animal need of the group. Though music and dancing are known yet there are few occasions to indulge in them. Life does not hold out a bright prospect to these miserable peoples. Type specimens—Birhors of Ranchi, Juangs of Keonjhar and Pal-Lahara, Wild Kharias of Dhalbhum, and Pabri Bhuiyas of Orissa.
- (2) Healthy, vigorous, optimistic shifting cultivators of hill-slopes with social and religious life intact and vigorous, but material culture and political organisation slightly affected. Economic self-sufficiency is based on personal labour and

group capital in the shape of village land. Bravery, love of freedom and arrogant self-respect are distinctive psychological characters. Hates to serve for money. Avoided by the plains-people out of fear. Numerous festive occasions enlivened with dancing and music. Healthy outlook on life. Type specimens - Different Naga tribes (Aos, Angamis, Rengmas, Tangkhuls, Maos, Marams, etc), Thado Kukis, Garos.

- (3) Morose plough-cultivators on the plateaux and at the foot of the hills with scattered colonies of non-tribal immigrants settled among them. Political and social organisation in the process of disintegration. Religious life burdened with Hindu concepts, Economic self-sufficiency keenly affected by lack of sufficient land, leading to growth of paid labour. Servility has replaced love of freedom. Accustomed to contact with outsiders who are looked upon as superiors and therefore imitated. Tendency towards development of castes. Festivals are still present but are looked upon as social burdens. A gloomy prospect of life. Type specimens—Mundas, Oraons, Hos etc of Chota Nagpur, Kabui Nagas of Imphal Valley, Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, Santals of West Bengal.
- (4) Hinduised tribal groups which have fully accepted the superiority of the Hindus and have thereby secured a place in the Hindu social system as a caste but still maintain some tribal characters in their social and religious life

which are looked upon with shame and therefore hidden from outsiders. Economic basis same as that of the rural population of the advanced groups among whom they are settled either in compact villages or scattered about in families. Plough-cultivation is claimed to be the traditional occupation but due to lack of sufficient land a very large proportion is engaged in mills, factories, mines, forests and cash-crop gardens as labourers or work in their own villages as agricultural day-labourers. Life is moribund due to absence of colourful festivities. Dancing and singing are regarded as traits of the uncivilised and therefore abandoned.

Type specimens—Bhumij of Manbhum and Bankura, Bhuiyas of Orissa, Koras of West Bengal.

- (5) Fully assimilated tribal groups or families occupying a fairly high social status in the Hindu caste system. Engaged in plough cultivation with sufficient land or depending on income from land, service, or professions. Enjoying the best benefits of civilisation. Competing with the advanced groups on the same plane and having a healthy outlook on life.

Type specimens—Meitheis of Manipur, Rajbhansis of North Bengal, Ahoms of Assam, Rajgonds of Madhya Pradesh.

A general classification of the tribals of India on the basis of cultural assimilation, as attempted by us and others, cannot be fully satisfactory. The twenty millions of tribal peoples of this vast country are

divided into innumerable groups, each of which has been undergoing changes at different rates through ages. They have been living in contact with the Hindus and Muhammadans since the beginning of history and were never completely isolated. In recent years, due to improvement of communication and inter-penetration of each other's territories in search of land and of jobs the process of change has accelerated. As a result the tribal groups now present a very large number of stages of assimilation which cannot be conveniently grouped into four or five categories as attempted by the different authorities. It would be better if such classification be made on regional basis which would allow greater facilities to incorporate local variations. It is also expected to offer greater help in framing courses of welfare work calculated to bring about the necessary changes in tribal life so that they may take an equal part with the other groups in the onward march of our country. In spite of these shortcomings of the present system of classification we have to accept it, in the absence of a more elaborate one, as the working hypothesis for indicating the measures of change to be introduced in respect of each class, to bring about the desired condition.

The most important question round about the tribal problem is the question of isolation or assimilation. Are we to keep the tribals away from contact with the general population as recommended by Elwin or should we push them headlong into the vortex of modern life which is surging all around them, and allow them to be engulfed by it? Neither of these two courses commend to the true social scientist. Isolation leads to stagnation and stagnation leads to decay. Isolation, therefore, cannot be prescribed as a remedy for all the ills of life from which

the tribals suffer at present. Moreover, it is impracticable in the modern set-up of things. We may stop penetration of tribal areas by the non-tribal by legislation. But how can we stop the flow of tribal labour towards mills, factories, mines and cash-crop gardens in search of bread which is not available in their own homes? Roads, railways, and automobiles cannot be checked at every entry-post into the tribal habitat. Moreover, we cannot give up utilisation of our minerals and forest products in order to keep the tribals isolate. Isolation, therefore, is an impossible proposition in the present state of things. The other alternative, namely, assimilation, is therefore the only proper course left to us in dealing with the tribal problem. This has been accepted by the social anthropologists, social workers, social leaders, and social legislators. But there is some difference of opinion as to the speed of this process of assimilation. The makers of the new constitution of India thought that it could possibly be completed in ten years from 1950 and there is provision to this effect in the said Constitution. Here the social anthropologists and social workers—those who have investigated tribal life and have come in close contact with it—differ from the makers of Constitution. Though change may be brought about hurriedly in some of the groups without any detriment to their condition yet in a larger number of cases a more cautious policy of slow and steady assimilation is recommended. Measures to bring about the changes should be adjusted to the degree of assimilation already undergone and the capacity to absorb the elements going to be projected into them. Here incomes the necessity of a scientific and accurate classification of the tribals showing the potentials of change of the different classes,

—744—

SOME ASPECTS OF TRIBAL WELFARE WORK

by

Shri G. N. DAS, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Orissa, Tribal and Rural Welfare Department.

All over India the tribals are generally in an underdeveloped condition. Delegates and visitors to this Conference must have noticed the palpable signs of poverty, mal-nutrition and illiteracy in the face of the tribals, whom they have met at the Conference. I would like to confine my references only to these tribes of Koraput and adjoining districts of this State in dealing with a few aspects of tribal welfare work.

The tribes that you have met are colourful indeed. † But economically they are extremely poor. They live in huts which are built of mud and twigs or bamboos. Not only the frame work of the huts, but also their inside contents are glaring examples of poverty. † Many of them live up in the hills—in the thick of the jungles, which are infested by wild animals. Hardly any communication facilities are available to approach their villages. They depend on the scanty yield of the precarious shifting cultivation that they practise on these hills.

† Educationally they are equally backward. The present generation of adults has hardly seen the face of any institution and gone up for higher studies. † Although the last census did not calculate the percentage of literacy amongst Scheduled Tribes separately, it can be assumed even on a liberal consideration that it could not now be higher than 5% against 3.5% of the previous census of 1941.

In the villages of the tribals there are generally unsatisfactory arrangements for

drinking water. In most cases scarcity of water is a common feature. The tribals in such cases do not get the opportunity of taking regular bath. In many of these areas, on the other hand, the conditions are favourable for diseases like Malaria, Yaws and similar other ailments to thrive and levy a heavy toll. Mal-nutrition, coupled with these conditions, saps the vitality of the tribals.

While every social worker in the field of tribal welfare work has to recognise these grim circumstances, he has to remember that according to the spirit of our Constitution, development work has to be undertaken in a manner that will enable these backward tribes to come up to the level of the advanced sections as quickly as possible. As a matter of fact the Constitution seeks to lay down a time limit of 10 years from its commencement for that achievement. Five years of that precious period have already gone by.

The time has therefore come to take stock of what remains to be done and to think how best to do it. The lessons of past experiences have to be remembered. It has also to be remembered that the State of to-day is being built as a Welfare State and as such has to more and more actively participate in the development of the backward tribes and underdeveloped areas. Increasingly more funds are being made available from State as well as from Central sources to implement schemes of development. In this State in particular non-official agencies are yet

small in number and immature in experience in the field of tribal welfare work. The brunt of the burden has, therefore, to be carried by the Governmental agencies, namely, the Services.

It is at this point that certain fundamental matters are to be considered. The points for consideration are, in the first place, whether the workers have to take account of the special features of the tribals in dealing with them and in working for their welfare and secondly, whether it is worth the while to think and take up special schemes of welfare and development, in consideration of the special features of the tribal people.

It goes without saying that not only the tribal regions have got special features of their own, but that the tribal people also, as you may have noticed, disclose some striking features that can be special to them only.

There are, no doubt, tribals who are living in the plains in close proximity to the Caste Hindu societies. To cite a few examples, there are the Gonds of Sambalpur District and there are Sabaras of Puri and Cuttack Districts. The Gonds of Sambalpur area are a simple and matter-of-fact people. They are capable of hard toil. Although not artistic by temperament, they are thrifty and careful and are good at field work. Wherever they have got their own lands, they have tried to eke out the best out of that. They are amenable to reason and are anxious to improve their lot. They are ordinarily co-operative in welfare measures. On the other hand, the Sabaras of the plains appear to be equally flat in their temperament, but are less amenable to reason. They are far less industrious than the Gonds and do not show much anxiety for their improvement.

In the case of the tribals, who are still occupying the remote and inaccessible areas, who still prefer the hills and the jungles, the special characteristics of the people and the climate are still more pronounced. I have mentioned in the beginning about the country and its environment, and how the areas are inaccessible, and about the scarcity of water and amenities of life. Now about the people. You have seen the Gaḍbas, the Koyas and the Parojas to mention only a few. They have displayed their traditional dresses and music and dance. They are indeed all very colourful and are fond of art and music. They are temperamentally artistic. These and other tribes, who live close to Mother Earth and to Nature, disclose a very remarkable degree of love of freedom. They do not suffer from any complexes at all. In extreme cases of manifestation of this trait, we find highly self-willed individuals.

Being by nature freedom-loving it is only natural to expect that the tribal will be averse to drudgery. He would like to work according to his sweet will rather than by bondage.

Being served by less bounteous means of food production, he naturally lays a premium on production of food stuffs, whether that be by gathering or by hunting or by cultivation. For him, therefore the labour that he puts in must directly yield an article of consumption. To him, therefore the harvest rites are profoundly important.

The clan frame work is still strong in the tribal society. Totems and taboos have not yet lost their influence. Leadership goes by clan hierarchy or according to religious prescription. For many of the tribals like the hill Sabaras, the Gods and Goddesses and the ancestral spirits are

still a ruling force. They have got to be propitiated with costly offerings to avert dangers and difficulties. The ceremonies connected with the death rites and with the harvest are sometimes highly elaborate and costly. Ceremonies are also prescribed for the selection of brides and for marriages. They are also elaborate and time taking. By tradition these are important functions for the tribals which they cannot neglect to observe.

In most of the tribal societies the spirit of democracy is still strong. Boys, young men and women, freely partake in discussions of social matters and unlike many of the so-called modern societies their views are not disregarded by the elders.

It has some times been said that there is no need to take into consideration the special traits of the tribal character in formulating and in executing schemes for their welfare. It has been suggested that no efforts should be wasted over this and no emphasis, whatsoever should be placed on their special traits. It has been said that the question is simple. They are illiterate and so they have to be made literate. They are poor and poverty has to be driven off. Medical and sanitary facilities have to be provided wherever they are not available. It is a question of funds and time. On the other hand, the opinion has been expressed that the attempt at regimented development work will be harmful for the tribals. They have got to be inured to the impact of modern civilization by small and suitable doses. It has been said by persons holding this view that examples are not wanting in which whole clans and tribes have been exterminated because welfare and development measures were introduced thoughtlessly.

I would at this stage mention only a few examples to clarify the point at issue. The other day a friend told me that the tribal is really a helpless creature. We have done for him in our Block area all that was possible within the limitation of time and money. The tribal did increase his income, but, poor fellow, he did not know what to do with the extra money that he earned. It either went to the excise vendor or to the trader, who brought in all kinds of luxury articles to his door.

Another friend complained some time ago that the tribal is indeed a difficult fellow to deal with. He is lazy and unreasonable. He has no ambition in life. He is satisfied with what little he has. Although various kinds of constructive projects like roads and Minor Irrigation Projects were constructed close to his village, he did not stir out from his house and want to increase his income. In another case the same friend told me that the tribals being lazy did not give as much out-turn as a plainsman in the shape of earth-work.

In yet another case a Social Worker told me with all the emphasis at his command that it is needless to try to improve the tribals. They can never understand the value of education. While all the facilities have been provided in the village school set up by Government, the boys run away to the jungles and want to collect fruits and flowers instead of coming to the school to learn the alphabet.

Opinions of this kind on the tribals are freely expressed without much thought on the part of those who express them. While that is correct, it is also true that in certain cases tribals have, under the impact of civilization, crumbled to pieces. In mining areas, it has been

noticed that uprooted from their traditional ways of living, even sturdy tribals like the Mundas have almost been liquidated. Leaving their ancestral homes and hearths, they have come to live on the mines to provide manual labour. They have been shattered to pieces and never been able to return to their traditional home and hearths. They have been neither here nor there.

In Ceylon, I noticed, a case of very comprehensive welfare measure for the tribals. Large tracts of forest lands were reclaimed by mechanised means and by major irrigation system the lands were made fertile and productive. Permanent houses were provided, roads were laid and amenities of modern life were supplied. The cost per unit was something like Rs. 15,000. Tribal families of the Veddah Clan from the Sabargaman Province, which is so-called, it is held by some, because the majority of its population, the Veddahs, have perhaps the same origin as the Sabaras, were brought and settled in these units. It was noticed in course of only a year or two that the resettled tribals were no better than in their original habitats because, in the first place, they did not know what to do with all the income that they made and they did not also know how to resist the impact of civilization that came in the shape of luxury goods, alcoholics etc. Then the Government started a scheme well-known as the Fundamental Education scheme led by Dr. Spencer Hatch, who worked for a number of years in and around Martandam in South India. The result is yet to be seen.

It has got to be admitted as will be seen in the light of the foregoing discussions, that the special features of the tribals have got to be reckoned with in

formulating as well as executing welfare and development measures meant for them. I would like to hazard a few suggestions:—

Schools are opened in tribal areas for imparting Primary education. If boys run away to the jungles to collect fruits and flowers or roots and insects in preference to being made to sit in close atmosphere during the lighted hours of the day, perhaps the class could follow them to the jungle. In the evenings a little dance and music might attract them to the same house that was not attractive enough during day time. Lessons could be imparted through nature study by day, and dance and music by night.

We have noticed that the tribals are artistic by temperament. They not only love music and dance, but are wonderful in wall paintings and decorations by indigenous articles. Those that excel in this could be artisans or designers in textile works. Some tribals like the Hill Bondos and Gadabas of this District still produce their colourful skirts that you have seen, with fibres extracted from bark of Kerang plants by using their traditional looms.

The tribals that live in the jungles have acquired intimate knowledge of the jungles. The conservation of the jungles and the preservation of wild game could be fitting subjects in which they might be trained and employed by Government.

Not only that the tribals living in the jungles are brave, but they are also adepts in archery. By proper selection they could easily be developed into good fighters and be members of the national defence force. In the community house, variously known as Sadar, Durbar, Mandagnar etc., the tribal youth is trained in a highly disciplined way of living. With

further training they would make a splendid disciplined labour or fighting force.

It would be futile merely to find fault with the tribals because they are not eager to work as bonded slaves. Liking as they do to see their labour being directly rewarded by articles of consumption like food grains, they should profitably be trained in agricultural pursuits and activities.

It has been suggested by some that the only way of ameliorating the lot of the tribals is to effectively prevent the entry of unscrupulous traders and money-lenders into tribal areas and to supply adequate credit facilities for productive and other essential purposes. That would, no doubt, prevent the exploitation of the tribals, but it may be difficult to implement such a proposal of preventing persons' entry into certain areas. The best course, therefore, would be to foster co-operative organisations and to train up the tribal young men in the working of co-operative organisations in such a way that they will be able to check the impact of civilization in this field. In tribal societies community living is still practised in a considerable measure. It will be easy for them to work out in co-operative organisations, schemes designed to do them good.

In order to imbibe the socialistic pattern of society various measures for social reforms are now being introduced. Mention may be made of the Anchal Sasan based on the framework of Gram Panchayat. According to it a number of villages are grouped together to form a unit. They are to elect their representatives to function as the Panchayats. In tribal communities, the community pattern of living is still obtaining and nearly every tribal community has a

Panchayat of its own based on the clan hierarchy. In introducing measures like this in tribal areas, the special circumstances of the tribal communities, have to be remembered and if necessary the measures have to be modified accordingly. In introducing land reforms, it has to be remembered that in the case of the primitive tribes the system is still prevailing under which the benefits of co-operative farming accrue to the individuals. Measures that may be suitable for other communities, where that feature may be wanting, may not be necessary and even may not be suitable for such tribal communities.

In matters of sanitation and medical aid it will be unwise to close our eyes to what tribals have by experience found to be good for them as medicines. There are many valuable roots and herbs which they have discovered and have been using as remedies against illness. It will be proper to teach the tribals scientific methods of extraction and preparation of medicines, so that the medicines become more efficacious. While we the so-called civilized people are anxious to propitiate Gods and Goddesses of Heaven and Earth for obtaining our worldly ends, it will be diabolical on our part to decry similar conduct on the part of the tribals. By slow degrees of education all that may be superstitious and expensive in their ceremonies may disappear.

Above all we have got to see that in course of the acculturation process the tribals do not fall a prey to the complex element. This may manifest itself in the tribals' dislike to their own traditional ways of living like their music and dance and rituals. While these may be quite harmless by themselves, by force of circumstances, the

tribals will say that they are not good and that only customs and practices of other cultures are good. We may remember what happened when there was the impact of the British civilization with ours in the long past. We started to decry all our traditional ways of living and to praise those of the alien culture. Thereby admittedly we not only lost our heritage, but imbibed an inferiority complex which has been cutting at our roots all the while.

We, who are engaged in the sacred task of doing welfare work for the tribals, should not lose sight of the pit falls in the way, and should not also forget all the strong points of the tribal culture and the paramount necessity of approaching the problem in a spirit of service and dedication. To fortify our workers, provision should be made for adequate training. For, in whatever field a worker may be engaged, a trained hand is always better than the novice.

SOCIAL EDUCATION—THE SHEET ANCHOR OF TRIBAL WELFARE

by

Shri K.K. LEUVA, B.A. LL.B., Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for Bihar, Ranchi.

After Independence and particularly after promulgation of the Constitution of India, very much attention is being paid by the Government of India and the State Governments in the country for the welfare of the tribal people. Efforts are made to solve the problems of the tribal people through welfare schemes which are roughly classified into five main heads, namely, Education, Economic, Public Health, Communications and Miscellaneous including Culture.

2. On perusal of the welfare schemes which have been formulated by various State Governments one will certainly find that much stress is laid—and rightly—on Educational Schemes. Because it is agreed on all hands that Education though not the best means, is one of the best means to ameliorate the conditions of a society. But unfortunately most of the Educational Schemes are confined to opening of primary and secondary schools for the tribal students, hostels, awards of stipends etc. It is estimated that very little is being done in the realm of Social Education which is the sheet-anchor of the Tribal Welfare.

3. Economy of the tribal people is Agricultural Economy and/or Forest Economy. Various schemes aiming at improvement of the economic conditions have been formulated in the different States, like Graingolas, Settlement and Reclamation of Waste Lands, Minor Irrigation Works, Irrigation Wells, Development of Cottage Industries and so on. On perusal of the

achievements of the welfare programme during the last five years, everybody will be convinced that the same has provided relief to the tribal people in their economic distress. Similarly with extension of health services to the tribal areas and restoration of communications, common diseases are being successfully combated and segregation is broken. But whether the achievements of the welfare programme or the relief provided to the tribal people commensurates with the expenditure involved, whether any of the important problems of the tribal people have been solved, whether there has been that urge among these people for better amenities for life or whether their outlook towards the life has been broadened—these are some of the few questions which come to the forefront when we begin stock-taking of the programme. And any effort to seek replies to these questions will not allow us to be self-complacent.

4. One thing is certain, and there should not be any dispute over it that the success of welfare programme lies in the extent of confidence which may be created among the people whose welfare is aimed at. To launch a programme without securing the confidence is a folly. No amount of loans given to the tribal people from the Graingolas will gain their confidence, neither do the hostels, wells or production-cum-training Centres. It will be admitted by all that for the successful implementation, full cooperation of the tribal people will be needed and that can be secured by

associating them with the welfare schemes. One small example would be sufficient to throw more light on this proposition. Education has to be promoted among the tribal people who are quite illiterate. Under the Educational scheme; Primary Schools are opened and other concessions like books, slates and even stipends are given so that children may be attracted to schools in an increasing number. We do not stop there and go further ahead and think of introducing compulsion. I would remind you of an enlightened Ruler, Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda who made primary education compulsory in his State as early as in the year 1907. At the expiration of 40 years when the State merged with Bombay, almost two generations of the State subjects were supposed to have come under the effects of compulsory primary education and there should have been quite an appreciable increase in the literacy percentage. But it was not so. Why?, because one important factor was not taken into consideration that primary education of the children cannot be successful if the parents and guardians are not tackled first or simultaneously. Hence the Educational Schemes cannot be successful unless the adults are tackled with the help of Social Education. And what is true in respect of the Education Scheme is also true with other welfare schemes like Economic, Public Health etc.

5. Social Education is a new concept which is peculiarly Indian in its

development. It has evolved from the early efforts of "Adult Education" workers primarily in the field of literacy education. It has been realised that if the ideals of a Welfare State were to be achieved, every Indian citizen must be made aware of his responsibility, not only to himself, but to his family, his local community and wider community which is India. Since Independence the Planning Commission has characterised Social Education in the Five Year Plan as the process of actively associating adults with the definition and solution of their problems. It is said that Social Education is the process of "community uplift through community action."

6. The concept of helping the villager to help himself has been beautifully expressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his famous book, "Hindu View of Life." He has said,

"I have deep respect for and faith in the Indian villager and his ability to learn those things which he needs to learn in order to impose his way of life. Because of this faith in the villager I see my job as not making decisions for him but in helping him to make his own decisions and in helping him carry them out. Nothing is good which is not self-chosen, or no determination is valuable which is not self-determination."

If the Tribal Welfare Programme is based on the above concept, there will be real welfare of the tribal people.

EVALUATION OF SOME IMPORTANT WELFARE SCHEMES FOR TRIBAL PEOPLE IN BIHAR

by

Shri K.K. Leuva, B.A., LL.B., Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for Bihar, Ranchi.

Till very recently Bihar has had the biggest population of 40,49,183* of aboriginals. These aboriginals inhabit predominantly in Chotanagpur plateau and Santhal Parganas district of the State. Among these tribes, Oraon, Munda, Ho, Santhal and Kharia form the bulk of the population who avail of the major share of the welfare programme. Christian Missionaries are working among the Aboriginals in Chotanagpur since 100 years or more with the result that a fairly large number of them have been educated and have become conscious of their rights. In the post-Independence period, the tribal people received a greater attention from the Government in the realm of welfare and the tempo in the welfare work has arisen dramatically during the last 3 years of the First Five Year Plan period, as can be seen from the following figures of expenditure :-

Year	Expenditure in Rupees
1951-52	52,80,000
1952-53	49,27,000
1953-54	52,12,000
1954-55	81,31,000
1955-56	1,01,00,962

Total	3,36,50,962

2. The State Government of Bihar launched a multi-pronged drive by implementing numerous schemes for raising the administrative level of the Scheduled

Areas and for the welfare of the tribal people. These schemes can be divided under 5 major heads namely, Education, Economic, Public Health, Communications and Miscellaneous-culture etc. The above schemes are being implemented through the official agencies except one, namely Special Schemes for Aboriginal uplift, known as Thakkar Bapa Scheme which is executed through the non-official agencies —the Adimjati Seva Mandal, Ranchi in Chotanagpur and the Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal in Santhal Parganas district. During the period of 3 years and more since I resumed duties in Bihar, I have had fair opportunities to study the welfare schemes from close quarters. Hence I venture in all humbleness to evaluate some of the important schemes.

3. It goes much to the credit of the Government that they have spent enormous amounts for providing educational facilities comprising award of stipends, hostels and special education schemes for Paharias of Santhal Parganas. Among the educational schemes I have selected for evaluation the scheme of hostels for tribal students. Villages in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas are scattered and long distances between them handicap the educational uplift of the students who have to cover a distance of 5-7 miles a day to attend the schools. With a view to remove this hardship, the State Government have chalked out the modest

* Less 3,00,000 approximately on account of transfer of Manbhum area to West Bengal.

programme of opening of hostels for them at the rate of one hostel in each Thana. Opening of hostels was also one of the important items of Thakkar Bapa Scheme which is still in operation.

4. It is admitted by all that living in a hostel is an important part of education. It is a way of living and here the students learn to live decently or indifferently or even in an uncouth fashion. It is not simply a place to sit and sleep or even to study although these are indispensable.* The Government of Bihar are in an advantageous position as they have not to spend much towards providing free food in view of the prevailing custom of bringing of their own rice into the hostel by the inmates. The Government supplement the ration by sanctioning Re. 1 per month as vegetable allowance and annas eight for kerosene. However, among the hostellers, a few are given free food, while some are awarded hostel grants at the rate of Rs. 15 per month or school stipends varying from Rs. 5 to 15. The difference in the assistance is so glaring that it does not afford opportunities to have a community life among the students in the hostels. It was complained in many a case that hostel grants and school stipends were sanctioned very late. It may be imagined how many difficulties the students may have to face, without this help, which is absolutely essential to continue studies while living in the hostels. The students go to their parents once in a month or more to bring rice and a little cash to pull on their life in the hostel. To get timely requirements, both rice and cash is not a small thing for them and they have to wait for 2-3 days beseeching their parents who feel embarrassed in satisfying the former's need. This

absence from the school and hostel causes deterioration in studies and break in the hostel life.

5. I would like to give some glimpses of the hostel life in the State of Bombay. I confined myself to the hostels for Backward Classes in Gujerat, where they are managed by Gujerat Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bhil Seva Mandal and Swarajya Ashram. The hostel life in these hostels is based on the principle of self-help and it is modelled on the line of Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad. The students in these hostels have to lead a very austere life, doing everything themselves beginning from cleansing to running social education classes and Shramadan. In spite of their being kept occupied as above, I can say that their progress in the schools has been quite satisfactory. Life of tribal students in hostels in Bihar should be improved on the above Principle. The life led by tribal students at their homes is far from satisfactory particularly in respect of prosecution of studies. There is no atmosphere which would inculcate love for education. They should be uprooted, of course temporarily for training in educational institutions like hostels and replanted to their homes and hearths later on, well equipped for a decidedly better life.

6. As I see and compare the hostel life in Bihar, I have begun to form a definite opinion that the aim of the hostel can well be achieved if it is run by voluntary agencies, provided that the latter can place the same in charge of a person who is keeping Service before Self. But dearth of voluntary agencies devoted to social service has proved a great headache to the Government. What I feel myself in this respect is that the Government

* Bihar Harijan Enquiry Committee's Report.

themselves can create non-official agencies by encouraging them with financial assistance. If the tribal people themselves are associated with the scheme of hostels through the non-official agencies, efforts of the Government will be understood and appreciated by the former in a better manner. At present it is an impression among these people that the Government should do everything for them and instances are not few in which they even underestimate the work of the Government and express discontent. To eliminate the above impression, the voluntary agencies will be very helpful to interpret in clear terms to these people as to what the Government have been doing for the welfare. And in this way the gulf between the Government and the tribal people can be bridged.

7. In order to make the hostels serve their purpose, uniformity of life in the same has to be preserved. It can be done if the inmates are guaranteed free food. But a question would arise whether free food can be given to all the inmates reading in various hostels in Bihar in view of the heavy financial involvement. I am quite hopeful and more optimistic as the practice of bringing one's own rice for reading in a hostel compares favourably for the introduction of free food to all. There is a contribution from the people's side already. The only thing is that we have to raise the above contribution cumulatively rather than on individual basis as is being done at present. This cannot happen as long as the management of the hostels remains with the official agency. Hence the hostel movement has to be viewed from an altogether different perspective. It has to be converted into a people's movement. It is gratifying to learn that the Government

have accepted the principle of entrusting the management of some of the hostels if any dependable organisations come forward.

8. I have to say a few words about construction of hostel buildings. Huge amounts have been spent for such constructions. Instances are not few in which hostel buildings have been constructed at places where there were no known demands for hostel accommodation from students. Any how the funds spent should be commensurate with the benefits derived. Hence I may suggest that the local people should be given some building grants for construction of moderate houses for hostels in conformity with the local environments. It does not however mean that the Government should stop construction of the hostel buildings altogether. It should be undertaken at places where the same is absolutely necessary. No construction should be undertaken in anticipation that the students will come forth to stay in due course of time.

Graingolas

9. Under the head 'Economic' comes the most important Scheme of Graingolas which I wish to evaluate. Economic improvement of the tribal people has been an important programme and opening of many Graingolas formed one of the important schemes aiming at the above end. Economic exploitation of the tribal people by money lenders who charged exorbitant rates of interest on grain transactions was a serious problem. It was hardly possible for these poor people to free themselves from clutches of these usurers. To combat this evil, the Scheme of Graingolas was executed vigorously. The following figures reveal us to how

seriously the Government are expanding the Scheme.

Year	No. of Graingolas during the year	Expenditure in Rs. during the year.
1951-52	230	3,59,000
1952-53	238	1,80,000
1953-54	251	4,63,000
1954-55	355	3,38,000
1955-56	362	5,73,509

10. The Scheme, though a good one, cannot go far ahead in effecting improvement of the economic condition of the tribal people. The scheme as it is can provide only a partial relief. Though the Graingolas are meant for providing aboriginals with seed grain as well as subsistence, the stock that they contain is of such a kind that it cannot be used for seed purposes. Though the tribal people may be growing less dependent upon the money-lender for loans of paddy for subsistence purpose with opening of the Graingolas, their requirement of foodstuff before the harvest has not lessened to an appreciable degree. The scheme seems to be a one sided affair, namely, the official agency distributes loans of paddy and recovers the same with interest. It can be a model scheme for uplifting the tribal people from economic distress if it is based on the principle of co-operation. As such the Scheme of Graingolas requires a complete overhaul.

11. Looking to the condition of agriculture in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas, it is certain that a large number of Adibasi agriculturists cannot produce as much food grains as would last for them throughout the year. It is an admitted fact that many of these people live precariously in loan months which are called by them as 'starvation

period'. Again whatever food grains they produce, are not made use of judiciously. There is a considerable wastage of food stock in brewing rice beer (*handia*) and feasting. The starvation period can be reduced in two ways (i) by increasing agricultural yield and (ii) by making judicious use of the available stock. Agricultural yield can be increased by persuading the Adibasis to adopt improved methods of agriculture. But the scheme of graingolas can help these people in making judicious use of their food grains. A habit of saving has to be inculcated among the Adibasis. Savings of foodgrains can be effected by self-imposed restriction in brewing of rice beer and feasting. These savings in kind should be deposited in the graingolas from which they may draw in times of need. For that, the scope of the scheme of graingolas will have to be expanded converting the same into Grain Banks. These Grain Banks would serve another important purpose also. The Adibasi agriculturists in many a case have not enough space in their houses for storage of agricultural produce; as such they are forced to sell it off when market prices are at an ebb and thereby put to much avoidable economic loss. Foodgrains or any agricultural produce can be deposited in the Grain Banks and may be sold at the discretion of the depositors when market prices may be showing an upward trend.

12. The Grain Banks should run on the principle of co-operation. In fact these Banks should be cooperative Grain Banks. I would like to make a few suggestions as to how the present graingolas can be converted into Cooperative Grain Banks. The area to which a graingola caters ordinarily is round about 20

villages. A cooperative society may be organised from amongst the residents of the above 20 villages to which the grain-gola may be transferred with its assets, money value of which may be paid by the society, either in part or in full as may be agreed to in the course of time when it becomes a profitable concern. Share capital and membership fees may be raised by depositing stocks of grains as may be determined by the organisation. Greater stress should be laid on compulsory savings which may be deposited in the bank for loan transactions. The rate of interest should be 25% for the first year and 6½% for subsequent years till the loans are realised. Having made a provision for the cost of management, the individual members may share the profits which accrue by frequent turnover of the stock. The Government shall have to bear expenses in the management for a limited period in the initial stage within which a few workers from amongst the members themselves will be prepared to manage their own affairs. In due course, these Grain Banks may arrange also for marketing of the surplus agricultural produce to the best interests of the members.

13. Pending definite decision of the Government on the above, the following few measures are absolutely necessary to make the existing graingolas more helpful in relieving the Adibasis even partially of their economic distress.

(i) Surprise visits to check up the working of the graingolas specially at the time of distributing loans and recovery of the same by officers of the Welfare and Revenue Departments.

(ii) Regular physical verification of stocks in the graingolas should take place as required under the rules,

(iii) Important rules of the Graingolas should be displayed boldly on boards in Hindi at every graingola so that the borrowers may understand their rights and liabilities under the welfare scheme of graingolas. In addition there should be notices also displayed guiding the beneficiaries that they receive a fair deal in grain transactions. For the purpose the following should be quite suitable.

Important Rules of Graingolas :

1. Loans in grains will be given for relief of distress or for seed.
2. Loans may be given to owners and occupiers of arable lands.
3. Borrowers shall be jointly and severally liable for entire loan issued to the group.
4. Agreement shall be executed by the borrowers.
5. A copy of the agreement shall be handed over to the headman of borrowers.
6. The bond shall be cancelled if the loans are repaid with interest.
7. Loans shall be repayable between 1st January and 31st March, of the following year with 25% in kind. After 31st March the loan shall be realised with interest at the rate of 6½% per annum in kind.
8. A rebate of 5% on the interest will be allowed if loans are repaid before the 1st January.
9. District Collectors may grant suspension for repayment on account of failure of crops or exceptional calamity.
10. Money value of the loans shall become realisable on 1st April

following through a certificate case.

11. Remission of a loan or a portion of a loan may be sanctioned only where the recovery of the loan in full would occasion serious hardship to a borrower.
12. A loan will be recovered immediately if it is misapplied or if it is not being utilised for the purpose for which it was granted.

Important directions to borrowers :

1. See that paddy taken as loan weighs equal to what has been accounted for in book.
2. See that receipt is given for any payment of loans in part or in full.
3. See that actual dues have been paid and not more.
4. See that grains disbursed are of good quality and not mixed with dust, sand or any other foreign material.
5. Do not pay any illegal gratification for borrowing and repaying loans.
6. See that loans are paid in time. By doing it you will benefit yourself.
7. Bring your complaints if any to the notice of District Welfare Officer or an officer responsible for the Graingolas.

(iv) Leaflets containing the above rules and directions should be distributed among the people who ordinarily apply for loans from the Graingolas. Wide publicity should be given of the above measures through every available means so that consciousness may be created among the above people particularly in

respect of their rights and liabilities under the welfare schemes.

Minor Irrigation Scheme

14. 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 recommends to the Deputy Commissioner about 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 1952-53, the remaining 50% being the responsibility of the State. The total expenditure against the scheme was as follows during the first Five Year Plan Period.

Year	No. of Minor Irrigation schemes executed	Total expenditure in Rs.
1951-52	2,438	36,67,000
1952-53	1,501	16,86,000
1953-54	1,308	23,88,000
1954-55	1,515	30,85,000
1955-56	1,538	28,77,783
Total	8,300	1,37,03,783

15. Though the expenditure is very high, the success of the scheme can be judged from areas of agricultural lands actually irrigated which could not be readily procured. The tribal people, however, in many a case have had to express dissatisfaction at these minor irrigation

works. In order to ensure success of the scheme the tribal people should be consulted freely in the matter of selection of sites for constructional works and wherever possible, the same should be executed through them. It would be quite wrong to think that the tribal people are quite ignorant of agriculture or irrigation. In the matter of reclamation of waste lands, some of the tribes have been pioneers. What Sir Macpherson has said of Santhals is equally applicable to many of the tribes in the country. He said,

“A Santhal is a born reclaimer. He has an eye to perceive natural depressions in the surface of the land. He knows where to construct cross bands and raise embankments”.

If that is the fact, why may these people not be associated with the scheme of Minor Irrigation Works which is after all meant for their welfare ?

Poultry Development Centres

16. The tribal people rear poultry which provide them additional food in the form of meat and eggs. A welfare scheme known as Poultry Development Centre has been started in Scheduled/Tribal Areas with a view to improving the poultry of the Adibasis. Expenditure incurred on the scheme was as follows during the last three years of the First Five Year Plan Period.

Year	No. of poultry centres during the year	Expenditure	Achievements Eggs Produced
1953-54	6	72,000	19,282
1954-55	7	91,000	N.A.
1955-56	7	1,27,875	98,858

Progress of the scheme cannot be judged from the number of eggs produced. The tribal people seem to be averse to the

scheme for obvious reasons which can be enumerated as shown below:—

- (a) Price of improved birds like Red-Rhode Island and White Leghorn is too high for the Adibasis to purchase the same. Price of an improved bird depends upon its age. As for example, a five month-old bird will cost Rs. 5 and so on.
- (b) If the Adibasis cannot pay in cash, birds may be introduced in exchange of their country birds. Unfortunately the rate of exchange is also abnormally high. An Adibasi has to give his country bird double in weight for an improved bird. Hence exchanges are few and far between.
- (c) The Adibasis are very fond of cock fighting. Red-Rhode Island or White Leghorn birds have no value for them as they do not fight at all.
- (d) Country birds take care of their own and search for their own feed. They protect themselves against attacks from cats or jackals by swift running and climbing high altitudes. While Red-Rhode Island and White Leghorn are princely birds which require special menu for feed, housing and care which is beyond the capacity of the Adibasis.
- (e) Rearing of improved poultry requires technical knowledge which is not provided in the scheme. A training to those interested in improved poultry is absolutely necessary so as to equip them with knowledge of

feeding, protecting against poultry diseases etc.

- (f) Improved variety of hens do not hatch eggs for which a country bird is absolutely necessary.

17. All the above factors have to be taken into consideration before implementing a scheme of poultry development among the Adibasis. A scheme of poultry development can be thought of collectively and individually. If improvement is effected in the whole village, it can be done by cross-breeding. For that, a compact area of one, two or three villages may be selected where with cooperation of all the village people, country cocks shall have to be eliminated. It can be done by purchasing of the same by the Poultry Development Centres and disposing them of for the table purpose. If that is not possible, the country cocks should be castrated. The Poultry Development Centres shall have to arrange supply of the requisite number of cocks of improved variety at concessional rates also.

18. If the scheme cannot be all embracing as above, individuals may be

persuaded to take interest in the improvement of their poultry. For that they should be trained in poultry rearing on scientific basis followed by financial assistance in the form of loans and subsidies from Government to enable them to raise poultry houses, arrange feed etc. It is estimated that a sum of Rs. 2,000 initially is required to have a poultry farm on individual basis in order to earn something by way of a subsidiary income.

19. The above are a few of the important welfare schemes which I have tried to evaluate in all humbleness. There are numerous other schemes of still greater importance like rehabilitation of wandering tribe like Kharia, special schemes for Paharias in Santhal Parganas district, development of tribal areas of Monghyr and Shahabad Districts, evaluation of which require more study. Moreover space and time both are so short that if one tries to evaluate any one of them he cannot do full justice to it. It is hoped that the tribal people in the State will be forthcoming for a greater participation in the development programme which is so essential for their welfare.

TRIBAL WELFARE AGENCY : OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL

by

**Shri Ambalal Vyas, Honorary Tribal and Rural Welfare Organiser
Government of Orissa.**

I have worked for more than 20 years as a life member of Bhil Seva Mandal under the guidance of late revered Thakkar Bapa, and I have now been associated with the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of Orissa State for more than 10 years; still I do not consider myself competent enough to compare and contrast the tribal welfare work done by official and non-official agencies; or to sit in judgment over the work that has been done and is still being done in both these spheres. I approach the subject as a field worker and as an humble student, neither of anthropology nor of sociology as a science, but only of actual social and tribal welfare work. As a social worker, I have carefully observed and tried to understand the different aspects of tribal welfare work as intelligently as possible on my part and I am going to share with other social workers my personal views, opinions, impressions and decisions as candidly and clearly as is possible in a short note.

The period when the pioneer tribal welfare organisation (B.S.M.) was started by Thakkar Bapa was in many respects really extraordinary. Excepting him, all of us were the products of non-cooperation days; we had joined Bapa, who was a devoted social and humanitarian worker and a staunch and loyal member of the Servants of India Society, as political and national workers only under the garb of

social service. That garb occasionally burst as in 1930, 1932 and 1942; but under the fatherly control, supervision and guidance of Bapa we all had settled down to constructive social work. The really tribal aspect of welfare work, however, dawned on us at a later stage, more especially after Dr. Elwin entered into the field and a controversy was started whether the tribals should remain as museum specimens or whether opportunities should be given to them for educational and other developments. After some time, it was accepted as a national policy that though all good aspects of tribal culture should be maintained and the tribals be given all facilities for development in their own way, they should be gradually provided with benefits of modern education, culture and civilization.

As non-official workers we were our own masters; we were making experiments; we learnt by trial and error. Official agency, however enlightened and liberal, lacks that freedom; there is more of rigidity in their work; they are not allowed to commit mistakes; so they have to work very carefully and cautiously and follow a set model or programme of work chalked out for them. Thus usually it is being left to the non-official agencies to lead in all reform movements whether the reform is to be in the field of education or in the field of economic improvement.

The non-officials were and even now are lacking in resources and the flow of resources is also not steady and regular. This very often hampers their work and comes in the way of expansion also. Official work, though of a set purpose, always gets a steady, regular flow of money and other resources and thus if the field staff there is honest and earnest about the work in hand, they are in a better position to show results. The non-officials have still to worry about funds, though after the national Governments have been formed both at the Centre and in the States a portion of this worry has been relieved because of liberal grants. But as the flow of funds from Government has started, that from the public is gradually drying up. The enthusiasm and generosity for social work that had been generated in the wake of national resistance movement are slowly but surely becoming invisible day by day and people in many places have begun to say that in a 'Welfare State' it should be the Government's sole responsibility to cater to the developmental needs of all backward classes.

This question also has to be carefully pondered over, and definite guidance given both to society and to Government. No doubt, Government will have to expand its field of social welfare activities and try to cater to the needs of all its citizens, but non-official agency will have its own sphere and area of service. As I said earlier, initiative and leadership in reform fields, by making new experiments and learning and teaching by the method of trial and error will have to come from non-official agencies. They need not devote their mind and meagre resources to doing only routine kind of work which can safely be left to

official agencies. Whatever they do should be done in an ideal way; they should become guides and models to Governments who can work out the same on a vast expanded basis. There are and can be, however, areas where Government machinery cannot or may not go, or may not be in a position to succeed even for some routine welfare work. Non-official agencies should and will have to undertake educational and other welfare activities there. They should be made the agents of Government for welfare work and be liberally financed by Government.

So far as honesty, integrity, earnestness and enthusiasm for work are concerned, it should not be considered the monopoly of any one party. There are black sheep in all walks of life. There was some sort of enmity, opposition and sense of suspicion between the officials and non-officials till freedom was won. Now we are all Indians, working for the same common weal. We should now come nearer and try to co-operate with one another without any complexes in our mind. A good worker, whether official or non-official should be both honest and efficient. There might have been and even now may be some corruption in the official ranks but the official world is now quite alert, awake and alive to the problem. It is now changing its outlook and approach and trying its utmost to be free from that stigma of corruption; the non-officials also should shake off their lethargy, inefficiency and desultoriness wherever they are and try to compete with the officials in method and efficiency. Even in a Welfare State the right type of non-official welfare agencies are absolutely necessary; so they should be encouraged by Government but all non-official

welfare agencies should be above petty party or group politics.

The tribals have favourably reacted to the welfare work, undertaken by non-official agencies on purely national or humanitarian grounds. Even when Bhil Seva Mandal was not in the good books of Government in pre-independence days, thousands of Bhils, both males and females, flocked to the gates of our Ashrams to seek relief and advice on all matters. To this day the Ashrams have not lost their popularity. As regards welfare work done by Government, it is the tribals who have appreciated it the most. I have heard from officers in charge of Community Projects or National Extension Blocks that the response from the tribals is the highest. Not only do they contribute in the form of physical labour which is the only wealth they possess in abundance but they freely give their coppers for a public cause if approached in the right manner. Because of their innate virtues of simplicity, honesty, candour, community spirit and sense of equality, they quickly and favourably respond to an act of service if done without an air of superiority. Wherever and whenever the non-official workers or the officials approach them as friends on terms of equality, the response is immediate and whole-hearted.

All of us working in the field of

tribal welfare have always to bear this in mind, if we really intend that our mission should succeed. The question, therefore, of engaging the right type of personnel is, I am sure, worrying both the sectors of tribal welfare. All the non-official organisations find it difficult now-a-days to secure the services of good, responsible and efficient workers even with three to four-fold remuneration offered to-day, because we have fallen from the high pedestal after independence was won and there is a scramble and race for sharing the spoils of loaves and fishes. In Government ranks also because of big development programmes in the public sector, trained and experienced hands get such quick promotions and transfers that they have to hand over their charge to their inexperienced juniors just when they have fully qualified themselves to successfully work out the schemes under their charge. There is no separate cadre for tribal welfare. Any sub-deputy can be placed in charge of one whole district even though he is unwilling and temperamentally and ideally unfit for the job. This defect in the Government machinery deserves to be rectified. Specially trained officers should be placed in charge of tribal welfare work, especially in Scheduled Areas; and the good work done by them should be appreciated and recognised by the higher authorities for promotions.

CO-ORDINATION OF TRIBAL RESEARCH AND TRIBAL WELFARE ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

by

Shri P.G. SHAH, President Gujarat, Research Society, Bombay.

At a meeting of the tribal welfare conference, one of the most important problems for discussion is the necessity of securing full co-operation and co-ordination between the research scholars and the welfare workers. At present they are mostly working in two separate compartments. The research workers particularly those attached to the Universities with strong departments of sociology and anthropology, retain an academic attitude based on the study of foreign text books and foreign techniques for research. Most of these University men—particularly the younger ones—lack in the minimum knowledge of Sanskrit or regional literature. Those who have obtained their baptism in foreign atmosphere delight in the discussion of Western theories of functionalism, of diffusion, of culture, assimilation of culture, integration of culture, functional importance of behaviour patterns, conceptual values, values of kinship and marriage. This study of theoretical concepts of modern anthropology is extremely valuable ; but is seldom accompanied by an adequate knowledge of the ancient literature of the tribal or allied people in distant past, through Sanskrit or Pali or regional literature. It is often surprising to know that some of the modern anthropologists have shown little familiarity with the ancient Indian traditions of the land, as described in the books, modern and ancient, or with the comparative customs and manners of the main population in the area. Thus often the

practices and beliefs of a tribal people are described as peculiar to them whereas they are more or less the same as followed by Hindus since ancient times and as described in Grihyasutras or Atharvaveda or Rigveda. It is therefore increasingly necessary that the modern anthropologist should be familiar with ancient Indian history and tradition and modern adaptations of them as followed by the majority community. For this purpose, the research workers in the tribal areas must be specially equipped with the modern weapons and methods of sociological, ethnological and anthropological research and must secure, if they do not possess already, a grounding in the history, culture, and traditions of the local areas under investigation.

The research scholar should not lose sight of the simple fact that the main target for tribal welfare projects in India is eventually to bring up the socio-economic-cultural achievements of the tribals at least to the level of the best types living in the same ecological surroundings. The research scholar has therefore to keep in view the two-fold aspects of the plan before him : he has to be specially reminded of this feature, because the rewards of a purely Western approach in book on a tribe is likely to bring in huge sales of the book which reach 5000 to 8000 copies in various parts of the world : whereas a simpler book on the welfare side of the tribal peoples will not command such heavy sales in India.

On the other hand, our welfare workers lack sufficient training and familiarity with the social sciences, so that they are unable to appreciate the theoretical concepts underlying the tribal welfare movement. The constitution of India lays special emphasis on the welfare of the backward classes, the most important of which are the tribal people. The Indian Republic is pledged to remove ignorance, poverty and disease from amongst them and to take early steps to bring them at least to the level of the standards of life followed by ordinary people living in the locality. The welfare schemes very often cut across the cultural life of these ancient tribes and where the cultural life is thus undergoing a sudden change, an important point is to watch whether this change is bringing any harm to the inner happiness of the group. It may happen that the tribal group may appear to look better in cleaner dress in adopting standard habits of bath, food and drink, and in getting more cash money passing through their hands. But the question remains—are they really happy—do they get their share of normal happiness and satisfaction in the form of amusements, dance, festivities and simple joys of life? It is a very hopeful sign of the times that in many tribal areas the old thatched huts are being replaced by more permanent structures built with the help of Government subsidies and loans, but a number of incumbents of the new houses are unable to pay back the instalments of the loan or the higher rent, for the simple reason that they have not secured increased opportunities of earning while their expenses are going up. It is therefore essential that the welfare schemes of raising the standard of living should be accompanied by arrangements for

increased earning, for continuous employment throughout the year, and provision of other facilities through multipurpose cooperative societies for fetching high price for the things produced and for getting their requirements of food and clothing at reasonable rates. This requires systematic plans which require research and cooperation, not necessarily with sociologists or anthropologists but with economists and agriculturists; for all these faculties the training of our welfare workers is to be continuously expanded and made broad-based.

Here I would like to bring to notice an important point regarding the cultural life of the tribal people. It has been found that the backward groups easily absorb the culture of the so-called higher groups among which they live and secure the prestige and social position which are in so common demand. The adoption of vegetarian food and a daily substitution of the nutritious gruel by a modern cup of tea "that cheers but does not inebriate," have great consequences. A reduction in precious nitrogenous animal proteins or heat-giving starches when not substituted by equally nutritious food (if grams, pulses or milk are too expensive) leads to a reduction in health standards and decrease in output of work. The position therefore requires to be occasionally checked and surveyed by research-minded nutrition experts, accompanied by medical men capable of taking up a health and disease survey also.

In matters of dress and clothing great changes have taken place in most tribal areas where tree-leaves were till recently the only coverings used by some tribes, in more reasonable dress being followed; but even then we must remember that overdressing has been reported to lead to

skin diseases. On the other hand, the old tribal head dresses are disappearing and are replaced by simpler white caps; while in some parts of Saurashtra and Gujarat the shirts or coats with numerous folds and the bulky pyjamas of men and voluminous skirts of women are being replaced by simpler dresses. This replacement cannot be prevented but it is important that the welfare-worker should have sufficient training and knowledge to keep a record of the artistic features of these ancient dresses before they disappear. Here the cooperation of the artist and the photographer or painter becomes necessary.

But the necessity of combining research and welfare appears to me to be most urgent in the fields of art, folk-art, folk-songs, folk-tales, folk dance and folk-literature. The simplification of dress and the style of living and the imitation of the highbrow culture of the upper and the middle classes has led the tribal people to discard their favourite past-time of dancing. I have come across among several tribes, a growing attitude to condemn community dances, especially mixed dancing of men and women. In a considerable number of cases, the opposition arises from the unwillingness of the community to show the mixed dances to outsiders who visit the tribal areas more for curiosity than study. The position is similar to what has happened in the cities. About fifty years ago, the Navaratri festivities were observed with great eclat in the cities of Gujarat where the folk songs and folk dances were practised in open spaces in various parts of the cities, but since the days of Hindu-Muslim riots and increase of education among women, such public folk dances have disappeared from the cities, though they continue in smaller

towns and villages.

The Government of India have officially encouraged folk dances throughout the country by offering prizes for the dances on the Independence Day in January every year. Before the spirit for the dance disappears in villages and hills and before it gets transformed into westernised music steps, special encouragement should be offered to the tribal people throughout the country. To encourage the indigenous ancient tribal folk dances and folk songs and to prevent the imposition of modern city and cinema song dances on the tribal people, special efforts are necessary from a historical and research point of view to understand the various tribal arts, literature and dances. This requires a higher standard of learning and preparation for the study in these fields before our welfare workers or research workers are sent out into the field. I would strongly press that the education and training of both our research workers and welfare workers have to be very broad-based. This double requirement of research and welfare will frighten many academic minded persons who may raise a serious outcry that the very foundations of scientific progress are at stake if the pure academic outlook is vitiated by the loose thinking associated with welfare measures. But on a little consideration, I hope it will be recognised that there is nothing fundamentally inconsistent in the two disciplines which cannot be harmoniously reconciled. An important condition is that the training of the social scientist-sociologist, ethnologist and the anthropologist on the one hand as well as that of the welfare worker on the other hand, have to be much more broad based. Already the pioneer Indian institution teaching social welfare has under the able

guidance of Dr. B.H. Mehta made adequate provision for teaching the theoretical subjects on the one side, and for concentrated field work on the other side. Similarly most of the Universities have provided for field work including research: they would soon expand their work along the welfare projects, and provide adequate data for a proper valuation of the welfare programme. Some research students may be asked to make adequate preparation in ancient history, archeology, tribal folk lore, folk dance, mythology, and art-motifs etc. of enough depth to understand the complexities of tribal culture and its relation to Hindu culture. The welfare measures, if completely shorn of all moorings of ancient tribal culture, are likely to lead to loss of nerve and of happiness, unless scientifically oriented.

With increasing emphasis on the welfare of tribal mothers and children, and the availability of supplies of powdered milk and other products like Vitamins, the education and training of staff has to be more broad-based. I have observed among the Dublas living near a rural Mental Hospital at Maroli Seva Ashram, standing in need of treatment for mental diseases in addition to that for leprosy and tuberculosis. Reasons for the increasing incidence of psychological neurosis require to be studied with

greater sympathy and knowledge. Recently, I got the Nutrition Department of Government of Bombay to make the survey of the diet and health of the Dubla tribe and their condition was found to be so unsatisfactory that the free distribution of milk powder has been arranged for on an increasing scale. Students of Culture are anxious to study the origins of tribal language and recently a meeting of the All-India Linguistic Conference held at Poona in November 1956 has recommended that all students of Anthropology should have a brief course in the science of linguistics, and that the welfare workers should be trained in the art of working as informants and keeping a record of the tribal dialects. The linguistic peculiarities of these dialects should be phonetically and phonemically recorded before the dialects die out. The same should apply to the study of tribal art and folk-art in various forms. In short, the training may be broad-based and comprehensive within the time available, while remaining intensive only in special subjects.

With these words, I leave the paper open for discussion of the more detailed measures for training, on the academic side as well as the welfare side, both of which are necessary for the allround progress of the tribal people.

TRIBAL RESEARCH WORK AND TRIBAL WELFARE IN SAURASHTRA

by

Shri B.R. DESAI, Secretary, Backward Classes Board and Backward Class Officer, Rajkot.

Tribal Research

Various economic, social, cultural and psychological factors are responsible for the development of one's life and growth. For this reason it is necessary to enquire into the social and cultural processes that shape personality. Besides this, the survey of this nature would be an important tool for finding the best that is in their culture and on the other hand it would be able to throw some light on cultural defects along with century-old deep-rooted social evils which need to be preserved and uprooted respectively. Further more, the survey would be very useful for conceiving suitable plans for the socio-economic and cultural betterment of these tribes in future.

During the last year such an attempt was made and a comprehensive questionnaire was prepared. For gathering basic data and information the co-operation was ensured from the concerning Government and non-government agencies working in the field and a copy of questionnaire was sent with manuals of instructions. Thus the survey was contemplated.

To get a more clear and complete picture of the situation, a round was taken throughout the areas inhabited by the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and ex-criminal tribes.

It is a matter of great pleasure on our part to inform you that we have been able to carry out the project successfully,

and the report of the survey of about 26 communities has already rushed in printing which consists of about 450 pages and 40 photographs.

It was also our intention to obtain co-operation from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences before preparing a new entire economic questionnaire and socio-cultural questionnaire along with its psychological aspect, but in view of the problem of State re-organization, changes were likely to take place in the Government structure, and such being the position we could not undertake any further survey.

Now if I am permitted, I would like to suggest humbly that a more scientific and standard questionnaire with its various aspects should be prepared to carry out such type of projects throughout the whole country.

Tribal Welfare

The problem of scheduled tribes of Saurashtra is quite different from that of the primitive tribes of Assam, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Besides, the problem differs both in its origin and nature and so it would require a different kind of treatment.

Formerly the ex-criminal tribes were also considered in the list of Scheduled Tribes but after the amendment there are five Scheduled Tribes, viz. Bharwad, Charan, Rabari, Sidi and Padhars. The actual figures of their population are not

available, however it is estimated to be thirty-nine thousands.

The mode of their life, as determined by living standard and cultural achievement falls far short of the level achieved by the other communities, or in other words they are socially, educationally and economically backward. All these groups are in different stages of development and existence.

Rabari, Bharwad and Charan are entirely cattle-breeders by profession, though Charans may be owning some land also. Charans are great lovers of spoken word and are given to poetry. All the three being accustomed to live with cattle, they are backward in sanitary habits and education. Most of them are found in the forest areas of Gir, occupying a place between utter nomads and settled agriculturists. They travel long distances with their cattle in the off-season, live by selling milk, ghee and wool which are the basis of their economic life. They are completely under the thumb of the money-lenders. All sorts of mean methods are adopted by shrewd Shylocks to cheat these poor and simple people. These tribals rise and fall with their cattle and once their cattle are snatched away from their hands, they are doomed for ever.

The crux of welfare of the above tribes lies in the following schemes :—

1. For the development of their economic life, permanent settlement is essential.

2. For their welfare, it is necessary that maximum attention should be paid in settling them at suitable places from where they can easily get enough fodder and plenty of water for their cattle through-out the whole year.

3. Proper steps should be taken to safeguard them from the money-lenders and 'sowcars' who use to exploit and cheat these people by adopting shrewd and mean methods of purchasing ghee and other produce at a very low price and recovering the highest rates of interest on loans given to them.

(4) Co-operative societies, suitable to their tribal economic condition should be established so that they can easily get adequate economic return from their produce and labour.

(5) Forest co-operative societies should be established—

Then comes Sidi. They are entirely day-labourers in forest and urban areas. Their life is very hard. Those who have settled down in urban areas have now taken to allied minor occupations.

Originally Sidies were not the inhabitants of India. They belonged to an unknown land in South Africa. It is believed that during the Muslim reign they were purchased by Muslim Nawabs from Portuguese and other Europeans as serfs.

Racially they differ from the other Indians. In appearance they are tall and black with curly hair. They resemble Negroes and other primitive tribes of South Africa. Their lips are thick and noses are flat.

They have lost their original culture except their dance and have adopted Muslim culture and religion. Their tongue is Gujarati. Socially, economically and educationally they are backward. This tribe should be also settled on agriculture.

Padbars were originally sailors and fishers and are still distinctive in the

pattern of life. They are living a primitive way of life. They are found only on the bank of 'Nal Sarovar' in Zalawad District. Their main occupation is manual labour, gathering of roots, fishing, hunting, farming and to some extent cattle grazing.

They are famous for their folk dances which are really wonderful and worth seeing. Generally they dwell in a simple narrow thatched hut, circular in shape. Their main food is bread, prepared from the floor of the dry roots of 'Bits' and 'Thegs' dug out from the mud of the bank of the tank of 'Nal'.

Their life is actually very hard and they struggle hard for existence.

It is also essential that these people should be encouraged to take to agriculture for their economic upliftment.

Considering the importance of the nature and magnitude of the work to be undertaken for the progressive amelioration of the Backward Class population the Government of Saurashtra deemed it proper to constitute a Statutory Board and thereby ensure maximum co-operation of the social workers and non-official agencies working in the field. The Board namely, Saurashtra Backward Class Board has been constituted under a State enactment viz., The Saurashtra Backward Class Board Act, 1953.

The Board accordingly has been entrusted with all the activities for the welfare of Backward Classes as are being entrusted to Government departments in other States. Formulation of the schemes proposed to be considered for being taken up under the Second Five Year Plan programme was undertaken by the Board and the life of the Board

which has been recently extended indefinitely also implements and executes the schemes finally approved as plan programme.

The welfare schemes now being implemented as the programme in the plan are classified under two categories namely, 'General Schemes' and 'Special Schemes'. Schemes classified under the head of 'General Schemes' are those under which the benefit is extended to the entire Backward Class population in Saurashtra as recognised by the State Government and those classified as 'Special Schemes' are further sub-divided according to the classification of the beneficiaries, such as schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes etc.

Schemes for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes :—

Under this scheme, efforts are being made for the improvement of living conditions and the raising up of standards of their living. It also touches the various aspects of their life which are as follows :-

(i) Education—Primary Schools, Adult Educational Centres, Sanskar Kendras, Industrial Homes. (ii) Development of Co-operative Societies (iii) Subsidy to Co-operative Societies. (iv) Subsidy for small trades. (v) Supply of materials for sports etc. (vi) Aid to voluntary agencies. (vii) Medical relief. (viii) Rehabilitation. (ix) Research work. (x) Residential schools etc.

During the year 1955-56 expenditure of Rs. 2,79,400 was incurred for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. During the year 1956-57, an amount of Rs. 12,66,400 has been sanctioned.

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की संबद्ध संस्थाओं का मूल्यांकन तथा कुछ सुभाष

श्री ज. ह. चिंचालकर एम.ए. (डबल) काव्यतीर्थ भूतपूर्व आचार्य शासकीय-लोकशाला
तथा अ.रेफयुजी ऑफिसर मध्य प्रदेश ।

भारत में १९५१ के जन गणना के अनुसार आदिमजातियों की संख्या है २२५४८५४ जो समस्त जन संस्था के अनुपात में ६.३१ है। इतने लोग भारत में होते हुए भी उनमें साक्षरता बहुत ही अत्यल्प है। इतना ही नहीं आदिमजातियाँ यह भारतीय जाति का एक टुकड़ा पिछले कई शताब्दियों से उपेक्षित तथा दुर्लक्षित थी। उनको क्या चाहिये, इनकी क्या कठिनाईयाँ हैं उनके लिये क्या करना चाहिये इस विषय की ओर हमारे सभ्य समाज ने कभी ध्यान दिया नहीं, ना ज्ञान के लिए भी उनकी दयनीय अवस्था से वे विचलित हुवे। इन लोगों का जीवन मानवी जीवन सदृश वे बितते हैं कि वह अति मानवीय है वह भी विचार, “सर्वे अपि सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः” कहने वाले हमारे लोगों ने किया नहीं। फल स्वरूप वे जैसा निसर्ग ने रखा, जो जो बातें निसर्ग से प्राप्त होती थी, उसी के सहारे किन्तु अपनी सांस्कृतिक इकाई तथा सामाजिक संगठन का ढाँचा रख कर शांति से, चैन से, स्वानन्द से वे रहने लगे।

इनकी यह दयनीय अवस्था देख बाहर से आये हुए पादरी लोगों ने इनमें काम करने का सोचा और अपना कार्य उन्हीं लोगों के बीच शुरू किया। किन्तु इनका सेवा कार्य अपने ईशुमसीह का परिवार बढ़ाने के उद्देश्य से प्रेरित था। फलस्वरूप कई मिशनरी यहाँ आकर ८०-९० वर्ष से दुर्गम पहाड़ों में, निषिद्ध

जंगलों में जाकर इन आदिम जाति के लोगों के बीच बसे और उनकी दवादारू, शिक्षण आदि समस्याओं को कुछ हद तक दूर करने का उन लोगों ने प्रयत्न किया। इन प्रयत्नों के लिये धन्यवाद देते हुए भी हमें यह कहना पड़ेगा कि ये सब प्रयत्न आदिमजाति की समस्याओं को पूर्णतया दूर करने में असफल रहे।

आदिमजातियों की इसी दयनीय अवस्था ने स्निग्धहृदय बापा को आदिवासी कार्य की ओर प्रेरित किया और उन्होंने सर्वेन्टस आफ इन्डिया सोसाईटी के माध्यम से आदिवासी कार्य शुरू किया। आदिवासी जीवन का सम्यक् अवलोकन कर उन्होंने १९२२ में भील सेवा मण्डल नाम की भीलों की सेवा-सुधारणा करने के लिये एक संस्था दोहद, गुजरात में स्थापित की। इसी संस्था में बापा के मार्ग दर्शन में कार्य करने वाले सर्व श्री श्रीकान्त जी, वणिकर जी, डाह्याभाई नायक, अम्बालाल व्यास आदि कार्यकर्ताओं ने आदिवासी कार्य को कठोर प्रतिज्ञा लेकर अपना जीवन दे दिया। जीवन दान देकर ये कार्यकर्तागण दीन दुखियों की सेवा करते हुवे आदिवासियों का जीवन स्तर ऊँचा उठाने के कार्य में तथा उन्हें भी मानवीय जीवन मान दिलाने के कार्य में व्यस्त रहे। तभी से आदिमजातियों के सेवा कार्य का अखंड स्रोत बह रहा है। पू० बापा के

मार्ग दर्शन में और भी अन्य संस्थाएं शुरू हो गईं। १९४२ में अशोक आश्रम पूज्य बापू की प्रेरणा से, तथा १९४४ में गोंड सेवा मंडल बापा की प्रेरणा से उत्पन्न हुए। इसी प्रकार वरामा आश्रम १९३६ में, गोलपारा में १९३६ में प. खा भील सेवा मंडल नंदुरवार में १९३८ में, नासिक में १९४५ में, १९३८ में राजस्थान में, १९३६ में रायगडा में, १९४७ में मिर्जापुर में जिन्हें पूज्य बापू की प्रेरणा तथा मार्गदर्शन प्राप्त हुआ। इस प्रकार आदिवासी कार्य करने वाले सेवकगण अपने २ कार्य में छोटी बड़ी योजनाएं लेकर कार्य करने लगे। कार्य की रूपरेखा भी निश्चित की गई थी। वह थी प्रचार, शिक्षा और छात्रावास संचालन। जन जागृति करने के लिए प्रचार की आवश्यकता थी, छात्रों को छात्रावास में रखकर उन्हें सांस्कृतिक पाठ पढ़ाने की आवश्यकता थी तथा पाठशालाओं से उन्हें शिक्षण देना शुरू करना था। यह करते समय जो भी अन्य कार्य उपस्थित होता था जैसा कि दवादारू का प्रबन्ध करना, कानून सम्बन्धी सहायता देना, अकाल तथा बाढ़ में मदद करना तथा अन्य संकट कालीन सहायता इत्यादि यह सब संस्थाएं करता थी। इसी कार्य का स्त्रोत बढ़ा कर यह आन्दोलन प्रभावी कर आदिवासी जीवन की समस्याएं दूर करने के लिये अपने आखिर के दिनों में ठक्कर बापा ने भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की स्थापना की। और इसी संस्था द्वारा भारतवर्ष की समूचे आदिमजातियों की ठोस सेवा करने का उद्देश्य अपने सामने रखा। उनके सारे प्रश्न, उनकी सारी कठिनाईयां इत्यादियों का अध्ययन करने के लिये उन्होंने अपने सेवकों को बताया और उस दृष्टि से कार्य करने के लिये प्रभावी संगठन उत्पन्न किया।

नृतत्व शास्त्रियों को भी इस कार्य की ओर उन्होंने खींच लिया और संविधान में भी उनके लिये आवश्यक कानून बना दिये।

इस प्रकार संगठित रूप से कार्य करने वाली भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ यह एकमेव प्रधान संस्था है जो कि आदिमजातियों के सभी प्रश्नों पर गहराई से सोच कर कार्य कर रही है। इसी संस्था से अभी तक ४५ संस्थाएं संबंधित हो चुकी हैं। प्रवेशानुसार उनकी संख्या इस प्रकार है।

१. आन्ध्र	४	८. केरल	२
२. बिहार	५	९. मैसूर	१
३. आसाम	५	१०. उत्तर प्रदेश	२
४. बंगाल	१	११. राजस्थान	२
५. मध्य प्रदेश	७	१२. पंजाब	.....
६. बम्बई	१६	१३. उडिसा	३
७. मद्रास	२		

इसके अतिरिक्त संघ द्वारा सीधे मणिपुर में इम्फाल च्युच्युइमलांग में तथा हिमाचल प्रदेश में कार्य चलाया जा रहा है।

यह सब संस्थाएं निरलस, सेवाभावी सेवकों द्वारा संचालित की जा रही हैं जिन्होंने इसी कार्य के लिये अपने को अर्पण कर दिया है। आदिमजनों की सर्वांगीण उन्नति यही उनका लक्ष्य है। और आदिमजन ही उनके परिवार के लोग बने हैं। ये लोग इतने आदिवासी जीवन में मिल जुल गये हैं कि उनका नामकरण भी 'येनादि राघवैया' 'बनवासी नाना बापट', 'पांगी लाहौल, धर्मदेव शास्त्री' इत्यादि से हो रहा है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि आदिवासी सेवा कार्य में यह सब लोग पूर्णतया समरस हो गये हैं।

इन प्रदेशों के आदिमजनों की आबादी जब हम देखते हैं और होने वाले कार्य की ओर दृष्टि ज्ञेप करते हैं तब कितना कार्य अभी होना बाकी है यह हमें पता चलता है। और हम इस कार्य की ओर कदापि उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते। इन अवोध आदिवासी भाइयों की उपेक्षा करना याने अपने भारतीय समाज के एक बड़े हिस्से को भूल जाना है। शरीर का एक हिस्सा कमजोर रख दूसरा अवयव पुष्ट करते रहने से क्या फायदा? अतः एव भारतीय जीवन के इस टुकड़े की ओर भी हमें उतना ही ख्याल देना होगा जितना हम अन्य हिस्सों की तरफ ध्यान दे रहे हैं। जो जो कार्य इन संस्थाओं द्वारा हो रहा वह निम्न प्रकार का है। आदिमजातियों की समग्र सेवा-सर्वोदय कर उन्हें अन्य समाज के स्तर पर लाने के प्रयत्न अपनी २ संस्थाओं द्वारा किये जा रहे हैं।

इन संबंधित संस्थाओं द्वारा आदिवासी छात्रों के लिये पाठशालाएँ चलाई जाती हैं। छात्रावास में उनका प्रबन्ध किया जाता है। तथा स्कूलों का समग्र पठन साहित्य तथा अन्य बातों को उन्हें निःशुल्क सुविधाएँ दी जाती। प्राइमरी शालाओं के बाद, उनके लिये मिडिल स्कूलों की स्थापना कर उन्हें पढ़ाया जाता है। मुफ्त कपड़े, दोपहर का नाश्ता भी कतिपय शालाओं में 'डे स्कालर' (दिन में पढ़ने वालों को) दिया जाता है। प्रौढ़ लोगों के लिये साक्षरता प्रसार केंद्रद्वारा उनको पढ़ाया जाता है। तथा चिकित्सा मजुषाएँ रखकर उन्हें मामुली बिमारी में इलाज किया जाता है। कुछ कुछ संस्थाओं द्वारा चलता फिरता अस्पताल भी रखा गया है जहाँ से मरिजों की देखभाल की जाती है। कहीं २ शिशु केंद्र, महिला

केंद्र, प्रसूति गृह भी स्थापित कर दिये गये हैं। यौन रोग के रोक थाम के लिये दवाईयाँ वितरित की जाती हैं तथा उसको निर्मूलन करने के प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं। तथा कुछ निवारण के लिये कुछ केंद्रों की स्थापना की जाती है ऐसे कुछ निवारण केन्द्र आदिवासी लोगों के लिये अशोक आश्रम कालसी, संथाल पहाड़िया सेवा मण्डल, देवघर, आसाम सेवा समिति गौहाटी, मिक्किर हिल्स सेवा केन्द्र, सरिहाजन इत्यादि संस्थाओं ने शुरु किये हैं। इन केन्द्रों की देखभाल डाक्टर द्वारा की जाती है और उस केन्द्र के अन्तर्गत सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता, ग्राम सेवक आदि भी नियुक्त किये जाते हैं। रोगियों के लड़कों के लिये भी केन्द्र (welfare centres) चलाये जाते हैं जहाँ लड़कों की पूरी देखभाल की जाती है। इसके अजावा मलेरिया की रोकथाम के लिये प्रचार किया जाता है।

जहाँ जहाँ कॉलनी स्थापित की जा चुकी है वहाँ मनोरंजन की सुविधा तथा वाचनालय आदि भी प्रारंभ किये गये हैं। मरिजों को बसाने के लिये और अपना उदर निर्वाह करने के लिये बांस काम, वेत काम आदि भी सिखाया जाता है।

स्वावलंबन की दृष्टि से भी केन्द्रों द्वारा प्रयत्न किया जाता है और गृह उद्योग स्थापित किये जाते हैं। तथा होस्टल के साथ साथ कृषि, गोपालन बागवानी, मुर्गीपालन, पशुपालन इत्यादि कार्यों को भी प्रोत्साहन दिया जाता है। केन्द्रों द्वारा कताई, बुनाई इत्यादि कार्य अधिक दिलचस्पी लेकर किया जाता है।

आर्थिक दृष्टिसे भी आदिवासियों का जीवन स्तर उठाने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। जिसके लिये

सहकारी समितियाँ स्थापित हो चुकी हैं और हो रही है। बम्बई राज्य में यह प्रयोग काफी सफल रहा। विशेषतः जंगल मजदूर सहकारी समितियों के संचालन से आदिमजातीय मजदूरों को अच्छी मजदूरी मिलने लगी और वे सहकारी समितियों के सदस्य भी बन चुके हैं। जंगल का कूप उनकी समिति को आसानी से मिलने लगा और अपने २ क्षेत्र का विकास अपने ही श्रम से करने लगे। बम्बई राज्य की भांति अन्य प्रदेशों में इतना यश सरकारी समितियों को नहीं मिला। कारण वहाँ स्थानीय नेतृत्व (लोकल लीडरशिप) अभी तक तैयार नहीं हो पायी। जहाँ जहाँ स्थानीय नेतृत्व तथा जवाबदारी स्थानीय लोगों ने उठाई वहाँ कार्य तेजगती से बढ़ा और यश भी प्राप्त हुआ। अन्य प्रदेशों में इस प्रश्न को अभी भी महत्व नहीं दिया जा रहा है। अन्य सरकारी समितियाँ भी हरेक प्रदेशों में स्थापित की गईं किन्तु अभी तक यश प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। साहुकारों से आर्थिक मुकाबला करने की शक्ति प्रायः इन बहुधन्वी विकास सरकारी समितियों में न होने से उनकी जड़ें मजबूत नहीं होने पाईं। किन्तु सरकारी समितियों का यह आंदोलन शनैः शनैः हमारी संस्थाओं द्वारा चलाया जा रहा है। जहाँ तहाँ मार्केटिंग सोसायटियाँ स्थापित हो रही हैं जो क्रयविक्रय के लिये अच्छी सिद्ध होंगी। आदिवासियों का आर्थिक उदथान यही समितियाँ कर सकती हैं, अतः जंगल के कूप दिलाने के विषय में प्रादेशिक शासन यह तय करें कि आदिवासियों के लिये कुछ कूप सुरक्षित रखे जायें ताकि आदिवासी सहकारी समितियाँ उससे लाभ उठा सकेंगी। समिति का संचालन कुशल सेवाभावी संस्था के नियंत्रण में होता रहने से कूपों की कीमत अदा करने में देरी नहीं लगेगी। इस प्रकार आदिवासी आर्थिक संकटों

से छुटकारा पायेंगे और अपने बल पर खड़े रहने का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

जल कष्ट निवारण के लिये शासन द्वारा कुवें खोदने के लिये तकावी दी जाती है और ऐसे तकावी पर स्थान स्थान में आवश्यकता के अनुसार कुवें खुदवाने में हमारी संस्थाओं ने भाग लिया। कृषि के लिये अच्छे औजार तथा अच्छे बीज के लिये भी प्रयत्न किये गये और शासन द्वारा यह मन्जूर किये गये। इसके अलावा प्रचारकों ने शराब बंदी, दुष्टरूढ़ी बंदी इत्यादि दिशा में भी कार्य किया है। स्त्रियों की तथा आदिवासियों की उन्नति की है।

पहाड़ में रहने वाले लोग अभी भी आदिम अवस्था में रहते हैं और वे अस्थायी कृषि द्वारा (shifting cultivation) अपना जीवन यापन करते हैं उनको इस अस्थायी कृषि से परावृत्त कर स्थायी जीवन यापन करने के लिये भी प्रेरित किया जा रहा है। जहाँ जहाँ शासन की ओर से यह काम चलाया जाता है वहाँ हमारे प्रचारक जा कर उनसे सम्पर्क स्थापित करते हैं और उसकी उपयुक्तता उनको बताते हैं। इस प्रकार बिहार में शासन द्वारा जो जो उपनिवेश (colonies) बनाई गईं वहाँ प्रचारकों ने काफी कार्य किया है।

बम्बई के गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा स्वसंफूर्त शालाओं का तथा आश्रम स्कूलों का संचालन किया जा रहा है, जिसके फलस्वरूप स्थानीय नेतृत्व पैदा हो रहा है। सहकारी समितियाँ, क्रय विक्रय समितियाँ, तथा ग्रामोद्योग बोर्डों द्वारा कुटीर उद्योगों आदि द्वारा आदिमजनों का आर्थिक जीवन स्तर ऊपर उठाने का अनोखा प्रयत्न भी चल रहा है।

इस प्रकार गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा विविध प्रकार का कार्य अखिल भारतवर्ष में हो रहा है। इनके अलावा केन्द्रीय संघ द्वारा आदिमजाति शिक्षा आश्रम, इम्फाल में तथा मोकोकच्युंग में काम आरंभ किया गया है। इम्फाल में एक ठकर बापा कला केन्द्र (टैकिनकल स्कूल) भी शुरू किया गया है जहां इन्जिनियरिंग पाठ्य क्रम पढ़ाया जाता है। हिमाचल प्रदेश के चीनी प्रदेश में जहां बर्फ गिरता है वहां भी घुमन्तु (Mobile) स्कूल चलाया जा रहा है।

इस प्रकार आदिमजातियों का बहुमुखी विकास करने के प्रयत्न में भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ तथा उससे सम्बन्धित संस्थाओं ने बहुतसा कार्य किया जो कि संघ के वार्षिक प्रतिवेदन से पता लगता। केन्द्रीय सरकार तथा राज्य सरकारों द्वारा भी यह काम बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर चल रहा है। अखिल भारत सर्व सेवा संघ द्वारा भी १३० ग्रामों में जो कि उन्हें ग्रामदान में मिले वहां कार्य शुरू हो रहा है।

इन सब संस्थाओं का कार्य मुख्यतया शैक्षणिक क्षेत्र में है। और शैक्षणिक क्षेत्र में भी वही पुरानी परिपाटियां चलाई जा रही हैं। कतिपय स्थानों में बेसिक स्कूल या बुनियादी पाठशालाएं शुरू हो रही हैं। किन्तु यह प्रयास अल्पमात्र है। आदिवासियों के लिये आश्रम पद्धति के स्कूलस जहां बुनियादी तालीम होगी और जहाँ कृषिकार्य पढ़ाया जायेगा तथा हस्तकारियों रहेंगी शुरू किये जाना चाहिये, जिससे वे आत्म निर्भर हो सकेंगे। यही पद्धति परिणामतः सफल सिद्ध हो सकती है। अन्य पाठशालाओं में पढ़ने से उन्हें सरकारी नौकरियां अवश्य मिलेंगी और वह उन्होंने लेनी भी

चाहिये। किन्तु नौकरी मिलने के लिये लगने वाला समय, धन तथा सिफारिश आदि इन गरीब लोगों के पास कहां से आयेगी? चपरासी की नौकरी के लिये भी उन्हें शहर में जाकर रहना पड़ता है और वे कहां और कितने दिन वहाँ ठहर सकते हैं। अतः स्कूलों में यदि उन्हें धन्यो का शिक्षण दिया जाय तो वे आत्म निर्भर हो सकेंगे और आश्रम पद्धति के शिक्षा से स्वयं नेतृत्व की भावना उत्पन्न हो सकेगी। इसी प्रकार आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में उन के लिये कृषि स्कूल, इन्जिनियर स्कूल तथा फारेस्ट स्कूल, सहकारी प्रशिक्षण (ट्रेनिंग) स्कूल भी शुरू किये जाने चाहिये और वे मुख्यतया आदिवासी लोगों के लिये ही हों। ताकि आसानी से वे लोग यहां पढ़कर अपने ही क्षेत्र में रहकर अपने बांधवों का हित जल्दी कर सकें। जहां तक हो, इन लोगों को कृषि विभाग, जंगल विभाग, सड़क मरम्मत तथा पाठवधारे बगैरह कामों में जवाबदारी का काम देकर उन्हें काम सिखाना चाहिये। इन क्षेत्रों में बाहर से लोग लाने की कोशिश न करते हुए स्थानीय लोगों को ही यह काम दिया जाये। यह आर्थिक कल्याण की दृष्टि से होना चाहिये।

किलहाल आर्थिक स्तर ऊंचा उठाने के लिये जंगल मजदूर सरकारी समितियों का प्रयोग सुझाया जाता है। लेकिन इस प्रयोग में कितने रोड़े अटकाने जाते हैं या संकटों से कितना सुकाबला करना पड़ता है यह सिर्फ ब्रम्हई में कार्य करने वाले कार्यकर्ता जानते हैं। सभी सरकारों ने अभी तक आदिवासियों के जंगल के कूप देना निश्चित नहीं किया। यह होना आवश्यक है। जब तक यह निश्चित नहीं होता तब तक यह प्रयोग सफल नहीं हो सकेगा।

आदिवासियों के पुनस्थापन के लिये भी प्रयत्न किये जा रहे हैं और सेटलमेंट के लिये उन्हें बैल

जोड़ी, औजार आदि दिये जाते हैं और फसल निकलने तक खाने पीने के लिये कुछ सीधा भी दिया जाता है किंतु यह भी अपर्याप्त है। सालों से कृषि करने वाले जानते हैं कि कृषि से कितना लाभ होता है और वर्षा पर कृषि का उत्पादन कैसा निर्भर है? यदि समय पर वर्षा नहीं पड़ी तो कृषि कैसी होगी? अतः जब उन्हें दीखता है कि वे कृषि पर आत्म निर्भर नहीं हो सकते तो फिर से जंगल की ओर जाते हैं। इसमें उनको परावृत्त करने की आवश्यकता है। अतः उनके लिये कुछ उपाय सुझाना चाहिये ताकि वे फिर से अपना निवास (सैटलमेन्ट) छोड़ भाग न जायें। मेरा सुझाव है कि इन उपनिवेशों में (कालोनी) में उनके लिये गृहयोग भी शुरू करने चाहिये। जैसा कि अम्बर चर्ला, बुनाई, तेलघानी इत्यादि। जब उन्हें कृषि का काम नहीं रहता और वे उससे फारक होते हैं तब उन्हें अपने उदर निर्वाह करने के लिये यह सब धन्ये उनको देने चाहिये और यह सहकारी तत्वों के आधार पर परिश्रमालय खोलकर चलाने चाहिये। यहां से जितना फायदा होगा वह उन्ही लोगों में वितरित किया जायगा।

अग्रिम योजना (PILOT SCHEME)—

इस कार्य के लिये १० ग्रामों का एक समूह मानकर वहां के लिये एक योजना बनानी चाहिये। जिस योजना के अंतर्गत कृषि, जंगल की उपज, गृहयोग तथा परिश्रमालय की स्थापना, सहकारी समितियां, सहकारी मार्केटिंग सोसायटी, सहकारी कृषि, मच्छीमारी, गोपालन, बागवानी आदि सब बातों के विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया जायेगा जिससे इन ग्राम केन्द्रों का सर्वांगीण विकास होगा। लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठाने के लिये उनमें अधिक धन कमाने की इच्छा

पैदा करनी पड़ेगी। और अधिक धन पैदा करने के लिये उन्हें भरपूर कष्ट करना पड़ेगा। कष्ट करने की शक्तियां आदिवासियों में हैं किंतु निरर्थक कष्ट उनसे लेना अच्छा नहीं होगा। ग्राम-समूह में जब यह सब काम चलेगा तब कांशिश यह की जायेगी कि जहां तक हो ग्राम समूह का धन ग्राम समूह के लिये ही रहेगा। जो जो फायदा इन अर्थोपादी साधनों द्वारा प्राप्त होगा उससे आदिवासी जीवन समृद्ध करने की ओर लक्ष्य दिया जायगा।

सारे लोगों का जहाँ सहयोग मिलता है, वहाँ सहकारी तत्वों पर कौनसा काम आसानी चला सकते हैं। अग्रिम योजना सहकारी तत्वों पर चलाने से काफी लाभ होगा और शीघ्र ही।

ऐसा प्रयत्न मैंने प्रत्यक्ष किया था और ग्रामों में मुष्टि फन्ड तथा मच्छी मारी इस धन्ये से एक ग्राम में रात की दिवाबत्ती तथा स्कूल के लिये एक शिक्षक का वेतन, इतना धन इकट्ठा हो सका। साहूकारों से शोषण बिलकुल बन्द हो गया था।

सारांश केवल जो मार्ग अभी तक हमारे लिये रखा है उसमें सुधार या बदल न करते हुये हम लोग आदिवासियों की सेवा आज कर रहे हैं उसमें अब थोड़ा वैचारिक बदल करना जरूरी है। हमें आदिवासी जीवन सर्व दृष्टि से समृद्ध करने के लिये अन्य उपाय सोचना चाहिये। उपनिर्दिष्ट मार्गों से कार्य करने वाली एक या दो अग्रिम योजनाएँ प्रथम शुरू करनी चाहिए और इसमें कितनी सफलता मिलती है यह देखना चाहिये। प्रायोगिक अवस्था केवल १ वर्ष की रहेगी और दूसरे वर्ष में इस योजना का लाभ हो रहा है या नहीं इसका मूल्यांकन किया जायेगा। इन ग्राम समूह में

जीविकोपार्जन की सारी सुविधायें दी जायेंगी और अत्यंत निचिड़ जंगल में रहनेवाला आदिवासी भी भ्रवण भक्ति से अन्य साधारण नागरी जनों के समान सब प्रकार का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर सकेगा। इस कार्य के लिये लेकिन अच्छे कार्यकर्ता चाहियें। यह कार्यकर्ता जहां तक हो आदिवासी क्षेत्र के ही हों और उनकी शिक्षण योग्यता ८ वीं से लेकर मैट्रिक तक हो। यह प्रशिक्षण एकादे शहर में चलाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। पढ़ने पढ़ते कार्य करना या कार्य करते करते पढ़ना, यह ध्येय रव जिस ग्राम समूह में यह काम करना है उसके केन्द्र स्थान में यह शिक्षा शुरू की जायेगी। ताकि शिक्षा काल में भी स्थानीय जनता इस नव कार्य को आसानी से समझ सकेगी और उसमें भाग लेगी। आदिवासी जीवन को ऊपर उठाने का यह प्रयत्न पहले ६ मई नों तक अच्छा है या नहीं यह देख सकेगा। यदि इस आन्दोलन से स्थानीय जनता जाग्रत नहीं हुई और वे खुद इसमें दिलचस्पी नहीं लेंगे तो यह कार्य जल्दी नहीं होगा। अतः ऐसा ग्राम समूह स्थापित कर कार्य करना है। और आवश्यकता पड़ने पर ऐसे अनेक ग्राम समूह एक ही साल में शुरू किये जा सकते हैं। इसमें एक वात ध्यान में रखनी होगी कि आज कल शुरू की जाने वाली सारी योजनाएं बाहर से लोग लाकर शुरू की जाती हैं और यह योजना वहीं के लोगों द्वारा शुरू की जायगी। यह अभिमत योजना (पायलोट स्कीम) यदि मन्जूर हुई तो इसके बहुत से पैलुओं पर (details) विचार किया

जायेगा और कैसा कार्य किया जायगा इस विषय में लिखा जायेगा। आदिवासियों की समग्र सेवा औरों के स्तर पर शीघ्र उन्हें लाने के लिये करना यही इस योजना का मुख्य उद्देश्य है।

आदिवासी कार्य को जल्दी करने के विषय में मैं एक सुभाव रखता हूँ। वह यह है कि हमे सालों काम करना नहीं है। जहाँ तक हो, जल्दी ही हमें भारत का पिछड़ेपन का कलंक दूर करना है इस लिये हमारी सारी संस्थाएं अपनी २ योजना आगामी ५ या १० साल के लिये बनाकर भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के केन्द्रीय कार्यालय को भेजें, जहां नृतत्वशास्त्री तथा सिनीयर कार्यकर्ता-गण इन योजनाओं पर विचार कर सरकार के सामने अपनी स्कीम पेश करें और कार्य को बढ़ावा दें। दिन पर दिन स्कूल, आश्रम वगैरह चलाना हमारा मुख्य लक्ष्य नहीं होना चाहिए। हमें स्कूल या अन्य कार्यक्रम आदिवासियों के कल्याण के लिये चलाना है। इससे भी तेज गती से इसको सामने रखकर हम कार्य कर सकें तो आदिवासियों की उन्नति शीघ्र होगी। अतः इस दिशा में अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना हम लोगों को बनानी चाहिये। अपना लक्ष्य निर्धारित कर उस लक्ष्य पूर्ति के लिये कितना धन, कितने सेवक लगेगे और उन सेवकों के नियुक्ति तथा चुनाव के लिये क्या करना चाहिये इत्यादि सारे प्रश्न हमारी संस्थाएं सोचेंगी और अपनी योजनाएं तयार करेंगी।

CULTS AND CASTES IN ORISSA

by
N. PATNAIK
and
A.K. RAY.

Introduction :

Orissa has the largest tribal population compared to other provinces of India. But the percentage of tribal population present in the Garhjats is greater than that present in Orissa as a whole.

In some places, tribal people live separately in settlements of their own, while in other places, they live in the same village with various Hindu castes. In some places they are accepted as a clean caste in the framework of Hindu social organisation and in other places they are designated as primitives and untouchables. Thus they have different positions in the Hindu social organization.

There are traditions which go to prove that some of the tribes were the original custodians and worshippers of Lord Jagannath who is at present the Supreme Deity of the people of Orissa. In each and every village of ours in Orissa the, Gram Deoti, the village goddess, is looked upon as a beneficent deity. If she is not appeased with sacrifices of goat and fowl, she grows angry and causes havoc and epidemics in the village. These and many other instances which are available in the rural communities of Orissa indicate that there is a close and intimate and uninterrupted relationship between the backward and the progressive people of Orissa. As a result of contact with each other from time immemorial, there has been going on a process of selective acceptance of some of each other's culture

traits, which has brought the two groups nearer one another in course of such culture change. That section among the primitive tribes who get opportunities to expand, and develop by taking to wet cultivation and living in the plains in the civilized manner, gradually separate themselves from their parental class or group, and try to identify themselves with the Hindus and form a separate class or caste. They cut off all connection whether social or religious, with their brethren who still live in the mountains and continue to depend on less efficient type of production.

Although ours is not a systematic paper on any particular caste or cult, we beg to suggest that it would be very interesting to study the growth of Hindu religion and society through the gradual absorption of tribes into the caste system. A few illustrations of tribal Gods worshipped by the Hindus and of Hindu gods by the Adivasis have been given below. The work of *sebaks* of different castes appointed to serve such deities has also been given briefly. It is indicated how some of the non-brahmin *sebaks* are changing their status from a lower to a higher one by putting on the sacred thread and the *tika* on the forehead.

God Siva and the Tribes :

Many of the Epics and Puranas describe the close association of Siva with various tribes in ancient India. This may indicate that the various tribes in whose name Siva is so designated might have been

worshippers of Siva Sarasvata (Brahmanda-Uttarbhaga Adh. 4,60) Munda (Mbh. Asvamedha Parva 8, 16, Santi P. Adh. 350,20), Bhargara, Daitya-nath. The above names evidently throw light on the early worshippers of Siva. Both the archaeological data and the Mohenjo-daro inscriptions point out the unique phase in the history of the phallic cult in Ancient India. Sir John Marshall distinguished three types of cult-stones at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, namely, the baltylic, the Phallic and the yoni-ring-shrs. Now-a-days the scheduled castes and tribes worship Siva all over India. In all the Siva temples the priests are either Hindu non-brahmins such as Mali, Mahapatra and Badu, who are sudra by caste, or scheduled tribes such as Bhuiyas and Kharias who worship Siva not with flowers, or the leaves of the bael tree (Fgle narmalozza) as ordinarily done, but with an egg which is the most uncommon. In Bhubaneswar the *sebaks* of the Lingaraj temple are either non-brahmins, sudra Badus, or brahmin. The Badu *sebaks* claim that they are brahmin and as such wear the sacred thread and place the *tika* on the forehead like Brahmins.

Mother-Goddess-(Gram-Devati) :

There is no doubt the Gram-Devatis are of tribal origin. In the outskirts of every village there is a bamboo grove within which the temple of the Gram-Devati is situated. She guards the village from evil eye and protects it against calamities such as cholera, small pox, and fire etc. The villagers propitiate the goddess in different seasons lest, she should get angry and do harm to the people. Fowl and goats are sacrificed to propitiate her and sweet water is offered to appease her when epidemics break out. The mother-goddess is worshipped by the

tribes also in their every day affairs for the purpose of appeasing her to prevent diseases and calamities. In some *garjats* such as Ranput, and Nayagarh, the worship of Ma Mangala is very interesting. The priest of the goddess Mangala is invariably a Hadi or Pana (lowest of the scheduled castes) by caste. The goddess consists of a bunch of canes wrapped up with cloth in multiple folds and ornamented and anointed with vermilion and peacock's tail and flowers. The priest who is Pana by caste carries it on his shoulder and moves from village to village and collects whatever alms he can get. When he approaches a house and sings the song relating to the power and work of Mangala, the family members of that house who are present at that time salute Mangala and give alms to the priest.

Jagannath and Jarasabar :

The most common tradition of Jarasabat Biswabasu and Vidyapati traces back to the tribal origin or Jagannath. A Saora Jarasabat, Biswabasu by name, was the original worshipper of Lord Jagannath. But a brahmin Vidyapati by name married the daughter of Jarasabar and with her help stole the deity and carried it on horseback to Puri. The *daitapatis* of Puri who are the *sebaks* of Lord Jagannath are the descendants of Vidyapati.

Hindu Castes :

If we study the Hindu social organization we find that it is split up into different castes among which no interdining and inter-marriage is permissible. A caste is also divided into several sub-castes. The Sasania Brahmins are considered higher in social status than the other classes of Brahmins such as Deulia Brahmins (*sebaks* in the temples and cooks) Pauliani Brahmins (vegetable

growers), Haula Brahmins (Balabhadra gotra—cultivators). The Sasania Brahmins do not take to lower occupation. They preside over all religious performances such as Homa, Jajua, and also do priestly works in villages and conducts purificatory and marriage ceremonies. Some of the Brahmins used to carry the image of Lingaraj in a palanquin at the time of Chandan Jatra and other religious festivals. But they no longer do this work. They feel ashamed of doing this job which they feel is inferior. There are 36 different castes appointed in the temple of Lord Lingaraj to do service to Him. But the non-Brahmin Badu *sebaks* and the Brahmin Puja Pandas and Brahmin Mahasuaras are the main *sebaks* of the temple. Of all the *sebaks* the Badu *sebaks* have the right to touch the body of Lingaraj, known as Srianga, wash him and pour water on Him and decorate Him with *Bel* leaves and flowers and also supply to the Puja Panda the things which are required at the time of worshipping. But a *Badu sebak* is not allowed according to the caste tradition to enter into the kitchen where the food which is to be offered to Lord Lingaraj, is cooked. This is the case in Bhubaneswar. But in rural areas where there are no Brahmin *sebaks* attached to Siva temples the Badu or Mali *sebaks* are the sole persons in authority. They cook the food offered to Mahadeb and do other 'Srianga' services; The food which is offered to Mahadeb in Hindu villages includes rice, *dal*, coconut and such other vegetarian items, whereas that offered to Mahadeb in tribal areas consists of not only of vegetarian food, but also non-vegetarian type such as egg. The division of work of worship into different sections and sharing it among the *sebaks* on a rigid caste basis is found, as we observe this, from the primitive communities or less sophisticated communities to more advanced communities.

Tribal people attracted to Hinduism :

Among the tribes divisions have

already taken or are taking place as a result of contact with the Hindus. As for example, the Bhuiyans of Sundergarh district are distinctly divided into three classes—the Pabri Bhuinyas or Bhuiyas who live in the hills, the Koira Bhuinyas, or the Bhuinyas who live in the plains but have more contact with the hill Bhuinyas and less with the plain Bhuiyas who live in villages in the plains along with other castes and are completely hinduized. The Pabri Bhuinyas carry on shifting cultivation and live a hard life, whereas the Hinduized Bhuinyas cultivate lands in the plains and get good crop every year and thereby they have been able to improve their economic condition. As their status has been raised by the development of their economic position they are accepted as one of hindu-castes and the Brahmins serve to them in their marriages and *sradhas* and other religious ceremonies. They are allowed to enter all the temples of the Hindus and worship all gods and goddesses as are worshipped by the Hindus. They have cut off all alliance with the Koira and the Pabari Bhuia.

Similarly the Khands have been divided into three district sections, the Dangoria Khonds living in the Nimagiri mountain of the Rayagada region, and the Paraja Khands who live in the plains and practise wet cultivation and the intermediate Khands who practise shifting cultivation along with wet cultivation. The Paraja Khands have gradually adopted many of Hindu beliefs and practices such as burning incense every evening in the name of their ancestors, and visiting Siva temple and saluting Mahadeb etc. As in the case of Bhuiyas, so in the case of Khands the more advanced and hinduized group have cut off all connections with their less advanced and non-hinduized brethren so far as marriage and commensality is concerned. Thus they are emerging as a separate caste by absorbing the Hindu ideas and practices.

समाज कल्याण कार्य ।

आजीवन सदस्यों के नाते कार्यकर्ता प्राप्ति की एक काम चलाऊ (टेन्टेटीव्ह) योजना की रूपरेखा

श्री पांडुरंग गोविंद वशीकर, सेक्रेटरी—वनवासी सेवा मंडल तथा मानित अपर संचालक
आदिमजाति कल्याण, रायपूर म. प्र. ।

परमात्मा की कृपा से तथा पू० ठक्कर बापा के आशिर्वादां से आज पैंतीस साल से लगातार मैं आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य में व्यस्त रहा हूँ। इतने लंबे अरसे में मुझे अनेकविध चित्रविचित्र और कथा-कहानी समान मेरे कार्य के संबंध में तथा आदिवासी जीवन के बारे में अनुभव प्राप्त हुये हैं। उसमें से आपके सन्मुख मैं अपने कितने अनुभव और किस ढंगसे इस छोटेसे लेख में रखुं इसकी मेरे मन में वास्तविक देखा जाए तो एक उत्तमन सी पैदा हुई है। इसलिये उन अनुभवों में से कुछ भी आपके सन्मुख न रखते हुये सामान्य तौर पर सभी संस्थाओं के सामने जो सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न खड़ा होता है और अनुभव भी आता है—“सुयोग्य कार्यकर्ता प्राप्त करने में कठिनाई” उसके संबंध में ही मैं मेरे विचार यहां प्रगट करके आजीवन सदस्यों के नाते कार्यकर्ता प्राप्त करने की एक कामचलाऊ छोटीसी योजना की रूपरेखा ही इस लेख द्वारा आपके सन्मुख रखना चाहता हूँ।

३५-३६ साल पहले की बात है। उन दिनों में पू० ठक्कर बापा ही आदिवासियों में मिशनरी ढंगसे काम करनेवाले एकमेव महान हिंदी सेवक थे, जिन्होंने आदिवासियों की सेवा करने का बीड़ा उठाया था, और अपने आमरण वे इस महान सेवा कार्य

को अत्यन्त लगन और दिलचस्पी से करते रहे। उन्होंने हमारी भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ संस्था को इ. स. १९४८ में जन्म दिया। वैसे तो वे अपने जीवन काल में भारत भर में प्रख्यात पांच-पांच संस्थाओं जैसा कि :— (१) सर्वेंटस् आफ इंडिया सोसायटी (२) हरिजन सेवक संघ (३) कस्तुरबा ट्रस्ट (४) भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ तथा (५) गांधी निधी का संचालन-कार्य करते थे। वेही मेरे गुरु थे। उन्होंने भील सेवा मंडल की स्थापना सन १९२२-२३ में की और श्री. श्रीकांत जी, श्री डाह्याभाई नायक, श्री अंबालाल व्यास, श्री सुखदेवजी और मेरे जैसे अनेक कार्यकर्ताओं को आदिवासी सेवा कार्य का रास्ता दिखाया-श्रोगोशा करवाया।

उन दिनों में प्रशिक्षण के लिये तालीमी केन्द्र नहीं थे। हम लोगों को पू० ठक्कर बापा के प्रत्यक्ष कार्य से तथा उनके बोध से ही हमें प्रेरणा और प्रशिक्षण प्राप्त होता था। आदिवासियों में मिल-जुल-धुल-कर, ओतप्रोत होकर, उनमें से एक बनकर, कल्याण कार्य कैसे करना उसकी शिक्षा कार्य करते २ ही हमने प्राप्त की थी। वह कार्य भी अनेक-विध था न केवल उनकी शिक्षा का, या न केवल उनकी

आर्थिक उन्नति का था किन्तु उनकी सर्वांगीण उन्नति याने शैक्षणिक-आर्थिक-सामाजिक-नैतिक-सांस्कृतिक इ. सभी पहलुओं के संबंध में विचारपूर्वक कार्य किया जाता था। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि सेवकों को अकाल, अतिवृष्टि, तथा भूकंप निवारण कार्य की भी तालीम मिलती थी। उन दिनों में जो आश्रम चलाये गये उनमें से ही हमारी संस्था का कार्य आगे चलानेवाले आदिवासी स्त्री-पुरुष कार्यकर्ता वहां प्राप्त हुये और वे ही भील सेवामंडल का कार्यभार अपने कंधों पर लेकर अपनी अपनी शक्ति अनुसार आज भी कार्य कर रहे हैं। उन दिनों में कार्य के लिये संस्थाओं को आज जितना आसानी से और जिस दरह से केन्द्र तथा प्रदेश शासनो द्वारा अनुदान मिलता है उतना मिलता नहीं था, बल्कि यह कहना ही उचित होगा कि हम लोगों को ज्यादातर तो भिन्नादेही पर ही निर्भर रहना पड़ता था। उन दिनों में सरकार की अपेक्षा श्रीमान-धनवान-लोगों से संस्थाओं को काफी दान मिलता था। भील सेवा मंडल का कार्य पूरे १५ साल तक तो सरकार से एक पाई भी अनुदान न लेते हुए केवल दान पर ही निभाया गया था। इ. स. १९३७ में जब की प्रथम बार कांग्रेस ने शासन की बागडोर हाथ में ली तब से आज तक शासन से अनुदान प्राप्त होता रहा है। और अब तो दान के बजाय दिन प्रति दिन सरकार के अनुदान पर ही निर्भर रहने का समय आ गया है। इस तरह कौनसा कार्य किया जाता था। तथा कार्य चलाने के लिये धन कैसा मिलता था वह संक्षेप में बतलाने के बाद अब कार्यकर्ताओं के संबंध में संक्षेप में कहना आवश्यक है। पू. ठकर बापा की ७० वी जयन्ति पू. बापुजी के कहने पर मनाई गई थी और उस

समय ७० हजार रुपयों की थैली उन्हें अर्पण करने का सोचा था, हालांकि थैली की रकम रुपया १ लाख से भी अधिक हुई थी। थैली अर्पण करने का समारंभ बम्बई में हुआ उस वक्त पू० बापा ने कहा कि मुझे यह थैली के बदले में मेरे कार्य में सहयोग देनेवाले सच्चे सेवाभावी १०-१२ सेवक ही सिर्फ मिल जाते तो मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता होती। इसका मतलब यह था कि उन दिनों में भी सच्चे सेवक मिलना कठिन था, और आज भी वही प्रश्न संस्था के संचालन करनेवालों को हरघडी-त्रस्त कर रहा है। और लगनवाले, सेवाभावी, प्रामाणिक, अच्छे कार्यकर्ताओं के अभाव में संस्था का कार्य सुचारु रूपसे चलाना मुश्किल तो क्या असंभव ही हो गया है, और कभी कभी तो संस्था का संचालन ही बंद करना पड़ता है। दूसरी तरफ देखा जाय तो सैंकड़ों की तादाद में परदेश से आये हुये मिशनरियों का कार्य शांतिसे-धारे धारे किन्तु दृढ़ता से और सुचारु रूप से हमारे देश के आदिवासियों में चलता जा रहा है। क्यों? इसलिये की उन मिशनरियों में हमसे ज्यादा लगन है, कोई एक प्रकार की-आत्यंतिक प्रेरणा से वे प्रेरित होकर आते हैं, उनको जिस कार्य के लिये भेजे जाते हैं उसकी संपूर्ण तालीम दी जाती है। और यद्यपि वे अध्यापक के नाते पूर्ण तालीम लेकर आते हैं और अध्यापक का कार्य ही सेवक बनकर मुख्यतः करते हैं फिर भी उनको सहकारी संस्थाओं का संचालन कैसे करना—भवन निर्माण कार्य कैसा करना तथा प्राथमिक उपचार इत्यादि की भी सामान्य तालीम दी जाती है, जिस भाग में उन्हें कार्य करना होता है उस प्रदेश की भाषा का भी पूर्ण ज्ञान दिया जाता है। इस तरह

की पूर्वं तय्यारी करके उनको सोसायटी के जिम्मेदार सदस्य बना के प्रोवैशनरी पिरियड (परिवोद्धा काल) में उनका कार्य देखने के बाद उनको आजीवन सदस्य बनाये जाते हैं, और उनकी आर्थिक-स्वास्थ्य विषयक तथा अन्य सभी प्रकार की सुविधाएँ—जरूरतें-पूरी करते हुवे उन्हें यहां अपना कार्यसुचारू रूप से चलाने के लिये भेजे जाते हैं। यदि हम लोग भी उसी तरह से कार्य संचालन करें, हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं की आर्थिक और अन्य कठिनाइयां दूर करें, तो सेवाभावी और सच्चे कार्यकर्ता हमारी संस्थाओं के लिये मिलना मुश्किल नहीं है। किन्तु कार्यकर्ताओं की आर्थिक तथा अन्य कठिनाइयों का सामना संस्थाओं के संचालक किस तरह कर सकेंगे। हमारे यहां फोर्ड या रॉकफेलर फाऊन्डेशन सरीखी संस्थाएँ कहां है? वैसी कापोरेशनसु भी कहां हैं कि जिसकी सुरक्षित रखी हुई निधि में से उन कार्यकर्ताओं को पूर्ण तालीम देकर उन्हें अपने कार्य के लिये जिदगी भर के लिये निर्धास्त-निश्चित कर सके। आजकल सभी संस्थाओं को कुछ तो भिन्नादेही पर और ज्यादातर सरकार के अनुदान पर ही निर्भर रहना पड़ता है। सरकार की ओर से भी जो अनुदान प्राप्त होता है, वह भी कुछ प्रतिशतता के आधार पर होता है, उतना ही नहीं उनके नियम-अधिनियम ऐसे बनाये गये हैं कि जिससे मुश्किल से उनको निश्चित किया हुआ प्रतिशत अनुदान मिलता रहे। अक्सर यह अनुदान की रकम भी नियमित रूपसे-नियमित हफ्तों में मिलती नहीं है। एक तरफ संस्था के संचालकों की अनुदान प्राप्ति की यह दशा है, तो दूसरी तरफ धनीमानी लोगों ने अपना दान देना करीब २ बंद ही कर दिया है। और यह कहा करते हैं कि अब हमारे पास रखवा ही क्या है। रुपयों में १४ आना तो सरकार करों के

रूप में हमसे छीन लेती है। और बचे हुवे २ आने में मुश्किल से हम निभाते है। इसलिये पहले की तरह हम दान कैसे दे सकते हैं। उनकी इस दलील में कितनी सच्चाई है यह तो वे ही जाने, परंतु एक बात स्पष्ट है कि दान में पैसा मिलना मुश्किल हो गया है। ऐसी परिस्थिती में संस्था के कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये तालीमी केन्द्र खोलना तथा उन कार्यकर्ताओं को तालीम देने के बाद उनकी सेवाओं के लिये उनको आर्थिक दृष्टि से निश्चित करना यह बात संस्था किस तरह अपने जिम्मे ले सकती है।

इसके लिये अब तो एक ही उपाय है कि सरकार भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ को पगभर करें, उस संस्था के आजीवन सदस्य हों। उनमें कम से कम आधी संख्या आदिवासियों की ही हो। उनको भारत भर के आदिवासियों में सर्वांगीण उन्नति का कार्य करने के लिये भेजा जावे। उन सदस्यों की तालीम की पूर्ण व्यवस्था की जावे। उनकी आर्थिक तथा अन्य कठिनाइयां दूर करके उनको आजीवन सदस्यों के नाते जहां-जहां कार्य की जरूरत है वहां २ भेजा जावे। और भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के बुजुर्ग सेवकों की देखभाल में उनको कार्य करने के लिये कहा जावे। इसके लिये एक काम चलाऊ (टेन्टेटीव्ह) निम्नलिखित योजना की रूपरेखा इस सम्मेलन के सामने चर्चा के लिये तथा हो सके तो उनमें एक छोटीसी उप-समिति द्वारा उचित फेरफार करके, कार्यान्वित करने के लिये रखी है। यदि इस योजना पर विचार विनिमय करके उसको कमसे कम पांच साल के लिये भी कार्यान्वित करने का निर्णय लिया जावेगा तो मैं मानता हू कि हमारी कार्यकर्ता प्राप्त करने की कठिनाइयां कुछ हदतक दूर होकर हमारा कार्य आज की अपेक्षा ठीक ढंग से तथा सुचारू रूप से चलेगा यह मेरी दृढ़ मान्यता है।

आजीवन सदस्य के नाते कार्यकर्ता प्राप्त- करने के लिये एक छोटी सी कामचलाऊ 'टेन्टेटीव्ह' योजना की रूपरेखा

यदि भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ का कार्य अखिल भारत में उसकी शाखा-प्रशाखाओं द्वारा सुचारू रूप से चलाना है तो उसकी आजीवन सदस्यों की योजना होना जरूर है। जिसमें, आदिवासियों में दिलचस्पी से काम करने वाले आजीवन सदस्यों को रखा जावे। उन सदस्यों में ३ प्रकार के सदस्य रहेंगे।

१. "अ" श्रेणी के सदस्य स्नातक (ग्रैज्युएटस्) होंगे। "ब" श्रेणी के सदस्य मैट्रीकुलेंटस् तथा "क" श्रेणी के सदस्य मिडल पास होंगे। इन तीन श्रेणियों के सदस्यों की पसंदगी करते समय वे चारित्रशील, सेवाभावी तथा लगन से काम करनेवाले को ही पसंद किया जावेगा। इस पसंदगी के लिये उनका परिवीक्षा काल (प्रोबेशनरी पिरियड) ३ साल का रहेगा। इन तीन सालों में यदि वे आदिवासी कार्य के लिये योग्य समझे गये तो फिर उनको आजीवन सदस्य के नाते २० से २५ साल की प्रतिज्ञा (शपथ) दिलाकर दाखिल किया जावेगा। उनको निम्न प्रकार की सुविधाएं दी जावेंगी।

(१) 'अ' श्रेणी के आजीवन सदस्यों का वेतन रु. २००-१०-४००-२०-५०० (२) 'ब' श्रेणी के सदस्यों का वेतनमान रु. १००-५-२००-१०-२५० और (३) 'क' श्रेणी के सदस्यों का वेतनमान रु. ७५-४-१७५ रहेगा।

२. 'अ' श्रेणी के सदस्यों के लिये १०,००० रु. की, 'ब' श्रेणी के आजीवन कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये ६,००० रु. की तथा 'क' श्रेणी के सदस्यों के लिये

३,००० रु. की २० साल की एं'डोमेंट निम्मा पालिसी का प्रबंध किया जावेगा जिसका आधा प्रिमियम संस्था द्वारा तथा आधा प्रिमियम उनके वेतन से दिया जावेगा।

य

इन सभी तीनों श्रेणी के सदस्यों के लिये बिमा पालिसी के बजाय प्राविडेंट फंड का प्रबंध करना होगा। प्राविडेंट फंड के लिये हरेक के वेतन से हर माह हर रुपये में एक आना कटेगा तथा एक आना संस्था की ओर से दिया जायगा। याने उनका हर महिने हर रुपया में से दो आना के हिसाब से प्राविडेंट फंड जमा रहेगा।

३. इनके अलावा संस्था के आजीवन सदस्य तथा उनके परिवारों के लिये उचित दवाई की सुविधा (मेडिकल ग्रेड) भी देनी होगी जिसका आधा खर्च संस्था करेगी और आधा वे सदस्य अपने वेतन में से करेंगे।

४. आदिवासियों का कार्य करनेवाले आजीवन कार्यकर्ताओं के बच्चों की पढ़ाई के लिये भी कुछ सुविधाएं देना जरूरी है। चूँकि जो लोग अक्सर जंगल-पहाड़ों के भागों में रहकर अपना कार्य करेंगे उनके बाल बच्चों की उच्चतर पढ़ाई के लिये वहाँ सुविधा होना मुश्किल है। इस लिये उनके पढ़ाई का प्रबंध कुछ शहरों में करना पड़ेगा। क्योंकि यह खर्च शायद सदस्यगण उठा नहीं सकेंगे। इसलिये उनके पढ़ाई के लिये शिष्यवृत्ति या होस्टेल का खर्च देना जरूरी है। यह जो खर्च बच्चों की पढ़ाई के लिये होगा उसका भी आधा हिस्सा संस्था द्वारा मिलना चाहिये तथा आधा खर्च कार्यकर्ता स्वयं करेंगे।

५. इन आजीवन सदस्यों को हरसाल एक महिने की अर्जित छुट्टी तथा १५ दिन की आकस्मिक

छुट्टी सवेतन दी जावेगी। जरूरत होने पर १ महिने तक की मेडीकल छुट्टी भी अर्ध वेतन पर दी जावेगी।

६. यह सभी कार्यकर्ता अपने २ कार्य में लगन से कार्य करते रहेंगे। किंतु वे कोई राजनैतिक पक्ष में (पोलिटिकल पार्टी में) अपने को शामिल नहीं करेंगे और राजकारण के दलबंदी में नहीं पड़ेंगे तथा चुनाव आदी में स्वयं खड़े नहीं रहेंगे।

७. अक्सर अश्रेणी के कार्यकर्ताओं को जिले के चार्ज में रखे जायेंगे और उनके कार्य के लिये जोप सरीखा वाहन भी दिया जावेगा। अश्रेणी के कार्यकर्ता हो सके वहां तक तहसिल के चार्ज में रहेंगे और वे वहां से देहात में दौरा करके देहात का कार्य सम्हालेंगे। क श्रेणी के कार्यकर्ता अक्सर देहात में ही रहेंगे और वहां का कार्य देखेंगे।

८. अश्रेणी के कार्यकर्ताओं में खास तौर पद केवल स्नातक (प्रेच्युएटस्) के अलावा डाक्टर्स तथा इंजिनियर्स सरीखे टेक्नीकली क्वालिफाईड लोगों की भी जरूरत रहेगी। चूंकि अब स्वतंत्र भारत में जहां २ आदिवासियों का कार्य हो रहा है वहां २ डाक्टर्स वगैरों की भी बहुत जरूरी मालूम होती है तथा निर्माण कार्य के लिये इंजिनियर्स तथा ओव्हरसियर्स की भी जरूरी है।

९. मेरी राय से इस तरह के तीनों श्रेणियों के कार्यकर्ताओं में शुरू में अश्रेणी के कार्यकर्ता करीब ५०, अश्रेणी के १५० और कश्रेणी के ३०० की तादाद में रखने चाहिये। हो सके वहां तक कमसे कम ५० प्रतिशत कार्यकर्ता आदिवासियों में से ही होना जरूरी है।

१०. कमसे कम १० साल तक जिन्होंने आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में सुचारू रूपसे कार्य किया है

और अभी भी करते रहें हैं उनको भारतीय आदिम-जाति सेवक संघ के आजीवन सदस्य समझ लेना चाहिये और उनको भी इस योजना के नियम लागू होने चाहिये।

११. कभी कभी ऐसा भी मालूम होता है कि कोई सदस्य शैक्षणिक ग्रहता के दृष्टि से तृतीय श्रेणी का होता है किन्तु उनकी कार्य करने की तथा आदिवासियों में मिलजुलने की या भाषा पर की प्रभुत्व शक्ति द्वितीय या प्रथम श्रेणी के सदस्य समान या उससे भी ज्यादा होती है तो उस सदस्य को उसकी कार्य शक्ति के अनुसार की श्रेणी का वेतन इत्यादि का लाभ देना जरूरी माना जायगा।

१२. भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के आजीवन सदस्यों में से ही भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की एकशिक्युटीव्ह कमिटी चुनी जावेगी। और उस कमिटी द्वारा ही संघ का तथा उसकी शाखा-उप-शाखाओं का पूरा संचालन किया जावेगा।

१३. जिन जिन महानुभावों ने अभी तक भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ का संचालन तथा निर्देशन किया है, कारण परचात, वे यदि भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के आजीवन सदस्य बन नहीं सकते, तो भी उनकी सलाह-सूचना-प्राप्त होने के लिये तथा उनकी सलाह-सूचना-नुसार कार्य संचालन करने के लिये या तो उन महानुभावों की सलाहकार समिति बनाना उचित होगा या उनकी खास रूपसे कार्यवाहक कमिटी के ऊपर लेना जरूरी होगा।

१४. संस्था का कार्य खास तौर पर आश्रम शालाएँ, मिडिल स्कूल तक की बेसिक स्कुल्स इ. चलाना होगा ताकि उनमें से तालीम पा कर भविष्य के कार्य के लिये कार्यकर्ता निर्माण हो सके। जहां हो सके वहां हाईस्कुल्स या उनमें, याने, हाईस्कूल में

पढ़नेवाले आदिवासी लड़कों तथा लड़कियों के लिये होस्टेल चलाना होगा। सभी आजीवन कार्यकर्ताओं को निवासस्थान का मुफ्त प्रबंध किया जावेगा।

१५. जहाँ जहाँ आदिवासियों में खास रोग फैलते हैं वहाँ वहाँ डाक्टर, आजीवन सदस्यों को भेजकर उनके लिये दवाखाने चलाने होंगे। सभी प्रकार के कल्याण कार्य अन्य आजीवन सदस्य भेजकर हाथ में लेना होगा। तथा निर्माण कार्य करने के लिये संस्था की ओर से कुछ इंजिनियर्स तथा ओव्हरसियर्स, आजीवन सदस्य भेज के वहाँ का निर्माण कार्य पूर्ण करना होगा।

तीनों श्रेणियों के कार्यकर्ताओं की तथा तांत्रिक विशेषज्ञ (टिक्निक्ल एक्सपर्ट्स) को निम्नलिखित तादाद तथा प्रदेशों में कार्य करने के लिये भेजना उचित होगा।

क्र. नं	प्रदेश	द्वितीय पंच वार्षिक योजना में सरकार द्वारा आदिवासियों के लिये खर्च की जाने वाली रकम (२० प्रतिशत)						मिजान		
		अ	ब	क	डाक्टर्स	इंजिनियर्स	४ से ८ तक			
		लाखों में								
		१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	
१.	आंध्र (वैद्राबाद मिलाकर)	२१७.००	४३.४	२	१०	२०	१	१	३४	
२.	आसाम (त्रिपुरा और मनीपुर मिलाकर)	१३६३.००	२७८.७	८	५०	१००	२	२	१६२	
३.	बिहार	३४६.३०	६६.२	३	१५	३०	१	१	५०	
४.	बम्बई (विदर्भ, सौराष्ट्र और कच्छ मिलाकर)	१०६.६०	२१.३	१	५	१०	१	१	१८	
५.	मध्य प्रदेश (मध्य भारत, विन्ध्यप्रदेश और भोपाल मिलाकर)	५२३.७५	१०४.८	४	२५	५०	१	१	८१	
६.	मद्रास	६३.७७	१८.८	१	५	१०	१	१	२८	
७.	ओरिसा	३६६.६५	७४.०	३	२०	४०	१	१	६५	
८.	पंजाब	७८.६८	१५.६	}	१	५	१०	२	१	१८
९.	हिमाचल	२६.००	५.२							
१०.	पच्छिम बंगाल	१३६.६६	२८.०	}	१	५	१०	१	१	१८
११.	मैसूर	२०.००	४.०							
१२.	केरला	३८.७०	७.०							
१३.	राजस्थान (अजमेर मिलाकर)	६४.५८	१६.०	१	५	१०	१	१	१८	
		३४४६.५२	६६०.१	२६	१५०	३००	१२	१२	५००	

हो सके वहां तक जिन प्रदेशों में जितने कार्यकर्ताओं को भेजना है उसी प्रदेश से उनकी भरती किया जाना चाहिये। यदि उन प्रदेशों में से वे उतनी तादाद में नहीं मिल पाते तब दूसरे प्रदेशों से वहां जरूरत के मुताबिक कार्यकर्ता भेजने चाहियें।

कालम ३ में दिये हुए आंकड़े प्रदेश शासनों के २० प्रतिशत खर्च के दिये हैं। यदि कमसे कम २० प्रतिशत तक का खर्च प्रदेश शासन की ओर से स्थानिक-प्रादेशिक संस्थाओं को मान्यता प्राप्त, गैर सरकारी नान आफिसियल एजन्सीज द्वारा किया जावेगा तो वहां भी कायेमी आजीवन सदस्यों की योजना लागू की जा

सकेगी। इतना याद रखना जरूरी है कि जितनी रकम कार्यों के लिये (फार डिफरेंट ग्रेवटीबीटोज) खर्च करने की है उसके ज्यादा से ज्यादा १ दशांश तक का ही खर्चा इस योजना पर होना चाहिये। उदाहरणार्थ मध्यप्रदेश में २० प्रतिशत के हिसाब से कुल खर्चा १०४ लाख होने वाला है, तो इसके १ दशांश याने १०.४० याने पांच साल में १० लाख ४० हजार से ज्यादा खर्च कुल स्टाफ पर नहीं होना चाहिये और उसीमें ही स्थानिक आजीवन सदस्यों की योजना का समावेश होना चाहिये, और उन स्थानिक संस्थाओं को भी भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ को शाखाएं ही समझनी चाहिये।

तीनों श्रेणियों के आजीवन सदस्यों के लिये पांच साल का अन्दाजन खर्च इस प्रकार होगा।

वर्ग	कार्यकर्ता	वेतन	माह	वर्ष	मीजान
१	२	३	४	५	६
अ श्रेणी	५०	३५०	१२	५	१०,५०,०००
ब श्रेणी	१५०	१७५	१२	५	१५,७५,०००
क श्रेणी	३००	१२५	१२	५	२२,५०,०००
५ साल का वेतन खर्च					४८,७५,०००
वेतन वृद्धि खर्च :-					
अ श्रेणी	५०	१०	१२	२	१२,०००
ब श्रेणी	१५०	५	१२	२	१८,०००
क श्रेणी	३००	४	१२	२	२८,८००
					६०
					५८,८००
प्रशिक्षण वृत्ति का खर्च :-					
अ श्रेणी	५०	१००	१२	१	६०,०००
ब श्रेणी	१५०	४०	१२	१	७२,०००
क श्रेणी	३००	३०	१२	१	१,०८,०००
					६०
					२,४०,०००
ट्रेनिंग स्टाफ, फर्निचर, बुक्स आदि का खर्च बीमा पालिसी					
या प्राविडेंट फंड और इतर सुविधाओं का खर्च।					
					५,६०,०००
					२,६६,२००
कुल खर्च					६०,००,०००

इस तरह ५०० आजीवन सदस्यों के लिये ५ साल का रु. ६० लाख के करीब खर्च आवेगा। यदि इतनी रकम केन्द्रसे या कहींसे मिलना असंभव हो तो भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की ओर से तृतीय श्रेणी के आजीवन कार्यकर्ता न रखे जावें। सिर्फ प्रथम श्रेणी तथा द्वितीय श्रेणी के ही ५० और १५० मिलाकर २०० कार्यकर्ता रखे जावें। उनको पूर्ण तालीम देकर अलग प्रदेशों में कार्य के लिये भेजे जावे। तथा तृतीय श्रेणी के कार्यकर्ताओं की भरती स्थानिक संस्थाओं द्वारा प्रदेश शासनों से प्राप्त होनेवाले अनुदान में से ही की जावे। इस तरह यदि किया जावेगा तो रु. ६० लाख में से २५ लाख का खर्चा कमी हो सकेगा। जो इस प्रकार है :—

रु.	१२,५०,०००
रु.	२८,०००
रु.	१,०८,०००
रु.	१,१३,२००
रु.	<u>२५,००,०००</u>

प्रथम तथा द्वितीय श्रेणी के २०० आजीवन सदस्यों

के लिये फिर भी ३५ लाख तो ५ साल में निःसंशय लगेंगे। यदि भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ इतना अनुदान केन्द्र या कहीं से भी प्राप्त कर सकता है तो उनका कार्य भारतवर्ष के आदिवासियों में पांच साल के लिये निःसंशय सुचारू रूपसे चलेगा। यह योजना बनाने का हेतु एक मोटे पैमाने में कितने सेवकों के लिये कितना खर्चा आवेगा यह बतलाने का है। यदि यह योजना जरूरी ही है यह समझा गया और उसको कार्यान्वित करने की इस सम्मेलन में मजूरी मिलती है तो फिर विस्तारपूर्वक के लिये तथा इस योजना के अंतर्गत नियम आदि (रूल्स-रेग्युलेशनस्) बनाने के लिये एक उप-समिति मुकरर करके उस समिति द्वारा डिटेल्ड योजना बनाके भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की अन्तिम फाईनल मजूरी के लिये शीघ्र ही रखी जावे ताकि हो सके तो इस योजना को सरकार की ओर से अभी चालु होनेवाली द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के साथ ही साथ कार्यान्वित की जा सके।

॥ ओशम ॥

भील सेवा मंडल दोहद के कार्य का मूल्यांकन

श्री डी० जे० नायक

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के मातहत मिलनेवाली चौथी आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य परिषद के चर्चा के विषय में "सामाजिक सेवा करनेवाली संस्थाओं के कार्य का मूल्यांकन और कार्यकर्ताओं के अनुभव" अिस विषय को महत्व का स्थान दिया गया है यह बहुत ही स्वागताह है। यह विषय रसप्रद है अतना ही नहीं गम्भीर भी है। भिन्न भिन्न प्रदेशों के आदिवासियों से सामाजिक कार्य करनेवाली जो जो संस्थाएँ हैं उन सबके कार्यकर्ता अपने किये हुये कार्य का मूल्यांकन आपही आंतर दृष्टि से करें इसके लिये अब सुयोग्य समय आ गया है। जो जो क्षतियाँ हुआं हैं और जो जो कमियाँ रह गईं हो उन क्षतियों और कमियों के कारणों की खोज करके प्राप्त अनुभवों की भूमिका के ऊपर भविष्य के कार्य की नींव रखनी चाहिये। प्रत्येक संस्था अगर अपने कार्य का मूल्यांकन आंतर दृष्टिसे करे तो वह ज्यादा तेजस्वी ज्वलन्त और निर्मल होती है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। इससे भविष्य के कार्यका रास्ता सरल होगा इतना ही नहीं। इसका चित्र भी स्पष्ट सुरेख होगा। संस्था अगर अपने कार्य का मूल्यांकन समय समय पर न करे तो या तो उसकी प्रगति के रास्तों में रोडे उत्पन्न होकर उसको छिन्न-भिन्न कर डालते है या वह एक दुर्गंध, फैलानेवाला डाबर बनकर अन्तमें नष्ट होती है। संस्था को तो चाहिये कि वह एक बारह मास बहनेवाली नदी की स्रोत की तरह अपने निर्मल और पवित्र चिरंतन प्रवाह जलसे अनेकों का कल्याण करे, अनेकों के लिये उपयोगी और उपकारक साबित हो।

इसलिये मूल्यांकन करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। किन्तु मूल्यांकन कौन करे और किस तरह यह विचार के काबिल है।

राष्ट्रीय विस्तार योजना और विकास योजना का मूल्यांकन करने के लिये नियोजन पंचकी ओर से समय समय पर तज्ज्ञोंकी समिति नियुक्त की जाती है। बम्बई राज्यमें महात्मा गांधीके पुण्यस्मरणार्थ उच्चकक्षा के सेवकों के द्वारा अमगी बनाई गई सर्वोदय योजना का मूल्यांकन कुछ समय पहले किया गया था। इन मूल्यांकनों की रिपोर्टों से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि मूल्यांकन जरूरी है। इतना ही नहीं, वह समय समय पर ही हो यह आवश्यक है। फिर भले ही यह कार्य सरकारी ढंगसे सरकार नियुक्त कर्मचारियों के द्वारा हो या सरकार के अधीन सामाजिक सेवाकार्य करनेवाली संस्थाओं के ज़रिये हो, या बम्बई राज्य की सर्वोदय योजना का जो एक अपना विशिष्ट ढंग है उसकी तरह हो या फिर सामाजिक सेवा करनेवाली संस्था अपनी अलग स्वतंत्र रीति से करती हो। सरकारी योजना का मूल्यांकन तो सरकार खुद तज्ज्ञोंकी समिति नियुक्त करके कर सकती है। लेकिन गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं के कार्यका मूल्यांकन ऐसी तज्ज्ञों की समिति के मारफत करना शक्य नहीं है, कारण यह कि ऐसी संस्थाओं को बहुत मर्यादाएँ होती है, दूसरे, मूल्यांकनकी जो प्रचलित पद्धति है वह इन संस्थाओं के लिये योग्य भी नहीं है। इन संस्थाओं में आर्थिक, सामाजिक, या शिद्दा

विषयक विकास के लिये अमुक समय के मर्यादा में सिद्ध करने के कोई लक्ष्य क तय नहीं किये जाते जिससे प्रचलित पद्धति (statistical method) से इनका मूल्यांकन नहीं किया जा सकता। सामाजिक संस्था का ध्येय अमुक भौतिक लक्ष्य को (Physical Targets) की सिद्धिका नहीं होती है लेकिन समाज के मानस परिवर्तन का समाज को नई दृष्टि देनेका होता है, रुढिगत प्रणालिकाओं से समाज को मुक्त करने का और कोई बड़े विकट कार्यका आरंभ करके मार्गदर्शन (pioneering work) करनेका काम भी इन संस्थाओं का होता है। इनको कई क्षेत्रों में नवसर्जन भी करना होता है। कुछ संस्थाओं को अनुसंधान कार्य भी करना होता है। इसलिये ऐसे कार्यों के लिये मूल्यांकन की प्रचलित पद्धति (statistical method) अपनाई नहीं जा सकती। अगर वह अपनाई भी जाय तो इससे कुछ काम नहीं बनेगा। मेरी नम्र रायमें गैर सरकारी संस्थाओंके कार्यों का मूल्यांकन उनके कार्यकर्ताओं की आत्म निरीक्षण और आत्म परिक्षणसे करना चाहिये। सद्गत पूज्य ठाकुरबापा अपने कार्यका नाप इसी तरह लेते थे और आंगे बढ़ते जाते थे। अलक्षता इसमें सत्यनिष्ठा और कार्य के प्रति भक्ति होनी चाहिये। सत्यनिष्ठा, कर्तव्यपरायणता या कार्य के प्रति भक्तिकी जितनी मात्रा सद्गत पूज्य ठाकुरबापा में थी उतनी उनके बलाये कार्यको आगे ले जाने वालों में नहीं हो वह स्वाभाविक है। फिर भी शुभ निष्ठा सबमें है और सब प्रामाणिक प्रयत्न करते हैं इसलिये हर एक संस्थाके कार्यकर्ताओं का आत्मपरिक्षण और आत्म निरीक्षण करके संस्था प्रगतिके पथ पर कितना आंगे बढ़े है उसका नाप निकालते रहना चाहिये। और दोषों और मुसीबतोंको दूर करके संस्थामें नये प्राण

सींचकर उनको हमेशा नव पल्लवित रखना चाहिये। इस तरह किया जाय तो वह संस्था समाज की सर्वांगीण उन्नति की नींव का काम करके महत्व का हिस्सा दे सकेगी।

इस लेखमें भील सेवा मंडल, दोहद के कार्य का मूल्यांकन करने का नम्र प्रयत्न किया गया है। यद्यपि मूल्यांकन करने जितनी सत्यनिष्ठा चाहिये उतनी मुझ में है, ऐसा दावा नहीं है। इस छोटेसे लेखमें मंडल के कार्य का नाम संपूर्णतः निकालना तो असम्भव है। फिर भी कुछ कुछ मुख्य बातों की चर्चा करूंगा। भील सेवा मंडलकी स्थापना पूज्य बापाने की, उससे कुछही मास पहिले उन्हीं से स्थापित मीराखेडी के आश्रम में मने अपने जीवन का आरंभ किया तब से वर्षों तक आपके सानिध्य में मंडल में कार्य करने का सौभाग्य मुझे मिला इसलिये अपने जीवन को मैं धन्य मानता हूँ।

इस्वी सन् १९१९-२० और १९२१-२२ के दो अकालों में अकाल पीड़ित, भूखे, अर्धनग्न भील आदिवासियोंकी अन्न और वस्त्रकी मदद करते हुये पृ. बापाने उनमें दरिद्रनारायणके दर्शन किये और भीलोंकी सेवा करनेके व्रत उन्होंने लिये। इस छोटे प्रदेश में भीलों की सामाजिक और आर्थिक उन्नतिके लिये सक्रिय कार्य शुरू किया गया। भील बालकों को शिक्षा देने और उनको संस्कारित करने के लिये आश्रमी तालीम शुरू की गई। अिस तरह आश्रमी शिक्षा के द्वारा इसी जातिमें से कार्यकर्ता तैयार करने का कार्य शुरू किया गया। मंडलका प्रधान हेतु आदिवासियों में से कार्यकर्ता तैयार करने के लिये आश्रमी शिक्षा देने का था। साथ साथ प्राथमिक शालाओं के जरिये बालकों को अक्षरज्ञान देकर प्राथमिक शिक्षा का फैलावा करने का भी था। उस

समय प्राथमिक शालाएँ बहुत ही कम थीं। जिन जिन गांवों में सवर्ण लोगों की आबादी विशेष थी उन उन गांवों में प्रायः प्राथमिक शालाएँ थी। बाकी के सब गांवों में जहां भीलों की आबादी विशेष थी, प्राथमिक शालारूपी ज्ञानदीप के बिना अंधकार ही था। पू. बापा को यह अंधकार मिटा के ज्ञानदीप के प्रकाश का प्रसार करना था। मंडल की साधन-संपत्ति मर्यादित थी फिर भी मंडल ने उस समय प्राथमिक शिक्षा की ओर लोगों को आकृष्ट करने के प्रयत्न किये और उनमें काफी कामयाबी हासिल की। आज सब विस्तारों में प्राथमिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य हो गयी है। कुछ शालाएँ बुनियादी शालाओं में बदल दी गयी हैं। गाँव के सारे विस्तार में बिखरे हुये भोंपड़ों में रहनेवाले आदिवासियों में अनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा सफल हो रही है। इसकी नींव डालने का कार्य तो भील सेवा मंडल ने ही किया था।

शुरु के वर्षों में आश्रमों में भी बालकों को अनेक मुसीबतें भेलनी पड़ी थीं। पू. बापा और अन्य सब सेवकों के लिये यह साधना का काल था। आज तो परिस्थिति कितनी बदल गयी है। उस जमाने में पू. बापा अपने साथी साधना और तपश्चर्या में पीछे न रह जायें उसका खास खयाल रखकर सब को प्रेरणा और शक्ति देते थे। इस तरह तपश्चर्या का काल बीता। आजके नवयुवक सेवक को उस समय के सेवकों की तपश्चर्या का खयाल न आवेगा। लेकिन इस तपश्चर्या ने आज का काम सरल बना दिया है। बेगारी, साहूकारों के शोषण और छोटे छोटे सरकारी कर्मचारियों के जुल्मों से भीलों को बचाना यह भी मंडल का उद्देश था। भील आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिये सहकारी प्रवृत्ति भी

मंडल की स्थापना के साथ साथ शुरु हुई। शुरु के दश वर्ष तपश्चर्या के थे। पू. बापा की प्रेरणा के अनुसार काम करनेवाले कार्यकर्ताओं का जो जूथ था उसके प्रयत्नों से आश्रमी तालीम पाये हुये भील नव युवक एक के बाद एक मंडल में कार्यकर्ता के नाते शरीक होने लगे। इस तरह मंडल का मुख्य हेतु सिद्ध हुआ। आज भील सेवा मंडल दस आश्रम शालाएँ और सोलह छात्रालय चलाता है। इनमें १२५४ कुमार और २६२ कन्याएँ शिक्षा प्राप्त करते हैं। आश्रमी तालीम के जरिये जीवन का निर्माण करते हैं। और पिछड़े हुये वर्ग की सेवा के पाठ सीखते हैं। आश्रम शालाओं में और छात्रालयों में जो कार्यकर्ता कार्य करते हैं उनमें से बहुत से मंडल की आश्रमी तालीम पाये हुये युवक हैं। मंडल का पूरा कारोबार मंडल के आजीवन सेवक चलाते हैं। मंडल के कुल सक्रिय पंद्रह आजीवन सेवकों में से १३ आजीवन सेवक भील पटेलिया आदिवासी जाति के हैं। स्व. श्रद्धेय श्री बाला साहब खेर ने भील सेवा मंडल के रजत महोत्सव के अवसर पर कहा था, “इस मंडल ने भीलों में से ही सफलतापूर्वक स्थानिक कार्यकर्ता चुन लिये हैं और अपनी जाति के लोगों के प्रति फर्ज अदा करने को उनको शक्तिमान बनाते हैं।”

सन् १९४६ तक भील सेवा मंडल का कार्यक्षेत्र दोहद और भालोद तहसील तक ही सीमित था। लेकिन देशी रियासतों के विलीनीकरण के बाद मंडल ने अपना कार्यक्षेत्र विलीनीकृत रियासतें जिनमें आदिवासियों की आबादी बड़ी संख्या में है—बढ़ाया है। मंडल के रजत महोत्सव के अवसर पर पू. बापा ने जो प्रेरक संदेश भेजा था उसमें उन्होंने कहा था,

“देवगढ़बारिया, छोटा उदेपुर, राजपीपला, बनासकांठा, आदि बम्बई राज्य में विलीन हुये हैं। जिससे अपना भील समाज विशाल बना है। और अपना कार्यक्षेत्र भी काफी अच्छी तरह से बढ़ गया है। इस बात को ख्याल में रखते हुए आप सब (भील सेवक) जुदा जुदा प्रदेशों में बिखर जायें और सेवा कार्य के आश्रमों की स्थापना करें, साथ साथ प्रभुभक्ति और ज्ञान का बढ़ावा और प्रसार करें, यह मेरी इच्छा है”। इन सब विस्तारों में भील सेवक फैले हैं और पू. बापा के प्रेरक संदेश का यथाशक्ति पालन करने के प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं।

आदिवासियों में कार्य करनेवाली संस्थाओं का सच्चा मूल्यांकन तो वह संस्था जो सेवक तयार करती हो उस पर से करना चाहिये। भील सेवा मंडल ने आदिवासियों में से जो सेवक तैयार किये हैं, वे मंडल के लिये गर्व की बात है। इन सेवकों में से बहुतों ने तो आजीवन सेवा करने का व्रत लिया है, यह उल्लेखनीय है, लेकिन एक कमी महसूस होती है। वह यह कि कार्यकर्ता बनने के लिये जो विशिष्ट प्रकार की आश्रमी तालीम दी जानी चाहिये वह देने की व्यवस्था अब तक भील सेवा मंडल नहीं कर सका। सचमुच यह मंडल की एक बड़ी कमी है। आश्रम शालाओं का ज्यों ज्यों विकास होता जायेगा त्यों त्यों उच्च चरित्रवान शिक्षकों की जरूरत बढ़ती जायगी। सहकारी प्रवृत्ति का विकास और विस्तार बड़े वेग से हो रहा है। इस प्रवृत्ति के संचालन के लिये प्रमाणिक और कार्यदक्ष कार्यकर्ताओं का बहुत बड़ी जरूरत है। ग्राम पंचायतों के संचालन के लिये भी कार्यकर्ता बड़ी संख्या में चाहियें। इस प्रकार से आश्रमी तालीम पाये हुये कार्यकर्ता आदिवासी जातियों में से तैयार

करने का कार्य मंडल को जल्द से जल्द शुरू करना चाहिये। अगर मंडल यह न कर सका तो इतने प्रमाण में मंडल अपने उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति करने में असफल रहा ऐसा माना जायगा।

मंडल ने जब कार्य शुरू किया तब भीलों की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत ही गिरी हुई थी। बार बार अकाल की परंपरा, खेती करने की दकियानूसी रीतें कम उपजाऊ ज़मीन और साहूकार की शोषण नीति इन सबके कारण भीलों के घरों में होली के बाद सोने दाने रहने नहीं पाते। नई फसल के आने तक उनको खाने के लिये अनाज साहूकार के यहाँ से कर्ज पर लाना पड़ता था। बारिश में बीज और आवश्यक नकदी भी साहूकार से लानी पड़ते थी। कई कुटुम्ब तो ज़मीन पर बिखरे हुए घास के बीज भाड़ भाड़ करके इकट्ठा करते और गर्मा के अन्त के दिन और बारिश के बहुत से दिन उस पर ही काटते थे। उस समय साहूकारों की क्या मनोदशा थी यह एक साहूकार ने किये वर्णन पर से दीख सकेगा। “ये भील लोग जो अनाज पकाते हैं वह सब हमारे भाग्य में ही लिखा है। उसकी मक्की और दूसरा सब अनाज उनके खेत से सीधा हमारी कोठी में जाता है। इनके लिये विधाता ने पाइप लाईन रख दी है। इससे तो कहावत चली है कि आयी होली और खाली हुए भील और कोली, होली के बाद भील के पास खाने को कुछ होता ही नहीं। यह तो बनिये की दुकान से ही लाना है”। सौ से दो सौ प्रतिशत का ब्याज की दर हो, फिर होली के बाद बेचारे भील के घर में क्या रहे ?

भीलों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिये, साधनों और सेवकों की मर्यादा होते हुए भी, भील सेवा मंडल ने भरसक प्रयत्न किये हैं। भील

आदिवासियों में भील सेवा मंडल की जो लोकप्रियता और प्रतिष्ठा है वह भीलों की आर्थिक स्थिति को उठाने के लिये किये गये प्रयत्नों के कारण है। कर्ज के लिये सहकारी मंडलियाँ कायम कर के उनके जरिये भीलों को बीज, खाने का अनाज और नकद रकम देने के लिये एक व्यवस्थित और कार्यक्षम तंत्र भील सेवा मंडल ने खड़ा कर दिया है। प्राथमिक सहकारी मंडलियाँ, खरीदो बिक्री संघ और मध्यस्थ कर्ज देने वाली संस्था, इस तरह एक सिलसिलेवार तंत्र खड़ा कर के साहूकारों की ब्याजखोरी और शोषण-नीति में से आदिवासियों को ठीक ठीक प्रमाण में बचाया है। आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने में सहकारी प्रवृत्ति का बड़ा हिस्सा रहा है। ३३% खातेदार सहकारी मंडलियों के सभासद हुये हैं। जंगल सहकारी मंडलियों के द्वारा जंगलों के ठेकेदार जो आर्थिक और नैतिक शोषण करते थे वह बंद किया गया है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि उनमें सहकारी जीवन की भावना मूर्तिमन्त की गयी है। इस छोटे से लेख में ब्यौरेवार हकीकत और अंक देकर मंडल के इस कार्य का मूल्यांकन करना शक्य नहीं, लेकिन यह तो निश्चित कहा जा सकता है कि जुदा जुदा क्षेत्रों की सहकारी प्रवृत्ति से साहूकार का शोषण बड़ी हद तक कम हुआ है और भील आदिवासियों में सहकारी जीवन जीने की भावना जड़ पकड़ रही है। आदिवासी किसान कुएँ खोद कर उस पानी से सींचाई कर के दो-दो फसल लेते हैं। जमीन की धुलाई रोकने के लिये खेतों में मेड़ बाँधते हैं और अच्छी नस्ल के साँड़ रख कर मवेशियों की औलाद सुधारने का प्रयत्न करते हैं। ऊँचा जीवन जीने की आकांक्षा उन में जागृत हुई है। और इस जागृति का काम भील सेवा मंडल ने छोटे बड़े अनेक प्रयत्न कर के किया है। फिर भी बहुत काम अब भी

बाकी है। खेती करने में सहकारी पद्धति अपनाई नहीं गयी है। इस के लिये मंडल को भरसक प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। सहकारी पद्धति से खेती करने से भीलों को बहुत लाभ होगा, इस में शक नहीं। इस का आरंभ बीज, औजार, खाद आदि सहकारी पद्धति से खरीद कर के भीलों को देकर करनी चाहिये। इसका विकास धीमे धीमे करते करते संपूर्णतः सहकारी खेती (Co-operative Farming) का लक्ष्य सिद्ध करना चाहिये। उसी तरह से भील खेडूतों की उपज सहकारी पद्धति से बेचनी चाहिये। यद्यपि इस दिशा में थोड़ा बहुत कार्य शुरू किया गया है, वह संतोषकारक नहीं कहा जा सकता। आदिवासियों में कार्य करनेवाली संस्थाओं को चाहिये कि वे आदिवासियों की आर्थिक तरकी को अपना प्रधान कार्य माने। और इस को सहकार के मार्ग से सिद्ध करना चाहिये। संस्था के कार्य का मूल्यांकन मुख्यतः संस्था ने आर्थिक सुधारण के लिये कितना बुनियादी कार्य किया है उस पर से करना चाहिये। समाज की रचना की बुनियाद आर्थिक स्थिति पर निर्भर है और यह जितनी ठोस होगी उतना ही समाज भी बलवान् बनेगा।

भील सेवा मंडल के कार्यक्षेत्र में बचने वाले आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति में काफी सुधार हुआ है। इस का पूरा पूरा आँदाज निकालने के लिये मंडल को स्वतंत्र जाँच करनी चाहिये। इस मज़मून में इतना ही कहा जा सकता है कि आदिवासियों की माली स्थिति में उल्लेखनीय उन्नति हुयी है। उनके घरों में अस्त्रबाध बढ़ा है। वे अच्छे और ज्यादा कपड़े इस्तेमाल करने लगे हैं और उन के खाने पीने में काफी सुधार हुआ है। उनकी शारीरिक संपत्ति भी

अच्छे खान-पान से बढ़ी हैं। लेकिन सामाजिक सुधार में सामान्यतः बहुत काम बाकी रह गया है।

भील सेवा मंडल का एक उद्देश सामाजिक सुधार का भी है। सामाजिक सुधार में राम मंदिर और भजन मंडलियों के द्वारा मद्य निषेध का काम लेना मंडल ने वर्षों से शुरू किया है। १९३० के सत्याग्रह में भील सेवा मंडल के बालकों ने शराबखानों पर पिकेटिंग करके जेलयात्रा न्योती थी। बम्बई राज्य के मद्यनिषेध का कार्यक्रम भील एरिया में कार्की अंशों में सफल हुआ है उसके बुनियादी कारणों में मंडल का प्रचार और १९३० का पीकेटिंग है। अपनी मद्यनिषेध की नीति सफल हुई है या नहीं उसकी जाँच करने बम्बई सरकार ने हाल में चीफ सेक्रेटरी श्री भणसाली को नियुक्त किया था। आपने अपनी रिपोर्ट में बताया है कि पंचमहाल के भीलों में शराबबंदी की नीति अच्छी तरह से सफल हुई है। और भील सेवामंडल को इस कार्य के लिये उन्होंने धन्यवाद दिया है।

भीलों में कन्या विक्रय की प्रथा है। कन्या की कीमत अब तो एक हजार रुपये तक पहुँची है। इस दिशा में मंडल ने प्रयत्न किये लेकिन वे सब सरासर निष्फल हुये हैं। इसी तरह, भील स्त्रियाँ अपने हाथों में कथोर नाँव की हल्की धातु के १५ से २० रतल वजन के जेवर पहनती हैं, यह प्रथा बंद करने के प्रयत्न सफल नहीं हुये। लग्न मरण के कुछ बुरे रिवाज अब भी प्रचलित हैं। उन कुरिवाजों के कारण भील किसानों को कई बार कर्ज लेना पड़ता

है। इस प्रकार के सामाजिक सुधार अत्यन्त आवश्यक हैं। सामाजिक नवी दृष्टि अब तक भीलों में नहीं आयी। मंडल के भील आजीवन सेवक और अन्य कार्यकर्ताओं को इसलिये बड़े, पैमाने पर हलचल उठानो चाहिये। सामाजिक सुधार की दिशा में, अगर कुछ काम नहीं किया गया तो वह मंडल के लिये अच्छा नहीं होगा।

इस छोटे से लेख में मंडल के कार्य का मूल्यांकन करने की कोशिश की गयी है और इस बातत कुछ बुनियादी बातों की चर्चा भी की गई है। मंडल के कार्य की वजह से आदिवासी समाज ने कितनी प्रगति हासिल की है उसका शास्त्रीय मूल्यांकन, आवश्यक प्रमाण में अंक और हकीकत इकट्ठा करके करना बहुत जरूरी है। आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य करने वाली प्रत्येक संस्था अपने कार्य का शास्त्रीय ढंग से और आत्म परीक्षण पद्धति से मूल्यांकन करेगी तो संस्था में नवशक्ति उत्पन्न होगी। और वह संस्था नित्य युवा रहेगी। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ से संबन्धित सब संस्थाओं के सेवाकार्य का मूल्यांकन करने के लिए भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ को चाहिये कि इन संस्थाओं को अपना साथ और सहकार दे। जो संस्था अपने कार्य का मूल्यांकन कराना चाहती हो उसकी जाँच करने के लिये कुशल और उस कार्य के विशेषज्ञ सामाजिक सेवकों की सेवा भारतीय आदिमजाति संघ दे यह भी जरूरी है। इसके अलावा इस कार्य में जो खर्च हो उस में भी संघ को संस्था की मदद करनी चाहिये। आशा है भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ इस बातत आवश्यक सहकार देगा।

THE ROLE OF FORESTRY IN DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL AREAS

by

K. R. DATYE, Engineer, ABSS Sangh.

1. *Introduction* : It is only vaguely realised by development workers that people living in the forest areas are different from the people of the plains. Conditions in tribal areas are so different that unless the regional and social situation is studied in detail a sound plan for development of tribal people cannot be worked out.

Tribal welfare and development of forestry are closely related. The forest departments have no doubt done valuable work in conservation of forest and commercial exploitation of forest produce, but little effort has been done to make the dwellers of the forest primary beneficiaries of the forest inhabited by them. We generally observe that external and clever communities occupy the tribal areas and reap the benefits of development. Because forests take long time to grow to maturity, sufficient attention has not been paid to these in our development plans. The tribal people are also indifferent toward forest development ; because they get very little out of it. The result is wasteful use of the land by shifting cultivation.

We must not however assume that the 'Adivasi' is indifferent to the forests ; even where he practises shifting cultivation, Mohwa, Jack and Mango trees are preserved. It seems to be possible to obtain his co-operation for development of forests, if his immediate felt needs for food are satisfied, the resource potential of forestry is fully developed and co-operative organisations created for processing and marketing the forest

produce. This will ensure the maximum benefit to the tribal population from the development of forests.

Study of the productive potential of forests and development of industries based on forest produce are therefore the pre-requisites of a well conceived development plan for tribal communities. Unfortunately development plans in India have given little attention to forestry. The optimistic development administrator pins his hope on irrigation and agricultural development, rural social workers concentrate attention on village industries which bear no relation to the resource potential of the area. It would be well to remember that there are areas which present grave difficulties for development of agriculture. Wild animals may be a serious menace, steep slopes may require large capital expenditure on land development, the local soils which are full of boulders and murum may be unsuitable for growth of field crops, the habits of the local population may be such that they would be reluctant to work on construction or development works; as a result the cost of conservation and reclamation may be excessive. The result is high social and economic cost and disintegration of the harmonious life of the tribal people who have adjusted themselves well to the physical environment.

2. *The Resource potential of forest* : Although forest products are commonly used all over the country the productive capacity of a forest is not frequently understood. The following paragraphs review briefly the resource potential of forests.

Timber is the major produce from a forest. Yields per sq. mile of well grown forest of average quality for different pieces of timber are stated below :

Table I
YIELD IN CUBIC FEET PER SQUARE
MILE PER ANNUM.

Based on tables for average quality in 'Forest Pocket Book' by Howard and 'Selviculture of Indian Trees' by Troupe. The mean yield of II & III quality is taken equal to average quality.

Species	Round Timber	Sawn Timber	Fire Wood
Sal	45,000	25,000	51,000
Deodar	83,000	48,000	90,000
Sisso	51,000	31,000	57,000
Teak	41,000	24,000	Not available

Timber is a material which probably ranks next to steel for the development of a country. Its importance can well be appreciated from the fact that more than 60% of the expenditure for development goes into the construction industry. The possibilities of wood as a construction material and the use of timber structures as an alternative to steel are discussed in a subsequent section of this paper.

Prominent among the minor forest products is lac. Lac being a natural resin, can be used in many fields where synthetic resins from the plastics industry are used. Abroad, lac is fast giving way to synthetics. Wider scope however exists for use of lac in India. Because of the lower cost of the indigenous produce, and because of its employment potential it may be desirable to give protection to lac-based materials provided the quality is comparable to synthetics and the difference in cost is not too large. This subject has been studied by the Indian Lac Cess Committee and the Indian Lac Research Institute. The utilisation possibilities of lac are discussed in a subsequent section.

There are numerous other forest products, such as Harida, Mohwa, seed and flower, Karanj seed, which can be processed to yield valuable materials e.g., tannic acid, soap and alcohol.

Forest products common in Koraput are : tamarind and tamarind seed, fibres and forest jute, tusser, shikay, wild brooms, arrow roots, sara-pappu, behera, kendu leaves, marking-nuts, cleaning-nuts, jaffra seeds. Yields of some of the above products are tabulated below :

Table II
YIELD OF MINOR FOREST PRODUCTS.

Name of Produce	Yield per tree per annum	Prevailing Rates	Value of Annual Produce at Present Rates
1. Horda	1-2 Mds.	Rs. 30 a Md. (without seed)	Rs. 30-60
2. Karanj	15-20 Measures i.e., 1 Md.	No demand at present	No demand at present
3. Tamarind	5-6 Mds.	Rs. 5 per Md. (without seed)	Rs. 25-30
4. Sal Resin	20 lbs.	Rs. 20 per Md.	Rs. 5.00
5. Rella Bark	20-4 lbs.	Rs. 10 ,, ,,	Rs. 2.50
6. Jaffra Seed (Dye)	5-8 Measures i.e., ½ Md.	Rs. 36 ,, ,,	Rs. 18.00
7. Mohwa	2 putties flower, ½ Md.	Rs. 5 ,, ,,	Rs. 2.50
8. —do—	1 putty seed i.e., 1 Md.	Rs. 5 ,, ,,	Rs. 5.00

Taking the yield per sq. mile at 10,000 cft. of sawn timber per annum* the value of the timber amounts to Rs. 50,000. The net cost would however be only Rs. 20,000 after deducting costs of operating the machinery and transport equipment. The income from minor forest produce would be about 10,000 per sq. mile per annum. The total net income from a sq. mile of forest with the present methods of utilisation would therefore be less than Rs. 30,000 per year. Of this the Adivasi does not receive more than As 4 to As. 8 per cft., of timber extracted by him. He would therefore earn not more than Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per acre or Rs. 6,000-10,000 per sq. mile per year from forest. As against this the return from shifting cultivation is 2-3 mds., of cereals per annum per acre. Assuming that the land under shifting cultivation is kept fallow for as many years as he cultivates, the average annual return would be 1 to 1½ mds., of cereals. It will thus be seen that there is not much to choose between shifting cultivation and forestry.

With improved techniques the situation would be different. The return from timber alone may be upto Rs. 4 per cft. If all other resources are fully exploited and the produce processed in the forest, it should not be difficult to get an income from Rs. 60,000-80,000 per sq. mile, per annum. This could be supplemented by agriculture in the few strips of cultivable land (particularly the terraced beds of streams) and animal husbandry based on fodder and leaves available in the forest. Thus an income in excess of Rs. 1,500 per family per year can be attained from forestry with agriculture and animal husbandry as subsidiary occupations for

an area with a population density of 50 families per sq. mile or about 200 persons per sq. mile. It is interesting to note that to-day the density of population in Koraput is about the same as this figure but the family income does not exceed Rs. 300 per annum.

Forest Technicians estimate that 1,500-2,000 sq. miles of forest can yield annually structural materials equal in strength to a million tons of steel (1). The present area under forest in Koraput is about 2,000 sq. miles out of a total area of nearly 10,000 sq. miles. It seems to be possible to increase the forest area to 4,000 sq. miles which can support a population of 8 lakhs. We will then have productive capacity of timber equivalent to the annual yield from Bhilai or Roorkeela Steel Plant. The benefit to the tribal population of this type of economy will be immeasurably greater than a programme of agricultural development coupled with industrialisation.

3. *Technological Possibilities of Forest Based Industry :*

A : Potentialities of wood based industry : (2)

The most important produce from the forest is timber. Timber of course is a well known and well used construction material. In India full benefit is not derived from timber to-day because of

- (i) Backward techniques in design and fabrication.
- (ii) Scant attention to seasoning.
- (iii) Absence of preservative treatment.

Timber is used very wastefully, examination of the conventional designs

* According to table 1 the yield exceeds 20,000 cft., per annum. 10,000 cft., is a very conservative estimate.

in India by the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun, revealed : that the consumption of timber can be reduced by more than 50% by improved design and quality control (3). In India to-day timber is not graded for quality. The design stress adopted are far too low and efficient modern techniques of joining timber such as connectors and glued joints are not used. In the U.S.A. timber structures have been proved to be economical for building roof trusses of 60-100 ft. span, road bridges upto 200ft. span, and other major constructions (4). There is no reason why these should not prove to be economical in India, specially because of relatively low cost of skilled labour in India. The writer has started experimental fabrication of a few structures at Jeypore, with technical guidance from the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun. It seems that the cost would compare very favourably with steel structures.

Full utilisation of a timber coupe is not possible to-day because many secondary species are wasted. With preservative treatment the non-durable sap-wood (outer part of wood) can also be used (5). Thus it will be possible to increase the timber yield of forest to two to three times the present yield and with better designs and fabrication technique, the utility of the produce can be increased 4 to 6 times the present value.

Seasoning increases the strength of timber by 35% and the cost of seasoning is generally less than 20% of the value of timber. Carefully controlled seasoning makes it possible to use many species which are otherwise unsuitable because of the excessive cracking tendencies.

The economy of timber versus steel is well worth considering. Fabricated

structures of seasoned and preservative treated timber would cost Rs. 7/8 per cft. plus another Rs. 2-3 for transport and royalty. The cost at a railhead in Koraput District would be less than Rs. 10.0 to Rs. 11.0 per cft. The cost of fabricated steel work at the workshops generally exceeds Rs. 1,200 per ton. If the weight of timber is taken at 40-50 lbs/cft. the cost of a fabricated wood structure at the workshop would be about Rs. 500-600 per ton. It is well known that weight for weight timber is stronger than steel for most of the structural characteristics.

It is obvious that the distance from any of the steel fabrication plants in the country will be greater on the average than timber fabrication plants. The economic advantages of timber construction are obvious. It is well to note that preservative treated, properly designed timber structures compare very favourably with steel in durability (6).

Small size pieces obtained as waste from the timber structures industry would be useful for many wood based industries such as toys and furniture manufacture, handles for tools, implements for village industries. Waste material such as chips, saw dust can be used for composite wood products such as chipboard.

There is a promising field for other wood based industries such as match manufacture, bobbin manufacture, packing use manufacture. Those industries will also provide considerable employment to the forest dwellers.

If we analyse the cost of timber extraction with the present techniques the major elements of cost are royalty, transport and sawing. If power equipment is used for sawing, the labour component

of the cost of timber extraction would hardly exceed As. 8 per cft.

The main problem in development of timber-based industries would be to evolve techniques by means of which the income to the forest dweller, per cft. of timber extracted, is increased. It is possible to do much of the sawing in the forest. Cutting, planing and fabrication can also be done if the material is seasoned before working on it. If timber is cut in sizes of 1-2" in thickness it can be air-seasoned by stacking in sheds. Most pieces can be air-seasoned effectively by this method in less than one year. If all these processes are carried out in the forest it should be possible to provide an income of Rs. 4 per cft., to the forest labour. It will be necessary to carry out a systematic investigation to decide the optimum combination of power operated equipment and manual labour in order to attain the maximum efficiency with minimum investment without sacrificing quality. Break up of the income of Rs. 4 per cft. is given below :

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) Sawing : | Rs. 1 to Rs. 1/4/- |
| (ii) Air-seasoning : | Rs. -/12/- (it may be necessary to use a simple hot air kiln in conjunction with the air seasoning plant). |
| (iii) Planning : | Rs. -/12/- |
| (iv) Fabrication & Wood working : | Rs. 1/- |
| (v) Collection of timber & handling during fabrication : | Rs. -/8/- |
| | Rs. 4/- to Rs. 4/4/-. |

The produce from the manufacturing centres located in the forest will consist

of components of structures, furniture, tool handles, pre-fabricated doors, windows and partitions, implements for agriculture and small scale industries, bobbins, packing cases etc.

Further processing stages will be introduced at the assembly shop located near the town or railhead. The main operation at this stage will be grading of timber, preservative treatment, seasoning of pieces which do not come up to the required standard of moisture content, and assembly of the component parts. The expenditure on this stage would be about Rs. 2/8/- to Rs 3/- of which the labour component will be less than Rs. -/8/- per cft. Other associated industries such as composite wood (chip-board, saw dust board) can also be set up at the central processing plant to make use of the waste products from the wood working and fabrication industry and to make full use of laboratory facilities and skilled supervisory personnel.

The primary benefits of the timber exploitation would thus be passed on to the forest dweller and he can earn Rs. 80,000 per sq. mile of a forest. If this method of working is found economically feasible it should not be difficult to induce the Adivasi to take to forest plantations.

The possibilities of quick yielding forest plantations are discussed in a subsequent paragraph. Pending the growth of the plantations we can progress towards rational and efficient utilisation of existing resources. The organisational and technical facilities needed for this are discussed subsequently in this paper.

B. Uses of Lac :

Research on possibilities for using lac is being carried out by the Indian Lac

Research Institute. The Lac Cess Committee has also obtained advice of eminent foreign and Indian technicians on the subject.

The suggestions below are based on information supplied by the Indian Lac Research Institute and on the publication of the same Institution as well as Indian Lac Cess Committee (7).

Lac has lost ground to synthetics in the gramophone record, hat, and printing ink industries. It is still important as a bond for mica (micanite). Three quarters of the consumption in U.K. is for this purpose. The relative importance of lac in comparison to synthetics is likely to decline in future for the electrical industry because of the tendencies towards use of heat resistant materials.

Before the Second World War 90% of the Indian production of lac was exported. The exports have remained more or less static since then. According to Jordan (8) promising fields for lac utilisation for consumption within India are: varnishes and paints, sealing wax, micanite, impregnating material for laminated paper fabric and composite wood. Production of laminates will however require complicated equipment using high temperatures and pressures; efficient technical supervision and laboratory control will also be necessary.

C. Development possibilities :

Exploring new fields of use and utilising waste would be a very fruitful field for research. There are numerous such possibilities of which some of the promising ones are stated below :

(i) Ethyl alcohol can be extracted by distillation of Mohwa flower after fermentation. This may help in controlling

the consumption of the distillate as liquor.

(ii) Wood distillation : This may yield Methyl alcohol and Wood Tar Creosete. Methyl alcohol is greatly in demand for the plastics industry and creosete can be used for preservative treatment of wood.

(iii) Many of the fibres would be used for a wide range of purposes after treatment with chemicals. Recently in India, Polyethelene bonded jute has been introduced which is far superior in durability to Hessin. Many locally available fibres are very strong. After treatment they may substitute steel wire rope for rigging, hoisting, suspension bridges. Nylon rope is taking the place of steel in U.S.A to-day for many uses; forest fibres treated with synthetic resins may compare very favourably with Nylon.

(iv) Many of the grasses would yield essential oils and be suitable for paper industry. Sabai grass may be planted in ravines and badly eroded areas. It would be excellently suited for paper manufacture where transport facilities are available.

(v) There are numerous plants, roots and herbs of medicinal value which can be collected or cultivated. Possibilities of refining them will have to be studied.

(vi) Sericulture based on mulberry plantation and tusser silk manufacture would be another field where considerable employment can be provided through handi-crafts with little technical equipment or supervision.

(vii) Many timber species yield fodder that can be consumed by buffaloes goats, and sheep (9). In the period of growth of the tree this fodder would be a valuable source of additional food and

raw material for the forest population. Industries such as leather, wool can probably be developed from these.

(viii) Many fruits in the forest such as 'Amla' have high vitamin content. After preservation and canning these may be exported.

The above list is by no means complete. It doesn't include known uses of material such as tamarind, harida, tanning barks where little processing is involved. The list is based on the limited information available to the writer. The economic possibilities can only be estimated and definite figures of costs, investments, employment, income per year etc., can be worked out only after thorough survey and manufacture on pilot plant basis.

The importance of adequate transportation facilities cannot be over-emphasised. For the rugged and hilly terrain of Koraput, conventional methods of transport such as roads and railways along with bullock carts and headloads may not be adequate. Promising possibilities exist for use of aerial ropeway and skyline cranes (10). Water transport may also be suitable for some areas. This calls for thorough survey and planning based on estimates of the annual production—present and future—quantity of production, bulk and weight of the commodities transported, the form in which they are transported, main sources of supply and demand centres. Only an integrated transport plan can ensure the lowest cost of transportation with minimum investments taken up in well conceived stages, planned to suit the rate of growth of production of raw material and finished goods,

(4) *Preliminary work by the Sarva Seva Sangh, (Engineering Section):*

Technicians of the Sarva Seva Sangh started study of the natural resources of Koraput District with a view to explore the possibilities of development of village and small scale industries. The writer visited the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun, in September, 1956. Valuable information and guidance was received from the Forest Research Institute.

Since then we have been trying to create the essential technical facilities for studying the resources of the area. We have been able to set up a chemical laboratory which is now fully equipped for inorganic and organic analysis required for the work here. A wood preservation plant has been installed and preliminaries are in progress for installation of a hot air kiln. A small unit for purification of lac and for manufacturing shellac and sealing wax has started working since the beginning of April, 1957. Funds have been received from the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board for a workshop, oil-ghani and soapery unit. Buildings are under construction for the wood workshop, fabrication plant and saw mill. Temporary sheds will be soon constructed for air seasoning, one permanent shed is already available. The total covered area of the buildings under construction is likely to exceed 8,000 sq. ft., and another 6,000 sq. ft., are available from a rented bungalow.

A Technician (A graduate in Chemistry and Botany) was sent for training in wood preservation and seasoning at the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun. He has started trials for preservative treatment of locally available secondary species. We have on our staff a chemical

technologist who was also sent for short visits to Dehradun and to the Indian Lac Research Institute, Namkum. We are working in close liaison with these national research organisations.

Our purpose is not to take up fundamental research but to study the local resources and the possibilities of using them for industrial purposes. Work on the proposed pilot plants for seasoning, preservation and fabrication of timber and for processing lac will provide useful data for calculating production costs under local conditions. These pilot plants will also be useful for training technicians and operators. Future planning for development will be based on the factual data obtained on the pilot plants, advice will be given to co-operatives and other institutions which wish to start manufacture of any of the products.

Fabrications have been completed of a few nail jointed trusses upto 3cft. span, fabrication is in progress for a 60 ft. glue jointed truss, a grain silo of lift diameter, glue jointed girders of 18 and 24ft. spans. Trials are being made for fabricating three hinged arches of 24ft. span out of thick bamboos. We expect that the soapery unit will start working very soon; manufacture of bamboo mat. ply wood (based on a process patented by the Forest Research Institute) is also to be started some time during the Monsoon of 1957. We hope to set up a still for distillation of essential oils.

5. *Case for a forest products laboratory :*

It is apparent that processing of the local forest produce must be done within the area in order to ensure the maximum benefits to the local population. A laboratory situated in the District and

working in close liaison with the various agencies working for development of the tract can alone pay sufficient attention to the problems of the area. A planning section attached to the laboratory can make a thorough survey of the resources available and find out the facilities that are required (such as transport) for full utilisation and profitable marketing of the forest produce.

Normally it would be difficult to mobilise technical personnel and create facilities exclusively for the district. Fortunately the call of Gramdan is attracting people from all over the country for work in this area. We have been able to mobilise three graduate civil engineers, one chemical technologist and one technologist for wood seasoning and preservation. A ground work has been laid and some initial study of the resources has been completed. It will be unfortunate if full use of these facilities is not made, particularly when there is such an acute shortage of technical personnel in the country and very few are prepared to come and work with zeal in undeveloped tracts and among backward people.

The existing personnel can be augmented by a trained selviculturist so as to complete the nucleus of forest technicians. The selviculturist may be obtained on deputation for a period of a year from the forest department and he may be substituted by fresh graduate who may be trained during the next year or so. The laboratory would of course be working in close liaison with the forest department of the State and the local authorities. Contacts have already been established with the Forest Research Institute and the Lac Research Institute.

One lakh of rupees will be required for working of such a laboratory for one year

i.e., June 1957 to June 1958. Of this Rs. 20,000 will be recurring expenditure and Rs. 80,000 will be non-recurring capital expenditure for steam heated seasoning kiln, composite wood plant, and distillation unit for essential oils and small fractionating column for alcohol.

The Tribal and Backward Class Welfare Department has allotted Rs. 13.75 lakhs as aid for setting up 25 forest co-operatives in Orissa. Out of the total of 25 for the State, co-operatives have already been started in Koraput District, there is scope for many more. It is understood that Rs. 15 lakhs have been allotted for forest development in the Narayan Patna N.E.S. Block. The proposed demand for Rs. one lakh is really very small as compared to the projected expenditure in this area for development of Adivasis. The work in the laboratory can alone provide the data and information essential for sound planning of the area.

6. *Policies and Legislation required :*

We should examine objectively the policies and legislation in force to-day to see whether they safeguard the interest of the tribal community. The State gets royalty of Rs. 1 per cft. of timber extracted but the forestman hardly gets as. 8 per cft. No doubt, the State has to cover the establishment costs for maintaining and conserving the forest, but the question that arises is : why not make the Adivasi a partner in the ownership and management of forests? If the Adivasi is not to get his subsistence when the forest is growing, why should he not revert to shifting cultivation? If the primary producer in the forest is to get only a small share of benefits from the produce while the major part of the profits go to the outsiders, why should

he be interested in the development of the forest? The State cannot hope to make the joint enterprise for forest development, a success as long as the other partner i.e., the forest dweller, is indifferent.

It is well worth consideration to revise the existing forest laws so that the Adivasi will get a subsidy for preservation of the forest while it is growing and a share of the royalty when it matures. The taxes or the royalty charges may be levied in such a manner that preference is given to processing in the forest. This can probably be achieved by a concessional royalty for forest produce processed in the forest and an excise duty on the produce processed outside the forest areas. These are some of the problems which require careful study in order to create the necessary conditions for development of the forest with the active co-operation and participation of the Adivasi.

One of the objections that might be raised is that a forest development plan may take very long time to mature, which may, therefore, be over-capitalised as compared to alternative plan in the field of agriculture and industry. This question is discussed in the appendix. The writer believes that it is possible to develop plantations which may start yielding in the tenth year and which may yield substantial quantities of timber from the fifteenth year. In the meantime, fodder, grasses, bamboo and minor forest produce may be made to yield substantial incomes to the local population.

7. *Summary and Conclusion :*

Forestry can well become the mainstay of tribal economy provided suitable

techniques are developed for maximising the benefits from forests. Establishment of a forest products laboratory is an essential first step. Of no less importance is the policy and legislation directed towards making the Adivasi the primary beneficiary of the forest. Needless it is to emphasise the importance of a training programme whereby the necessary skills are developed among the Adivasis so that they can get gainful and productive employment from forest-based industries.

Acknowledgements

The writer's thinking has been deeply influenced by the work of pioneers like Dr. Kamesan in the field of forestry. It has been his privilege to be associated with some of the foremost social leaders in the country during the period of work with the A.B. Sarva Seva Sangh. It is difficult to acknowledge individually the debt that he owes to the various persons who have influenced his thinking. Of greatest importance has been the opportunity of coming in close association with the local population which could only be possible in an Organisation which has been working in the wake of Gramdan. His thoughts have been greatly influenced by a paper by Dr. B.H. Mehta of the Tata School of Social Sciences, (The approach to Tribal and Rural Community Development). The analysis of the tribal problems, particularly the sociological aspects, as presented by Dr. Mehta has contributed greatly to the crystallisation of ideas that had occurred to the writer during his visits to tribal villages in Koraput.

Technical information and advice received from Forest Research Institute and particularly the Timber Engineering Branch, have been extremely valuable.

Useful data and information was freely supplied by Mr. Verne Keteum of the Timber Structures Incorporated, USA., and Messrs Aero Research Limited, England. The writer has also received help from his colleagues in the Sarva Seva Sangh, particularly the Engineering Section and he would, therefore, consider the above contribution a product of collective effort rather than individual thinking.

APPENDIX

Possibilities of early returns from Forest Plantation

No forest is considered mature at ages less than 50 years with the practices prevailing to-day. The main reasons for insisting on the use of large girth trees are :

1. The maximum annual increments from the forest are attained at 50-60 years.
2. The wastage is greater for small diameter trees.
3. Percentage of non-durable sapwood is greater for immature trees.
4. Large size timbers are demanded by users.

If we want to take up plantations as part of a development programme, we must get quick returns, otherwise the plans get over-capitalised. It is, therefore, better to sacrifice some future yield to get early returns.

If small dimension stock can be used for constructional purpose and sapwood can be used, even small diameter trees will have economic value.

With modern methods of preservative treatment and seasoning along with glued fabrication, timbers of even 4" x 1" size can be used for girders of 40 ft., span and

trusses of even 100ft., span. In costs they would compare favourably with large size stock as the economy in seasoning small size material balances the extra cost of gluing.

Data on actual fabrication cost is scanty. The writer has started some experimental fabrications. The results seem to be promising. The claim for plantations maturing in 15 years can however be substantiated only after further

experience is gained on fabrication.

Study of a few selected species reveals that number of timbers can develop diameters sufficient for extracting 4" × 1" stock. The following list is by no means complete but it serves well to substantiate the case for quick maturing plantations. Very promising possibilities exist for use of bamboo for flanges of beams and timber for webs so that in combination a mixed plantation can yield useful structural material in 10-15 years

Rate of Growth of Selected Species

Based on data from : (i) Silviculture of Indian Trees by Troupe.
(ii) Silviculture of Trees suitable for Wood Based Industries, F.R.I. publication.

Species	Recommend Use	Diameter at 10 years age	Diameter at 15 years
GAMARI (<i>Gemelina Arborea</i>).	Furniture, boxes, boats, bobbins, fabricated work.	7.3	8.6
MULBERRY (<i>Morus Alba</i>).	Sports goods, village fuel, (probably webs of built up structures).	3.9	7.0
CHAMPA (<i>Michelea Champea</i>).	Possible substitute for spruce and silver fir for aircraft work, furniture cabinet making, bobbin battery separators, fabricated timber.	5.4	7.2
SEMUL (<i>Bombax Malabrium</i>).	Packing cases, matches, plywood.	15.0	22.0
SILVER OAK (<i>Grevillea Robusta</i>).	Bobbin Industry, packing cases, plywood toys.		
AINI (<i>Artocarpus Histula</i>).	Probable use fabricated wood, plywood boats (does not take preservative treatment).	11.0	NA.
(Same Family as Jack).			
TOON (<i>Cedrela Toona</i>).	Furniture, bobbins, toys, possible use for fabricated wood.	5.0	7.0
TEAK (<i>Teetona Grandis</i>).	Well known timber suitable for numerous purposes.	4.0"	5.0"
HALADU (<i>Adena Cardifolia</i>).	Furniture, possible use for fabricated wood.	2"	2 5"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. At 20,000 cft. per annum and 50 cft. per ton the yield from 2,000 sq. miles will be 8,00,000 tons. This will be stronger than 10,00,000 tons of steel vide Table No. 1 from 'Timber As Building Material', a paper presented before a Seminar of the National Buildings Organisation, March, 1956 by M/s Rehman, Purshottam and Sekhar of The Forest Research Institute, Dehradun.
 2. In this section information has been drawn freely from a series of publications of The Forest Research Institute, Dehradun, issued under the title 'Wood is Good'.
 3. 'Timber as a Structural Material' by N.S. Masani. Journal of the Institution of Engineers (India), July, 1956.
 4. 'Engineering in Wood' published by the Timber Engineering Company, USA.
 5. 'Wood Preservation in India' Indian Forest Bulletin, No. 168.
 6. 'Wood as an Engineering Material' by L. S. Markwardt, 'Civil Engineering' September, 1952.
 7. 'Uses of Lac' and 'Recent Applications of Lac Research' published by the Indian Lac Research Institute.
 8. 'Report on Lac' by Jordan, published by the Indian Lac Cess Committee.
 9. 'Fodder Yielding Trees' published by the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun.
 10. Recommended by Shri N. J. Masani, Head of the Timber Engineering Branch, Forest Research Institute, Dehradun.
- This paper has drawn extensively on the material available in standard reference books in forestry such as, 'Silviculture of Indian Trees' by Troupe, 'Forest Pocket Book' by Howard and 'Common Commercial Timbers of India' by Trotter. It would be difficult to give reference to these books as that would result in numerous references all over the paper.
-

आदिम शबर जातिय सभो

श्री बलरामदास

सर्व सेवा की दृष्टि से समाज सेवा का एक महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के बाद मुझे भावना हुई कि मैं किस तरह समाज की सेवा कर सकता हूँ। जैसे कि हमारे बहुत से महान नेता ने स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति को ही अपना उद्देश्य समझा था, और स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की। स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद देश के सामने एक समस्या आई कि देश का आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक उत्थान किस ढंग से किया जाय। बड़े-बड़े नेताओं ने देश में अत्यधिक संख्या में बसने वाली पिछड़ी, उपेक्षित जातियों की सेवा करना ही अपना परम कर्तव्य समझा। मैंने भी इन पिछड़ी आदिम जातियों की सेवा में ही अपना जीवन लगाने के लिये निश्चय किया।

जब मैं आदिम जातियों के बीच उनकी सेवा की भावना से प्रेरित होकर उनके बीच काम करने गया तब उनकी जातिय सभा के लोगों ने मेरा डूँट कर विरोध किया। फिर भी मैं अपने संकल्प पर दृढ़ रहा। मैं घनघोर जंगलों में गया, जहाँ वे लोग अमानुषीय रूप से जीवन यापन करते थे और वे लोग सामाजिक शासन से भी दूर थे। जंगल की आजादी उनको अपने जीवन से भी प्रिय थी। मैं उनकी भ्रोपड़ियों में गया। और उनसे अपनापन का सम्बन्ध स्थापित कर उनकी सेवा में लगा रहा। ये लोग शबर कहलाते हैं।

‘शबर’ शब्द का अर्थ यह है कि जब मनुष्य की सृष्टि हुई तब मनुष्य आज के जैसा सभ्य मनुष्य नहीं

था। उस में जंगलीपन भरा हुआ था। उस समय जो जमीन पर मृगया कर जीवन यापन करने लगे वे लोग शबर कहलाते और जो जल में रहने वाली मच्छलियों आदि पर जीवन यापन करने लगे वे धीवर कहलाये गये। वैसे तो आदिम अवस्था में हर मनुष्य शबर था। आज के जमाने में जो शबर कहलाते हैं वे आदिम अवस्था में ही रह गये। सभ्यता के सम्पर्क में न आने से ही उनकी यह वर्तमान दशा हो गयी है। शब्द कोश के आधार पर ‘शबर’ शब्द का अर्थ ‘बेन शरीर उद्भव जाति, शबर’। ‘बेन’ शब्द का अर्थ ब्रह्मा होता है। और आज की जितनी भी सभ्य और असभ्य जातियाँ हैं सब का उद्गम स्थान ब्रह्मा ही है। कुछ लोग परिस्थिति वश देश काल के अनुसार उन्नति कर सभ्य हो गये। बाकि जैसे के तैसे रहगये, जिन्हें आज कल शबर, धीवर और असुर के नाम से लोग पुकारते हैं। इन लोगों को भी सभ्यता के सम्पर्क में लाया जाय तब यह जातियाँ भी हम लोगों की तरह सभ्य बन सकती हैं।

इन लोगों के बीच काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ता ऐसे हों जो अपने को उन्हीं लोगों के अनुसार बना लें। महान त्याग की आवश्यकता है। फिर भी सिर्फ आत्मिक शक्ति से ही काम करने में सफलता नहीं मिल सकती है। इसके लिये और भी साधनों की आवश्यकता है। विदेशी लोग जो इनके बीच काम कर आशातित सफलता प्राप्त करते हैं, उसका मुख्य कारण है कि वे लोग सभी तरह के साधनों से सम्पन्न हैं।

हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार की तरफ से जो आदिम जातियों को उन्नति के लिये सहयोग दिया जाता है वह तो उत्तम है ही, फिर भी अत्यधिक सरकारी गैर सरकारी तौर पर कानून के दबाव, जो काम संस्था के तरफ से स्वयंस्फूर्त के रूप में होता है, उसमें जितनी सफलता मिलनी चाहिये, उतनी सफलता नहीं मिल पाती है। इससे सेवा की लगन और सेवकों की हिम्मत टूट जाती है। फिर भी सेवकों का यह कर्तव्य है कि सब तरह की तृटियों के होने पर भी लगन से काम करना चाहिये।

सर्वाेदय विचार के फलस्वरूप आज समाज के समग्र अंगों का विकास करने की योजना पल रही है। सफलता भी मिल रही है। बिहार राज्य के सिंहभूम जिले के आदिम जाति 'शबर, खड़िया लोगों के पुर्नवास के लिये बिहार सरकार के तरफ से पहली पंच वर्षीय योजना १९५२-५३ में काम हो रहा है। कुछ सफलता भी मिली।

मैं शबर जाति सभा की तरफ से एक सेवक की भाँति इन लोगों के बीच काम कर रहा हूँ। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त हो चुकी है। इतने दिनों के असें में इन लोगों के मध्य में मुझे जो काम करने के अनुभव प्राप्त हुये हैं, उसे मैं आप लोगों के सामने रखता हूँ।

कठिनाईयें

स्वतन्त्रता प्रिय इन आदिम लोगों को एकत्र कर एक स्थान पर बसाना अत्यन्त कठिन काम है क्योंकि उनके मानस में इस तरह की भावना बन गई है कि अगर वे लोग सभ्य लोगों के समाज में रहने लगेंगे तो उनको समाज को सबसे निकृष्ट काम करना पड़ेगा

ही। क्योंकि वे लोग अशिक्षित और गंवार हैं। किसी न किसी रूप में उन्हें समाज का निकृष्ट दासत्व स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा।

इस कारण वे लोग जंगल के उन्मुक्त जीवन को ही स्वर्गीय जीवन समझते हैं। और यही कारण है कि उन्हें इस वर्तमान स्थिति में पतितावस्था में रहने के लिये मजबूर करता है।

आज समाज में आदिम जातियों के अलावा भी बहुत से गरीब लोग हैं, जो आर्थिक उन्नति के लिये सहायता चाहते हैं, पर सरकार की ओर से सबको सहायता मिल नहीं पाती।

दूसरी ओर शबर लोगों को सब तरह की सहायता देने को सरकार तैयार है, फिर भी वे लोग लेने को तैयार नहीं हैं। जब उन लोगों की बसाने की बात आती है; उन लोगों को जंगल की ओर ही भागने की रहती है। ऐसा क्यों? क्योंकि वे लोग किसी काम का फल शीघ्र ही पाना चाहते हैं। यहाँ फल प्राप्त करने का श्रम अत्यधिक करना पड़ता है। फल भी देर के बाद मिलता है। और वे लोग इन कामों में अभ्यस्त भी नहीं हैं। जब ऐसी समस्या कार्यकर्ताओं के सामने आती है, तब उनके सामने कठिनाई उपस्थित हो जाती है, और वे सोचने लगते हैं कि उसके लिये सफलता का कौन सा अच्छा दूसरा साधन है।

अतः मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार कुछ सफलता प्राप्त करने वाले तत्वों को रखता हूँ अगर सच मुच इन लोगों की समग्र उन्नति की व्यवस्था करने के लिये इनके सुधार के काम में संशोधन करना होगा। पहले कानूनी व्यवस्था में संशोधन किया जाय। जैसे कि सरकार द्वारा स्क्रीम चालू होती है।

रुपये मिलते हैं। काम शुरू होते हैं। फिर ३१ मार्च तक हिसाब कर रुपये लौटा देने पड़ते हैं। काम बाद में रुक जाता है। स्कीम अधूरी रह जाती है, याने काम नष्ट-भ्रष्ट हो जाता है। अतः काम जून, जुलाई तक चालू रहे। और हिसाब किताब भी जून तक रहे। इसमें रुपये भी सुरक्षित रहेंगे और काम भी पूरा होगा।

पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त हो चुकी। इन लोगों के बीच शिक्षा का कोई ठोस महत्वपूर्ण काम न हुआ। कम से कम इन लोगों का जहाँ भी पुर्नवास कराया जाय वहाँ शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध भी उचित ढंग से होना चाहिये ताकि १० वर्षों में भी शिक्षित हो जाय। वहाँ बच्चों की शिक्षा के लिये निःशुल्क भोजन के साथ आवासीय विद्यालय का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये।

बहुत सी योजनाएँ बनती हैं। किन्तु चालू नहीं होती। रुपये मिलते हैं। फिर लौट जाते हैं। स्थानिय सरकारी गैर जिम्मेवार आफिसरों के कारण ऐसा होता है। इस पर विचार होना चाहिये।

पुनर्वास का काम जो होना चाहिये पहाड़ जंगलों के पास ही बसाया जाय। जिनको जीवन थापन के साधन सुलभता से प्राप्त हो सकें। उन लोगों के वातावरण के अनुकूल ही उनको सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये। जंगल विभाग के आफिसर उन लोगों को जंगल के बाहर निकालना चाहते हैं। वे लोग निकलना भी नहीं चाहते। इस पर ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

कृषि व्यवस्था में जब तक स्वयं वे लोग अवलम्बित न हो जायें तब तक उन्हें सरकारी सहायता मिलनी चाहिये।

TRIBAL RESEARCH & WELFARE

by

NITYANANDA DAS, Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa.

The day has come when the significance of research in tribal welfare is being realised by the administration. Before a decade or two, the anthropologists studying the tribals were kept miles apart from the formulation and implementation of tribal welfare measures. They had still the level of curio-hunters, particularly in India this branch of science was confined to a few civilians, lawyers and amateur thinkers. No doubt the teaching of the subject in Calcutta University and later the establishment of a Department under the Government of India accelerated the systematic approach. But those could not sufficiently make their significance felt. The policy of segregation of the tribes which went with the anthropological literature in early days disreputed the anthropologists, although a handful of persons at high places were responsible for such an outlook. The students who could take up the line had to knock at the doors of the authorities, and receive cool sarcastic comments. Finding little prospects many had to give up the chase. A few foreign authors of evolutionary school like Fraser, Tylor or Morgan were the standards for judging anthropological work.

However it is fortunate that the patience of the anthropologists has been rewarded and now we are in the threshold of understanding and collaboration with the people in all walks of life. We may look for still brighter days, as well as take a stock of our resources and shortcomings.

Now Tribal Research Institutions have been set up within the frame work of tribal welfare administration in seven States. A few more States may follow suit. These institutions under the charge of the anthropologists, engage social scientists to conduct researches among the different tribes of their respective States. They do not merely collect data on customs and practices of the tribals, or describe their dances and romances, but go deep into tribal problems, which have defied the ameliorative measures. The scholars are gradually shedding off their idio syncracies and are realising their practical handicaps. On such occasions it may be essential to discuss threadbare the present and future task before these institutions.

The principal facts of these institutions may be (a) location (b) personnel (c) present programme and future plans (d) co-operation and co-ordination of the work with other agencies of the administration and other identical bodies in different States. We may now take up one by one.

Location : Some of the Tribal Research Institutions have been located at the State Capitals, while some others at tribal centres. As for this no strict principle could be followed. It involves administrative convenience and other social and political considerations. It is convenient for the researchers to be at a convenient place from where they could approach tribal areas quickly. But such a consideration does not become sound

particularly in case of Bengal and Orissa. In these States tribes have been distributed in all the districts, and the northern and southern districts balance tribal population. In case of Bihar and Madhya-Pradesh, the tribal areas are mostly concentrated in a zone and as such the location of the institutes have received this consideration.

As the organiser of the Tribal Research Institute, and now being in charge of the Research Bureau in Orissa the author could emphatically elaborate that it is in the interest of the proper functioning of such Institutions, that those should be located preferably at the State Capital where the Welfare Departments function. That makes the authorities conscious of the work of the Institute, and could see its day to-day contribution. Besides, the Institutions have primarily been set up to submit the pros and cons of tribal life to Governments. When the Centre is at the Capital, the Head of the Centre could always be called for to tender views on multiple technical points at the time of formulation of schemes. Further more, the Centre staff could be closely associated with the administration, and the practical problems, and hence there may be lesser chance for egocentrism and dogmatic conception.

Personnel : This is a very significant aspect of the Centre on which depends the success of the enterprise. At the present time, coordinated studies of the different branches of social sciences and team work have been given emphasis. Team work deletes personal equation. It also transacts business speedily. An anthropologist assisted by a psychologist and an economist could produce data on different aspects of the community under study.

Now-a-days pure ethnographic descriptions being substituted by dimensional studies, village and group studies, such a team has been more useful. In such a team a woman researcher is of immense value. The tribals due to age—long exploitation and political manipulations have developed suspicion and apathy. Hence establishment of rapport with a preliterate group and participation in their daily life have become difficult. The presence of a woman in the team helps doubly. Firstly, it could fetch better response from the group or village under study, and secondly, information from the women could be easily collected.

The research officers and assistants should preferably be practically oriented youngmen rather than diehard class room and library scholars. Field work in tribal areas is difficult for want of communication, transport and other amenities. Climate at many places may not be conducive to health. Hence the researchers should be prepared to face these difficulties. The head of the Centre should not alone be an administrator, but a guide with a good conscience and clear reasoning. Otherwise team spirit is hard to be inculcated. The head should also be a man of progressive ideas and not an antiquarian scholar who has been trained in old line. Otherwise the work may lack in lively interest and tribal research may not gain ground in the eyes of our leaders. An old man, however great he may be, may not be quite fit for such applied work. A good academic qualification may be preferred, but a good worker may be more useful. Knowledge of tribal language should be an indispensable qualification.

Present Programme and Future Plans : The details about our tribes are very

much lacking except about a few groups. Whenever any detail is desired, one has to look back to Dalton, Risley, and Grigson. These writers were versatile; but their facts have been collected through administrative channels. Roy however started writing systematic descriptions and Elwin has established a tradition of details. Guha has contributed to the racial history of India and to the other branches of physical anthropology, while Mazumdar has been the doyen of social anthropology. Bose and many others have incited a good deal of research among the different tribes. But there still remain virgin fields in the tribal matrix. Particularly in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh there are tribes like the Juangs, Paudi Bhuyans, Kutia Kondhs, Lanjia Saoras and Bonda Parajas, and Marias and Murias and Chenchus, on whom our data is so meagre that any planning of tribal welfare becomes difficult. They have been known outside by their human sacrifice, shifting cultivation and nomadic habits. But many aspects of their culture and economic adjustment are to be explored yet. An authenticated glossary of the tribes in a State, the level in which they are, their language and habits are not readily available. That creates a good deal of inconvenience to the governments for planning welfare measures. Besides, that provides scope for subjective interpretations. Above all, the evaluation of the welfare measures which have been implemented or are being implemented are of great utility. Without that, appropriateness of the schemes in consonance with the cultural background of the tribes could not be judged. Special welfare measures have been implemented for the backward people since 1947. Those include settlement of adivasis on land, boarding schools, craft schools,

graingolas, training centres, health and sanitation drives, provision for drinking water and other development schemes. We are yet to hear from the technical experts about the handicaps, lacunae and advantages from those schemes. Besides, rapid industrial development has been affected in a large number of tribal areas, particularly in Bihar and Orissa. In those areas the tribals are often landing into twentieth century from their primitive habits. The reaction has to be carefully studied in order to check unwanted metamorphosis and to canalize the development in a manner conducive to a healthy atmosphere. The Tribal Research Institutions should necessarily incorporate these problems and many others which might be local and topical.

Every centre maintains a museum and library. A Museum of tribal arts and crafts and titbits from the material substratum of the tribals, may be an integral component of the research centre. It is beyond any controversy that several implements of tribal culture are fast disappearing from use. That is why there is the special necessity to preserve the arts and crafts for the posterity to judge the value of those articles. Further the zonal and tribal differences could be worked out by moving along a neatly arranged museum. Such museums should be the pride of the centres. The compilation of Primers in the principal tribal languages of the State may go a long way to make these research centres well received. The time has already come when the people of different walks of life are having interest in the social problems. The tribal problems are being appreciated without bias. Hence there is lively interest to learn the different tribal languages. The Union and State

Governments are now prescribing working knowledge of tribal languages for their ranks. They have been declaring rewards to create interest, while prescribing penalty for non-compliance. The author knows the plight of the administrative officers on the eve of tribal language examinations. They would lose an increment in their pay unless they succeed, but want to learn the language in a simpler fashion. The missionaries have compiled grammars in tribal languages. Many of those are monumental, but there is one factor in it which makes such grammars far from the reach of the common men. Besides the tribal languages are painted as very tough. All these discourage any one who wants to learn such languages.

There is also a move to teach the tribal boys and girls in their mother tongue upto the lower secondary stage. But this move is hindered for want of appropriate text books on tribal languages. Tribal cultures are rich storehouses of tales, songs, riddles and proverbs. These are gradually decaying for want of propagation and compilation. The educated tribals are partly responsible for such decay. It has been observed that the tribals who are being educated or who come in frequent contact with others switch on to regional languages, just as an Indian takes pride to speak English. To make the tribal languages and folk literature popular, the research centres should have the prime responsibility. This should be in the programme and plan.

A large number of officers and staff are engaged in tribal welfare work in different States. Some of them have been drawn from the bonafide social service institutions, while others are recruited without special knowledge of

tribal life. It thus becomes highly essential to impart requisite training to the different grades of staff. The necessity for such training has been emphasised in the previous conferences. The training programme is hampered for lack of experienced technical experts. Now as tribal research organisations have developed under the control of the State Governments, such a training programme may be successfully implemented with immediate effect. Only one thing may be guarded against by the researchers that they should not be dogmatic and idealistic.

The research centres are to prepare documentaries on the life and customs of the tribal groups. They should also record the folk songs. Now-a-days documentaries on tribal life are being prepared by the Information and Public Relations Departments. But there remains one handicap that such films are prepared on the basis of strategy and totality. They well hit the apices, but in the culture of a tribe there are minor points, which when missed make the whole show artificial. The cameramen of the above departments are qualified experts, but they do not have much practical knowledge of the tribal life, and they are at a loss to know precisely the crucial points. Hence such documentaries have to be prepared under the guidance of the Research Centres to make them lively.

Cooperation and coordination of the work with others: The research centres function within the framework of general administration. They are therefore to work in consonance with the precipice of administrative canons. But such cooperation may not be one-sided. The research centre has to put its views in clear terms. I should not conceal here

that in many cases the ideas of the experts are not valued properly. For that the experts may be equally blamed. That is so because the findings and the conclusions advanced by them are not in keeping with the convenience and practical execution. Among our administrators there are versatile scholars, laden with years of experience with the masses. Are the experts not to consult them? The plans and programmes of research for ultimate benefit to the people, could be drawn up in collaboration with different authorities. The administrators equally are to appreciate the researchers. They may not look at them as curio-hunters, but as their assistants who could find out practical solutions to the complicated problems.

Recently Elwin has advocated that our anthropologists should be philanthropologists. He has narrated the role of the anthropologists in the N.E.F.A. administration. He has stressed out the significant contribution of the research staff towards the problems of sanitation, Community Development etc. He has strongly suggested that there may be difference between the social workers and social scientists. This to me is a more humane approach. What is most essential in the present set up is that the researchers may not be callous investigators but they should grapple the burning problems of the community. The investigator by his personal efforts should be conversant with the different measures now under implementation in the tribal areas. By personal example he could obtain appreciation and cooperation of the tribals to those measures. Our aim

should be to wean the tribal people on right lines.

Now that Tribal Research Centres have been established in different States, it is needless to say that coordination of their activities will be of prime significance. Although these institutions are functioning under separate State overnments, there is a good deal common among them. There is also the Department of Anthropology under the Government of India. Only a few years ago, that department was functioning in its own way. Now under an energetic Director the activities have been expanded. Hence there is the absolute necessity of cooperation between that department and Tribal Research organisations in the States. The Planning Commission is keen to have a sample survey of the major tribes of the States. That is a colossal problem which could be accomplished only by the cooperation of all the research bodies in the country. The Universities in which Anthropology and Sociology are taught have got eminent scholars and professors. They have also got another advantage, that they have batches of students who are potential researchers. Besides, in their curricula they have prescribed field research and they take out study parties. From all these points those departments of the Universities could work in cooperation with the tribal research bodies. Both will gain by it.

From all these angles the conference may consider the present and future of tribal research in the country. There is very little doubt that in no time we would be able to impress the importance of research in tribal welfare.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

by

**J.D.N. VERSLUYS, Acting Director, Unesco Research Centre on the
Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia.**

It is gratifying to note that the number of anthropological research institutes is steadily increasing in India. Besides the new institutes created by a few States like Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar which have a large percentage of tribal population and so were fully justified to start their own research centres, a new institute has recently been opened at Nagpur as a branch of the Government of India Department of Anthropology.* It would be helpful if even more institutes were established, because the field of research is wide and far from fully explored.

However, it is clear that a large number of research institutes immediately creates the problem of their relationship with each other and with existing institutions, notably the Departments of Anthropology at the various Universities. It also poses the question as to how far co-ordination would be desirable and possible. Here are problems of a scientific, organizational and personal nature.

In general, I believe, nobody will deny that in every branch of scientific research a certain amount of co-ordination is desirable. In order to prevent duplication and to direct the research to such fields which are most in need of further exploration there should exist some machinery which makes it possible that the limited means and resources are used to the fullest. However, as regards duplication in research, most of us will agree that,

particularly in the social sciences—but not only there—a certain amount of parallel research is extremely useful in order to find out, for instance, how far people who belong to the same tribe, will react differently according to different circumstances. When two studies are made of, say, the acculturation of the Mundas, then we should not necessarily speak of duplication, provided these studies were not carried out in identical circumstances, namely, in the same area and at the same time. Even so, two such studies are not necessarily waste of effort if, for instance, the purpose was to test certain research methods and techniques, and to see whether two different persons, using either the same, or different techniques would really arrive at the same conclusions. Such a double study might be extremely valuable and is not wasteful provided both studies were carried out with the same purpose and were co-ordinated so as to make the comparison of results and the testing of methods really possible.

Duplication only exists if unplanned and un-co-ordinated double studies are made which—as they are not co-ordinated—will not provide the basic features which are needed to make the results really comparable.

It follows from the preceding argument that a second reason for co-ordination besides the scientific reason already mentioned, is that of economy in research.

*Other stations of the Department are situated at Shillong (Assam) and Port Blair (Andamans and Nicobars).

It is only too well known how limited the resources are, and it is certainly necessary to use these to the best advantage. Anthropological research is in most cases fairly expensive as long periods of field-work are needed and, in many cases, not only one but a number of workers have to be sent equipped with expensive material like various kinds of cameras, sound recorders etc. It is certainly regrettable if, through lack of co-ordination, two teams are sent to explore the same problem but are not co-operating in any way.

However, apart from purely scientific and economic reasons, co-ordination of research is extremely useful, not to say indispensable, with a view to arriving at certain conclusions which would serve as a basis for policy decisions. Item (c) of the agenda of the Anthropology Section of this Conference refers to a "plan of classifying the tribals at varied levels of development according to the scientific formulas suggested in the Conference of Social Work and Anthropologists". As it stands it looks a hazardous undertaking, but it seems to be quite impossible if there does not exist a central co-ordinating body which can evaluate and compare the local findings and decide, first, whether the methods used in those local investigations were adequate and, secondly, how those findings actually fit into the "scientific formulas" mentioned above. But even if one would not go too deeply into this matter, the fact that there exists a Central Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes seems to imply that the Central and the States Governments have agreed, in principle, on a basic policy regarding the tribal areas in India. What that basic policy should be (although it is

understood that it will necessarily be flexible in order to cope with the varied circumstances in tribal India), can only be decided if the data on which that policy is based are so collected and presented as to ensure at least a minimum degree of homogeneity. And that is only to be obtained if there exists a central co-ordinating body.

However, there are always two aspects to be considered when scientific co-ordination is discussed. Few anthropologists will deny the basic need for co-ordination, but quite a number may have some doubts about it in actual practice. Everybody who has had the benefit of a University education will be most anxious to defend his academic freedom in his scientific work. I can imagine that some among us will feel grave apprehensions at the prospect of well co-ordinated research which, they fear, will consist of strict administrative rules and regulations and would reduce the free scientific worker to a petty officer carrying out the orders from above. Of course, nobody would wish such a situation and I am sure that nobody seriously considers to try and establish such an awful regimentation.

Indeed the real problem is not, I believe, whether or not co-ordination is really useful—although a plea for it is not quite redundant when we observe the actual situation—but rather what kind of co-ordination is possible and acceptable. It is well known that there is little or no co-ordination at present, in fact there is little or no knowledge of what any institute or department of anthropology is doing excepting with those who are working in that particular institute or department. One might consider two possibilities to remedy this situation which actually are two stages of co-operation.

The first seems to be that research information is exchanged. In this context I should like to draw the attention to one aspect of the work of the Unesco Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia. This Centre which was opened at Calcutta in the beginning of this year is making an effort to collect information on current and projected social research in all the countries of South and Southeast Asia. It is clear that it will be possible in a short time to get in touch with all the research workers in the various disciplines of the social sciences, and, moreover, to receive adequate information on their work. Nevertheless, the response has been encouraging and a substantial amount of information has already been received. It should be pointed out that this Centre is not only collecting information on research which is immediately connected with its own investigations, namely, the social consequences of industrialization, but intends to receive information on research work carried out in all the fields of social research. One of the questions asked is whether the research worker is willing to communicate the information he gives to colleagues, and has no objection to the publishing of that information, and it is gratifying to note that in practically all cases this permission was obtained. The Centre intends to publish, therefore, occasional research bulletins in which a short description of the work—completed or on hand—will be given, where possible indicating also the methods used, the scope of the work, the time when it will probably be completed, etc and, in all cases, the names and addresses of the research workers. These bulletins might be of some use to anthropologists as well, and it is hoped that this Conference may

help to obtain even more information from the anthropologists now present in order to make the Research Bulletins more comprehensive. It is believed that there are two special advantages connected with this method: first, the information will cover most of the countries of the region of Southern Asia and, secondly, it will allow specialists in one field to have an idea of what is being done in adjoining fields. It is most stimulating to be aware of colleagues abroad who are carrying out research similar to yours and with whom you can correspond on methodological and technical difficulties. Such contacts can be easily made, either through the Unesco Research Centre or directly. The second advantage is of no less importance. Particularly those anthropologists who are interested in problems of acculturation will find it extremely useful to compare notes with other social scientists like psychologists, sociologists, economists, demographers, etc.

I should like to mention another practical possibility of exchange of research information which is provided by the "List of Subjects in Arts and Sciences in which Research was carried out in the Universities and Research Institutions" published from time to time by the Inter-University Board. This List covers India only, and does not provide many details, as the subject, the name of the investigator and the University or Institute to which he is attached are only mentioned. However, in the next publication which will probably come from the press towards the end of this year or the beginning of the next, some more information is provided, namely, for what degree the study was made, whether or not the report was published, when the

project is likely to be completed and a brief synopsis in a few cases. However useful this publication is, as the data are collected via the Registrars who have to write to all the affiliated colleges, it is clear that the information given cannot be quite up-to-date, but it is certainly the most comprehensive source of information as it lists all the work done at the Universities as well as at a large number of research institutes. However, it is not probable that work undertaken by the newly established institutes of anthropological research will already be included.

As it was stated before, it requires already a great effort to be more or less reliably informed about current and planned anthropological research, let alone research in the other fields of social science. Nevertheless, I believe that there is an urgent need to have such information, and, on the other hand, that it is an important duty to provide the information on research you are carrying out yourself. The Unesco Research Centre is only too willing to receive and distribute such information and, as the field is limited to the social sciences only, the information provided can be more complete than that given by Inter-University Board which covers the humanities and the natural sciences as well.

However, well organized research information, though indispensable, is only the beginning, and a certain degree of co-ordination will be needed as well. It is also agreed that such a co-ordination should not impair academic freedom. How could such a form of co-ordination best be organized ?

It seems useful to consider the example set by the Planning Commission

which created a separate body under the name of the Research Programmes Committee. This Committee consists of a number of social scientists, mostly economists but also a few sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists and psychologists who first consider which research projects are needed, then ask the University departments or research institutes concerned whether they are willing to carry them out, and finally come to an agreement as regards the details of the research projects. The Planning Commission finances the whole work.

It would not seem impossible to create a similar body for anthropological research as well. However, it will require close co-operation between the various institutions engaged in such research, and this does not seem to exist very much until now. It is clear that the research carried out by University Departments of Anthropology and by the governmental institutions (Central and State) is not always of the same nature. It is natural that a number of projects started by University Departments are particularly meant to provide students with the opportunity of carrying out actual field work, and are mainly an academic exercise, most useful and needed, but not necessarily meant to contribute substantially to the body of anthropological knowledge. Nevertheless, a number of University projects certainly have this latter purpose and it is in many cases possible to combine both purposes. If it would be possible to create a body consisting of representatives of University and Government research workers, it seems feasible to establish a system of voluntary co-ordination, both of research projects and of the use of

certain methods and techniques which would be beneficial to all. Much more could be done if the Office of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes could provide research grants which should be put to the disposal of the Anthropological Co-ordinating Committee which could then consider the priority of research and approach those University Departments or Government Institutions which seem to be best equipped to carry out a particular project in consultation with the Co-ordinating Committee. The Co-ordinating Committee should consist of anthropologists who would be the only persons able to suggest certain methods or particular techniques. It should certainly not be a body consisting of Government and University officials, although a certain representation of Government departments connected with tribal problems is certainly necessary as the need for research will be partly based on the need for specific information required for the establishing of a sound tribal polity. Nevertheless, it seems important that the anthropologists from the Government (Central and State) as well as from the Universities, should form the majority and that the final decisions should be made by the Committee as such. To entrust the co-ordinating task to a single person, does not seem to be a wise policy, as no single man, even if he is a most capable anthropologist, could possibly have the experience and knowledge embodied in a group. The permanent Secretary of the Committee should be an anthropologist of high standing, but should follow the directives of the Committee as a whole, and

in case of differences of opinion with the Secretary, the research department or institute should be allowed to refer the matter to the Committee. In this way there would be little danger for impairing academic freedom as the Co-ordinating Committee itself would consist of anthropologists who would certainly not be liable to impose a rigid system of rules and regulations upon themselves and their colleagues and would always be prepared to consider objections to their recommendations. This might even stimulate scientific discussions rather than endanger academic freedom.

Even this should not be considered to be the final stage. It might be worthwhile to recall a resolution adopted by the First Conference (1954) of the Indian National Commission for co-operation with Unesco urging to set up a Social Science Council. It is well known that the work of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has done extremely valuable work in this country. A similar task in the social sciences would be no less useful and has been described in a document* submitted to the meeting just mentioned. The growing awareness of the need for an inter-disciplinary approach in the social sciences will more and more convince social scientists of different disciplines of the need for co-operation. A Social Science Council would facilitate this co-operation and bring about an opportunity of discussing projects which need an inter-disciplinary approach. The example of acculturation studies seems clear: here the methods of the anthropologist and the sociologist should be combined, for it is needed to study both

*This document entitled "Proposal of the Establishment of a Social Science Council for India" was prepared by the present author and discusses the *raison d'être*, the task the composition and the finance of the proposed Council.

cultures. But we all know that economic and psychological and very often political issues are just as important, which proves the need of a many-sided attack. Therefore a Social Science Council would be most helpful to provide a common forum. If such an approach is agreeable, it may be considered to combine the activities of the Research Programmes Committee with those of the Anthropological Coordinating Committee and to combine the resources of the Planning Commission with those of the Office of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Finally, co-ordination of research is not only a scientific and organizational, but also a problem of human relationship. It cannot be denied that every form of co-ordination, however mild, will impose certain limitations. Although these may not be harmful when seen from the scientific angle, the fact that they exist, even if they are the result of voluntary co-operation, may create in some cases certain tensions. Co-operation always

implies some sacrifice of "sovereignty" and of individuality. The fact that one allows others to discuss the methods to be used in one's own research implies that one is prepared to give up some personal predilections. It is impossible to achieve substantial results without this sacrifice, and in the relatively small group of professional anthropologists in India such a sacrifice may be more serious than if the relationships were less personal. However, as the Co-ordinating Committee should consist of a number of anthropologists, nobody should have the feeling that his position is subordinated to that of a particular colleague as the decisions taken will always reflect the views of the majority of a group. This is another reason why it seems desirable to establish a Co-ordinating Committee rather than to entrust the task to a single person.

However the co-ordination will be organized, it seems a most important task to consider this matter very seriously, as the results of research will depend to a large extent, on the finding of a good solution to this problem.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE WORK AMONG PRIMITIVE TRIBES

by

I. KARVE, Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, Poona.

As a field anthropologist I had occasion to work in many primitive areas and the following remarks are based on my observations which cannot be termed adequate.

1. The first consideration is as regards what we want our primitives to be. (I am stating below what seems to me to be the only reasonable attitude towards these people.)

It is necessary to accomplish a rapid and complete assimilation of these people to the culture and language of the State in which they find themselves. This would enable them to participate fully in the political and social life of the State and become full citizens of India.

It was the failure to do this which has made the American Indians such a problem in the U.S. of America.

To be primitive is not a bond of a social or cultural type. An emphasis on this condition and an annual bringing together of primitive people bring about a feeling of solidarity among primitives and an antagonism to the rest which must be avoided at all costs. The solidarity is not based on any linguistic or culture similarities but is a byproduct of the welfare work of the Indian Government. It brings in its wake unreal dreams and frustrations and delays the goal of complete assimilation.

I suggest therefore earnestly that the Government may hold meetings of

officers and other people working among primitive areas for appraisal of work, for drawing of programmes etc. but such meetings must never become an all-India gathering of primitive people.

2. I have found a tendency on the part of the centre to create authorities which work as checks to the working of the State authority. The administration of tribal area is a special item and is the responsibility of the President who appoints an officer to give directive to and co-ordinate the work done in the states. I find now that special officers are being appointed by the centre for certain areas. These officers are better paid than the local assistant Collectors, possess conveyance while the local officers do not have it and sometimes have far less experience of tribal matters than local officers. The local officer has to set aside his administrative work to tour with this new officer. I feel that the creation of this new set of officers is entirely unnecessary and the money can be utilised by the state for welfare schemes for which they do not find enough funds. Also this assumption of central control in more and more matters is contrary to the spirit of federalism and democracy. The central authority has already some officers who can visit any State they like and inspect the work done there, suggest improvements and make reports. Appointment of new officers for each region is an uncalled-for and entirely unfruitful expenditure.

3. As the primitives take up more advanced farming, their land hunger becomes insatiable. There is also the pressure of the plains-man seeking over new land for farming. This results in two evils, depletion of forest, and production of money crops like tobacco, sugar cane etc. The first destroys a national asset, the second involves the primitive into the fluctuating prices of an international economy. Both must be avoided rigorously.

4. Hospitals are being built and I have found them empty while disease was quite frequent. Mobile units which can give relief to the primitive at his home or village are needed. Such units

must not just give medicine and injections but also insist on hygienic living in the habitation area. I have seen this done successfully, alas in a few exceptional cases.

This brings us to the problem of communication. There is imperative need of good all-weather roads in primitive areas. Certain areas like south Bihar seem to have miles and miles of such roads while certain others do not have any roads at all. There must be at least one main arterial road in each jungle area with smaller roads, not so good connecting it with primitive villages. Only in this way help of all kinds can reach the primitives quickly, constantly and effectively.

TRIBAL WELFARE AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

by

Shri PARAMANANDA PRAMANIK, M.Sc.

Scheduled tribes in India number 215 with a population of 19,111,498. They are scattered throughout India but their main concentration is found in Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Santal Parganas and Chotanagpur in Bihar, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Chindwara, Mandla, Drug, and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, South India and Vindya Pradesh. Tribes of each block differ from each other in race, language, culture etc. According to their food economy, they are grouped under four headings *viz.*, (1) Food gatherers, (2) Pastoralists (3) Shifting cultivators, (4) Settled agriculturists. Each of these groups has its problems and these problems are to be solved on their background. For this solution we require persons with intimate knowledge in tribal life who will solve the problems and will implement the programmes for the welfare activities as well.

Under British regime, they were mostly neglected although some administrators studied their culture out of curiosity without giving any practical aid to them. After independence our National Govt. have paid a special attention and have taken special interest for the upliftment of these original inhabitants of the soil. And hence as a first measure Tribal Welfare Department has been formed in each State under a separate Department. Besides the Govt., several official and non-official organisations are rendering social services for their upliftment. Provision has also been made in the constitution for their

welfare measures. All the welfare activities of the Govt., and of official and non-official organisations are mainly concentrated on (i) education, (ii) economic upliftment, (iii) medical relief, (iv) re-settlement, (v) rural welfare. All these activities are based on good-will with a planned programme behind, but very few of the programmes helped the tribes in their socio-economic-cultural developments. It is due to the lack of properly trained personnel who will implement the programme. It is, therefore, desirable that persons with adequate knowledge in the tribal life or with knowledge in anthropology should be entrusted for drawing up of the programmes and for its implementation at different stages and levels. If the persons with adequate knowledge in tribal life or in anthropology be not available, persons recruited for the tribal areas or for the tribal department must be trained in anthropology through short term courses. Such procedure may help in solving the human problems arising in the tribal areas on a scientific foundation. This would be a new approach and will be more comprehensive, concrete and realistic. These approaches need deeper understanding of the different economic, social and political problems involved in Tribal welfare. These problems are now to be seen in terms of their physical habits, economic life, social conditions, and political backwardness. We must remember always that social service is not a charity or philanthropy but a deliberate, intensive and positive

approach to help the individuals or groups in removing their difficulties, problems and social evils and in helping them to help themselves. It would be improper if we think that he, who dedicated his spirit for the upliftment of the peoples and has a sympathetic heart for rendering social work, would be a proper man to be employed and entrusted for the welfare of the Tribals. Unlike other professional workers selected personnel also need specific training in this branch, as tribal welfare is of special and highly delicate character of work. Here in the following lines I will put down some suggestions for selecting the personnel and for drawing up their training programme.

Quality of the personnel :

Trained staff should be recruited from 3 categories of educated persons and they must be entrusted with 3 types of work viz. Technical, Research-cum-Supervisory and Field workers. Technical staff must be recruited from amongst the technically educated persons viz. Engineering, Agriculture, Education etc. The Research-cum-supervisory staff must be graduates with Anthropology as one of the subjects and with sufficient field and research experience and administrative ability. They should be given two months short-course training so that they may identify themselves with the tribals and their problems and can understand the situation of the tribals and can properly guide the field workers. They will again be divided into 3 categories (1) Social worker-cum-Welfare organiser (2) Administrators (3) Anthropologists. Persons of first category will be posted in Subdivisions ; the second in districts or two in one district and the third in one particular tribal area. Sometimes two may be posted in one area provided the area is too big

for one person. The field workers must be multipurpose workers with a knowledge in Anthropology. They must be recruited from persons of the Intermediate standard. Selection of the Field workers and Research-cum-Supervisory staff must not depend on interview and good qualification of the university but on the interest of the individuals. Before the final selection of any individual, they must come out successfully through a preliminary test. The applicants, who satisfy all the qualifications must be called for the test. They will be asked to stay in a tribal village for a week after which they will be given two days time to submit a report on the problems they met and suggestions for their solution as they think. On this report marks will be allotted and ultimately candidates will be chosen on the basis of merit. By this method actual persons with real interest for the tribals will come out and administrators will also be benefited through the suggestions of the individual candidate. Finally selected candidates for the post of field workers will be sent to any Training Institute for training of about 1½ years. For selecting persons at all levels, we must be careful that they must be persons of conviction, with imagination, sympathy, moral character, strength, perseverance, capable of inspiring confidence, with loyalty and enthusiasm. At the time of training they should be made to understand that they will become leaders as well as friends, philosopher and guides of the tribal folk. A merely brilliant student with a brilliant academic career, abstract thinker and a good philosopher will not serve our purpose. We want persons with an ability to create new things and to build a new outlook of the people on a strong solid foundation. Persons working among the

tribals in different levels must remember that they are social workers first and official last. They must work with the motto "Service before Self." They must acquire all the qualities of a social worker and should be able to take infinite pains of arduous life and work, inconvenience and difficulties without any modern amenities. He must be simple in speaking, humble in mind, and sincere in work. He must feel himself to be a tribal and must have sympathy for these under privileged people. They must not hanker after money, flesh, drink and other luring materials.

Field and Scope of Training :

Tribal Welfare means upliftment of the tribals from all fronts viz. socio-economic-cultural, education, medical and sanitary, communication, home improvement, industry, arts and crafts, co-operative etc. Therefore, a worker in the tribal areas should be a multipurpose Social Worker and he himself will have to render first aid to all the ailments for which he should have a basic sound knowledge in all these fields of work. Social worker should know the technique of social work. Some emotions, useless self-sacrifice, big talks, wide travel amongst them though valuable, cannot help much in actual solution of the problem. Similarly, mere lecture in the well built Institute class-room may help to flourish theoretical knowledge but practical knowledge will be lacking. So selected workers should be sent to the selected areas as far as possible for practical training under experienced supervision so that they can get first hand experience as to how to tackle the problems and can work independently when they will be entrusted to do so. The areas should be changed often and

a new area to be chosen for field work.

During training, body, mind, habits of the workers should be moulded. They should lead a life in the camp during training for a certain period for the formation of hard, arduous and regular life and for driving out of idleness, laziness etc. This camp site must be selected near a tribal area for a practical knowledge of the mode of life of the tribals by constant visiting of their villages by the trainees. In addition to this, they should study at least one tribal dialect, child and adult psychology, rural and tribal economy, publicity methods, adult education, ethnographical study of at least four tribes including tribal songs and dances, literature, arts and crafts, beliefs and superstitions, agriculture and extension method, horticulture, veterinary services, farming and dairying, poultry, forestry, cottage industry and medical help including first aid, home nursing, midwifery (for women workers) and sanitation.

Social workers should be trained so that they can easily handle all the difficult problems without fear and lack of confidence. A social worker should learn to regard the arts, crafts, beliefs, superstitions, religion and life of the tribal folk and should give up the feelings of superiority complex. He must learn to look the tribals as his equals. During the training period they should learn Group or Tribal Psychology. In addition to that, workers should learn the extension method and new methods of cultivation, compost making, manuring, preservation of good seeds, how to fight with insects and system of irrigation. They should impart their experiences and knowledge through demonstrations, film shows, lectures, pamphlets etc.

Conclusion :

For drawing up of any welfare programme for the tribals and for its implementation through agencies, it is necessary for the workers to have an idea about the tribal culture and the problems of the Govt. It should, therefore, be essential for the trainees to know full details of the tribals like Naga head-hunters, artistic Mundari tribes and the Todas, royal tribes like the Gonds etc. Before rendering any aid to the tribal, for their welfare, all the good and bad effects due to the contact of the civilised peoples with the innocent tribals should be thoroughly evaluated so that the right type of ideas, methods, techniques and programmes may be chalked out. It should also be remembered that whatever programme may be taken up that should always be implemented through the local initiative and through the lowermost

level of workers. These should also be recruited from both sexes for rendering help.

It is, therefore, expected that the Central Govt. and State Govts. should employ social workers, anthropologists and other personnels for the development of the tribals and for right execution of their plans and programmes. It is the best utilisation of the resources to spend for their upliftment and to ensure that India will step out of the old methods of development among the tribals by employing a group of workers who will use the methods of welfare and social approach to the problem. The trained workers will certainly help the strong and hardy race of tribals to boast for ever and while working in various spheres of



Conclusion :

For drawing up of any welfare programme for the tribals and for its implementation through agencies, it is necessary for the workers to have an idea about the tribal culture and the problems of the Govt. It should, therefore, be essential for the trainees to know full details of the tribals like Naga head-hunters, artistic Mundari tribes and the Todas, royal tribes like the Gonds etc. Before rendering any aid to the tribal, for their welfare, all the good and bad effects due to the contact of the civilised peoples with the innocent tribals should be thoroughly evaluated so that the right type of ideas, methods, techniques and programmes may be chalked out. It should also be remembered that whatever programme may be taken up that should always be implemented through the local initiative and through the lowermost

level of workers. These workers should also be recruited from amongst both the sexes for rendering help.

It is, therefore, expected that Central Govt. and State Govts. would employ social workers, anthropologists and other personnels for the development of the tribals and for right implementation of their plans and programmes and for the best utilisation of the money they spend for their upliftment. It is hoped that India will step forward to replace the old methods of welfare activities among the tribals by employing a new group of workers trained in modern methods of welfare activities. Scientific approach to the problem by scientifically trained workers will certainly create a strong and hardy race of which India can boast for ever and which can be utilised in various spheres of activities.



Gadabas girls dancing at Sunabeda, District Koraput

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CHILDREN'S PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL M.P.

by

Shri D.P. MISRA, Field Officer, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara.

It is said, rightly, that one should look before he leaps. He should acquire full knowledge of the fore-ground, the existing hardness and roughness, the dangerous hindrance like rocks, thorns and pits and then plan about the jump. The same principle must be observed before a scheme is prepared about Child Welfare. The view of John Lock that a child's mind is a clean slate on which any impression can be made, is getting out-of-date. New experiments in Psychology have proved that a child has own personality and hence he must be respected. He should be regarded as a unique and individual being. Our knowledge of a child-life is limited and much remains still to be found out.

The problem is more acute regarding the children of that part of the Indian population whom very few persons know and that too, not completely. That is the Tribal populations of India. Any scheme on Child Welfare on a national level will not suit in the tribal areas simply because the environment, and the physical and social set-up is absolutely different. It becomes, then, a matter of prime importance to study the tribal children and their problems in the context of their environments. Inspired with this idea, the present Research Project was taken up and the first area selected was the Baiga Chak in the Mandla District of the Madhya Pradesh.

There are eight villages in the Baiga Chak with total population of 1500 persons. Sixty families of the three

villages were intensively studied and the effort was made to span over all the aspects of child-life in its family and environmental setting. The children who were studied varied up to the age of 15. Both boys and girls were contacted.

A New-comer in the Family :

When a child-birth takes place in the family, it is considered to be a matter of course. Every married Baiga girl wants to be a mother and every newly married couple soon desires to have a child between them. The Baiga mother does not require the help of a woman of some other tribe at the time of delivery. The elderly Baiga women collect and they offer their help. Thus the new-comer arrives in the family.

There is the absence of any special functions or ceremonies at the child-birth. On the chhati-day which comes on the day the child's naval-cord falls down of its own accord, women folk are offered liquor. Men do not share in this drinking. Generally the father of the new-comer has to cook food for two months, the period during which its mother is confined being considered to be impure.

Various magical rites are performed to ward off the evil influences on the new-comer. Many talismans and medicines purified with 'mantras' are put round its neck. Whenever the child is sick, the treatment is mainly through sacrifices. The household deities are thought of and many sacrifices are done to get the deity

pleased. Through many 'mantras' it is said that the child has come into the family and hence the deities should protect it as the other elders are being protected. Though the Baigas know many medicines for the local diseases, they believe more in the potency of spirits and deities.

The newcomer goes on acquiring the knowledge of the surroundings—both physical and social. Parents take little initiative in the learnings of the child. He has to approach other persons.

The Baigas are very backward with regard to their habits of personal hygiene. They do not take water after easing themselves nor clean their teeth and tongue regularly and a bath is really a seldom occurrence. The young boys and girls wash their hands, face and feet alright but rarely their private parts. They believe that the smell of their bodily uncleanness protects them from an attack of the tiger. As a new-comer, the child also learns these very habits.

There is a "tradition of friendship" through which two boys of different 'Goti' (totem) or of the same goti, but of different 'garh' are bound in the friendly bonds for the whole life. These two call each other either Mahaprasad, Jawara, or Sakhi. There are different ceremonies for each. The bound friends are generally seen together in dances, hunting, jungles, fields and even in the markets and fairs. One should never refuse to accompany the other. Girl friends call each other Sakhi.

As an Economic Asset of the Family :

A child is protected upto the age of about three years. After that, generally, the second child arrives. From three to

six years is the life's best period in the sense that there is no responsibility, no care and the time is spent in eating, playing and sleeping. The period of freedom is more by two or three years in the case of boys but a girl of six or seven years is supposed to begin helping her mother.

There is a strict division of labour according to the sex. Girls generally do the household work like cleaning the house and cowshed, fetching water, grinding, husking, cooking and bringing fuel. They are seen, generally, with their mothers or elder sisters. The boys aged eight onwards will be found with their axes, called 'tangia' always. They are out of their homes for most part of the day-time. They work in the fields or jungles with their fathers and elder-brothers. They drive to and bring the cattle from the pasture land daily. The parents regard their children as an economic asset of the family because they get enormous help from them. The burden of their work is shared by their children. On an average, a girl of twelve years of age, in the Baiga-Chak is completely trained for the duties she is supposed to do and the boys are perfect when they reach the age of fifteen.

The parents find it very difficult to spare the services of their children and therefore the teacher of the school finds it very difficult to increase the number of students attending the school regularly. In rare cases, girls are sent to school even when forced. No doubt, free stationery, free clothes and a free meal in the Tribal Welfare Schools are sure incentives. After the schooling of the child, the parents are very uncertain about his future and so also the teachers and the boy himself.

The Children Play, Sing and Dance :

Children are full of joy while jumping here and there, throwing stones, lumps of clay and pieces of wood from one place to another or on each other. Cheerfully, they sing in a chorus, at other times they talk almost in the ears of their playmates. They laugh and cry, help and fight, quarrel and befriend with each other and in this way the best part of their life is spent.

The playing-age of children begins as soon as they can walk and run and it goes upto the age of fifteen. At first the boys and girls play together, they are seen separated after eight or nine years of age. Then they are together only when they dance. In *Karma*, the boys stand and sing, play upon the musical instruments while the girls sing and dance around the musicians. In songs the questions and answers are made. In *Jharpat*, musicians are between both the groups of dancers and singers *viz.*; boys and girls. *Rina Rina* is absolutely for girls only, the musicians stand aside and play.

The elders of the community say that they acquired the knowledge about sex and division of labour according to the sex through the game known as "Ghar-gundalia" in which they play all 'make-belief'. A boy and a girl are married in the game and roughly all the activities of the 24 hours are acted. This knowledge is evergreen in their memories and is made elaborate later on. One can very well view their life through this game.

The Children's games do not require long space. It may be because, the Baigas live in hilly tracts where big grounds are not to be found. The team games are also very few. The games are not organized by any elder of the community but by their own inspiration and the instinct of gregariousness. This may

be accounted as a reason why the rules of the games are very flexible and sometimes different in different villages. There is a variation of games but three games *viz.*; Killo, Kukrapat and Gharg-gundalia are seen in all seasons and in all the villages.

The articles of diet and the feeding-schedule :

The Baiga diet is very coarse and most monotonous. The same articles of food will be seen cooked daily for weeks together. They prepare 'pej', a gruel prepared of Kutki, Macca, Juar, Kodon, Sama or Rice with sufficient water put in it, in the morning; pulse and rice in the evening and sometimes breads of Gram, Juar or Marria in the night at about eight. They are very regular in preparing vegetables called 'Bhaji' both green and dried. The non-vegetarian articles of diet consist of fish, rats and fowls. When they go for hunting they bring all kinds of rats, deers, and birds like Phadki and the bush quail. The children of ten years onwards are able to catch rats, fish and small birds like Bhundega, Phadki and jungle fowls.

The children take their leavings of the last evening in the morning. This is known as 'basi'. If nothing was left, their mothers prepare some parched corns called 'lai'. The meals (pej) are ready at about ten in the morning; after which they go for work. The next meal is taken at about four in the evening, called 'marria' and then at eight in the night called 'biyari'. On an average the children take their meals more often than the elders.

The close examination of their diet shows that the Baiga children are under-nourished. But the problem of under-nutrition and mal-nutrition of children is, in the final analysis, a problem of insufficient resources. They are poor, their diets are poor in nutritive value.

OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME FOR THE REHABILITATION OF LANDLESS BHILS IN JHAKHAM RIVER PROJECT AREA, UDAIPUR DISTRICT

by

Sbri RAM SINGH CHAUHAN, Director, Social Welfare Jaipur.

Introduction

The Second Five Year Plan provides very great possibilities of development in the extension of irrigation programme in the State. The irrigation projects on a number of rivers will, therefore, require taking up rehabilitation programme for those who will be uprooted from the areas that are likely to be submerged and for those who are landless and can be rehabilitated in areas which will be commanded by them. The Jhakham River Project is one such project in Dhariwad Tehsil of Udaipur District. The river passes through a narrow gauge where it is proposed to build the dam with an estimated cost of Rs. 1.2 crores. The project will irrigate an area of about 55,000 acres of land. Of this about 20,000 acres of land will be available for rehabilitation when the project is completed. This land is at present covered with dense forest, in some parts, and shrubs in others. It is expected that about 2,000 families will be ultimately rehabilitated in this area.

There has been a very heavy pressure of land in Udaipur area. Bhils unfortunately live on slopes and hill tops and have very small holdings. They are in the meantime very rapidly multiplying and the small holdings that they possess continue to be divided and sub-divided. The results are obvious. A large number of families have become almost landless. It is, therefore, proposed to settle in the first instance 500 Bhil families in the

area commanded by Jhakham River Project.

Objective :

The aim is to rehabilitate these 500 families on the basis of cooperative efforts. They will be organised in a Cooperative Farming Society. This will be a pioneer Project and will serve as a model for other rehabilitation projects in the State.

The salient features of the project :

1. The land will be granted to the Cooperative by the State.
2. The Cooperative will allot 8 acres of land to each family which will cultivate the land and will reap the benefits of production.
3. The purchase and sale of the produce shall be done by the Society.
4. The individuals holding the land shall not have the right to sub-divide, sub-let or alienate the land in any form.

Plan of Rehabilitation :

The Bhil families will be settled on land on both the left and the right flank of the Jhakham River. Efforts will be made to integrate the existing cultivators in the rehabilitation programme. The settlement will be done in 5 units of 100 families each. The future units will be of the same size.

Phasing of the Rehabilitation programme:

As soon as the work on the Project is commenced it will provide opportunities

of employment to a large number of people but water for irrigation will be available some time after three years. It is, therefore, very necessary that rehabilitation programme should be so phased that the settlers do not face any insurmountable hardships, which might lead to frustration resulting in the ultimate failure of the rehabilitation plan. The success of the programme must be ensured, this being the first programme of its kind.

Phasing of the programme :

Settlement of 500 families should be planned within two stages.

First Stage (1955-56, 56-57) :

A batch of 200 families should come to the Project site by January, 1956. They will immediately take up cleaning operations. In the meantime the lay out of the village shall be prepared. The cleaning of forest will give them work for about 5 months. They would be able to clear about 2 000 acres of land where they will ultimately settle.

Government have already issued instructions to take up road work from Dhariawad to Partaggarh and Dhariawad to Bansi which will enable the settlers to get employment. During the period of sowing operations and in the intervening period between the sowing and harvesting period, it is likely that settlers will not be able to work on the road or other construction activities. It is, therefore, envisaged to provide them maintenance grants which will be advanced to the Cooperative Societies.

Second Stage (1957-58) :

A batch of another 300 families will come to the Project area by December, 1957. These families will take up

cleaning work in the remaining area. They will be allotted land for cultivation as soon as the same is ready. By this time the work on the Jhakham River Project will also be started and when they are not busy in agricultural programme they will get sufficient labour. The problem of sustenance for the settlers will be quite easy.

Third stage :

On the success of the programme of rehabilitation which will be achieved by settling the 500 families the work of settling more families shall be taken up by stages.

Pattern of village :

The Bhil is the child of nature. By tradition and temperament he is extremely individualistic. Of the family and the holding he considers himself to be the supreme master. These factors have to be considered in the programme planning which aims at his many sided development. Our planning must ensure that within not too distant a future he shares the fruits of democracy and becomes the enlightened citizen of the Republic. The experiment of settling Bhils in compact villages has been tried at two places in the State. The living on holdings has also many points of advantage. The greatest is the control and supervision of crops. The Bhil should not be confronted with the new problems of sanitation and drainage of the compact habitation. The problem of bringing fodder from distant areas and preparation of compost will further aggravate his difficulties. After a very careful consideration of all the pros and cons, it is felt that he should be settled on holdings. The common amenities shall

be provided in the centre of the village. Efforts have been made to plan the holdings and the house sites in such a manner that the distances between individual houses and the common amenities are reduced to the minimum. The plan of the model village is appended.

Pattern of House :

As to the village so to the house, a considerable thought has been given. It is quite obvious that every family should be ensured sufficient living space. The problem of finance presented a formidable difficulty. The planning of a good house is likely to be condemned as an idealistic venture. And it is really so. We have ultimately to plan for not one or five villages but for hundreds of such villages. At the same time we have to provide quite a sufficient space. After all this will be an agricultural family. A two-roomed house was, therefore, considered to be the modest objective. There is ample building wood available at the project site. The Bhils will contribute free labour for construction of houses. The cooperative efforts will considerably reduce the cost. It is proposed to give Rs. 350 as subsidy. It is felt that with this provision quite a modest accommodation will be made available as per plan appended. In the beginning construction of one room should be considered sufficient.

Amenities to be provided with one unit of 100 families.

The settlement of 500 families in model villages means that the basic needs for the community in the sphere of education and health are provided. This is the pre-requisite of the planning in the welfare state. After a very careful consideration of the problem the following

amenities have been considered essential for a unit of 100 families.

1. Primary School (Basic type) (1)
2. Panchayatghar (1)
3. Drinking water wells (3)
4. Children's park (1)
5. Cooperative store (1)

Common Amenities.

The 500 families shall be settled in the area of about 12 × 15 sq. miles. The units of settlement will be at a distance and therefore, some provision for common amenities will have to be provided. It is, however, felt that these amenities can not be considered in isolation restricted only to this settlement. The entire programme has to be integrated with the development of the Tehsil. It is expected that the National Extension Service Block will soon be allotted to this Tehsil and common amenities which will be envisaged for this unit of settlement will be provided under the normal development scheme which will be taken up under National Extension Service Programme. This will achieve complete coordination and would avoid multiplicity of activities and staff.

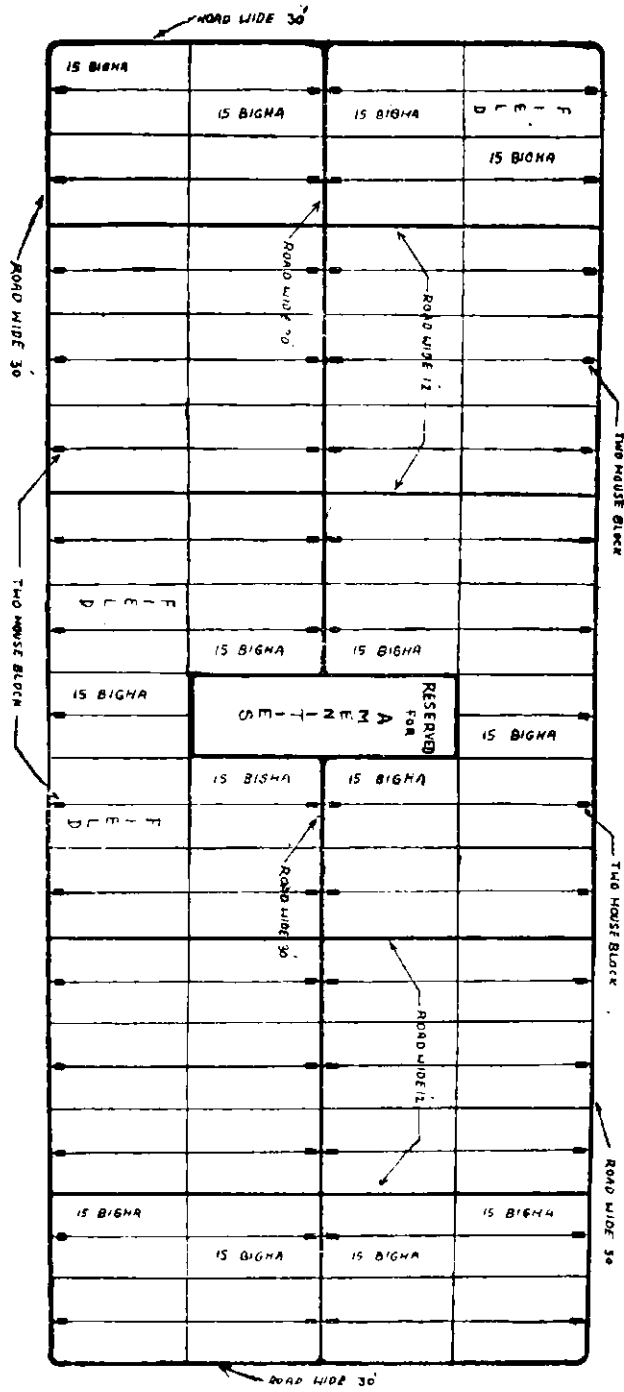
Execution :

The rehabilitation programme as envisaged above, is a new venture and will be a unique experiment in the State. It is, therefore, very vital that the entire programme shall be administered by a special Officer. In the beginning he will administer all funds and will be in overall charge of the entire programme. As soon as National Extension Service Block is allotted the responsibility of the execution of the programme will be gradually made over to the Development Department.

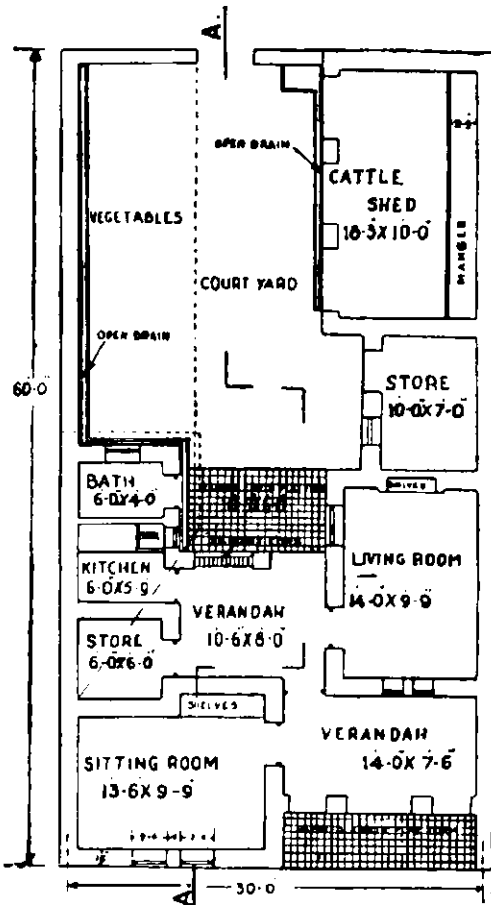
LAY OUT PLAN FOR A MODEL VILLAGE RAJASTHAN.

SCALE 

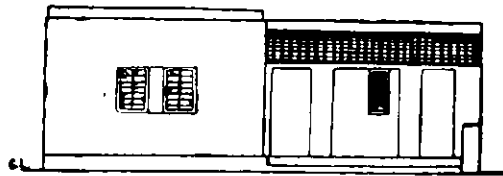
TOTAL NO OF FIELDS 116 OF 15 BIGHAS EACH WITH HOUSES 60x30'. ROAD WIDTH 30'-0"



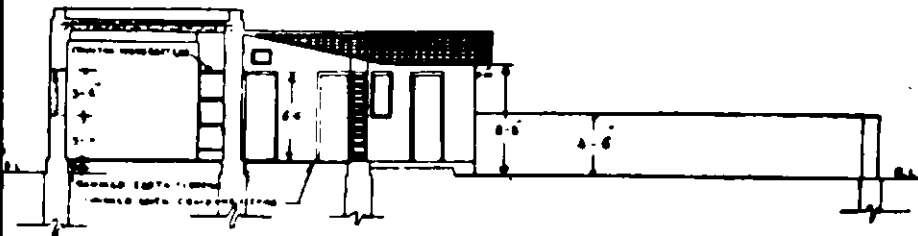
MODEL VILLAGE HOUSE RURAL TYPE (RAJ.)



PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION



SECTION ON A. A.

Working Plan

The following will be the working plan :—

Jan—March, 1956 :

1. A detailed scheme of rehabilitation will be prepared.
2. Cleaning operations will start.
3. Inauguration of the project.
4. Social Education Centre will be provided.
5. Arrangement for first-aid will be made.
6. Preliminary steps for acquisition of land will be taken.

April—June, 1956 :

1. Demarcation of plots.
2. Details of the allotment will be worked out and plots will be allotted.
3. Road work will start.

July—September, 1956 :

1. Agriculture operations will start.
2. At least 50% of the area under holdings will be brought under the plough.

October—December, 1956

1. Construction of the houses and the buildings, wells etc. provided under common amenities will start.
2. Work on the Jhakham River Project will commence.
3. The progress will be reviewed.

Project Implementing Committee.

The work will be coordinated by a Committee consisting of the following :

1. Collector, Udaipur. (*Chairman*)
2. Shri Udai Lal Verdia—M.L.A.
3. Executive Engineer, Irrigation, Udaipur.
4. Executive Engineer, P.W.D. Udaipur.
5. Divisional Forest Officer.
6. Divisional Social Welfare Officer, Udaipur.
7. Asstt. Registrar, Cooperative Societies, Udaipur.

The Divisional Social Welfare Officer, Udaipur, will be the Secretary of the Committee.

राजस्थान में बहुउद्देशीय विकास खंड

रामसिंह चौहान, संचालक, समाज कल्याण विभाग, राजस्थान

बहुउद्देशीय विकास खंड, योजना कार्यक्रम का, एक अंग है। इसके अन्तर्गत यह निर्णय किया गया है कि अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में जन जातियों के हित के लिये एक ऐसा बहुउद्देशीय कार्यक्रम अपनाया जाय जिनसे निश्चित योजना काल में इनके जीवन स्तर पर गहरा प्रभाव पड़े और इनके जीवन में ऐसी परम्पराओं की शुरुआत हो जाय कि वे थोड़े समय में ही अन्य समाज के समान हो अपना आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक स्तर कायम कर सकें।

वैसे इस कार्यक्रम के मूल सिद्धान्त एवं लक्ष्य वही होंगे जो कि सामुदायिक विकास योजना कार्यक्रम के हैं, लेकिन ऐसा विकास खंड अपने ढंग का एक अनूठा खंड होगा। यह खंड भारत सरकार के गृह मंत्रालय द्वारा अनुदानित केन्द्रीय योजनाओं में से होगा। इसका क्षेत्र अन्य विकास खंडों की अपेक्षा अधिक सीमित होगा और खर्च के लिये धनराशि अधिक होगी। सामुदायिक विकास खंड के अंतर्गत आने वाले क्षेत्रों की जन संख्या ७०,००० होती है और पांच वर्ष के दौरान में कुल १२ लाख रुपया खर्च किया जाता है, लेकिन बहुउद्देशीय विकास खंड की जन संख्या २५,००० होगी और योजना काल में इस पर २७ लाख रुपया खर्च होगा।

राजस्थान में भील जाति अनुसूचित जन जातियों में से है। यहाँ के झुंजरपुर तथा बांसवाड़ा जिले और प्रतापगढ़ तहसील, जो जिला चिचौड़गढ़ के अन्तर्गत है, अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में आते हैं। चूँकि यह खंड खास तौर से अनुसूचित जनजातियों के

लिये है अतः राज्य सरकार ने इस कार्यक्रम के लिये बांसवाड़ा जिले की कुशलगढ़ तहसील को चुना है। सीमित जन संख्या के लिये होने से कुशलगढ़ तहसील का एक भाग ही इस कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत आयेगा जिसका केन्द्र कुशलगढ़ नगर होगा।

२७ लाख रुपये की धन राशि में से १२ लाख रुपया, जो सामान्यतया सामुदायिक विकास खंड पर खर्च होता है, वह सामुदायिक विकास योजना प्रशासन से उपलब्ध होगा और शेष १५ लाख रुपया भारत सरकार के गृह मंत्रालय से अनुदान के रूप में प्राप्त होगा। तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से यह स्पष्ट है कि छोटे से क्षेत्र में सीमित जन संख्या के लिये २७ लाख रुपये का प्रावधान सचमुच ही बहुत बड़ी रकम है। भीलों की समस्याओं को देखते हुये यह रकम बहुत बड़ी नहीं है। उनकी समस्याएँ भी वास्तव में बहुत जटिल हैं। उनका आर्थिक स्तर समाज के अन्यान्य वर्गों से बहुत नीचा है। उनके पास रहने के लिये अच्छे मकान भी नहीं है। वे पहाड़ियों पर अलग अलग भोपड़ियों में रहते हैं। एक ही भोपड़ी में मनुष्य और पशु साथ साथ रहते हैं। कई छोटे छोटे गांवों से मिलकर उनकी एक पाल बनती है जो इसकी सामाजिक जीवन की इकाई है। प्रायः पाल में एक ही कुटुम्ब के लोग रहते हैं। यदि अन्य कुटुम्ब उस पाल में आ जाते तो उसके साथ भाई का सा व्यवहार किया जाता है और एक पाल के रहने वाले कुटुम्ब के बीच आपस में विवाह सम्बन्ध नहीं होते हैं। इनके पास खेती की सिंचाई के

साधन नगण्य से हैं। पहाड़ियों की ढालों पर सिंचाई करना भी कठिन है। साल भर में केवल एक फसल होती है और वह भी मानसून पर आधारित। प्रायः इसे भी अनावृष्टि और अतिवृष्टि का डर बना रहता है। जीविका के इन कठोर साधनों पर अवलम्बित रहने से एवं फसल की अनिश्चितता से इन्हें अपना जीवन स्तर बनाये रखने के लिये गांव के महाजन से सहायता लेनी पड़ती है, जो इन्हें ऋण तो दे देते हैं पर व्याज की दर इतनी ऊंची लगाते हैं कि जो मूल रकम बढ़ जाती है और फल यह होता है कि वे इस रकम को कर्मा चुका नहीं पाते। इस प्रकार उनके करीब करीब सारे कुटुम्ब कर्ज से उत्पीड़ित है। यातायात की कमी के कारण इनका बाहरी सम्पर्क बहुत कम रहता है। कोई उद्योग धंधे नहीं होने से वर्ष का आधिकंश भाग बेकारी में शीतता है। खेती के अतिरिक्त जीवन का दूसरा कमाई का जरिया मजदूरी और पशुपालन है। आजकल निर्माण के कार्यों से मजदूरी तो काफी मिल जाती है पर वहां भी ठेकेदार इन्हें केवल जीवन बिताने तक की मजदूरी देता है। मुनाफा सारा ठेकेदार ही लेता है। सम्पूर्ण समुदाय अशिक्षित है।

सामाजिक जीवन इनका अपना अलग सा है। प्रकृति की गोद में रहने के कारण जीवन के भौतिक अभाव भील को व्यथित नहीं करते। भील भूखे पेट भी हंसता है, गाता है, और नाचता है। वह ऐसा समझता है कि अभाव पूर्ण जीवन उसके भाग्य की देन है और जीवन की प्रणाली अपरिवर्तनशील है। समुन्नत समाज से इसे कभी ईर्ष्या नहीं होती। कभी कभी जब शराब मिल जाती है तो उसे बड़ा आनन्द आता है शराब पीकर अपराध भी करना सहज हो

जाता है जैसे तो पैसा उसके पास आता ही नहीं है और जब कभी आता है तो ठहरता नहीं है। जैसे के लिये शराब का दुकान मौजूद है और कचहरी में पहुँचने पर वकील साहब भी तैयार है। टूटी फूटी भोपड़ी में पैसा रखा भी कहाँ जाय? यह है भील जीवन की कठिन समस्या।

बाहर से भील क्षेत्र में जाने वाले व्यक्ति को एकाएक भील के अभाव दृष्टिगत नहीं होंगे। उसे तो भीलों के गाने की आवाज, उनके वाद्यों का सुर, भील किशोरियों के पिंजणियों (पैर के गहने) की भंकार और उनके जीवन की प्रकृति के साथ एक रूपता, एक दम नजर आ जायगी। यही कारण है कि आज के सम्य समाज का एक बहुत बड़ा अंग इन्हें इसी तरह रहने देना चाहता है।

भारतीय गणराज्य में जिसका लक्ष्य समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करना है, ऐसे अभावपूर्ण जीवन के लिये स्थान नहीं है। साथ ही यह भी आवश्यक है कि भौतिक साधनों की उपलब्धि के प्रयत्नों में इनके जीवन की वे सुन्दरतम परम्पराएँ और संस्कृति नष्ट न हो जाय जो आज इन्हें दुःख में भी हसाती है और इनके समूचे जीवन को खुशहाल बनाये हुये हैं। प्राकृतिक जीवन की यह सुन्दरतम देन भौतिक साधनों की प्राप्ति में नष्ट न होनी चाहिए। बहुउद्देशीय खंड के कार्यक्रम को कार्यान्वित करने की सबसे बड़ी समस्या यही होगी। अतएव यह निश्चय किया गया कि इस खंड के कार्यक्रम में किसी प्रकार की संकीर्णता नहीं होगी। सारा कार्यक्रम जीवन की आवश्यकताओं पर आधारित होगा और उसे समयानुसार परिवर्तित किया जा सकेगा। विकास के लिये वे साधन और लक्ष्य

निर्धारित किये जायेंगे जो स्थानीय परिस्थितियों के अनुकूल होंगे।

कार्य का प्रारंभ खंड के विस्तृत सर्वेक्षण (सर्वे) से शुरू होगा। गाँव के स्थान पर कुटुम्ब, सर्वेक्षण की इकाई होगी। समूचे खंड का सर्वे पूरा होने पर ही विस्तृत कार्यक्रम का निश्चय किया जायेगा।

प्रशासन एवं योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये जो कर्मचारी नियुक्त किये जायेंगे वे सामुदायिक विकास खंड से अपेक्षाकृत अधिक होंगे। योजना अधिकारी की सहायता के लिये एक सहायक अधिकारी भी होगा। निर्माण कार्यों को ठीक तरह से पूरा करने के लिये एक असिस्टेंट इंजिनियर भी होगा। इसी तरह ग्रामोद्योग के लिये भी एक अलग अधिकारी होगा।

योजना का विस्तृत कार्यक्रम सर्वेक्षण के बाद निर्धारित किया जायगा। योजना का मुख्य लक्ष्य होगा कि प्रत्येक कुटुम्ब को अपने विकास का पूरा अवसर मिले। प्रत्येक परिवार के पास जितनी भूमि होगी वह सारी की सारी काश्त में उठ जाय और वह उन्नत औजारों और रासायनिक खादों का प्रयोग करे। सिंचाई के साधनों का अभाव भी दूर किया जायगा। जहाँ कहीं पानी को रोकने का स्थान है, वहाँ पर छोटे छोटे बांध बांधे जायेंगे। जहाँ ऐसे साधन न हों और कुआँ से पानी मिल सके वहाँ कुआँ का निर्माण किया जायेगा। ढालों पर मेंढे बांधकर भूमि का कटाव रोक जायेगा। प्रयत्न यह किया जायगा कि पांच वर्षों में प्रत्येक परिवार की खेती की उपज बढ़कर दूनी हो जाय। जीवन के संस्कारों में परिवर्तन लाने के लिये यह आवश्यक होगा कि सदा से मनुष्य और पशु जो साथ साथ रहते आये हैं उनके रहने के लिये अलग व्यवस्था की जाय।

प्रत्येक कुटुम्ब के रहने के लिये दो कमरे आवश्यक होंगे। सौभाग्यवश इस क्षेत्र में जंगलों की बहुतायत है, इससे मकानों के निर्माण में बड़ी मदद मिलेगी। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में यदि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के लक्ष्यों के अतिरिक्त भी आवश्यकता होगी तो वहाँ अधिक प्राथमिक शाळाएँ खोली जायेंगी। जिनमें बुनियादी शिक्षा का प्रयत्न होगा। प्रौढ शिक्षा को बहुत महत्व दिया जायगा। स्थान स्थान पर शिक्षण केन्द्र खोले जायेंगे जिनमें अक्षर ज्ञान के साथ साथ नागरिकता, देश का संविधान सामान्य ज्ञान आदि के बारे में जानकारी दी जायेगी। महिलाओं को शिशु पालन, गृह व्यवस्था एवं गृह उद्योग की शिक्षा दी जायेगी। एक छात्रावास भी खोला जायेगा जिसमें प्रतिभाशील आदिवासी छात्रों को रखकर उन्हें शिक्षा दी जायेगी। ग्रामोद्योग के विकास को भी स्थानीय साधनों के अनुसार प्रोत्साहन दिया जायेगा। पशु पालन के क्षेत्र में एक कृत्रिम पशु पालन केन्द्र की स्थापना भी की जायेगी। इसी तरह कुकट पालन का भी कार्यक्रम बनाया जायेगा। जंगलों की जड़ी बूटियों को एकत्रित करने के लिये सहकारी समितियों का निर्माण किया जायेगा। स्वास्थ्य एवं ग्राम्य सफाई के कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत एक प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र का निर्माण किया जावेगा और एक चलता फिरता अस्पताल भी होगा जिससे क्षेत्र के आंतरिक भागों में चिकित्सा का प्रबन्ध हो सके। प्रत्येक गाँव में पानी के लिये स्वच्छ पानी के कुआँ का निर्माण किया जायेगा। यातायात के कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत सर्वे करने के पश्चात् इस तरह सड़कों को निर्माण किया जायगा जिससे हर मौसम में प्रत्येक ग्रामवासी जिले की मुख्य मुख्य सड़क पर आसानी से आ जा सके और खेती की अपनी उपज को बाहर मुविधानुसार भेज सके।

सहकारिता का सिद्धांत सारे कार्यक्रम का मूल आधार होगा। खंड के प्रत्येक परिवार को सहकारी समिति का सदस्य बनाया जायगा। प्रथम यह किया जायगा कि खेती के सम्बन्धित सारी खरीद और बिक्री सहकारी समिति के द्वारा हो। किसानों को ऋण लेने की सुविधा भी दी जायेगी और पुराने ऋण से मुक्त करने का भी प्रयत्न किया जायगा। जहां कहीं नयी भूमि खेती में लायी जायेगी वहां खेती सहकारिता के आधार पर होगी। निर्माण के कार्यों को करने के लिये सहकारी भ्रम समितियों का निर्माण किया जायगा ताकि धीरे धीरे ठेकेदारों द्वारा किया जाने वाला शोषण बन्द हो। जंगल काटने और उसकी उपज के उपयोग के लिये सहकारी समितियों का निर्माण भी किया जावेगा। निर्माण के कार्यों के लिये पंचायतों का पूरा उपयोग किया जायेगा। लक्ष्य यह होगा कि सारे खंड की अर्थ व्यवस्था सहकारिता के आधार पर इस तरह दृढ़ बना दी जाय कि बाँच का मुनाफा कोई न ले सके और भील अपनी मेहनत का फल स्वयं प्राप्त कर सके। भीलों के सांस्कृतिक विकास के लिये लोक नृत्य और लोकगीतों को भी प्रोत्साहन दिया जायेगा। समूचा कार्यक्रम इस तरह का होगा कि उन्हें अपनी प्रतिभा को विकसित करने को पूरा अवसर मिल सके।

अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में अब तक ६ विकास खंडों में जो काम हुआ है उसके अनुभवों से भी लाभ उठाया जायेगा। जन सहयोग में भारत सेवक समाज और अन्य स्वयंसेवा संस्थाओं का पूर्ण सहयोग लिया जायेगा। शिक्षण संस्थाओं के सहयोग से इस क्षेत्र में विद्यार्थियों और शिक्षकों के शिविरों का भी आयोजन किया जायेगा।

इस तरह के कार्यक्रम की सफलता जन सहयोग पर निर्भर है। यद्यपि भीलों के पास जन सहयोग के लिये धन नहीं है लेकिन केवल धन का आवश्यकता ही सब कुछ नहीं होती है। धन तो मेहनत से पैदा होता है। भीलों के पास अतुल बाहुबल है। इन बाहुबल का जितना भी अधिक उपयोग हो सकता उतनी ही सफलता इस कार्यक्रम को मिलेगी।

समस्याओं को देखते हुए जो धनराशि इसके लिये निश्चित की गई है वह स्पष्टतया बहुत अधिक नहीं है। लेकिन पिछले चालू वर्षों में विकास योजना की जिस तरह प्रगति हुई है और जिस प्रकार जनता ने उत्साह एवं लगन के साथ इस योजना को क्रियान्वित करने में हाथ बंटाया है उसे देखते हुये हमें विश्वास है कि निश्चित काल में बहुउद्देशीय विकास के लिये जो मोटे रूप से लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये गये हैं, उनकी पूर्ति तहो सकेगी।

HIMACHAL PRADESH ADMINISTRATION

by

Shri PREMRAJ MAHAJAN, Assistant Secretary, (Welfare)

Himachal Pradesh Administration.

Note regarding progress of development schemes for Tribal Areas in Himachal Pradesh.

General : Himachal Pradesh has a land area of 11,524 sq. miles with a population of 11,00,466 according to 1951 census ; and its tribal areas of Chini in Mahasu District and Pangri and Bharmaur in Chamba District lie alongside the country's border. The tribal areas remain snow-bound for several months of the year and lack of communication has kept the inhabitants of these areas practically confined to their own shell.

Population and other geographical features : The population of Chini Tehsil in Mahasu District is 28,979 and that of Pangri and Bharmaur areas is nearly 25,000.

Chini valley extends over 2,390 sq. miles interspersed by Himalayan ranges and difficult passes such as Burau pass at an elevation of 15,076 feet above sea level. Pangri valley also spreads over some 2,000 sq. miles and can be reached after crossing difficult passes ranging between an altitude of 14,478 to 15,763 feet above sea level.

These areas are sparsely populated with a density of 12 persons per sq. mile in Chini and about 14 persons to 20 persons per sq. mile in Pangri-Bharmaur areas. The habitation is widely scattered.

Professions of the people : By profession, the inhabitants are agriculturists, pasturists and traders. Cultivable land is negligible and these areas are not self supporting. Grains grown is insufficient

and the deficiency is made up by large imports of maize, wheat and barley. These people rear large flocks of sheep and goats for production of wool for trade and for domestic purpose. Nearly two third of the villages are vacated during winter. The people leave for low hills to escape the rigours of winter and partly to make both ends meet by doing odd jobs. The only marketable produce is chilgoza, wool and woolen goods.

Study of bottlenecks. The main barrier in the matter of execution and implementation of various schemes in these areas is that they remain snow-bound for a major portion of the year, ranging from October to April and during this period it is not possible to undertake any development programme in these areas. The entire tribal area is comprised of high lands and difficult passes. Lack of communication is another problem as a result of which the prices of various commodities in vogue in these areas, is exorbitantly high. Due to absence of modern transport facilities, the cost of carrying the foodgrains from Chamba to Pangri valley and Simla to Chini areas, is very high ranging between Rs. 30 to 40 per maund.

The appalling illiteracy of the masses, the abject poverty of the inhabitants of these areas and poor agriculture are some of the tasks that are to be tackled in formulating various programmes of development in these areas.

Review of achievements in the First Five Year Plan Period. A review of the achievements of the First Five Year Plan period through the grant-in-aid received from Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs from year to year, is given below :—

(i) *During 1951-52.* No grant-in-aid was sanctioned by Government of India and as such no expenditure was incurred in this behalf.

(ii) *During 1952-53.* An expenditure of Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned by Government of India as grant-in-aid which was utilised as under :—

(a) Award of 80 Primary Class, 4 Middle Class and 2 High School stipends to students belonging to scheduled tribes.

(b) Purchase of raw material for the construction of Shengtong Bridge over Suttle River in Chini—Rs. 5,016.

(iii) *During 1953-54 :* A sum of Rs. 49,958 was sanctioned by Government of India as grant-in-aid out of which only an expenditure of Rs. 35,530 was utilised as detailed below :—

(a) *Education :* 59 Primary Class, 25 Middle Class, 10 High Schools, 1 Technical, 1 Arts and Crafts and 1 College Education stipends amounting in all to Rs. 9,038 were awarded.

(b) *P.W.D.* A sum of Rs. 5,298 was spent for purchase of material for Shengtong Bridge and an expenditure of Rs. 6,359 was incurred on alignment of Pabbar Rohri Road.

(c) *Publicity :* Publicity material like projectors, generators and community receiving sets worth Rs. 8,336 was purchased ; and the sets were installed at various places in Chini and Pangli.

(iv) *During 1954-55 :* An expenditure of Rs. 90,860 was sanctioned by Government of India, out of which only an expenditure of Rs. 80,118 incurred as under :—

(a) *Education :* A sum of Rs. 15,372 was spent for award of 144 Primary Class, 42 middle class and 15 High School stipends to students belonging to scheduled tribes.

(b) *P.W.D. :* A sum of Rs. 3,818 was expended towards the construction of Shengtong Bridge in Chini.

(c) *Forest :* A sum of Rs. 2,237 was spent on sowing of chilgoza seeds in Pangli area over one acre of land benefitting thereby nearly 2000 people of that area. The nursery was fenced. An expenditure of Rs. 1,000 was incurred for raising of chilgoza nursery in Chini.

Bridle path two miles four furlongs in length and six feet wide from Kilar to Kiruni was constructed at a cost of Rs. 6,586 benefitting nearly 1500 people. A sanction of 2½ miles road lying between Riba and Purbani in Chini was constructed at an expenditure of Rs. 10,003. A sum of Rs. 4,000 was expended on the repairs of Sangla bridge in Mahasu district benefitting nearly 3000 people.

(d) *Publicity :* Dry batteries, films, radios, loud speakers etc. were purchased and an expenditure of Rs. 10,525 (inclusive of maintenance charges) was incurred.

(e) *Medical :* One person from Chini was given training in vaccinator's course and an amount of Rs. 150 was expended on this account.

(f) *Industries :* 45 spinning wheels and looms and wool were distributed in Mahasu District and 30 spinning wheels

and looms and wool were supplied to Pangi area. Total expenditure incurred thereon was Rs. 5,471.

(g) *Agriculture* : An expenditure of Rs. 4,000 was incurred for distribution of fruit plants. 1688 fruit plants of apples, almond, pomegranate etc. were supplied in Chini to 210 families. Chini being a dry zone is best suited for horticulture. This will give additional income to the inhabitants and thus raise their economic condition.

(h) *Subsidy to Foodgrains* : A sum of Rs. 4,000 was spent by the Director of Civil Supplies towards subsidizing the transport charges to carry foodgrains to Chini and Pangi areas. The cost of foodgrains was nearly Rs. 40 per maund and to enable poor inhabitants to get additional help, part of the transport charges was borne by the Administration benefiting thereby nearly 100 families.

A further sum of Rs. 10,000 was appropriated towards transport charges etc. of the defence forces in connection with the dropping of foodgrains in 1953 by air in Pangi area, as, due to early snow fall and closure of the Pass, the only route to Pangi was closed. To avoid starvation, foodgrains had to be dropped from the air.

(v) *During 1955-56* : The Government of India sanctioned a grant-in-aid of Rs. 2 lakhs out of which only an expenditure of Rs. 1,67,872 was incurred as per details given below :—

(a) *Education* : 47 middle class, 19 high school, 8 Inter class and 1 technical stipends were awarded to tribal students incurring thereby an expenditure of Rs. 13,320.

Four new Primary schools were opened in Tribal areas and an expenditure

of Rs. 13,308 was incurred on them.

Subsidy to the extent of Rs. 4,870 was provided to students living in hostels.

(b) *Agriculture* : 4,500 almond and 4,500 walnut plants were distributed free in Chini alone as in Chamba Distt. the passes remained closed for traffic.

Subsidy worth Rs. 3,912 was provided for improved variety of seed. 75 maunds of seed potatoes were distributed in Chini.

(c) *Veterinary* : An expenditure of Rs. 25,428 was incurred on sheep breeding and mobile dispensary and 61 rams of Poworth breed were purchased from Australia. Medicines, instruments, tents, microscope and furniture worth Rs. 9,110 were purchased for mobile dispensary. Two stock assistants were sent for training at Hissar to be posted in tribal areas. 160 birds of Rhode Island Red Breed were purchased for poultry development programme which are being given to the tribal people to improve their breed and thus give them additional income.

(d) *Cottage Industries* : Wheels, looms and other raw materials amounting to Rs. 2,576 were purchased for distribution in these areas.

(e) *Forest* : Sohaur and Batseri bridges were constructed by the Forest Department. Materials for Shongtong bridge were collected and in all an expenditure of Rs. 9,136 was incurred on this account.

A portion of 1½ miles of Purbani Skibba Road was constructed in continuation of the work taken up in the previous year. 1 mile 30 chains long Kilar Kiruni bridle path was also completed which was taken up in the previous year.

A sarai was constructed in Chini at an expenditure of Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 4,062 was spent for purchase of materials for construction of Sarai in Satrundi in Chamba district for the use of migrating tribal population.

A kuhl from Jani Khad having an average capacity of 4 c. ft. water was constructed in Chini to irrigate additional extent of 30 acres.

For raising of chilgoza nursery a sum of Rs. 1,999 was spent in dry zone areas of Chini and Rs. 2,000 were expended on the preparation of beds over the areas sown with chilgoza seed in Pangl.

(f) *Medical and Public Health:* 3 stipends for compounders' training, 1 for vaccinators training and 1 for Dais' training course were awarded and an expenditure of Rs. 1,097 was incurred on the programme.

(g) *Publicity.* One Projector and one generator with accessories at a cost of Rs. 6,409 were purchased. Another generator and 29 Radio sets were purchased at a cost of Rs. 7,810. Two sets of Public address equipment at a cost of Rs. 1,504 dry batteries worth Rs. 1,543 and documentary films worth Rs. 2,533 were purchased for exhibition in Tribal areas.

An expenditure of Rs. 1,000 was incurred on account of transport charges of radio sets in the interior and an amount of Rs. 995 was utilised for maintenance of the projector and generator as also for giving shows to tribal people.

I. Education :

(i) Establishment of 14 J.B. Schools in Chini and Pangl regions	Rs. 3,29,686
(ii) Award of Scholarships and stipends to tribal students	Rs. 71,926
(iii) Monetary help and other amenities to Tribal students	Rs. 36,925

Total : Rs. 4,38,537

An expenditure of Rs. 1,737 was incurred on account of pay and allowances of projector operator.

(h) *Miscellaneous.* Rs. 600 were distributed to Kinnar Sewak Sangh, Chini and a voluntary agency working for the welfare of tribal people in Chamba District was given Rs. 400.

An expenditure of Rs. 5,000 was incurred on subsidy to improve drinking water supply. Foodgrains worth Rs. 9,728 were purchased and sent to be dropped in Tribal areas. As no additional staff was employed, honoraria to 8 Government officials amounting to Rs. 1,650 was given.

A view of the foregoing account indicates that so far only a beginning has been made to ameliorate the economic condition of the people of these areas. Our main object in setting forth the plan for welfare of these people is twofold viz.

(i) To help the local population with extra source of income and keep them busy throughout the year ;

(ii) To create in these people an initiative to develop natural resources so abundantly available in their areas.

2nd Five Year Plan

The Planning Commission, Government of India, have approved a ceiling of Rs. 23.24 lakhs for the welfare of Tribal people and the development of Scheduled Areas in Himachal Pradesh during the Second Five Year Plan for the following scheme :—

II. Forest :

(i) Construction of roads	Rs.	79,322
(ii) Construction of buildings	Rs.	33,250
(iii) Raising of fodder plantation	Rs.	28,906
(iv) Raising of chilgoza in Chini	Rs.	94,762
(v) Propagation of fruit plants	Rs.	10,925
Total :	Rs.	<u>247,156</u>

III. Medical & Public Health :

(i) Opening of New Dispensaries	Rs.	1,60,018
(ii) Award of scholarships/stipends	Rs.	30,210
(iii) Drinking water supply	Rs.	2,85,000
Total :	Rs.	<u>4,75,228</u>

IV. Industries :

(i) Cost of establishing of two water mills, handlooms, accessories and carding machines	Rs.	37,050
(ii) Establishment of two weaving centres	Rs.	1,05,450
Total :	Rs.	<u>1,42,500</u>

V. Agriculture :

(i) Opening of orchards and construction of office and residential buildings	Rs.	1,52,475
(ii) Pay and allowances of staff and contingencies	Rs.	2,55,746
Total :	Rs.	<u>4,08,221</u>

VI. Veterinary.

(i) Opening of outlying dispensaries	Rs.	1,57,690
(ii) Goat breeding scheme.	Rs.	12,862
(iii) Sheep breeding scheme.	Rs.	9,500
(iv) Poultry Scheme.	Rs.	9,500
Total :	Rs.	<u>1,89,552</u>

VIII. Miscellaneous :

(i) Cost of 50 Community sets	Rs.	14,250
(ii) Cost of jeep	Rs.	19,000
(iii) Cost of one projector and Generator	Rs.	9,500
(iv) Aid to Voluntary Agencies	Rs.	26,600
(v) Construction of Inns in Chini and Pangl.	Rs.	40,000
(vi) Grant of subsidies to M.P. Coop. Societies	Rs.	20,000
(vii) Establishment for the M.P. Coop. Societies	Rs.	14,250
(viii) Pay and allowances of two A.P.Os' and two peons	Rs.	37,715
(ix) Maintenance of Community Sets	Rs.	2,375
(x) Maintenance of Jeep	Rs.	10,070
(xi) Pay and allowances of Driver	Rs.	8,265
(xii) Pay and allowances of Projector operator	Rs.	19,455
(xiii) Maintenance of Projector and Generator	Rs.	9,500
(xiv) Subsidy of foodgrains	Rs.	33,250
(xv) Pay and allowances of staff for Welfare Department and contingencies	Rs.	1,58,569
Total :	Rs.	<u>2,79,189</u>

Out of the total provision of Rs. 23.24 lakhs, a sum of Rs. 3.92 lakhs have been sanctioned by the Government of India for the welfare of Tribal people and the development of Scheduled Areas in Himachal Pradesh during the current financial year, 1956-57 for the following schemes :—

I. Education :

(a) Opening of 14 new basic primary schools	Rs.	1,01,500
(b) Scholarships and stipends on proverty-cum-merit basis	Rs.	6,996
(c) Monetary help and other amenities to tribal students	Rs.	7,125
Total :	Rs.	<u>1,15,621</u>

II. Other Social Services :

(a) Fodder plantation in Lower Bushahr	Rs.	950
(b) Raising of chilgoza nursery	Rs.	32,300
Total :	Rs.	<u>33,250</u>

III. Propagation of fruit plants	Rs.	2,850
IV. Construction of buildings	Rs.	12,350
V. Establishment of two Weaving training-cum-production centres	Rs.	53,340

VI. Animal Husbandry :

(a) Sheep breeding scheme.	Rs.	2,000
(b) Poultry Development schemes	Rs.	2,000
(c) Opening of out-laying dispensaries	Rs.	79,700
(d) Goat breeding schemes	Rs.	9,950

Total :		93,650

VII. Scheme for Publicity department

Subsidy for goodgrains	Rs.	6,650
------------------------	-----	-------

VIII. Medical :

(a) Opening of two dispensaries in tribal areas	Rs.	68,856
(b) Training Health Personnel	Rs.	5,130

Total :	Rs.	73,986

Grand Total :	Rs.	3,91,697

or say Rs. 3.92 lakhs (round).

In addition to this, the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1,74,500 under the Centrally sponsored schemes for Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas in Himachal Pradesh during 1956-57 for the following schemes :

1. Medical and Public Health.

(i) 3 T.B. Units	}	Rs.	42,000
(ii) 3 V. D. Units.			
(iii) 3 Leprosy Units			
2. Two training cum production centres in Tribal areas		Rs.	1,00,000
3. Construction of Roads		Rs.	17,000
4. Construction of bridges and Jhoolas		Rs.	10,500
5. Irrigational works		Rs.	5,000

Total :		Rs.	1,74,500

Apart from this, proposals costing Rs. 88,690 or say Rs. 89,000 have been forwarded to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, for approval in

respect of the following schemes for development of Tribal areas :—

I. Forest :

(i) Construction of roads	Rs.	7,190
---------------------------	------------	-------

II. Agriculture :

(i) Distribution of seeds	Rs.	11,000
(ii) Distribution of bullocks	Rs.	12,000
(iii) Distribution of emoluments	Rs.	9,000
(iv) Aid for resettlement	Rs.	7,000

Total :	Rs.	39,000
---------	------------	--------

III. Drinking water supply in tribal areas

	Rs.	40,000
--	------------	--------

IV. Establishment of Multipurpose Co-operative Societies

	Rs.	2,500
--	------------	-------

Total :	Rs.	42,500
---------	------------	--------

Grand Total :	Rs.	88,690
or say Rs.		89,000

It is hoped that by the end of 1961 on completion the Second Five Year Plan, socio-economic condition of the people living in Tribal areas of this Pradesh will improve many fold.

PLACE OF RESEARCH IN WELFARE OF THE TRIBALS

by

**Shri B.K. ROY BURMAN, Assistant Director, Cultural
Research Institute, Govt. of West Bengal.**

(A brief resume of the activities of the Cultural Research Institute, West Bengal)

PART I.

Introduction : The Cultural Research Institute has been set up by Government of West Bengal with a view to harnessing modern scientific knowledge of human society and culture to the task of welfare of the tribals. Since its inception in May, 1955, the Institute has undertaken the following lines of activities :—

A : Research.

B : Technical advice to the Tribal Welfare Department in the light of experience gained through research.

C : Directly undertake activities for welfare of the tribals.

It is through activities of the last two categories that the academical research of the Institute has been metamorphosed into welfare of the tribals. Hence a brief resume of the activities of the Cultural Research Institute will give some light on the place of research in welfare of the tribals, in so far as it has been visualised by the Cultural Research Institute of West Bengal.

A : RESEARCH

One of the first questions to be decided about research is the manner of selection of the problems of research. In West Bengal the problems are selected in two ways.

(a) Pursuit of the basic objective i.e. study of each of the scheduled tribes in its totality.

(b) Specific problems referred to the Cultural Research Institute by the Tribal Welfare Department.

Obviously study of the first type aims at preparation of monographs. Good progress has been made about preparation of monographs on two tribes—the Mech and the Toto. The work on the Mech was started by the present Cultural Research Officer before the Institute had been set up. He has submitted an interim report to the Government. On the Toto though some casual study was made in 1955, thorough research on all aspects of the Toto life commenced in January, 1956 after the Government decided to take up a special programme for all round development of the tribe. An interim report on different aspects of Toto life, and suggesting welfare programmes relevant to each aspect has been prepared by the Cultural Research Institute. The Cultural Research Officer has been associated by the I.W. Deppt. in all stages of drawing up programmes for welfare of the Toto and it is expected that the interim report prepared by the Institute will be of great help to the field workers in implementation of the programmes.

On being referred to by the Tribal Welfare Department investigations have been undertaken on the following :

(i) Law of inheritance of the different tribes with a view to codification of the same.

(ii) Role of tribal Panchayets in economic, social and cultural development of tribal communities with special reference to the following questions :

- (a) Whether traditional panchayets continue to exist as an integral part of tribal social organisation in different parts of W. Bengal.
- (b) Do these panchayets generally tend to sustain forces of orthodoxy or are they capable of responding to progressive values also.
- (c) Have they the same integrity which once made them indispensable in tribal life? Will it be desirable to utilise them as the agency for introducing any economic, social, educational, and other welfare measures among the tribals?
- (d) Whether it will be possible or desirable to provide for more suitable alternative leadership for introducing welfare measures among the tribals?
- (e) If there be possibility of alternative leadership, by what stages such alternative leadership should be developed, in conformity with tribal public opinion?

After an ad-hoc survey, a report was prepared by the Research Institute. It was circulated among the field officers of the Tribal Welfare Department and then discussed in a seminar called in the Institute, in which officers of the Tribal Welfare Department including field officers from the districts participated. The report along with recommendations of the seminar is now under consideration of the Tribal Welfare Department.

(iii) Extent of untouchability and other social disabilities among different

castes of West Bengal. An ad-hoc survey was undertaken by questionnaire method. The report submitted by the Institute will be published soon by the Tribal Welfare Department.

(iv) Socio-economic condition of the Municipal harijan labourers of West Bengal. Data have been collected in this regard by questionnaire method. An interim report will be shortly submitted to the Government.

(v) Socio-economic causes of seasonal migration of Santal agricultural labourers from one district to another—At present intensive survey has been undertaken in one area as a pilot project.

(vi) Evaluation of different welfare programmes.

Investigations have been made by the Cultural Research Institute to evaluate the following welfare projects in terms of fulfilment of the objectives, and preliminary reports have also been submitted on them.

- (a) Grant-in-aid to non-official organisations for implementing the programme of removal of untouchability.
- (b) Water supply scheme for removal of untouchability.
- (c) Community feasts under the programme of removal of untouchability.

(vii) Study on the castes and tribes of West Bengal.

Information was collected on different castes and tribes of West Bengal by issuing a set of questionnaire to the District Magistrates and Sub-Divisional officers. One Research Assistant was appointed to tabulate the data along

with those available in published records. The work started even before formal inception of the Institute. It has now been possible to start separate files on 256 different castes. For convenience of reference index cards have been prepared on these castes.

(viii) Build up an ethnographic museum on different tribes and carry on research on the economic, cultural and technological aspects of the different specimens.

160 specimens depicting different aspects of the life of the Santal, Bhutia and Lepcha have been collected at a total cost of Rs. 2331/5/-. While collecting the museum specimens, informations were collected on their economic, technological and socio-cultural aspects. Through such study it is intended to gain insight into—

- (a) History of innovations and effect of introduction of modern technology among the different tribes.
- (b) Survival potential of different items of material culture in terms of their place in the culture and economy of the people concerned.
- (c) Processes and problems of standardisation of the tribal crafts and industries.

B : TECHNICAL ADVICE GIVEN TO THE T.W. DEPTT. ON VARIOUS MATTERS BEING REFERRED TO BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND OTHER AGENCIES.

(i) Preparing notes on existing socio-economic condition of different tribes as required by Government of India for preparing schemes under Second Five Year Plan.

These have since been published in a brochure.

(ii) Drafting replies to a set of questionnaire issued by the I.L.O.

(iii) Preparing replies to different questions on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, raised in the Parliament.

(iv) Finalising the State Governments views on the list of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes, as recommended by the Backward Classes Commission.

(v) Formulating the views of the Tribal Welfare Department on the criteria of other Backward Classes as required by the Government of India.

(vi) A hand book was prepared by the Cultural Research Institute for non-official organisations engaged in removal of untouchability. Cyclostyled copies of the hand-book were circulated and discussed in a conference of non-official organisations convened by T.W. Deptt. The hand book with some modifications will be published shortly by the T.W. Deptt.

(vii) Revision of programme and practices for encouragement of tribal dance and music.

(viii) Cultural Research Officer is invited to all meetings of the State Tribal Advisory Council, so that he may supply technical informations and make comments from anthropological point of view on different welfare measures adopted or proposed to be adopted in the State.

(ix) The District Magistrates have been advised by the T.W. Deptt. to send a copy of the proceedings of the District Tribal Welfare Committees to the Cultural Research Institute direct, so that the Institute may give its comments

to the Government regarding different welfare measures adopted or proposed to be adopted in the districts.

C: WELFARE ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN.

(i) Preparation of Text Book in tribal languages and encouragement to tribal literature.

A Committee has been formed with Deputy Minister, T.W. Deptt. as Chairman, C.R.O. as Secretary and officers of the Education, Publicity, T.W. Deptt. and a non-official tribal expert as members to formulate policies and to advise suitable programmes in the matter of the text books in tribal languages and encouragement of tribal literature. A preliminary survey has been made by the Cultural Research Institute regarding existing practices and steps have also been taken for preparation of a bibliography of published books in various tribal languages. One manuscript in Santal language, one in Lepcha language and two in Sadri language—lingua franca of the tribals in tea-garden area have already been collected by the Institute and steps are being taken to get these examined by experts so that these may be suitably edited and published in due course, in the light of their recommendations.

(ii) Collection of tribal songs and lores on tape recorder :

A number of instrumental and vocal music of the Santal, Lepcha and Bhutia have been recorded on the Tape Recorder of the C.R.I. One of the Bhutia songs recorded on the C.I.R. has been used as background music in a feature film on Budha Jayanti produced by the Publicity Department. A preliminary work has also

been done for preparing notations of the music recorded in the C.R.I.

(iii) Encouragement to cultural relation between tribals and non-tribals.

It is proposed not only to introduce useful elements of modern life in tribal society but also to popularise ornamental aspects of tribal culture among their neighbours. A Cultural Function was organised in co-operation with Publicity Department to celebrate 'Baha Parab' or the 'Flower Festival' of the tribals in which both tribal and non-tribal artists participated. An exhibition depicting different aspects of tribal life in India and outside was also organised.

(iv) Production of documentary films on tribals.

Joint Production Board has been set up with the Production officer, Publicity Deptt. and C. R. I. as members for production of documentary films on the tribals. The objective of such films has been visualised as follows :—

(a) To acquaint the general public with the different aspects of tribal life and thus dispel the various fantastic notions about the tribals that are at present wide-spread in the country.

(b) To draw attention of the tribals about their different social and cultural problems and stimulate activities for advancement in these sectors.

(c) To popularise some of the valuable elements of tribal, cultural and recreational activities such as dance, music, games etc. among the rural folk and thus help to grow a give-and-take relationship between the tribals and non-tribals.

(d) To keep permanent record of some of the vanishing features of tribal life.

Valuable assistance was given by the C.R.I. in production of a film on the Toto by furnishing information on different aspects of the life of the Toto and by pointing out tribal susceptibilities that must be respected in depicting their life in the film. At present the Cultural Research Institute is preparing scenario for production of a film on the Mech of North Bengal, in January next.

PART II.

The brief statement of activities of C.R.I. made hitherto, shows only one dimension of such activities viz. the quantitative one. But such activities should be examined from their qualitative aspect also, which again appears to be multi-dimensional. The author proposes to take up the following, for the purpose of the present discussion.

- (a) Nature of the problem.
- (b) Tool of research.
- (c) Responsibility of solving problems.

The above have been selected only because the author has been able to give some thought to them and not because they exhaust the qualitative scale.

Nature of the problems.

While planning for research on a particular problem frequently the author had to toss in doubt whether formal statement of a problem by itself indicates its full scope and whether it does not carry within it deeper implications which also should be subjected to investigation for throwing full light on the problem. One illustration will explain. Cultural Research Institute has been asked to

undertake a research on tribal law of inheritance for codification of the same. This research can be carried on in one or all of the following fields—

1. What according to the tribals themselves are their customary laws of inheritance? And if there be divergences of opinion among them, how to treat such divergences? One method of treating the divergences is the statistical method, in which the opinion occurring in greatest frequency may be described as the "modal opinion". Another way is to mechanically correlate different opinions with different social situations e.g., literacy, economic condition, social status, contact situation and claim the divergences to be in causative link with their social correlates. But there is perhaps still another way to look at it. Plotting the divergences may also lead to the search for the unifying force that not only gives coherence to these divergences but that may even manifest itself through such divergences. This unifying force may be common allegiance to a hypothetical "should have been" or "ideal non-conceptualised norm", from which deviations have radiated out to conform to the agencies of change in the level of consciousness.

2. Along with the above, it is equally important to note, how the tribals actually decide disputes regarding questions connected with inheritance? Factors other than idea or opinion about the norm may intervene in actual settlement of disputes. Compromises may be effected on considerations of wretchedness of one of the parties in which justice may be tempered with compassion or on the other hand influence of one of the parties may be the deciding factor, in which opportunism may drag the norm to its

galley. Indifference or antipathy about the norm may be other factors. Whatever may be the reasons, deviations may also take place from a statistically determinable modal practice. Deviation may also be expressed as correlates of determinable social isolates. Deviations in practice may again attain another significance when seen as units of a single process of social dynamics.

3. A third way of approach to the problem may be through recognition of the process of social dynamics itself as co-existence and also inter-action of separate processes. Thus while concepts and practices regarding law of inheritance may take one kind of significance when seen in terms of social dynamics of the tribe concerned, these may again become significant in a different way when seen in terms of social dynamics of the region in which the tribe occurs. The author is of the view that in the new context the focus of study will shift from change of custom to growth of customs. In this approach it will be necessary to study the laws of inheritance of a tribe as symptoms of a single process of growth or decay which concerns not only the particular tribe, but all the tribals of the area. The strength of cohesion that is imparted to a community organisation by a custom or institution can be assessed when the fate of such custom or institution among the neighbouring communities is known. Taking this view of the field of study, tribal law of inheritance should not be studied in isolation but in combination with its agnates and cognates. This will help to identify growth which may not be over board at the moment but which is inherent in the logistia of the situations.

4. While the three fields defined above differ from one another, they have

one thing in common. They are cognitive in character i.e., their main focus is on determination of facts. But there may be study of a fundamentally different order that is normative in character. If the focus of the first approach is on "what should have been" from the tribal point of view, of the second on "what has been" and the third on "what is likely to be" the focus of the fourth approach is on "how far it should be" from the point of view of civilized world. In studying the law of inheritance for the purposes of codification, attention may also be directed to find out to what extent it should be codified at all? Underlying this line of thinking is recognition of the process of universalisation of human institutions, tribal laws of inheritance need be screened both positively and negatively in terms of the value system of modern civilization. In negative screening it would be necessary to find out what features of tribal law of inheritance are repulsive to modern sense of social justice and individual freedom and need therefore be dropped. In positive screening responsibility should be taken to bring in necessary maturity of outlook so that desirable elements may be introduced to substitute the old or supplement the old without disrupting the fabric of tribal life. These therefore demand not only study and investigation but also projection of values.

Now the question arises as to which of the above fields of study should be selected by the Cultural Research Institute when it takes up the responsibility of research on tribal laws of inheritance? Should it include or exclude any one of the above or all of them? Before trying to find an answer to the question, the author should make it clear that, on

contemplation he has found all of the problems taken up by the Research Institute for research upto date to be multi-dimensional. A rounded study of all the aspects would constitute what is called fundamental research and a study deliberately limited to specific aspects can perhaps be described as empirical research. A clue to the answer to the question posed at the beginning of this para will be found in answer to the question as to the extent to which Cultural Research Institute sponsored by an administrative department for administrative purpose should undertake fundamental research and empirical research respectively? The author should not be presumptuous enough to think that he is competent to answer the questions. He should better leave it for consideration of the leaders of the discipline like Dr. Guba, Dr. Dutta Majumdar who are expected to participate in the forum of discussion. He however should submit his personal feeling that unless some sort of balance between the two be laid down quickly, progress of applied anthropology in this country is likely to be impeded. If there is too much emphasis on fundamental research, there is little prospect of such research being immediately useful to the practical task of social engineering. If on the other hand there be no fundamental research, the vital spring of all other researches will be lost. There will be no scope for refinement of method, technique and tool of research and stagnancy will set in. Applied Anthropology will lose its scientific character.

Tool of Research.

In the brief statement of the activities of the Cultural Research Institute it has

been shown that the following tools of research have been adopted upto now :—

1. Survey through field observation and interview.
2. Replies to questionnaire.
3. Official reports.
4. Study of case histories.
5. Intensive study with aid of genealogies.

To cope with the shortage of time, the first three tools have been more frequently adopted. The last two have been adopted only in limited areas and on limited occasions. The author is of the view that conclusions arrived at through the first three are only ad-hoc conclusions and should by no means be confused with scientifically valid conclusions. But then the question arises as to whether at the present moment a Cultural Research Institute set up for advising an administrative department regarding welfare of the tribals can wholly dispense with the necessity of ad-hoc conclusions. Before trying to answer the question it would be necessary to remember the following facts :—

(a) Under the Second Five Year Plan welfare measures have been provided for on an extensive scale affecting almost every aspect of tribal life. Hence Tribal Welfare Department requires technical information of various types for chalking out actual programmes.

(b) There is on the other hand little tradition of co-operation between social science and practical administration in such matters in our country. Hence it is not unnatural for administrative departments to proceed rather cautiously in providing for elaborate research set up.

(c) There is dearth of qualified personnel to cope with even the limited

demand of social scientists created at present.

Under the circumstances, no Research Institution can perhaps go in for fully validated data on each of the wide range of subjects about which they are expected to advise the Welfare Administration. They may therefore either supply ad-hoc conclusions clearly denoting the nature of such conclusions or very frequently they are to refuse supplying any information. In the face of it, the latter course of action undoubtedly reflects a more puritan attitude. But is it ethically more justified? Does not this puritan attitude, in practical effect mean social irresponsibility? May not this force the administration to adopt measures affecting the life of the tribals without any knowledge about what these measures may imply in their life? The question is on ultimate analysis the question of preference between no knowledge and some knowledge? Should the anthropologists refuse to help with some knowledge where there is no knowledge? If he does not possess the light, should he refuse to help with his stick, the traveller groping in the darkness? If supplying ad-hoc information be not the full scientific responsibility, refusal to serve any information even when some knowledge can be readily obtained, is unmitigated social irresponsibility.

Now coming over to the question of scientific responsibility, it should be stated at the outset that the research carried on by Cultural Research Institute is more for developing different lines of action, than for arriving at theoretically valid conclusions. The author would therefore submit it to the consideration of this forum as to whether without compromising its responsibility to the

science, Research Institute cannot advise the administration to adopt certain lines of action on the basis of tentative findings and then help the administration to make adjustments from time to time in the light of continuous evaluation research on the impact of the measures in the life of the people. Frankly this is the line of the thought with which the Cultural Research Institute commenced its work in West Bengal. After one and a half year's experience the author cannot claim that he does not have any misgiving about it. Vague misgivings there are. But these have not yet taken any shape. The author would therefore invite advice from those who are more experienced and more competent in the line. Another control mechanism against unscientific involvement that the author has thought about is to have an experimental welfare centre directly under the Cultural Research Institute, so that implications of the different welfare measures may be assessed in miniature scale before they are implemented with respect to larger population. This is however a line of approach that has occurred to the author in a casual way, and he has not yet given full consideration to it, nor has he put forward any proposal to the Government to give a trial to this line of approach. If even then he has mentioned about it here, it is only because he feels that collective scrutiny will be able to draw out its implications better.

Responsibility of Solving problems :—

In the previous para the question of responsibility of Applied Anthropology towards society and towards science has been presented in a way which may imply that there is a conflict between the two. It therefore seems proper to

give some thought to the problem of social responsibility itself. In 1953, in the Lohardanga Conference the author read a paper in "Basic concepts for development of a cultural research Institute". He would like to quote in some detail from the above paper.

"Applied Anthropology is as much objective science as Applied Chemistry and Applied Physics and its task ends with assessment of the factors and process in a social situation in terms of forces and mechanism in natural science. It is upto the men of affairs to utilise the assessment of a social situation by applied anthropology according to their own purpose which may be either good or bad. While this strict objective detachment is necessary for development of the science free from any subjective bias and involvements, there is another aspect of the problem. Even in natural science the doubt has arisen today whether it is wise to speed up the knowledge of control of natural forces before the right use of the same is ensured. Science devoid of ethical consideration has been found to divorce itself of its human context. The same must be much more true for social sciences.....Anthropologists may perhaps take same positive attitude in the context in which the Cultural Research Institutes are being set up. These Institutes are being organised under the State patronage in pursuance of the objectives set down by the constitution of India, namely, transformation of the socio-cultural realities in the different sectors of the country into a pattern of national life integrated on the major premise of a secular democratic revolution. It is only recently that secular democracy as a positive

philosophy is emerging out through the cumulative effect of empirical experience of mankind, and is tending to change cultural processes and social structures. If the anthropologists decide to give a fair trial to it on an experimental basis and continue to investigate its role in liberating individual initiative and unfolding the potentialities of human associations, a set of values for assessment of socio-cultural situations in terms of desirables and undesirables will automatically follow. By entering into such involvement it is of course not Applied Anthropology that will be directly fostered but a somewhat different, though closely related, discipline will grow, and to differentiate it from Applied Anthropology it may be termed as Practical Anthropology. It is perhaps appropriate that the task of application of the Anthropological researches or Practical Anthropology as has been termed above should come under the purview of Cultural Research Institute. This will infuse a spirit of research even in the practical tasks undertaken and help to transform welfare activity itself into a special science drawing its raw material from Applied Anthropology". It may be noted here that the author was not connected with any Research Institute when he wrote the paper, from which the lines have been quoted. He took the above stand through intellectual appreciation of the situation, and in developing the programmes of the Cultural Research Institute, after he was associated with it, he has tried to utilise every opportunity to give a trial to the same line of thinking. Experience of only one and a half year is however too short to test its validity and the author would be grateful to have the opinion of others in the light of their experiences in their respective fields.

THE KOLS

by

Shri S. L. DUBE, Research Officer, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara.

It is the general belief that the Kol tribe is one of the primitive tribes of Central India. But the survey, which was conducted recently at village Jhansi in Jabalpur district and the surrounding villages, proved that they are greatly acculturated with Hindu ideas and beliefs and do not retain their original practices. They are known as 'Gotiyas', which in the village social status, is used for persons of higher grades than scheduled castes. They are neither treated as an external or depressed class nor as forest tribe. It is rather difficult to compare the Kols of today with the Kols of earlier period, as no reliable information from elderly persons could throw light upon the problem. Moreover in the absence of material culture, as they make use of the most recent types of things to satisfy their needs, facts cannot be laid down so as to prove that this section has their own ways of living similar to those of tribes of any area of Madhya Pradesh. They form at present an important unit in the village social structure.

Rewa is their native land, their 'Desh' the place of their origin as they believe so. They trace their origin back to Sheori, the mother of Kols, the story found in Mahabharat and Ramayan. Because of her sincere devotion she touched the feet of the great Bhagwan who offered her a boon either in the form of a Raj, kingdom, or a family. Sheori chose the last. Five sons were born to her and the descendants were named as Kols, as Sheori was also known as a Kolni, the depressed

lady. The story further goes that she always gathered jungle fruits, keeping the sweet one for Bhagwan and eating the others herself, and keeping this in mind some persons of the village are opposed to the idea of being shifted to a town nearby. The saying goes that the jungle or village life is a boon to them and they shall never displease their mother by doing any acts against her wishes. They leave their homeland only when they have no other alternative to secure the necessities of life. They are pushed, not pulled to the city.

A brief sketch of their religious and economic life is given to show how Hindu culture has shadowed the original culture of this community who are no more forest dwellers and have taken to agriculture directly or indirectly as the means of subsistence.

Social structure of the Kols : —

Within the Kols there are numerous sub-divisions which are generally called *Kurhis* and two of them Rautiya and Kudha are found in the village. On the whole these groups are endogamous but marriage with other clans is also practised. Some twenty years back all marriages were settled within their own group, the reason being that Rautiyas got their marriages performed by a pandit whereas Kudha used to call their 'Man' for their marriage. But later on, compromise between these two sects was brought about that all marriages, whether in Rautiya or in Kudha *kurhis*, be performed by

a pandit alone and as such there is no strict rule for performing the marriage within the same group. Rautiyas claim to be the highest of the Kol *Kurhis*. A Brahmin priest performs the marriage ceremonies and *nai* (barber) and the *dhobi* are also connected in certain ceremonies with birth and death. Engaging the *pandit*, *nai* and *Dhobi* has social as well as economic background. Poor Rautiyas sometimes do not engage the pandit and the *nai* at the time of marriage as they can not afford to pay them the marriage fee which usually ranges from Rs. 10/- to 20/-.

The customs which Kols follow are mostly taken from Hinduism and they do not retain their original customs. They are not conscious of their own customs as they say that it was quite long ago that they left them. The influence of village customs followed by the great majority of people spread so much that the Kols lost the sense of social solidarity and their own traditions.

Their life from birth to death :—

Birth customs :— When a woman is known to be pregnant she is taken to a Kul (Goddess) Devi where the head of the family promises an offering if she protects the would be mother and the unborn child for the full time of pregnancy, and just after the delivery the promised thing, usually, the goat is offered to Devi along with 'hom' or fire sacrifice and a broken coconut. Then the 'chatthi' ceremony, on the sixth day of the birth is celebrated and the woman after a preliminary bath, puts on clean clothes. They do not observe 'mool' and the naming ceremony, which are usually conducted by the higher castes of the village. The other ceremonies connected with the child birth such as 'mundan' (hair cutting) Pasni

(first feeding), nose and ear piercing are also observed by them.

Marriages :— Marriage is the most important event in the life of the Kols. Legality of the marriage is recognised only when it is performed with certain ceremonies. Illegal marriages may also get sanction of the caste panchayat after the payment of certain amount from Rs. 1/4/- to Rs. 10/- in the form of a fine imposed on them. As mentioned above Rautiya Kols generally marry within their own kurhis but girls from Kudha kurhis may also be accepted if they agree to perform the marriage by a pandit. Kols observe territorial exogamy and they always prefer to arrange the marriage with some one of another village. The cross cousin marriages are not allowed. Widow marriage, with the exception that the widow of the eldest brother will not be accepted as a wife by the younger brother as she is given position equivalent to that of the mother, is also recognised. Polygamous marriages are also found among the Kols if celebrated after necessary ceremonies which are usually done in the first marriage. The cases of early marriages at the age of 10 years to 12 years, have also been observed in the community but 'gauna' ceremony takes place after 3 years of the marriage, when the married couple is allowed to live as husband and wife. The usual reason for early marriage advanced by them is that it protects both parties from premarital sexual relations. They generally recognise the regular type of marriage as is observed in other castes of the village. The marriage by elopement gets sanction if the panchayat legalises it by imposing a certain amount of fine. The recognised form of marriage has to pass through various ceremonies. The difference

between the marriage customs of the Kols and of others is that initiative in the former case is always taken by the father of the boy. It is against custom for the parents of the girl to make any direct advances. The actual negotiations are carried on by some elderly person who acts as a middle man. Then the *lagun* is written by the pandit and the same containing the date of the marriage ceremony is sent by the bride's father to the bridegroom's father and is read on the appointed day and made known to all the members of the community. Then the other ceremonies, after the announcement of the date of marriage, are more or less similar to the ceremonies observed by other castes of the village. The ceremony of *magarmati*, the preparation of marriage booth (Mandap), the ceremony of Dwarchar at the time when the marriage party arrives, Bhavri, walking seven times round the fire, the actual ceremony, the 'bida' are the important ceremonies which they perform. The pandit is paid a fee usually amounting to Rs. 1/4/- to Rs. 5/4/-.

The cases of polygamy are also found in the Kol community, if the husband can afford the additional expense. It is not uncommon for one to have two wives. Manbahar of village Jhansi is having three wives. The wives are good economic assets as they work in the fields with them. Divorces are common from either side but they have got to obtain sanction by the caste panchayat which in its sitting hears the grievances of both the parties. If the wife desires to live with an other man, he shall have to pay the marriage expenses of Rs. 8/- to Rs 16/- to the previous husband and Rs. 1/4/- as the fine to the caste panchayat. The bride-groom's father has got to pay

Rs. 8/- to 16/- as the bride price to the bride's father.

Death:- Kols practise both cremation and burial and these are done at the same place in 'masan'. The introduction of cremation may be due to Hindu influence. It has been further revealed on enquiry that cremation has economic background also. Kols having good economic status always practise cremation whereas those of poor standard of living practise burial.

When a person is about to die, the body is placed on the ground and drops of water mixed with 'tulasi' leaves are put in the mouth of dying person to purify him. The dead body is taken to *masan* (burial place) on a *thatri* accompanied by the male members of the community and other persons of the village. Before cremation or burial the body is washed with cold water brought in new 'gharas' and then 'arthi' is put to fire or buried as the case may be. Then all other customs such as cleaning the house, washing the clothes either by themselves or by a village dhobi, mourning for the dead, daswi, feeding the dead, known as 'pinda' funeral feast are practised by the Kols if the body is cremated.

Religious life:- Kols are more religious than other people of the village. It is the duty of every one in the community to keep the spirits contended so that they may give them relief in times of misery. To their type of mind life cannot be broken up in to compartments and there is thus no clear line of demarcation between economic, social and religious spheres. These are really one and they always try to connect the one with the other. If there is a failure of crops, they will go to *Dulha deo* and promise him a number of things. Any misery or trouble or misfortune is associated

with God (Bhagwan) or goddess. It is the general belief that spread of epidemics is due to loss of faith in the highest of all deities, that is Bhagwan. They also worship their own 'Kuldevta', Shavari, the mother of all the Kols, Bhagwati devi, Guriya deo, Khermai and so on. These deities are also worshipped by the village people. To please their *mai* they sing 'Bhagats' at night and then 'prasad' is distributed to all who attend the 'bhagat' and if it is necessary to avert further distress, the deity will come upon some Panda through whom the devi will communicate the ways to get relief. Sometimes they will send for a Pandit and have a *katha* in the name of Bhagwan, the *katha* known as (Satyanarayan ki *katha*). The goddess of the earth, 'Dhartimai' is worshipped and various ceremonies in connection with the deity are observed at the time of ploughing and threshing and a broken coconut is offered every year just in the beginning of the agricultural year. Khermai is the village watchman and protector, she wards off evil spirits and prevents their entry into the village. They also worship, *nim*, *mahuva*, and pipal trees.

They observe most of the Hindu festivals but some festivals are observed at times other than when they are celebrated by the other people of the village. The festival of Nav Durga is celebrated in the months of Kuwar and Chait where as in case of Kols the same is being observed in the months of Baisakh and Kuwar. The Dasara, Dewali, Holi, Jawara in the month of Sawan, pitar, moksh, phag, Rakhi, Ramnavmi, Tija Herchat, Santayan sate are all the important festivals which they celebrate. Hindu influence is apparent. They attach the greatest faith in Ramnavmi festival.

Social Organization :— The caste panchayat plays an important role in developing their social solidarity. No member in the community can treat himself as a separate unit and if he goes against the wishes of the majority, he is outcasted and all social connections are withdrawn by the other members of the community. The constitution of the Kol caste panchayat is remarkable in the sense that they elect a body of two members amongst themselves. Even a young man can become the member of the caste panchayat though many elderly persons may be available in the same community. These two members are known as *Maliks* and one of them is a young man of 30 years. These two men are not final authority to pass judgment at their own sweet will but usually the elders and more influential persons are consulted. This panchayat is empowered to deal with all cases of minor importance arising within the caste. In matters of disputes where the parties do not agree with the judgment of the caste panchayat, they are put before the village panchayat whose judgment in certain cases is final. The matters may also be taken to Nyaiya panchayat at Gosalpur, at a distance of three miles from the village, which always takes into consideration the judgment of the caste panchayat.

Practically all major and minor issues affecting the life of the community members are decided by the *Maliks* and the decisions are rigidly respected. To go against the judgment will mean going out of the caste. He may be cut off from all social intercourse, such as from the use of wells and other village amenities.

The Kol caste panchayat deals with the cases of this nature:

(a) Eating and drinking with other castes

if it is forbidden by the caste.

- (b) Calling some one in the community by bad names and insulting them.
- (c) Illegal sexual relationship.
- (d) Elopement.
- (e) Marriage performed without performing proper marital rites and ceremonies and other marriage matters.
- (f) Divorce and the care of the children.
- (g) Property and inheritance.

Here are some examples of cases which the panchayat dealt with in the last year.

Parties	Nature of the case	Judgment (fine)
1. Dhola	Elopement	Rs. 5/-
2. Dehru	Kept a wife without marriage	Rs. 5/-
3. Gami V. Sipahi	Calling by bad names	compromise
4. Kuddu	Encroachment	Rs. 1/4/-

Though some matters do not fall within their jurisdiction legally they mutually agree to the judgment and the matter is put to an end and thus they are not often found in courts. The amount thus collected from fines is used for purchase of different articles for the community use. The Kol panchayat at Jhansi has purchased 2 kasedi, 1 big thal, one petromax.

Economic life: The first survey with respect to the economic life of the Kols at village Jhansi was conducted in the year 1950-51, when it was stated that majority of Kols were day labourers and under the village conditions the income of the day labourer was very small. Only two Kols possessed the occupancy rights over agricultural land of about 4 acres in that year but due to abolition of mal-

guzari system and other changes in the village economy like the increase of daily wages it was possible to have some holdings of land in the village. Now out of the 30 families surveyed, the following families were in possession of land and since then they started settled life having better economic background than before. They now put on better clothes and in general their economic standard seems to be rising. Some 10 to 15 houses have tiles on roofs.

Names	Holdings of land
1. Sukhdeo	1½ acres
2. Bhaiyalal	3 acres
3. Chunka	½ acre
4. Athai	1 acre
5. Pusua	1 acre
6. Thakur	¾ acre
7. Mahru	¾ acre
8. Garhu	1 acre
9. Suratdin	1 acre
10. Katahur	½ acre

Some members of a few families have shifted to industrial area to Jabalpur and Sihora and are engaged in factory work or in mines at Gasalpur, 3 miles from the village Jhansi. The wages that they get are usually from Rs. 1/4/- to Rs. 2/8/- per day. These members living in industrial areas sometimes give monetary help to their family members and in most of the cases the land holdings as shown above, were purchased. Under these circumstances we find Kols according to their present economic conditions in 3 categories.

1. Factory workers who are better off.
2. Families holding land.
3. Agricultural serfs.

Kols enter the modern economic world more easily than other primitive tribes, such as the Gonds. Their main

occupation is agriculture. The other professions, that they follow, can be listed as follows.

1. Field labour.
2. Collection of tendu leaves in summer.
3. Bidi making industry.
4. Harwaha (bond labour), 6 persons are engaged in it.
5. Collection of Mahuya and wood from jungle.
6. Working in summer in works of P. W. D., road construction.

Some important facts with regard to the present conditions of agricultural labourers as a majority of them come out from this stock are given in relation to their economic life as a whole.

Caste	...	...	Kols
Skilled labourers	...	...	—
Ordinary labourers	...	...	8
Bond labourers	...	...	6
Field labourers			
Permanent	...	...	10
For a few days	...	...	9
Casual	...	...	25

Though some families go to other agriculturists for work, Kols are always preferred as field labourers to other labourers available in the village due to their hard work and sincerity. On enquiry it has been observed that they are found in the category of labourers for they borrow money at the time of monetary needs for which they pledge their personal liberty with the person from whom he borrows. Practically their position becomes exactly like that of a slave as they promise him to serve till all the money is repaid. This cause is generally responsible for migration to the towns and other industrial places.

Classification of labourers :—

I. The skilled labourers include carpenters, masons, blacksmiths and such other artisans who though not exclusively agricultural workers, are frequently employed by the farmers.

II. Ordinary labourer: Field labourers like ploughmen, reapers, sowers, weeders, most of them are employed in seasonal type of work. However some of them are permanent field labourers.

III. Bond labourers: They are employed for any type of work at the wishes of his employer.

Field labourers may be further classified with regard to the type of work and the period for which they are employed.

(a) Permanent farm servants serve their master for the whole year in the scale of Rs. 15/- per month and other facilities provided by the master.

(b) Farm labourers who are engaged only in busy season of Kartik and Ashad and generally paid annas -/12/- to Re. 1/- per day.

(c) Casual labourers as such are found in all categories except the category of the skilled labourers and the following four facts may be noted with respect to this community.

1. These labourers who are virtually bond men, belong to a racial stock mostly from Kols.

2. They have to work because they are indebted to the other agriculturists in the village.

3. Wages are so low that it is virtually impossible for them to pay off the debt.

4. Both force and fraud are used to make them accept the jobs at the wishes of his masters.

Intercaste Relationship :-

At the present time the Kols though hinduized to a considerable extent are not counted among the outcastes and schedule groups. They regard themselves as Kolthakurs and in all religious festivals they sit near Rajbhar, the other main caste of the village. In the village there are Brahmins, Raj-Bhar, Ahir, Chamar, Kumbar, Luhar, Carpenter, and so on. The inter relationship with other castes exists so close that they are no longer regarded as separate entity. During marriage all persons of other castes like lohar, carpenter, kumhar and pandit play their respective roles and have their share in Kol marriage. In the marriage of Kols the pandit performs the ceremony of *lagun* and gets Rs. 1/4/- as the fee; the other ceremonies such as *Dwarchar*, *Mandaps* and *Bhavar* are also done by him. *Nai* and *naain* also work in most of the families if they are economically well-to-do during the marriage time. The kumhars supply the required number of earthen pots and in return get money at the prescribed village rates. Generally he gets Rs. 1/4/- as 'neg'. The carpenter supplies 'kham' and gets Rs. 1/4/- as 'neg' and lohar gives *Kankan* and in return generally gets annas -/5/3/. The other

caste members do not accompany the marriage party but the system of paying 'bhahar' by some castes prevails when Rajbhars pay annas eight or a rupee to some of the families if there exist intimate relations. Similarly during the occasions of other social customs, birth and mundan, and during the religious festivals especially, *Ramnavami*, *Diwali* and *Katha*, the members of all castes assemble either in the houses of Brahmins or at other religious places. Brahmins, Rajbhar Thakurs, Lohar badai do not go to all Kol's places if invited formally to witness the function but they generally go to such houses only where they have some 'beohar'. They take 'prasad' only if prepared by a pandit. Economic status is an important factor to bring out the close relationship between castes in the village.

Thus in the hierarchy of castes Brahmins exist at the top. The Rajbhar Thakur who are in good number consider themselves inferior only to Brahmins. Then comes lohars, ahirs, carpenters, nai, Barau in the social ladder and the chamars, kumhar and basod are placed at the lowest level and somewhere below Brahmins and Thakurs but higher than Scheduled castes. Kols enjoy their position in the village social order.

BHARIAS OF PATALKOT & THEIR DAHIYA CULTIVATION

by

Shri B. K. KHURANA, Research Officer, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara.

Introduction :-

Bharias are one of the least known people in Madhya Pradesh and their economy in Pataalkot has very few parallels in Tribal India. Secluded and isolated from the out-side world by natural barriers like mountains with altitudinal slopes, they have tried to develop the resources of their hilly country to an extent which would be creditable for any civilized society living in such environments.

Pataalkot, which in the words of a well known social worker, Mr. Bapat is nature's cradle, is situated at a distance of 45 miles from the district headquarters of Chhindwara. From the road to Pachmari at the milestone 32, it is reached by a hilly road of about 13 miles where only jeep can go at the speed of a bullockcart. Sidholi, the nearest village to Pataalkot is known to be one of the highest points in Madhya Pradesh at an altitude of 4,000 ft. above the sea level. Looking from above, Pataalkot presents a picturesque view of a cup shaped depression and the smoothness of the pit gives the impression that it might have been man-made. The huts and trees look like pin points arranged on circular paths. But at the same time, one feels horrified when standing on the edge and looking 2,000 ft. straight down the valley.

This is one of the abodes of Bharias, completely cut off from the rest of the world. The paths for going down are so steep and slippery that the outsiders and specially the city people find it

difficult to go there and visit these parts. Even the interconnecting bridal-paths between the two villages are so dangerous that a person accustomed to metalled roads, shall not dare to move from one village to the other. That is why there has been very little contact of the Bharias of Pataalkot with the outsiders. So from one point of view, it is gratifying to note that at least nature is standing in between the Bharias and the exploiters of the city. The result is that at a glance, one can observe the self-sufficient economy of these people and the absence of the debt problem. At the same time, their age old customs and traditions present a cohesiveness and uniformity in their social organization.

The people and their villages :-

A Bharia adult is of medium stature, brown to dark brown in skin colour, long to medium head shape, with an oval face and medium to broad nose, the colour of his eyes varies from brown to dark brown and the rest of the body presents proportionate measurements. Women have sharper physical features than the males. But in spite of their hard environment, at least, the men are very lazy in their habits except for two or three months in a year when they are to plough, sow and harvest their fields. Women are more sturdy and hard-working and are busy in their household or field activities throughout the day. Bharias, specially of the remoter villages, are very hospitable and take the Government officials also as their own guests.

About 12 names of the villages are known to the local patwari but Bharias, at present, are living in six of them. They believe so much in their gods and goddesses that whenever there is illness in their village, or the Bhumka (village priest) and Parihar give them the indication that a particular god or goddess is not in favour of their staying in a particular place, they immediately leave their hearths and homes and shift to another place. Even the lands near that village are left uncultivated. That is why many of the villages, which were formerly inhabited by the Bharias are now no more on the picture.

The villages are sparsely populated and are quite spread out. The number of families in a village varies from two to fifteen in number. Wherever they find a convenient spot of land for cultivation, five to ten families build their houses in their own lands known as 'Barees', and form a habitable area by constructing a lane of bamboo fencing. That is why one finds in this area groups of two to four families of the same village at different and distant places.

Mukadam or Patel and Kotwar (Choukidar) manage the administration of the village and are as well the political and social leaders of the village. Bhumka and Parihar are the village priests as well as the doctors to administer their medicines. Bhumka acts as the priest for five to six villages while the Parihar to whom the god appears is for his village only. All these village leaders like the blacksmith and professionals, get annual wages from the villagers in the form of food-grains depending upon the economic status of the family except for the Mukadam who gets Rs. 36/- per year per village from the Government for collecting land revenue.

There are very few joint families and just after the marriage, the Bharia brothers separate and establish nuclear families dividing the ancestral property in equal shares. Inheritance is through the male side and the Bharia society is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal.

There are quite a good number of clans among the Bharias which are totemic in their origin. Moiety system or the group system where the society for each clan is divided into groups of Samdhi (Marriage) gotras and 'Bhai-Band' (brotherly) gotras also exists. Clans are exogamous and at least for three generations, avoidance in marriage is strictly observed.

Bharias also have the system of bride price. Women being hard workers and good assistants in their household and agricultural work are to be paid when taken in marriage. The marriage ceremony entails a large expenditure varying from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 200/- and if the bride-groom or his parents are not in a position to pay the expenses, the prospective bride-groom goes to his father-in-law's house and works in his fields for about 4 to 5 years.

The religion and the connected ceremonies of Bharias are very systematic. Bharias start with their own house in the month of Baishak (April—May) and worship the house god or goddess like 'Burhi Bhawani', then the village god i. e. 'Mathua', then the tribal god i. e. Bhim Sen and finally reach Maha Dev at Pachmari who protects all the adivasis of the area. The quantity and quality of the ceremony vary in accordance with the supposed power and strength of the god or goddess.

Their Occupation and Dahiya Cultivation :-

Agriculture is their main-stay and most of the Bharias in Patakot have their own lands to cultivate. Very few of them are landless labourers who work for their land-lords and get their wages in kind i.e. food-grains or a particular cultivated tract of land. Macca (Maize) kodon, kutki (Millets) and jagni are the main crops which are sown and harvested once a year only in most of the villages. In some villages where the soil is good for cultivation, wheat and grams are also cultivated in small quantities in their Barees. Subsidiary occupations are not very many; small poultry and ghee, a product of milk, sold at market places are the two main sources by which they make purchases of material of daily household use. 'Hara' fruit of a local tree from which a dye is extracted (to be used in colouring purposes), is sold to the contractor at very cheap rates by the Bharias.

Evidently, their prosperity or adversity depends upon their main occupation, agriculture. So it is necessary to go in detail about the crops, the method of cultivation, sowing, harvesting and storing if one is to look for the avenues of research connected with the welfare programme. In this paper, an effort has been made to collect some information in regard to 'Dahiya' or shifting cultivation for which much has been said in favour of and against the subject.

Two major systems of cultivation exist side by side in this area i.e. the plough and the shifting or 'Dahiya' cultivation. It has already been mentioned that Patakot is a hilly area and it is difficult to find tableland for cultivation. The terrain of the soil at some places is

so rough and big, stones and boulders are scattered in such a way that it is difficult to dig the soil with a plough for cultivation purposes. In addition to it, some places are so steep that it is impossible to take the plough along with the bullocks over there. So the Bharias in consideration of their area, environment and the quality and quantity of their soil started the 'Dahiya' cultivation. At the same time, in the beginning, land was so thick with forests that it was necessary to fell some trees and clear the tract for cultivation. So to manure their lands, they, in a way, discovered this system of cultivation. Later on, when there was pressure from the Govt. side, they looked to their neighbours, and then resorted to ploughing as well in the area which had been cleared of forests by the 'Dahiya' method.

Dahiya Cultivation :-

There are three main stages in this system of cultivation. First the trees are felled with the help of an axe and are allowed to remain there for a number of months to dry on the spot. Next is the stage of burning the trees, shrubs and clearing the land of the wood. After about a month or so when the ashes have been spread on the whole field to serve as manure, sowing is done by broadcasting the seeds on the area. When the crop is ripe, it is harvested and the land remains under cultivation for a year or two more, depending on the fertility of the soil and the amount of the wood that has been burnt to serve as manure. After cultivating the tract for two to three years, it is left fallow for four to five years depending on the growth of the forest.

The neighbouring plot is treated in the same way and thus continuing in this

manner, four to five adjacent fields are cleared of the forest. By this time, the first plot is again ready with the trees and shrubs to be felled and burnt for 'Dabiya' cultivation. In this way the cycle continues in, more or less, a scientific way. After a number of years, it is even possible to cultivate this very land with the plough method if the soil is not very rocky and the slope is manageable for the bullock.

In Patalkot, the above mentioned cycle starts in the month of 'Magh' (January—February) when the cutting and felling of the trees is started. These trees and shrubs are allowed to remain there for drying purposes till the month of Jeth (May-June) when the burning of trees is done. In the month of Asarh (June-July) the 'Bewar' (shifting cultivation) sowing is done by the technique of broadcasting the seed on the soil after the ashes have been mixed. Generally, kutki and kodon are cultivated by this method because the soil suits these crops and the yield is quite encouraging. In the month of 'Kartik', (September-October) these crops are harvested. The additional kutki saved after the yearly consumption is sold at market places to get in exchange other necessary articles like clothes etc. The same plot remains under cultivation for two years and is then allowed to remain fallow for three to five years.

Government's Prohibition and the attitude of the Bharias :-

In the interests of preserving the forests which prevent soil erosion and extension of the deserts, the National Government decided to prohibit this

system of cultivation and banned its practice by law. The 'Dabiya' cultivators were felling and burning the trees indiscriminately and were destroying the forests and their produce. As a result many floods and other calamities were noticed in the plains. So it was felt necessary by the Government to preserve the forests. Even 'Van Mahotsava' is celebrated every year when every citizen of India is supposed to plant as many trees as possible.

But it becomes the duty of the research worker to see the after-effects of the Government policy or the welfare programme and to look to the grievances and attitude of the people towards this modification or introduction. So with this idea in view, Bharias of Patalkot were queried in this respect.

There is no doubt that Bharias are still practising 'Dabiya' cultivation but in areas where it becomes difficult for the Government officials to check and report. At the same time, those who are made responsible by the Government to supervise, can easily be bribed or offered gifts by the villagers for not going to those areas. So it is evident that Bharias have not liked this step of the Government, and are very much against this legislation. If one goes in detail and listens to them sympathetically, it is proved that they have their own reasons and arguments for this resentment. Some of them are outlined below :—

1. Agriculture being their main pursuit, they are prepared to sacrifice anything for it, leave alone, the forests and their produce. They are very much sentimental in this respect.

2. The terrain and topography of the soil is such that in these hilly areas full of big boulders and stones, it is difficult to practise any other system of cultivation with greater efficiency. Ploughing is very difficult on such slopes and with such ingredients of the soil.

3. Yield in the case of 'Dahiya' cultivation is practically three times more than the yield in the case of ploughing. The quality of the food grain is also superior in the case of shifting cultivation.

4. It saves manpower and hours of work. Proverbially, it is known in these parts that five 'Bakhars' (ploughs) are equal to one axe.

5. It is the most convenient method to clear the land for cultivation purposes, and the rotation and shifting of cultivation from one plot to the other is quite in harmony with the growth of the forests. The plot which is cultivated this year, is left alone for two to three years and by this time, the rich growth of the shrubs and trees of the forests is again replaced, thus enabling the Bharias to keep the 'Dahiya' cultivation continued. This chain reaction helps the plots in succession to be fit for cultivation purposes.

6. The banning of the Dahiya cultivation has increased the litigation cases of the Bharias with the Forest Department. These simple folk, when they come for court proceedings, have to spend a lot to get legal assistance.

7. In this cup-shaped depression of Pataalkot, it is true that growth of forests is quite rich and varied and the produce can bring a large amount of money in return; yet the labour of cutting trees, coolie charges and the transportation cost more than the price fetched for the timber coming out of this area. At the same time, no contractor shall dare to go and do business in these remote and difficult parts.

Conclusion

So, under these circumstances, the Government should take into consideration the grievances and resentment of the tribal people. Practice of Dahiya cultivation on all India basis is definitely harmful in respect of the national programme of development and preservation of forests and their valuable produce, but a uniform policy of prohibition of this system of cultivation, will also be injurious in certain tracts. Research workers, if given an opportunity, may indicate the modifications and adjustments in regard to the Government policy.

In this case of Pataalkot, it would be well worth considering for the Government to allow the Bharias to continue with their age old system of Dahiya cultivation. By this special favour to the Bharias, Government shall earn their goodwill without prejudicing the larger interest of the province and the country as a whole. Prohibition with regard to the felling of certain valuable trees like 'Sagwan' may be enforced but other small shrubs and trees may be allowed to be burnt to serve as the manure for their lands.

TRIBALS OF NILGIRIS

by

**Sri K. P. RAJU, Adivasi Worker, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Tamil Nad,
Gandhinagar, Coonoor**

The tribals of the Nilgiris District come under six categories namely, Thodavas (wrongly pronounced as Todas), Kothas (wrongly pronounced as Kotas), Kurumas, Irulas, Panias and Kaatunayakas (Solegas). The total population of these tribes of the Nilgiris is nearly fifteen thousand (15,000):

People outside the District were and are still under the impression that the Thodavas and Kothas alone are the tribals of the District. This is perhaps due to the fact that these two sections of the tribals, unlike the other four sections, live in the country side and move and mingle freely with others. The other four sections namely, Kurmas, Irulas, Panias and Kaatunayaks are the most backward and down-trodden among the tribals. They live in inaccessible forests and jungles and they have no touch with outside world.

The standard of life of the Thodavas and Kothas can be said to be comparatively better than that of the other four sections. The Thodavas get a regular and assured income from their buffaloes though not sufficient for a decent living, and most of them have taken to agriculture too. They have been given lands by Government known as the 'Toda Patta Lands' during the British regime. The Kothas own lands and do agriculture. They are good blacksmiths and potters too. They produce agricultural implements and make earthen vessels and sell them to the local people. Unfortunately they are gradually giving up these essential and paying cottage industries and efforts should be made to revive and

develop these and other cottage industries. Educationally also the Thodavas and Kothas are comparatively in a better position. There are some Thodavas and Kothas including women who have got high school education and a few have had even University education whereas the other four sections have no touch of education at all.

The life of the Kurumas, Irulas, Panias and Kaatunayakas on the other hand is worse and miserable. Most of them lead life like beasts. Many days' fasts is the fate of these unfortunate people. They eat some kinds of roots, leaves etc. that may be available in the forests and jungles and also eat honey, wild fruits etc. whenever available. A few of them living near Tea and Coffee Estates are given employment occasionally but for most part of the year they are unemployed. Most of them are living in forests belonging to the State Forest Department which are called the Forest Settlements. The condition is that they can construct huts, live there and do some cultivation, provided they agree to present themselves for works of the Forest Department whenever called for. Often they have to leave their own small cultivations half-done and unprotected. They are not paid the full amount of wages for their works by the Forest Guards and Foresters often.

As already stated the Thodavas and Kothas have hitherto been regarded as the only tribals of the Nilgiris and considerable attention and help have been given to them both by Government and

non-official agencies. Therefore more attention should be given to the hitherto unseen and uncared-for tribals who lead the worst and most miserable life.

Official and Non-Official Agencies and their work for the Adivasis in the Nilgiris District :—

There is a District Tribal Welfare Committee under the auspices of the Government with the Collector of the District as its Chairman, and with a few officials and non-officials as members. There is a District Welfare Officer to look after the interests of the Harijans as well as the Adivasis and who acts as the Secretary of the Committee. Apart from the work of this official agency, the Servants of India Society opened a residential school for Thodava children at Neergachi Mund and another day-school for the Irula children at Kunjapani with midday meals. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Tamil Nad, helped the Servants of India Society with considerable grants annually for the said work. The school at Neergachi Mund which was originally started for the Thodava children is now accessible to other sections of the tribals also and Kotha children have been admitted to the school along with the Thodava children. The school at Kunjapanai has been transferred to the State Harijan Welfare Department.

An Association called the Sree Sadguru Sarva Samarasa Sangam has taken up Adivasi work since the past three years. It is running a tribal residential school at Coonoor with Government aid where about 50 Kuruma boys are receiving education. This Sangam conducted two Conferences of the Adivasis of the District, the first on June 23rd, 1955 and the second on October 22nd, 1956 — both of which were inaugurated by Shri L. M. Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,

Government of India.

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Tamil Nad, has now appointed a worker to serve the Adivasis of the Nilgiris under the Nidhi and this worker in close co-operation with the Sree Sadguru Sarva Samarasa Sangam, has been serving the Adivasis of the District in general and the tribals of Hulikal and surrounding villages in particular in accordance with the plans of the Nidhi.

I beg to state that only the representatives of Thodavas and Kothas were invited and taken to Delhi in order to participate in the Republic Day Celebrations on 26th January this year without inviting any representatives from the other sections. I feel that inviting representatives to such public celebrations and functions from these four sections also will considerably help to broaden the views and enlighten the minds of the Adivasis of these sections. Therefore I beg to state that at least in future these four sections of the Adivasis of the District may be invited to take part in public celebrations and functions conducted by Government and other social service organisations.

Finally I beg to state that Schemes or plans aiming at the development of the tribals as far as the Nilgiris District is concerned, to be successful, should be prepared and executed in accordance with the resolutions passed at the 2nd Conference of the Nilgiris District Hill Tribes held on the 22nd October 1956, copies of which were sent to the Secretary, B.A.S.S., Delhi on 26th October 1956 for kind information and necessary action.

I, therefore, request that a resolution may kindly be passed at the ensuing Tribal Welfare Conference to be held at Koraput, Orissa State, insisting the Governments concerned to implement the said resolutions.



Bando Women Weaving

WHAT IS HILL-TRIBE WORK ON HAND TO-DAY?

by

**Shri R. MANDESHWARA SARMA, Andhra Sramik Dharmarajya Sabha,
Kovvur.**

Study and indication of categories and lines from our field experience of 4 districts having Hill areas in Andhra and general study in other areas.

CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR MADGOLE-ANANTAGIRI HILL AREAS. PROPOSALS FOR 2nd FIVE YEAR PLAN. PROPOSALS FOR HELP TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN HAND.

What Adivasi service, especially hill tribe work, means to us to-day is this.

Legal and Constitutional

(1) Study and safeguarding of rights laid in the constitution and suggesting amendments if any and watching enforcement in the hills. (2) Seeing that the allotment of Government of India for H.T. Welfare thereunder is well spent. (3) To see that in the coming Hindu Law Reform, necessary provisions for hill men from hill background are laid. (4) In the coming change of the rules of evidence, seeing that the "presumptions" and "burden of proof" sections are remodelled recognising the inequality of parties in the hills. (5) Seeing that disposal of suits in hills are very quick unlike in plains and that courts should take to arbitration as a first resort.

Economic

(6) To see for the abolition of the all emasculating muthadary system (over lordship) and suggest a plan for hill panchayat for administration of hill lands adjoining forest belts and house sites on

an equitable basis. (7) Enquiring into existing debts, mortgages, marketing facilities, shandy irregularities and ways and means for correcting them as also drink evil and cow-slaughter.

Hand Spinning and Literacy drive

Considering the position of the hills and our longstanding experience, these two items can be well pushed on. (8) There are many time-honoured looms waiting revival. (9) The hill man being a nomad still, we must first create an incentive for school going mentality that can be easily done by a literacy drive started in his hill village and it is this drive which will serve as a feeding agency for regular schools in the hills.

Helping the Development Officers' Government Plans and Announcements

(10) To guide the Officers' tours, finding candidates for the training camps and hostels and study of their plans and co-operating in execution. (11) Similarly attempting to fill up of posts reserved for hill men and propagating circulars and advices of the authorities for hill welfare including that of the B. A. J. Sangh.

Anthropological and Historical

(12) This can to-day be done better through hill men themselves amongst whom there are some semi-graduates even under our notice. This board has already commenced this study.

Study-Ventilation and Redressal of Grievances

These belong to the day-to-day life of hill men mainly and when studied reports on this are placed before an officer, giving up the old "paper tossing policy" they must rather work with a pracharak's heart for redressal which is the dire need to-day. (13) For this there must be monthly conference at least for one day between institutions like these and the district authorities at least.

Medical

(14) Study of prevailing diseases, as also plants and drugs useful for their cure in hills. (15) Study of hill men's psychology and customs. This is most important and we must maintain the traditional social motives and their society-ward out-look, which will help as a first step towards their growing into world citizenship while discouraging unhealthy and undesirable ways therein.

Arts and Crafts

(16) Study of arts, crafts, literature, folksongs, architecture and collecting them.

Study of plans of other Countries and U. N. O. and Inter-State Contact.

These are coming to us every day and have valuable matter for us and it is necessary to contact them. (17) Last but not the least, there must be study and interchange between plans and work-notes of State H.T. institutions. The good literature the Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh is producing should be well utilised.

It is time that the H. T. Institutions should consider these aspects of work for helping to form a full picture and philanthropical institutions like the G.S. Nidhi should consider their help-giving, from

this "whole" conception leaving alone some part items, if Gandhijee's Sarvodaya ideal in hills is to near reality. This institution has made some humble attempts on all these and if it could not rise to the mark, it is due to the deficiency in funds, which if given, we can show tangible results in short time.

(I) Literacy classes :-There are about 100 literacy classes now run by the Sabha. There is hope of opening more adult schools, but teachers are not available, since the teachers who are working now have not received any grant and teachers from plains will not come to the agency on low pay. So on long range scheme it is suggested that a hill-teacher training school with a 18 months' course, may be opened on some stipend with 100 teacher-trainees in each locality and after that schools can be opened with these trainees. More than a hundred such second to fourth standard certificate holders are available even now amongst our hill-men in Madgole and other hill areas. At the same time these may be given the agricultural training also. This may be done either departmentally or through our Sabha giving sufficient grant, equipment, and some quantity of land for agricultural training.

Higher elementary schools are necessary at the following places which stand at important centres having an atmosphere of local co-operation. The curriculum should include basic training and such vital subjects as are necessary for hill men such as training in agriculture, first aid, knowledge in prevention and control of common epidemics in the Agency and cattle diseases, and use of herbs available in Agencies. Kamiab-peta, Sunjanakota, Vanabhangi, Revulabusiputtu and Engammetta in Madugula

Section and Guntaseema, Baski, Anantagiri, Kondiba, Gannala Karayi and Konapuram in Anantagiri Section (Vizag Distt.) are the places fit for this. The School in Aruku Colony must be made a High School.

(II) There must be opened two libraries with journals, with radio-sets and gramophones at Vanabhangi, the head quarters of Madugole Hill-tribe Section Committee and another at Benjipur, the head quarters of Anantagiri Hill-tribe Section Committee. The two sectional secretaries, Sri Kantha Mastyalu and Sri A.K. Patro, with the training received from this office and with a more than five years' experience of running their offices successfully, we are confident, can manage these institutions also well.

(III) There must be hospitals at the following places and there must be at least four medical guides including a trained midwife with Ayurvedic and Allopathic and Homoeopathic common remedy chests with their headquarters at Sujanakota or Vanabhangi to help Madugole Agency area and Aruku in Anantagiri Agency area.

Sujanakota, Kamiahpetta, Vanabhangi, Gangaraju-Madugula, Guntaseema, Baski-Anantagiri, Kondiba and Karayi (in Vizag Distt.) are the places suitable for these hospitals.

Veterinary hospitals at Sujanakota, Paderu and Aruku are wanted.

(IV) Roads:-The construction of the roads connecting the following villages is an immediate necessity to facilitate the marketing of the hill men's produce and also to carry on the constructive work by the pracharakas including ourselves.

(1) Minumuluru-Chintalavidhi-Guttuputtu-Vanabhangi-Rogulapeta,

(2) Chintalavidhi-Matham-Gamparayi-Sirsapalli-Vanabhangi.

(3) Galaganda-Aradakota.

(4) Rogulapeta-Sujanakota-Duduma.

(5) Sujanakota - Kilagada - Bangarumetta - Rudhakota - Ravela - Busiputtu-Maddigarvu Gangaraju Madugulu-Chintapalli.

(6) Araku-Gadiyaguda, Gannela-Peddoteda-Maduga-Kesali-Morbunuru - Panchali-Saluru.

(7) Araku - Nangli - Karayi - Sambayi-Pukkli-Pottangi.

(8) Araku-Vurada - Dumiriguda-Kinchumanda-Ugempeta-Paderu.

(9) Araku-Guntaseema-Vondragedda-Kilagada - Sujanakota - Makavaram-Duduma.

(10) Sunkarimetta-Titinguda.

(11) Limbaguda to Paderu.

(V) Posts and Telegraph Offices at the following places are required.

Post offices at Kamiahpetta-Bangarumetta - Ravelabusiputtu, Guntaseema-Baski-Anantagiri-Kondiba-Karayi.

The post man at Araku valley has not got much work. Almost all the officials will take window delivery. So the post man may be directed to visit all the villages within the valley area making Doachbeda and Benjipur as his fixed beat. He may be supplied with a cycle.

Post and Telegraph offices at Sujanakota and Vanabhangi are wanted.

(VI) Dams to Hill Streams :-Dams to the following hill streams will help hundreds of acres for cultivation and they must immediately be explored.

Hill stream at Yendrika hill near Vanabhangi. Dam to Nagavelugedda,

Lotugedda, Addumandagedda, Minumulurugedda, Banga, Darugedda, Chilupagedda, Kinnarulovagedda, Vuppuchervugedda and Isukarevugedda in Madugula Section, and to Bondam gedda, Karakavalasagedda, Goudugedda, Chinnagedda, Kodagedda, Burodagedda, Genjigedda, Karikidigedda, Baradigedda, Kholanigedda, Machdeganigedda Kukudagedda and Reganeelagedda in Anantagiri Section.

Cottage Industries and Co-operation :

(VII) As there is wide scope for the development of Cottage Industries in the agency, a cottage industry co-operative society must be started to help the following industries, namely, plate leaf (Adda leaves), planting and gathering of medical herbs, manufacture of leaf umbrellas, mats and baskets, spinning, weaving, dyeing, tanning and bee keeping.

(VIII) An experimental co-operative farm and dairy and also co-operative credit and marketing society may be formed for the Madugol Hill-tribe section with Sujanakota or Vanabhangi as headquarters and Araku for the Anantagiri, as head quarters.

Public Service and Hill Men :

(IX) The Hillmen must be given the first chance in any work as per his ability and fitness.

(X) The Hillmen may be exempted from having the formal qualifications provided they satisfy the minimum tests required.

(XI) If any Agency candidate qualifies himself for a post, he may be appointed in his own district to serve as an incentive to other Hillmen.

(XII) As far as possible preference may be given to Agency Hillmen, in contracts, and the Hillmen labourers should

be given full and direct employment in carrying the Agency improvement works of roads etc., by the authority concerned.

(XIII) The Hillmen may be encouraged to form a private company among themselves to take up contracts and marketing etc. and thereby they may be helped to improve their financial condition.

(XIV) The Hill men are to be encouraged for their self defence from wild animals, by using guns and arrows. But on the other hand they are being discouraged now. As they do not know how to get their gun licences renewed, they are spending lot of amount every year to get it renewed in the form of *Mamools* to so many. Some people are disgusted with it and give up their guns and licences. The Hill-Tribe Section Sabha has collected information. Licences may be renewed through the agency of local Hill tribe Sanghs to avoid this difficulty.

Protection of Hill Men and their Rights—Equitable Distribution of Land—Official Contact

(a) *Shandy Vigilance Committees* :— These must be formed with officials and Hill tribe Section representatives to help against false measures, false prices and exchange of commodities and transporting necessary food grains of hillmen down and also to use shandies for moral or cultural propaganda including propoganda against drink and cow killing. Every shandy must have a portable library with journals and magic lantern with ways to use shandies for moral and cultural propoganda.

(b) *Forest Rights and Vigilance Committees* : These, with hillmen and officials, must be formed to see that hillmen are not harassed by local men and to see that

life necessities taken from the forests are not obstructed and to help cultivation in proportion to rise in families in villages, consistent with maintaining the integrity of the forests.

(c) *Periodical Conferences between District Heads and Hill Pracharaks* :— There must be a conference every four months between the District Collector, other concerned district departmental heads and our Hill Tribe section representatives to place and discuss their grievances, problems and suggestions face to face. There must be such conferences between the Revenue Divisional Officers and our Hill Tribe Section representatives every three months. This Board will give its best co-operation in this.

(d) *Land Investigation Committee* :— There must be a mixed committee of Hillmen and officers presided over by the agent to investigate into usurpations of land belonging to hillmen by Muttadars or money lenders or others and devise a way to restore the lands to the hillmen and to distribute available land in a village and Mutta equitably. This is the touch-stone for our agency development work. Even for the sixty muttas in Madgole agency area there are many hundreds of complaints recorded here within five years, where the Muttadar or the money lender usurps the poor hillmen's land and even forcibly, on some pretext or other and many families are crying in vain, and they cannot be expected to go to court. This is necessary for food-self-sufficiency in the agencies where people feel hard in these years. The Patapatnam Savara complaint (Srikakulam Dist.) that Reserved Forests are extended into their villagers is to be immediately enquired into, as also the complaint that fees are levied even for head

loads of fuel necessary for home consumption.

(e) *Civil Rights in General* :— In criminal cases against hillmen, the Agent should help in securing legal help to the accused. Ways and means to stop the still prevailing vetties by others, "Maganalikatnams" and such other illegal extortions by some Muttadars be stopped.

There must be two Tahasildars with magisterial powers in each agency taluk, one doing the normal work and another constantly touring for the study and redressal of bonafide grievances represented by hillmen and by such non-official bodies as this Sabba and also to give preventive justice by warning, admonition, and moral propaganda in addition to booking the offenders when absolutely necessary. This enquiry should always be associated with representatives of H.T. organisations. This sort of prompt and moralistic procedure is an absolute necessity in the present atmosphere of growing discontentment in these areas due to (1) muthadari exactions and other official inroads against hillmen's fundamental rights, self respect and property, (2) shandy irregularities and exploitations therein, of hillmen by outside merchants (3) grievances of hillmen against some forest officials regarding their cultivation adjoining the forests, (4) forcible occupation of weak hillmen's lands by more aggressive amongst them and by the local pettadars.

Proposals for spending the money under Second Five Year Plan

1. There must be a metal road running across the heart of the agency areas in Andhra starting from Hill-area districts of Hyderabad and ending at the Savara Agencies in Srikakulam District. In fact

there are isolated roads in the hearts of agencies. They await this sort of consolidation.

2. There must be a journal published on every alternate day suited for hillmen consumption and with special prominence to hill needs and problems and with comparative studies on hill tribe uplift work in all countries. The journal must be distributed by throwing from aeroplane at specified centres in hill areas beginning from Telangana to Srikakulam. This Board offers Hill-Tribe pracharks for distribution or dissemination of the journal or news in it in the hill districts under its contact.

3. There must be a special radio-broadcast every four days with topics studied to hill Tribes and supply of radio-sets to specified centres in hill areas.

4. Hill shandies must be utilized as effective education centres by organizing exhibitions hill construction work, industry and giving merit prizes as also disseminating culture, work and knowledge from outside and other world countries giving preference to deserving hillmen candidates to Public service posts in hill areas.

5. Proposals are made for improving the existing schools and starting new higher elementary and secondary schools under Gurukula system with special curriculum in forestry, mining, Anthropology and growing of valuable vegetables and fruits, hygiene and elements of ayurveda, allopathy, homeopathy, and naturopathy suited to hill conditions and to meet special diseases in hills, to men and cattle, village industries suited to hills, amongst others, at specified centres and centres proposed by this Board.

6. Whatever may be the propriety of including the Erukulas and Enadis of Andhra under "Scheduled Tribes," the present incentive given to the hill-tribe students under the present constitution through special reservations should not be killed thereby.

7. The Hill-Tribe Welfare Board asks the Indian Congress President to kindly consider and accept its programme so that it may be in a position to help the Congress candidate, provided he does not belong to the Muttadari, Pattamdari and other vested interests.

8. A delegation was appointed to contact hill-tribe Sanghs and Pracharks in Telangana Hill-Area districts for consolidated constructive activities in Andhra hills.

9. The Board exhorted hillmen of Madugol and Anantagiri to contribute self-spun yarn garlands in thousands to present to our dear Rajendra Babu, Pandit Nehru and the President of Koraput Hill-Tribe conference and resolved to present an address to them.

10. Now that "Yugadharmā" publication is admitted by thousands of hillmen of Andhra as their mouth-piece, it is imperative to give every help and impetus to it by authorities and under the development plans.

The following is the summary of proposals and a plan for helping the constructive work that is now going on in the hills under this Board especially in Madugol and Anantgiri area. Rs. 15,100 was asked from the Andhra Government when the then Minister for Social Welfare visited this Veeramandir, in April, 1956 under (1) Honoraria to the teachers of 30 literacy classes (surviving in the place of 100 classes run for several years and succumbing for want of help), Teachers Training camps, supply of school necessities, supervisor over schools, coordination and guidance, supply of vegetable seeds and other things for kindergarten work. (2) Help to Yugadharma (3) For effectively continuing the Anthropological and social studies now started, (4) help to handlooms now working (5) supply of charkas, Taklis and opening cotton store to help the handspinning and weaving work now going on amongst thousand of hillmen.

TRIBAL ECONOMY

by

Shri T. SANGANNA, M.P., Koraput, (Orissa)

In the days of planning, tribal economy plays an important role in the reconstruction of the country. As the tribal population exists in the out of way and inaccessible parts of the country, I am afraid, most of the national economists may not be posted with facts and figures to assess the correct position of the tribal economy for the national planning. In the absence of statistical evaluation of the tribal life, no plan, however well conceived and executed, can deliver goods to the tribals at large. Most of the people at the helm of affairs being ignorant of the ways of life of the tribal people are not able to get closer to the problems of the tribal people.

In the tribal economy the following topics need deep consideration and deliberation.

1. Distribution of land to the landless tribal people.

2. Mobilisation of tribal labour in co-operative organisation in order to prevent the tribal labour from being exploited and wasted.

3. Protection of land owning tribals from being exploited by the plains and the unscrupulous people.

4. Establishment of co-operative societies for procuring, storing and marketing the minor forest produce.

5. Organisation of credit co-operative societies under the aegis of the State Bank of India in order to eliminate the evils caused by the present money lenders.

6. Setting up of Adivasi colonies in large numbers at proper places for the landless cultivators with a view to stop Podu cultivation and preservation of forest wealth.

7. Steps will have to be taken to see that tribal people will participate actively in almost all the economic programmes of the country.

8. As the non-Adivasi people are debarred from purchasing lands under the special laws of the constitution, benami transactions are rampant in almost all the tribal areas—specially in the industrial areas.

9. As the tribal people are subject to economic, social, religious and political evils, out of ignorance, it seems desirable to constitute a permanent body at the District and Subdivisional levels to render free legal aid.

10. Encouragement may also be given in the Gramapanchayat Administration by giving them responsibility and authority.

11. A committee of experts may be appointed in the near future to assess the present economic condition of the tribal people as the necessity for such a committee is long over due.

12. A seat may be created at the Universities of the States wherever the tribal population is overwhelmingly large, for the study, research and extension of the tribal economy.

13. Exemption of Adivasi population in the urban areas from civic taxes.

14. Exemption of Tribal petty traders from sales-tax and allied taxes.

15. Exemption of scheduled tribal areas in country from tobacco tax.

The above points are the salient features of the tribal economy. I am sanguine that the All-India Tribal Conference in its sittings of the 4th Welfare Conference at Koraput will devote its kind attention to all these aspects.

ACCELERATING THE PACE OF DEVELOPMENT IN ADIVASI AREAS AND THE UNIFIED ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

by

Shri Pandit PATANKAR

The piecemeal, stray approach of 'Relief' to problems of Tribal Welfare, is gradually receding into the background giving place to an Integrated Developmental Approach. The follow-up organised in Adivasi Gramdan Areas in Koraput, has a strong bias on those lines. But the concept of development presupposes a process of motivation. To that extent it is the educational content and calibre of a programme that sets scale to the pace of any developmental programme.

It is stated here that a unified approach of Social Sciences in collaboration with other branches of scientific knowledge,

does have a prominent role to play in not only improving the educational content and calibre of the programme, but also in cutting short the distances, both in time and space, that are generally marked out by traditional orthodox thinking. The role played by Social Sciences in bringing up the American Negro in a comparatively short time has a very encouraging example to offer in this context.

This paper after pointing out areas of investigation for such unified research and unified programme, poses a question as to if the Social Scientists can accept this challenge.

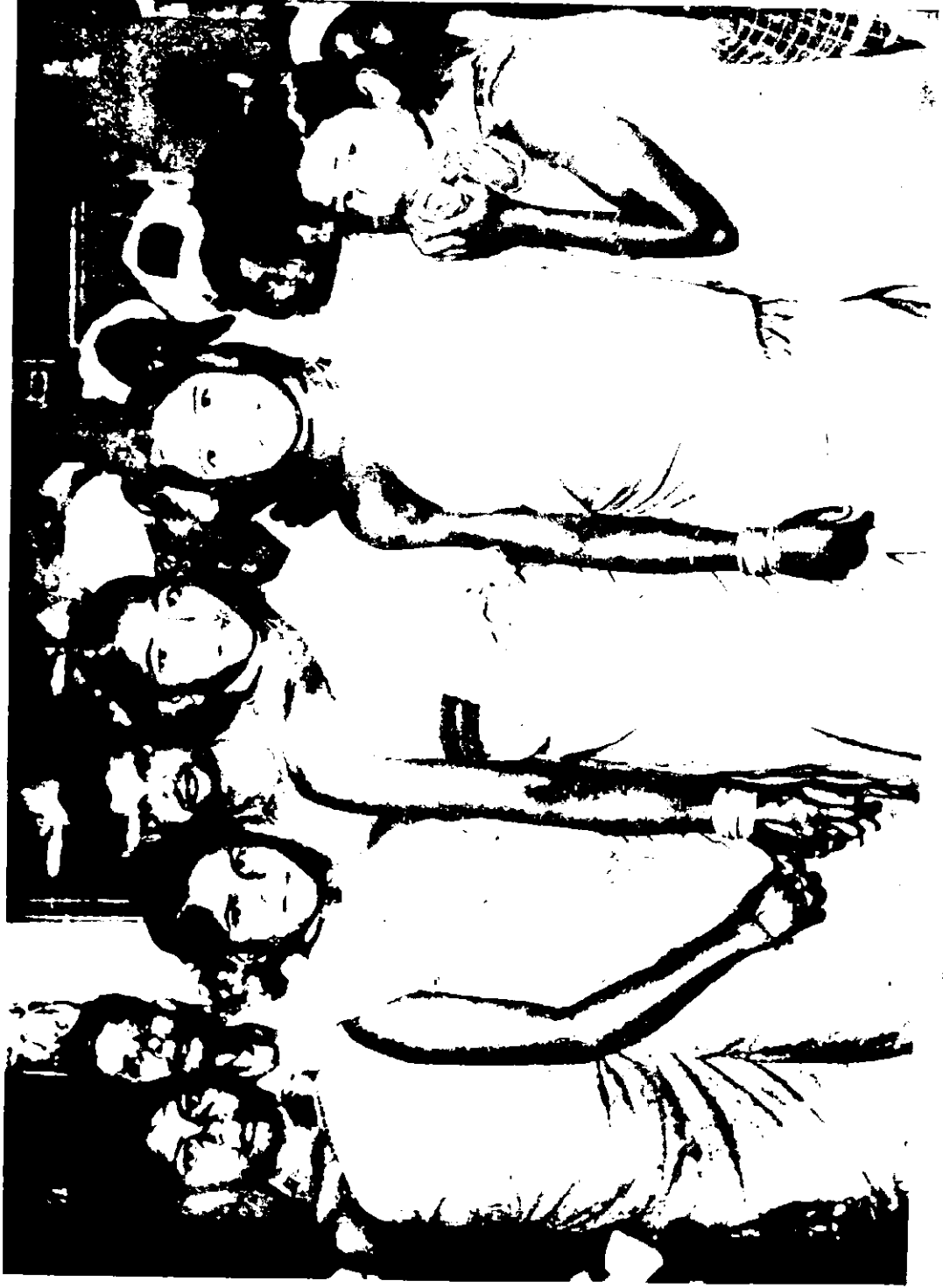
AN APPRAISAL OF ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION

by

NITYANANDA PATNAIK, Bureau of Tribal Research, Government of Orissa

This appraisal report deals with the curriculum used in the Ashram Schools existing in the State of Orissa. The relative importance of different subjects taught in Ashram Schools has been measured by taking the proportion of school time spent on each subject into consideration. It is assumed that the more the time is spent on a subject the greater is the likelihood that the children develop the knowledge, skills, behavioural standards and values associated with it. It is found that 51.1% of the total working hours is devoted for practical classes such as spinning, carpentry, agriculture and horticulture, tailoring and smithy and 48.9% of the time is spent on the teaching of theoretical subjects. The influence of the heavy emphasis on practical work as

recognized in the curriculum fosters a love in children for learning one or two productive activities more skilfully. Thus from the school career they develop in them a hope to depend on any skilled labour to eke out their living in future, without any feeling of going in for desk work. But their hopes are frustrated in the long run as there is no scope for them at present to materialize their thought and values which they have learnt in Ashram schools. Finding no other way some take up services after they come out successful from the Ashram schools and the others go in for higher studies in towns under a different background which changes them and prepares them to enter into any kind of subordination.



Some Paraja girls visiting the Exhibition at Koraput

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON TRIBAL WELFARE WORK

by

Shri SHYAM MANOHAR

After the implementation of the SRC Report in November 1956, the State of Madhya Pradesh has become a bigger unit due to inclusion of territories under former Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat, at the cost of Berar which has gone to enrich the sister State of Bombay. The bigger unit as M.P. now is, has ushered us in an era of concentrated thinking and concerted efforts to tackle bigger and more intricate problems connected with Tribal Welfare. Tribal welfare work is being done in all the three constituting units of Madhya Pradesh through the State Government and some five voluntary agencies of which M.P. Vanwasi Sewa Mandal is one. All these five voluntary agencies are affiliated to the Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh. In my opinion instead of undertaking Tribal Welfare work divided amongst so many non-official institutions and wasting away time, energy and resources by way of duplication, we should have only one social welfare institution for the whole of Madhya Pradesh. The joint coordinated undertaking will give impetus to our efforts. The pooling of resources for one such federated unit will beget maximum of benefit through minimum of labour, thus saving our energies which can be directed to extend the sphere of Welfare Work. Though the foregoing suggestion happens to be for the State of Madhya Pradesh, I shall request the conference to go into the question and if possible find a way to have such federated units, one for

each of the States and affiliated to the Sangh.

Tribal life, as it is, has to be reasonably understood by our countrymen and specially our youth, so that they may learn to appreciate tribal cultural, moral and social values and also estimate what their brethren are, what their needs are and what help actually they require to develop themselves. Tribals need sympathetic but dynamic approach and unless we appreciate this and their wanton needs, we cannot be useful in their uplift and betterment. I might sound a note of caution here. Unfortunately our social workers tend to isolate the tribals from the rest of the population and begin to think the welfare work as a matter of duty performed as a favour. Tribals are not merely their concern, they are the Nation's concern, they are every Indian's concern.

The Nation's progress is linked up with their development. For our welfare and for achieving the socialistic pattern of living, we vitally need their development to an extent so that they may come on par with rest of the Nation. The work of uplift amongst them should be taken as a matter of duty and not as a favour.

In view of this the Government and the Sangh along with its 40 affiliated institutions should establish lodging and boarding houses in the interior of the tribal areas so that the people might go there at their leisure, live for

sometime with the tribal folk and understand them. This intermingling and social intercourse will by itself attract the educated people as tourists and also invite them to work for the amelioration of the conditions of the tribals. Even if the people go simply with a tourist point of view, we have achieved our purpose, we have exhibited to earn their sympathy, by providing change and recreation and in turn the tribals have benefited through tourism. The so called cultured India has to go to tribal India with open arms, with affection and a message of love, friendship and equality—the principles of peaceful coordinated co-existence working at home.

In order to create sustained interest, the guest houses or the tourist homes should be equipped with tribal literature regarding customs, manners, culture, social and political set-up etc., museums with pieces showing articles used by the tribals and peculiar implements employed for shikar, agriculture etc, pieces of indigenous art, cottage industrial and handicraft production, and photos and pictures of their life and pattern of living.

From the point of view of social welfare the combating of juvenile delinquency is an important branch of correctional administration. Very fortunately it is not a problem which we now have to face among the tribal people. Prevention is definitely better than cure. With the introduction of the new light of progressing civilization, the darkest corners of the forests have definitely lit up. Along with glory we are transporting glamour and vices too. Vice has a glamour of its own and is most tempting. We have to guard our Vanwasi brethren so that they may not fall a prey to it. We have to

be vigilant and start taking correctional steps from now.

Certain mental symptoms and environmental factors are the causes of delinquency. The more we are able to create congenial environmental conditions for the constructive employment of tribals and their youth, the more shall we be able to preserve them from falling a prey to crime. The handling of juvenile delinquency demands wise treatment and the appreciation and application of psychology. The whole basis of correctional attitude on our part must be protection, correction and rehabilitation. Such a treatment of love must be meted to the criminal tribes as well. As soon as the unsophisticated Vanwasi sees the glitter of welfare imposed upon himself, first they are unable to realize the full impact of the changed conditions and environments. The gloomy air which had kept them inflated, escapes out like a balloon when pricked. They for sometime remain unsettled and thence afterwards after having adopted themselves to a new and better change are able to divert their stored energies in proper and right directions. Before they arrive at this state of right settlement. I am afraid, the criminal tendencies make a bid to possess them. We have to be on all out vigil lest criminal tendencies might score upperhand during this phase of transition, when tribals tend to become knaves, distrustful, licentious and even degrading themselves by loosing all moral and social values to degenerate into, if not a criminal, at least a near criminal. Therefore we have to be on perfect guard during this period of transition when a tribal becomes a reformed tribal forging ahead to shoulder the burden of future glorious India.

India will be crushed if the shoulders that carry her along are the shoulders of pall bearers and criminals.

Thus to be on preventive side we must organise mobile squads which may visit places after places making enquires from the tribals and giving advice on their everyday problems and the problems of children and the parents. Wherever the bonds of love, fraternity and cooperation tend to break, the prime concern of such squads should be to bring about reconciliation between parent and child, Community and Nation and the individual and the community. To our womenfolk who toil, mothers whose hearts are so responsive, courageous builders of the coming new vigorous nation, the high-minded educators of the children, doctors and midwives—New India, the resurgent India, calls upon you all to devote your minds and hearts to the task of building up a new system for the social and cultural protection of the coming generations.

One of the prime concerns of child welfare is to produce perfect health in the tribal children. Health should also be a priority case with the welfare agencies working among the tribal population. Food being the first requisite in the proper maintenance of health, we should ascertain through a scientific survey as to the quality of the food assessed from the point of view of nutrition. Malnutrition happens to be the first among the food and health problems. Before we can effectively apply ourselves to the problem we must strive to secure a scientifically sound health for poverty-stricken, malformed, malnourished tribal population and for the Vanwasi child who either is sobbing in the lap of her mother or is roaming in the jungle with a pot-belly.

Nutrition experts all over India are deeply engrossed in almost inseparable problem of relieving and preventing malnutrition. They have as yet no certain knowledge of the ideal diet for human beings at different ages and under different physical, climatic and environmental conditions. In order to pinpoint this problem, statistics with regard to diet, food habits, general physical health condition, habitat and taste should be collected and survey conducted. Diet value should be ascertained of the food consumed by the Vanwasis and expert advice sought with regard to perfection of food from diet and nutrition point of view. Malnutrition is not inevitable.

In India experts, nutritionists and public health authorities have been making sustained efforts to grapple with this grave and urgent problem of rehabilitating all those surviving despite the chronic and progressive damage caused by malnutrition—for starvation kills but chronic malnutrition insidiously erodes the health of people. Our Vanwasi brethren and the children are the worst sufferers. Like an iceberg only a small part of the whole is readily visible and large numbers of the seemingly healthy are chronically illnourished and unduly susceptible to infection and disease. These weak Vanwasis should have been the blooming flowers of jungle, who cannot, due to various socio-economic maladjustments, be provided with adequate well balanced rich diet by their families. We have to fully well realise that this problem is one for scientists to tackle before the doctor, administrator or a social worker steps in.

A Social Workers Training Institute is being started at Chhindwara by the State Govt.; likewise this step is being taken in other States as well.

The Sangh is already running a training centre at Chhindwara and other places. The efforts to train social workers are thus being duplicated amounting to unnecessary wastage of funds available with Government for welfare work among the Adivasis. Such and other funds available with the Govt. should be made available to the Sangh so that it may efficiently run and expand the existing training centres. If the Govt. undertakes the training work, I am afraid, the product in the shape of social workers primarily to work among the adivasis may not be as efficient and considerate as they should be. The Ashram type of training and education imparted on a syllabus approved by the Sangh brings out bands of competent, hard working and able social workers capable of tackling the tribal problems in as human a way as possible. Civil services-phobia and a superiority complex as is often seen among the Govt. servants is a unique feature absent from the mental make-up of ashram type of social workers.

The Mandal had started taking steps to start Forest Cooperatives of Bombay pattern in Madhya Pradesh, but unfortunately neither protection nor genuine backing came forth from the State Government. We had to perforce stop our experiment. Given proper backing, the Forest Cooperative movement will gain strength and can be translated into practical shape. We have been successful in our experiment with multi-purpose cooperative societies though much yet remains to be done in this regard. The cooperative activities can be expanded for the economic betterment of the tribals if the Government is forthcoming with adequate financial assistance.

The economic backbone of the adivasies should be made stronger to make them stand the depression brought about by the economic degeneration and to fight poverty and to achieve the much sought after ideal of welfare state in a socialistic pattern of society. Trade competition offered by the non-adivasis should either be banned by law or adequate legal and economic protection afforded, thus curbing the ill effects of economic exploitation, the present forest laws and policy directives of the Government. Means of communication in hilly tribal tracts should be the first among the top priorities in any development plan envisaged for the adivasies. The cottage industries and handicrafts should be protected, and production centres started preferably through non-official social-cum-tribal welfare agencies by giving them adequate financial assistance in the shape of grants-in-aid because everything which is done by way of welfare by a Government agency has a tinge which is foreign (alien) to indigenous Indian taste and at times is neither palatable nor digestible. Demonstration parties and peripatetic schools for giving technical and vocational training should be started and preferably located in tribal tracts. Priority should be given to train adivasies as craftsmen and technicians.

The over-all education policy pursued by the Government needs appreciation but for one shortcoming. Upto the matriculation standard the education for the tribals should be made entirely free and even text books provided to the deserving cases. This very same protection should be given to those who continue for post graduate courses. For study in the Arts faculty after matriculation, the adivasi students must be somehow

discouraged. The scholarships should not be given freely (*enbloc*). If the student chooses to join science, technical or vocational courses, protection should be afforded. By adopting this policy—for India requires technicians and experts—we shall be able to successfully divert tribal energy through the channels of technical and specialized education, thus creating security and prosperity for the coming generation of adivasis.

The Agencies affiliated to the Sangh are experienced and hardened to face the problems, to be of utility and help to the backward classes, and in reciprocation the people extend wholehearted cooperation and impose trust. We of the Sangh are much more suited to work amongst the Vanwasis, than the Government Tribal welfare officers who approach them with an air of superiority spreading

the awe of being the heir to the democratic Government. Voluntary agencies should be generously trusted, Provided with adequate financial resources the Sangh family will strive with renewed faith and work to erase the word Vanwasis from the ethnographic map of India. Moreover after all, the brunt of burden of welfare work finally is to fall to the lot of the voluntary organisations; the Government cannot for long continue to spend at the present rate indefinitely. Present is the time and a chance for the voluntary organisations to gain specialised training and become broad shouldered enough to accept the legacy of welfare activities and prove true to the trust. If the welfare work done by the Government is to sustain and last long, voluntary cooperation must be welcomed and pushed up and proper and adequate financial resources provided.

CRIME AND ABORIGINALS

by

Shri L. N. SAHU, Servants of India Society, Cuttack.

The idea of crime, according to our conception, is not the same with the aboriginals. This is the first point that should always be kept in view while awarding punishments to the aborigines for their crimes. For instance, touching the breast of an unmarried aboriginal young girl is not any crime or indecency according to the conception of some of the aboriginals. For instance, a Saora girl may not take offence if her breast is touched by a stranger, but if the stranger takes hold of her hand that will be a great crime according to their conception, for taking hold of the hand of an unmarried girl amounts to marrying her. The aboriginals have their own methods or systems of marrying. Similarly, if an aboriginal girl or married woman is kissed even by her husband, it is a great crime. The wife may kill the husband for this insolence. I have cited two examples only to show that crime consideration is quite different among the aboriginals from that of ours.

I may also as a preface say that most of the crimes committed by aboriginals are either due to sex-relationship or due to poverty. Even where an aboriginal, such as a Bondo Paraja murders another for a little drink, it is due to economy, the sense of want. If the father has kept a little drink in a pot and the son drinks it off, the father in a rage may chop off the head of the son. Such is the case in other cases of want such as a little food. The crime among the aboriginals is also due to money lenders oppressing

the aboriginals, deceiving them outright. In the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput in Orissa State the Saoras are notorious as cattle-lifters. That is due to want of food. In the year 1942, the Saoras rose in rebellion against the Doms and the Bissoyis, for the Bissoyis and Doms were money lenders and they managed to take away all their lands for nothing. They rose in rebellion and set fire to the houses of the Bissoyis and rich Doms who are generally Christian converts, and murdered them. I was then deputed by Mahatma Gandhi to inquire into the matter of the rebellion and submit a report to him. I walked over the hills and visited the areas where the Saoras rose in rebellion. I saw the sight of dilapidation and I found the Saoras as well as Christians who were originally Panas and money lenders. In fact, the lands of most of the Saoras were wrested from their hands by Christian Panas, and the Saoras had to leave their hills for distant tea-gardens in Assam. Even today, the Saoras who leave their hills for Assam are all dispossessed people. Incidentally, it may be said here that the Saoras are fine cultivators and have a spirit of independence. That is why they cannot brook the insolence of other people. As a sort of self defence they become inflammable. This inflammability has gone into their very nature, but they are fine people, intelligent and they understand what is happening. The British Government which was a Christian government was tilting the balance in favour of

the converted Doms and Paras. And that was at the root of all troubles.

The Saoras rebelled against the chronic economic exploitation and extortion of the Bissoyis, Doms and Patras. Thus in 1941, the Saoras attacked the villages of the Doms on several occasions and burnt and looted their properties.

Shifting cultivation is done by the aboriginals and that I think in a scientific manner. But without understanding the matter properly, the Government wanted to stop their shifting cultivation without procuring sufficient lands for tillage. Motives like economic hardship, non-return of a loan, disputes about agricultural property and differences about the proprietorship of palm-trees swayed the aboriginals. Magical and religious grounds do not seem to be prominent considerations for committing murders. The murder of a Saora is strongly condemned but not that of a Dom, Bissoyi, witch or sorcerer. Murder is disapproved because it leads to trouble from Government, hardship to victim's family and fear from the ghost of the murdered person. On certain occasions, efforts are made to bring about reconciliation between the families of the victim and the murderer.

Suicide is not common among the Saoras. In the ultimate analysis, the Saoras attribute suicide to the Gods, but they admit that there are direct causes also. They say that the women commit suicide for their quarrels with their husbands or lack of food or work, while men do so if they are subjected to great insult or suffer from some severe illness.

The method commonly adopted both by men and women of committing suicide is hanging from the branch of a tree or from the beam in the roof of a house. Suicide is not a common occurrence

among the Saoras, and in this connection, the theory of Durkheim that suicide frequency increases in inverse proportion to the integration of the individual with society requires further careful examination.

The Bondo Parajas commit murders very quickly and in the whole of the world the percentage of murders is the highest among the Bondo Parajas. The Bondos are a small tribe inhabiting the hilly country to the north-west of the river Machkand, situated at the border of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. They observe the rules of their own society fairly well. But they treat the Penal Code rather lightly. Of course, cheating and theft are hardly practised. But the incidence of murder and homicide is very high. The Bondos are noted for their anger. Besides, there are almost perpetual quarrels in their villages and these lead to loss of lives, which is far from being socially looked down upon. However, there is no class of criminals as such. Some details of Bondo murder and homicide during the period 1936-44 are given below :

Number of murders—27

Number of persons sentenced—34

Number of persons awarded death sentence—6

Number of persons who underwent life-transportation—19

Reliable data from other parts of India are not easily available. But with regard to the Bondos the fact that 34 persons were committed with murder and homicide from among a people numbering about 2,500 within a period of nine years indicates a very high rate of aggressive crime. A few cases of Bondo murder or homicide have been analysed or studied in detail. From this it appears that the

reasons behind the act are drinking, particularly during visits to the market, disputes relating to property, the desire for wreaking vengeance between families and villages, fear of magic and sorcery, loss of nerve and anxiety caused by modern conditions of life, including the imposition of Governmental regulations, and last but not the least, domestic quarrels. Women and sex-motive do not figure prominently in Bondo murder and homicide. Except on rare occasions the Bondo murderer confesses his guilt. He also rarely absconds on the completion of his term of imprisonment, the Bondo undergoes a purificatory rite and is required to establish friendly

relations with the family of his victim.

The Santhals of Mayurbhanj District were once noted for their chastity; but with the springing up of the rice-mills on the border district of Balasore and the industrialised areas at Tatanagar and Gorumahisani, the Santhal women, so also the Oraons and Mundas, have been forced to live a standard of morality which would not have been tolerated in their own races fifty years before.

It is for the legislators and educationists and high-priests of society, the statesmen and politicians to bestow their deepest and gravest thoughts on this subject of crime among the aboriginals.

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

by

LAKSHMI NARAYAN SAHU, Servants of India Society, Cuttack.

The problems of the aborigines cannot be solved by our intellect. It can be solved better by our sympathy. Intellect is characterised by natural inability to know life. Instinct is sympathy and is turned towards life. This is the thought and decision of Bergson. And I think this should be ours too.

The aborigines live close to Nature. Therefore they are more instructive and truly understand the problem of their life.

It is therefore our duty to study the manner and way of life of the aborigines and find out why certain customs have cropped up among them. It is no use suppressing ruthlessly *meriah* or human sacrifice that was prevalent among them and still is in deep jungles. The Khonds who were once a warrior race were subjected to such torture and suffering that today they have become mute. This sort of riding roughshod over the feelings of the aborigines is only proof of the darkness of so called *vamped* intellect and civilization. The evil of drink among the aboriginals has increased due to the Government excise policy. The Government became the seller of liquor and that is at the root of all mischief. Left to themselves they were drinking *handia* or beverages prepared of mohua leaves or the juice of Salapa tree. This made them tipsy but never drunkards. This has some food value too. But since Government made it illegal for them to prepare their *handia* or *salapa* and introduced bottle drinks of wine, the aboriginals have

become greater drunkards. If Saudi Arabia can solve the problem of drink, why not we in India? It looks like a romance to know that the desert of Arabia is today, due to Ibu Saud's son's policy, has become much dearer today than in the days of Mohammed. What is needed for the Government is sympathy and not suppression. Slowly the aborigine will be changed. They will see a new horizon only by our help to and intelligent sympathy for them.

Example is better than precept. If we so called civilized people can be abstemious, free from drink, then it will be easier for the aboriginals to accept that mode of life. Therefore in order to reform the aboriginals, we have just to reform ourselves.

Very often we are responsible for the degradation of the aboriginals even in their diseases. Venereal diseases such as syphilis was not so widespread among them as it is today. By trying to serve the aboriginals, very often we have degraded ourselves taking advantage of their simplicity. We have ruined them economically. We have ruined them morally and along with them, we have ruined ourselves. Here is a grave warning to social workers on the hills.

∠ If we are moving towards a socialistic pattern of society the aborigines are already socialistic. The idea of property and ownership of land was never strong in them and even today it is not strong. This is the reason why economically the

aborigines have been ruined by the so called clever people, merchants, educated men etc.

Let us not hypnotise the aborigines to our view of life. Let them slowly move and understand what is good for them. Let us not act as their guardians or superiors. Let them grow as a child grows, by our sympathy and help, not by the rod, or the laws. Let us not tempt them into *fata morgana* or mirage in which we ourselves perhaps are entangled.

King Saud has achieved wonderful results for Saudi Arabia 'Telephone cables stretching across the desert, reservoirs being built to conserve water for agriculture, cities expanding to care for increased commerce, modern buildings rising as business centres, hospitals and clinics in process of construction, wide new highways linking major cities, monetary system reformed and stabilized, schools mushrooming to care for a large influx of students—such is the story of a young, thriving nation just coming of age, such is the story of Saudi Arabia"—So writes Albert, January—March, 1957.

One great achievement of Saudi Arabia is the complete prohibition of all alcoholic drinks and narcotics. The official

statement signed by King Saud I reads as follows.

10th June 1956.

We thank God that wine and narcotics are absolutely and categorically prohibited in our kingdom, Saudi Arabia. They are not permitted to be served in banquets or homes, by individuals or groups, are now religiously banned in accordance with the Shariat Law of Islam, as has been literally provided for in the Holy Koran. The importation and manufacture thereof are also prohibited. He who is guilty of importing, manufacturing, using or dealing with alcohol or narcotics is subjected to the penalty of the religious code. We hope that all Islamic countries, nay the whole world, will follow our steps for the purpose of relieving mankind of this scourge.

We appreciate and admire every individual or group working to combat this plague.

Sd/-Saud.

What Saud could achieve, cannot we, hundreds of social workers do it? This is the challenge which we all should take up and remove from the hills and from the plains of our country India, the scourge of alcohol.

Have we that vision? Have we that determination?



THE NECESSITY OF FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

by

Kulamani Mohapatra, Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University.

The problem of research has loomed large in the previous conferences but the subject is so vast and the field so virgin that we can not be said to have achieved more than making an humble beginning.

Research in social sciences can be divided into two categories - (1) the problem oriented research technically called action research and (2) the theory-oriented research which is also called sociological research. The aim of action research is to devise ways and means for putting a plan to action. This sort of research is more concerned with the application of existing theories than with formulating new ones. The aim of theory-oriented sociological research on the other hand is to enquire into the nature of social phenomena and to formulate an integrated body of theories. While action research is concerned with getting things done, sociological research is fundamental in nature. In this paper I will seek to put forward the necessity of fundamental research vis-a-vis Tribal Welfare.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to clear the prejudice that exists in the minds of the so-called practical men regarding theory. It is the common attitude that theory is something speculative divorced from facts. The function of theory, in science, is to correlate phenomena. A phenomena or fact, as it is commonly called, remains a dead happening unless it becomes meaning for in being integrated into a theory. Consequently every fact is theory-oriented, that is, all our observations and conceptions presuppose a body of theories latent or patent.

When we take a historical review of the development of theories in Anthropology we see that most of them were formulated by research conducted in response to some pragmatic needs and not to satisfy the idle curiosity of the armchair scientist. The earliest anthropological theories were developed to cater to the needs of colonial administration and the latest have been developed out of the exigencies of the Second World War. Therefore those who think that theoretical research and the urgency of tribal welfare cannot go hand in hand betray an ignorance about both.

Problem-oriented research is only possible against the background of a well developed body of theories. We should have full knowledge about the social structure and cultural development of a people before we can plan their progress. It is customary for those who are in charge of tribal welfare to understand and interpret the problems of the tribal people in terms of their own society. It is true that the innate-psycho-biological-need-dispositions of man are the same everywhere but the cultural organization of activities around these basic drives takes widely divergent forms so much so that the same stimulus evokes different even contradictory responses in different societies. Hunger is basic to all human beings but its satisfaction takes varied forms of cultural orientation so much so that the choicest dish of a people is wholly loathsome to another.

In India the tribal society is markedly different from the rural and the urban.

This difference is a social reality too concrete to be dismissed as a sort of outgrowth which will fall off at the magic touch of planning. To draw only one example out of so many we may cite the case of education among the tribal people over which the National and State Governments are spending so much money. Education in many places, instead of opening new avenues for progress to the tribal has inhibited the traditional mode of development afforded by his own culture besides uprooting him from his society.

The tribal society in India is marked by two fundamental factors of difference from the non-tribal. First of all the tribal society is marked by complete integration as compared to the partial integration of the rural and the atomization of the urban society. The second difference is the lack of specialized agencies for social action in tribal societies in contrast to the rural society based on caste structure and the urban society based on extreme specialization and class differences.

These differences throw into relief the importance of the knowledge about social structure of the tribal people in working out any plan. The rural and urban societies with their loose social structure can animate a great amount of change without disbalancing the mode of social relationships. In the case of tribal societies the introduction of any reform is liable to cause some disturbance of their social relationships, customs and habits and as such a thorough knowledge of their social structure is needed for making any programme of action successful.

In view of this, fundamental research on the culture and social structure of the tribes is an urgent necessity. This sort

of research will open up new avenues of action and bring out the real problems of the people in the right perspective. The functioning of a social action is dependant on three factors (1) leadership (2) institutions (3) modes of communication

To locate correct leadership is one of the primary tasks before any programme of action. We generally impose our criteria of judging a leader, on the tribal society. In non-tribal society leadership is denominated by wealth and political power. In tribal society sometimes the role of property is so negligible that it becomes almost non-existent. As to political power in a tribal society it is so much mixed up with other social activities that it is neither possible nor of any practical use to delimit its frontiers. The nature of leadership is regulated by the cultural development of a people and lack of knowledge about a culture can not only be an impediment in locating the right personnel but it is also fraught with the danger of pushing up undesirable persons.

One of the greatest drawbacks of our planning has been its ineffectiveness in building up new institutions, but what is more woeful, the existing institutions have not been geared to use. The tribal societies have very effective institutions like the youth organizations but no where they have been utilized. Institutions based on kinship and family structure have not been touched. All these happen because our knowledge about the institutions and their role in the tribal societies is very meagre.

By communication I do not mean transportation but the modes of expression between persons and groups existing in a particular society. The modes of communication are only very inadequately

assessed by applying the tools of psycho-analysis and philological studies. Modes of communication develop with the cumulative accumulation of experience and as such cannot be assessed without study of culture.

All these go to prove that without fundamental research all programmes of welfare remain scrappy and ineffective.

It is a welcome feature that tribal research bureaus have been started in a number of places and no doubt they are doing much spade work.

These research bureaus however are handicapped by lack of a well integrated policy. I may be pardoned if I say that their work has till now remained baphazard (of course due to no fault of theirs) for example, out of the forty two tribes in Orissa, scientific monographs are available hardly on two tribes. As to the tribal languages not even a most rudimentary attempt at its study can be put to our credit.

If we mean business, this sort of things cannot be allowed to continue. Fundamental research should be immediately undertaken. It is obvious that it cannot be carried on a departmental level. Nothing tangible can be done unless it is taken up at the University level. Therefore immediate steps should be taken to start University level research. There is no doubt that this type of research cannot bear immediate fruit. It will proceed with slow but sure steps. Therefore this research should be organized on a long term basis and the Government should be exceedingly patient with it.

Minimum programme of fundamental research.

After this brief survey I shall try to enumerate in bare outline the programme

of fundamental research and try to touch the cardinal points.

Our first and foremost effort should be to prepare monographs on the major tribes. In this regard we should remember that a descriptive elaboration of facts has now proved to be very inadequate. We must try to employ the latest tools of social analysis. It should be mentioned here that the 'culture personality approach' the latest technique for understanding social happenings, a technique developed almost to perfection during the Second World War which has revolutionized the methodology of social sciences should be fully utilized and people should be trained to employ this tool effectively.

The study of linguistics should be the next item of importance. Language is the most persistent point of a culture. Study of linguistics will not only make the understanding of tribal culture more possible but it will also contribute to the enrichment of the modern Indian languages. In this regard, it is not enough to employ philologists who are in the habit of studying languages *suigeneris*. Experts in cultural linguistics should be employed for this purpose.

Lastly, our studies should give full emphasis on primitive medicine, primitive economy, diet and nutrition. Enquiry on tribal economy should not only be oriented towards gathering data on the economic condition of the primitive peoples it should also try to assess the concept of property, methods of obtaining and inheriting property and try to examine the established economic theories in terms of the tribal usages and practices. Study on tribal medicine and nutrition should give more emphasis on the social process connected with them rather than on medicine and nutrition themselves.

आदिमजाति क्षेत्र में कार्य करनेवाले गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं के कल्याण-कार्य का मूल्यांकन, कार्यकर्ताओं के अनुभव और आदिमजातियों का दृष्टिकोण

श्री महावीर प्रसाद महतो, मंत्री, मानभूम, आदिमजाति सेवक संघ, गोखर्डीडीह

आदिवासियों के बीच सेवा कार्य करने वाली विभिन्न संस्थाओं से हम पूर्व परिचित हैं। इस देश के कोने-कोने में इस प्रकार की संस्थाएँ फैली हुई हैं और सबसे हर्ष की बात यह है कि सभी इस प्रकार की संस्थाओं में कार्य-विषयक साक्ष्यता है तथा सभी सुन्न-बद्ध हो रही हैं।

यह तो बापू व बापा की देन है जो आज इस प्रकार से सामाजिक संस्थाओं को हम फलते-फूलते देख रहे हैं तथा प्रत्येक प्रान्त में सहयोगी कार्यकर्ता तन-मन से कार्य में संलग्न हैं। इस प्रकार की संस्थाओं का यह सौभाग्य है कि कर्मठ व तपस्वी कार्यकर्ता इस प्राप्त हैं। जो भी कार्य इन गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा सम्पादित होता है, वह अन्तःप्रेरणा से होता है जिसमें आत्मिक बल रहता है और यही कारण है कि नाना प्रकार की कठिनाइयों से उलझते हुए भी इन संस्थाओं ने जो भी कार्य कर दिखाया वह काफी है तथा उसका महत्व महान है। इनके द्वारा किये हुए कार्य माचा और प्रभाव दोनों में अधिक हैं।

सबसे मूल्यवान् वस्तु मेवा कार्य में दृश्य का योगदान होता है, जिस सेवा में दृश्य का साथ नहीं होता है, वहाँ वास्तविक रूप में बहुत ही कम कार्य हो पाता है। सरकार द्वारा किया मेवाकार्य तथा गैर-सरकारी

संस्थाओं द्वारा किये जाने वाले कार्यों के विश्लेषण में यही सब से मुख्य अन्तर है। सहृदय कार्य की छाप अमिट होती है तथा इसका प्रभाव भी काफी अधिक पड़ता है। इसी दृष्टि से देखने पर विदित होता है कि गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं का सेवा कार्य अधिक प्रभावशाली, स्थायी और अमिट होता है। जो कार्य शक्ति के प्रयोग तथा सरकारी मशीनरी के द्वारा कभी नहीं सम्भव होता है, उसे किसी त्यागी कार्यकर्ता का एक इशारा भी हल कर लेता है और इसीलिये यह तथ्य यहाँ आदिवासी क्षेत्र में स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई पड़ता है। जो भी कार्य आदिवासी कल्याण के लिये इन संस्थाओं ने किया है उसका मूल्य बहुत है।

प्रारम्भ से ही हम देखते हैं कि ठक्कर बापा ने किस कठिनाई से इस प्रकार की संस्थाओं को जन्म देकर खड़ा किया और उन्होंने ही सर्व प्रथम इस प्रकार की आदिमजातियों की भलाई के लिये प्रयास किया। इस तरह प्रारम्भ करने का श्रेय भी गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं को है। इन्हीं संस्थाओं के आवाज उठाने पर सरकार की दृष्टि भी इस ओर घूमती है। आदिवासियों के भीतर बैठकर उनकी समस्याओं का अध्ययन करना तथा विश्लेषण करते हुए उनका समाधान ढूँढ़ निकालना भी गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं और उनके कार्यकर्ताओं का ही कार्य है।

ये मौन तपस्वी जो क्रान्तिकारी कार्य करते जा रहे हैं, इसका मूल्यांकन क्या किया जाय ? इस प्रकार का त्यागपूर्ण कार्य अमूल्य है, अतुल्य है।

आज हर एक प्रान्त में ५-७ संस्थाएँ सेवा-कार्य में लग्नभूत हैं। उनके द्वारा शिक्षा, सफाई व स्वास्थ्य के कार्य आदिवासियों के बीच में किये जाते हैं। इनके द्वारा स्थान-स्थान पर पाठशालाएँ, स्वास्थ्य-केन्द्र, औषधालय, मातृ मन्दिर, सहकारी समिति, ग्रामोद्योग आदि केन्द्र खोले गये हैं। साथ-साथ रचनात्मक कार्य की ट्रेनिंग भी आदिवासियों को दी जाती है।

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ, दिल्ली के प्रयास से आज सभी प्रकार की संस्थाएँ सूत्रबद्ध हो गई हैं। सेवक संघ आर्थिक सहायता सुलभ कराने के अलावा अन्य भी बहुत सी सुविधाएँ अपने सम्बद्ध संस्थाओं को दिलाया करता है और इस प्रकार उक्त प्रकार की सहायताओं के सुलभ होने से इन संस्थाओं का कार्य भी काफी बढ़ गया है।

आदिवासियों के बीच कार्य करने वाले कार्यकर्ता तथा संस्थाओं ने यह अनुभव किया है कि उनके कार्य से वे पिछड़ी जातियाँ क्रमशः समुन्नत जातियों के निकट आ रही हैं। दोनों के बीच का अन्तर भी कम हो रहा है। ये आदिमजातियाँ भी अनुभव करने लगी हैं कि हमारे बीच सेवा कार्य तथा विभिन्न सुविधाएँ

प्रदान करने वाले, हमारे वास्तविक हितैषी यही हैं। इस प्रकार सेवक और सेव्य एक दूसरे की ओर आकर्षित हुए हैं। एक ने समझा कि उसको सफलता मिली और दूसरे ने समझा कि उसको अपनाया गया। इस भाँति दोनों एक-दूसरे को सम्मान की दृष्टि से देख रहे हैं।

हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं के लिये यह शुभ बात है, ये आदिवासीय जातियाँ अपनी संस्कृति को रक्षित समझ रही हैं और इसलिये उन्हें हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं से प्रेम है। वे हमारा संस्थाओं तथा कार्यकर्ताओं से खुलकर मिलते हैं, जिससे विदित होता है कि उनके हृदय में हमारे प्रति स्नेह का भाव है लेकिन सभी इस प्रकार की गैर सरकारी संस्थाएँ एक बड़ी कमी का अनुभव कर रही हैं और वह है, आर्थिक कमी। यदि आज आर्थिक सहायता इन्हें सुलभ हो जाय तो यह निश्चय है कि शीघ्र ही उतना कार्य हो जायगा जितना सरकारी अधिकारी वर्गों से अपेक्षा नहीं की जाती है।

हम तो सरकार से निवेदन करेंगे कि आदिम-जातियों की भलाई के कार्य करने के लिए सभी भार इन गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को दे दिया जाय। सरकार अपने निरीक्षकों द्वारा कार्य की जाँच कर लिया करेगी।

हमें आशा और पूर्ण विश्वास है कि जिस लगन व तत्परता से सभी भाई कार्य करते हैं, करते रहेंगे।

आदिमजाति कल्याणकार्य का सर्व सामान्य स्वरूप

जो. एल. सर्वकोले, विभाग संयोजक, वनवासी सेवामंडल, इटारसी

जिस प्रकार प्रत्येक व्यक्ति समाज का एक अङ्ग है, उसी प्रकार हर समाज राष्ट्र का एक अङ्ग है। जब तक राष्ट्र का हर समाज शिक्षित एवं आर्थिक सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में उन्नति नहीं करता तब तक राष्ट्र उन्नतिशील नहीं समझा जाता। इसलिये हर राष्ट्र के उन्नतिशील होने के लिये यह अनिवार्य है कि राष्ट्र में रहने वाले हर समाज शिक्षित, आर्थिक दृष्टि से समान, सामाजिक क्षेत्र में उन्नतिशील तथा राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में अपने अधिकारों से अवगत तथा प्रशासनिक तरीकों से भलीभांति परिचित होना चाहिए।

हमारा भारतवर्ष एक बहुत बड़ा राष्ट्र है जिसमें बहुत सी पिछड़ी हुई जातियों का एक बहुत बड़ा जनसमुदाय भारतवर्ष के घनघोर जंगलों में निवास करता है और आधुनिक प्रगतिशील संसार से कोसों दूर है। हम आदिवासी स्वर्गीय पूज्य ठक्कर बापा के बहुत आभारी हैं कि उन्होंने इन पिछड़ी हुई जातियों को उन्नतिशील बनाने के लिये अपने जीवन का बहुमूल्य समय आदिवासियों के उत्थान कार्य में व्यतीत किया तथा भारतवर्ष के कोने-कोने के घने जंगलों में पैदल जाकर आदिवासियों की समस्या का अध्ययन कर उनको आगे लाने का प्रयत्न तथा उनकी सेवा की है।

आदिवासियों की उन्नति होनी चाहिये, उनका विकास होना चाहिये, उन्हें उनके अधिकारों से अव-

गत कराना चाहिये, इस महान कार्य को सरकार के समझ लाने का श्रेय पूज्य ठक्कर बापा को है, जिनके प्रयत्नों से तथा कुछ समझदार आदिवासियों ने उनको सहयोग देने से सरकार ने भी एक अलग आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग आदिवासियों के कल्याण हेतु खोल दिया है जिसमें आदिवासियों के कल्याण हेतु कार्पा रकम खर्च की जाती है। इस सरकारी ब्राण्ड का खर्च उचित ढंग से होना चाहिये, इस और सरकार का ध्यान अधिक होना चाहिये।

आदिवासियों की आर्थिक समस्या

आदिवासियों की सबसे बड़ी समस्या आर्थिक समस्या है। उनकी परिस्थिति बहुत ही दयनीय है। न उनके पास तन टकने को कपड़ा है न भरपेट खाने को अनाज और न रहने को बराबर मकान है। जैसे तो आदिवासी बहुत परिश्रमी, सीधे-सादे, ईमानदार और सादगी से जीवन व्यतीत करने वाले हैं। पहिले से ही ये कृषिप्रिय हैं। पहिले जब इनके पास जमीनें थीं वे कृषि कार्य करते, अपने कड़े परिश्रम से अन्न उत्पन्न करते थे तथा शान्तिपूर्वक जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। परन्तु आज उनकी परिस्थिति उसके बिलकुल विपरीत है। जो जमीनें उनके पास थीं वे अब दूसरों के नाम पर हो गई हैं। मैं मध्य प्रदेश की बात बता रहा हूँ, अगर सिर्फ पचास वर्ष पहिले के सरकारी खसरा जमा बन्दों के रिकार्ड देखे जायें तो पता चलेगा कि ७५ प्रतिशत आदिवासियों की जमीनों की

मालिकियत अन्य दूसरे भाइयों के नाम पर हो गई है। तथा अभी भी उनके बचाव के कानून होने के बावजूद भी अन्य चालाक भाई उनकी बची-खुची जमीनें लेते जा रहे हैं। ये उनके साथ रहने वाले चालाक लोग आदिवासियों की अज्ञानता तथा सीधेपन का नाजायज फायदा लेकर उनका शोषण कर रहे हैं। इन चालाक भाइयों के एक-एक के पास हजारों एकड़ जमीन है जो बहुत अच्छी तथा उपजाऊ है। वह सब इन आदिवासी भाइयों के कठिन परिश्रम से कमाई हुई, उनके एड़ी चोटी का पर्सना एक करके खून का पानी बनाकर उपजाऊ बनाई हुई मिल्कियत है। परन्तु अब वह उन कमाने वालों के पास न होकर अन्य चालाक भाइयों के पास है जो इन्हीं आदिवासियों को अपने यहाँ हलवाहा या नौकर रखकर इन्हीं से उस जमीन को जुतवाते हैं तथा इन्हीं के कठिन परिश्रम पर आश्रित रहकर आराम से जीवन व्यतीत करते हैं।

इतना ही नहीं इन आदिवासियों को इनकी मजदूरी के बदले में इतनी कम मजदूरी देते हैं कि वह उनके खाने भर के लिये भी पूरा नहीं होता जिसका यह नतीजा होता है कि उस आदिवासी को मजदूरी के अलावा जिसके यहाँ वह काम करता है अपने जीवन की दूसरी जरूरी चीजों के लिये श्रृण लेना पड़ता है। जैसे कपड़े, धोती, साड़ी या किसी ल्यौहार के समय कुछ पकवान बनाने के लिये मांटा-नेल, गुड़, नारियल इत्यादि। या अगर वह आदिवासी, बीमार पड़ जाय तो फिर उसे अपने व अपने कुटुम्ब के खाने के लिये भी उधार लेना पड़ता है। शादी यह एक अनिवार्य चीज है। चाहे वह अमीर हो या गरीब, शादी करनी ही होती

है। आदिवासी अपने बच्चे या बच्ची की शादी के लिये वह जिस मालिक के यहाँ काम करता है उधार अनाज व कुछ रुपये ले लेता है, जिसकी अदायगी वह घर के सब कुटुम्ब मिलकर भी मालिक के यहाँ मजदूरी करने के बाद भी दो या तीन पीढ़ी तक पैसों की अदाई नहीं कर सकता और इस प्रकार बेचारे आदिवासी लोग चालाक लोगों की नौकरी करते-काते मर जाते हैं तो भी साहूकार के ब्याज का ब्याज ज्यों का त्यों बना रहता है, अधिक बढ़ता जाता है लेकिन कम नहीं होता। इस प्रकार इन आदिवासियों के परिश्रम का भी शोषण किया जाता है।

जैसे कि मैं पहले बता चुका हूँ कि आदिवासी लोग घनघोर जंगलों में रहते हैं, यहाँ ये अपना जीवन निर्वाह जंगली उपज कन्दमूल फल खाकर व्यतीत करते हैं तथा शिकार खेलकर माँस भक्षण करते हैं। इन जंगलों से इमारती लकड़ी, खनिज पदार्थ जैसे कोयला मैंगनीज इत्यादि जो कि राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति है और राष्ट्रीय आय का एक जरिया है जिस पर उपभोग करने का उनको अधिकार है, परन्तु वहाँ भी ये आदिवासी लोग अपने कठिन परिश्रम के फल से वंचित रहते हैं। इसलिये भी इनकी आर्थिक स्थिति नहीं सुधर पाती। इसका कारण यह है कि सरकार जंगलों से लकड़ी या कोयला निकालने का ठेका बड़े-बड़े पूँजीपति ठेकेदारों को देती है जो सिर्फ अपना ही स्वार्थ देखते हैं कि वे अपनी पूँजी को किस प्रकार दुगुना या चौगुना बनायें। वे इन्हीं आदिवासियों से कम मजदूरी में रात-दिन कठिन काम करवाते हैं तथा अधिक मुनाफा उठाते हैं। जंगली भागों में तो वे ठेकेदार इस कम दाम में से भी पैसे उन

आदिवासियों को समय पर नहीं देते और कभी-कभी तो उनकी मजदूरी भी मार देते हैं। बेचारे आदिवासी ठेकेदार साहब से एक-दो बार तकाजा करते हैं और ठेकेदार के डाँट देने पर वह मजदूरी जो उनकी वाजिब की माँग है, उसे भी छोड़ देते हैं। इस प्रकार ये पूँजीपति ठेकेदार हर साल जंगल का कूप लेते हैं। लाखों का मुनाफा कमाते हैं तथा हर साल नई मोटरें, नये-नये मकान बनवाते हैं परन्तु ये आदिवासी रात-दिन कठिन परिश्रम करने के बाद भी न बराबर तन ढँक सकते हैं, न पेट भर अनाज खा सकते हैं और न रहने को बराबर मकान बना सकते हैं।

फिर आदिवासियों की आर्थिक परिस्थिति कैसे सुधरे? आदिवासी बहुत परिश्रमी होते हैं, उन्हें कृषि से चाह भी है। कृषि करने के लिये जितने श्रम की आवश्यकता है उनमें वह शक्ति है। इसलिये सरकार इन आदिवासियों को जहाँ कहीं भी छोटे घास की पड़ती जमीन हो, उन्हें काश्त करने के लिये देनी चाहिये जिससे उनके परिश्रम का सदुपयोग हो सके। अगर इन्हें जमीनें दी गयीं तो वे अपना ही नहीं बरन् राष्ट्र के लिये अधिक अन्न उपजाने में सरकार के सहायक हो सकते हैं। वे तन मन से खेतों में परिश्रम कर अपने लिये अन्न पैदा कर सकते हैं, साथ ही राष्ट्र के प्रयत्नों में भी सहायक हो सकते हैं।

जो जमीनें इन आदिवासियों से अभी कुछ ही सालों में याने इनका मिलिक्रयत के संरक्षण के कानून अमल में लाने के बाद भी गैर कानूनन चालाक गैर आदिवासियों ने ली है वे जमीनें सरकार उन आदिवासियों को दिलवाये, क्योंकि कई पूँजीपतियों के पास हजारों एकड़ जमीन है। जबकि वह

पूँजीपति हल चलाना या खेती करना भी नहीं जानता और तो यहाँ तक है कि वह उसकी खेती कौन-कौन-सी है यह भी नहीं जानता, लेकिन खेत का मालिक बना बैठा है। जिससे बहुत सी जमीन पड़ती रह जाती है और काश्त नहीं हो पाती, इस कारण अन्नोत्पादन में बाधा होती है।

जमीन के साथ साथ उनका उस खेती की काश्त करने के लिये सरकार द्वारा निम्न सहायता तथा रकम देनी चाहिये जिससे वह जमीन जोत सके—

(१) बैल जोड़ी तथा पहिले वर्ष उनके चारे का प्रबन्ध।

(२) नई फसल के आने तक आदिवासी कुटुम्ब का खाने पीने का प्रबन्ध।

(३) बोने के लिये अच्छा बीज दिया जाय।

(४) खेती के औजार हल वगैरा वाजिब दाम पर दिलाये जाँय और सरकार इस दी गई रकम की अदायगी उन आदिवासियों से किशतों से जिस प्रकार उचित हो वसूल करे।

(५) आदिवासियों को निस्तार के लिये लकड़ी कूपों से वाजिब दाम पर दिलाई जावे व काश्त के लिये लगने वाली इमारती लकड़ी का प्रबन्ध किया जाय।

(६) इन जमीनों से पैदा की हुई फसल का सरकार उचित दामों पर खरीदे या सोसाइतियों द्वारा बिकवाये ताकि ये आदिवासी लोग लूटे न जाँय।

जंगल कामगार समितियाँ

अधिक घने जंगलों में रहने वाले आदिवासियों के लिये सरकार इमारती लकड़ी या अन्य खनिज

पदार्थ निकालने के लिये सरकार 'जंगल कामगार सभितियों' स्थापित करें और पूँजापति ठेकेदारों को जंगल के ठेके न दें।

(१) जंगल से इमारती लकड़ी सोसाइटियों द्वारा निकलवाई जाय जिसके मेम्बर आदिवासियों हों जो वहाँ रहते हैं।

(२) जंगल को जितनी भी कच्ची उपज हो जिसे वहाँ के आदिवासी जमा करते हैं उन्हें सोसाइटियों को बाजिब दाम पर खरीदना चाहिये।

(३) वहाँ के आदिवासियों को लगने वाला सब सामान भी सोसाइटी उन्हें बाजिब दामों पर बेचे।

(४) इन जंगल की सोसाइटियों के मुनाफे के कुछ हिस्से से इन आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में उनके शिक्षण का भी प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिये। आदिवासियों को शिक्षण की बहुत आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि इस परिवर्तनशील जगत में हर एक को अपने अधिकारों की जानकारी होनी चाहिये जो बिना शिक्षा के असंभव है।
स्वास्थ्य

वैसे तो आदिवासी लोग इट्टे-कट्टे तन्दुरुस्त और निरोगी होते हैं परन्तु फिर भी खाने-पाने व जंगलों जलवायु के कारण बीमार हो जाते हैं तथा कई प्रकार की कठिन बीमारियों से पीड़ित हो जाते हैं।

इन आदिवासियों के पास इन बीमारियों को रामबाण दवाइयों हैं जिनसे तुरन्त इन्हें फायदा हो जाता है, परन्तु उन दवाइयों का अधिक प्रचार न होने के कारण उन दवाइयों का उपयोग नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये उन जंगली दवाइयों का उपयोग, प्रोत्साहन तथा प्रचार किया जाय। क्योंकि ये जड़-बूटियाँ विदेशी दवाइयों से बहुत सस्ती और उन्हीं जंगलों में प्राप्त हो जाती हैं। इन कार्य के लिये जो

कार्यकर्ता उनके बीच में कार्य करते हैं उन्हें इनकी खोज कर एकत्रित करना चाहिये तथा उन्हीं दवाइयों का उपयोग औषधालयों में किया जाना चाहिये।

सामाजिक

आदिवासियों में जो रीति-रिवाज प्रचलित हैं उनमें कुछ तो बहुत अच्छे और अनुकरणीय हैं तथा उनमें रद्दोषदल की कुछ भी आवश्यकता नहीं है, परन्तु कुछ लोग दूसरे गैर आदिवासियों के सम्पर्क में आकर अपने को ऊँचा या अच्छा बताने के लिये दूसरों की नकल करने लगे हैं और अपनी पुरानी पूजा-अर्चा भूल गये हैं।

(१) आदिवासियों की पूजा उनके बड़े देव की साज के भाड़ के नाँचे की जाती है। उस पूजा में बलि दिया जाता है। उनका अपना ऐसा विश्वास है कि बिना बलि के देव प्रसन्न नहीं होता। बड़े देव की पूजा गाँव के बाहर होती है जिसमें स्त्रियाँ नहीं जातीं, इनका एक पुजारी होता है जो आदिवासी और उसी गोत्र का होता है, जो पूजा की विधि के अनुसार सब पूजा करता है।

(२) आदिवासियों में जब कोई बच्चा या बच्ची का जन्म होता है, उसकी भी वे खुशी मनाते हैं। और सालभर के बाद याने गरमी के दिनों में वे अपने बड़े देव के इष्ट स्थान में जाकर नये बच्चे के पैदा होने के उपलक्ष में बलि देकर उसकी आयु का मंगल-कामना करते हैं तथा आशीर्वाद प्राप्त करते हैं।

(३) आदिवासियों में जो प्रचलित शादी की प्रथा है वह यह कि उनकी शादी सगोत्र के लड़की और लड़के में नहीं होती, इससे सगोत्र में व्यभिचार की सम्भावना ही नहीं रहती। आदिवासियों में समाज व्यवस्था ऐसी है कि एक आदिवासी (गोंड) भारतवर्ष

के किसी भी भाग में जाकर अपना रिश्ता कायम कर लेता है, उसमें कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ने पाता। आदिवासियों में विधवा विवाह प्रचलित है और यथासंभव उसी घराने के जिसमें वह औरत विधवा होती है उस आदमी के छोटे भाई के साथ ही 'पाट' शादी कर दी जाती है, ताकि वह विधवा बाहर न भटकती फिरे।

(४) आदिवासियों में किसी व्यक्ति की मृत्यु के तीन दिन के पश्चात् उसका 'तीसरा' कर दिया जाता है और साल या छः माह के बाद माघ-पूष के महीने में या कभी भी उस आदमी की वर्षों की जाती है और यह उनका विश्वास है कि वह देवता की श्रेणी में चला गया तथा उसके बाद से उसके नाम पर कोई नैवेद्य नहीं दिया जाता है। आदिवासियों का विश्वास है कि मृत्यु के पश्चात् जीव का पुनरागमन होता है। इसलिये वे हर वर्ष पूर्वजों के नाम पर जो श्राद्ध वगैरे किया जाता है, नहीं करते। ये जो रीति-रिवाज उनमें प्रचलित हैं अच्छे हैं, इनको जो भी सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता उनके बीच में जाते हैं इसमें कुछ भी रहो-बदल नहीं करना चाहिये।

उनमें जो बुराइयाँ हैं वह यह कि वे शराब पीते हैं और उसके अधिक पीने पर नशे में कुछ ऐसा

कार्य कर बैठते हैं कि जो उनके हित में बुरा है, इसलिये उसे बन्द कराना चाहिये। शादी के समय खर्च उनकी आमदनी के अन्दर ही करना चाहिये।

राजनैतिक

आदिवासियों में शिक्षा के अभाव में राजनैतिक जागरूति नहीं के बराबर है, इसलिये उनको शिक्षण की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है कि भारतवर्ष के हर एक नागरिक को यह मालूम होना चाहिये कि भारतवर्ष के प्रति उसकी क्या ज़िम्मेदारी है और इस भारतवर्ष में राज्य कैसे चलता है? कौन चलाता है? प्रतिनिधि कैसे चुने जाते हैं, इत्यादि। इसलिये उन्हें सिर्फ इतना ही नहीं कि वे अपना प्रतिनिधि चुनकर भेजें, बल्कि उन्हें यह भी सिखाना आवश्यक है कि राज्य कैसे चलाया जाता है और उन्हें उसमें अवसर भी दिया जाना चाहिये, जैसा कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की रिपोर्ट के अन्तर्गत आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध जो सुझाव हैं उन्हें ध्यान में रखकर उनकी भलाई के कार्य किये जाने चाहिये। जैसे आदिवासियों के बीच कार्य करने वाले आदिवासी ही नियुक्त किये जाँय, लीडर उसी में से तैयार किये जाँय, आदिवासियों को ही कार्य करने का अवसर दिया जाय, इत्यादि।

लोक-संस्थाओं का मूल्यांकन और उनका आदिमजातियों पर असर

द्वारिका प्रसाद बिल्लरे, व्यवस्थापक, बोदर आश्रम, वनवासी सेवा मंडल, सदस्य विधान सभा (मध्यप्रदेश)

इस देश में सर्व प्रथम आदिमजातियों के उत्थान कार्य का ध्यान लोक-सेवकों और लोक-संस्थाओं का ही आकर्षित हुआ, फिर चाहे वे कार्यकर्ता और संस्थाएँ देशी रही हों या विदेशी, चाहे उनका लक्ष्य विशुद्ध रूप से आदिमजातियों के सांस्कृतिक संरक्षण का ध्यान रखते हुए कल्याण-कार्य करने का रहा हो चाहे कल्याण कार्य की आड़ में उनके धर्म परिवर्तन का रहा हो। आदिमजातियों का शनैः शनैः उत्थान कार्य लोक-संस्थाओं द्वारा होते देख और उनकी सफलता की प्रगति देखकर ही ब्रिटिश सरकार का लक्ष्य आदिमजातियों के कल्याण और संरक्षण की ओर गया।

ब्रिटिश सरकार के प्रत्येक क्रिया-कलाप में इस देश की परतन्त्रता को स्थायि रखने का ही उद्देश्य निहित रहा है। अतः वह जैसे ही किसी व्यक्ति, समाज या संस्था में जागरण के चिह्न देखती वैसे ही या तो उसे समाप्त करना चाहती या उसे मोड़कर परतन्त्रता को परिपोषण करने वाले उद्देश्यों की ओर परोक्ष रूप से मोड़ देती। परतन्त्रता की जंजीर तोड़कर स्वतन्त्रता का ओर कदम बढ़ाने वाले जागरण से वे सदा ही भयभीत रहते रहे हैं, अतः यही कारण था कि ब्रिटिश शासन काल में आदिमजातियों का सर्वाङ्गीण, वास्तविक और उचित दशा में विकास नहीं हो पाया और न उसके बीच काम करने वाली उक्त उद्देश्यों से लित लोक संस्थाओं व

लोक सेवकों की उचित सहानुभूति ही रही, न उत्साह-वर्द्धक सहयोग ही। विदेशी मिशनरियों की सहायता ब्रिटिश सरकार जी खोलकर इसलिये करना चाहती थी कि यहाँ की आदिमजातियों को ईसाई धर्म में परिवर्तित कर भारतीय बहुसंख्यक जातियों के प्रति उनमें घृणा और विद्वेष की भावना भरकर उन्हें अपना अल्पसंख्यक और अनुयायी तथा श्रद्धालु बना लिया जाय और शासक जाति के अन्धानुकरण में और उनकी श्रेष्ठता ग्रहण करने की दौड़ में उन्हें लगाये रखा जाय।

ब्रिटिश शासन काल में ही पूज्य ठाकुर बापा को ब्रिटिश सरकार की इस कपटपूर्ण मनोवृत्ति का पता लग गया था, इसीलिये उन्होंने आदिमजाति के सांस्कृतिक संरक्षण और सर्वाङ्गीण विकास का ध्यान रखते हुए तथा यहाँ की प्राचीन परम्पराओं और बहुसंख्यक समाज के अन्यान्य के समाज विकास के सिद्धान्तों का ध्यान रखते हुए इस कार्य में ही अपनी सारी शक्ति लगा दी। अपने जीवन को खपा दिया। बापा का कदम ही सही और लाभकारी था और आदिमजातियों के लिये जीवन दानी था। उनके सिद्धान्त न सिर्फ आदिमजातियों के लिये वरन् गैर आदिमजातियों के लिये भी विश्वासोत्पादक प्रतीत होते गये, क्योंकि जहाँ ब्रिटिश सरकार और उसकी मिशनरियाँ आदिमजातियों के संस्कृति संरक्षण और उनके विकास के लिये भारतीय बहुसंख्यक जातियों से

उन्हें विल्कुल अलग रख कर करने की कुटिल चाल चल रही थी, वहाँ बापा ने घोषित कर दिया कि उनकी संस्कृति और विकास के लिये उनका सीधा सम्पर्क भारत की बहुसंख्यक जातियों से निःसंकोच होने दिया जाय। यह बात ब्रिटिश सरकार के मनोरथ के विपरीत होने से उसे तो कुछ पटी ही नहीं। परन्तु इधर स्वतन्त्रता का आन्दोलन जोर पकड़ रहा था, अतः बापा का खुले तौर पर वह विरोध भी नहीं कर सकती थी और न अड़गे ही खुल्लमखुल्ला लग सकती थी। सन् १९३७ के कांग्रेस मन्त्रिमण्डल स्थापित होने पर बापा की बात, उनकी कार्यप्रणाली, प्रगतिशील कल्याण-कार्य देश के कर्णधारों को उर्चित जर्ची, इसलिये जब भी आदिमजातियों के उत्थान का विषय उनके सामने आया बापा को ही प्रमुखता दी जाने लगी। जहाँ विदेशी मिशनरियों के संचालकों और मानव-विज्ञान-वेत्ताओं की विदेशी सत्ता को स्थायित्व देने वाली दुर्नीति का अवलम्बन होता था वहाँ अब बापा की बात प्रधान मानी जाने लगी। सन् १९४७ में स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद बापा की माँग देश के कोने-कोने से आदिमजाति कल्याण कार्य की योजनाएँ बनाने व समझाने के लिये होने लगी और उनकी योजना द्वारा आदिमजाति उत्थान कार्य देश भर में जीवन प्रदण करने लग गया।

यह बात सत्य सिद्ध होती है कि समाज सेवा के क्षेत्र में स्वयं सेवा की प्रेरणा और स्फूर्ति समाज में जो चेतना और जीवन रस प्रदान करती है वह केवल जीवन निर्वाह की धुन में दूसरों से ली गयी सेवा की प्रेरणा और स्फूर्ति नहीं कर पाती। स्वयं सेवा की भावना, मन और हृन्दिनों से नहीं वरन् हृदय की पवित्र प्रेरणा से होती है, हृदय की पवित्र प्रेरणा

की भावना और आत्मीयता सन्निहित रहती है और इसीलिये उस वात्सल्य का शिशु अथवा बालक के निर्माण में जो असर होता है वही असर स्वयं सेवा की भावना लेकर समाज सेवा के क्षेत्र में उतरने वाले सेवक का होता है।

प्राचीन काल के अनेकों समाज-सेवक तथा भारतीय जागरण के इस युग के महात्मा गांधी, पूज्य ठाकुर बापा, कवीन्द्र रवीन्द्र, महामना मालवीय, पूज्य विनोबा भावे तथा इनके अनुयायी गण, सभी के हृदय में देश की दयनीय पतनावस्था की कर्ण-पुकार ने भ्रातृत्व की सुकोमल पवित्र भावनाओं को जगाया। इसीलिये परतन्त्रता के पाप-परिणामों से उत्पन्न विशेष स्वार्थ और अभिमान के बल पर पनपने वाले कलह रूपी काँटों से उलझे वा भटके हुए निरावलम्ब भारतीयों को इनके भ्रातृत्व ने नवजीवन दिया और भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुरूप भ्रातृत्व की घन छाया इन नवजात शिशुओं और बालकों के लालन-पालन, चरित्र निर्माण एवं शिक्षा-दीक्षा की नींव डाली गयी, इसका ही परिणाम है कि आज न सिर्फ भारतवर्ष के लिये ही वरन् सम्पूर्ण विश्व के लिये यह निर्माण लाभप्रद होता जा रहा है।

जब स्वयं सेवा की भ्रातृत्व भावना से अंत-प्रोत लोगों के दल द्वारा किसी लोक संस्था का निर्माण होता है, तभी वह पनपती और फूलती-फलती है तथा स्थायित्व प्राप्त कर सकती है। जिस मंस्था में इस प्रकार के लोगों का अभाव होता है वह कुछ दिनों तक निहित स्वार्थों के आवेश में भले ही सफल होने दीख पड़े, कुछ नैतिक कार्य होने लग जाँय परन्तु उनमें स्थायित्व नहीं रह पाता, न वे संस्था के उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति ही कर पाती है। स्वयं-सेवा की

भावना वाले समाज सेवक स्वयंभूत होते हैं, प्रायः गढ़कर नहीं बनाये जा सकते। जिस प्रकार महापुरुष और कवि बनाये नहीं जाते, स्वयंभूत होते हैं, उनमें स्वयं ही उस गुण का प्रादुर्भाव होता है, इसीलिये गोस्वामी तुलसीदास जी कहते हैं—

“आप प्रगट भये विधि न बनाये ।”

समाज में समाज सेवकों की सदा ही न्यूनाधिक प्रमाण में आवश्यकता होती रहती है। इसलिये हर युग में हर समय इस प्रकार के कार्यकर्ताओं और दल का निर्माण आवश्यकतानुसार होता रहता है। यह बात अलग है कि विभिन्न परिस्थितियों के कारण लोक सेवक अथवा संस्थाएँ विभिन्न प्रणालियाँ अपना लेती हैं। परन्तु सब के हृदय में भ्रातृत्व के उक्त गुण उसे लोक सेवा योग्य बनाते हैं। इसलिये ईसाई मिशनरियों में स्त्रियों का आधिक्य पाया जाता है। चिकित्सा सदनों में भी मातृत्व गुण वाली स्त्रियाँ ही अधिक हितकर मानी जाती हैं।

सरकार एक पिता तुल्य यदि व्यवस्था, संरक्षण आदि में सफल होती है तो समाज सेवक अथवा लोक-संस्थाएँ असहाय व सेवा योग्य समाज के विभिन्न अङ्गों का प्यार, दुलार व ममत्व मय लालन-पालन करते हुए तथा चरित्र-निर्माण की नींव डालते हुए, समाज में टिक सकने तथा समाजोपयोगी गुण प्रदान करती हैं।

इसी तत्व पर ब्रिटिश सरकार ने गवर्नरों के हाथ में तो इनका संरक्षण छोड़ रखा था। परन्तु विकास का कार्य मिशनरियों की ओर दे रखा था। धर्म-परिवर्तन के कपटपूर्ण ममत्व के कारण ही उनका स्थायित्व न तो पूरी तरह हो सका न आगे होने की सम्भावना है।

हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार का रुख भी सामाजिक संस्थाओं के प्रति उदार है और उपरोक्त तत्वों की ओर उसका लक्ष्य दीख पड़ता है। राष्ट्रपति इस वर्ग के संरक्षक हैं, परन्तु आदिमजाति कल्याण कार्य लोक संस्थाएँ भी करें। अतः सरकार ने आदिमजाति कल्याण हेतु एक अलग विभाग स्थापना के बाद भी लोक संस्थाओं को अर्थ दान, साधन दान आदि देकर इन्हें प्रोत्साहित किया जा रहा है। सरकार तो जहाँ तक है इसी पक्ष में अपना रुख रखती है कि लोक संस्थायें ही बड़ी-बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटियाँ, बड़े चिकित्सा सदन तथा अन्य महत्वपूर्ण सेवा और समाज कल्याण के कार्य संस्थापित करें और उनका संचालन स्वयं करें। यह प्रणाली कोई नई भी नहीं कही जा सकती। क्योंकि प्राचीन काल में भी समाज कल्याण के अनेकों महत्व-पूर्ण कार्य तत्कालीन ऋषि समाज पर छोड़ दिये जाते थे। सरकार उनकी रक्षा, व्यवस्था और साधन सम्पन्न बनाने का उत्तरदायित्व ही अपने ऊपर ले रखती थी।

यह बात निर्विवाद सत्य है कि पूज्य ठक्कर बापा के द्वारा चलाई संस्थाओं ने ही आदिमजातियों के उत्थान सर्वाधिक और अभूतपूर्व सफलताएँ प्राप्त की हैं। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ नामक लोक-संस्था की स्थापना, आदिमजातियों का बड़े पैमाने में उत्थान कार्य करने के उद्देश्य से की गई है। राष्ट्रपति स्वयं इसके अध्यक्ष हैं, जो सरकार के नाते आदिम-जातियों के विशेष संरक्षक भी हैं और मातृत्व के दुलार-प्यारपूर्ण आदिमजाति सेवक संस्था के अध्यक्ष भी हैं। यह सुन्दर समन्वय ही इनके उत्थान में चमत्कारपूर्ण स्थायित्व प्रदान कर रहा है।

राष्ट्रीय सरकार के निर्माण के पूर्व ही लोक-संस्थाएँ देश में कई-कई स्थानों में स्थापित होकर

कार्य कर रही थीं। परन्तु अब तो इनका कार्य सरकार के सहयोग से दिनोदिन उन्नति करेगा। यह प्रतीत हो रहा है। सरकार स्वयं भी आदिमजाति उत्थान कार्य अपने सरकारी विभागों द्वारा करने पर कटिबद्ध है और विशाल पैमाने पर प्रगति का प्रवाह उमड़ा सा जा रहा है। परन्तु भविष्य की ओर ध्यान रखते हुए तथा समाज सेवा के सिद्धान्त पर दृष्टि रखते हुए जहाँ तक हो सके। शनैः शनैः यह कार्य लोकसेवी संस्थाओं के उत्तरदायित्व पर छोड़ते जाना ही अधिक श्रेयस्कर होगा। क्योंकि कभी-कभी सरकारी तत्वों पर कार्य करने वाले मानु-भावना से दूर एक संरक्षक व्यवस्थापक और साधनदाता की तरह ही कार्य कर पाती है। मानुत्व के निर्मल और अपार स्नेह की सरसता के अभाव में वे मानवोचित सामाजिक गुणों का विकास इस प्रकार के अबोधवस्था के लोगों का कर सकने में प्रायः असमर्थ हो जाते हैं।

कल्याण कार्य की दौड़ में सरकारी और लोक सेवक संस्थाओं में पर्याप्त सामञ्जस्य होना अति आवश्यक है। इसमें काफी सावधानी बर्तनी होगी। पारस्परिक संघर्ष को स्थान न मिलने पावे अन्यथा विमानु-भावों के उदय होने से समाज सेवी संस्थाएँ जो राष्ट्र अथवा समाज रूपी शरीर में रक्त प्रवाहिकाओं के समान कार्य करती हैं, अपना कार्य स्वतन्त्र गति से नहीं कर सकेंगी। एक ओर भावनाओं का आवेग और एक ओर भावनाओं के आवेग को अवषद्ध करने का आवेग, ऐसी कसमकस की स्थिति भी आ सकती है। यद्यपि सरकार का उद्देश्य चतुर्मुखी प्रणाली द्वारा राष्ट्र के कल्याण का और होता है, परन्तु सरकारी तत्वों की कमजोरी यत्र-तत्र और यदा कदा ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर दिया करती है।

मैं यह नहीं कहता कि सरकार इस कार्य को अपने हाथों से अभी ही अलग करदे, परन्तु इतना तो अवश्य है कि लोक-संस्थाओं को उत्तरोत्तर महत्त्व देते जाना चाहिये तथा उनके मार्ग दर्शन पर ही सरकार को कदम बढ़ाना चाहिये। इस देश के आदिमजातियों के परम लोक सेवक पूज्य ठक्कर बापा ने ही मार्ग दर्शन किया है। आज की चमत्कारिक सफलता बापा के मार्ग के अनुसरण से ही हुई है। अतः इस प्रणाली को सुरक्षित रखना सरकार का आवश्यक और अनिवार्य कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है।

लोक-संस्था वर्तमान समय में और भी तीव्र गति से कार्य करने की क्षमता रखती है परन्तु जिस प्रमाण में उन्हें सरकार द्वारा सहायता और सहयोग मिलता है वह पर्याप्त नहीं हो पाता। ऐसी स्थिति में संस्थाएँ बहुसंख्यक सन्तान वाली अकिंचन माता के समान अपना सन्तान के लालन-पालन के साधनों के अभाव में दुखी हो उठती है।

ब्रिटिश सरकार अंग्रेजी जनता के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में भारतीय जनता में शासक का काम करती थी। इसलिये आदिमजाति के लिये विदेशी मिशनरियों ने भी जो कुछ उत्थान कार्य किया वही दृष्टिगोचर होता रहा। किन्तु आज की सरकार राष्ट्रीय और जनता की सरकार है, वह भारतीय जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है, वह अब सिर्फ शासक नहीं, वरन् सेवक भी है। उसे यह निर्णय तो स्वीकार ही है कि आश्रय विपामुओं को मानुत्वयुक्त लालन-पालन की आवश्यकता है। तब सरकार को प्रतिद्वन्द्विताओं में लोक-संस्थाएँ कहीं तक टिक सकती हैं, जब तक कि सरकार सामान्य रूप से दोनों को समान सहायता न करती रहे। यह बिचारणीय विषय है। सबसे अच्छा तो यही हो सकता

है कि एक निश्चित माप-दण्ड के भीतर लोक-संस्थाओं के उत्तरदायित्व पर यह कार्य सौंप देना चाहिये तथा उनमें आपस में ही प्रतिद्वन्द्वता की गति प्रवाहित होने देनी चाहिये। सरकार उनके क्रिया-कलापों में तभी नियन्त्रण करे, जब वे राष्ट्रीयता, नैतिकता अथवा समाजोत्थान के विपरीत कोई कार्य-प्रणाली अपनायें। अधिक बन्धनों से जिस प्रकार चलने की ताकत घट जाती है उसी प्रकार अधिक नियन्त्रण से प्रगति कमजोर हो जाती है।

सरकार का नियन्त्रण बहुत सीमित रहे, वह एक पर्यवेक्षक की तरह ही कार्य करे। प्राचीन काल में ऋषि कुल पर ऐसा कोई विशेष नियन्त्रण नहीं रखा जाता था। वरन् उन पर समाज के नेतृत्व का उत्तरदायित्व था। सभी वर्गों (वर्गों) से वे ऊपर उठे माने जाते थे। वन्य प्रान्तों का उत्थान कार्य इसी प्रकार के ऋषि कुलों द्वारा होता था, निस्पृह-समाजसेवी इसी गणना में आते हैं और ये हर जगह उपलब्ध भी हो सकते हैं। भले ही सरकारी डिग्रियों से विभूषित न रहते हों, उनसे कुछ न्यून योग्यता के हों। समाज में ऐसे लोगों के परखने की एक कसौटी प्राचीन कालानुसार निश्चित कर लेनी चाहिये।

यह तो ठीक है कि जिस प्रमाण में और जैसा हम कार्य करना चाहते हैं उसके अनुकूल लोक-सेवक मिल नहीं पाते। एक बार बापा के सत्तरहवें जन्म-दिवस पर उनके उपासकों ने उन्हें ७०,००० ६० की थैली भेंट करने का निर्णय बापा को सुनाया। बापा ने गम्भीर भाव से कहा मुझे सत्तर हजार की थैली के बजाय सत्तर उपयुक्त कार्यकर्ता दीजिये, उससे मेरा कार्य ज्यादा सुलभ हो सकेगा। बापा की इस इच्छा की पूर्ति नहीं की जा सकी। फिर भी यह जागरण

काल है। आज का वातावरण सेवकों का ही बनता जा रहा है। एक दिन ऐसा आ सकता है जबकि सभी श्रेणी के समाज सेवक उपयुक्त मात्रा में उपयुक्त ढंग के प्राप्त हो सकेंगे। यह भारत का निर्माण काल है। परिस्थिति भी तत्कालीन मानव समाज की आवश्यकताओं के अनुकूल मानव प्रवृत्तियों का निर्माण करती रहती है। इस प्रकार के सेवकों का चयन कार्य भी होते रहना चाहिये और संचय के बाद उन्हें पर्याप्त अवसर तक पवित्र और अनुकूल वातावरण में रख कर उनके स्वभाव जन्य गुणों का परिपोषण कर परिपक्व बनाना चाहिये। उनका सम्बन्ध व्यावहारिक जगत से क्रमशः करना चाहिये। बाद में उत्तरदायित्व-पूर्ण कार्य में उन्हें लगा देना चाहिये। समाज के लिये उपयुक्त व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण करना यह सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण और गहन कार्य है। आज लोकसंस्थाएँ बहुत कुछ करना चाहती हैं परन्तु उपयुक्त कार्यकर्ताओं के अभाव में भी उन्हें रुकावटें आती हैं। कतिपय कार्यकर्ता कभी-कभी कार्य-क्षेत्र में जाने के बाद पथ भ्रष्ट होते देखे जाते हैं। अपनी निकृष्ट मनोवृत्ति के दास होकर वे अपना, अपने समाज और संस्था का अहित ही नहीं करते वरन् भावी राष्ट्र के निर्माण की कड़ियों में भी कमजोरी को स्थान मिल जाता है। अतः इस प्रकार के क्षेत्र में पर्याप्त मात्रा में चुने हुए स्थिर स्वभाव के लोगों को ही भेजना चाहिये। चाहे विलम्ब भले ही हो जाय। राष्ट्र निर्माण के युग में जल्दी में कहीं श्रमावधानी न बरती जाय, कहावत है—

“सहसा कर पीछे पछताहीं।

कहिं वेद-बुध ते बुध नाही॥”

प्रगति की इस अन्धादुग्ध दौड़ में हम बुरी तरह गिर भी सकते हैं, टकरा भी सकते हैं। बीमारी से

उठे हुए व्यक्ति को जैसे कुपथ्य से बचाना आवश्यक होता है अथवा बीमार को जैसे कुवैद्य से बचाना आवश्यक होता है, वैसी ही सावधानी हमें वर्तनी होगी। कभी-कभी बीमार कुपथ्य माँगता है। यदि भय अथवा मोह वशा वैद्य कुपथ्य हो दे देता है तो वह रोगी को क्षति पहुँचा बैठता है। यदि हम दृढ़ता और विवेक से काम न लेंगे तो महात्मा गांधी के जिस प्राचीन भारत की प्राचीन विश्व प्रेम की उपासना करने वाली संस्कृति के अनुकूल समाज रचना करने हम जा रहे हैं, वह कौरी कल्पना मात्र ही हो सकती है।

लोक संस्थाओं ने आदिमजातीय क्षेत्रों में जो कार्य किया है चाहे वह छोटे दायरे में रहा हो अथवा बड़े में, उसके सुपरिणामस्वरूप ही आज सब कुछ हो रहा है और इसमें अब उत्तरोत्तर उन्नति ही होती जायगी। किसी भी नये कार्य का प्रारम्भ कर उसका स्वरूप निर्माण करना यह एक बहुत बड़ी चीज होती है। लोक संस्थाओं ने सर्व प्रथम यही तो किया है। और भी सबसे बड़ी चीज लोगों में एक व्यापक मनो-भूमि का निर्माण जिस तीव्र गति से हुआ वह लोक-संस्थाओं की सहृदय सेवा के कारण ही है।

विदेशी मिशनरियों द्वारा किये गये कार्यों से उनमें शिक्षण और सेवा वृत्ति के साथ-साथ स्वावलम्बन और समाजोत्थान का गुण तो पैदा हुआ परन्तु वह धर्म-परिवर्तन कुछ ईसाई लोगों तक ही सीमित रह गया। जो लोग उनके धर्म में दीक्षित नहीं हुए उनका अबहेलना ही का जाता रहा है। एक प्रकार से इन भोला-भाली जातियों को धर्म अष्ट कर अपने अध्यानु-करण में ही उन्होंने लिप्त रखा, इतना ही नहीं वरन् कहीं-कहीं तो अराष्ट्रीय भावनाएँ भी विदेशी सत्ता-

धीशों की संस्थाओं के नाते इन लोगों में भी उमड़ी हुई पाई जाती रही हैं। उसके चिह्न आज भी यदा-कदा और यत्र-तत्र दीख पड़ते हैं, यह मिशनरियों की स्वार्थपूर्ण कुचेष्टाओं के परिणामस्वरूप ही है परन्तु देश की अन्य संस्थाओं ने इनके सर्वाङ्गीण विकास की ओर बाधाओं का सामना करके भी अभूतपूर्व कदम उठाये। ब्रिटिश शासन के नियन्त्रण काल में भी भील सेवा मण्डल ने भीलों में अकल्पित जागृति की। क्या शिक्षण, क्या सहकारिता, क्या स्वास्थ्य, क्या व्यवसाय और क्या समाज कल्याण सभी क्षेत्रों में स्वावलम्बी बनाने का कार्य किया गया। कुछ ऐसी ही संस्थाएँ और अन्य प्रान्तों में स्थापित हुईं। मध्य प्रदेश बनवासी सेवा मण्डल, हिमाचल प्रदेश बिहार, मध्य भारत सभी में आदिमजात कल्याण कार्य चलने लगा। राष्ट्रीय सरकार निर्माण करने के पहले ही इनमें से अधिकांश ने ख्याति प्राप्त करली थी। राष्ट्रीय सरकार निर्माण के बाद तो प्रायः सभी को पनपन का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ। भारतीय आदिमजात सेवक संघ का कार्य तो भारत व्यापी हो जाने से इसका चल पाकर अन्य संस्थाएँ अपनी गति तीव्र करती जा रही हैं।

इन संस्थाओं ने आज सर्वत्र ही आदिमजातियों के हृदय में अपना स्थान कर लिया है। एक-दूसरे पर परस्पर अटूट विश्वास सा भर गया है। आदिमजातियों में भी आत्म-विश्वास जाग्रत हो चला है। इतना ही नहीं उनमें राष्ट्रीय भावनाएँ जोर पकड़ती जा रही हैं और वे शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, सफाई, कृषि सुधार, जन-सम्पर्क, प्रेम, पारस्परिक सहायुभूत और सहयोग का आरंभ क्रियाशील हो उठी हैं। उनसे संकोच, दम्ब-पन और अनभिज्ञता भी तीव्रता से दूर भागती जा

रही है। शिक्षण का तो एक चमत्कारिक प्रवाह सा उमड़ पड़ा है। यद्यपि इस प्रवाह में सरकार ही प्रधान है। फिर भी संस्थाओं की तपस्या और त्यागमय नेतृत्व अथवा सेवा वृत्ति के कारण ही इस प्रवाह को बल मिला है।

लोक संस्थाओं में आश्रमों द्वारा शिक्षण क्षेत्र में प्रगति करने के साथ-साथ सामाजिक सुधारों में बड़ी सफलता प्राप्त की है। इस प्रणाली द्वारा बालक, बालिकाओं के साथ-साथ उनके पालकों में भी आत्मीयता का निर्माण किया है। परस्पर आत्मीयता-पूर्ण विश्वास यह भी सफलता की एक अच्छी और सुलभ सीढ़ी है। लोक संस्थाओं में जिस वीरता, लगन, उत्साह, त्याग-भावना, आत्म-विश्वास, निष्कपट सेवा और अदम्य कर्मण्यता से सघन और असुविधा-पूर्ण वनों में विपरीतताओं का सामना करते हुए किया है उससे आदिमजाति कल्याण कार्य का मार्ग प्रशस्त हो गया है। आदिमजाति जनता में मानो मन्त्र सा फूँक दिया है। आर्थिक और दूसरे क्षेत्रों में किये गये उन्नति के कार्यों द्वारा उनका जीवन-स्तर भी ऊपर उठा हुआ प्रतीत होने लगा। सहकारी संस्थाओं की स्थापना ने इसे अग्रसर करने में काफी योगदान किया है।

आज इन संस्थाओं के द्वारा निर्माण किये गये कार्यकर्ता देश में यत्र-तत्र फैल चुके हैं। अनेकों क्षेत्रों में वे उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण कार्यों का भार सँभालने लग गये हैं। इनके कार्यों की सफलता पर आदिमजातीय जनता का एक बड़ा सहारा ही नहीं मिल रहा वरन् वे इन पर ही अपने भावी सुख समृद्धि की प्यास बुझाने को उत्सुक हो उठे हैं। इन लोक-संस्थाओं ने आदिमजातीय सुयोग्य कार्यकर्ताओं द्वारा

स्वयं मार्ग दर्शन करते हुए इन्हें आर्थिक व्यावसायिक प्रगति के कार्यों में लगाया है। सहकारिता के प्रभाव से उनमें जो संगठन हो चला है, इससे बड़ी-बड़ी पूँजियों द्वारा वे व्यवसाय के क्षेत्र में उतरने लगे हैं और एकाधिकार वाले व्यवसायियों की लूट-खसोट से इन्हें धीरे-धीरे मुक्ति भी मिलने लगी है। बम्बई प्रदेश की भील सेवा मण्डल द्वारा फारेस्ट कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियों का काम जिन्होंने देखा भाला है उन्हें एक आश्चर्यजनक प्रगति की ओर अभिमुख हुए वे आदिमजातियाँ दीख पड़ती हैं। अन्यत्र भी सरकारी विभाग इन्हें इसी प्रकार विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में उतारने में कटिबद्ध दिखाई देते हैं। लोक संस्थाएँ भी सभी प्रांतों में इनका आर्थिक और व्यावसायिक क्षेत्र में प्रगति करने में इस समय जं-तोड़ कर लगने लगी हैं। कार्यकर्ता का अभाव भी सिर्फ इसकी प्रगति में बाधक दीख रहा है। आर्थिक प्रगति के बिना तो सर्वाङ्गीण विकास पूरा हो नहीं सकता। अतः शैक्षिक, सामाजिक, नैतिक और शारीरिक विकास के साथ ही साथ जब इसके ओर ही सबको दत्तचित्त हो जाना आवश्यक दीख रहा है।

इन लोक संस्थाओं ने स्त्री वर्ग के विकास की ओर भी समुचित ध्यान दे रखा है। प्रायः आदिमजातियों में यह एक कमी कतिपय स्थानों में पाई जाती थी। पुरुष समाज से कई गुना अधिक स्त्री समाज पिछड़ा हुआ था, परन्तु आश्रमोप पद्धति ने उन्हें शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में उतार कर धीरे-धीरे सर्वाङ्गीण विकास की ओर अभिमुख कर दिया है। आज वे भी पुरुषों के बराबर आगे बढ़ने का दावा रखती हैं। कई संस्थाओं ने इस क्षेत्र में अच्छा कार्य प्रारम्भ कर दिया है। राष्ट्र की विभिन्न राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं में वे शिक्षण अथवा

प्रशिक्षण लेकर कार्य क्षेत्रों में उतरने लगी हैं अथवा ले रही हैं। वे अग्रगामी समाज के साथ कन्धे से कन्धा लगाकर चलने की क्षमता भी रखने लगी हैं। आदिमजातियों पर इनकी प्रगति से भी लोक-संस्थाओं के प्रति एक आकर्षक प्रभाव पड़ रहा है।

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की स्थापना और उसके द्वारा उठाये गये कदमों ने तो न सिर्फ इन संस्थाओं को ही एक सूत्र में बाँध कर उनमें सामंजस्य स्थापित किया है, वरन् आदिमजातियों के उत्थान कार्य में केन्द्रीय और प्रान्तीय सरकारों को बहुत बड़ा मार्गदर्शन किया है। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ का अनुकरण कई संस्थाएँ भी करने लगी हैं और वे उसके कार्यों को काफी हलका भी करती जा रही हैं। आदिमजातीय लोकसंस्थाओं के पारस्परिक सम्मेलनों, शिविरों, प्रशिक्षणों, सेमिनारों आदि क्रिया कलापो से एक दूसरे के कार्यों में एक-रूपता आती है। समस्याओं का निराकरण होता है। कार्यकर्ताओं का निर्माण होता है। उनमें आगे आकर समाज सेवा करने का हौसला बढ़ता है। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के इस प्रयत्न ने

एक आश्चर्यजनक भारत व्यापी आदिमजाति कल्याण कार्य को बलशाली बना दिया है।

यह आशा ही नहीं पूर्ण विश्वास है कि कांग्रेस के १५ रचनात्मक कार्यों में आदिवासी सेवा यह पूज्य बापा का एक विशिष्ट कार्य था जिसे पूज्य ठुकर बापा ने अपने हाथों में रखा था, उन्होंने जिस पुनीत सेवा भावना से इसे प्रारम्भ कर आगे बढ़ाया उसका परिणाम आज इस अभूतपूर्व प्रगति के रूप में दिखाई दे रहा है। जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में आदिवासी जातियाँ समान स्तर पर आजायें उनमें पिछड़ापन न रह जाय यही बापू और बापा का लक्ष्य था। लोक संस्थाओं के त्यागमयी कर्म सेवा भावना से यह कार्य आगे बढ़ ही रहा था परन्तु सरकार के सहयोग और स्वयं ही इस कार्य में हाथ बढ़ा लेने से इसकी गति प्रशंसनीय हो उठी है। फिर भी सरकार ऐसी लोक संस्थाओं की जो विशुद्ध रूप से इस कार्य में ही तल्लीन हो रही हैं, यदि आर्थिक एवं अन्य सहायता जी खोलकर करती है और उनके मार्ग की अन्य बाधाओं को दूर करती है, तो निश्चित ही थोड़ी अवधि में ही हम अपने उद्देश्यों को पूर्ति कर सकेंगे।

APPENDICES

परिशिष्ट

APPENDIX I

MESSAGES

अखिल भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण कोरापुट सम्मेलन के लिये प्राप्त शुभ संदेश

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Vice-President of India* :

I hope the deliberations there will help to make the Adimjati members feel that they are an integral part of the great Indian community.

SHRI M. ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR, *Speaker, Lok Sabha* :

Wishes the Conference every success.

श्री मुरारजी देसाई,

मंत्री कामर्स और इन्डस्ट्रीज भारत सरकार

यहाँ कोरापुट में आदिमजातियों के कल्याण के प्रश्न को चर्चा के लिये एक परिषद् रखी गई है, यह बहुत आनन्द की बात है। आजादी प्राप्त करने के बाद देश के जंगल और पहाड़ों में बसे हुए हमारे पिछड़े हुए भाई-बहनों की उन्नति के लिये हम काफी प्रयास कर रहे हैं। कुदरत की गोद में रहने वाली ये जातियाँ आधुनिक युग के कई अनिष्टों से बच गयी हैं और अपनी निर्दोषता और स्वास्थ्य के बारे में हमसे बेहतर हैं। परन्तु विद्युत और ऐटम बम्ब के इस युग में कोई समाज अलग रह कर प्रगति नहीं कर सकता। सब को सुलौ बनाकर ही हम देश को सुलौ बना सकते हैं। इसलिये प्रथम यह पिछड़े हुए वर्ग की सेवा करके उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारनी चाहिये उनको अक्षर-ज्ञान और संस्कार की शिक्षा देनी चाहिये।

मुझे आशा है कि श्री देवरभाई और श्री पन्तजी के नेतृत्व में परिषद् इस महत्वपूर्ण कार्य में सरकारी और गैर सरकारी कार्यकर्ताओं का साफ मार्ग दर्शन करेगी। परिषद् के कार्य को अपनी ओर से शुभ-कामनाएँ भेजता हूँ और सफलता चाहता हूँ।

DR. PANJABRAO DESHMUGH, *Minister for Agriculture, Government of India* :

Wish Sammelan all success.

SHRI MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD, *Minister for Education Govt. of India* :

Has much pleasure in sending his good wishes for the success of the Conference.

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA, *Governor, Madhya Pradesh*.

My message for the Tribal Conference is that we must reconstruct the life of the tribals conformably to the ideals of the nation but without detriment to the primary culture of which they are the products. We must aim at evolving a scheme of studies—literary, social and technical, which would make all the population living in hills and forests patriotic citizens of India as a whole enriching their indigenous culture through contacts with the people on the plains and enriching also the culture of the plains by the culture of the tribes. I wish you success.

SHRI CHANDU LAL TRIVEDI, *Governor, Andhra Pradesh* :

Regret inability to attend. Wish Conference all success.

SHRI GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH, *Governor, Rajasthan* :

The holding of the Fourth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference at Koraput on

the 29th April under the distinguished Presidentship of Shri U.N. Dhebar is a befitting occasion for stock taking of the welfare work done by official and voluntary agencies and for drawing up plans for the future. The presence of our great leader, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, will be a source of great encouragement and inspiration to all.

In pursuance of the Directives of the Constitution of India, the Union and State Governments have been spending large sums of money for the welfare of the tribal people. Along with the official agencies we require a large number of trained social workers with a missionary zeal who can win their confidence, and, with the help of the anthropologists, study tribal culture, customs, dialects and Folk-lore.

In addition to what has been achieved by the various organisations, the work for the uplift of the Adivasis in the country has to be pursued with unabated vigour, so that no community in India may remain backward. Besides education, which has to be given priority, stress has to be laid on economic betterment, providing of medical facilities and construction of roads etc., to enable our people in the interior to get out of their seclusion.

I hope the holding of this conference will create a tempo for welfare and development work in the tribal areas all over India. I wish you a fruitful session and every success in this nation-building task of supreme importance.

—
SHRI BHIMSEN SACHAR, Governor, Orissa :

Sends his best wishes for the success of the Conference.

—

MRS. PADMAJA NAIDU, Governor, West Bengal :

Desires to convey her best wishes for the success of the Conference.

—
SHRI FAZL ALI, Governor, Assam :

The holding of the Fourth All India Tribal Conference at Koraput, Orissa, is a most welcome event which has been rendered possible largely through the devoted efforts of the Bharatiya Adim-jati Sevak Sangh.

While thanking the sponsors of the conference for the invitation they have so kindly extended to me, I deeply regret my inability to attend it, particularly since tribal welfare for me, has always been a question of abiding interest. There is perhaps no state in our country which has such a rich diversity of tribal peoples and cultures as Assam and I hope that Assam might be able to benefit from some of the suggestions that might be advanced as a result of the deliberations of this conference. I wish this conference every success and I hope that the programme of work that will emerge from its deliberations will go far towards promoting the welfare of the tribal people and imbuing them gradually with a sense of identity and unity with the other people of our country.

—
SHRI C.P.N. SINGH, Governor, Punjab :

I have great pleasure in sending my good wishes to the Fourth All India Tribal Welfare Conference which, I understand, is meeting in Orissa shortly.

With the attainment of independence by our country, there should be no section of its people which does not feel its full glow. The so-called backward

communities have, therefore, to be brought up to the required standard in all respects. I hope the deliberations of the Conference will be productive of useful results.

SHRI A.J. JOHN, *Governor, Madras :*

Coveys best wishes for the success of the Fourth All India Tribal Welfare Conference to be held at Koraput (Orissa) on 29th April 1957

SHRI YUVARAJ KARAN SINGH, *Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu & Kashmir:*

Wishes you every success.

SHRI BAJRANG BAHADUR SINGH BHADRI, *Lieut. Governor, Himachal Pradesh:*

Different sections of Indian population at present are in varying stages of backwardness. For the success of democracy, it is essential that all the backward sections are educated and economically looked after so that they are at par with their brethren elsewhere in all respects.

Tribal people in the country have colourful traditions and rich culture. They have since times immemorial lived in their own ways and the changing times had very little effect on them. Since independence the welfare of backward people in general and tribals in particular, has attracted special attention of the Indian Government. Measures for the amelioration of their socio-economic condition have, therefore, been increasingly undertaken. The tribal people have also responded encouragingly and co-operated satisfactorily in the cause of their many-sided development. The day is not far off when socially and economically they will be on the same footing as their other country-men.

Tribal Welfare Conferences have played a great part in increasing mutual understanding between the Government, social workers and the tribal people about the various problems facing them in the uplift of backward people. I am glad to learn that the Fourth All India Tribal Welfare Conference is being held at Koraput (Orissa) from 29th April to 1st May 1957, which I am sure, will be yet another landmark in the progress of tribal welfare work. I wish the Conference all success.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SUKHADIA, *Chief Minister, Rajasthan:*

I am glad to know that the Fourth All India Tribal Welfare Conference is being held at Koraput on 29th April 1957. It is a matter of gratification that the Conference will have the privilege of the sage advice and mature guidance of our esteemed leaders like Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and Shri U.N. Dhebar. We have launched a planned programme of all-round progress in its various aspects, be they cultural, social or economic. If any section of the people remains neglected, the desired progress of the entire nation will be handicapped. In the past due to many political considerations inherent in the foreign rule, our people in the tribal areas remained isolated from the currents of modern life and could not keep pace with their fellowmen of other comparatively advanced areas. The latter owe a sort of moral debt for the advancement of the people in the so-called tribal areas. We hope that gradually these distinctions will disappear and the people all over the country will work for and share in the common progress.

I wish the Conference all success.

SHRI BISHNURAM MEDHI, *Chief Minister, Assam:*

After attainment of independence the National Government at Centre and States is giving closest attention and taking effective steps for developing tribal areas and bringing essential amenities of progressive civilisation within reach of Tribal people. Removal of backwardness and provision of better living standards to simple and brave people of hills with their close co-operation are aims of present day administration. Only by our single minded devotion to service to our tribal people we can usher in welfare state envisaged by the Father of the Nation. I wish Conference all success.

SHRI SAMPURNANAND, *Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh:*

Sends his good wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI SARDAR PARTAP SINGH KAIRON, *Chief Minister, Punjab:*

I am glad to learn that the Fourth All India Tribal Welfare Conference is being held at Koraput (Orissa) on April 29, 1957, under the Presidentship of Shri U.N. Dhebar, Congress President. The improvement of the living conditions of the tribal people should be the first concern of all those who have the goodwill of the people of this country at heart. This benevolent work requires the concerted efforts of social workers, anthropologists, Government Officers and others interested in Tribal Welfare. I am sanguine that the deliberations of this Conference will go a long way in securing and promoting this noble cause.

I send my hearty greetings to you on this auspicious occasion.

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA, *Minister, Assam:*

Wishing Conference all success with fruitful deliberations.

SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA, *Minister for Social Welfare, Andhra Pradesh:*

I am delighted to note that the Fourth Tribal Conference to be held at Koraput will be inaugurated by Shri Govind Ballabh Pant under the presidentship of our Congress President Shri U.N. Dhebar. Much as I should like to be present, I regret my inability to do so due to engagements elsewhere. I wish the Conference all success.

SHRI RATUBHAI ADANI, *Minister, Bombay:*

Wish the Conference all success.

SHRI VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, *Chairman, Khadi & Village Industries Commission:*

I am grateful to the organisers of the Adimjati Conference for their kind invitation which I regret I am unable to accept being engaged elsewhere when the Conference is termed to meet. I am glad it is to meet in a tract which has now attracted attention from all over India. An attempt is being made to tackle the problems of rural life in Koraput on a comprehensive basis. The concentration of men and resources that Koraput has secured in the wake of Bhoodan campaign may not be available elsewhere in India. But both the approach to the problems and the planned manner on which an effort is being made to solve them have lessons for workers in the same field in other parts of the country. The conference provides valuable opportunity for such workers to study which I am sure

all concerned will take the fullest advantage

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH, *Chairman, University Grants Commission, New Delhi:*

Of all sections of the community, the Adimjatis deserve the most careful attention and the most generous assistance. Their transition from their own economic backwardness has to be brought about without loss of many valuable cultural qualities they have developed.

SHRI SWAMI SIVANANDA, *Rishikesh :*

Wish success Conference, aiming maximum service Adimjati, may Conference inspire people devote energies noble work. good wishes.

DR. P. PARIJA, *Vice Chancellor, Utkal University :*

Wishes all success to the Conference.

DR. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, *Director, Deptt. of Anthropology, Govt. of India.*

I wish your Conference all success.

DR. D. N. MAJUMDAR, *Head of the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University.*

When Missionaries and other friends of tribal people spoke about 'loss of nerves' among them, I had found a fund of vitality in tribal life, which I always considered possible to canalise for regeneration and growth. It is indeed a great achievement of the Government of our country and the Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh to have succeeded in galvanizing the latent vitality into action and aspirations. What is needed today, is to develop leadership among the tribes, so that they can put voice into the mouth of their own people, and it is

certain this voice will mingle with the voice of the people of the country, to usher in a society which will be the levellest of all levelled societies.

DR. J.D.N. VERSLUYS, *Dy. Director, UNESCO Research Centre, Calcutta.*

I wish the Conference every success.

SHRI SWAMI SITARAM, *Vinayashram.*

I wish and pray that complete success will crown your efforts in this direction. The Adimjati, in course of time, must forget that he is an Adimjati at all. He must feel that he is a full-fledged citizen of our Republic. The other citizens must give him scope to full self-expression. The Government may move slowly. But public opinion must advance far ahead of it.

In addition to the above, messages wishing the Conference all success were received from the following:

1. Shri N. Yaganti, Director of Social Welfare, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.
2. Shri R. S. Dhotre, Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi.
3. Shri B. Chatterjee, Executive Secretary, Indian Conference of Social Work, Bombay.
4. Shri Bimalaprasad Chaliha, President, Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, Gauhati.
5. Shri S.R. Bharatiya, Organising Secretary, All-India Seva Samiti, Allahabad.
6. Shri L.N. Sahu, Member, Servants of India Society, Cuttack.
7. Shri R. Mandeshwar Sarma, Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha, Kovvur.
8. Shri Sharda Charan Tiwari, M.L.A., Raipur.
9. Shri Chaturvedi, Raipur.
10. Shri P. G. Mavlankar, Pragati, Ahmedabad.

APPENDIX II

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH TRIBAL WELFARE
CONFERENCE HELD AT KORAPUT ORISSA

on 29th & 30th April & 1st May, 1957

Resolution No. 1:—Classification of Tribals

In view of the Constitutional provision under Article 339 for the appointment of a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States, this Conference requests the Government of India to finalise the criteria for the definition of the Scheduled Tribes from scientific point of view and make it easier for that Commission to revise the lists of Scheduled Tribes and evaluate the welfare schemes that have been undertaken since the commencement of the Constitution. This may be undertaken by carrying out random sample survey in various States. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh offers its whole-hearted co-operation in carrying out such surveys and gathering preliminary data that may be useful for that Commission.

Resolution No. 2:—Scheme of Life Members

The scheme of life members of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh founded on the principle of dedication and the service of the tribals on the basis of self-sacrifice, and submitted to the Conference may be thoroughly examined by a Committee of the following persons :-

- (i) Shri U.N. Dhebar
- (ii) Dr. H. N. Kunzru
- (iii) Shri P.G. Vanikar
- (iv) Shri Dharamdev Shastri
- (v) Shri L.M. Shrikant (Convenor)

Resolution No. 3:—Pilot Schemes

With a view to rendering immediate help to the Tribal people in those parts of the country where semi-starvation is

noticed as a normal feature because of the paucity of employment and intense economic backwardness, this Conference requests the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi to start a Pilot Scheme for the economic betterment of the tribal people in each area as early as possible and further requests that the Government of India may be approached for necessary funds for the purpose. The following Committee is appointed to prepare a scheme and supervise it :-

- (i) Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose
- (ii) Shri Manubhai Shah
- (iii) Shri L.M. Shrikant
- (iv) Shri R.S. Misra
- (v) Shri D.J. Naik

**Resolution No. 4 :— Social Education
Among Tribals**

In view of the discussion on the subject of Social Education among tribal people in the Conference held at Koraput (on the 30th April), it is resolved that suggestions be invited from anthropologists, educators and social workers interested or with experience in Tribal education, who may be requested to send in their suggestions (in the form of memoranda covering not more than ten typed pages) to the Secretary, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh. A date may be fixed for this purpose. These memoranda may then be placed before the Principal (Shri Anath Nath Basu) of the Central Institute of Education, Delhi and Shri Ramachandran, Principal, Gandhi Gram Vidyalaya who may be requested to study them and submit their report.

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ, दिल्ली द्वारा आयोजित चौथी आदिमजाति कल्याण परिषद में स्वीकृत प्रस्ताव

(२६, ३० अप्रैल व १ मई १९५७)

आदिमजातियों का वर्गीकरण

संविधान की धारा नं० ३३६ के अन्तर्गत अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में रहने वाले आदिमजातियों के कल्याण तथा शासन विषयक रिपोर्ट पेश करने के लिये बर्मीशन नियुक्त करने के प्रोविजन के अनुसार यह सम्मेलन भारत सरकार से प्रार्थना करता है कि आदिमजातियों के लक्ष्यों को शास्त्रीय आधार पर स्पष्ट करना तथा आदिमजातियों की जो सूची बनाई है उसमें संशोधन करना आसान हो, इस दृष्टि से आदिमजातियों की व्याख्या की जाय तथा संविधान के प्रारम्भ से ही जो कल्याणकारी योजनाएँ शुरू की गई हैं उनका मूल्यांकन किया जाय।

यह कार्य सब प्रदेशों का आकस्मिक आदर्श सर्वे द्वारा किया जा सकता है। भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ इस प्रकार के सर्वे करने में तथा प्राथमिक प्रकार की जानकारी का साहित्य बनाने में सक्रिय सहयोग दे सकेगा।

आजीव सेवक

भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ की आजीव सेवकों की योजना जो कि त्याग तथा आदिम जनों की सेवा के तत्वों पर आधारित है, कान्फ्रेंस को भेजी गई। इस योजना की उप समिति द्वारा समग्र जाँच करनी चाहिये। इसलिये निम्न लोगों की उप-समिति नियुक्त की गई—

- (१) श्री यू० एन० डेबर
- (२) डा० एच० एन० कुँजर
- (३) श्री पी० जी० वर्णीकर
- (४) श्री धर्मदेव शास्त्री
- (५) श्री एल० एम० श्रीकान्त (संयोजक)

अगुवा योजना (Pilot Scheme)

आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में अर्थोपार्जन के साधन के अभाव में तथा क्षेत्र के आर्थिक पिछड़ेपन की वजह से जहाँ आदिवासियों को सर्व साधारण अर्थ पेट रहना पड़ता है, ऐसे आदिवासियों को तात्कालिक सहायता पहुँचाने के लिये कान्फ्रेंस भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ से प्रार्थना करती है कि हर एक क्षेत्र में आदिवासी सुधार करने के लिये एक अग्रिम योजना शुरू की जानी चाहिये तथा यह कान्फ्रेंस आगे प्रार्थना करती है कि इस अग्रिम योजना का चलाने के लिये आवश्यक धन के लिये आदिमजाति सेवक संघ, भारत सरकार को लिखे। निम्नलिखित लोगों की समिति यह योजना बनाने तथा उस पर नियन्त्रण करने के लिये नियुक्त की गई—

- (१) प्रा० निर्मल कुमार बोस
- (२) श्री मनुभाई मेहता
- (३) श्री एल० एम० श्रीकान्त
- (४) श्री र० शं० मिश्रा
- (५) श्री डॉ० जे० नाथक

आदिवासियों में सामाजिक शिक्षा

आदिवासियों में सामाजिक शिक्षा के विषय की चर्चा के बीच यह निर्णय किया गया कि नृवंश शास्त्रियों, शिक्षकों तथा समाज सेवकों से जो इस कार्य में दिलचस्पी ले रहे हैं, प्रार्थना की जाय कि वे अपने सुभाव आदिमजाति सेवक संघ के पास भेजें। सुभाव मंगाने के लिये एक तिथि निर्दिष्ट की जाय। यह स्मृति पत्र बाद में प्रिंसिपल सेन्ट्रल इन्स्टिट्यूट ऑफ एज्युकेशन दिल्ली तथा श्री रामचन्द्रन्, प्रिंसिपल गांधी ग्राम विद्यालय के पास विचारार्थ भेजे जायें। उन्हें प्रार्थना की जावे कि वह स्मृति पत्र पढ़ कर अपनी रिपोर्ट शीघ्र भेजें।

APPENDIX III

**LIST OF DELEGATES & VISITORS WHO
ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE**

*a) Executive Committee Members of the
Central Sangh :*

1. Shri L.M. Shrikant, New Delhi.
2. Shri U.N. Dhebar, Delhi.
3. Shri L.N. Rao, Secunderabad.
4. Shri Dharam Dev Shastri, Delhi.
5. Shri D.J. Naik, Dohad.
6. Shri P.G. Vanikar, Raipur.
7. Shri N.M. Wadiwa, Chhindwara.
8. Shri N.V. Bapat, Chhindwara.
9. Shri R.S. Misra, Sarsa.
10. Shri Bhayya Ram Munda, Khunti.
11. Shri D. Rangaiya, Delhi.
12. Shri R.K. Yardey.

(b) Delegates from Affiliated Institutions :

1. Shri S.R. Bhise, Bombay.
2. Shri R.L. Shinde, Bombay.
3. Shri L.D. Mahajan, Bombay.
4. Shri Dev Kant Thakkar, Bhopal.
5. Shri Kam Mohan Trivedi, Bhopal.
6. Shri Ram Dayal Srivastav, Bhopal.
7. Shri B.K. Patel, Vedchhi.
8. Shri S.M. Neaksatkhan, Vedchhi.
9. Shri M.P. Mahato, Gosaindih.
10. Shri P.G. Shah, Gujerat.
11. Shri Swami Yoganandgiri, Sakti Ashram.
12. Shri A.C. Brahma, Sakti Ashram.
13. Shri Balramdas, Ghatshila.
14. Shri J.K. Dindod, Dohad.
15. Shri Lalchand Ninama, Dohad.
16. Shri Ram Charan Das, Gaubati.
17. Shri Ramaswami Adigal, Coonoor.
18. Shri S.S. Rajan, Coonoor.
19. Shri Dasan, Coonoor.
20. Shri G.P. Masram, Yeotmal.
21. Shri N.P. Mokashe, Yeotmal.

22. Shri Lal Hembrom, Dumka.
23. Shri Paika Murmu, Dumka.
24. Shri G.P. Walvi, Nandurbar.
25. Shri H.G. Shah, Nandurbar.
26. Shri V. Raghaviah, Nellore.
27. Shri V. Gopalakrishna Murthi Nellore.,
28. Shri Lal Naik, Nellore.
29. Shri K.V.N. Apparao, Kovvur.
30. Shri A.K. Patro, Kovvur.
31. Shri K. Matsyalu, Kovvur.
32. Shri G.S. Dalmia, Deoghar.
33. Shri P.C. Kisku, Deoghar.
34. Shri D.P. Gurgutea,
35. Shri D.M. Bidkar, Nasik.
36. Shri Ranga Kumbattan, Secunderabad.
37. Shri S.S. Misra, Secunderabad.
38. Shri K. Radhakrishnan, Kozhikode.
39. Shri K.N.V. Nambisan, Rayagada.
40. Shri Ch. Sitaramswami, Rayagada.
41. Shri Thami, Rayagada.
42. Dr. B.H. Mehta, Chhindwara.
43. Shri Sukumar Pagare, Imphal.
44. Shri S.L. Lune, Imphal.
45. Shri J.K. Barua, Imphal.
46. Shri Jnyanarayan, Angul.
47. Shri Profulla Kumar Sahu, Angul.
48. Shri Aditya Pratap Singh, Chhindwara.
49. Shri Janakiramrao, Nellore.
50. Shri N.D. Majumdar, Calcutta.
51. Shri Bhayyaram Munda, Ranchi.
52. Shri J.G. Natawadkar, Nandurbar.
53. Shri Kulmani Mahapatra, Keonjhar.
54. Shri Chandubhai Patel, Baroda.
55. Shri Sriramulu, Hyderabad.
56. Shri Natwar Thakkar, Chuchuyinlang.

(c) *Visitors from Affiliated Institutions :*

1. Shri G.M. Korkil, Bombay.
2. Shri L.M. Chitre, Bombay.
3. Shri H.D. Rout, Bombay.
4. Smt. Shakuntala Bai, Indore.
5. Smt. Hireben L. Ninama, Dohad.
6. Shri Narsinhbhai Hathilal, Dohad.
7. Smt. Malati Chowdhry, Angul.
8. Dr. S.N. Dass, Gauhati.
9. Shri A.K. Mottan, Coonoor.
10. Shri Geddan, Coonoor.
11. Shri P. Irian, Coonoor.
12. Shri Kalyan Lakshman Rajgond, Yeotmal.
13. Shri Sukha Hansdah, Dumka.
14. Shri T. Sambayya, Nellore.
15. Shri G.E. Bahadur, Nellore.
16. Shri P. Veeraiyya, Nellore.
17. Shri Bodnaik Modans, Kovvur.
18. Shri Pangi Ramudora, Kovvur.
19. Shri Bonda Ramanna, Kovvur.
20. Shri Sitaram Sayaji Bhoys, Nasik.
21. Shri N.B. Dixit, Nasik.
22. Shri P.R. Raman, Rayagada.
23. Shri Apparo, Rayagada.
24. Shri Kawanthan, Rayagada.
25. Shri Marskoley, Chhindwara.
26. Shri P.L. Vinode, Chhindwara.
27. Kumari Sbalini Bapat, Chhindwara.
28. Shri D.B. Gawit, Nandurbar.
29. Shri K. Ajjan, Secunderabad.
30. Shri P. I. Raghavan, Secunderabad.
31. Shri Babulal Mittal, Angul
32. Shri Ratan Das, Angul.
33. Shri Mohamed, Angul.
34. Shri K. Venkayya

(d) *Anthropologists, Government Officers & Social Workers :*

1. Dr. B.S. Guha, Ranchi.
2. Shri P. G. Shah, Bombay.
3. Shri G.N. Das, Bhubaneshwar.
4. Shri T.C. Das, Calcutta.
5. Shri K.K. Leuva, Ranchi.
6. Shri T. Sanganna, Rayagada.

7. Shri Anna Sabeb Sabasrabudhe.
8. Shri Pandit Patankar, Koraput.
9. Shri Nityanand Patnaik,
Bhubaneshwar.
10. Shri K.R. Datey, Jeypore.
11. Shri A.K. Ray, Orissa.
12. Shri F. Bahadur, Jaipur.
13. Shri B.R. Desai.
14. Shri R.N. Rahul.
15. Dr. T.B. Naik, Chhindwara.
16. Shri Somanath Mishra, D.C., Koraput.
17. Shri Gurupad Parida, Cuttack.
18. Smt. E.K. Janaki Ammal, Lucknow.
19. Shri S.N. Sinha, Bihar.
20. Shri Ramanuja Chari, Director,
T.W., M.P.
21. Shri S.K. Kaul, Delhi.
22. Shri Janki Prasad Pant, P.S. to
Shri G.B. Pant.
23. Shri Nageswar Rao, Orissa.
24. Shri P.C. Dave, Baroda.
25. Mrs. Bhanot, P.S. to Commissioner
for S.C. & S.T.
26. Shri Ambalal Vyas, Bhubaneshwar.
27. Shri Swayamjog, Bastar.
28. Shri S.S. Chakravarti, Bombay.
29. Miss J. Contract, Bombay.
30. Mrs. M. Hembrau, Bombay.
31. Shri J.M. Malkani, Rajkot.
32. Shri S.V. Malkani, Rajkot.
33. Shri B. Lakra, Ranchi.
34. Rev. Thomas Tirkey, Ranchi.
35. Shri Shyam Manohar, Chhindwara.
36. Shri Gaddan.
37. Shri S.R. Madavi.
38. Shri Shashi Iyer.
39. Shri Jagat Baudhu Mahapatra, Orissa.
40. Shri Kalyanam, Asstt. Com., Madras.
41. Rev. T. Whyte, Ranchi
42. Shri Rajendra, 'Trushit', Nagpur.
43. Shri S.R. Venkatraman, Madras.
44. Shri J.H. Chinchalkar, Delhi.
45. Dr. Sushila Nayar, Delhi.
46. Shri M.P. Kalla, Jaipur.
47. Shri Roop Singh Bhil, Jaipur
48. Shri S.L. Joshi, Jaipur.

49. Mr. Bhatnagar, Delhi.
 50. Shri Ram Chand, Delhi.
 51. Shri Bishvar Nath, Cuttack.
 52. Shri S.B. Chaudhry, Berhampur.
 53. Shri A. Subba Rao, Berhampur.
 54. Shri B.M. Krishna, Delhi.
 55. Shri M.K. Patro, Cuttack.
 56. Shri Patki P.A. to Shri U.N. Dhebar, Delhi.
 57. Shri Chagganlal Joshi, Delhi.
 58. Shri Kulkarni, Social Welfare, Delhi.
 59. Shri Bakshi Patro, Rayagada.
 60. Shri Adhikari, Delhi.
 61. Shri Navan Patnis.
 62. Shri Bose, Calcutta.
 63. Shri Malu Sant, Koraput.
 64. Shri G. Satyanarayan, Hyderabad.
 65. Shri P. Tyagarajulu, Kakinada.
 66. Shri Choudhry, Raipur.
 67. Shri S. Tripathi, Naurangpur.
 68. Shri J.N. Misra, Cuttack.
 69. Shri Miru, Dabugaon.
 70. Shri Mohan Naik, M.P.
 71. Shri M.R. Sarmandal, Indore.
 72. Shri D.P. Misra, Puri.
 73. Shri A.C. Das, Puri.
 74. Shri J.K. Raut, Cuttack.
 75. Shri J.K. Das, Gaujam.
 76. Shri B.K. Misra, Phulbani.
 77. Shri A. Naik, Kalahandi.
 78. Shri N.C. Saraf, Bolangin.
 79. Shri S.N. Mahapatra, Koraput.
 80. Shri B.B. Misra, Koraput.
 81. Shri J.N. Misra, Sambalpur.
 82. Shri J. Mahapatra, Bhubaneswar.
 83. Shri V.K. Rao, Chhindwara.
 84. Shri S.L. Doshi, Raipur.
 85. Shri Kishori Dongre, Jabalpur.
-