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

# रिपोर्ट
## पांचवाँ आदिम जाति कल्याण सम्मेलन, बोर्डी (बम्बई)

Bordi (Dist. Thana) Bombay

12th, 13th & 14th January, 1959

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# FIFTH TRIBAL WELFARE CONFERENCE, BORDI
## (Dist. Thana) BOMBAY
## 12th, 13th & 14th January 1959

*Inauguration by*
DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD,
President of India.

*Ashirvad by*
SHRI GOBIND BALLABH PANT,
Minister of Home Affairs, Government of India.

*President of the Conference*
SHRI VAIKUNTH LAL MEHTA,
Chairman of Khadi & V.I. Commission, Bombay.

*Opening of the Exhibition by*
SHRI SRI PRAKASH,
Governor of Bombay.

*Chairman of Social Welfare Section*
SHRI JUGATRAM DAVE,
Secretary, Swarajya Ashram, Vedchhi.

*Chairman of Anthropology Section*
DR. B.H. MEHTA,
Head of the Department of Tribal Welfare,
Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

*Chairman of Tribal Representatives Section*
SHRI WILLIAMSON SANGMA,
Minister of Tribal Affairs, Shillong (Assam).

### Reception Committee

*Chairman :*
SHRI SHANTILAL SHAH,
Minister for Law and Labour, Bombay.

*Secretaries :*
SHRI S.R. BHISE
SHRI H.G. PATIL
SHRI D.N. WANDREKAR

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INSPIRATION

प्रेरणा

**LATE SHRI THAKKAR BAPA**

*Founder B.A.J. Sevak Sangh*

स्व. पूज्य ठक्कर बापा

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Fifth Tribal Welfare Conference was held at Bordi under the auspices of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi on the 12th, 13th and 14th January 1959. As usual, the addresses delivered at the Conference, the papers submitted etc. are printed in this volume. The Conference was held in an area where several experiments like Sarvodaya, Ashram Schools, Forest Co-operative Societies, agricultural farms etc. are being successfully tried among the tribals with the help of Bombay Government, by tried and selfless workers. Naturally therefore it has attracted a large number of delegates and social workers from different States of India. Added to it, it was inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India and presided over by Shri V.L. Mehta, the pioneer in constructive work at the present day. Shri Gobind Ballabh Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, Govt. of India, in spite of old age and other heavy responsible work attended the Conference and gave his blessings to it. Shri Shantilal Shah, Minister for Law and Labour, Govt. of Bombay was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Shri Sri Prakash, the Governor of Bombay has kindly inaugurated the Exhibition held in connection with the conference. The Conference was well attended and about 10,000 tribals from the surrounding areas were present.

The Conference was, as usual, divided into three sections, (1) Social Welfare (2) Anthropology and (3) Tribal Representatives, which were presided over by Shri Jugatram Dave of Vedchhi (Surat Distt.) Dr. B.H. Mehta of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay and Shri Williamson Sangma, Minister, Tribal Welfare, Assam, respectively. The Conference may, without any exaggeration, be said to be a thorough success.

The report contains 40 articles contributed by Social Workers, Anthropologists and Government Officers, all experienced in tribal work. They have been classified under the three sections and deal with the subjects covering each of them, as given below :—

(1) Social Welfare Section.

- (*a*) *Sarvodaya* :—(1) Scheme of Bombay (2) Scheme of Sarva Seva Sangh
- (*b*) Development of Scheduled Areas under Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks (27 lakhs Scheme for each block for 5 years)
- (*c*) Intensive Development Scheme (Khadi Commission).

(2) Anthropology Section.

- (*a*) Right approach to the process of assimilation, integration and acculturation of Tribals.

(3) Tribal Representatives Section.

(a) Tribal welfare in general.

The report is divided into six parts. Part 1 contains the addresses of the President of India, the President of the Conference and the Chairmen of the three sections. Parts 2, 3 and 4 contain the articles submitted and classified under the above three sections. Part 5 gives the reports of the three Sections submitted to the open Conference. Part 6 contains three appendices giving the resolutions passed at the Conference, the messages received and the lists of delegates and visitors.

The Conference proceedings were conducted in three separate sections, sitting simultaneously under the chairmanship of the respective chairmen and discussions were held therein separately. On account of the limited time at the disposal of the Conference, only selected papers could be read. We regret that for want of facilities the discussions could not be published verbatim.

We offer our sincere and heartfelt thanks to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Gobind Ballabh Pant, Shri Sri Prakash, Shri V.L. Mehta, Shri Shantilal Shah and the Chairmen of the three sections, who have been kind enough to accede to the request of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and participate in the deliberations of the Conference in different capacities. We take this opportunity of expressing our deepfelt thanks to Shri S. R. Bhise, Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Conference and his band of workers and volunteers who have contributed to its success.

The Bombay State Government have helped us in many ways by giving grant and otherwise and our thanks are due to them also.

We are extremely grateful to the writers of the articles who have by their contributions given material for discussions at the Conference.

*Dated : 11th August, 1959.*

PART 1

# Inaugural Address

AND

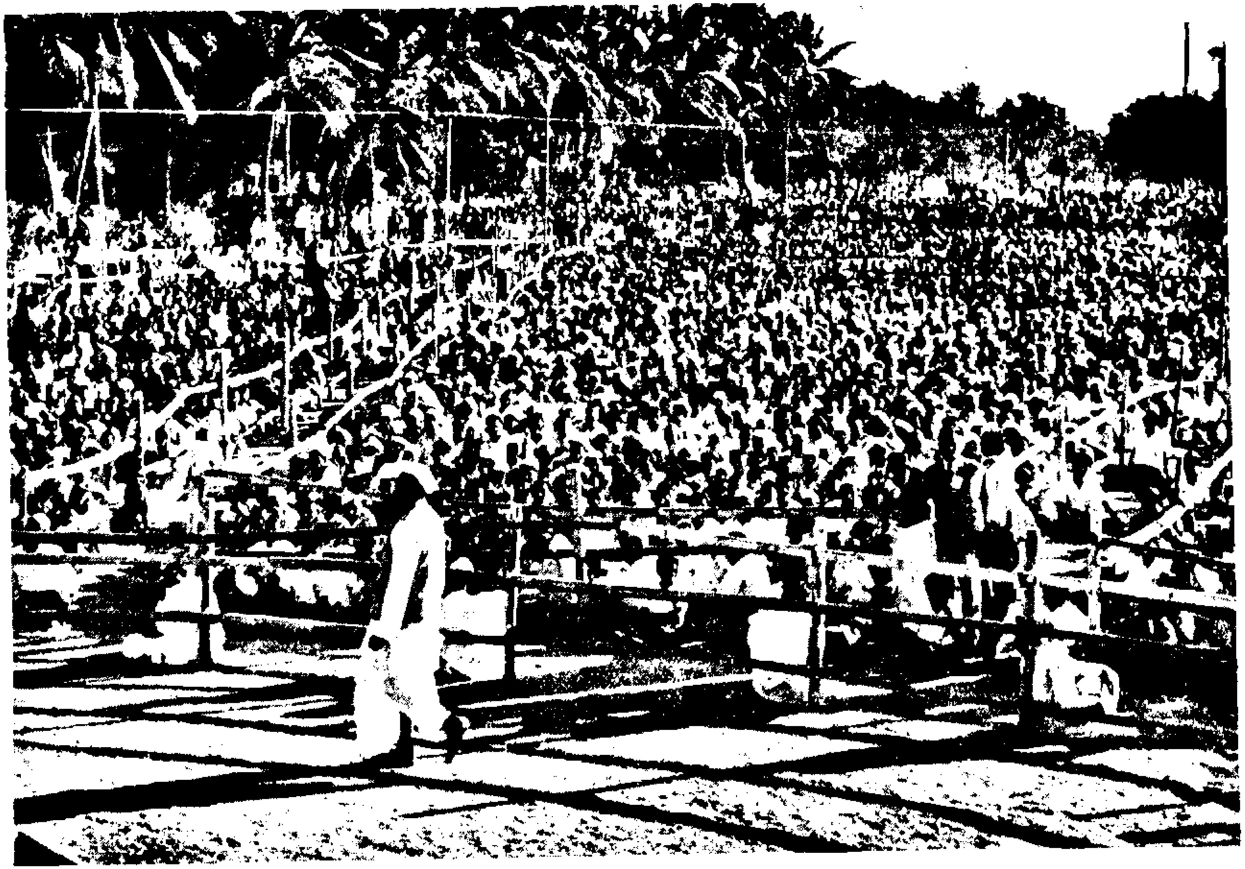
# Other Addresses

भाग पहिला

# उद्घाटन भाषण

और

# अन्य भाषण



A view of the Inauguration Function of the Conference.
आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन के उद्घाटन का एक दृश्य

# WELCOME SPEECH

**by**

**Shri SHANTILAL H. SHAH,**

**Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Fifth Tribal Welfare Conference delivered on 12th January, 1959 at Bordi (Thana Dist.).**

Rashtrapatiji and Friends,

On behalf of the Government, the people and especially the Adiwasis of Bombay State, I accord you a cordial welcome to this 5th Tribal Welfare Conference held in the picturesque village of Bordi.

Bordi is a small village in the Scheduled area of Thana District close to the City of Bombay. It is noted for its fruit orchards, whose Chiku fruits are well known all over India. It has also attained a reputation as the first rural education centre in this State. Further, as it is situated in the Adiwasi area, Bordi and its surroundings have become centres for manifold activities amongst the Adiwasis. Near about are functioning a few forest labourers' co-operatives. At Kosbad, on the other side of the Railway line, has cropped up a rural university with a Balwadi training centre, an Ashram School, an Agricultural School and a Sarvodaya Vidyalaya. Further up round about Kasa is the Sarvodaya Project covering about forty villages and carrying on all-round development of the people there. At Talwada, there is a fully developed Ashram School, with 80 boys and 80 girls and a medical unit. The credit for all these activities goes to the late Shri Bal Gangadhar Kher, the first Chief Minister of the Bombay State, who was deeply moved by the appalling destitution and ignorance of the Adiwasis inhabiting the jungle areas of the Thana District and who founded the Adiwasi Seva Mandal nineteen years back for serving these jungle-folks. I happen to be one of the early members of that Mandal.

It will not be inappropriate if I say something about the Adiwasis of Bombay State and what the State has done for them. The Adiwasi population of the re-organised State of Bombay is 42 lakhs. It was 32 lakhs in the former Bombay State. The problem of the Adiwasis is their isolation or segregation from the rest of the society living as they do in far off and inaccessible jungle tracts. The result is that they still lead a primitive life of their own and as compared to others have remained backward in all respects. But this does not mean that there are no good sides to their life. They have their own culture, their social system, their moral code, their philosophy of life and death. Good care is being taken both by the Government and the social service organisations to see that the good points in the way of life—both individual and collective—are maintained and developed.

Bombay State is fortunate in having a number of social service organisations working for the cause of the Adiwasis all over its jungle areas. It was in 1928 that the late Thakkar Bapa started the first organisation of this kind in the Panch Mahals District and about ten life workers made their homes amongst the Bhils of that district. Thakkar Bapa's example was an inspiration to others and gradually ten such organisations came into existence in the ten jungle districts of the State. These organisations have opened Ashrams in the midst of the jungle areas for carrying on different activities—social, economic, educational and cultural—amongst the Adiwasis. Through these Ashrams there are at present working about 500 Sevaks or workers, more than half of whom are from amongst the Adiwasis.

One of the special activities of those bodies is the organisation of forest labourers' co-operatives started to free the Adiwasis from the exploitation by forest contractors. Government recognised the desirability of the association of these bodies with this movement and entrusted the same to them from the very beginning. Their task is not only to organise such co-operatives and conduct their affairs in the initial stages but to train up workers from amongst the Adiwasis so that in due course the co-operatives are managed by the Adiwasis themselves. Up to 1956-57, 276 such co-operatives were started with a membership of nearly 43,000 and with reserve and other funds to the tune of Rs. 40 lakhs. That year they got 331 jungle coupes for working and paid Rs. 63 lakhs as the price to the Government. In addition to wages, cartage, etc., which the members earned and which ran into a few lakhs, these co-operatives made a net profit of Rs. 34 lakhs, of which 50 per cent went to the Government as its share. The co-operatives have on their roll about 1,700 people holding responsible posts. Out of them 1,200 are Adiwasis. This will show how the objective is being achieved.

That the Government is keenly alive to the part that the social service organisations play in the all-sided advancement of the Adiwasis will also be seen from the fact that when the Government decided in 1948-49 to start Sarvodaya projects, one in each district, in memory of Mahatma Gandhi, it was decided to entrust this work to a responsible social worker, representing such an organisation. The project is meant for intensive work in an area covering about 30 to 60 villages with a backward economy or inhabited mostly by backward people like the Adiwasis. Out of the total number of 40 projects 10 have been operating in the jungle areas of the State each with a budget of about Rs. 60,000 per year. The activities of these projects are (1) education, (2) agricultural improvement, (3) cottage industries and co-operation, (4) health and hygiene, (5) communications, (6) water supply and (7) social amenities. The idea underlying the Sarvodaya activities is to bring about equality—social, political and economic and the establishment of a new order of society, an ambitious task indeed. These projects are a sort of an experiment in this direction.

Yet one more activity entrusted to these social service agencies is the

starting of Ashram Schools. The objective underlying these schools is to create a new type of leadership amongst the Adiwasis, a leadership devoted to the uplift and advancement of these people in various fields. Pupils are admitted to these schools at the age of 7 and are given an intensive course in basic education with a special bias in favour of agriculture for a period of seven years. The number of pupils per school is restricted to 120. These are residential schools with equal number of boys and girls. Self-reliance and self-sufficiency is their motto. Each school has attached to it a farm of atleast 10 acres of land with water facilities for irrigation. The farms are worked by boys and girls with the help of a few grown-ups in the initial stages. Other crafts like spinning, weaving and carpentry are also taught in the higher classes. The pupils thus produce their own food, clothing and other requirements. These schools were first started in 1953-54 and the first batch will be completing its seven years in 1959-60. Government is already considering what arrangements can be made for the higher training of those passing out of these schools. So far, about 50 such schools have been started and their development is progressing satisfactorily. These are some of the special activities carried on in this State through the social service agencies. We would have been delighted to take you round and show some of them to you. We must however be content with making a mention of them while welcoming you.

The Government of Bombay took up the cause of the Adiwasis in 1928 when it appointed the State Committee to study their conditions and suggest measures of amelioration. The measures recommended by the Committee were accepted by the Government and arrangements for their implementation were duly made. A special department for backward class welfare was created for this purpose as also a separate port-folio under a minister in the popular cabinet after attainment of independence. More committees followed as different problems came to light. With the acceptance of their recommendations many more schemes had to be launched including introduction of free and compulsory primary education in certain selected areas. With the undertaking of these responsibilities the financial liability of the Government began to grow heavier every year. Detailed figures about the Government's expenditure will be tiresome. However, I may only mention that in addition to the ordinary expenses, Government spent a sum of Rs. 1 crore 28 lakhs during the First Five Year Plan over different activities for the welfare of the Adiwasis. A provision of nearly Rs. 2 crores has been made in the Second Five Year Plan and sums are being spent according to the Plan. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not mention the substantial financial help that the Central Government has been rendering to this State for all its schemes. The contribution from the Centre has been more than 50 per cent.

Special mention must be made of the Multi-purpose Development Blocks sponsored by the Central Government. These are similar to the Sarvodaya Projects and Community Development Blocks. The only special point is that they are restricted to the Scheduled

Areas and each of them covers about 50 villages with a total population of about 25,000, mostly Adiwasis. Seven such Blocks have been started in this State. Work in these Blocks which began two years ago, has now got a momentum. The total amount that will be spent in five years is Rs. 27 lakhs per Block. The work in these Blocks is of an intensive all round type reaching every village or even every family. The main emphasis is on rousing local initiative and enthusiasm for advancement and provision of amenities for a better life. The Block Officer is the Deputy Collector but there is under him an Assistant Block Officer to carry out the work on the spot. He is generally an experienced social worker. The progress in all Blocks has been satisfactory.

The work done so far both by the Government and the social service agencies has done much in raising the general level as well as the standard of living of the Adiwasis. But it cannot be said that their problems of poverty and ignorance have yet been solved. Their main occupation is agriculture. Some of them do own some land. But they have not sufficient resources to cultivate the land properly. The land they have is in most cases not very fertile, without irrigation facilities, nor is the area sufficient, with the result that the one crop they get in the rains is not sufficient to last them for the year. Others have been cultivating as tenants their own lands gone into the hands of the Saokars. The tenants were an exploited class before the tenancy legislation of this State was passed. Under the Tenancy Acts their exploitation has ceased and they are now on the way again to become masters or holders of the land they till. Whether owners or tenants, they do not get sufficient employment on the land they till throughout year. There is also a big landless class, which has to depend on agricultural labour for their living. Their condition is appalling. Even in the vicinity of Bordi they occasionally have to subsist on roots, tubers, wild fruits and edible leaves for nearly two months during the rainy season when they have no work. This problem of giving them full employment for the whole year is a hard one to tackle.

Forest work is their secondary occupation. But this gives work to only about 75,000 people and that too for about three months in a year. What the forest labourers' co-operatives have done is to stop their exploitation by the forest contractors. These co-operatives have given them additional employment. With a view to provide some additional employment, the Government has decided to give them small contracts for public works like roads and buildings. Some of the co-operatives have been taking up these works and thus giving some additional employment to their members. But it is not substantial enough to meet the problem.

Something is being done to teach them new crafts and help them in starting small industries. But the efforts in this direction have proved either unsuccessful or inadequate. One of the problems to be tackled by this Conference is this one, viz. under-employment. Unless it is solved there cannot be a real improvement in their living conditions. The President of this

Conference Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta has devoted his life to the cause of co-operation and village industries. He is at present the Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. Let me hope he will give the Conference a right lead in this matter. We also expect that the Commission will sponsor special schemes for the Adiwasis looking to the peculiar nature of their economic problem and also their mental make-up. You, Sir, have been taking special interest in the cause of the Adiwasis specially of your home State, Bihar. You are the President of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, an All-India organisation for the welfare of the Adiwasis. You are fully conversant with their problems and have been doing your bit in solving them. I am sure your example will be an inspiration to all of us to serve the cause so dear to your heart and help our Adiwasi brethren to attain their full growth as free citizens of a free country.

Sir, I now request you to inaugurate the Conference.

# आदिवासी परिषद् के उद्घाटन समारोह के अवसर पर
# राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद का भाषण

राज्यपाल महोदय श्री वैकुण्ठ भाई, श्री पन्त जी, भाइयो और बहिनों !

मैं समझता हूँ कि इस परिषद का बहुत बड़ा महत्व इसलिये है कि यहाँ हम प्रतिवर्ष कहीं न कहीं आदिवासी क्षेत्र में इकट्ठे होकर सारे देश में आदि-वासियों के लिये किस तरह से काम किया जा रहा है और आगे क्या होना चाहिये इस पर विचार किया करते हैं। पिछले वर्षों में दूसरे प्रान्तों में आदि-वासी क्षेत्रों में परिषद हुई थी। इस बार इस इलाके में जहाँ कई वर्षों से बहुत ही खूबी के साथ काम होता आ रहा है, वहाँ हम इकट्ठे हुये हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि दूसरे प्रान्तों के कार्यकर्ता भी आज यहाँ उपस्थित हैं और वो देखेंगे कि किस तरीके से यहाँ का काम आज तक हुआ है। और किस तरह से आगे काम होगा।

मुझे याद है कि कई वर्ष पहले जब श्री बाला साहब खेर यहां मुख्य मन्त्री थे, मुझे एक स्थान पर ले गये थे जहाँ जङ्गलों का काम आदिवासियों के द्वारा चलाने का प्रबन्ध था। तब काम थोड़े ही दिनों से शुरू हुआ था। मगर उसी में कुछ अन्दाज मिल जाता था कि यह काम किस तरह आगे बढ़ेगा। और इसलिये आज जो रिपोर्ट अभी बताई गई उससे मुझे और भी अधिक संतोष हुआ कि जो आशा उस समय बन्धी थी वह आशा पूरी हो रही है और काम तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रहा है।

आदिवासियों का काम भारतवर्ष के एक हिस्से से दूसरे हिस्से तक एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक फैला हुआ है। और यद्यपि आज जैसा आपने कहा हजारों लोग इस काम में लगे हुये हैं मगर तब भी अभी इस काम का इतना विस्तार नहीं हो पाया है जितना होना चाहिये। और उस का एक मुख्य कारण यह है कि हमारे पास योग्य कार्यकर्त्ता काफी तादात में नहीं मिलते। और योग्य कार्यकर्त्ता के अभाव में काम आगे बढ़ाना कठिन हो जाता है। मेरे ध्यान में इस वक्त भारतवर्ष के कई हिस्से हैं जहाँ आदिवासियों की संख्या बहुत है। और जहां का काम जितना विस्तार होना चाहिये अभी उस तरह नहीं हो पाया है। मेरे सामने खास कर के आसाम का हिस्सा है जहाँ के आदिवासियों की संख्या वहाँ की जनसंख्या के अनु-पात में मैं समझता हूँ शायद सभी प्रान्तों से ज्यादा है। और यों भी वहाँ काफी तादात में वह बसते हैं। उनमें भी इस तरीके से वे लोग बसे हुये हैं कि जहाँ पहुंचना कठिन है। जङ्गल, पहाड़ और नदी तीनों के कारण से वे एक दूसरे से अलग भी हैं और बाहर का आदमी कोई जाना चाहे तो उसको कठिनाई बहुत महसूस होती है।

तो वहां एक तरह का काम है। दूसरा मैं समझता हूँ कि अब सबसे अधिक आदिवासियों की संख्या मध्यप्रदेश में है। मध्यप्रदेश बस्तर से लेकर और आपके इस सूबे की सरहद तक फैला हुआ है और आदिवासियों की बस्ती भी सारे सूबे में फैली हुई है। उनमें भी कुछ आदिवासी बहुत हद तक दूसरों के साथ हिल मिल गये हैं। बहुत बातों में दूसरों की समानता में आ गये हैं। और बहुतेरे ऐसे हैं जो बहुत बातों में औरों से बहुत ही अलग हैं। और यों आज भी बहुत सी ऐसी प्रथाएँ रखते हैं बहुत से ऐसे तौर तरीके उनमें आज भी चल रहे हैं कि जिनको वे लोग भी शायद चाहेंगे कि अब सुधार किया जाय।

तो यह काम किसी एक प्रदेश का नहीं। न किसी एक संस्था द्वारा पूरा किया जा सकता है। यह काम इतना बड़ा है कि जिसके लिये प्रत्येक प्रदेश में संस्थायें विकसित हो। जहाँ जहाँ काम करने का क्षेत्र हो सभी जगहों पर उनकी शाखायें हो, और शाखाओं में काफी तादात में काम करने वाले हों, तभी यह काम पूरा हो सकता है। फिर शिक्षा का काम है। उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति भी अच्छी नहीं उसको भी उठाना है। उनमें बीमारियां विशेष करके कौढ़ की बीमारी बहुत कुछ फैली हुई है। और सबसे अधिक बात तो यह है कि बहुत जगहों में वे खेती का काम भी पूरी तरह से या न तो करना चाहते हैं या न करने पाते हैं, या न करना जानते हैं। तो उनकी अगर किसी तरह से उन्नति हो सके तो वह केवल उनके लिये ही नहीं बल्कि इससे सारे देश को लाभ पहुंचेगा। और सारे देश के लिये उनको इस स्थिति में ला देना कि उनको भी न अन्न का कष्ट रहे न बीमारी का। और न उनमें लिखे पढ़े लोगों की कमी हो। ऐसी स्थिति में लाकर जब हम उन्हें पहुंचा देंगे तब हम कह सकें कि हमारा काम किसी हद तक पूरा हुआ। यह काम बहुत बड़ा है। और जैसा मैंने कहा सबसे बड़ी जरूरत कर्मनिष्ठ और दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ कार्यकर्त्ताओं की है। वही इस काम को पूरा कर सकते हैं। जिस वक्त यह काम पूज्य ठक्कर बापा ने शुरू किया था या और भाइयों ने शुरू किया उस वक्त बहुत तरह की कठिनाइयां सामने थीं। अब तो उनमें से बहुत सी कठिनाइयों को हम दूर करा सके हैं। और सभी प्रदेशों की सरकारें और केन्द्र की सरकार इस काम में हर तरह से मदद करने को तैयार हैं। और उनकी मदद करना भी उनका कर्तव्य है। क्योंकि हमारे संविधान ने ही यह बोझ गवर्नमेन्ट के ऊपर डाला है कि कोई पिछड़ा हुआ न रहने पाय।

हम चाहते हैं कि इस काम में एक संगठित रूप से इस तरह की संख्या लगाई जाये कि जो यह न समझें—कि यह काम थोड़े दिनों का है। इसमें पूरी तरह से अपने सारे जीवन को देने वाले लोग बड़ी-बड़ी संख्या में आकर शरीक हों। मैं जानता हूं कि भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ ने इस प्रकार का कार्य आरम्भ किया है और जिसमें प्रतिज्ञा बद्ध आजीवन काम करने वाले कुछ लोग शरीक भी हुये हैं। मगर इस काम को देखते हुये अभी उनकी संख्या बहुत कम है। और यह जरूरी है कि बहुतेरे और भी लोग आवें। साथ ही मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि कोई यह न समझे कि इन लोगों के साथ वह मेहरबानी करने आ रहा है। इन पर दया

दिखाने आ रहा है। बल्कि सच्ची सेवा की भावना से आ कर इस काम में लगना चाहिये, और इसका भी ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि जिसमें उनका जो जीवन है, उनका जो रहन सहन है, उनका जो तौर तरीका है, उसमें जो कुछ खूबियां हैं, वे ज्यों की त्यों बनी रहें। और अगर कोई ऐब है तो उस ऐब को वे खुद समझ करके हटावें। कोई बाहर से जबरदस्ती जोर लगा कर के समझाने का प्रयत्न न करें। हमारा काम होना चाहिये कि उनके सामने ऐसे आदर्श रखें, इस तरह के जीवन रखें, कि जिससे लालायित होकर खुद अगर उनमें कोई बुराइयां है तो उन बुराइयों को दूर करें। और वे आगे बढ़े।

मैं तो इतना ही आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि यह काम इतना बड़ा है, इसमें कितने जीवन देने वालों को गुंजाइश है इसमें जितने प्रकार के काम की गुंजाइश है कि आज और कोई दूसरी ऐसी बात देश में नहीं है जिसमें लोग आ सकें या खप सकें। करोड़ों की तादात में आज हमारे सारे देश में फैले हुये भाई हैं। यहाँ यह जो जङ्गल का काम हो रहा है उससे मुझे बड़ी आशा होती है। क्योंकि मैं देखता हूँ कि उनके दर्म्यान में इस तरह का काम एक लगा देना कि जिससे वे अपने लिये कुछ पैदा भी कर सकें, आराम से सुख से रह सकें, और साथ ही साथ किसी का कुछ नुकसान भी न हो। साथ ही साथ गवर्नमेन्ट का भी नुकसान न हो और उनके लिये उनको काम धन्धा अच्छा मिल जाय। जिससे वे स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर सकें। इस तरह के धन्धा सभी जगहों में शायद खोजने से मिल सकेंगे। और मैं चाहता हूं कि जो दूसरे प्रान्तों के लोग आये है वे इस चीज़ को विशेष तौर से देख कर के जायं। क्योंकि जङ्गलों की कमी भारतवर्ष में नहीं है। खास कर के ऐसे इलाकों में जहाँ कि आदिवासी रहते हैं, जङ्गल है ही। वहाँ पर उनकी मदद से काम किस तरीके से हम ले सकते हैं और किस तरीके से उनकी सेवा हम कर सकते हैं। यह सोचना और जानना जरूरी है, मैं आशा रखता हूं कि आप इन सब चीजों को देखोगे, समझोगे और इससे जो लाभ आप उठा सकते हो, उठा करके अपने अपने प्रान्तों में जाकर के इस काम को आप जारी करोगे। अन्य भी जो यहाँ कार्य-क्रम हैं वह तो जो भाई आप की कमेटी में हैं या जो लोग इस सम्मेलन में या परिषद में आये हुये हैं वे इन पर, एक-एक बात पर विचार करेंगे। मैं इन शब्दों के साथ आप सब को धन्यवाद देता हूं। मुझे आपने मौका दिया इसके लिये मैं आभार मानता हूं।

Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant on the Dais.
राष्ट्रपति डॉ० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद और गृहमन्त्री श्री पन्त जी खुले अधिवेशन में मंच पर

# परिषद् के उद्घाटन के अवसर पर
# पं० गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त का भाषण

राष्ट्रपति जी, माननीय राज्य पाल जी, ढेबर भाई व सज्जनों और देवियों।

मुझे इस रमणीय स्थान में आकर आपके सम्मेलन में भाग लेने का यह अवसर प्राप्त हुआ इसके लिये मैं श्री ढेबर भाई जी का विशेष आभार मानता हूं। उन्हीं के आदेश से मुझे यहां आने का यह अवसर मिला। हमारे सामने यहां पर एक अद्भुत दृश्य दीख रहा है। और उसे देखते हुये कुछ एक और भी आशा बन्धती है कि जिस तरीके पर हमारा देश प्राचीन काल में सब तरह से सुखी सम्पन्न और समृद्ध था वैसे ही फिर होगा। इसके लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हमारे समाज के अन्दर कोई भी अङ्ग निर्बल न रहे। समाज की सभी संस्थायें बलवती हों बलवान हो और हमारी जंजीर की कोई भी कड़ी ऐसी न रहे जो कि दूसरों से कमजोर हो। क्योंकि अगर एक भी कोई कड़ी ऐसी हो जाती है तो सारी ही जंजीर उससे कमजोर पड़ जाती है। आपका यह पांचवां अधिवेशन आदिवासियों का हो रहा है। जो अधिवेशन अब तक हुये है उनमें काफी उपयोगी कार्य हुआ है और इस अधिवेशन के द्वारा मैं आशा करता हूं कि उनका व्यावहारिक कार्यक्रम आप निश्चित करेंगे। जिसके अनुसार हम सब मिलकर आदिवासी भाइयों की सेवा करेंगे। इसमें कोई शंका नहीं है कि अपना कर्तव्य आदिवासियों के प्रति नहीं किया है। जिस प्रकार महात्मा गांधी की प्रेरणा और क्षेत्रों में हुई वैसी ही इस आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में भी महात्मा जी के ही आदेश से यह शुभ कार्य शुरू हुआ। ठक्कर बापा ने और श्री बाला साहेब खेर ने इस काम में विशेष कर प्रयत्न किया। श्री ठक्कर बापा ने तो अपना सारा जीवन ही गांधी जी के आदेश से समर्पित कर दिया। बाला जी ने भी इसमें बड़ा कार्य किया। उन दोनों का आभार हम सब मानते हैं। हमारे सामने अब भी इस क्षेत्र में अधिक काम करने की जरूरत है। हमारे देश से लगभग दो करोड़ और सम्भव है अब दो करोड़ से भी अधिक, सवा दो करोड़ के करीब आदिवासी हैं। और उनमें से ४० लाख जो कि करीब करीब बीस फीसदी होते हैं वह हमारे इस बम्बई प्रदेश में रहते हैं। यह संख्या कम नहीं है। एक एक को हम उन्नत अवस्था में देखना चाहते हैं। जिसमें कि वह स्वावलम्बी हो सकें। जिसमें कि वह अपने इस विशाल देश के नागरिक होने का गर्व पूरी तरह से मान सकें। और वह हमारे इस देश के कार्यों में निर्माण में इसकी उन्नत करने में शरीक हो सकें। इसमें केवल उनकी आर्थिक और विद्या सम्बन्धी या और तरह के सुभीतों को बढ़ाने का ही सवाल नहीं है

उनकी आध्यात्मिकता को ऊँचा करने का भी सवाल है। उनमें मानवता के विश्वास को उत्पन्न करने का भी सवाल है जिससे कि वह जो समाज में और संसार में उनका एक आत्मसम्मान पूर्ण जीवन

होना चाहिए उसको प्राप्त कर सकें। उसके लिये उद्योग कर सकें और इस धारणा को लेकर हमें इन कार्य को करना है। आपके इस क्षेत्र में काफी काम हुआ है और काफी संख्या में सेवक भी इस काम में लगे हुए हैं। आदिम जाति सेवक संघ ने आदिवासियों की उन्नति के लिये बड़ा उद्योग किया है। पर जो हमें करना है वह जो कुछ अब तक हुआ है उससे बहुत अधिक है। हम जो कि आदिवासी या कि गिरिजन है उनके पुराने जो कुछ भी रिवाज़ और रस्म हैं या उनकी जो संस्कृति है उसपर हस्तक्षेप करना नहीं है।

इसमें यह भावना आज समय होती है कि वह पिछड़े हैं और हम बहुत आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। यह भावना भी मैं समझता हूँ पूरी तरह से सही नहीं है। उनमें जितनी सच्चाई है जितनी सादगी है जितना उनमें एक विनय है, और जितने वह दूसरों को दुख देने के बदले स्वयं दुख उठाते हैं, और दूसरों को डराने के बदले स्वयं भाग जाते हैं, वह अब समाज में कम दीखता है। जो कि दूसरों से लाभ उठाते हैं वह अपने को ज्यादा सभ्य और ज्यादा बढ़े हुआ, ज्यादा उन्नत समझते हैं। और जो किसी तरीके पर दूसरों का शोषण नहीं करते, जो कि केवल जो कुछ उनसे हो सकता है वह अपने समाज के हित के लिये करते हैं उनको समझा जाता है कि ये पिछड़े हुए हैं। इसलिये आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से देखते हुए वह कोई ऐसे पिछड़े हुए नहीं हैं। और कई जगहों में तो उनकी कला उनकी संस्कृति इतनी बढ़ी हुई है कि हमें इसका गर्व है कि हमारे भारत की संस्कृति में जिसमें कि बहुत से लोग सारे देश के प्रदेशों से मिलकर एक नई सभ्यता की झलक दिखलाते हैं उसमें इनकी शिरकत किसी से कम नहीं है। इसलिये हमारा इनके लिये आदर होना चाहिए। जब तक हम इसके लिये एक मन से प्रेम और आदर की भावना न रखें तब तक हम इनकी सेवा अच्छी तरह नहीं कर सकते हैं। किसी को छोटा समझ कर उसको कुछ दे देना, वह उसके लिये बहुत लाभ दायक नहीं है। जब तक कि जो कुछ भी किया जाय उसके लिये यह भावना न हो कि यह तो इसको देना हमारा कर्तव्य है और इसका पाना इसका अधिकार है। और जब तक विनय के साथ कार्य न किया जाय और उसमें किसी तरह की उद्दण्डता हो तब उस कार्य में कोई माधुर्य तो रहता नहीं और जो इस तरह से आदिवासियों के वर्ग के लोग हैं वह छोटी-छोटी बातों से प्रभावित होते हैं उनके सामने हर बात के लिये हमेशा इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि कोई ऐसी बात न की जाय जिनसे उनको ठेस लगे। वह जो कुछ भी अपना प्रदर्शन करना चाहें वह स्वयं करे। उनको शिक्षा दी जाय। उनको आर्थिक उन्नति का अवसर दिया जाय। उनकी जो कुछ कमियां हैं उनको दूर करने का यत्न किया जाय। पर उनको अपने विकास के लिये स्वेच्छानुसार कार्य करने का अवसर मिलना चाहिये। यदि उन पर कोई चीज़ थोपी जाय तो वह न तो उनको लाभ पहुंचा सकती है और न उसमें कोई आन्तरिक इस तरह की शक्ति हो सकती है। इसलिये हमारी कार्य शैली इस प्रकार की होनी चाहिए जिससे कि उनका पूरा विश्वास हम पर हो। जब तक पारस्परिक इस तरह का सम्बन्ध न हो कि वह हम पर पूरा एतबार और विश्वास कर सकें जो

कि उनकी सेवा के लिये करते हैं। तब तक हम जो भी करें उसका पूरा लाभ हम को या उनको पूरी तरह से नहीं मिल सकता है।

और जो इस क्षेत्र के विशेष कार्यकर्त्ता हैं उनको तो उनमें घुल मिल जाना है। जो नौकरशाही की पुरानी बातें कहीं जाती थीं, अगर उस ढङ्ग से कोई स्कूल भी खोल दें, कोई हम उनके लिये कारखाना भी खोल दें, और उनके लिये कहीं और अस्पताल भी खोल दें, तो उससे उनके मन को सन्तोष नहीं होता। जो कार्य हम करते हैं उससे उनको लाभ के साथ साथ सन्तोष भी प्राप्त होना चाहिए। इस के लिये इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि हरेक प्रदेश के और हर एक स्थल के जो भी स्थानीय प्रश्न हैं उन पर विचार किया जाय। उनकी जो कुछ आदतें हैं, और जो एन्थ्रोपॉलाजिस्ट है, या कि जो सोशल वर्कर्स हैं या जो और सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, वह सब मिल कर एक ऐसी सरवे करलें जिससे कि हरेक प्रदेश, हरेक स्थल के जो रहने वाले आदिवासी हैं उनके लिये क्या करना चाहिए, उनकी क्या भूख है, उनकी क्या अभिलाषा है, उनको किन कार्यों से सन्तोष प्राप्त हो सकता है इसको अच्छी तरह से जानने की जरूरत है। आदिवासियों के प्रश्न सब जगह एक ही नहीं हैं। अलग अलग प्रदेशों में अलग अलग हैं।

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

**by**

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I am deeply grateful to the Akhil Bharat Adimjati Sevak Sangh for having done me the honour of asking me to preside over this Conference of workers in the field of tribal welfare. I have been unable to fathom why the choice of the organizers of the Conference has fallen upon me, since I have only a very remote connection with the great national movement for promoting the welfare of the Adimjati population of our country and for increasing healthy contacts between them and the rest of our population. I agreed to accept this position of responsibility, merely out of my profound sense of respect for Thakkar Bapa of revered memory, whom I look upon as the founder of this national movement.

To strike a personal note, I may mention that nearly forty years ago, it was my good fortune to be associated with Thakkar Bapa in financing and development of Cooperative Credit Societies for Bhils started in the Dohad area of the Bombay State, where he laid the foundation of the first indigenous mission for the service of the Adivasi people. Though this was not the first attempt made to introduce cooperation among Adivasis, it represents, I believe, the first that, after passing through periods of stress and strain, has succeeded in relieving the burden of debt among the people in the area and protecting them from exploitation at the hands of money-lender-cum-traders. Among the factors responsible for the success of the experiment, I consider the most prominent was its association with the work of a welfare agency, namely, the Bhil Seva Mandal, and the sustained personal interest evinced in it in the formative stages by no less an individual than Bapa himself.

Some twenty years later, Thakkar Bapa delivered, under the auspices of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, an address on "The Problem of the Aborigines in India" which is worthy of study even to-day by students of the subject and workers in the welfare movement. It represented his experiences in this field for nearly two decades, a virgin field where, except for an Indian anthropologist here and there, no Indian had trodden. It is only during this period that the condition of the Adivasi commenced to attract some attention at the hands of political and social workers. It would not be unfair to state that, as a class, the only interest British administrators had was to keep out from these regions nationalistically minded social workers, although, no doubt, some

facilities for carrying on social work were not denied to Christian Missionaries of various denominations.

Then came about a transformation in the outlook, with the advent of Swaraj and through the untiring and selfless efforts of pioneers like Thakkar Bapa. Among the tribal people themselves, with the spread of education, there was a slow but gradual awakening. Besides, with the interest Mahatma Gandhi evinced in this hitherto neglected aspect of national life by including Adivasi welfare as an integral part of his constructive programme, we witnessed, nearly ten years after Bapa's Kale Memorial address, certain rights and privileges written in the Constitution of India which the nation adopted in 1950. There was recognition accorded to the fact that the Adivasi population, since it had to share the duties, responsibilities, rights and privileges of the citizenship of the Republic of India, would have to be granted a special political status for a period of at least ten years, although no time limit was set to the operation of the special administrative, legislative and financial privileges outlined in the Constitution.

The promotion of the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes and the adoption of measures to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation have thus become a directive principle of State policy. It is in pursuance of this policy that, shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, the Central Government created the appointment of a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes charged with the functions indicated in Article 338 of the Constitution. It is of interest to note here that the first person to have been appointed for discharging these responsibilities is a life worker in the cause of Adivasi welfare. This, to my mind, indicates not only the paramount importance that the Central Government attach to the need for safeguarding the interests of Scheduled Tribes, but also, apparently, their recognition of the fact that persons belonging to this category are, left to themselves, less able to protect their interests than the Scheduled Castes who, purely in relative terms, are better awakened to their rights and privileges as citizens.

During the period that has elapsed subsequently, I have no doubt much progress has been achieved. But I am not sure if the distance that separates the rest of us from the Adivasi population does not ordinarily make us forget their existence. We come across them when we visit hilly regions for reasons of health or to enjoy the bounties of nature. We are apt, then, to overlook the miseries of those who dwell in these beautiful surroundings.

In a short while the special representation in Parliament and State Legislatures through the reservation of seats will stand terminated. But Parliament should, I submit, consider whether the circumstances which led to the acceptance of such reservation have ceased to operate and whether the tribal people are now in a position to make their influence felt, through representatives elected with the aid of their voters in the matter both of legislation and of administration. In a democratic government such as we have

in India, the lives of the people are largely affected by what the legislatures enact by way of legislation and by their control over administration. With the termination of the system of reservation for the Scheduled Tribes, there should, I would further urge, be some assurance that the influence which is now exercised over legislation and over administration by the election of persons belonging to these groups is not lost. It will be for political parties to discuss and decide how best such a result can be brought about.

If the Scheduled Castes, as I remarked earlier, are better equipped than the tribal people to take their due place in a free and progressive India, it is so mainly because of their greater educational progress. Education is the basis of progress in a modern community. Isolated lives as they lead and speaking as they do dialects different from the languages of the political regions to which they belong, their progress in education lags behind that of Scheduled Castes who live in the midst of the rest of the community and whose language is the same as that of the region where they reside. The choosing of the medium of instruction, the selection of teachers conversant with tribal dialects, the preparation of text-books, all present problems. To get teachers belonging to the plains to settle down in Adivasi areas is not easy; and it is only when Adivasi young men and women get educated in large numbers that the problem of providing suitable teachers will be solved. It is desirable that we devise a system of instruction which serves to harmonize the teachings with the life and surroundings of the Adivasis and do not just transplant the system followed elsewhere. It may be useful if in the Department of Education in every State with a large tribal population a section is set up to study and deal with problems relating to the education of Scheduled Tribes at the primary stage.

Questions relating to secondary and higher education are relatively of minor importance. Some attention needs to be paid, however, to the choice of subjects for study in secondary schools established in scheduled tribe areas and the courses of higher studies for which encouragement should be given by the State. What should be of greater service to the Adivasi community would be the criterion applied. For instance, a social engineer or a doctor is more needed in Adivasi areas than a lawyer or a chartered accountant, a civil engineer more than a mechanical engineer, a forester more than fishing expert. While granting scholarships for studies at home or abroad, these considerations should, I suggest, invariably be borne in mind.

Normally, persons who dwell in hills and forests where they can enjoy fresh air and light may be expected to possess healthy constitutions. But malaria, water-borne diseases, ailments caused by malnutrition and special maladies like yaws are not uncommon among Adivasi people. The common ailments are best cured by homely remedies, but diseases that require some regular medical treatment do not yield to practices based on superstitions, belief in witchcraft and the like. The lowering of the Indian death-rate since independence indicates that mortality can be brought down as a

result of measures for ensuring better sanitary and hygienic conditions and with the extension of medical relief. Residing as they do in places remote from towns where dispensaries and hospitals are usually located, the benefits of medical treatment, indigenous or western, are scarcely available to Adivasis. Although the number of stationary dispensaries cannot be multiplied rapidly, it should not be difficult to devise arrangements for peripatetic consultants to be all the time on the move, administering simple drugs and medicines and directing the more serious cases to dispensaries or hospitals. The rate of infant mortality in India has been brought down because of maternity cases being treated on more hygienic modern lines, especially in urban areas. The methods attendant on child-bearing among Adivasis are, if anything, cruder than ours and were until recently, resulting in heavy child mortality. A maternity attendant should be available, with facilities for treatment, within fairly easy reach of even the remotest areas.

Housing arrangements are not uniform among the various tribal groups. In many parts of the country, Adivasis put up thatched huts scattered all over the lands of village or in forests. Leading as they, mostly, do an open air life, the structure of the hut or its interior may not appear to be a matter of much moment. That, however, is true for the part of the year when there are no rains. But in the bulk of the Adivasi regions, we find that the monsoon is long drawn out and heavy. Since vast numbers of Adivasis are labourers either on the land or in forests, the sites where they build their huts are not always in their own keeping. Hence numbers stand in constant fear of ejectment. For this reason, the securing of house sites and the provision of cheap building material from the forests should receive attention in programmes of social welfare. With detached houses, the maintenance of sanitary conditions does not present as much of a problem as in ordinary villages. Since, however, good health depends on cleanly surroundings, diffusion of knowledge of hygienic ways of living should, as elsewhere, be part of every worthwhile programme of social education.

The parts of the programme of social progress I have so far touched upon postulate the existence of good means of communication. In many parts of the country these are sadly lacking. Hence in the Five Year Plans, special provision has been made for the construction of roads in scheduled areas or in tracts largely inhabited by the scheduled tribes. Without entering into the details of these plans, I should like to enter a caveat here. The road building programme should not be of a type that facilitates exploitation of the Adivasi population. The motor truck and the heavy passenger bus are not needed there, not even a well-groomed luxury car. In most places, a foot path, a bridlepath and a well-laid cart track are all that are needed with suspension bridges and culverts provided at the appropriate places. The work should be done with local labour and so far as possible under local direction and with local material. Links may be provided with the main highways. While contribution in the

shape of Shramdan organised by village communities should always be welcome, it should be obvious that the bulk of the costs will have to be met by the State. Contract for work should be given to Labour Cooperative Societies, the organisation of which should be one of the duties of the social worker in Adivasi areas.

The organisation of the labour of Adivasis working in forest areas should occupy a high order of priority in any programme of socio-economic improvement such as seeks to protect these classes from ecomomic exploitation. The bulk of the States Revenue from Forests aggregating Rs. 27.12 crores per annum, represents the value of the timber and other forest produce sold by Government. The work of felling the trees and collecting other produce is done almost entirely with labour provided by Adivasi people dispersed all over the country. Even if sizeable bits of this flowed into their pockets in return for their labour, Adivasis should be very well-off indeed! Unfortunately, the major portion is intercepted by middlemen, while all that the Adivasis secure are wages which, until Independence, were often on a starvation level.

When even the regulation of the level of wages brought about little relief, the Government of Bombay, some ten years back, took the lead in organising cooperative societies of forest labourers to secure contracts from Government for felling trees, transporting the produce to markets, preparing charcoal and selling the commodities on behalf of the forest labourers. While giving liberal aid to the societies, the Government attached the condition that their work should be guided and supervised by some approved social service agency. The reason for imposing this condition was twofold. Illiterate and unorganised forest labourers might, in the first place, allow these institutions to fall into the hands of persons who might exploit and defraud them. Secondly, the task of the organisation should not end merely by adding to their income; the cooperative society should teach methods of better living and promote social education.

For affording protection against economic exploitation and ensuring economic improvement in present day conditions, the most suitable line of action is the promotion of cooperative organisation. This may take diverse forms, suited to the requirements of the population or of the local economy. Where the principal industry is agriculture, the multi-purpose cooperative society covering a group of adjacent villages forming a compact group, judged by experience, seems to be the most well suited.

In view of the fact that usually it is only one foodgrain crop that is raised, Adivasi agriculturists, like poorer agriculturists, elsewhere, also need small advances for purchasing foodgrains till the crops are harvested. It will be desirable to attach to a multi-purpose society or to conduct separately a grain gola or a grain depot. This would take in deposit small quantities of the staple foodgrains of the area at harvest time from various individuals and meet the necessary requirements in mid-season, to be adjusted either against the deposited foodgrains or against quantities to be received at the subsequent harvest.

The system is in vogue in parts of some States, but has yet to be put on a sound footing either through panchayats or through cooperative agency. As has been attempted with fair success in parts of Bombay State, the work may be undertaken also by social welfare agencies. Ordinarily it would be unwise, experience shows, to entrust the work to official agency.

Where lands are made available to Adivasis from deforested areas, or as part of a scheme of redistribution of lands under the Gramdan programme or out of the surplus of lands available with the imposition of ceilings on holdings, the suggestion has heen made that the future pattern of farming should be cooperative. Since experiments in this direction have not turned out to be successful anywhere in the country, there may be advantage in having the lands cultivated individually with the ownership resting jointly in the body of members or in the entire village community. Services may be enjoyed in common, domestic and agricultural requisites provided jointly and marketing of produce organized on a joint basis. I have the impression that to a suggestion for this degree of joint endeavour the mind of the Adivasi would be ordinarily receptive.

All statistical evidence that I have seen goes to show that as a class the Adivasi population, whether engaged in forest work or in agriculture, falls in the category of the lowest income groups, almost everywhere in India; that is, Adivasis are among the poorest of the poor. If they help in exploiting the wealth of the forests they should be enabled to share in the wealth somewhat in the manner I have indicated above. Their well-being, as much as the preservation and augmentation of these valuable national resources should be the primary concern of the Forest Department just as the welfare of the miners should be the principal concern of the Department of Mines. It is only when the outlook undergoes a change and opportunities for seeking the wherewithal of bare sustenance are opened out to forest dwellers that offences against forest laws will cease. It is only then that Adivasi will feel as much interested in planting and nurturing trees as in cutting them down. The collection and utilization of forest produce other than timber should provide an avenue for fuller employment. To the extent that such produce can be processed before being marketed, processing should also be organised in the interest of the local community engaged in the occupation. Forests are the store-house of materials that go to enrich our pharmaceutical industry, both indigenous and foreign. It is a suggestion worth considering that special facilities for pharmaceutical training should be afforded to competent Adivasi youths on completion of their secondary education. They may then be assisted in running pharmaceutical works of a modest type on the outskirts of forest regions. If other industries based on the use of forest produce as the principal raw materials are started, some part of the benefit should accrue to Adivasis. This is feasible more easily if in the future these industries are allowed to be set up only in the public sector or to be conducted by the cooperatively organized forest dwellers of a region.

There will, to my knowledge, be scarcely any part of the country where Adivasis have no connection with agriculture. Although the original holders of lands, with the impact of an unregulated economy, large numbers now till lands as tenants or as labourers sometimes even as serfs—almost all over the country. The relations between tenants and landlords are being regulated by means of administrative and legislative measures. In order that Adivasis derive the full benefit of these measures, it is essential that the official agency should look upon it as its primary duty to protect their interests against those who seek to take advantage of their ignorance of the law and their fear of those administering it. Even more onerous is the responsibility of social workers since it is only they who can make the Adivasi people conscious of their rights and privileges under the law. For agricultural labour not much legislative protection has so far been vouchsafed. Where, however, conditions bordering on serfdom prevail, the State should step in, in case it has not already done so. The enforcement of minimum wages, except for labour on plantations, has still to be attempted.

It is mainly because of unsatisfied hunger for land that we find Adivasi resorting to the unauthorized felling of trees in forest areas and cultivating lands in a manner that leads to soil erosion. The cure is twofold : satisfaction of the need for work and social education. To the extent that additional lands can be provided elsewhere under the deforestation programme or by land reclamation, the former need can be met. It can also be met by the provision of alternative forms of employment. These may be such as will not be uncongenial and will not take people too far away from their natural surroundings. It is likely that if the methods of cultivation are improved, better resources are made available and the process of Jhuming or Podu cultivation is given up, there may be some more employment found, even in the lands that are now available. The pilot projects and schemes for weaning Adivasis away from the Jhuming form of cultivation should have a high priority in programmes of development in the areas affected. That is in the interest both of the individuals concerned and of society as a whole.

In the pre-Independence days, there were administrators and anthropologists who took the view that the culture and interests of the tribal people were promoted best by the policy then adopted, namely, keeping them in a sense segregated, cut off from contacts with the rest of the people of India. What harm this policy of isolation has done is evident from the way in which Adivasis have lost their lands and have got burdened with debt. The policy failed, since exploitation at the hands of petty officials and of the trading and moneylending classes has spelt misery for the Adivasis as a class. The legislative measures for preventing the transfer of land to non-tribal people from outside and for curbing usurious money-lending have had to be supplemented in recent years, occasionally by better devised legislative protection and by vigorous administrative action. Both these forms of protection will have to continue until, as a class, Adivasis are able to organize themselves.

There is a development in nation-building that vitally affects the lives of many among Scheduled Tribes more, probably, than of other sections of the population. As part of our plans of economic development, we have gone in for large projects for irrigation and for the hydro-electric power. The sites of these projects are mostly located in hills and amidst forests, the principal residents of which are Adivasis. The lands to be inundated belong to Adivasis who are called upon to vacate and to seek their livelihood. Difficult as this process is for all sections of the rural community it occasions great distress among Adivasis, resourceless and immobile as they normally are. The construction of the Tata Power Scheme, some four decades back, led to the Mulsi Satyagraha in the Poona district of Bombay State, in which quite a number of prominent nationalist leaders of Maharashtra participated. That Satyagraha indicated the anxiety then felt about a project which covered areas smaller than those where irrigation and power generation schemes are now undertaken and with a population that was not so isolated and backward as Adivasis generally are. The resettlement of Adivasis by the offer of lands in some neighbouring regions should be a primary consideration in future when sanctioning these new projects.

The availability of lands is, however, strictly limited, particularly since in the national interest it is necessary to conserve the forest resources and take effective steps by tree planting and otherwise to check erosion of the upper regions of the hillsides. With proper control over mortality, the population of Adivasis will grow, presumably as for the other sections of the community. It is hence necessary that the means of livelihood open to Adivasis are enlarged by the expansion of alternative modes of employment, such as industries allied to agriculture or to forests. It is difficult to suggest a set pattern for the entire country much as I, for one, would like to advocate resort to the spinning wheel everywhere. The Ambar Charkha, I may note here, has been introduced with some success in certain areas. The choice will, however, depend partly on the availability of raw materials such as cotton and partly on the aptitudes and skills of the different tribal groups. It has been suggested, for instance, that many among them take kindly to carpentry and smithy. Accordingly, wherever there is good response to arrangements for training, this essential village industry should be extended. In most Adivasi areas, the number of cattle is large. Occasionally, it is their main wealth. It is worth considering whether it is possible to develop decentralized industries around the flaying of the carcasses of these cattle. If there are traditional prejudices, the economic urge may, in course of time, overcome such prejudices. What has to be emphasised is that all programmes for welfare should necessarily provide for the introduction and development of suitable subsidiary occupations, cottage industries and, if need be, small scale industries as well.

What is essential, to my mind, is to make every possible effort to raise the level of incomes among these, about the most disadvantaged sections of our population. This is one of the objectives of our national planning. Raising of the standard of living for these two

crores of our fellow-citizens who are cut off from those of us who have a voice in moulding the affairs of the nation definitely connotes a deliberate insistent effort to promote material well being by means such as have been indicated, for instance, in the annual reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and by those who have given thought to the subject. An increase in the aggregate national income has no significance in terms of human welfare unless those whose incomes are hardly one hundred rupees per year get something more, so as better to feed and clothe themselves and to secure a modicum of education. This object, I consider, should be accorded the highest priority by the planning authorities. The extension of social services and amenities at the cost of the State will further aid in some reduction of the existing glaring disparities.

It would be too materialistic a view of the problem, if planning left outside its scope the need for building up of a community of good citizens, men and women who are, in every sense, equal to the rest of the nation. Even in modern India, we have not failed to produce men and women who in various spheres, intellectual, moral, spiritual, could rank as among the greatest in their age. But, as Gopal Krishna Gokhale was never tired of emphasising in the days of foreign domination, we shall be judged by posterity not by the emergence of giants but by the raising of the average level in all these spheres. For this reason, the advancement by rapid strides of the underpriviledged and disadvantaged sections of the Community outweighs in value other tasks before the nation.

Earlier I have briefly touched upon the subject of education. The form and content of the education that is provided should, I would repeat, be in harmony with the daily life and the culture of the people. It should open the portals of knowledge so that anti-social traditions, such, as for example the custom of *sati* amongst us, fade away if they cannot be suppressed by law. Customs are often linked with superstition. We too harbour such superstitions, even in the modern age. These will yield place to rational behaviour, as education extends.

Many of the tribal communities cherish their ancient culture. They love colour, dance, music, games and open air sports and have a zest for a life of cheerfulness. Our saddest mistake would be to introduce our cultural standards and values, because uprooting cultural traditions is the greatest disservice that can be done to a community. Here come in the anthropologist and the sociologist who should help in fostering the growth of healthy traditions and preventing the inroad of unhealthy ones. The controversy about "isolationism" and "intervention" to which Thakkar Bapa referred in his Kale Memorial Address of 1941 is now a matter of past history. The scheduled tribes are part and parcel of the Indian nation, entitled to an honoured place in the confluence of the diverse rich elements that constitute the Indian people.

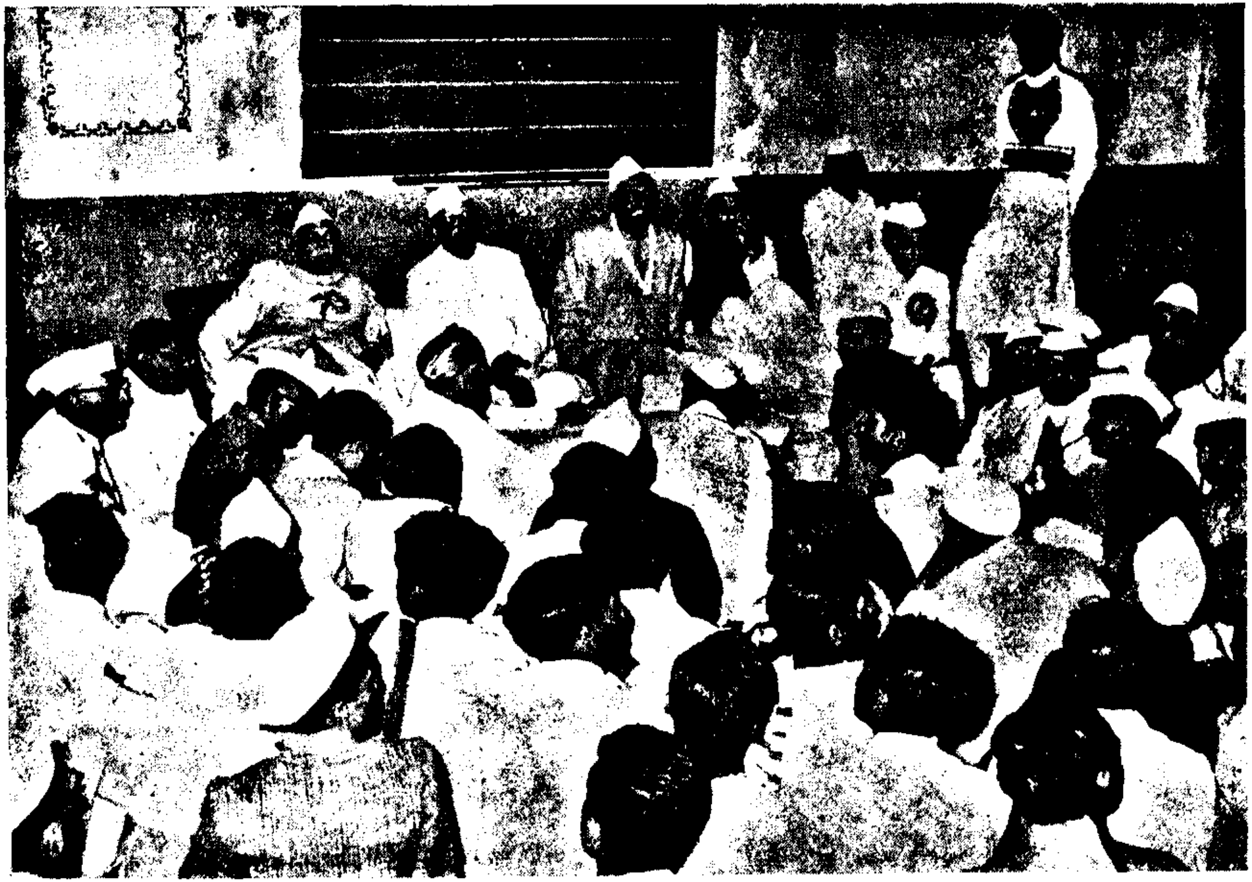
There is one aspect of social life of Adivasis to which a reference is necessary. Among the many habits which according to some, distinguish Adivasis from the rest of the community,

## पंचम आदिमजातीय कल्याण सम्मेलन के अवसर पर श्री वैकुण्ठ लाल मेहता, अध्यक्ष, खादी एवं ग्रामोद्योग आयोग का भाषण

आदिवासी कल्याण क्षेत्र के कार्यकर्त्ताओं के इस सम्मेलन में अध्यक्ष पद के लिए मुझे मनोनीत करके अखिल भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक-संघ ने मेरा जो सम्मान किया है, उसके लिए मैं उसका हृदय से आभारी हूं। मैं यह समझ पाने में असमर्थ हूं कि सम्मेलन के आयोजकों ने इस पद के लिये मुझे ही क्यों चुना है, क्योंकि इस महान् राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन से, जिसका उद्देश्य हमारे देश की आदिमजातीय जनता के कल्याण को बढ़ावा देना और उनके तथा देश की शेष जनता के बीच स्वस्थ सम्पर्कों का विकास करना है, मेरा केवल अत्यन्त दूर का ही सम्बन्ध रहा है। मैं पुण्य-स्मृति ठक्कर बापा के प्रति, जिन्हें मैं इस राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का संस्थापक मानता हूं, अपनी गहरी और हार्दिक श्रद्धा से अभिभूत होकर ही इस उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण पद को स्वीकार करने के लिए सहमत हुआ हूं।

मैं एक व्यक्तिगत बात का उल्लेख करने की अनुमति चाहूँगा। लगभग ४० वर्ष हुए, जब बम्बई के दाहोद क्षेत्र में, जहां उन्होंने आदिवासी लोगों की सेवा के लिए प्रथम देशी मिशन की बुनियाद डाली थी, भीलों के लिए सहकारी-ऋण-समितियों की वित्तीय व्यवस्था और विकास के सिलसिले में मुझे ठक्कर बापा के सम्पर्क में आने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था। यद्यपि यह आदिवासियों के बीच सहकारिता के प्रचार का सर्व-प्रथम प्रयास नहीं था, तथापि मेरा विश्वास है कि यह उस प्रथम प्रयास का ही प्रतीक है, जिसे जबर्दस्त दबाव और तनाव की अवधियों से गुजरने के पश्चात्, उस इलाके के लोगों को ऋण-भार से मुक्त करने और उन्हें महाजन व्यापारियों के हाथों शोषण से बचाने में सफलता मिली। मैं मानता हूं कि इस प्रयोग की सफलता के लिए जो तत्व उत्तरदायी रहे हैं, उनमें सबसे प्रमुख तत्व एक कल्याणकारी संस्था, अर्थात् भील-सेवा-मण्डल के कार्य के साथ इस का सम्बद्ध होना, और इसकी प्रारम्भिक अवस्थाओं में स्वयं ठक्कर बापा जैसे महान् व्यक्ति का इसमें व्यक्तिगत दिलचस्पी लेना ही रहा है।

उसके लगभग २० वर्ष बाद, राजनीति और अर्थशास्त्र के गोखले संस्थान के तत्वावधान में ठक्कर बापा ने "भारत में आदिमजातियों की समस्या" पर एक भाषण दिया था, जिसका अध्ययन आज भी इस विषय के विद्यार्थियों और कल्याण-आन्दोलन के कार्यकर्त्ताओं को अवश्य करना चाहिए। इस भाषण में उनके अनुभवों पर रोशनी डाली गयी है, जिन्हें उन्होंने इस क्षेत्र में सक्रिय भाग लेते हुए हासिल किये थे—एक अछूत क्षेत्र, जिसमें अब तक कुछ-एक भारतीय मानव शास्त्रियों के अलावा, किसी अन्य भारतीय ने प्रवेश नहीं किया था। यह वही अवधि



At the Worker's Meeting.

आदिमजाति कार्यकर्ताओं के बीच नेता-गण

थी, जिसमें कुछ राजनीतिक और सामाजिक कार्यकर्त्ताओं का ध्यान आदिवासियों की दशा की ओर आकृष्ट होना प्रारम्भ हुआ था। यह कहना अनुचित न होगा कि एक वर्ग के रूप में अंग्रेज शासकों की एकमात्र दिलचस्पी इन इलाकों से राष्ट्रीय भावना वाले सामाजिक कार्यकर्त्ताओं को पृथक रखने में ही थी, यद्यपि इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि विभिन्न प्रकार की ईसाई मिशनरियों को सामाजिक कार्य के लिये कुछ सुविधा देने से इन्कार नहीं किया गया था।

फिर, स्वतन्त्रता का अरुणोदय होने के साथ-साथ, और ठक्कर बापा जैसे नेताओं के अथक और निस्पृह प्रयत्नों के फलस्वरूप, दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन हुआ। स्वयं आदिवासी लोगों में भी शिक्षा के प्रसार के साथ-साथ धीमी गति से, किन्तु क्रमशः, जागरूकता उत्पन्न होने लगी। इसके अतिरिक्त, महात्मा गान्धी ने अपने रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम के अविच्छिन्न अङ्ग के रूप में आदिवासी कल्याण को शामिल करके राष्ट्रीय जीवन के इस अभी तक उपेक्षित पहलू में दिलचस्पी ली, और हमने बापा के 'काले-संस्मारक भाषण' के लगभल १० वर्ष बाद भारतीय संविधान में, जिसे राष्ट्र ने १९५० में अङ्गीकार किया, कुछ लिखित अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों के दर्शन किये। उसमें इस तथ्य को मान्यता दी गयी कि चूँकि आदिवासी जनता को भारतीय गणराज्य के नागरिकों के कर्तव्यों, उत्तरदायित्वों, अधिकारों और सुविधाओं में हिस्सा लेना है, अतः उन्हें कम से कम १० वर्ष की अवधि के लिए एक विशेष राजनीतिक पद देना ही पड़ेगा, हालांकि संविधान में निर्दिष्ट विशेष प्रशासनिक, कानूनी और वित्तीय अधिकारों को लागू करने के लिये समय की कोई सीमा निर्धारित नहीं की गई।

इस प्रकार, अनुसूचित आदिम जातियों के शैक्षणिक और आर्थिक हितों को बढ़ावा देना तथा उन्हें सामाजिक अन्याय और सभी प्रकार के शोषण से बचाने के लिये उपाय अपनाना राजनीति का एक निर्देशक सिद्धान्त बन गया है। इसी नीति के अनुशीलन के सिलसिले में, संविधान लागू होने के कुछ ही समय बाद केन्द्रीय सरकार ने संविधान की धारा ३३८ में निर्दिष्ट कार्यों का भार सँभालने के लिये एक अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित आदिमजाति कमिश्नर की नियुक्ति की व्यवस्था की। यहां पर यह जान लेना दिलचस्प होगा कि इन उत्तरदायित्वों को निभाने के लिये सर्व-प्रथम जिस व्यक्ति की नियुक्ति की गई, वह एक ऐसा कार्यकर्त्ता है, जो आदिवासी कल्याण के लिये अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन समर्पित कर चुका है। मेरे विचार में इससे न केवल इस बात का संकेत मिलता कि केन्द्रीय सरकार अनुसूचित आदिम-जातियों के हितों के संरक्षण की आवश्यकता का कितना अधिक महत्व देती हैं, बल्कि इस बात का भी कि उसने यह तथ्य स्वीकार कर लिया है कि इस श्रेणी के लोग अपने हितों के संरक्षण में अनुसूचित जातियों की अपेक्षा कम समर्थ हैं, जोकि विशुद्ध तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से, नागरिक के रूप में अब अपने अधिकारों और सुविधाओं के प्रति अधिक जागरुक हो चुके हैं।

मुझे तनिक सन्देह नहीं है कि उसके तत्काल बाद की अवधि में काफी उन्नति हुई है। किन्तु मुझे इस बात का विश्वास नहीं है कि जिस दूरी ने शेष जनता को आदिवासियों से पृथक कर रक्खा है, उसके कारण हम प्रायः उनके अस्तित्व को भूला नहीं देते। हम उनके सम्पर्क में उसी समय आते हैं, जब स्वास्थ्य लाभ के उद्देश्य से अथवा प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य का आनन्द लेने के लिये पहाड़ी इलाकों की यात्रा करते हैं। अतः हम इन सुन्दर स्थानों और वातावरणों में निवास करने वालों के दुःखों के प्रति प्रायः अपनी आंखें मूंद लेते हैं।

संसद और राज्य विधान-सभाओं में सीटें सुरक्षित करके आदिम-जातियों को विशेष प्रतिनिधित्व प्रदान करने की जो व्यवस्था की गई है, वह थोड़े ही समय में भङ्ग हो जायगी। लेकिन मैं कहूँगा कि संसद को इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए कि क्या वे परिस्थितियां, जिन के कारण इस प्रकार का संरक्षण देना स्वीकार किया गया था, अब नहीं रहीं, और क्या आदिम-जाति के लोग ऐसी स्थिति में पहुंच चुके हैं कि वे कानून और प्रशासन, दोनों ही मामलों में, अपने मतदाताओं की सहायता से चुने गये प्रतिनिधियों के माध्यम से अपना प्रभाव व्यक्त कर सकें। एक लोकतन्त्रीय सरकार में, जैसी कि हमने भारत में स्थापित कर रखी है, विधान-सभा द्वारा तैयार किये गये कानून और प्रशासन पर उनके नियन्त्रण द्वारा जनता का जीवन अत्यधिक प्रभावित होता है। मैं यह भी अनुरोध करूँगा कि अनुसूचित आदिम-जातियों को संरक्षण देने की प्रणाली भङ्ग हो जाने के बाद का कुछ आश्वासन अवश्य होना चाहिए कि इन वर्गों से प्रतिनिधियों का चुनाव करने के कारण इस समय कानून और प्रशासन पर जो प्रभाव पड़ रहा है, वह खत्म नहीं होगा। राजनैतिक दलों का कर्त्तव्य है कि वे विचार-विमर्श करके यह तय करें कि इस प्रकार का परिणाम उत्पन्न करने का सर्व-श्रेष्ठ ढंग क्या है।

जैसा कि मैंने ऊपर कहा है, यदि अनुसूचित जातियां स्वतन्त्र और प्रगतिशील भारत में अपना उचित स्थान ग्रहण करने में अनुसूचित आदिम-जातियों की अपेक्षा अधिक साधन-सम्पन्न हैं, तो इसका प्रमुख कारण यही है कि उनमें शिक्षा का प्रसार अधिक हुआ है। एक आधुनिक समाज में शिक्षा ही विकास का आधार होती है। चूंकि वे पृथक एवं ऐकान्तिक जीवन व्यतीत करते हैं, और चूंकि उनकी भाषा उस राजनैतिक प्रदेश की भाषा से भिन्न होती है, जिसमें यह शामिल होते हैं। अतः वे अनुसूचित जातियों से शिक्षा में पिछड़ जाते हैं, जोकि शेष समाज के बीच रहती हैं और जिनकी भाषा वही होती है जोकि उस प्रदेश की भाषा होती है, जिसमें कि वे शामिल होते हैं। अतः शिक्षा के माध्यम का चुनाव, आदिम जातीय भाषा में प्रवीण शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति, पाठ्य पुस्तकों की रचना—ये सभी बातें समस्याएँ उत्पन्न करती हैं। मैदानी इलाकों में रहने वाले शिक्षकों को आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में बसने के लिये राजी करना आसान काम नहीं है। अतः केवल उसी अवस्था में, जब कि आदिवासी युवक और युवतियां अधिक संख्या में शिक्षित हो जायेंगी, उनके लिये उपयुक्त और सुयोग्य शिक्षकों की समस्या हल की जा सकेगी। यह वांछनीय होगा

कि हम शिक्षा की एक ऐसी प्रणाली तैयार करें जोकि शिक्षण और आदिवासियों के वातावरण के बीच सामंजस्य स्थापित कर सके, और हम उसी शिक्षा-प्रणाली को आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में लागू करने का प्रयास न करें, जोकि अन्यत्र चालू है। ऐसे प्रत्येक राज्य के शिक्षा-विभाग में, जहां आदिम जातियों की आबादी बहुत ही अधिक है, यदि एक ऐसा विभाग खोल दिया जाये जो कि प्राइमरी कक्षाओं में अनुसूचित जातियों की शिक्षा से सम्बद्ध समस्याओं का अध्ययन करे और उन्हें सुलझाये, तो यह कदम निश्चय ही बहुत उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा।

माध्यमिक और उच्चतर शिक्षा के सवाल अपेक्षाकृत कम महत्व रखते हैं। फिर भी, अनुसूचित आदिम जातीय इलाकों में स्थापित माध्यमिक स्कूलों में अध्ययन के विषयों के चुनाव की ओर, और उच्चतर शिक्षा, जिसके लिये राज्य प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिए, के पाठ्यक्रमों पर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। जो कुछ भी आदिवासी समाज के लिए अपेक्षाकृत अधिक उपयोगी और लाभदायक सिद्ध हो, उसका ही अनुशीलन करना हमारी सच्ची कसौटी होनी चाहिए। मिसाल के तौर पर, किसी आदिवासी क्षेत्र के लिये वकील या चार्टर्ड एकाउन्टेंट की अपेक्षा सामाजिक इञ्जीनियर या डाक्टर, मैकेनिकल इञ्जीनियर की अपेक्षा सिविल इञ्जीनियर, मत्स्यपालन विशेषज्ञ की अपेक्षा बन-विशेषज्ञ अधिक आवश्यक होता है। मेरा सुझाव है कि देश या विदेश में अध्ययन के लिये छात्र-वृत्तियां देते समय इन बातों को सदैव ध्यान में रखना चाहिए।

पहाड़ी और जङ्गली इलाकों में रहने वाले लोगों से प्रायः यह अपेक्षा की जाती है कि उचित हवा और रोशनी का सेवन करने के कारण उसका शरीर स्वस्थ होगा। लेकिन आदिवासी लोगों में मलेरिया, पानी की खराबी से पैदा होने वाले रोग, खाद्य तत्वों की कमी के कारण उत्पन्न पीड़ाएँ, और फफोले जैसी विशेष बीमारियां सामान्य रूप से पाई जाती हैं। सामान्य दुःखों का निदान तो घरेलू दवाओं से भली भांति हो जाता है, किन्तु ऐसी बीमारियां, जिन्हें ठीक करने के लिये चिकित्सा सम्बन्धी नियमित उपचार जरूरी होते हैं, अन्धविश्वासों, जादू टोनों और इसी तरह के दूसरे उपायों से ठीक नहीं हो सकते।

स्वतन्त्रता के बाद, भारत की मृत्यु दर में गिरावट आना, इस बात का सूचक है कि यदि स्वास्थ्य और सफाई की निश्चित और श्रेष्ठतर व्यवस्था की जा सके, और चिकित्सा सम्बन्धी सहायता प्रदान की जाये, तो मृत्यु-दर को घटा सकना सम्भव है। आदिवासी लोग ऐसे स्थानों पर रहते हैं जो कि शहरों से, जिनमें अस्पताल और चिकित्सालय होते हैं, दूर होते हैं। अतः, उन्हें किसी भी प्रकार की देशी या पश्चिमी चिकित्सा सुविधायें उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। यद्यपि स्थिर चिकित्सालयों की संख्या शीघ्र ही नहीं बढ़ाई जा सकती, फिर भी ऐसे परामर्शदाता डाक्टरों की व्यवस्था करना कठिन न होगा, जो हर समय घूमते ही रहें और रोगियों को देखकर उनके लिये साधारण दवाओं और पेयों की सलाह दें, अथवा अगर किसी रोगी की हालत ज्यादा गम्भीर हो तो उसे अस्पताल या चिकित्सालय में भेजने का प्रबन्ध करें। भारत में शिशुओं की मृत्यु-दर घट गई है,

क्योंकि जच्चाओं के रोगों का उपचार खास तौर से शहरों में अधिक सफाई के साथ और आधुनिक चिकित्सा प्रणाली के अनुसार होने लगा है। शिशु-जनन के तरीके आदिवासियों में हम लोगों की अपेक्षा अधिक भद्दे किस्म के हैं। इस कारण, अभी हाल तक, नवजात शिशुओं की मृत्यु दर बहुत ही ऊंची रही है। अतः यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि चिकित्सा की सुविधाओं और दाइयों की ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाये, जिससे वे दूरस्थ क्षेत्रों में भी आसानी से उपलब्ध हो सकें।

विभिन्न आदिम-जाति-वर्गों में आवास की व्यवस्था समान नहीं है। देश के अनेक भागों में आदिवासियों ने घास-फूस की झोंपड़ियाँ खड़ी कर ली हैं, जो कि गांव की समूची भूमि पर या जङ्गलों में दूर-दूर तक छिटकी होती हैं। चूंकि वे अधि-कांशतः खुली हवा की जिन्दगी बसर करते हैं, अतः झोंपड़ियों या उनके भीतरी भाग की बनावट अधिक महत्व की बात नहीं प्रतीत होती। यह बात साल की उसी अवधि के लिये सही है, जब कि वर्षा नहीं होती। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि अधिकांश आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में लम्बे अरसे तक और जोरदार वर्षा होती है। चूंकि अधिकांश आदिवासी जङ्गलों या खेतों में मजदूरी का काम करते हैं, अतः जिन स्थानों पर वे अपने झोंपड़े बनाते हैं, उनके मालिक वह खुद नहीं होते। ऐसी हालत में, उनमें, से अधिकांश के सामने बेदखली का डर हमेशा बना रहता है। इस-लिये, यह जरूरी है कि समाज-कल्याण सम्बन्धी कार्य-क्रमों में उनके लिये आवास स्थान प्राप्त करने और जंगलों से गृह-निर्माण के लिये सस्ती सामग्रियाँ सुलभ बनाने की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाये। जहाँ मकान दूर-दूर घने होते हैं, वहाँ सफाई की समस्या इतनी जटिल नहीं प्रतीत होती जितनी साधा-रण गांवों में। फिर भी चूंकि स्वास्थ्य का अच्छा होना वातावरण की सफाई पर ही निर्भर करता है, अतः सामाजिक शिक्षा के किसी भी भावी कार्यक्रम में अन्य स्थानों की भांति यहाँ भी सफाई से रहने की जानकारी का प्रसार शामिल होना चाहिए।

मैंने अभी तक सामाजिक उत्थान के कार्यक्रम के जिन अंगों पर विचार किया है, उनमें संचार के अच्छे साधनों की व्यवस्था की कल्पना निहित है। देश के अनेक भागों में उनका अत्यन्त खेदजनक अभाव है। अतः पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों या उन इलाकों में, जहाँ आदिम जातियों की संख्या बहुत ही अधिक है, सड़कों के निर्माण की विशेष व्यवस्था की गई है। मैं इन योजनाओं के विस्तार में जाने की बजाय, सिर्फ एक ही बात पर विचार करना चाहूंगा। सड़क निर्माण सम्बन्धी कार्यक्रम ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए, जिससे आदिवासी जनता के शोषण को प्रोत्साहन मिले। वहाँ पर मोटर, ट्रकों और यात्रियों को ढोने वाली बसों की आवश्यकता नहीं है, न ही आवश्यकता है सुन्दर और बढ़िया कारों की। अधिकांश स्थानों पर, ज्यादा से ज्यादा, रास्तों, गलियारों और बैलगाड़ी के लिये सुनिर्मित मार्गों की आवश्यकता है, जिन पर उपयुक्त स्थानों पर उठाऊ पुल और पुलियाँ बनी हों। यह कार्य स्थानीय मजदूरों की सहायता से, और जहाँ तक सम्भव हो स्थानीय निर्देशन के अन्तर्गत, और स्थानीय सामग्रियों द्वारा ही सम्पन्न होना

चाहिए। मुख्य-मुख्य पक्की सड़कों को मिलाने वाली कच्ची सड़कों या मार्गों की भी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। यद्यपि हर दशा में ग्राम-समाज द्वारा संगठित श्रमदान के रूप में प्राप्त अंशदान का स्वागत होना चाहिए, फिर भी यह बात बिलकुल स्पष्ट होनी चाहिए कि अधिकांश लागत का भार राज्य को उठाना पड़ेगा। निर्माण कार्य का ठेका श्रमिक सहकारी समितियों को दिया जाना चाहिए और इन समितियों को संगठित करने की जिम्मेदारी आदिवासी क्षेत्रों के सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं के ऊपर ही होनी चाहिए।

इन वर्गों को रोजगार के चंगुल से मुक्त करने के उद्देश्य से तैयार किये गये किसी भी सामाजिक-आर्थिक सुधार कार्यक्रम में जंगलों में काम करने वाले आदिवासी मजदूर के संगठन को उच्च-प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिए। राज्य को प्रति वर्ष जंगलों से लगभग २७.१२ करोड़ रुपये की आय प्राप्त होती है और उसका अधिकांश लकड़ी या जंगली पैदावारों का मूल्य होता है, जिन्हें सरकार बेचती है। पेड़ काटने का जंगल की अन्य उपजें एकत्र करने का काम प्रायः आदिवासियों द्वारा ही पूर्णतया सम्पन्न होता जो कि देश भर में बिखरे हुए हैं। अगर इस आय का अधिकांश आदिवासियों को उनके श्रम के बदले मिलने लगे, तो वे काफी खुशहाल हो सकते हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश, इसका अधिकांश मध्यस्थ लोग हड़प लेते हैं जबकि आदिवासियों को सिर्फ मजदूरी ही मिल पाती है, जो कि स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के समय तक प्रायः भुखमरी के स्तर पर थी।

जब मजदूरियों के स्तर को नियमित करने से भी विशेष राहत नहीं दी जा सकी, तो लगभग १० वर्ष पूर्व पेड़ काटने, उपजों को बाजार तक पहुंचाने, लकड़ी से कोयला तैयार करने तथा जंगली मजदूरों की ओर से वस्तुओं को बेचने के लिये सरकार से ठेके प्राप्त करने के हेतु बम्बई सरकार जंगल के मजदूरों की सहकारी समितियां संगठित करने की दिशा में अग्रसर हुई। समितियों को उदार आर्थिक सहायता देते समय सरकार ने यह शर्त भी लगा दी कि उनके कार्य की रहनुमाई और देखरेख किसी न किसी मान्यता प्राप्त समाज-सेवा संस्था द्वारा अवश्य होनी चाहिए। यह शर्त लागू करने के दो कारण हैं; पहला यह कि अशिक्षित और असंगठित होने के कारण, हो सकता है कि जंगल के मजदूर इन संस्थाओं को ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में चले जाने दें जो कि उन्हें धोखा दे सकते हैं, या उनका शोषण कर सकते हैं। दूसरे, संगठन सम्बन्धी कार्य केवल उनकी आय बढ़ाने के साथ ही समाप्त नहीं हो जानी चाहिए। सहकारी समितियों को चाहिए कि वे रहन-सहन के श्रेष्ठतर तरीकों की शिक्षा दें, और सामाजिक शिक्षा प्रसार करें।

आर्थिक शोषण के विरुद्ध संरक्षण प्रदान करने और वर्तमान स्थितियों में आर्थिक सुधार की निश्चित व्यवस्था की दृष्टि से सर्वोत्तम तरीका यह है कि सहकारी संगठन को बढ़ावा दिया जाये। यह संगठन जनसंख्या अथवा स्थानीय अर्थ-व्यवस्था की आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार विविध रूप ग्रहण कर सकता है। अनुभव से सिद्ध हो चुका है कि जहाँ-कहीं मुख्य धन्धा कृषि हो, वहाँ सहकारिता का सबसे उपयुक्त

स्वरूप बहु-उद्देशीय सहकारी समिति है, जिसके अन्तर्गत पड़ोस के अनेक गाँव मिल कर एक ठोस समूह का निर्माण करते हैं।

इस तथ्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए, कि आमतौर पर केवल खाद्यान्न की ही एक फसल पैदा की जाती है, अन्य स्थानों के निर्धन किसानों की भांति आदिवासी किसानों के लिये भी जरूरी है कि जब तक फसल पक कर तैयार नहीं हो जाती, उन्हें खाद्यान्नों की खरीद के लिये कुछ धन अग्रिम ऋण के रूप में प्रदान किया जाय। यह अधिक वांछनीय होगा कि एक बहु-उद्देश्यीय समिति के साथ, अथवा पृथक् रूप से, एक अन्न-गोला विभिन्न व्यक्तियों से फसल कटने पर उस क्षेत्र के प्रमुख खाद्यान्न की कुछ मात्रा वसूल करके जमा कर रखेगा और मौसम के बीच में उत्पन्न आवश्यकताओं को जमा किये गये अनाज से पूरा कर देगा, अथवा किसानों को उधार पर खाद्यान्न देगा जिसे अगली फसल कटने पर वापिस लिया जा सकेगा। अनेक राज्यों के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में यह प्रणाली प्रचलित है, किन्तु इसे पंचायतों अथवा सहकारी संस्थाओं के माध्यम से सुदृढ़ बनाना है। इस कार्य को समाज-कल्याण संस्थाओं के माध्यम से भी काफी सफलतापूर्वक सम्पन्न किया जा सकता है, जैसा कि बम्बई राज्य के कुछ इलाकों में प्रयोग के तौर पर किया गया है। अनुभव से पता चला है कि साधारणतः इस कार्य को किसी सहकारी संस्था के जिम्मे सौंपना बुद्धिमत्ता नहीं होगी।

उन स्थानों पर, जहाँ आदिवासियों को जंगल की सफाई करने से उपलब्ध, अथवा ग्रामदान कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत भूमि वितरण की योजना के अनुसार अथवा आराजियों की अधिकतम सीमा लागू करने के फलस्वरूप उपलब्ध अतिरिक्त भूमि में से जमीनें दी गयी हैं, यह सुझाव दिया गया है कि वहाँ भविष्य में खेती का स्वरूप सहकारी होना चाहिए। चूंकि इस में किये गये प्रयोग देश में हर जगह असफल हुए हैं, इसलिये अधिक लाभप्रद यही होगा कि व्यक्तिगत रूप से अलग-अलग खेती की जाये और उसका स्वामित्व संयुक्त रूप से गाँव के सदस्यों अथवा समूचे ग्राम-समाज में निहित हो। सेवाओं का उपभोग सम्मिलित रूप से किया जा सकता है, घरेलू और कृषि सम्बन्धी आवश्यकताओं की व्यवस्था संयुक्त रूप से की जा सकती है तथा उपज के क्रय-विक्रय का संगठन संयुक्त आधार पर हो सकता है। मेरी अपनी धारणा है कि यदि आदिवासियों से इस हद संयुक्त प्रयास का परामर्श दिया जाय तो वे साधारणतः इसका स्वागत करेंगे।

मैंने आंकड़ों सम्बन्धी जिन प्रमाणों को देखा है, उनसे पता चलता है कि एक वर्ग के रूप में, आदिवासी जनता, चाहे वह जंगल में काम करती हो या खेती में, निम्नतम आय वर्ग हो आती है। यह बात भारत में सर्वत्र पाई जाती है, अर्थात् आदिवासी भारत में सबसे गरीब लोग हैं। यदि वे जंगल से सम्पत्ति प्राप्त करने में सहायता देते हैं, तो उन्हें उस सम्पत्ति का कुछ न कुछ अंश भी अवश्य मिलना चाहिए, और इसके लिये हम उस तरीके का अनुशीलन कर सकते हैं जिसका उल्लेख मैंने ऊपर किया है। उनका कल्याण तथा इन बहुमूल्य राष्ट्रीय साधनों का संरक्षण और इनकी अभिवृद्धि उसी प्रकार वन-

विभाग की चिन्ता का प्रमुख विषय होना चाहिए, जिस प्रकार खान-विभाग की चिन्ता का मुख्य विषय खनकों का कल्याण होना चाहिए। वन सम्बन्धी कानूनों के विरुद्ध जो अपराध किये जाते हैं, वे केवल उसी दशा में बन्द होंगे, जबकि दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन हो और जंगलवासियों के लिये भरण-पोषण के साधन प्राप्त करने के अवसर उपलब्ध हों। ऐसा होने पर ही आदिवासी लोग वृक्षारोपण और वृक्षसरक्षण में भी उतनी ही दिलचस्पी लेंगे, जितनी वे उन्हें काटने में लेते हैं। जंगल में पैदा होने वाली वस्तुएँ एकत्र करने और उन्हें प्रयोग में लाने के कारण भी पूर्णतम रोजगार के अवसर उपलब्ध होने चाहिएँ। जिस हद तक इन उपजों को बाजार में भेजने के पहले सँवारा जा सकता हो, उस हद तक इस काम में संलग्न स्थानीय जनता के हित की दृष्टि से सँवारने की प्रक्रिया का भी संगठन होना चाहिए। जंगल उन सामग्रियों के आगार होते हैं, जिनसे देशी अथवा विदेशी, दोनों ही प्रकार के दवा-उद्योगों को अभिवृद्धि होनी है। इस सुझाव पर विचार करना सर्वथा संगत है कि उन आदिवासी युवकों को, जो योग्य हों, उनकी माध्यमिक शिक्षा के बाद दवा बनाने के काम की ट्रेनिंग के लिये विशेष सुविधा दी जानी चाहिए। उसके बाद उन्हें जंगली इलाकों की सीमाओं पर छोटे आकार में दवा के कारखाने संचलित करने में सहायता दी जानी चाहिए।

यदि प्रमुख कच्चे माल के रूप में जंगल की उपजों के उपयोग पर आधारित अन्य उद्योग भी स्थापित किये जायँ, तो मुनाफे का कुछ अंश आदिवासियों को भी मिलना ही चाहिए। यदि भविष्य में इन उद्योगों की स्थापना केवल सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में ही हो, अथवा वे किसी क्षेत्र के सहकारिता के आधार पर संगठित जंगल-वासियों द्वारा संचालित हो तो यह योजना भविष्य में आसानी से कार्यान्वित की जा सकती है।

जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, देश में शायद ही कोई ऐसा क्षेत्र हो, जहाँ खेती से आदिवासियों का कोई सम्बन्ध न हो। आराजियों के प्रारम्भिक स्वामी होने के बावजूद, इस समय उनमें से अधिकांश, देश भर में सर्वत्र, एक अनियमित अर्थ-व्यवस्था के प्रभाव के अन्तर्गत काश्तकार के रूप में या मजदूर की हैसियत से, और कभी-कभी दास बनकर भी, खेती करते हैं। प्रशासनिक और कानूनी-व्यवस्थाओं द्वारा काश्तकारों और जमींदारों के सम्बन्ध नियमित हो रहे हैं। इन उपायों द्वारा आदिवासियों को अधिकतम लाभ उपलब्ध कराने की दृष्टि से यह जरूरी है कि सरकारी संस्था इसे अपना प्रमुख कर्त्तव्य माने कि उनके हितों की रक्षा ऐसे लोगों के विरुद्ध की जाय जो उनकी कानूनी अज्ञानता से तथा उनमें शासकों के प्रति भय से लाभ भावना उठाना चाहते हैं। इससे भी अधिक कठिन जिम्मेदारी सामाजिक कार्यकर्त्ताओं की है, क्योंकि वे ही आदिवासियों को उनके अधिकारों और कानूनी व्यवस्थाओं के सम्बन्ध में सजग कर सकते हैं। खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिये अभी तक काफी कानूनी उपाय और संरक्षण लागू नहीं किये गये हैं। किन्तु जहाँ-कहीं दासत्व जैसी स्थितियां चालू हैं, राज्य का कर्तव्य है कि वहाँ हस्तक्षेप करे, बशर्ते कि अभी तक उसने ऐसा न किया हो। अभी तक बागानों के मजदूरों को छोड़कर निम्नतम मजदूरी का नियम कहीं अन्यत्र लागू नहीं किया गया है।

यदि आदिवासी जंगली क्षेत्रों में अनधिकृत तरीके से पेड़ काटते हैं, और जमीन इस प्रकार जोतते-जोते हैं जिससे मिट्टी का कटाव उत्पन्न हो जाता है, तो इसका एकमात्र कारण यही है कि जमीन के लिये उनकी भूख असन्तुष्ट है। इसका समाधान दो प्रकार से हो सकता है :—कार्य की आवश्यकता की सन्तुष्टि से और सामाजिक शिक्षा द्वारा। पहली आवश्यकता तो उस हद तक पूरी की जा सकती है, जहाँ तक जंगल की कटाई सम्बन्धी कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत, अथवा ऊसर जमीन को खेती योग्य बनाने के कारण, अतिरिक्त भूमि प्राप्त हो जाती है। रोजगार के वैकल्पिक साधन उपलब्ध होने पर भी यह माँग पूरी हो सकती है। ये रोजगार ऐसे नहीं होने चाहिएँ, जो अरुचिकर हों और जिनके सम्बन्ध में लोगों को अपने प्राकृतिक वातावरण से दूर जाना पड़े। सम्भव है कि यदि खेती के तरीके सुधार लिये जायँ, अच्छे साधन उपलब्ध हों, और खेती की 'झूम' या 'पोदू' प्रणाली का परित्याग कर दिया जाये, तो उस जमीन पर भी जोकि इस समय उपलब्ध है, कुछ और अधिक रोजगार की व्यवस्था हो सके। इस प्रथा से प्रभावित क्षेत्रों में जो भी विकास कार्यक्रम संचालित किये जायें, उनमें नमूने की परियोजनाओं और आदिवासियों को खेती की 'झूम' प्रणाली से पृथक् करने को ऊँची प्राथमिकता मिलनी चाहिए। यह बात सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति और समाज, दोनों ही के लिये उपयोगी सिद्ध होगी।

आजादी के पूर्व, ऐसे प्रशासक और मानव शास्त्री थे, जिनका विचार था कि आदिम-जातियों की संस्कृति और उनके हितों को सबसे ज्यादा प्रोत्साहन उस समय अपनाई गई नीति से ही मिल सकता था। वह नीति थी, एक अर्थ में उन्हें एकाकी और भारत की शेष आबादी से दूर रखना। आदिम-जातियों को एकाकी रखने की इस नीति ने कितनी हानि पहुंचाई है, यह इस तथ्य से स्पष्ट है कि उसके अन्तर्गत आदिवासी लोग अपनी भूमि तो खो ही बैठे, साथ ही, उनपर ऋण का बोझ भी लद गया। नीति असफल रही क्योंकि छोटे अफसरों, व्यापारियों और सूदखोरों के वर्ग ने आदिवासी वर्ग पर तरह-तरह की मुसीबतें ढायीं। गैर-आदिवासी के नाम भूमि की मालकियत के हस्तांतरण, और महंगे सूद पर दिये जाने वाले ऋण को रोकने के लिये, हाल के वर्षों में, अपेक्षाकृत उन्नत कानूनी संरक्षण और मजबूत प्रशासकीय कार्यवाहियों से युक्त पूरक कानून बनाने पड़े। संरक्षण के इन दोनों रूपों को तब तक कायम रखना होगा, जब तक कि आदिवासी अपने को एक संगठन के रूप में संगठित नहीं कर लेते। राष्ट्र-निर्माण में विकास का एक ऐसा भी अङ्ग है, जिसने बहुत सी अनुसूचित आदिम जातियों को, कदाचित, जनसंख्या के दूसरे अङ्गों से भी अधिक प्रभावित किया है। हमारे आर्थिक विकास की योजनाओं के अंग के रूप में सिंचाई और जल-विद्युत की बड़ी-बड़ी परियोजनाओं पर कार्य हो रहा है। परियोजनाएँ अधिकांशतः पहाड़ों और जंगली इलाकों में स्थित हैं। इन स्थानों के निवासी मुख्यतः आदिवासी हैं। जलाशय के लिये जो जमीनें चुनी गई हैं वे आदिवासियों की हैं, जिनसे उन्हें खाली करने और जीवन निर्वाह के लिये दूसरा धन्धा ढूंढने को कहा गया है। इस समस्या ने, जोकि सामान्यतः ग्राम

समाज के सभी भागों के लिये एक जटिल समस्या है, आदिवासियों को एक मुसीबत में डाल दिया है, क्योंकि वे प्रायः साधनहीन और स्थानांतरण के लिये असमर्थ होते हैं। लगभग ४० वर्ष पूर्व, टाटा विद्युत योजना के निर्माण के फलस्वरूप बम्बई राज्य के पूना जिले में मुल्शी सत्याग्रह चलाया गया था। इसमें महाराष्ट्र के प्रमुख नेताओं ने हिस्सा लिया था। सत्याग्रह के माध्यम से उस समय एक ऐसी परियोजना से पैदा होने वाली बेचैनी पर चिन्ता प्रकट की गई थी, जिससे प्रभावित होने वाला जमीन का क्षेत्र आधुनिक सिंचाई और विद्युत उत्पादन योजनाओं से प्रभावित क्षेत्रों की तुलना में बहुत ही छोटा था। वह क्षेत्र ऐसे लोगों से आबाद नहीं था, जो आदिवासियों की भाँति पिछड़े हुए और पृथक् रूप से रहते रहे हों। भविष्य में ऐसी परियोजनाओं को स्वीकार करते समय यह जरूरी है कि आदिवासियों के पुनर्वास के लिये पहले निकटवर्ती क्षेत्रों में निःशुल्क भूमि प्रदान करने की व्यवस्था पर विचार कर लिया जाय।

किन्तु, भूमि अत्यन्त सीमित मात्रा में ही उपलब्ध है, खास तौर से इसलिये कि राष्ट्रीय हित में यह जरूरी है कि वन-साधनों का संरक्षण, और वृक्षारोपण किया जाय और पहाड़ियों के ऊपरी इलाकों में मिट्टी के कटाव को रोका जाये। मृत्यु-दर पर उचित नियन्त्रण लग जाने से सम्भवतः समाज के अन्य वर्गों की भांति ही आदिवासियों की जनसंख्या भी बढ़ेगी। अतः आगे यह जरूरी होगा कि आदिवासियों के लिये रोजगार के वैकल्पिक तरीकों, जैसे कृषि या जंगल से सम्बद्ध उद्योगों के विकास द्वारा, रोजगार के साधन पैदा किये जायें। समूचे देश के लिये किसी एक निश्चित तरीके का सुझाव देना कठिन है, हालांकि व्यक्तिगत रूप से मैं यही सुझाव दूंगा कि सर्वत्र चर्खे का प्रचार हो। यहाँ पर मैं बतला देना चाहता हूं कि कुछ क्षेत्रों में काफी सफलता के साथ अम्बर चर्खे का प्रचार किया गया है। किन्तु अंबर चर्खा चालू करने का फैसला, अंशतः इस बात पर निर्भर करेगा कि कपास जैसे कच्चे साधन किस हद तक उपलब्ध हैं, और अंशतः विभिन्न आदिम जातीय वर्गों की कुशलता और रुचि पर। मिसाल के तौर पर, यह सुझाव दिया गया है कि इनमें से अनेक बढ़ईगिरी और लुहारी को अधिक पसन्द करते हैं। अतः, जहां कहीं भी प्रशिक्षण की व्यवस्था के लिये अनुकूल स्थिति मौजूद हो, वहाँ इस अनिवार्य ग्रामीण उद्योग का विस्तार होना चाहिए। अधिकांश आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में पशुओं की संख्या बहुत बड़ी है। अक्सर पशु ही उनकी प्रधान सम्पत्ति होते हैं। यह सुझाव विचारणीय है कि इन पशुओं के मरने पर उनकी हड्डियो के ढांचे जहाँ कहीं फेंके जाते हैं, उनके आस-पास विकेन्द्रित उद्योगों का विकास करना संभव है, या नहीं। यदि इस उद्योग के प्रति परम्परागत विद्वेष कायम हो तो, कालान्तर से, आर्थिक प्रेरणायें इस प्रकार के विद्वेष का उन्मूलन कर देंगी। जोर सिर्फ इस बात पर देना है कि कल्याण सम्बन्धी सभी कार्यक्रम में, अनिवार्य रूप से, सहायता पेशों, कुटीर उद्योगों और यदि आवश्यकता हो तो छोटे उद्योगों को विकसित और जारी करने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

मेरे विचार से आवश्यक यह है कि इन लोगों की आय का स्तर ऊँचा करने के लिये हर सम्भव प्रयास किया जाये, जो कि हमारी जनसंख्या के सबसे पीड़ित और सुविधाहीन वर्ग हैं। हमारे राष्ट्रीय आयोजन का यह भी एक लक्ष्य है। अपने इन दो करोड़ देशवासियों के रहने-सहने का स्तर ऊँचा करने का प्रश्न निश्चय ही, इस आवश्यकता पर जोर देता है कि उनके भौतिक कल्याण को बढ़ावा देने के लिये सतत और सुदृढ़ प्रयास करना होगा। हमारे यह बन्धु उन लोगों से पृथक से हो गये हैं जो राष्ट्रीय मामलों को स्वरूप देने के लिये अधिकार-सम्पन्न हैं। इनके रहन-सहन का स्तर ऊँचा उठाने के लिये ऐसे साधनों का सहारा लेना जरूरी है, जिनका निर्देश, मिसाल के तौर पर, अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित आदिम-जातियों के कमिश्नर की वार्षिक रिपोर्टों में, और इस विषय के विचारकों द्वारा, दिया गया है। मानवीय कल्याण के रूप में कुल राष्ट्रीय आय वृद्धि तब तक कोई महत्व नहीं रखती, जब तक कि वे लोग जिनकी आय मुश्किल से १०० रुपये सालाना है, कुछ और न पाने लगें, ताकि वे बेहतर भोजन और वस्त्र प्राप्त कर सकें और अपने लिये उचित शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर सके। मेरे विचार से आयोजन अधिकारियों को चाहिए कि वे इस उद्देश्य को उच्चतम प्राथमिकता प्रदान करें। सरकारी खर्च से सामाजिक सेवाओं और सुविधाओं का विस्तार करने के फलस्वरूप वर्तमान प्रत्यक्ष असमानताएँ और भी घट जायेंगी।

यदि आयोजन के क्षेत्र से एक ऐसे समाज के निर्माण की आवश्यकता को निकाल दिया जाये, जिसमें अच्छे नागरिक, सभ्य स्त्री और पुरुष रहते हों, जोकि प्रत्येक दृष्टि से राष्ट्र के अन्य नागरिकों, के ही समान हों, तो निश्चय ही समस्या के सम्बन्ध में यह हद से अधिक भौतिकवादी दृष्टिकोण माना जायेगा। आज के भारत में भी हमने ऐसे पुरुष और ऐसी महिलाएँ पैदा की हैं, जो बौद्धिक, नैतिक, आध्यात्मिक सभी क्षेत्रों में अपने युग के सब से महान् व्यक्तियों की पंक्ति में रखे जायेंगे। किन्तु, जैसा कि विदेशी शासन के जमाने में गोपालकृष्ण गोखले कहा करते थे, भावी पीढ़ियाँ हमें बड़े-बड़े महापुरुषों के उद्भव की कसौटी पर नहीं जाँचेंगी, बल्कि इस कसौटी पर जाँचेंगी कि हम इन सभी क्षेत्रों में औसत स्तर को कितना ऊँचा करते हैं। इस वजह से समाज के अधिकारहीन और असुविधाजनक परिस्थितियों में पड़े हुए वर्गों का तेज विकास राष्ट्र के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत सभी कामों से अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है।

ऊपर मैंने संक्षेप में शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं। मैं एक बार फिर जोर दूंगा कि शिक्षा का स्वरूप और उसकी विषय-वस्तु जनता के दैनिक जीवन और उसकी संस्कृति के अनुरूप ही होनी चाहिए। उसमें इतनी क्षमता होनी चाहिए कि वह ज्ञान का द्वार उन्मुक्त कर दे, ताकि समाज विरोधी परम्पराएँ, जैसे सती प्रथा, स्वयं ही मिट जायें, भले ही उन्हें कानून द्वारा न दबाया जा सके। प्रायः रीति-रिवाजों और अन्ध-विश्वासों में घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध होता है। हम लोग इस आधुनिक युग में भी इस प्रकार के अन्ध-विश्वास को मानते हैं। शिक्षा का प्रसार होने पर उनकी जगह विवेकपूर्ण व्यवहारों को प्रश्रय मिलेगा।

अनेक आदिमजातीय समाज अपनी प्राचीन संस्कृति को श्रद्धा दृष्टि से पूजते हैं। उन्हें रास-रंग, नृत्य, संगीत और क्रीड़ाओं से प्यार होता है, उन्हें खुले मैदान के खेल पसन्द हैं। उनमें हर्षोन्मादमय जीवन के लिये जबर्दस्त उत्साह है। हमारी सबसे बड़ी गलती यही होगी कि हम अपने सांस्कृतिक मापदण्डों और मूल्यों को उनके ऊपर जबर्दस्ती लादें, क्योंकि सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं का उन्मूलन वह सबसे बड़ी क्षति है जोकि किसी समाज के प्रति की जा सकती है। यहीं पर मानव-शास्त्रियों और समाज-शास्त्रियों का महत्व है, जिन्हें चाहिए कि वे स्वस्थ परम्पराओं को बढ़ावा देने में सहायक हों और अस्वस्थ परम्पराओं को प्रश्रय देने वाले द्वारों को अवरुद्ध करें। 'ऐकांतिकता' और 'हस्तक्षेप' सम्बन्धी वाद-विवाद, जिसके विषय में ठक्कर बापा ने सन् १६४१ में 'काले-स्मारक' भाषण के सिलसिले में अपना मत व्यक्त किया था, अब भूतकालीन इतिहास की चीज बन गया है। अनुसूचित आदिम जातियाँ भारतीय राष्ट्र के अवच्छिन्न अंग हैं और उनको भी भारतीय राष्ट्र का निर्माण करने वाले विविध प्रकार के सम्पन्न तत्वों के संगम में सम्मानपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त करने का पूरा हक है।

आदिवासी जीवन का और एक पहलू है जिसका उल्लेख करना जरूरी है। कुछ लोगों के अनुसार आदिवासी लोग, शराब के विशेष आदी होने के कारण अन्य समाज से पृथक् माने गये हैं। किन्तु चूंकि आदिम जातियों का रीति रिवाज तथा स्वभाव भारत की सभी आदिम जातियों में एक जैसी न होने से इस प्रकार सर्व साधारण बात पर से एक निष्कर्ष निकालना निरा उतावलापन होगा। यह हो सकता है कि वातावरण के या अति कष्टमय काम की वजह से इस प्रकार के उत्तेजक पेय की आवश्यकता उन्हें होगी और शराब को इन्द्रिय तृप्ति का साधन मानते होंगे। जो भी तर्क संगत हो, आदिवासी लोगों में कल्याण कार्य का विकास करने वाले समाज सेवक इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे हैं कि प्रचलित शराब पीने पर प्रतिबन्ध न होने के कारण आदिवासियों की व्यक्तिगत तथा सामाजिक हानि हुई है। अबकारी के ठेके तथा शराब के कानून से शराब पीने वालों की संख्या बढ़ गई है। जितने अधिक लोग शराब पीने के आदी होंगे, यद्यपि वह गरीब हैं उतना सरकारी कोष बढ़ेगा और ठेकेदारों को मुनाफा मिलेगा। परन्तु इसका भयंकर परिणाम अब हमारे सामने स्पष्ट है।

बम्बई जैसे प्रदेश में जहाँ शराब बन्दी जारी की गई है, आदिवासी कार्यकर्त्ताओं का यह अनुभव है कि शराब बन्दी से आदिवासी क्षेत्र में अच्छा परिणाम निकला है। कुछ स्थानों पर अच्छा कार्य न होने का कारण है कि वहां स्थानीय नेतृत्व का सहयोग इस कार्य में नहीं लिया गया होगा। इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि शराब बन्दी कार्यक्रम की यशस्विता के लिये कानून जारी करने के साथ साथ लोगों को समझा कर जनमत तैयार करने की ओर प्रभावशाली कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है।

हमारे संविधान में निर्दिष्ट राज्य नीति के निर्देशक सिद्धान्तों का पालन करने के सिलसिले में हमारे सामने इस समय आयोजित विकास का एक कार्यक्रम है, जिसे जनसंख्या के इस वर्ग की आयोग्यताओं

और आवश्यकताओं को मान्यता देनी, और उनके शैक्षणिक और आर्थिक हितों की रक्षा करनी होगी। इसलिए, राज्य के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि वह कानूनी और प्रशासनिक, दोनों ही प्रकार के ऐसे उपाय अपनाए, जिनसे शोषण के विरुद्ध संरक्षण की व्यवस्था हो सके और समाज-कल्याण को बढ़ावा मिले। राज्य की इस कार्यवाही की आवश्यकता के बावजूद, आज भी स्वैच्छिक समाज-सेवा के लिये उतना ही विशाल क्षेत्र पड़ा हुआ है, जितना उस समय था जब कि ठक्कर बापा ने इस अछूते क्षेत्र में पहले-पहल प्रवेश किया था। जैसे-जैसे हमारी अन्तर्दृष्टि विस्तृत होती जायेगी, और सर्वतोन्मुखी विकास के लिये हमारी अभिलाषा बढ़ती जायेगी, वैसे ही वैसे यह क्षेत्र भी बढ़ता जायेगा। व्यक्तिगत तौर पर मेरा दृष्टिकोण यह है कि अधिकांश कल्याण-कारी कार्य समाज सेवा ऐजेंसियों को सुपुर्द कर देना चाहिए, जबकि आर्थिक कार्यों को सहकारिता के आधार पर बढ़ावा देना चाहिए। यह सही है कि इस क्षेत्र में कार्यकर्त्ताओं की, और उनका मार्ग प्रदर्शन करने के लिये स्थानीय ऐजेंसियों की संख्या बहुत ही सीमित है। मेरा अनुमान है कि इस सम्मेलन के लक्ष्यों में से एक यह भी है कि इस राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन की ओर नये अनुयायियों को आकृष्ट किया जाय, और साथ ही, कार्यकर्त्ताओं को एक स्थान पर मिलने का अवसर दिया जाय, उनके उत्साह को जागृत करना है और उनकी अन्तर्दृष्टि को व्यापक बनाना है। हमारे राष्ट्र के सब से बड़े दो नेताओं ने मार्ग प्रदर्शन और परामर्श के रूप में उन्हें जो बातें बताई हैं, उससे अधिक प्रेरणादायक कोई अन्य चीज नहीं हो सकती। भगवान हम सब को इस योग्य बनाये कि हम अपने विनीत प्रयासों द्वारा उनके सम्बन्ध के अनुरूप अपने आप को बना सकें।

Dr. Rajendra Prasad going round the Exhibition.
डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद प्रदर्शिनी को देखते हुए

# प्रदर्शनी के उद्घाटन समारोह पर बंबई के राज्यपाल श्री श्रीप्रकाश का भाषण

भाइयों और बहनों, पूज्य राष्ट्रपति जी ने और अन्य राष्ट्रीय नेताओं ने हमारे सामने आदिवासी समस्याओं को अच्छी तरह उपस्थित किया है और साथ ही साथ उन समस्याओं को हल करने का जो तरीका है उसे भी बतलाया है। आदिवासी शब्द, यह कहाँ से आया, मैं नहीं कह सकता। क्योंकि यदि अपने देश के कुछ लोगों को आदिवासी माना जाय तो बाकी के जो हम लोग हैं वह बाहरी और नूतन हो जाते हैं। मेरी समझ में तो हम सभी लोग आदिवासी हैं। और इसी देश में सदा से रहते आये हैं, और रहते रहेंगे। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि अपने देश में बीच बीच में कुछ बाहर से भी लोग आकर बसते रहे हैं। और नई नई विचारधाराओं के आने से नये नये आचार विचार के होने से और नई-नई कार्यप्रणालियों के निकलने से कुछ लोग एक प्रकार से रहने लगे और कुछ लोग अपने पुराने तरीकों में ही पड़े रहे। जब से मैं इस बम्बई नगरी में आया हूँ और मुझे दो बरस हो गये तब से यहाँ के कुछ लोगों के रहने के तरीकों को मैंने देखा तो मैंने स्वयं अपने को आदिवासी ही माना। ऐसी अवस्था में मैं तो यह भी समझता हूं कि हमारे देश की जो विशेषता है उसे ही हम अभी तक चित्रित करते रहे हैं। विशेषता यह है कि हम अनेक होते हुए भी एक हैं। जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हम यह नहीं चाहते कि जो भिन्न-भिन्न लोग हमारे देश में बसते हैं वे लोग अपने रीति रस्म को छोड़ दें। श्री पंत जी ने भी हमें बतलाया है कि हम अनेक होते हुए भी वास्तव में आन्तरिक दृष्टि में एक ही हैं। परन्तु इसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं कि भिन्न-भिन्न जातियां अलग-अलग रहने से एक दूसरे से दूर चली गई। और जो उन्हें एक सूत्र बांधे हुए था वह सूत्र शिथिल हो गया। बहुत से विदेशी लोगों में जैसा कि पंत जी ने हमसे कहा है कि यहाँ पर आकर जो लोग आदिवासी कहे जाते रहे है, जो अभी तक जंगलों और पहाड़ों में रहते रहे हैं, जो अपने आचार विचार ही के अनुसार अपना जीवन व्यतीत करते रहे हैं उनके बीच में उन्होंने काम करना शुरू किया। हम अन्य लोगों की उदासीनता के कारण जो हमारे भाई आदिवासी कहे जाते हैं उनके बीच में शिक्षा का अभाव रहा। और साथ ही साथ उनके चिकित्सा की भी कोई चिन्ता नहीं होती रही। जब बाहर से आये हुए अन्य लोग इनको शिक्षा देने लगे और इनकी चिकित्सा करने लगे, जब ये अज्ञान के अन्धकार में पड़े हुए थे तो उन्होंने इन्हें नई ज्योति दी। और जब ये लोग रोगी की अवस्था में पहुंचते थे तो इनको निरोग करने में और स्वस्थ करने में सहायता की तो हमारे बहुत से भाइयों का ध्यान इनकी तरफ गया और कुछ अपने देश की तरफ से प्रयत्न होने लगे। तो चाहे हम ये लोग नये समझे जांय, चाहे हम पुराने

लोग समझे जांय। एक बात में तो हम सब लोगों को भी सुभीता मिलना चाहिये। वह यह है कि हमारी सबकी शिक्षा अच्छी तरह से मिलनी चाहिये। जिससे कि हम सब लोग भी संसार में उचित स्थान, पाकर अपना कार्य अच्छी तरह से कर सकें और समाज की सेवा करने का मौका हमको भी मिले। साथ ही साथ हम में किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति को नहीं होना चाहिये जो कि अगर वह बीमार पड़ जाय, या रोग से ग्रस्त हो जाय तो उसकी चिकित्सा करने वाला, उसकी फिकर करने वाला कोई न रहे।

जब से हमें स्वराज्य मिला है, तब से आज तक देख रहे हैं कि चारों तरफ से यह प्रयत्न हो रहा है कि हमारे देश में कोई ऐसा नर नारी बच्चा न रहे जिसकी कि उपयुक्त रूप से फिकर न हो। और आप चाहें उन्हें आदिवासी कहिये चाहे उन्हें अन्त्यज कहिये, सब लोगों को बराबर माना जा रहा है, सबको बराबर देश के कार्य मे भाग लेने का अधिकार दिया जा रहा है। ऐसी अवस्था में सभी को हमें याद करना है जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा, जैसा कि पंत जी ने कहा, यह अनुचित होगा कि हम सब लोग अपने वैत्रिक आचार विचार को छोड़ दें, हमको अपने देश की अनेकता भी बनाये रखना है और साथ ही साथ उसमें आन्तरिक एकता भी पैदा करना है। यही काम इस समय आप सबकी संस्थाओं की तरफ से हो रहा है और मैं आप सबके प्रति अपनी कृतज्ञता प्रकट करना चाहता हूं कि इस अपने पंचम सम्मेलन में आपने मुझे निमन्त्रित किया और मुझे यह मौका दिया कि आपके सामने मैं दो चार शब्द कह सकूं। हम सब लोगों को जो सबसे बड़ी बात है अपने हृदय में आज रखना है वह यह है कि यह जो हमारा भारत देश है वह हम सबका है। और इसकी सेवा के लिये हम सब लोगों को भी उद्यत होना चाहिये। कोई भी इस कार्य में अपेक्षा नहीं कर सकता। पंत जी ने अभी बड़ा सुन्दर उदाहरण दिया था कि कोई सांकल की छोटी सी लड़ी अगर कमजोर रह जाती है तो सारी सिकड़ी जंजीर ही कमजोर हो जाती है। तो हमारे देश में ऐसे यदि कोई लोग हों कि जो कि अज्ञान के कारण, रोग के कारण या किसी अन्य कारणों से कमजोर हों तो उनको मजबूत करना बाकी सब लोगों का धर्म है। महात्मा गांधी जी ने देश को एक किया, सबको भारत देश की तरफ प्रवृत्त किया, और जो लोग कमजोर थे उनको मजबूत बनाया। जो अशिक्षित थे, उनको शिक्षित किया। हमारा सबका यह धर्म है कि उनके सत्कार्य को हम करते जायें। और जैसा कि आप स्वयं भी देख रहे हैं कि जब से हमें स्वराज्य मिला है, तब से इस तरफ हम सभी लोग प्रवृत्त हुए हैं। भाइयों और बहनों, जो काम मुझको सुपुर्द किया गया है वह छोटा सा काम है। पर वह अपना महत्त्व तो रखता ही है। मुझको यह काम दिया गया है कि जो यहाँ पर प्रदर्शनी आयोजित की गई है, उसका मैं उद्घाटन करूं, उस प्रदर्शनी के कुछ अंशों को देखने का मुझे मौका मिला है और मैं आशा करता हूं कि इस-प्रदर्शनी को आप सब लोग देखेंगे और इससे दो बातों को अच्छी तरह से सीखेंगे। एक तो यह कि भिन्न-भिन्न जातियां किसप्रकार से अपना काम करती हैं, कैसी सुन्दर छोटी-छोटी चीजें बनाती हैं और उनके द्वारा अपना जीवन

A view of Tribal Dance.
आदिवासी नृत्य का एक दृश्य

निर्वाह करती हैं। इससे हमको यह भी मालूम होगा कि जो आजकल बड़े-बड़े आयोजन हो रहे हैं बड़े-बड़े चमत्कार देखने में आ रहे हैं, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने तैयार हो रहे हैं। पर हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग जिन्हें अब तक अशिक्षित समझा जाता था, वे लोग अपने घर गृहस्थी को चलाने के लिये कैसी छोटी-छोटी चीजें और कैसे सुन्दर रूप से बना सकते थे इससे हमें और आपको सबक सीखना होगा। दूसरी बात यदि हमें देखना है जो कि प्रदर्शनी हमें दिखलायेगी कि किस तरह से आज आदिम जातियों के उद्धार के लिये उनको शिक्षा देने के लिये, उनकी चिकित्सा करने के लिये प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं। यदि प्रदर्शनी ने हम सब लोगों को यह बात बतलाई, अर्थात् कि हम अपनी अनेकता में अपनी एकता बनाये रहें। और यह बात भी सिखलाई कि हम सुसज्जित होते हुए किस प्रकार से एक दूसरे की सेवा करने में तत्पर हैं। और साथ ही साथ हमको किस प्रकार से अपने भारत देश में भक्ति रखनी चाहिये। तो मैं समझता हूं कि तब इस सम्मेलन का कार्य और प्रदर्शनी का कार्य समुचित और उपयुक्त समझा जायेगा।

भाइयों और बहिनों, मैं आप सब लोगों को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे यह अवसर दिया कि मैं आपके सामने दो चार शब्द कह सकूं और साथ ही साथ में हृदय से यह घोषित करता हूं कि यह प्रदर्शनी आपकी उद्घाटित हो गई। और मैं यही आशा करता हूं कि जिस उद्देश्य से इसकी स्थापना हुई है, उस उद्देश्य की सिद्धि होगी और आप सब लोग इसे देखकर प्रसन्न होंगे और देश और समाज को दृढ़ बनाने में सदा उद्यत रहेंगे।

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## CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION OF THE FIFTH TRIBAL WELFARE CONFERENCE.

by

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Different types of conferences are held in India. The Tribal Welfare Conference is unique because it is an annual tribal festival ; it is an assembly of tribals ; and different agencies and workers associated with work in tribal areas gather together to know each other and exchange their ideas and experiences. Anthropologists are also invited to this annual gathering, presumably because they are expected to make a special contribution towards the understanding of tribal life, problems, and programmes. Anthropology is an old and important science. In the course of its history it has been understood and interpreted in more than one way, and as social sciences continue to develop, there may be more

varied thought and functions associated with its development.

Anthropology helped the understanding of primitive peoples who lived amongst a larger humanity with different types and degrees of civilisation and culture. As the science of man, its spheres of study, thought and investigation increased considerably. With the emergence and progress of Sociology, it developed close inter-relationship with the new science with which it has much in common. All the other theoretical and applied social sciences are also closely inter-related, and the benefit of the knowledge of each helps all the other related sciences.

When Anthropologists are invited to a gathering of this nature, they are naturally invited to help the sponsors of the organisation in some concrete and realistic way without strictly confining themselves to the specific scope of their own science.

An important section of humanity has lived in this country, with probably the longest history compared to other sections of Indian society. They number several millions, though their actual population in terms of defined terms has hardly even been correctly estimated. Anthropologists with their more precise knowledge will probably prefer to call almost all tribals in India, the "so-called tribals". Many of the tribals do not seem to be tribals in any sense of the term. The vicissitudes of history of many important tribes have led to complicated problems of race, social structure and its development, and patterns of culture. In any case they have grown in their own way, considerably affected by the physical and human environments that surrounded them. In recent centuries, due to imitation and imposition, their lives and folkways have considerably changed. They have been approached by other sections of Indian society. The inevitable law of social change does not spare any section of humanity, and tribes have changed, and have been changing all the time.

The period of post-Independence has been a period of social crisis for them. The forces of social change have become very powerful, and they are determined to invade the minds, life and history of these good people. Considered by themselves, the so-called tribals in India are not socially and culturally weak ; but their pattern of response to the forces of social change depends upon the nature and content of their past history, and the degree of their present social and cultural strength or weakness.

Therefore in this brief paper I shall first deal with three issues : (1) The forces of social change that are at work ; (2) The response of the so-called tribals to the forces working on them ; and (3) the type of new conditions and relationships that are likely to arise as a result of the consequences of social forces and the response of the tribals to them.

The world is entering the atomic age with its relentless drive to enter space, use power, produce goods, and alter the standards of living of the entire humanity. Big and important results are achieved partly by co-operation, and partly by conflict. The avoidance of conflict, the freedom to all people to grow according to their own intelligence,

needs and wishes, and the active goodwill and co-operation of others are essential prerequisites to a peaceful and creative development of the human race. At present it appears that there are relentless and powerful world forces that are influencing and are bent upon influencing the history of all nations. Whilst these forces of inter-nationalism, and physical, military and political power are operating on India, there are forces within India which are similarly operating on the tribal population. There is a good deal of over-confidence which independence naturally produces in any country ; but this independence throws up leadership and ideas and creates situations to which all common people are almost compelled to capitulate.

Government at the highest level has become an irrepressible and irresistable force, gigantic in its resources, energetic and active in its drives, over-confident of its actions, and at times self-righteous in the interpretation of its own plans and programmes. The effects of these centrifugal drives are so powerful that at times they seem to lead to the opposite of desired results, producing interesting paradoxes. For example the very drive of the Government seems to paralyse a section of the administration itself. The drive for community organisation in tribal areas could actually disorganise tribal communities. Political power and forces when they become dynamic, can stimulate society ; but at times they cannot produce systematic patterns of activities to achieve objectives, ends and goals as desired and understood by simple people. Action, without philosophy, objectivity and concept can produce confusion. And at the present stage of our development we are evidently and perhaps rightly prefering confusion to inaction.

Confining ourselves to tribal areas and the tribal population, forces of centralism have evaluated history and decided that changes in tribal life are inevitable, overdue and necessary. Anthropologists are often misunderstood and misinterpreted. They do not resist change, and they advocate change. They only creatively criticise the manner in which a human agency acts as an instrument and force for change amongst different groups of people. The agency, when it is mainly political and administrative, does not seem to take into consideration the history, wishes and needs of different peoples in different areas. The freedom of all sections of society should be respected, and the agency expediting change should have the desire and the ability to create initiative amongst regions and communities so that they may themselves grow without being hampered by domination of any kind, especially political and economic. Beyond providing friendly guidance and actual concrete assistance, the impulses of the people must be released to use and direct their own initiative. They should be allowed to apply their minds to discover their own problems ; and they should have opportunities to develop decision making abilities. The philosophy and life of any community, without coming into cross-purposes with the social processes, must grow out of its own actions and behaviours.

Urbanism and mechanisation are two dominating social forces of the last serveral centuries. They have affected

the philosophy and morale, and the desire and effort patterns of many societies. The impact of urbanism on tribal areas has to be carefully watched in order to preserve the social health and happiness of tribal population. A hasty and impulsive introduction of these forces in tribal life may not lead to the type of health and happiness that are possible for man in natural and forest surroundings.

Tribal communities are known to possess a homogeneity and cohesion which were once disturbed by casteism and feudalism, and may be further accentuated by political separatism. Tribal communities, within their narrow social spheres, are not individualistic; and modern forces of centralism and change are considerably dominated by individualistic tendencies. It is therefore desirable that local leadership and social organisation should have far greater scope for promoting growth and development than the initiative of administration and external agencies.

Most tribals are simple minded and trusting people. They respond easily to forces of change generated outside, and they have powers of social imitation which enables them to quickly adapt themselves to changing conditions. But they respond more easily when they are emotionally stimulated and aroused, and they are slow to respond to ideas and arguments. They are not always capable of looking after their self-interest and therefore anthropologists are naturally keen that the emotional qualities of the people may not be used to the detriment of their happiness, progress, and real interest. Those who are familiar with tribal life and history will not deny that the tribals were often antagonised against the ways and approach of some Government Departments. The response of the tribals is full and hearty when work is carried out amongst them on a basis of equality, in the true spirit of community organisation and development. Submissiveness has harmed them in the past, and therefore a robust appeal to self-help and co-operation meets with their hearty approval.

The intensive community development programmes are raising and will continue to raise vital issues of inter-relationship between groups. The response to change in all tribal areas can be one of three types, viz., hostile, or indifferent, or co-operative. The same types of relations will follow between tribal groups in the same area, and between tribals and non-tribals. The latter will be represented by the local non-tribals, or the personnel of community development and social welfare. It is too early to determine what kind of social relationship will follow the conclusions of community development projects; but as a result of the projects the tribals must become strong, and due to exercise of leadership and use of decision-making habits they may also become self-assertive. They will not naturally tolerate inferiority, social injustice, and lack of opportunity; and they will demand far greater and more just and economic returns than what they now receive from forest departments and contractors, and other employers. It is for the project authorities to so guide the people that adjustments and corrections of past mistakes are gradually

done with the result that a new relationship on the basis of real equality, understanding and mutual help will arise between tribals and non-tribals, and especially between tribal and administrative agencies and government and welfare departments.

The present changes are for the good of the community and the region. They represent changes in the following six directions : development of the physical region ; development of local economy ; improvement of State administration ; healthy changes and improvements in the social structure and organisation ; increase of welfare services ; and strengthening of the inherent cultural patterns of the people. The more important is the change that will take place in the mind of the people as result of action and experience.

In every aspect of their lives the tribals must grow as a result of their own initiative, and they must develop desire, effort, health and happiness patterns best suited to them and the region they inhabit. The community project, the administration, and the anthropologist have merely to befriend them and give active and material aid, friendship and inspiration to act and grow according to the established will of the whole community.

Here appears the role of the anthropologist and the other social scientists. The anthropologist clearly sees his role as one of direct contact and relationship with the tribal communities. His co-operation with the Government is incidental, and he is there to assist the Government in order to assist the people. It will be a mistake if the anthropologist believes that he alone is there to help the tribal population. No doubt the anthropologist has the greatest understanding of the past history, and the mind, society and culture of the people. An inadequate, improper, or ever idealistic interpretation of the past may hamper the need to help the tribals to adjust to the present, and confidently and intelligently enter the future according to the established will of the community.

The help of the sociologist and the psychologist are needed to help the application and channelisation of social forces, and at times to modify or avoid them if they are not appreciated by the tribals, or it is not in their interest to be swayed by them. The larger mind and vision of the sociologist, his understanding of dynamic sociology, and his appreciation and capacity to analyse and measure social change as it occurs makes his presence immensely necessary in the social field.

Community Development has revealed to those who intelligently analyse its progress that unhealthy and C3 human beings and communities cannot achieve A1 Economic and Social Developments. To restore the health, strength and vitality of the people, to make the family strong to bear burdens, to make the youth and children grow up to face the future with confidence and security in much better ways than what the present generation is able to do, and to remove social ill-health, diseases and handicaps are the primary functions of sympathetic,

identified and devoted social workers. They are theoretically not as competent as the anthropologist and the sociologist ; but they enter the field of action, and associate intensively with the communities and families, and therefore they deserve the constant help of social scientists to enable them to practise applied social sciences though they do not have adequate grounding in the theory of these sciences. It is my experience that in course of time the theoretical scientists obtain much data, and have an opportunity to learn a good deal from the actions and experience of trained social workers.

Whatever be the immediate need and priority for social preparation and systematic thinking and planning, the final and correct growth and development of tribals will depend on the assistance they receive from regionalists who can correctly interpret geography and climate, and assist man to wisely use all available resources. Economic development with a view to raise the standard of living of the people will depend upon opportunities the communities receive to develop their basic and primary economies. The regionalist, in co-operation with applied economists can help to direct the economic activities of communities, as well as of forest and extension workers.

The greatest weakness of the community development projects in the tribal areas is the ancient, unrealistic, unenthusiastic and legalistic functioning of the Forest Department which has already been the main cause of impoverishment of the tribal people. The Forest Department in certain places have done a good deal of good to the forests ; but their lack of appreciation of the social sciences has led to an undue neglect of the human factor. At places they have even failed to perform the normal duties and endangered the interests of the nation, as well as the tribals. No anthropologist will agree to a divorce of the tribal from the forest. It is like removing the blood of the people and reducing them to property and serfdom. Unless there is a revision of the Forestry Act, and redefinition of the structure and functions of the Forest Department, not only will the progress and benefit of costly tribal schemes be limited, but these will also be considerable waste of human and resources in a poor country.

The enthusiasm of the agriculturist in tribal areas is useful, but pathetic. The forest, grass, and crop must all contribute to the growth of tribal economy without exploitation and injustice. Wherever and whatever the tribal cannot do, and the State takes the advantage and benefit of his incapacity, the State must associate the tribal as full partner and give a fair return, always allowing the tribal to do whatever he can do.

Forestry, in certain areas, is in an alarming state of backwardness and neglect, and a ruthless and unintelligent exploitation of the forest accompanied by neglect must be regarded as a crime against the nation and against agriculture. The anthropologist must co-operate with the regionalist to restore the natural benefits of Nature to those who have always belonged to Nature. In whatever way the tribals may develop, it will be

the end of their happiness and prosperity if they give up their association with Nature to follow the trends of dominating social forces that are seemingly promoting material wealth and prosperity at the cost of human and social health, happiness, morality and real spiritual and cultural values.

I have endeavoured to point out the need of co-operation and team work between social scientists; and further there is the need of bringing the advantages of science to the Government and the communities. Mutual criticism and rancour will not help either the community or the sciences. Recently the Prime Minister has been critical of the work of Professors. It is unfortunate that there is so limited contact between the scientists and the intellectuals, and the Government and the politicians. This problem requires a prudent and rational approach. There is the problem of opportunities for Professors, anthropologists and others to work in the field. It is for the Government to create the opportunities. Then there is the entire problem of the Universities and the present system of teaching the social sciences, and even the other sciences in the Universities. Our country has yet to realise the need for an extensive academic life accompanied by practical experience in order to create a larger number of social scientists. Both Government and the Universities, and even the students believe in as brief a training as possible. Such education and training cannot provide for adequate opportunity, practical training, and opportunities for calm thought for the advancement of any science.

The capacities for sciences like Anthropology and Sociology to actively serve the people and assist the extremely difficult and complex programmes of development are hardly realised, though they are very great. The scope is there, provided the scientists activise themselves and stir out to meet the people and the administrators; and provided the State Governments come out with reasonable scope and opportunities for Professors to work in the field with the officials and the communities. My recent experiences have given me great hope; and the recent utterances of the Prime Minister can only encourage both sides to examine the limitations and impediments that stand in the way of Professors and intellectuals working enthusiastically in harmony with the plans of the Government. It will be unfortunate if the Government will expect the active minds of the nation to become camp followers of those who do not realise the importance of ideas and thought to help and guide the activities of governments and communities.

I will request the Government, Universities and the Community Development authorities to create greater scope and avenues where Professors and students can work actively to seek and learn the approaches, methods and programmes of community development. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences in India, in spite of many limitations, have constantly worked in the field. The effort for such field experience should be properly organised and adequate resources and help should be forthcoming from the State Governments and the Community Development authorities.

It is needless to point out that only a few selected groups of students can work in tribal areas where conditions of life and work are not always suited to minds and persons accustomed to urban life.

Opportunities should not only be available for professors and students of Anthropology and Sociology ; but also to students of economics, biology, botany, zoology, etc. The wealth of the region remains yet unknown to the tribals, and there is a need to explore and discover the potentials of regions which offer scope for intensive development.

Whilst work in the field can create knowledge and experience of realities, there is a need to create small advisory groups of Professors and scientists to put at the disposal of Development Commissioners in each State the available scientific materials and methods which could help the speedy and effective development of tribal areas. There are few scientists in the Block Development Committees. This will also create a meeting ground betwen Professors and administrators, and co-operative efforts may result from such contacts

In any human endeavour, the early efforts may appear to be chaotic and disorderly; but as a result of vigilance and intelligent approach to problems and situations, ways are found to achieve systematic results. To avoid waste of personnel, energy and resources, there is the greatest need of scientific experimentation. This is especially the case with the social sciences and projects involving complex social and economic problems. I have spent the last two years learning and experimenting in areas which are accepted by Government as tribal. The result has been interesting and stimulating. One immediate realisation is the inadequate appreciation and correct evaluation of the time factor in development programmes. In community development there are too many carts before the horse ; and at times development seems to use the railway goods yard method of driving the waggons in front with the engine behind. A useful purpose will be served if Projects are adequately planned on a basis of gradualness, stipulating the complete withdrawal of the community development authorities after seven years during which the communities should be given the experience to manage their own affairs. During the last two of these seven years the project authorities should function under the leadership of organised communities created by their won efforts.

Another realisation is the inadequate appreciation of the social aspects, and contents of community development and their place and role in total development. Social preparation and psychological approaches are needed to initiate and expedite economic development. The people should be able to feel that they are being truly served, before their minds and emotions are awakened to systematic action and participation in development programmes.

The desire for extensivism, love for the grandiose, and a thirst for speedy results has contributed to the immaturity or imperfection of leadership in project areas. If tribals are to be truly served, it is high time that all projects develop a trained personnel in three stages, viz.,

the emergency personnel; the adequately trained personnel for immediate action; and a small group of highly trained and experienced social scientists who can give more efficient and systematic leadership at least in the near future.

In the 400 square mile area in which I have worked, I have confidently realised the need of putting youth at the helm, giving them opportunity, experience, leadership and responsibility. I have also realised the effectiveness and capacity of illiterate persons to both learn and do what literates can do. There is a need to have faith in the common people, in their common sense, and in their enthusiasm and will to act and work provided they feel confident that their interests are properly served in the programmes involved.

I will leave out any mention of my experience of the administration. I may only say that on our part, Professors must have infinite patience and tolerance ; and at the same understand that the administrators also seem to feel the same way about us. Many administrators are over-confident about their experience, and over-estimate difficulties; perhaps on our side Professors may be over-estimating the value of knowledge. The difficulties of administrators it appears, are genuinely immense. At times they feel insecure and uncertain, and the real trouble seems to lie in the conflict of departments, and the hierachy of officialdom. The atmosphere of community development with its zeal, enthusiasm, unconventionality, equality, and the formation of the new habit of working with the people, shoulder to shoulder with them, seems to take time. At times the highest officials seem disinclined to move, and they lack the ability to assign duties and supervision, exact work, and supervise over activities and their results.

The problem of co-operation and relationship between scientists and administrators becomes more simple when responsible administrators are scientists themselves, or they appreciate the value of scientific approaches and thinking. Long and constant contact between the scientist and the administrator will naturally help both sides to contribute in far greater measure to our abilities to be friend and assist the people to become the architects of their own destiny,

# पंचम आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन के अवसर पर
# सभापति श्री जुगतराम दवे का भाषण

*प्रिय मित्रो,*

आदिम जातियों के सम्मेलन के साथ प्रतिवर्ष समाज-कल्याण की दृष्टि से विचार करने वाला एक उप-सम्मेलन रहता है। इस वर्ष के समाज कल्याण उप-सम्मेलन का अध्यक्षपद मुझको दिया गया, जिसके लिये मैं सम्मेलन के कर्त्ता-धर्त्ताओं का और आप सबका हृदय से आभार मानता हूँ।

आदिम जाति देशबांधवों के बीच में बसने वाले अनेक सेवक जिस सम्मेलन में आये हैं; मैं भी उनमें से एक हूँ। मुझको उनके बीच बैठकर हमारे प्यारे वनवासी आप्तजनों का कल्याण-चिन्तन करने का मौका आज मिला है, इसको मैं अपना परम सौभाग्य समझता हूं।

## *वनवासियों का प्रथम दर्शन*

गुजरात में सूरत जिले के वनवासियों के बीच वेडछी नामक छोटे गांव में करीब ३५ साल से मेरा अखण्ड निवास रहा है। वे आरम्भ के दिन मैं आज याद कर रहा हूं। मैं कोई पसन्दगी से इनके बीच नहीं गया था। प्रातः स्मरणीय बापू से प्रेरणा पाकर मैं देश सेवा के दूसरे प्रकारों को छोड़कर ग्राम-सेवा के लिये बारडोली में निकल आया। इस छोटे से तालुके को महात्मा जी ने अपने प्रथम सामुदायिक अहिंसात्मक सविनय कानून-भंग के आन्दोलन के लिये योग्य माना था। ग्राम-सेवा के मेरे क्षेत्र के लिये इससे बेहतर स्थान मैं कैसे ढूंढ सकता था?

जब बारडोली के एक ग्राम में आकर मैं बसा तो मुझे इस बात की कल्पना नहीं थी कि वनवासी लोगों की कोई विशेष जाति देश में और खास कर गुजरात में होगी। और जिस बात का तो स्वप्न में भी ख्याल नहीं था कि इन वन्य जातियों की रहन-सहन, रीति-रस्म, भाषा-भूषा आदि दूसरे देशवासियों से कुछ भिन्न होंगे। हां, भूगोल की पाठ्य-पुस्तकों में यह तो सीखा था कि देश में स्थान स्थान पर पहाड़ और जंगल हैं, लेकिन उन प्रदेशों में असम्भव जैसी परिस्थितियों में हमारे मानव-बन्धु बसते होंगे और उनकी कोई विशेष समस्याएं होंगी ऐसा विचार मनोभूमि में कभी हुआ ही न था। उनके निकट के स्थानिक पड़ोसियों को छोड़कर गुजरात-सौराष्ट्र के सामान्य लोगों को उनके अस्तित्व का विशेष कोई पता ही न था। उन दिनों के अखबारों में वन्य लोगों का शायद ही कभी उल्लेख आता होगा। विद्वानों के साहित्य में भी इनका वर्णन करने वाली पुस्तकें शायद ही कभी देखने में आती थीं। सभाओं और कांग्रेस जैसी संस्थाओं के जलसों में भी उनकी चर्चा विशेष सुनने में नहीं आया करती थी।

हां हमारे रामायण-महाभारत और अन्य पुराण वनों की और वनवासियों की कथा-कहानियों से भरे

हुए थे। उन दिनों के गांवों और नगरों के मन्दिरों और चौकों में अत्यन्त दिलचस्प कथायें सुनने को हमें मिला करती थीं। और उनमें वनवासी पात्र काफी संख्या में आया करते थे। वे हमेशा डाकू और लुटेरे ही होते थे, और नारद, वाल्मीकि आदि भक्त तपस्वियों को लूटना और मारना ही उनका काम था। विश्वामित्र जैसे ऋषि-मुनियों के यज्ञकुण्डों में हड्डियाँ डालने में उनको मजा आता था। राम-लक्ष्मण और भीमसेन जैसे हमारे आदर्श वीर जब उनसे लड़ते थे और उनके नाक-कान आदि छेदते थे अथवा उनके शरीरों को चीर कर दो हिस्से दो दिशाओं में उड़ा देते थे तो हमको बहुत ही रस पड़ता था।

## *'दुबला' नहीं 'हलपति'*

वन और वनवासियों सम्बन्धी इतने ज्ञान के साथ जब मैं बारडोली में ग्राम-सेवा के लिये आ गया और इधर-उधर घूमने लगा, तो मैंने एक नये ही संसार में अपने को पाया। बारडोली के हरेक गाँव में बस्तियां ठीक दो विभागों में बटी हुई थीं। एक में तो ऐसे ही लोग थे जिनका मुझको परिचय था, जिनमें से मैं अपने को एक समझता था। लेकिन दूसरे विभाग में 'दुबला' नाम की एक जंगली सी जाति बसती थी, इनका रूप-रंग और सूरत-शकल ठीक वैसी ही थी, जैसा कि पुराण की कथाओं में बक राक्षस का, शूर्पणखा का और एकलव्य आदि का वर्णन आया करता था। उनकी आंखें वैसी ही पिंगल वर्ण थी, सिर के बाल वैसे ही बिखरे हुए रहते थे। पीतल-जसद आदि के झूठे गहनों से और पत्थर चनौठी आदि की मालाओं से उनके हाथ-पैर और गले लदे हुए थे। शरीर काफी मैला था। वस्त्र अत्यन्त कम थे।

लेकिन उनको मैंने पुराणों के दानवों और राक्षसों के जैसा क्रूर न पाया। न उन्हें शारीरिक अर्थ में दुबला ही पाया। उन्हीं के परिश्रम से हमारा तालुका हरा-भरा था। हां, दुबले वे इस अर्थ में थे कि उनकी आंखें भयभीत-सी थीं। वे गालियां और लात बरदाश्त करते रहते थे। मालिकों के आधार के बिना अपने को निराधार समझते थे। कुदाली से भिन्न किसी औजार पर काम करना नहीं जानते थे। बाहुबल कुछ होते हुए भी मनोबल में दुबले थे।

हां, इनके छोटे-छोटे नंगे बच्चे पेड़ों पर बड़ी चपलता के साथ चढ़ते थे, और अपने तीरों और गोफनों से चिड़ियों को बे-चूक मार गिराते थे। आगे चलकर इनका 'दुबला' नाम बदलकर 'हलपति' नाम प्रचलित किया गया।

## *शरीफ और भले रानीपरज*

कभी कभी उन दिनों मैं सूरत जिले के भीतरी प्रदेशों में भी जाया करता था। वहां कालीपरज नाम से पहचाने जाने वाले लोगों के छोटे-छोटे गांवों से भरे हुए तालुके मैंने पाये। पहाड़ियों में और झाड़ियों में जो लोग बसते थे उनकी सूरत तो दुबलों से हीन और दीन थी। जङ्गलों से कुछ बाहर आकर जो लोग छोटी-छोटी खेती करते थे और अपने खेतों में ही अलग झोपड़ियां बनाकर रहते थे, उनकी खेती टूटी-सी थी। वह पोषण का नहीं किन्तु शोषण का ही साधन बन बैठी थी। संसार और कुदरत का ज्ञान न होने से उनके शरीर और बुद्धि में बहुत ही निर्बलता आ गई थी। खुराक में वजन और सत्व

दोनों के अभाव का असर शरीर पर—आंख, दांत आदि के उपर दिखाई देता था। हाथ, पैर, छाती अविकसित थे। पेट बढ़ी हुई तिल्ली के कारण बेडौल थे। बीड़ी, शराब आदि व्यसनों ने भी उन्हें काफ़ी मात्रा में मानवता से गिरा दिया था।

फिर भी यह प्रजा कुछ बेहतर स्थिति में दिखाई दी। उसमें नहाने-धोने के संस्कार कुछ अधिक थे। खेती का ज्ञान कुछ-कुछ होने लगा था, अगरचे उन दिनों इन आदिवासी किसानों के दिमाग में ऐसी कुछ समझ थी कि खेत में जितने ज्यादा और घने पौधे होंगे उतनी ही पैदावार अधिक मिलेगी। गाय का पालन भी वे करते थे, लेकिन दूध शायद ही निकालते थे। चारा और दाना पशुओं को खिलाया जाता है, यह संस्कार भी इनमें कम दिखाई पड़ता था। गोबर और कूड़े के ढेर के ढेर उनके झोपड़ों के पड़ोस में सड़ा करते थे। जमीन को खाद देने का संस्कार उनमें बहुत कम था।

तथापि इस सारे दृश्य में मैंने लुटेरे वाल्मीकि और नरभक्षक बक तथा मायावी त्राटिका-शूर्पणखाओं को कहीं भी नहीं देखा।

ये हमारे वनवासी भाई-बहन बड़े शरीफ और भले थे। भयभीत काफी थे, लेकिन एक बार विश्वास बैठने पर और प्रेम और मित्रता से परिपूर्ण हो जाते थे। सत्य बोलना तो उनका स्वभाव ही था। झूठ भी कभी बोला जा सकता है, यह विचार उनकी बुद्धि में मानों आता ही न था। डाकू-लुटेरों की कथा-कहानियां तो छोड़िये। चोरी भी कभी कोई करते हैं यह ख्याल भी उनके लिये अपरिचित जैसा था। उनकी झोपड़ियों को न कोई जंजीर लगती थीं, न कोई ताले। बाललग्न और पर्दा जैसे 'जङ्गली' रिवाज भी संसार में कहीं हो सकते हैं इसका उन्हें शायद ही भान था।

मैंने मन-ही-मन परमात्मा को धन्यवाद दिया कि मुझको बिना किसी आयास के इस प्रकार के कुदरत के निर्दोष बालकों के बीच लाकर उसने छोड़ा था। बिना किसी आयास के यह स्थान मेरे लिये जन्मभूमि से भी अधिक अपना घर हो गया।

फिर तो दिन-प्रतिदिन मैं हमारे इन नये ईश्वर-दत्त स्वजनों के निकट और निकटतर आता गया। और इनके जीवन की समस्याएँ एक के बाद एक मेरे सामने प्रकट होने लगीं।

## *दरिद्रता का नग्न दर्शन*

तथा कथित उजले पड़ोसियों का बर्त्ताव उनके साथ मैंने अत्यन्त ही अनुचित देखा। उन्होंने इन भले लोगों का नाम 'कालीपरज' रखा था। हमने आगे जाकर उनका नाम 'रानीपरज' प्रचलित किया। उन उजले सज्जनों का आपस में बोलना-चालना आदि अच्छा संस्कारी और सभ्यता का था। लेकिन वनवासियों के साथ उनका बर्त्ताव उसी तरह का था, जैसा किसी भक्षक का अपने शिकारों के साथ रहता है। चारों बाजुओं से शिकार को चूसने की क्रिया सतत चालू थी। जब मैं उनके बीच पहुँचा तो यह क्रिया इतनी ज्यादा हद तक पहुंच चुकी थी कि उसमें से छुटकारा पाने की कोई आशा दिखाई न देती थी।

चक्रवृद्धि सूद का चक्र अचूक गति के साथ अपना काम कर रहा था। सामान्य व्यापारी प्रामाणिकता और नीति का भी उसमें पालन नहीं होता था। लेन-देन का व्यापार एक क्रूर करवत के

समान काम कर रहा था, जो भले वनवासियों को आते भी काटता था और जाते भी काटता था। शराब और ताड़ी की दुकानों का जाल गांव गांव में फैलाया जा चुका था। सरकारी कानून और अफसरों का जाल भी इस तरह काम कर रहा था, जिस तरह मच्छी मार का जाल किसी बन्द पोखरे में मछलियों के ऊपर काम कर रहा हो।

परिणाम और क्या हो सकता था! जमीनें वनवासी किसानों को छोड़-छोड़ कर साहूकारों के घर और शराब के ठेकेदारों के घर जा बैठीं। झोंपड़ियां तो वनवासी किसानों की उनके पुराने खेतों पर ही रहीं, काश्त भी वे ही करते रहे। लेकिन खेत में जो कुछ पकता था उससे कहीं अधिक कर्ज में, सूद में, शराब मे और अदालती डिक्रियों में गायब हो जाता था। इसका असर वन्यजनों की खुराक पर, कपड़ों पर,—सारे जीवन पर पड़े बिना कैसे रह सकता था? दारिद्र्य जिस स्वरूप में और जिस गहराई में मैंने इनमें देखा, वह मेरे लिये कल्पनातीत था। इनका भोजन उबाले हुए आटे की कांजी ही थी, जिसमें बाज दफे नमक की चुटकी तक छोड़ने को नहीं मिलती थी। आटा जब काफी न रहता था तो कांजी में पानी अधिक छोड़कर पेट को धोखा दिया जाता था। कभी 'अंबाड़ी' की भाजो और इमली के पत्ते उबाल कर उससे भो पेट का खड्डा भर लिया जाता था। कभी कभी शिकार की पुरानी आदत याद आ जाने से बाहर निकल पड़ते थे, लेकिन इसके लिये अब जङ्गल कहां बचा था? इसके सिवा, न पैरों में खरगोशों के पीछे दौड़ने की ताकत रही थी, न निशानबाजी की कला आंखों में बची हुई थी। ठण्ड से बचने के लिये जङ्गल की लकड़ी सारी गायब हो गई थी। घर में कपड़ा बना लेने के संस्कार तो कभी थे ही नहीं। न कमाई के पैसे थे, जिसमें से हाट से कपड़ा खरीद लाते। झोंपड़ी बसाना भी अब आसान न रहा था। घास-फूस और बांस-लकड़ी देने वाला जङ्गल या तो दूर हट गया था अथवा सरकारी जंगल-खाते की चौकी अत्यन्त तङ्ग और वैज्ञानिक होती जा रही थी; और जङ्गल-चोरी के मुकदमे गांव-गांव में चलने लगे थे। खेती में से चावल, ज्वांरी, अरहर आदि के घास-डंठल को काम में लेने की नई कला वे सीखने लगे थे, मगर जमीन तो साहूकारों के हाथ में आ गई थी। और साहूकारी का तो यह स्वभाव ही ठहरा कि घास-फूस तक का भी पैसा बना लेना। फलस्वरूप उनकी झोंपड़ियां बिलकुल टूटी-फूटी और दरिद्रता का नग्न दर्शन कराने वाली बन गई थी।

दरिद्रता का यह दर्शन मुझको उस गुजरात के प्रान्तों में हुआ, जिसकी ख्याति सारे देश में भारत का समृद्ध बगीचा होने की है, और जो कुशल और धनवान व्यापारी सौदागरों का प्रान्त कहलाता है।

भारत की दरिद्रता का वर्णन पुण्य श्लोक दादाभाई नवरोजी की पुरानी किताब में पढ़ा था। आज के अर्थ-शास्त्रियों के अभिप्राय भी कभी कभी सुनता रहता हूं। वे लोग सारे देश की कमाई का जोड़ करके औसत हिसाब लगाते हैं। करोड़ पति और दरिद्रतम के बीच का उनका औसत आंकड़ा सुनकर नीचे से नीचे स्तर के दरिद्रतम मनुष्य की कल्पना

नहीं आई थी। उसका प्रत्यक्ष दर्शन करने का मौका मुझे अनायास ही मिल गया।

### *वनवासियों की समस्याएँ*

धीरे-धीरे इनके जीवन की समस्याएँ मेरे सामने आने लगीं। लेकिन जब उनका उपाय सोचने लगता था तो चारों ओर अन्धेरा दिखाई देता था।

इन्हीं आदिम जाति बांधवों के सामाजिक कल्याण के उपाय सोचने की कामना से हम लोग यहां पर जमा हुए हैं। इसलिये उनकी असल समस्याएँ क्या हैं, इसका चिन्तन करना हमारे लिये उपयुक्त होगा। मैंने इस भाषण का प्रारम्भ वनवासियों के अपने प्रथम परिचय से किया है, तो समस्याएँ और उनके उपायों का वर्णन भी मेरे अपने अनुभवों में वे किस प्रकार प्रकट होते गये यह आपके समक्ष बताकर ही करना ठीक होगा।

### *१. जंगलों के अंधेरे में प्रकाश कैसे हो?*

सबसे प्रथम मेरी कल्पना में यह आया कि वनों के अंधकार में कौन लोग बस रहे हैं और वहाँ क्या-क्या चल रहा है, इसकी देशवासियों को अत्यन्त ही कम जानकारी थी। देश के जीवन को अपने प्रभाव और सेवा से जो महापुरुष ऊपर उठाने के प्रयत्न कर रहे थे, उन्हें भी इन अंधेरे वन प्रान्तों की जानकारी नहीं के समान थी। हमारे बोलने में और लिखने में तो क्या शक्ति हो सकती है? फिर भी जो कुछ थी उसका उपयोग करना हमने शुरू कर दिया। हमने महात्मा गांधी जी और सरदार पटेल जैसे हमारे नेताओं का ध्यान इन प्रान्तों के प्रति आकर्षित किया; वर्ष में एक दो बार कोई न कोई प्रसंग उपस्थिति करके उनको हमारे लोगों के बीच में ले आने का नियम ही बना लिया।

बापू ने स्वराज्य के लिये जनता को तैयार करने का एकादश-विध रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम बनाया, उसमें आदिवासियों की सेवा को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान मिला। आदिवासियों का दर्शन देशवासियों को और देश के नेताओं को सबसे अधिक करवाने का यश अगर किसी को है तो वह पूज्य स्व० ठक्कर बापा को है। उनके पीछे स्व० बाला साहब खेर ने भी इस दिशा में गणनापात्र कर्त्तव्य बजाया है। देश भर में अनेक सेवकों ने आदिवासियों का प्रश्न अंधेरे से प्रकाश में ले आने के प्रयत्न किये हैं। अनेकों के नाम मेरी जीभ पर आ रहे हैं। लेकिन उन्हें मैं मन ही मन अभिवन्दन कर लेता हूँ।

हमारे इन वार्षिक सम्मेलनों को इन सारे प्रयत्नों का फल ही समझना चाहिये। हमारे इन सम्मेलनों का स्वरूप कुछ राज-दरबारी आडम्बर का होने लगा है। जिसमें देश के नेता और आदिवासियों के नेता तक भाग ले सकते हैं; परन्तु खास आदिवासियों के भीतर वे इतने नहीं पहुँच सकते हैं, जितना हमारा दिल उन्हें पहुंचाना चाहता है। फिर भी वनवासियों का प्रश्न अब मध्याह्न के खुले प्रकाश में आ गया है यह देखकर मुझे बड़ी खुशी होती है।

### *२. रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम का आदिवासी संस्करण*

आदिवासियों के बीच आते ही सेवा का आरम्भ किस बात से करना इसकी कोई विशेष चिन्ता हमें नहीं करनी पड़ी। इसी काल में महात्मा जी देश के ग्रामवासियों के लिये चरखे का कार्यक्रम चला रहे

थे। पर राज्य की गुलामी को फेंक देने के लिये वे जनता को तैयार कर रहे थे। वे कहते थे : "यह देखो परदेशी कपड़ा तो हमने जला दिया, इतनी ही तेजी के साथ परराज्य भी हम हटाने वाले हैं।" "यह देखो चरखे का स्वदेशी कपड़ा तो हमने बना ही लिया, अब स्वराज्य को बनाने में क्या देर है?"

हमने गांधी जी का चरखा हमारे काम के लिये पकड़ लिया, लेकिन उनकी राजद्वारी दलील, जो देश के पढ़े-लिखे लोगों को जोश चढ़ा सकती थी, हमारे काम को न थी। सौभाग्य से चरखा-भक्त चुनी भाई हमारे मण्डल में थे, जिनके तुल्य चरखा-प्रचारक मैंने शायद ही कोई देखा है। जिनमें वंश-परम्परागत कताई-बुनाई आदि के संस्कार तनिक भी न थे, ऐसी वन्य जातियों में उन्होंने एक जादू-सा कर दिया। उनकी झोंपड़ियों में चरखे गूंजने लगे। धुनकियां चालू करवा दीं, और करघे भी नाचने लगे। नङ्गों के लिये स्वावलम्बन से कपड़ा बना लेने का हुनर अपनाना क्या इनके लिये स्वराज्य की लड़ाई न थी? हमने महात्मा जी के तेरह-विध राष्ट्रीय रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम के अनुकरण में आदिवासी तेरह-विध कार्यक्रम बना लिया था। वह इस प्रकार था :—

(१) नहा-धोकर ज्यादा स्वच्छ जीवन; (२) शराब आदि व्यसनों से मुक्त जीवन; (३) कर्ज से मुक्त जीवन; (४) खेती, गोपालन आदि में छोटे-मोटे सुधार करना; (५) मानवाचक नाम धारण करना—'कुत्तो', 'बिल्ली' वगैरा नामों को छोड़कर कमला और वन माला जैसे नाम धारण करना; (६) हाथ-पैरों से झूठे गहनों का भार उतारना; (७) बालों को जूं-मुक्त करके अच्छी तरह से वेणी बनाना; (८) आनेवालों को जय-नमस्कार करना; (९) पुराने नाच-गानों में वनवासी जाति के नौजवान कवियों के द्वारा रचित जीवन-सुधार के गीत और भजन-मण्डलियां बढ़ा लेना; (१०) अपनी वन्य भाषाओं को हीन समझकर लज्जित न होना—उनका प्रेम बढ़ाकर अपने समाज में वे ही भाषायें बोलने में गौरव लेना; (११) उजले लोगों के ऊँच-नीच भेद और छुआ-छूत के विचार इनमें घुसने लगे थे—उस सम्बन्ध में सावधान होना और सामूहिक भोजन आदि को लोक प्रिय बनाना; (१२) अपने ही खेत के चुने हुए कपास से, अपने ही हाथ से काते हुए सूत से, अपने ही घर में बिठाये गये नवीन करघे पर अपने ही जवान लड़के के साथ बुनी हुई शुभ्र सुन्दर खादी को धारण करना; और आखिर में (१३) जो सुधार अपने जीवन में किया उसीका प्रचार अपने लोगों के बीच में करने का सेवा धर्म स्वीकार करना—यह था हमारे मण्डल द्वारा बनाये हुए तेरह-विध कार्यक्रम का आदिवासी नव संस्करण।

## *३. सर्वोदय-दृष्टि का आग्रह*

देश के पढ़े-लिखे लोगों के खून को, स्वराज्य की लड़ाई का जो कार्यक्रम उस जमाने में गरम बना रहा था, उसको हम लोगों ने वनवासियों के जीवन-युद्ध के साथ सुसंगत और उनकी समझ में आने योग्य ऐसे कार्यक्रम में अनुवादित कर दिया। बड़ी खूबी से देशव्यापी आन्दोलन के साथ यह सारा कार्यक्रम एक रस हो गया था।

इसमें भी सत्य और अहिंसा के ऊपर पूरा भार था, जैसा स्वराज्य के आन्दोलन में बापू ने रक्खा था। शोषक वर्ग के लोगों में इन गुणों का विकास करने का पूरी सावधानी से आग्रह रखा जाता था।

बापू जी के आन्दोलन में भगवद्-भक्ति और आस्तिकता रहती थी; उसका अंश भी इस वनवासी-कार्य में था। वह स्वच्छता और भजन-गीतों का रूप लेकर उनके जीवनों को आशा, उत्साह और पवित्रता से भर देता था।

प्रेम और देश सेवा का भी अंश काफी मात्रा में था। जो कोई चरखे का मार्ग ग्रहण करता था वह अपने गांव में चरखे का तथा जीवन-सुधार का बड़ा उत्साही प्रचारक बन गया था। कोई अकूल, मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रक्रिया वनवासियों में चलते इस जीवन-सुधार आन्दोलन को स्वराज्य की देशव्यापी लड़ाई के साथ हमेशा जुड़ा हुआ रख रही थी। वन्य प्रदेशों से अनेक खादी धारी जवानों ने अपनी छोटी-छोटी सरकारी नौकरियों को तिलांजलि दे दी थी। कारावास में जाने में जवान तथा बुड्ढे, पुरुष तथा स्त्रियां दूसरे लोगों से पीछे न थे। अपनी सफेद स्वनिर्मित खादी से और कितने भी दुःख में हमेशा हंसते हुए चेहरों से जहां भी गये, वहां हमारे इन वन्य भाई-बहनों ने आदर और प्रेम ही प्राप्त किया।

चरखे के आन्दोलन को हमारे प्रदेश में किस भावना के साथ चलाया गया और आगे भी वनवासियों में किस भावना के साथ हम सेवकों को उसे चलाना चाहिए, यह बताने के लिये हमारे मित्र श्री चुनी भाई के कार्य का मैंने यहां पर इतने विस्तार के साथ कुछ मनोवैज्ञानिक वर्णन किया है। जहां सत्य, अहिंसा, देश प्रेम, त्याग और सत्याग्रह का शौर्य आदि सर्वोदय के गुणों और विचारों को प्रचारित नहीं किया गया, वहां स्वराज्य की लड़ाई की प्रेरणा में से अत्यन्त अनिच्छनीय असर वनवासियों के जीवन पर पड़े हुए दिखाई दे रहे हैं।

विदेशी साम्राज्य के ऊपर का रोष स्थानिक शोषकों के ऊपर उतर कर कौमवादी आन्दोलन के रूप में परिणत हुआ है।

ऊंच-नीच के भेदों को मान्य करने वाली अन्याय-मूलक ज्ञाति-व्यवस्था में घिरे हुए इस देश के अत्यन्त विशालकाय समाज में न्याय पाने की और आगे बढ़ने की अपने लिये कोई आशा ही नहीं है, ऐसी मनोवृत्ति वनवासी समाज में दिखाई दे रही है, और कुछ स्थानों में वह मनोवृत्ति पाकिस्तान के अनुकरण में 'आदिवासीस्तान' की भयानक कल्पना तक पहुँच चुकी है। ईश्वर का अनुग्रह है कि यह मनोवृत्ति भारत में ही एक अलग राज्य बनाने की मर्यादा को तो मान्य करती है। लेकिन समूचे भारत से छूट-टूट कर अलग 'सॉवरिन' राज्य बनाने का अराष्ट्रीय और अधार्मिक नारा भी कभी कभी सुना जाता है।

आदिवसियों में जो कुछ समाज-कल्याण का कार्य किया जाय, वह सर्वोदय की विचार धारा के आधार पर ही क्यों किया जाना चाहिए, यह बताने का मैंने आप लोगों के समक्ष प्रयत्न किया है।

साथ साथ इस सत्य को भी समझना होगा कि सारे देश में किसी अलग ही विचार धारा से काम

किया जायगा, तो वनवासी समाज में सर्वोदय विचार-धारा चलाना असम्भव होगा। इतना ही नहीं, उसका उलटा ही असर होगा। फल का गर्भ दूसरों को खिलाया जाता है और छिलके हमारे सामने फेंके जाते हैं ऐसा उन्हें लगेगा ; और ऐसा लगना स्वाभाविक और इसलिये क्षन्तव्य भी है।

वनवासी समाज में काम करने की दिशा बताने के बाद उनमें समाज-कल्याण के जो कई कार्य अविलम्ब करने योग्य हैं, उनका कुछ विवेचन मैं अब करूँगा।

## ४. आश्रमी शिक्षा

शिक्षा का स्थान इनमें सबसे प्रथम है। सिर्फ अक्षर-शिक्षा और बौद्धिक शिक्षा में ही बन्द होकर बैठे रहना अत्यन्त अल्पसंतोष का कार्यक्रम होगा। वनवासियों में गांधी, जवाहर, विनोबा पैदा हो सकें, इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियां हमें पैदा करनी चाहियें। अपने लिये एक प्रकार का हीनभाव—जीवन में पिछड़ेपन का और दारिद्र्य का एक प्रकार का कड़वा असर—बिलकुल निकल जाना चाहिए। स्वप्न में भी यह कल्पना और उसमें से पैदा होने वाली निराशा न रहने पाये कि वे दूसरों से अलग और नीचे हैं। उनमें से भारत के लिये अच्छे-अच्छे गुरु, कवि, सेवक-सेविकाएँ, शिक्षक-शिक्षिकाएँ, नेता और कलाकार निकलें, उनके हृदय में यह महत्वाकांक्षा जन्मे और उनका चारित्र्य देखकर लोग भी उन्हें इस प्रकार स्वीकार करने में कोई अस्वाभाविक बात न समझें, इस प्रकार की शिक्षा उनकी होनी चाहिए।

सिर्फ बौद्धिक ज्ञान देने वाले हाईस्कूल-कालेज निकालने से यह परिणाम नहीं मिल सकेगा। उससे तो एक प्रकार का बेढंगा आत्माभिमान ही उत्पन्न होता है।

हमारे मन में जो शिक्षा-संस्था है, उसका स्वरूप कुछ आश्रम-सा है। इस पुराने शब्द से भड़कना नहीं चाहिए। महात्मा जी ने 'आश्रम' को पुराणों की पोथियों के गर्त में से कभी का ऊपर उठा कर आधुनिकतम जगत में स्थापित कर दिया है।

आश्रम वह है जहां पर चारित्र्यवान और तरह-तरह के ज्ञान-विज्ञानों में पारंगत गुरु—शिक्षक सारा भेदभाव भूल कर अपने शिष्य मण्डल के साथ रहते हैं, स्वावलम्बन से जीवन बसर करने का प्रयत्न करते-करते विद्योपासना करते हैं और साथ-साथ खुद अग्रसर होकर ग्राम के नवनिर्माण के कार्य में ग्राम-समाज को आगे बढ़ाते रहते हैं। निर्माण चलता है, निज की शिक्षा चलती है और लोक-शिक्षा भी चलती है।

ऐसी आश्रम-संस्था कौन स्थापित कर सकता है और कौन उसे शोभा के साथ चला सकता है? जो कार्यकर्ता अथवा शिक्षक अपने जीवन और स्वार्थ को ही हमेशा देखता रहता है, जो अपने वेतन के ग्रेड और आराम वैभव की ही हमेशा चिन्ता करता रहता है, सिर्फ कुछ घण्टे पढ़ाई का काम ही कर लेता है, ऐसे शिक्षक से यह कार्य कैसे हो सकता है? आजकल यह मानने की एक फैशन-सी हो गई है कि वेतन का और अपने सुख-चैन का ख्याल न करने वाले सेवक-शिक्षक मिलना असम्भव है। अगर यह

असम्भव है तो मानना होगा कि इस महान भारत देश को अपने महान भवितव्य पर पहुंचाना भी असम्भव है। लेकिन इस देश में काफी प्रमाण में यह अनुभव आया करता है कि लोगों के श्रद्धेय नेताओं के द्वारा प्रेरणा मिलने पर हमारी भारत-माता, जैसे कोई अच्छी कामधेनु दूध की अखूट धारा देती है उसी प्रकार चारित्र्यवान, विद्वान, कला-निपुण तथा सेवापरायण आचार्य और शिक्षक विपुल संख्या में दे सकती है।

हमारे मण्डल में आश्रमी शिक्षा के जो प्रयोग हमने चलाये हैं उनसे हमारी शक्ति और भक्ति के प्रमाण में हमको काफी मात्रा में यह अनुभव देखने को मिला है। इसी आश्रम के फलस्वरूप १०० में से करीब करीब पूरे के पूरे १०० विद्यार्थी सेवा-जीवन के लिये सुयोग्य तथा उत्साहपूर्ण होकर निकले हैं, और उनमें से ठीक-ठीक संख्या पिछड़ेपन के कपवेपन को भूल सकी है। इतना ही नहीं, उन्हें दूसरे समाज ने भी मान-आदर और श्रद्धा से अपने गुरु के स्थान पर स्वीकार कर लिया है। आशा है आदिम-जातियों में सेवा करने वाले हम सब इस आश्रमी शिक्षा की योजना को गम्भीरता के साथ समझेंगे और उस पर अमल करने का उत्साह दिखावेंगे।

### ५. सेवक और शिक्षक उन्हीं में से

आदिवासी समाज को ऊपर उठाने के लिये सेवक और शिक्षक काफी बड़ी संख्या में आवश्यक हैं। लगन के साथ यह कार्य करने वाले सेवक और शिक्षक उसी प्रदेश में से उत्पन्न करना इसका सच्चा और भरोसेदार उपाय है।

इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि दूसरे समाज से आने वाले सेवकों को न लिया जाय। अपने स्वार्थ, आराम और सामाजिक सुविधाओं का त्याग करके आनेवाले ये सेवक-सेविकाएँ तो हमारे कार्य में प्राण डालने वाले हैं। लेकिन इनकी संख्या अत्यन्त सीमित ही रह सकती है। हमारा अधिकतर प्रयत्न तो स्थानीय लोगों में से ही सेवकों की फसल उतारते रहने पर होना चाहिए।

### ६. सही स्वरूप की लोक शिक्षा

शिक्षा का विचार करते ही हमको लोक शिक्षा अथवा प्रौढ़शिक्षा का प्रश्न भी समझ लेना होगा। अक्षर शिक्षा तो होनी ही चाहिए, लेकिन अक्षर-शिक्षा की भूख को जाग्रत करने के लिये भी अनुकूल परिस्थिति उत्पन्न होनी चाहिए।

वनवासियों की दरिद्रता इस हद तक पहुंच गई है कि छोटे बच्चों को भी वे पाठशाला में नहीं भेज सकते। ७-८ साल के बच्चों तक को ढोर चराने जैसे किसी न किसी रोजगार में लगाने के लिये उनको मजबूर हो जाना पड़ता है। और कुछ नहीं तो उन्हें घर सम्हालने को ही बिठा रखना पड़ता है। यह भी एक परोक्ष प्रकार का रोजगार ही हुआ। ये लड़के घर को और छोटे बच्चों को सम्हालते हैं, तभी तो मां-बाप मजदूरी पर निश्चिन्त हो कर जा सकते हैं। ऐसी हालत में प्रौढ़ों को पढ़ने-सीखने का समय कहां से मिल सकेगा? और उत्साह भी कहां से पैदा होगा? शिक्षा में और जीवन में भी आशा और उत्साह बढ़ाने के लिये उनमें विशेष कमाने की शक्ति पैदा करनी होगी।

अधिकतर वनवासी लोग खेती की मजदूरी ही जानते हैं— वह भी हीन प्रकार की जानते हैं। उनको खेती के भी अच्छे तरीके सिखाना तथा ग्राम-जीवन में उपयुक्त दूसरे भी विविध उद्योग और कौशल के काम सिखाना बहुत ही जरूरी है। उनकी प्रौढ़-शिक्षा में प्रथम सबक यही रहना चाहिए। तब उनके जीवन में रस पैदा होगा, तब उनमें सिर उठा कर चारों ओर के विश्व को देखने की और समझने की जिज्ञासा पैदा होगी और तब ही जीवन में आवश्यक ऐसी अक्षर-शिक्षा आदि दूसरी बातों को जानने की उनमें भूख पैदा होगी।

### ७. कृषि में सुधार की सही दृष्टि

वनवासियों का आज का जीवन अधिकतर कृषि का ही है। देश की कृषि का भार और कष्ट आखिरकार किस के ऊपर जाता है? बैल को छोड़कर अगर दूसरा कोई धुरा वहन कर रहा है तो वह हमारे प्रदेश में तो वनवासी ही है। वनों से दूर के प्रान्तों में वह वनवासी के समकक्ष जैसे हो किसी आदमी के कंधे पर पड़ती है। खेती में सुधार करने का और उसमें से राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन बढ़ाने का चिन्तन जो लोग कर रहे हैं, उनको चाहिए कि वे इस अन्तिम आदमी को दृष्टि के सामने रखकर ही अपनी सारी योजनाएँ बनावें। कृषि में क्या सुधार करने से इस आदमी का मुख प्रकाशित हो सकता है, यह हमारे लिये मापदण्ड है।

वैज्ञानिक सुधार होना आवश्यक है और करना ही चाहिए। लेकिन वैज्ञानिक सुधार तो शतविध और सहस्रविध हो सकते हैं। जिस सुधार का फायदा इस अन्तिम मनुष्य तक पहुंचाया जा सकेगा उसी सुधार में राष्ट्र की दृष्टि से कुछ भी सार्थकता हो सकती है। भूमि के कानूनों द्वारा इस अन्तिम मनुष्य का उदय करने की देश के अनेक स्थानों में इन कई वर्षों में कोशिशें की गई हैं। लेकिन हमारे पढ़े-लिखे लोग राष्ट्र हित के लिये अपने जीवन में परिवर्तन करने को तैयार नहीं पाये गये। कानूनों के शब्दों में जितने भी सुधार किये गये, उनकी वकीली बुद्धि ने उतने ही छटकने के मार्ग खोज निकाले। भले-भले लोगों को भी इस अन्तिम मनुष्य को जमीन से हटा देने की युक्तियाँ ढूढ़ते और अमल में लाते हमने देखा है। भूमि के साथ जब तक हमारे अंतिम जन को अपनापन नहीं लगता है तब तक कष्ट करने के लिये उसके दिल में रस कैसे पैदा हो सकता है?

### ८. ग्रामदान और ग्राम-स्वराज्य

ठीक मौके पर आचार्य विनोबा ने अपनी तपस्या और प्रतिभा में से एक नया ही उपाय खोज निकाला, जिससे अन्तिम जनों का भूमि से सम्बन्ध बने और अग्रिम जनों का उस प्रक्रिया में सहकार मिले। यह उपाय था भूदान यज्ञ का आन्दोलन।

लेकिन भूदान पाने वाला अगर अपने आप को नया आदमी न बना दे, तो वह भी पटेल अथवा चौधरी महाशय बन कर बैठ सकता है और विनोबाजी के यज्ञ को निष्फल बना सकता है।

उनकी प्रतिभा में से फौरन ग्रामदान और ग्राम-स्वराज्य का विचार निकला। भूमि किसी एक की न रहे, सारे गांव की हो। किसी एक के स्वार्थ के लिये उसका उपयोग न हो, सारे गांव के हित में, समतोल और समतायुक्त ग्राम-स्वराज्य को गठित करने के हेतु से उसका उपयोग हो। इस विचार में यह शक्ति और

यह चीज है कि भूमि का उपयोग राष्ट्रहित में और आयोजन पूर्वक करने में ग्राम-स्वराज्य चलाने वाली ग्राम-जनता को रस पैदा होगा। अब देशहित के लिये घातक फसलें पैदा करने से लोग अपने-आप रुकेंगे और अन्न-वस्त्र की सर्वप्रथम आयोजना की जायगी।

बैल की शक्ति का उपयोग करना, या मशीन का, या बिजली का—ये पंडिताई की खाली चर्चाएँ अब न चलेंगी। गांव के सारे लोग पूरा समय काम में लगने पर भी अगर अपनी पूरी आवश्यकतायें उत्पन्न न कर सकेंगे तो यन्त्र अवश्य काम में लिये जायेंगे।

यन्त्रों का जब विचार किया जाता है तो सामान्यतः लोगों के मन में बड़े-बड़े कल-कारखानों का ही चित्र उठता है। मेरी समझ में ग्राम-स्वराज्य के लोगों की मति यन्त्र की एक और ही सृष्टि में विहार करने लगेगी। हवा के वेग को, पानी के प्रवाहों को और सूर्य की गर्मी को काम में कैसे लिया जाय, इस दिशा में वह अधिक दौड़ना पसन्द करेगी।

### ९. *सहकारी खेती*

सहकारी खेती के सम्बन्ध में काफी चर्चायें और शंकायें हमारे नेताओं में और अर्थ-शास्त्रियों में हैं। सामान्य किसान भी उससे भड़कता है। लेकिन मेरी समझ में ग्राम-स्वराज्य चलाने वाले ग्रामजन अन्तः-प्रेरणा से ही समझ लेंगे कि उनके लिये सहकारी खेती ही एकमात्र स्वाभाविक और उत्तम पद्धति है। आज तो लोगों के रस भिन्न हैं, उनके स्वार्थ असमान हैं, किसी भी युक्ति से काम और कष्ट से बच कर बाबू का आरामी जीवन प्राप्त करने की सब की अभिलाषा है। इस परिस्थिति में सहकारी खेती कैसे पनप सकती है ?

कोई बेचारे परेशानी के कारण सहकारी खेती में शामिल होते हैं। कोई सेवक, जो आनेवाले दिनों को अपने ज्ञान-चक्षुओं से देख सकते हैं, कई भले लोगों को अपने उत्साह से उत्साहित करके सहकारी खेती के प्रयोग देश में इधर-उधर करते दिखाई देते हैं।

सहकारी खेती के इन प्रयोगों के आधार पर जब छोटे-मोटे अर्थशास्त्री सहकारी खेती के संबंध में वाद-विवाद करने बैठे जाते हैं तो मुझको बड़ी हँसी आती है। ऐसा लगता में मानो बिछौने पर लेटे हुए मरीज का खाना, पीना, सांस लेना, आर्तस्वर निकालना इत्यादि हलन-चलन के हिसाब लगाकर उसके स्वस्थ और सशक्त जीवन में वह कितना खायेगा—पायेगा, कितना उठेगा-बैठेगा इन सारी बातों की योजनायें वे बना रहे हैं।

### १०. *सारा जीवन सहकारी हो*

ग्राम-स्वराज्य के युग में सिर्फ खेती को ही सहकारी बनाने का प्रश्न न रहेगा। उसमें सारे जीवन को ही सहकारी जीवन बनाने की बात है। खेती, गोपालन, अन्य उद्योग, व्यापार—सारे व्यवहारों को सहकारमय और आयोजित बनाने की बात है। वनवासियों की सेवा करने वाले हम लोग अगर आने वाले दिनों को पहचान कर उसके लिये अपने लोगों को आज से ही तालीम देंगे तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। वनवासियों का जीवन और उनका स्वभाव इस नये जीवन के लिये उत्तम भूमि है। आज के

हमारे प्रयोग सफल न होंगे तो भी भावी निर्माण और योजनाओं के लिये इन निष्फल अनुभवों से अत्यन्त मूल्यवान सबक और सूचन देश को मिलेंगे।

ये सारी बातें आज तो कल्पनायें ही दिखाई देती हैं वे ग्रामदान और ग्राम-स्वराज्य के दिनों की बातें हैं। कई लोग कहते हैं कि बिना कानून इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन देश के जीवन में नहीं हो सकता। अगर लोकमत तैयार है तो राज्यतन्त्र और कानून अवश्य परिवर्तन को अत्यन्त सरल बना सकते हैं। आचार्य विनोबा ने लोकमत ढालने में इस आठ वर्षों में कल्पनातीत काम किया है। अब समय आ गया है कि राज्य और कानून अपने हिस्से का काम करने को आगे बढ़ें, और अनुकूल लोकमत का लाभ उठा लें।

### *११. जंगल-कामदारों की सहकारी संस्थायें*

वनवासी जनता, जो वनों से निकल कर मैदानों में एकाध सदी से आ पड़ी है, उसके प्रश्नों का विचार मैंने विस्तार से किया है। उसका एक बड़ा हिस्सा अब भी वन प्रान्तों में बसता है। वहां पर कुदरत अपने पंजे और नख-दांत खोल कर घूम रही है। बाघ, भालू और सांप का साम्राज्य है। सरकार का जंगल-विभाग अत्यन्त भयंकर स्वरूप लेकर उसमें शामिल हुआ है।

मैं आशा करता हूं कि स्वराज्य के ११ वर्षों में जंगलों की झाड़ी और पहाड़ियों में कुछ न कुछ सभ्यता और संस्कार का प्रकाश पहुंचा ही होगा। भारत के जिन राज्यों में ऐसा प्रकाश पहुंचाने का अब तक भरसक प्रयत्न न किया गया हो, उन राज्यों की इस उपेक्षा को वनवासियों के प्रति एवं हमारे विधान के प्रति गुनाह ही समझना चाहिए।

बम्बई राज्य में जंगल-कामदारों की सहकारी संस्थायें ७-८ साल से चालू की गई हैं। इस आन्दोलन ने जंगल के अन्धेरे में प्रकाश फैलाने का बड़ा भारी काम किया है। वनवासियों के सेवक इस कार्य के जरिये वनों की गली-गली में और पहाड़ों की चोटी-चोटी पर पहुंच गये हैं। ठेकेदार व्यापारी क्रमशः जंगल के कामों को सहकारी संस्थाओं के हाथों में सौंप कर निवृत्त होते जा रहे हैं। जो लोग अभी बचे हुए हैं उनको अपना बर्ताव और व्यवहार सुधारना पड़ा है। सरकारी अफसर भी अब लोगों को त्रास देकर काम लेने वाले जुल्मगार नहीं रहे। खुले प्रकाश में असभ्यता और जुल्म कैसे चल सकता है? फिर भी वन्य प्रान्तों में करने का सच्चा काम तो बाकी ही है। वह अभी प्रारम्भ ही हुआ है।

वनों के ऐसे भागों में अब भी आदमी बसते हैं, जहाँ पर बाघ-भालू भी बसना पसन्द नहीं करते। न वहां खेती होती है, न पानी है, न स्वास्थ्य है, न शिक्षा और संस्कार हैं, न रास्ते हैं, न नाले हैं। पुराने जमाने से एक मान्यता चलती आई है—जंगलों की कटाई के लिये, जंगल उगाने के लिये और जंगलों की रक्षा के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि जंगली लोगों को जंगल में ही रखा जाय। साथ साथ यह भी मान्यता थी कि "आगे लात—पीछे बात" की नीति से ही उनसे काम लेना चाहिये; अगर मानवता की ढीली बातें करने लगेंगे तो जंगल की सारी आमदनी

खोने की दशा आ जायगी। यह पिछली मान्यता अब काफी अप्रतिष्ठित हो चुकी है, अगरचे उसमें श्रद्धा रखने वाले लोग व्यापारी-वर्ग में और सरकारी मंडलो में अभी भी काफी संख्या में आप को मिल सकेंगे।

### १२. वनों में उपवन

हम सेवकों का ध्येय इस विषय में जंगल में मंगल बनाने का रहना चाहिये। इस विज्ञान-युग में किसी मनुष्य के लिये जंगलों के अनारोग्यकारी प्रान्तों में पड़े रहने की स्थिति न रहने देनी चाहिए। वनों में भी जगह जगह अच्छे आबोहवा के स्थान रहते हैं। ऐसे स्थान ढूंढ़ कर इनके छोटे-छोटे ग्राम बसाने चाहिए, जहां पर खेती और विभिन्न उद्योगों के लिये काफी सामान मिल सके, जहाँ पर पाठशालायें, पुस्तकालय, आरोग्य-मन्दिर आदि संस्थायें हों।

जंगलों की कटाई, उगाई आदि कामों के लिये टोलियाँ इन बस्तियों से यांत्रिक वाहनों में जा सकती हैं और संध्याकाल को अपने घर पर वापस आ सकती हैं। वनों की आमदनी का विचार करने वाले लोग वनों का काटने के कार्यक्रमों को पसन्द नहीं करते। बारिश के साथ उनके सम्बन्ध पर हमेशा जोर दिया जाता है. लेकिन वनों की आमदनी का विचार करना अगर कर्तव्य है, तो वनों में बसने वाले मनुष्य का विचार करना इससे भी अधिक कर्तव्य है। और वृष्टिचक्र को अखंडित रखने के लिये वनवृक्षों के इतना ही फलवृक्ष और छायावृक्ष भी काम दे सकते हैं। तो अन्त में "वन में हम उपवन करेंगे" यही हम वनवासियों के सेवकों का सूत्र और ध्यानमन्त्र रहे।

Shri Williamson Sangma delivering his address at the open Session.

श्री विलियमसन संगमा खुले अधिवेशन में अपना भाषण पढ़ रहे हैं

## ADDRESS

by

## WILLIAMSON SANGHA,

**Chairman of Tribal Representatives Section delivered at Bordi on Tuesday, the 13th January, 1959.**

FRIENDS,

I am thankful to the authorities of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh for giving me the honour to preside over the tribal section of this Conference.

The meaning and purpose of this conference is, as far as I understand, to provide a sort of symposium for an exchange of views among the public leaders, the social workers, the administrators and tribal representatives on all matters touching on the welfare of the tribes so as to enable them to evolve policies and schemes most healthy in promoting their development and interests.

In our country, there are about twenty million Scheduled Tribes, about 95 per cent of whom live in the villages, away from the highways of civilisation and the amenities of towns and cities. Broadly speaking, the main problems confronting the Scheduled Tribes everywhere are ignorance, poverty and backwardness. You, therefore, see them rather indifferent to go to schools in search of education in spite of the facilities extended to them, rather loathe to see a doctor when they are sick and ailing, innocent and careless of the rules of hygiene, unable to realise and appreciate the advantages of living in sizeable settled villages, and more or less apathetic to what is going on around them. The framers of our Constitution were well aware of this. Accordingly, we find in Article 46, a directive principle of State policy, for the State to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Furthermore, Article 275 provides that grants-in-aid shall be paid to the State Government out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the costs of schemes of development for the purpose of promoting the welfare of Scheduled Tribes or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas to that of the rest of the areas of the State.

I take it that the Article 275 grants-in-aid are intended for the special and additional welfare and development schemes among the tribes not only to meet the needs and requirements peculiar to their conditions and circumstances but also to speed up their all round progress and advancement in order to enable them to catch up with the rest within the shortest time possible. They are therefore supplementary to the development programme for them, financed out of the revenues of the State whose special care it is to look after the interests of the weaker sections of her people.

Though the basic problems of the tribes may be more or less the same everywhere, there are nevertheless variations conditioned by geographical situation, environments, nature of work for a livelihood, degree of progress in the light of modern measures, and other circumstances. Therefore the schemes that will have to be framed and implemented to solve their problems must specifically fit the local conditions and circumstances which differ not only from tribe to tribe but also from place to place. In this context, I consider it to be a matter of vital importance for those who chalk out policies and for those who prepare plans and schemes not to disdain to learn from the nature of their difficulties and handicaps, the shape of their requirements, and, above all, their very viewpoints on the approach to the solution.

I would therefore request the policy-makers and social workers interested in welfare activities and the officers who work amongst the tribes to talk man to man with ordinary tribals in the villages as well as with tribal representatives, to learn from them directly the nature of their problems and the way how to overcome them according to their light, as well as aspirations and in what manner they can be so fulfilled so far as they can visualise it. With their wider knowledge and experience, the statesmen, the social workers and the administrators will then be in a better position to think out policies and to prepare plans and schemes suiting the needs and requirements of the people and conducive to their welfare and interests. But the preparation of good schemes and the sanction of funds to meet the cost thereof are not enough. More important still is the character and ability of persons entrusted with the execution of those schemes. If we have men and women—both Government officials and social workers —to implement those schemes with a genuine spirit of service to work amongst these underdeveloped people without the superior airs of a benefactor, there is every hope of truly achieving the noble aim to raise them to the level of others, for the people will certainly co-operate with them whole-heartedly especially as the schemes emanate from themselves. But if, on the other hand, the workers in the field do their work with an air of condescension, I am afraid that not all the development and welfare schemes implemented would achieve the result as we would like it to be, for the hearts of the people will have been left untouched. After all, our progress must not be measured in terms of material gains alone.

Our good and kind brethren in the country have been generously praising the tribes for their cheerful disposition and trusting nature, in spite of the load of poverty and hardship pressing on them. It is therefore the sacred duty of those working for the welfare of the tribes not to disturb this excellent trait in them. If they bring them material prosperity through the various development schemes, but estrange them otherwise with an aloof and touch-me-not air, they will not have done much for they may thereby sow seeds that may germinate into fear and suspicion—a tragedy greater than which I cannot conceive.

The tribes have a number of traditional institutions and customs not all of which are equally good and admirable.

Those institutions and customs which have a pristine worth of their own and which could be brought upto date to fit in with the modern trends and conditions should be carefully nurtured and strengthened. Others which may have outgrown their utility and are out of place with the present day conditions and the changing needs of the tribes themeselves maybe allowed to die their natural death. Here again, I would impress on the supreme importance of taking a cautious step. Social workers, reformers and administrators may, with a sort of self-effacing guidance, leave it to the growing understading of the tribes themselves to discard their outworn institutions and customs.

I have already emphasised on the advisability to get to know from the tribes themselves their problems and the approach to their solution. I would consider it more helpful still if the working out of solutions is also entrusted, as far as we can have men and women, on the tribals themselves to infuse in them that warm feeling that they too play their part fully in this great work of the nation.

Necessary and correct guidance should always be there, but let us not circumscribe their role, because they have not yet attained the standard or that they are still wanting in necessary qualifications. This is a great experiment and we must carry it through with courage, vision and large heartedness. That way lies our hope of real success.

Lastly, I am proud to say that we, the tribals, also have an ardent desire to march forward with the times shoulder to shoulder with our more advanced brethren. Give us the helping hand, we shall make it.

JAI HIND.

# PART 2

# Papers Submitted

TO

# the Conference

IN

# Social Welfare Section

# भाग दूसरा

# सम्मेलन के

# समाज कल्याण विभाग में

# प्रस्तुत निबंध

# PHYSICAL TARGETS

by

SHRI K.K. LEUVA, B.A. LL.B.
Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes for Bihar & West Bengal Region, Ranchi.

While I do not think that I am fully competent to deal with the philosophy of planning, I would venture to say a few words on physical targets with reference to the development programme launched in pursuance of the Second Five Year Plan in the country, particularly in respect of the welfare of tribal people. No planned programme can ever be imagined without physical targets, because they are the goal for the attainment of which all the activities of an individual or a group are directed. There can be no planning without clear definition of physical targets. In fact physical targets give full meaning to the fulfilment of one's urge and aspiration in the pursuit of happiness. It is, therefore, quite natural that success of any planned activity can be measured with the achievement of physical targets fixed for it.

2. Physical targets should be precise, accurate, real and not vague. They should be such as would enable us to measure success of a particular scheme. As for example, production of 40,000 eggs of improved poultry birds, Red-Rhode Island or White Leg-horn, in a year may appear to be a precise physical target for poultry development centres or poultry farms established in pursuance of a welfare scheme. But actually it is vague, because production as such cannot be taken to mean that the poultry of the tribal people in a particular area has been improved by its achievement. The correct physical target for such a scheme should be to specify the number of eggs to be distributed to a definite number of persons for hatching. And the success of the scheme would depend upon how many of them have been successfully hatched, because it is the addition of improved quality of birds that will go to develop the poultry in the area. Again physical targets fixed may appear to be quite precise at a first glance, but they may be totally unreal if they are fixed without reference to the felt needs of the people. This unreality can be removed if it is preceded by an accurate survey undertaken for the assessment of the felt needs. Sometimes the expenditure shown as incurred is taken to be the sole criterion for judging how far a physical target has been achieved. But mere expenditure figures may be quite misleading, because at the fag end of a financial year, amounts are drawn from the treasury and kept as the revenue deposits or advanced to contractors or executing agents for construction works, while in actual fact no work at all might have been done and no physical target attained. Complaisance arising out of expenditure of finances should, therefore,

have no place in the assessment of progress in the development programme, even though it may be a readily available yardstick for the purpose.

3. Physical targets have a bearing on two factors, namely, the means and the time limit. Achievements of the same may be early if the means are effective. It, therefore, follows that the achievement is delayed if the means are inadequate or ineffective. Hence one has to guard against pitfalls in using either inadequate or ineffective means in the hurry of attainment of physical targets. One has to be careful to see to it that in the hot pursuit, the very purpose of the programme is not lost sight of. Prescribing a time limit for the achievement of physical targets demands an expert eye on the availability of resources, personnel and urge among the masses. Wrong assesment of any of the above will make the time limit unless and unreal and will negate ultimately the aim and purpose of the plan itself. Now let us examine whether the welfare programme has been planned keeping in view the above important factors. For examination of this point, I would like to confine myself to what I have seen and experienced in the tribal areas where I am working at present.

4. Development programme for the welfare which I have come across, has certain defects. It becomes in certain cases unreal, as it is completely divorced from the actual needs of the tribal people, as for example, construction of hostel buildings. Very fine and spacious hostel buildings have been constructed at several places to provide hostel accommodation to tribal students even though the demand for the same may not be so pressing. I have seen a few such hostels which have been left by the tribal students, simply because they could not bring ration from their homes to the hostels as is the practice in Bihar. It should be clear that among the educational concessions necessrry for the promotion of education among the tribal people, the most urgent one is of free food or hostel charges to enable the students to meet expenses for food when they read while living in the hostels. Another instance, I would like to cite is that the huge amounts are being spent in awarding stipends to the students reading in the schools. The stipends may not be so essential to those students who read while living with their parents. In such cases, small book-grants may be quite sufficient to meet the immediate needs of the students for studies. The welfare measure can be real if a greater portion of stipendiary amounts is diverted to provide free food or hostel charges to those students who have to live in the hostels away from their homes.

5. Another glaring defect in the welfare programme is the lack of selection of sites for locating the welfare schemes as well as of beneficiaries. Instances will not be few in which wells for drinking water have been constructed where there were wells already in existence, while in a number of places in the tribal areas the people continue to experience the difficulty of water supply even though there was no dearth of finances. Deep study of the welfare programme will also bring to light certain cases where subsidies for purchase of bullocks, agricultural implements, etc. have been given to persons for settling them on agriculture, even

though they have not been settled with lands for agricultural purposes or to such individuals who have been settled on agriculture already, say more than 30 years ago. Houses have been constructed for those persons who have already beautiful houses of their own and where there is no congestion at present, while there are a number of families who have nothing to protect themselves from onslaughts of cold, heat and rains continue to be homeless. In the above cases achievement of physical targets can be reckoned in physical terms, but everyone can see that the same is not heartening as the selection of the beneficiaries has been improper and wrong. On the contrary, I am constrained to say that it cannot be called an achievement at all. Is it not surprising that even though more than half of the Second Plan Period is over, there has been no final selection of the sites and the beneficiaries ? The nett result is that the aim and purpose of the welfare programme are being lost.

6. Unreality of the welfare programme comes to light also when we look at the personnel in charge of its implementation. Suitable personnel both in number and qualifications is lacking which fact could have been forseen by framers of the welfare programme. Under the Centrally Sponsored and State Sector Schemes for Scheduled Tribes, it is decided to train several thousand aboriginals in various industries and crafts by starting a number of Training-cum-Production Centres. There is bound to be a shortfall in physical targets, because the above number of aboriginals can only be trained if all the Centres begin to provide training as per schedule of time to the full quota of trainees. But that has been an impossibility, as suitable instructors and skilled artisans have not been available with the result that the training could not start as per schedule even though work sheds were constructed and equipments and tools purchased long ago. Again in view of the bad selection of sites for some of the Centres and the lack of adequate demands for training from the tribals, the shortfall will be quite heavy which fact will be quite heavy which fact will also speak in the most glaring terms about the lack of realism in drawing up of the welfare programme.

7. As stated earlier, expenditure of finances should not be mistaken for success of the programme. Have we not seen numerous faces, both administrative and executive, of Government Departments after December every year worn with anxiety to spend money allotted for execution of the welfare schemes ? There is a race in spending money in this crucial period of the financial year. And when there is a likelihood of judging the capacity of an official on the basis of the amount he spends, the welfare programme is bound to suffer, as in all probability its execution will be both faulty and improper. This race against the time is also the principal cause of the bad selection of sites or beneficiaries or both.

8. Hence if the physical targets are to be made indicative of the welfare achieved for the tribal people, I would like to observe that :—

(i) needs and mostly felt needs should be surveyed and clearly defined,...

(ii) a thorough assessment of resources and personnel should be made,

(iii) care should be taken for proper selection of sites for execution of the schemes and of the beneficiaries,

(iv) time factor should be understood in its proper prospective, and

(v) quantum of money spent should not necessarily mean successful implementation of the programme, because, it has sometimes hardly any bearing on the actual achievement of the physical targets.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED AREAS UNDER THE SPECIAL MULTI-PURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCKS.

by

**Shri Gyan Chand, Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Raigarh.**

The Multi-purpose Tribal Projects area special feature of development and have been located in the areas where aboriginals are extremely poor, illiterate and backward in every respect. These people have no inherent desire for development and want to lead a simple life in their primitive way. It is difficult for the Block staff to persuade them because they do not want to come near them. They have got fear and suspicion from them. The main cause of their suspicion is, their ruthless exploitation at the hands of exploiters of all communities who have been sucking their blood from centuries. The sphere of activities of business communities depends upon their capital out-lay. Their methods of looting the tribals are different but their goal is common. This is why the tribals have no faith in the civilised persons.

2. The official and non-official visitors when they visit these areas normally contact these intelligent persons and are sometimes influenced. These people tell strange stories of their dishonesty in dealings. They create such a vicious circle and poison the atmosphere to the extent that Government agencies dare not to advance any loans to these poor people. The position is quite different. The tribes are so simple, honest and straightforward that they pay back all loans to them and in case any one dies he leaves a will to his successors to pay up the loan with interest. They charge exhorbitant interest on the loans advanced and in some cases it comes to 4 annas per rupee per month. Not only this they make entry in their records showing double loans and get their thumb impression on them. They advance money once and go on realising interest for the rest of life. It is common experience that they collect all their produce from their fields and do not

allow them to take any part of it to their houses.

3. In these circumstances, the correct approach to the tribal problem is to save them from the clutches of such cunning people. But this aspect of their life has not been taken into consideration by the framers of Schematic budget. This is why they have not set apart adequate allotment for tackling this problem. They have conveniently divided all the allotment of Rs. 27 lakhs on the pattern of common N.E.S. Blocks and the programme in these areas is not different from the programme applicable to the areas near Delhi. The break-up of one of the Blocks is as under :

| | Rs. |
|---|---|
| (a) Project Headquarters ... ... | 6,75,000 |
| (b) Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension. | 2,50,000 |
| (c) Irrigation ... ... ... ... | 3,50,000 |
| (d) Reclamation ... ... ... ... | 50,000 |
| (e) Health and Rural Sanitation ... ... | 2,00,000 |
| (f) Education ... ... ... ... | 75,000 |
| (g) Social Education ... ... ... | 75,000 |
| (h) Communications ... ... ... | 3,50,000 |
| (i) Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries ... ... | 2,00,000 |
| (j) Housing ... ... ... ... | 2,50,000 |
| (k) Cooperation ... ... ... ... | 2,00,000 |
| (l) Miscellaneous ... ... ... | 25,000 |
| Total : | 27,00,000 |

4. On perusal of the above break-up it appears that Rs. 2 lakhs have been set apart under the head'Cooperation' and apparently with this amount exploitation can be checked. But the rules and regulations of the Cooperative Department are such that poor tribals cannot get any benefit out of it. There are many representations and complaints from these areas that the minimum capital of Rs. 500 can not be collected from the aboriginals on account of their poverty and therefore, the societies can not be registered. The same is the position in case of credit-societies and other Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies. About the Forest Cooperative Societies the less said the better, because the registration of such societies requires cooperation of the other departments also; therefore, the number of such societies can be counted on fingers. Most of the present societies functioning are either financed or controlled by the non-tribals and are not beneficial to the extent these ought to be to the poor people. It would be in the fitness of things if the rules and regulations of the Cooperative Department are amended suitably to make them workable for the benefit of tribals in these areas.

5. In the Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks, the rules should be that all provisions necessary for the tribals should

be purchased by the Block funds, in the form of fair-price shops. Thereafter, the societies of these people should be formed and declared owners of the provisions purchased without charging any cash share from them. From the sale of these commodities a portion of profit would go to them. That profit when accumulated equal to the share amount should be treated share-capital of the members. In this way gradually and slowly the tribals would take interest in their working.

6. On these lines the grain-golas are successfully working in the villages of Bastar district. All the food stuffs are purchased by the Block Authorities and are placed in the villages. The Village Level Workers with the help of Gram Panchayats keep all records. The food grains are advanced on credit on *Sawai Basis* to the villagers and at the time of harvest these loans are realised. In this way the food stuffs are doubled after four years and Government takes back all the money invested in the grain-gola schemes. This leaves sufficient food stocks at the disposal of the villagers who can continue this scheme successfully. This scheme is also a great check on the exploitation because surplus food grains which tribals cannot keep in their houses can be stored in such godowns.

7. The progress of work in most of the Blocks is very slow for various reasons. In some of Blocks the B.D.Os and complete staff have not been posted though half of the period is over. The expenditure so far incurred in these blocks is between 2 lakhs to 8 lakhs. One of the difficulties which is responsible for slow progress of work is the contribution from the people. The poor tribals who live on shifting cultivation and hunting cannot contribute anything to the development programme. Their crude and wasteful methods of cultivation do not yield much for their bare subsistence. In certain seasons when there is nothing to eat they live on rats and roots of trees. From such people how can any contribution be expected ? The aim of development in these areas is to raise the standard of living of those people by bringing to their doors the various amenities of life as an incentive to work and earn more. The programme in these areas, therefore, should be considered as programme for the people and not people's programme.

8. The Block Development Officer having regard to local conditions and the poverty of the people living in those areas have found out a via-media and are now deducting a portion of the wages of the labourers put on work irrespective of their residence inside or outside the Blocks. The justification for this cut in wages is that they calculate the wages at Scheduled rates and pay them at the rates contractors pay them. In this way they are competing with the exploitors. The tribals sometimes question in what way the B.D.O. and his staff are less exploitors than the local contractors. They go a step further and say the B.D.O. is keeping all the money in his pocket and consequently doubt his bonafides. The amount of people's contribution is fairly high in the places where there is a concentration of exploitors. Therefore, most of Primary Health Centres, Primary Health Units, Ambar Charkha Kendras, Tailoring Centres

etc. are located at such places, though there is no tribal living in those colonies. All such places are situated in the Scheduled Areas, therefore, the question of tribal population does not arise there. If they start construction of Police Station, Jails and Courts with the Central Grants in those areas they will be perfectly within their rights, provided people's contribution is forthcoming. But the object of development would be defeated because it would widen the gap between haves and have-nots.

9. The crying need of tribals is to provide them pure water for drinking and two square-meals a day. Their angle of vision is different and they judge every development programme from this view point and try to find out how far it would enable them to derive benefits, they demand. They would therefore, welcome all programmes for the development of Agriculture, Irrigation, Reclamation, Wells etc. because these have direct bearing on their demands. These items should have formed part of the primary programme and half of the budget if spent on these items would have pleased the tribals highly. But allotment for Animal Husbandry and Agriculture Extension is Rs. 2·50 lakhs, but half of it would be conveniently spent on purchase of machinery, and therefore, very little would be left for helping them to have two meals a day because they will have to pay for getting services of Bull Dozers and Tractors. As such they would derive very little benefit out of it, though 95 per cent of them depend on it.

10. The tribals are normally very healthy because they are having all natural gifts and mostly live in their farms. It is not understood how with the opening of Multi-purpose Blocks all the tribals in all the parts of the States have contracted all kinds of diseases over-night and a sum of Rs. 2·00 lakhs have been set apart for controlling them. I wonder how allotment could be spent in the areas where people are quite hale and healthy.

11. The main industry of the people residing in these areas is basket-making and broom-making and these industries need encouragement and improvement as some of them depend on it. It is very interesting to note that an allotment Rs. 2 lakhs has been kept for its development. It will be a problem for the B.D.O.s to spend such a huge amount for the benefit of the tribals. Hardly one or two per cent (tribals) would welcome the expenditure under this head. It is for consideration whether this expenditure would help the poor tribal in any way. Similarly for housing there is no demand of the tribal when they have no clothes to wear and food to eat. A sum of Rs. 2·50 lakhs has been set apart for this purpose. Taking into consideration the demands of the tribals, it would be better if all these huge amounts are utilised for the development of Agriculture and Irrigation after leaving a sum of Rs. 50,000 under each item. In this way an additional allotment of Rs. 5 lakhs would be sufficient for ameliorating the lot of the poor tribals.

12. The tribals love nature and prefer to stay in their farms. They have their residential huts in their farms and a village is spread over 3 to 5 miles.

There is hardly a cluster of 4 to 5 huts at any one place and therefore, the question of construction of drains and pavement of the streets does not arise in these villages. Most of the huts are without walls; therefore, smokeless *Chulas* would not be acceptable to them because they keep the fire-burning throughout the night for keeping themselves warm as they have no clothes. There is no scope for opening libraries in the villages because there is no one who is literate. Their children enjoy on the top of trees and hills and therefore, can not be tamed to visit parks daily in the villages. It is really very strange that such items still form part of development programme for the tribal areas. Not only this, but many targets not have been achieved by now. It would be better if all such items are deleted from the programme.

13. The conception of Social Education in the Tribal Areas is somewhat different from other places. Here the aim is to develope the people's opinion for improving economic condition of the communities. With this end in view it is necessary that Social Education should include talks on improved methods of cultivation, improvement of cattle, poultry keeping etc. The programme should also include lectures on health, sanitation, use of clean water, bathing, washing, folk dances etc. The tribals should also be told something about new coinage system, simple counting. If possible, they should be told what part tribals played in the history of India. It does not stand to reason that these people should be made literate at this stage when they do not want to send their children to the school. They have got great regard for teachers known as Gurus, in these areas. It would be better if they are asked to push through Social Welfare programmes. The posting of S.E.Os (males and females) is not of much help in these areas. They on the contrary provoke lot of criticism.

14. The tribal women do more work than the men; therefore, these ladies are not available during the day time. It is a problem for lady S.E.O. and Gram Sevika to contact them for giving them instructions. It would be better if these ladies are not posted in the interior for a year or so. The services of Ladv Health Visitor can be utilised for the training of local Dais because tribals do not want to take such help from the out-siders. Therefore, the Dais of other districts posted in the tribal areas are doing very little work for the tribals. Their postings should be postponed for sometime more.

15. The allotment under the head 'Education' is Rs. 75,000 only; therefore, it can not be precisely said what sort of development is expected with this. They are constructing some school buildings and teachers quarters and thus are supplementing the activities of other departments. The present curriculum of the education of the tribal boy requires some revision because the tribal boy is not able enough to understand other languages. It is difficult for him to remember the spelling of the word as well as the picture of the object told in other languages. Having regard to various difficulties of books, it would be better if tribal teachers are given oriental training for three months every year and all of them should know the languages of the tribal so that they may create

interest in the student. The tribal boy comes to school for learning something but sits there with vacant mind because he is not able to grasp things quickly and thus lose all interest in education. The difficulty is that after spending one or two years in the school, he runs away to the forest. The parents do not force him to go back to school, because they realise that the boy is not learning anything and is unnecessarily affecting their economy. The tribal boy due to his environments, backwardness and economic conditions, is not very much interested in academic education and he expects something more. He is more interested in Agriculture, Gardening, Forestry etc. etc. and therefore, his courses of study should be on those lines. The aim of educa tion in these areas should be to develope the community as a whole through the tribal boy. This is possible when every school has got its Chhatravas and accommodation for the teachers so that the tribal boys may live there during the period of their study. The present attraction of books, clothes and mid-day meals (parched gram) is not helping very much. The present system of one school for one thousand population and one teacher for 50 boys requires further consideration for tribal areas.

16. There is nothing common between special Multi-purpose Tribal Project and N.E.S., or C.D. Blocks. Their problems and budget are completely different but there is no distinction in their practical working. The B.D.O. of Tribal Multi-purpose Block attends all the meetings, seminars alone with the B.D.Os. of N.E.S. Blocks at all levels. They also submit all statements of every kind and their schemes are delayed in the routine manner. The paper work has increased in their offices to such an extent that if this aspect is not looked after properly then most of the schemes would remain on paper, because the field-staff would not be able to go to the spots. It would be better if these B.D.Os. are called to the meetings where tribal problems are exclusively discussed once or twice a year. They should not be asked to prepare any other statements except monthly expenditure statements and quarterly statements. They should also be given vast discretion for spending sanctioned budget.

17. There is tremendous delay in the approval of their schemes and sometimes administrative and technical sanctions are received at the end of the year and the schemes are not implemented. It would be better if some time fixed for the approval of these schemes at all levels, viz. 15 days at district level, 30 days at division level and 60 days at State level. In case the approval is not received in his office within that time he should presume that the scheme has been sanctioned. In this way, the work would be speeded up and there will be satisfactory progress.

18. The roads are very essential for tribal areas and where roads have been constructed the whole area has been opened up. The bridle paths, link-roads and culverts are quite helpful to the tribals, but the construction work should be of permanent nature. The allotmont for this purpose is Rs. 3.5 lakhs. It would be better, if all tribal villages are linked with each other and most of them are connected by jeepable roads. The

people's contribution in this case is 1/3 instead of 1/4, therefore, it is a problem how to cut major portion of their wages. It is quite reasonable if it is waived completely or reduced to the minimum. The cost of land should be treated their contribution. In case the road passes through forests, even then they are deprived of the right of food gathering and technically it should be treated their share. It would be beneficial to the tribals as well as the officials if they are paid wages at Schedule rates for all works going on in the Scheduled Areas.

19. The Tribal Blocks are intensive from the very beginning and it is not expected that allotment of Rs. 27 lakhs would be spent for the remaining period. The Central Grants meant for the other areas are also being spent in these blocks for making them more intensive. In this way we are overwhelming the tribals by too many schemes, each good in itself, but in the aggregate, we are imposing too heavy burden on them.

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## SPECIAL MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECT, DHARAMPUR, SURAT DISTRICT

by

**Prant-Cum-Project Officer, Special Multi-purpose Project, Dharampur.**

1. *General* :—

A compact block of 39 villages on the south-west portion of the present Taluka of Dharampur has been selected for introduction of Multi-purpose Development Scheme with effect from 1st April 1957. The total area covered under the Project is 76,167 acres with a population of 25, 876. The population may be classified as under :—

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Adult Males | 9446 |
| (2) Adult Females | 8866 |
| (3) Children under five years' age | 2767 |
| (4) Children between 5 and 16 yrs.' age | 4797 |
| | 25876 |

The population under different professions can be classified as under :—

(1) 462 Owner cultivators.

(2) 3164 Owners not cultivating land personally.

(3) 1256 Agricultural labourers.

(4) 1375 Landless labourers.

(5) 117 Village Artisans.

At the start of the Block according to Survey Report the position was as stated under :—

The main village industries other than agriculture in the Block Area were :—

(1) Village Potters inclusive of bricks and tiles manufacturers. ... 30

(2) Mat Weavers. ... 1685
(3) Village Tanners. ... 49

The total crop area is 33125 acres.

The average annual rain-fall is 100 inches.

There are 35 Primary Schools and one Basic Primary School in the Block area villages. The percentage of literacy is very poor.

There are two tanks for domestic use. The number of kachha houses is 5329 and pacca houses is 12.

There are three Co-operative money lending societies and three Co-operative Farming Societies.

The Block area villages can be divided into two parts according to their present, economic, social and cultural position.

A. 9 villages situated on the western border touching the Pardi Taluka of the District mainly populated by Adivasi Community known as Dhodias.

B. 30 villages situated to the east of these villages shown under 'A', populated mainly by Kanbis locally known as Koknas.

The soil of the villages shown under 'A' is better and more suitable for fruit trees and also garden crops such as sugarcane. There is also generally sufficient supply of good water at reasonable normal depth and adequate for irrigation purpose. The Dhodiya Community is more responsive to introduce modern methods and eager to come forward and fall in line with their neighbours in Pardi and Bulsar Talukas which are within easy reach of Bombay on the Western Railway passing through this tract.

The Koknas in villages under 'B' division are more orthodox and it is difficult to make them adopt improvements. The language spoken by Dhodias is almost Gujarati with colloquial tribal words while that spoken by Koknas is having some emphasis of Marathi mixed with Gujarati and colloquial tribal words. In villages under Class 'B' there is generally a rocky substrata difficult to strike potable water at normal depth. The soil is also rocky and not suitable for better and improved crops. The main crops are paddy, *Arohar*, *Urd*, *Nagli* (an inferior grain) and *Kharsani* (an oil seed). The Adivasis use indigenous agricultural implements and resort to no weeding. As there is assured annual rainfall they hardly experience scarcity conditions so far as food grains are concerned. However, due to lack of sufficient number of wells, the villages in rocky strata do experience difficulty about adequate supply of drinking water in the fag end of the season. Mostly people in the rocky strata villages resort to kachha *veharis* which they have located at places according to their knowledge of the area where they can conveniently strike potable water.

All the Adivasis are in general non-vegetarians. Every family maintains its small poultry looked after by the female members of the family who treat it as their exclusive personal property and they according to their traditional custom are to provide their requirements of clothings and personal pocket expenses out of the income from poultry. Similarly the females as a class are generally found to raise vegetable gardens during the monsoon and thereafter. The vegetable

garden includes a few plants like brinjals, chillies, potatoes. bhindi etc. They take much pains sometimes to fetch water in head load from distances where water is available in a river or a stream or a *nala*. But they do raise such a garden invariably in every family, and the females just as they treat the poultry as their personal property treat the vegetable garden as such, and out of the income of the same the Adivasi females get their requirements of cloth and personal pocket expenses—thus freeing the families from general responsibilities in this item of expenditure. The females are very hard working and generally found to help the males in all agricultural operations. Cattle stock maintained by the Adivasi includes cows, bullocks, he-buffaloes and goats. The cattle are found to be hopelessly deteriorated, not having been properly attended to. The Adivasi males are generally found halfclad and their requirements of cloth are very negligible. They have their own beliefs and for all ills they think that some evil spirit is responsible and they resort to local bhagats who offer them hopes of relief in their own traditional customs by sacrificing a foul or some such method. The whole area is covered by forests in piece-meal blocks. Upto the merger of the States in 1948 the whole block was under the administration of a native Ruler. There were no rest houses or pacca buildings for schools in the entire area. The forests were also unsystematically exploited and practically ruined. The whole area had no medicine facilities except a small disepnsary in one corner of the area in charge of a Medical Officer not possessing adequate qualifications. There was only one branch post office in the whole area. The nearest railway station from the Project area is 15 miles. There is only one village connected by a pacca all-weather road on which a public bus service is running. There are two rivers running across the Project area from north-east to south-west. They are perennial rivers flowing all the year round having no provision of bridges to cross the same. During fair weather the rivers get fordable. There is no marketing facility except local weekly fairs where the petty traders from the out-lying areas assemble and cater to the needs of the Adivasis and also purchase their agricultural and other products. The road from Dharampur to Nasik passes through the Project area from the northern bank of river Par upto village Kaprada on one of ranges of the Western Ghats passing through this territory. A State Transport bus flies between Nasik and Bulsar during the fair weather. The road is under construction and only a portion of about 8 miles upto river Par touching this block on the northern side is completed upto now.

2. The main problems affecting the development of this Project area are as under :—

*Roads* :

Probably the whole of the Project area is secluded and cut-off from all sides. No vehicle can have an access to any Project area except one village having a pacca road connecting it with Pardi Rly. Station. But it means a distance of 42 miles if a vehicle is taken through that route from Dharampur. Practically therefore there is no road

facility during monsoon. The first and foremost requirement of the area is that of providing it with all weather roads with bridges and culverts on the rivers, rivulets and *nalas*.

It is a very costly affair because the provision of bridges on the river would require big amounts. Unless bridges are constructed over these rivers the pace of development would not be accelerated. The Project-staff experiences immense difficulties in this regard during monsoon. This is a heavy rainfall area and sometimes the staff and people are held up for days and days together due to high floods and difficulty of transport. There is one road in charge of local board from one end of the Project area to the other. However the same is of no use during monsoon because of the absence of bridges on the rivers.

*Markets* :—

The Adivasis, in general, are very honest and lack in boldness to deal with the traders and shop-keepers who, taking advantage of the backwardness of the people, adopt methods to exploit the Adivasis in their dealings with them. The food grain and other products are sold by them in weekly fairs which are not properly organized and controlled by Government authorities. As it is seen often, the Adivasis adopt bartar of grain for salt, onions etc. in which the traders actually cheat them. The Weights and Measures Act is also not effectively enforced because the Adivasis only know of measurement by containers, namely 'tokari' for their grains. It is of utmost importance to apply the Market Act and enforce it very strictly if adivasis are to get adequate price for their products.

*Education* :

So far as Primary Education is concerned practically every village is provided with a Primary School. Luckily for this area, it is only due to regional conflicts between the Maharastriyans and Gujaratis in border area where on account of rival claims each tried to establish primary schools even in the most interior villages with the ultimate result that Maharastriyans withdrew and Gujaratis succeeded in establishing Gujarati Primary Schools. The schools are accommodated generally in kachha huts which are replaced by pacca buildings under the Project Schemes. It is hoped that by the end of the Project period every village will have adequate provision of school building to accommodate the school children. Even then there are difficulties peculiar to the area. The Adivasis have their huts scattered over the whole area which often make it impossible for the children of lower age to go to schools punctually and easily as their huts are situated at varying distances. This problem is very hard to solve. However, careful attention is being paid to select sites for construction of new schools with a view to see that they would be centrally situated and would be convenient to as many people as possible.

In villages of bigger size attempt is made to provide one hall building at more than one place so that children of small age find it convenient to attend such schools. At present there is one basic primary school. There are possibilities of converting half-a-dozen primary schools into basic primary schools and steps are being taken in that direction. There are two Ashram

Shalas at present running in the Project area. One of them was established before the Project was started. It is under the administrative control of Gujarat Vidyapith. Another Ashram Shala is started under the auspices of this Project at village Kaprada. The Ashram Shala is at present located in a temporary building. Action is being taken to construct the building. Ashram Shala type of schools are most suitable for moulding the cultural development of Adivasi children. This new Ashram Shala is being run by the Dakshin Gujarat Adivasi Kelvani Mandal.

The other problem concerning the successful running of Primary Schools is the availability of adequate number of teachers imbued with sincerity to serve in the Adivasi Area which involves difficulties of suitable-housing and other comforts and facilities available in comparatively developed areas. According to experience the teachers are found either absent from schools or are not running the schools punctually. The departmental Officers are also not vigorously touring due to lack of travelling and camping facilities. The problem is really serious and if educational development is to be implemented expeditiously this discipline of punctuality on the part of teachers will have to be strongly enforced; otherwise mere existence of schools on record would not be of any benefit.

*Social Education :*

The problem of Social Welfare of Women and Children is being tackled under the auspices of the Bombay State Social Welfare Board. A Welfare Extension Project Committee is set up with a non-official Chairman and eight members. There are 10 centres, each in charge of one gram Sevika. Gram Sevikas are trained in Koba Training Centre. They are running balwadis and working among Adivasi women. Difficulties of accommodation for Gram Sevikas and balvadis are there and efforts are in progress to provide necessary buildings at least for Balwadis.

Social Education Classes opened under the Project Programme are very popular and Adivasi adults are gradually being made literate. Similarly cultural and entertainment programmes are being organised to encourage and exhort the Adivasis to participate in Project activities. The Adivasis are very gay and cheerful. They have their own folk dances, and males and females of young age freely join together on ceremonial occasions and religious festivals and perform folk dances. As the lay-out of residential huts is peculiarly scattered, the community life in other respects is difficult to develop. However by constant contact and propaganda by Extension Officers and Village Leaders, signs of development of Community life are definitely visible.

*Agriculture* :

There are vast possibilities of development in this indigenous industry. This is a heavy rainfall area and their main crop is paddy. The rainfall is almost assured. The adoption of Japanese method of cultivation is sure to increase the yield many fold. The improved method is getting popular. Particularly the provision of subsidy has proved a

great attraction. The agriculturists in general are deeply interested in erecting bunds to their paddy fields with a view to preserve adequate moisture and conversion of Jarayat land into paddy lands. The success of Japanese method will definitely raise the economic condition of the adivasis. The other possibility is that of successful plantation of mango trees. This activity is getting very popular. During two years of Project Programme they have planted thousands of mango grafts. In the agricultural development there is one hurdle which is peculiar to the southern portion of the block area villages. There are a few big landlords possessing thousands of acres of land which are not cultivated but the landlords can conveniently get the grass growing on such lands cut and collected after the rainy season is over through labourers and after getting it baled into hay export to Bombay. These big landlords have vested interest. During the days of princely regime the economic depression and poverty of the people as well as patronage of the Rulers of those days enabled these big landlords to acquire large extents of land from the hands of Adivasis at fictitiously low prices or as prize for payment of revenue which Adivasis failed to pay because of their poverty. It is but necessary to get these lands cultivated and such crops as paddy may be grown so that good grain may be produced and in addition the paddy straw may be used as cattle feed. The local landless labourers may also get adequate employment. The big landlords are indifferent to cultivate because that entails greater care and involves agricultural operations while collection of grass is simpler and more profitable involving no ploughing and other agricultural operations.

*Irrigation* :

As it is a heavy rainfall area there is no great possibility for irrigated crops. However, irrigation wells are being constructed by enterprising individual agriculturists and they propose to raise sugarcane and seasonal vegetables such as onions etc. Bunds can conveniently be put on small streams for storage of water and to irrigate small plots of Rabi crops lying on the banks of such streams.

*Animal Husbandry* :

The Adivasis are fond of keeping herds of cattle for collecting dung cakes which they generally burn on their seed beds with a view to raise seedlings easily and avoid growing of weed plants. Practically there are no milk-cattle. The cattle breed are so poor and deteriorated that they are not at all economically profitable to be maintained if these Adivasis are aware of the economical principals of profit and loss. However it is their hereditary and indigenous profession to keep cattle and they do it. Development of breed is most essential and according to the technical advice of Cattle Breeding Department, Dangi bulls should be introduced in the first stage because of the short stature. Eight such pedigree bulls of Dangi breed have been placed at eight centres to serve the Project Area villages. With the experience received so far, further Dangi bulls will be imported and placed at other centres. A Scheme is under consideration to distribute improved breed of cows to

accelerate the improvement of cow—breeding. Buffalo keeping in not popular as they say that rocky and hilly area is not suitable for them. However the Adivasis do import he-buffaloes for agricultural operations and for carting of timber and they are found in equal number as that of bullocks. The local shepherds keep flocks of sheep and goats and there are possibilities of improvement of their breeds. It is under consideration to supply premium male sheep and goats to herdsmen.

*Poultry* :

Poultry is a general feature in the economic life of every Adivasi family. There are immense possibilities of development. Pedigree birds are being supplied to interested poultry keepers. Now a bigger Scheme is being envisaged to weed out all indigenous breeding cocks of Deshi varieties and replace them by Red Island Rhode varieties of cocks from a compact area of 15 villages. A Scheme is being formulated.

*Health and Rural Sanitation* :

Due to backwardness of the tract and lack of proper understanding, adivasis in general were indifferent to use water drawn from wells for drinking purposes. Generally wherever water is available in rivers, rivulets, streams or nalas or in pits, the people prefer such easily available water. So far they had no idea to use water for other domestic uses such as washing of clothes. There were a few pacca wells constructed under the scheme of D.L.B. after the merger of States. However due to the peculiar lay-out of scattered housing all over the area, such isolated wells were hardly of use for a few families and that too when at the fag end of the summer season when no water was available at other places. People in general used to dig out kaccha *veharis* at low lying plots where according to their own personal knowledge they could easily strike water without much labour when other sources were not available.

Sometimes they could spot out such places at long distances even then they were satisfied or rather cared little to try for more convenient places for supply of water. With the advent of the Project, there was propaganda about the importance and necessity of supply of pure drinking water and disadvantages and risks involved in resorting to unhygienic and impure supply of easily available water. The people could easily learn the lesson because of frequent break-out of epidemics like cholera in such backward tracts. The easy terms provided in Project schemes attracted people to demand for construction of new wells on a large scale. The popular contribution prescribed in view of backwardness and poverty of people is so low that by digging a kaccha well by way of popular contribution by their own personal labour without any monetary expenditure they would get the well completed with the help of Government grant. Of course it is difficult to provide such wells within easy reach to each and every adivasi family because the lay-out is very peculiar so far as their housing is concerned. However sites are selected so very carefully that such wells are situated to serve as many people as possible. In certain rocky strata, the problem is rather serious. Yet with the present enthusiasm of people for supply of pure potable water,

the indigenous blasting method to deepen wells is being tried and with success at many places. It is also under consideration to adopt drill boring in very difficult rocky strata areas on hills where blasting is unsuccessful.

There are practically no medical facilities in the whole of Project area except a small dispensary run by D.L.B. in a village at the other end of Project area. This D.L.B. dispensary too is of no avail during monsoon when rivers, rivulets, nalas etc. not provided with bridges and culverts are flooded over. Provision is made in the project programme to start one Primary Centre and Sub-centre. The sites have been selected and plans and estimates have been submitted for approval. It will however take time before schemes come into operation. It is of utmost importance to put up a mobile health van which may at least serve the people during the fair season. Correspondence is in progress in this respect but nothing has been achieved so far.

*Veterinary*:

Veterinary service was almost unknown to the people so far though there was a dispensary at the taluka H.Q. The location of that dispensary and backwardness of the people with lack of road facilities did not attract the adivasis to take advantage of it. At present there are two stockmen moving through project areas attending to emergent problems and carrying on propaganda for adopting scientific remedies for cattle diseases. A provision has been made for starting two veterinary sub-centres in the project. Sites have been selected and plans and estimates have been submitted for approval.

*Rural Housing* :

There are immense possibilities for improvement in rural housing. The housing of sanitary type is not adopted because of lack of such a sense on the part of the people. There is no paucity of adequate and suitable sites, as the area is covered by forests from where they can get materials for construction of houses at concessional rates. The skilled labour necessary to erect the rural type of houses is also found to be available at cheap wages. The Adivasis themselves are accustomed to doing unskilled labour and as such in erecting their own houses they can contribute the labour of the members of the families. If labour of the members of the individual family is not sufficient on such occasions, it is also noticed that neighbours and relatives help each other. As such, with proper understanding and attractive scheme of the Project to grant subsidy, there is likely to be a huge demand for construction of rural houses of design and plan with separate provision for cattle sheds. The problem of making the people construct houses in compact areas by removing their houses from scattered places is not easy. Attempts are made to form Co-operative Housing Societies. One such Society is already registered. As time passes and as people begin to understand the advantages, the construction of houses in compact *gawthan* will gradually materialise.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED AREA UNDER SPECIAL MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCKS

by

**Joint Project Officer, Special Multipurpose Project, Khedbrama,**

Five years ago, the Central Government launched an ambitious scheme of Community Development Projects in our country. The programme has grown in depth and width far beyond all original calculations. It has acquired a significance for millions of our countrymen struggling for life out of darkness of poverty, ignorance and disease in which we grope today. The programme is going in concept according to the genius of our people.

Now again, after five years, the Central Government has sponsored and launched a more ambitious programme of setting up Special Multipurpose Projects for the welfare of the most backward scheduled tribes and the adivasis inhabitating in the most difficult interior regions of the country.

The project area consists of only one Block, covering an area of more than 205 sq. miles and situated in the far north of the newly formed Sabarkantha District in the Bombay State, with its headquarters at Khedbrahma. The Project area covers 97 villages, the total population of which is 28582, out of which 25300 are tribals (Adivasis) who are mainly agriculturists.

Poshina—the nerve centre and the biggest marketing centre centrally situated in the Project area is 36 miles away from Khedbrahma. It is the biggest village in the Block with a population of 1000 souls. In the whole area there are only 11 drinking water wells. Hardly a hundred tribal (Adivasis) adults will be found literate in the entire area. This fact itself is a revealing commentary on the backwardness of this part of the State. Almost all the villages are unsurveyed. There are no roads and the entire area is inaccessible for about six months in a year due to several rivulets and big rivers like Sabarmati, Vakad etc. having no bridges on any of them. The entire tract is mainly hilly and small patches of the cultivable land are scattered here and there between hundreds of hillocks of the Aravalli ranges scattered throughout the project area.

The Adivasis (tribals) live separately from each other in small huts built on scattered hills or in plains wherever such plots af land are found fit for cultivation. Out of the total number of 97 villages only 4 villages are compactly inhabited.

The economic condition of the adivasis (tribals) is very precarious. They have lowest income and moreover are exploited in all possible ways by the local traders and the labour contractors. They never realise the proper value of produce, and the loans advanced to them by the money lenders and the traders carry very exhorbitant rates of interest.

At a rough estimate it is calculated that the annual income of an Adivasi family (consisting of six souls on an average) of this project area comes to only Rs. 260 from agriculture. From other subsidiary occupations like coal making, honey collecting and indigenous medicinal roots collection, a family earns Rs. 60 per year. This is really extremely low income not sufficient for a family.

Looking to the above conditions and needs, it was extremely necessary to start a Special Multipurpose Project in the Tribal areas. Goverment after due consideration have started one Special Multipurpose Project in this area along with six such other Projects in the Bombay State, with a scheme of Rs. 27 lacs (for each Block) with a view to tackling the special problems of tribals in a more intensive manner than was possible in the past. These include colonisation, construction of houses, new roads and improvement of existing means of communications, opening of new medical and health units to eradicate diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, small pox, and venerial diseases etc., construction of drinking water wells, development of cottage industries, vocational and technical training and training of welfare workers.

Considering the existing social, and economic condition of the people, naturally more emphasis has been laid on Agriculture, Education, Social Education, Co-operation and Sanitation.

*Agriculture* :—Practically cent per cent of the population live on agriculture though the acreage of holding is very small. They never used improved varieties of seeds, artificial compost or even dung manure. They also never knew the use of simple improved implements. It was therefore very necessary that all the aspects of agriculture had therefore to be tackled simultaneously to secure uniform development in the sphere of agriculture with concrete results. To increase the agricultural income it was proposed to introduce cultivation of more cash crops especially long staple cotton. The tribals have very enthusiastically taken to cotton cultivation and it is hoped that about 1/4th of the land will be brought under cotton cultivation. Agriculture demonstration plots are organised in each and every village. All these experimental plots will go a long way in producing better results. The programme of changing crops from inferior type to improved and money earning type of crops has also made good progress leaving its permanent mark on the tribal economy by covering more than 4000 acres of land with the American type of cotton crop. The influence of agriculture demonstration centres (which come to about 432) was as good as could be expected.

*Irrigation* :—Generally the tribals had no experience in this field of activity in this hilly tract. They knew nothing about irrigation or Rabi or summer crop. Agriculture being the main occupation and source of income of the people, it requires very great emphasis in the implementation of the Project schemes and the surest means to increase agriculture income is to increase and ensure water supply. Irrigation by wells has been proposed in our programme and supply of pumping sets and Persian wheels have been proposed in order to

intensify the irrigation by wells. The growing demand for engines and pumping sets is a good sign that the tribals are now becoming more conscious of the benefits of the cultivation by irrigation and there has been a good response for irrigation programme undertaken by this project.

*Reclamation and soil conservation* :—This project area is surrounded by ranges of Aravally hills with hundreds of hillocks here and there. Fields of small sizes are lying between the hillocks. The land is undulating and there is wide scope for field bunding. As however the area between the hillocks admeasures, big schemes cannot be taken covering large holdings and resort has to be had to individual field bunding. The tribals' enthusiasm for this important activity of this project was much more.

*Education* :—Practically all the Adivasis were illiterate and according to the census of 1951, there were only a few persons knowing a bit of writing and reading. The school board has now taken up this problem to provide school facilities in almost every corner of the Project area. Even then there is a difficulty as the children are educated under some shed or on verandah or private houses and children do not get out of the atmosphere of backwardness surrounding them. Even the school teachers have no facilities to stay in the villages. As the Adivasis are scattered on various hillocks in their small huts, the problem of getting rented houses for school teachers has become an unsolved riddle with the result that the teachers are not coming forward to serve in the tribal area. About five new primary basic schools are proposed to be started, 20 primary school building rooms are proposed to be constructed, 30 primary school buildings will be converted into basic schools and 40 primary schools will be provided with equipments. It is also contemplated to start three Ashram type schools with hostels attached.

*Social Education* :—Under the contemplated scheme adult literacy classes will be opened at every village, as most of the Adivasis are illiterate and this is very essential as they will be saved from exploitation from money lenders and forest contractors. Moreover, Community Recreation Centres are to be opened in addition to some Samaj Mandirs and Panchayat Ghars, Bhajan Mandals. Besides, Farmers Union and Mahila Samitee will be organised. It is also a usual practice to organise one village leader's training camp in every month in the villages of the Project area with a view to enlighten on improved agricultural practices, social living, sanitation etc. The Village Leader's training camps are really doing a fine job both in educating the tribal people and also in helping them in creating their urge for more production in agriculture sphere.

*Arts, Crafts and Industries* :—The Adivasis remain idle for more than six months in a year. There are no opportunities existing in the villages or nearby villages where they can take up work and add to their income. The traditional habit of idleness has taken away the interest and zeal from their life from new creative arts and crafts. It is therefore essential that at the first stage training in village and cottage industries is made available

to them. This project has also started Cane and Bamboo Works School, Rope-making and Tailoring Training School.

*Rural Housing* :—The huts of the tribals are not fit for human habitation at present unless health environments are created. There is not much scope for improvement in tribal life. An amount of Rs. 500 for each new house will be given as grant in aid and it is hoped that nearly 50 per cent of the population of the Project area will be provided with better houses.

*Health and Rural Sanitation* :—Although tribals live close to nature, invariably their health and physique are poor. They suffer from various diseases viz. malaria, yaws, tuberculosis, small-pox and veneral diseases. In the main. to a large extent these are due to lack of clean drinking water, nutritive food and of protection against extremes of climate. Malaria was rampant in the past but spraying of the D.D.T. has checked it to a great extent, Now under the schemes provision for drinking water wells, washing and bathing ghats etc. has been made along with a new dispensary, and the existing dispensary at Poshina will be converted into a Primary Health Centre. One Maternity and Child Welfare Centre will be started.

A multifarious medical camp on a large scale was organised in the interior with the help of some 20 eminent physicians and surgeons during 1957-58. More than 250 operations and nearly 1200 treatment cases were dealt with during the camp. Similarly a surgical camp is also to be taken up during the current year.

*Communications* :—The project area is extemely backward in respect of modern communications. Amongst the most felt needs of the people of this area the need for the communications is of the primary importance. Two major roads are under construction and on completion they will change the whole appearance of the area. About 100 miles of katcha approach roads will be constructed.

*Co-operation* :—All project activities are based on the principle of co-operative efforts and every attempt is being made to canalise such activities throurgh co-operation so that when the project period is over, they carry on without any difficulties. Co-operative movement is a new idea in this area. 20 Multipurpose Co operative Societies will be formed covering each and every village and it is hoped that 100 per cent of the land holders will be brought into the co-operative fold. Five grain depots will also be started. Lift Irrigation Societies will also be formed wherever needed.

On the whole a great deal of co-operation awakening and participation on the part of the tribal people has been evoked and an atmostsphere for confidence and indeed of high expectations has also been created.

# PROGRESS OF WORK DONE IN THE SPECIAL MULTIPURPOSE PROJECT, AHERI, CHANDA DISTRICT, UPTO 30th SEPTEMBER, 1958.

by

**K. S. Chanderker, Project Officer, Aheri.**

## I. Introduction.

The Special Multipurpose Project, Aberi, occupies the central portion of the Sironcha Taluq in Chanda district and its area is 1100 square miles which is roughly 1/3 of the Taluq. The entire area is full of dense forests and the villages are very scattered and situated at considerable distances from each other. They are of very small size and broken up in different "TOLAS" (hamlets). The forests are intercepted with innumberable nallahs (brooks and streams) and dykes. The interior of the Project area is practically inaccessible during rains. Out of the total population of 31,516, the population of tribals is 21,380. The main languages of the area are 'Telugu' 'Gondi' and 'Madia' with which the project staff is not generally conversant. This makes the extension work rather difficult.

Practically no work was done in the Project till October, 1957 for want of posting of proper and adequate staff, except for the preparation of "Working Plan" and "Financial Estimates". Work in almost all the sectors has now been started. Preliminaries and preparation for implementing the various schemes of development are being prepared and finalised, while actual work of several schemes has been taken up in hand. The difficulties in achieving quicker and substantial progress in work are many and quite formidable owing to the pecuiarities of the tract.

2. The people in the interior live in a very primitive stage of existence and follow old and unproductive methods of cultivation. Their needs are few and they are heavily addicted to drinking and in outlook apathetic towards improved methods. Literacy is less than 2 per cent among the tribals. Only one pucca road is open during fair weather. The villages of the interior are cut off during the rains owing to *nallahs*, rivers and large patches of dense forests, intercepting the habitations. The touring in the interior is even normally unsafe and difficult owing to the dense forests inhabited by wild animals and touring becomes almost impossible during the rainy months.

3. The people of the tract who were under the rule of Ex-Zamindar, have not yet adopted to the change from the feudal order with the result that they view Governmental activities with indifference and suspicion. There is no social agency working in this area nor has it been possible for any social or political organisation to undertake any constructive activities in the tract so far.

## II. Agriculture.

All the nine schemes under 'Agriculture' have been prepared and eight schemes have already been sanctioned involving expenditure of Rs. 1,18,000. Sanction in respect of schemes for 'Demonstration of improved agricultural practices' involving expenditure of Rs. 13,000 is awaited. Work under all the schemes has been started. Demonstration and Plant protection equipment costing Rs. 4,500 has been so far purchased and action for purchase of remaining equipment is in progress. The equipments have been distributed to the Gramsevaks for use in the fields for experiments and demonstrations. The Project Staff is undertaking intensive and wide propaganda for inducing the cultivators to take up new and improved methods of cultivation. Financial assistance in the form of *tagai* loans has been given to the cultivators as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rs. 23,000 | for purchase of plough bullocks. |
| 2. | Rs. 3,050 | for purchase of seeds. |
| 3. | Rs. 11,050 | for destruction and repairs of paddy bunds. |

Two hundred and fifty three maunds of improved paddy seeds, sunhemp, *Moog* Maize, kharif *Juar* and vegetable seeds have been distributed and fifty maunds of improved seed of Rabi *Jvar*, *Til* and Gram will be distributed.

The seed and the fertilisers are being distributed on subsidy basis to the tribal cultivators. Sixty two acres of paddy land have been brought under Japanese method of paddy cultivation. Two hundred and fortythree compost pits have been dug so far. Seventy acres of new land have been brought under vegetable cultivation. Forty demonstration plots have been laid and five Farmer's Unions have started functioning. Fifty demonstrations of improved agricultural practices have been planned to be held during this year.

## III. Animal Husbandry.

One demonstration poultry unit has been established at the Project headquarters at a cost of Rs. 6,000 and fortyfive pedigree birds, 139 quality eggs were distributed to the villagers for upgrading the local breed. Medicines and equipments have been supplied to all the Gramsevaks and two Stock men were appointed for treatment of cattle diseases. The scheme for construction of veterinary dispensary has been sanctioned. The work will be taken up in hand after rains. Schemes for Cattle Breeding Centre have been prepared and submitted for sanction.

## IV. Irrigation and Reclamation.

The main sources of irrigation of paddy crop in this area are the ex-zamindari tanks which are all in bad state of repairs. Work of repairs to 9 irrigation tanks and construction of one new tank has been completed. The idea of construction of small tanks known as 'Bodi' in this area in the individual fields of the cultivators has caught up the imagination of the cultivators due to the convincing propaganda made by the project staff. *Tagai* loansto the cultivators to the extent of Rs. 28,470 were advanced for construction of small tanks in individual fields of the cultivators and for

repairs of village irrigation tanks. *Tagai* loans were also given for construction of 8 irrigation wells. Owing to the peculiar nature of the tract, lift irrigation from well water can be done on a very negligible scale. Hence the main programme under irrigation will be repairs and construction of tanks for which more schemes are under preparation. *Tagai* loans of Rs. 13,080 have been given for reclamation works like construction and repairs of paddy bunds. Survey work of Minor Irrigation Schemes could not be done for want of the P.W.D. staff. The chief difficulty in grant of loans of adequate amounts to individual cultivators is that the security offered or available is not sufficient in many cases. The land has very small market value in this tract and in some cases less than Rs. 50 per acre or even much less or nil.

### V. Health and Rural Sanitation.

Scheme for establishment of Primary Health Centre at Aheri with 3 sub-centres has been prepared and submitted to Government, and sanction is awaited. The scheme will be implemented as soon as sanction is received. Village medicine chests and first-aid kits have been supplied to all the Gramsevaks for use in the villages, for treatment of common ailments. The staff of Health Visitor and trained Dais appointed in this Project are doing useful work in Maternity and Child Welfare. Five drinking water wells have been constructed and 6 have been repaired. Proposals for construction of 12 new drinking water wells during the current year have been received from the villages for sanction.

### VI. Social Education and Education.

All the major schemes under Social Education have been prepared and sanctioned and the work under this sector has been progressing satisfactorily. Cinema Unit was obtained by transfer from Seloo C.D. Block in March, 1958 and cinema shows were arranged in all parts of the project for entertainment and propaganda. One exhibition on a large scale was arranged and 10 village leaders' training camps were organised. One study tour of Farmers was organised. It is proposed to organise 2 study tours of Farmers in the coming winter.

Scheme for starting of a High School at Project Headquarters with the aid from project funds has been prepared and submitted to Commissioner, for sanction. A local private agency has already opened High School classes at Aheri. Scheme for opening 3 Ashram Type Schools has been sent to Government, for sanction. Another scheme for opening of new basic schools has been submitted to the Commissioner, for sanction. The Information Centre of the project has been opened in July, 1958 and it is equipped fully as per instructions of Manual of Information Centre. An expenditure of Rs. 6,346.44 has been so far incurred under the head "Social Education".

### VII. Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries.

Training cum Production Centres in Weaving, Rope making, Carpentry, Bamboo. and Cane Works, Dari and Niwar making, Tailoring for males and females have been established and there

are at present 53 trainees in the centres. Efforts are being made to increase the number of trainees. Training-cum-production centres in the trades of Brick and Tile making, Masonry, Oil Ghani are proposed to be established during the current year. Loans of Rs. 5000 have been disbursed for Cottage Industries. It is proposed to distribute loans of Rs. 10,000 for development of Cottage Industries during the year.

**VIII. Communications.**

Fifteen miles of kacha road was constructed and 25 miles of village road was improved. It is proposed to construct 30 miles of class II road from project funds. The scheme is under preparation and survey work will be started immediately after rains.

**IX. Cooperation.**

One Multipurpose Society was

osals for registration of 5 Rural Credit Societies and 2 Weavers' Societies have been sent for registration. The difficulty in organising these societies was that the Project Area was not under the operation of any Co-operative Bank.

This project has just recently been included under the operation of Brahmapuri Central Cooperative Bank after long correspondence. Efforts are being made to organise 2 Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies. In the absence of any voluntary agencies coming forward to sponsor the formation of Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies, no progress was achieved in this sphere so far.

**X. Rural Housing.**

Response for this item is so far not encouraging. It is proposed to build 30 Model Rural Houses during the current year, on subsidy and loan basis.

## SARVODAYA

**by**

**L. N. Sahu.**

Let me first take planning for Sarvodaya. Mahatma Gandhi himself said, "In this structure composed of innumerable villages. Life will not be a pyramid with the apexsustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life compound of individuals never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble showing the majesty of the occanic circle of which they are integral units."

"Therefore the outermost circumference will not yield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. I may be taunted with the retort that

this is all utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought. If Euclids' point, though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live. Let India live for this true picture of what we want, before we can have something approaching it. If there even is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim verily for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last." The Sarvodaya plan is in draft and not a strait jacket. It aims at the development for cottage industries. The Government also sees that while the society is quickly passing from an agricultural economy to an industrial one, there is the great need for heavy cottage industries to fill up the gap, that might otherwise be produced.

That is why Government has set apart Rs. 200 crores for the development of cottage industries. But the aim and ambition of Sarvodaya is complete decentralisation. For that purpose the backward areas must be first developed. Therefore all work must be concentrated in the undeveloped areas first.

The Sarvodaya plan aims at making a moral man first. Economic man will come afterwards. Otherwise the hunger for enjoyment, power, position, wealth will never disappear. The spirit to serve others is the motive of Sarvodaya. Thus it has been truly said, that man today has to launch again upon a voyage of self discovery and self control. While not underestimating the importance of material goods for the fulfilment of his life, he must delve deeper into his nature and recognise into finer strands, throw out the dross and lead and learn to bring out and develop his true essence. Sarvoday thus believes in a moral basis of life. This is why Sarvodaya does not believe in the so-called co-existence. Every existence must exist on a moral foundation.

Sarvodaya is based on service to man and not on salaries. Sarvodaya does not believe in the Utilitarian doctrine of achieving the greatest good of the greatest number. It believes in the good of all and not the greatest number. Sarvodaya, it has been rightly said, believes in the allround development of all. It believes in order, but not in enforced order. Sarvodaya believes in everyman to work for all. Thus it is a classless society. Sarvodaya believes in regional self-sufficiency, but that does not mean that it must not take things from outside. As far as possible, every region must try to be self-sufficient. For agriculture, Sarvodaya believes in the non-ownership of land. Land must belong to the community as a whole, and everybody must work there, or directed by the commune elsewhere for the common good of all. That is why there is the need of gramdan.

To guard against soil erosion 33 per cent of the land must be under forestry. When the ideal of Sarvodaya is that every man must live equally happily there should be no difference in pay whether one is an intellectual or a manual worker.

Education will be free from State control. Such are the broad outlines of Sarvodaya. It goes to the root of the problem. Man has to be tackled first. He is to be reshaped, reformed, and thus revolutionised.

One of the fundamental principles of the Bhoodan movement has been truly defined in a pamphlet. The Gramdan movement as stated by Sri Manmohan Choudhuri, "is total social security, socurity for each and every individual in society".

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## PROGRESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND SCHEDULED AREAS IN THE BOMBAY STATE

by

**Bahadurbhai Patel.**

The Scheduled Tribes or the Adivasis or Girijans or Vanavasis as they are known in common parlance, who came to be isolated from the rest of the mankind, were once the most prosperous men in India with a distinct civilisation akin to that of the Dravidian civilisation before the advent of the Aryans. With the lapse of centuries after the Aryan conquest these segregated people cut themselves off from the common stream of civilisation and clung to their age-old customs and superstitions and retained their significance only to be called afterwards backward and primitive men living in the earlier part of the 20th century on the entire mercy of the unscrupulous self-seekers who exploited them and reduced them to the state of penury and ignorance.

The advent of independence and the provisions made in the constitution proved a great boon to these simple innocent and poor people as well as to the Backward Classes in general, who were groaning under social, educational and economic disability for several centuries past. The fifth and sixth schedules of our constitution provide certain special provisions for the administration of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes. The extent of the Scheduled Areas, notified by the President of India, in the Bombay State is to the extent of 15,696.2 sq. miles with 6622 villages and 18 towns. These areas have been declared in the districts of (1) Thana, (2) Panchmahals, (3) Surat, (4) Broach, (5) Chanda, (6) West Khandesh, (7) Sabarkantha, (8) Nasik, (9) Baroda (10) Amaravati, (11) Dangs District, (12) East Khandesh, and (13) Nanded. The population of Scheduled Tribes in the Scheduled Areas as per 1951 Census is 15,69,454 and that in the entire State is 36,35,000.

The administration of the Scheduled Areas has been made a special responsibility of Governors of the States having Scheduled Areas and they have been empowered to introduce special acts or exclude these areas from the enforcement of any general acts so as to safeguard the interests of the tribal people inhabiting them.

Tribes Advisory Council consisting

of 20 members of whom three-fourths are representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the State Legislative Assembly has been formed to advise the Governor in the administration of the Scheduled Areas on matters referred to it by him.

The earliest efforts to help the Backward Classes including the Scheduled Tribes were made in the educational field. Primary education was given free to them and provision for a few scholarships was also made. In 1928, Government appointed a committee to enquire into the educational, economic and social conditions of the depressed classes and of the aboroginal tribes and as a result of its recommendations, a few scholarships were increased, voluntary organisations were encouraged to provide hostel facilities and a certain number of vacancies were reserved for B.Cs. in the cadre of Primary Teachers. In 1942, a special development fund of Rs. 25 lakhs was constituted and later this fund was supplemented by an additional amount of Rs. 1 crore. In the First Five Year Plan a provision of Rs. 2.13 crores was made for the welfare of B.Cs. including the Scheduled Tribes and under the Second Five Year Plan a provision of Rs. 1,61,91,600 has been made for the welfare of S.Ts. and development of Scheduled Areas of which so far Rs. 37,29,846 have already been spent. The schemes formulated for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes cover all the essential aspects for their economic betterment such as education, agriculture and economic rehabilitation, including medical public health, housing and water supply.

During my brief speech, I will make an attempt to throw some light on the achievements of the State in each sphere of the above activities.

*Education.*

The Government of Bombay has already introduced compulsory primary education throughout the State in villages having a population of 1000 or more. The Scheduled Tribes, as every one is aware, mostly live in small hamlets and hence could not be benefited with the restriction of population of 1000 or more in each village for the purpose of introduction of compulsory primary education. And therefore in such areas compulsory primary education has been introduced even in such villages which have an aggregate Scheduled Tribe population of 500 or more. A further step in this direction was taken by Government by appointing special survey committees to conduct survey in these areas and report on the possibility of starting schools and likely response of the local people. The recommendations of these committees have been much helpful to plan the expansion of education in these areas. Uptil now 115 schools have been opened in Thana District and 26 in the Panchamahals District. A total number of 3887 Backward Class students of whom 3218 belonged to Scheduled Tribe communities were taking education in these schools during last year and an amount of Rs. 1,26,087 was spent in running these schools.

On 31st December 1957, there were a total number of 2826 primary schools and 49 secondary schools in the Scheduled Areas of the State with nearly 1,25,000 Backward Class students and approximately 2000 Backward Class students

Tribes, largely due to their nomadic habits do not stick to one place and cultivate the lands. They are more accustomed to shifting cultivation, due to their unsettled way of life. It was, therefore, very difficult for the Government to persuade them to settle down at a particular place. For this purpose all sorts of economic aid to the tribals were found to be essential. Government have, therefore, formulated a number of schemes, such as granting of financial assistance to the Scheduled Tribes for reclamation of waste lands, payment of subsidies for purchase of improved seeds at half-cost, financial assistance for purchase of ploughs, bullocks and other agricultural implements and irrigational facilities.

Demonstation centres were established in the tribal areas of West Khandesh to persuade the Bhil cultivators to adopt improved methods of agriculture. Model agricultural projects are functioning in the Scheduled Areas of the districts of West Khandesh and Surat for exhibition of the improved methods of cultivation to the Scheduled Tribe cultivators and the tribals are actually given demonstrations of improved methods of agriculture and the results thereof. Many of the tribals, as a result of such demonstrations, are coming forward to adopt modern methods of cultivation. In the Scheduled Areas of the Vidarbha Region ten centres have been established each under the Stockman-cum-Health Assistant who looks after the all round improvement of the Scheduled Tribes, and who not only demonstrates the improved methods of agriculture, but also looks after the animal husbandry and poultry improvement.

The State Government has also been encouraging higher yields in the agricultural output of the tribals by introducing crop competitions among Scheduled Tribes residing in a particular taluka and by inviting them to join the competitions; and the Scheduled Tribe cultivator who produces the highest yield in his land is granted a special prize of Rs. 50. The Scheduled Tribes are also permitted to participate in the general crop competitions, but in the crop competitions meant only for Scheduled Tribes, none except the tribals are allowed to take part. Every year such crop competitions are held in 30 selected talukas having Scheduled Areas.

The Scheduled Areas being mostly hilly tracts, soil erosion is a very serious problem in these areas. A provision of Rs. 90,000 has, therefore, been made for granting subsidies to the S.Ts. agriculturists for the construction of bunding of paddy fields for conserving the soil. During the year 1956-57 an amount of Rs. 24,864 was granted as subsidy for bunding of 1618 acres of land in the Scheduled Areas of the State. So also in the year 1957-58, 636 acres of land were bunded and Government had to incur an expenditure of Rs. 10,165 by way of payment of subsidy to the Scheduled Tribe cultivators on this account.

In order to enable the poor Scheduled Tribe cultivators to raise cash crops and improve their standard of living, Government have formulated a scheme by which sweet potato vines and vegetable seeds are supplied at half-cost. These seed and vines are raised in the Agricultural Schools situated in the vicinity of the

tribal areas and are supplied to Scheduled Tribes.

Among the irrigational facilities provided by Government in the Scheduled Areas, the Harner River Scheme in taluka Khedbramha of the district of Sabarkantha and the construction of Karad Right Bank Canal Project in Deogad Baria of Panchmahals district are worth mentioning, and they are being constructed at an estimated cost of Rs. 31,80,000 and Rs. 65,16,350 respectively. Three-fourths of the estimated expenditure has already been utilised from 1956 onwards and the works are nearing completion. It is also estimated that the former project will be able to irrigate more than 10,000 acres of land, while the latter 15,200 acres of land. Besides, the construction of Bandharas in the Scheduled Areas of Nasik District has also been undertaken and some of them are also completed.

Under the programme of development of Scheduled and under-developed areas an amount of Rs. 7,00,000 has been provided for expenditure on construction of 200 wells in the Scheduled and under-developed areas, under the Second Five Year Plan. During the first two years of the plan, a total number of 64 wells have already been constructed in the Scheduled Areas. Under the scheme 'Financial assistance to poor Scheduled Tribe cultivators', an amount of Rs. 35,392 has already been spent by Government during 1956-57 and 1957-58 for improving Dhali Lands and waste lands and for supply of goats, bullocks, buffaloes and ploughs to Scheduled Tribe cultivators in Thana, Panchmahals, Surat, West Khandesh, Kolaba and Nasik Districts. The expenditure incurred in the years 1956-57 on supply of bullocks to the Scheduled Tribes in the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani and Nanded, amounted to Rs. 19,655.

*Co-operation* :—

The co-operative movement has played a vital role in the improvement of the economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes.

Co-operative Housing Societies, Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies, Farming Societies, and Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies are being formed every year by the Adivasis as a result of the incentive of Government and the generous grants received every year from the centre, as would be evident from the fact that uptill now 23 Housing Societies, 25 Co-operative Farming Societies, 396 Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies and 135 Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies have been registered in the Scheduled Areas of the Old Bombay Territory. Besides, 37 Industrial Co-operative Societies other than Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies were formed during the year 1957-58. These new societies were given financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 23,549.

The various co-operative societies to which the Government gave grants in the shape of financial assistance and subsidies are reviewed as under :—

Financial assistance paid to eleven Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies newly formed, towards management expenses and welfare work, during the year 1957-58, amounted to Rs. 35,100, and Rs. 33,000 were contributed by

studying in the Primary and Secondary Schools respectively, the strength of the Scheduled Tribe students in these schools being nearly sixty per cent.

All Backward Class students in Primary Schools in the Bombay State are granted free-studentships and all eligible Backward Class pupils get free studentships in the Secondary Schools except in the lower middle classes in places where facilities for higher primary education exist.

Scholarships are also provided for inducing the Backward Class pupils including the Scheduled Tribes to take up further education in schools and colleges. Besides, examination fees are also given subject to admissibility of funds.

A further step for encouraging education amongst the Scheduled Tribes in the Scheduled Areas was taken up by the State Government by awarding a special concession of Rs. 5 per month per teacher working in the Scheduled Areas to work with greater zeal and persuade the illiterate people to send their children to school, by their personal efforts. During the year 1957-58 an amount of Rs. 2,39,459 was spent in giving the special non-pensionable pay to 3888 teachers working in the Scheduled Areas.

Prizes to pupils and bonus to teachers are also given every year for ensuring a steady progress in the educational advancement of the tribals in the Scheduled Areas. The teachers working in these areas are given Rs. 5 for every Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe boy passing the P.S.C. Examination and in case of a girl passing the P.S.C. Examination, the amount of bonus is doubled. Similarly, the pupils are also given prizes worth Rs. 1,2,3 and 5 for passing standards IV, V, VI and P.S.C. Examination respectively. During the year 1957, in the Scheduled Areas of the Old Bombay Territory 3118 pupils were in receipt of the prizes and 121 teachers in receipt of the bonus.

The teachers working in the Scheduled Areas are also deputed for short-term training for getting themselves acquainted with the special problems of the Scheduled Areas, and thereby making them alive to the needs of pupils in the Scheduled Areas, a step which ultimately will increase the efficiency of teaching. A special pay of Rs. 5 per month in the first year, Rs. 10 per month in the second year and Rs. 12/8/- per month in the subsequent years is sanctioned to these teachers as long as they continue to remain in the Scheduled Areas after completion of the course. Uptill now 178 teachers have been trained and posted in the Scheduled Areas. The cost on account of training given to these teachers at three different places in the State came to Rs. 12,446 and the expenditure incurred on payment of special pay to 117 teachers trained in 1957, amounted to Rs 2,648.

Ashram Schools, a special type of residental schools in which agriculture as the main craft and spinning and weaving as subsidiary crafts are taught, are being opened in the Scheduled and Tribal Areas since the introduction of the First Five Year Plan. These schools are maintained by the Voluntary Agencies on grant-in-aid basis. On 31st

December 1957, there were in all 26 Ashram Schools imparting education to nearly 2540 Scheduled Tribe students of the age group 7 to 10 years. The expenditure incurred on these schools including the non-recurring grants paid during 1957-58, exceeded seven lakhs of rupees.

The provision of hostel facilities forms one of the most important educational measures undertaken by Government for the spread of education among the Backward Classes. This facility offers the much needed opportunity of continuing further education to Backward Class pupils whose parents are residents of small school-less villages and cannot afford to send their children to schools and colleges in towns and cities. Government is not only running hostels for Backward Classes in big cities like Poona, Ahmedabad, Nagpur etc., but also encourages the Voluntary Agencies to run hostels for B.C. boys and girls by giving them grants-in-aid. In the result, the hostels run by the Voluntary Agencies are increasing every year at considerable pace and every year more of these hostels are being recognised by Government for the purposes of grant-in-aid and the proportion of the beneficiaries is also increasing. During the year 1957-58, 59 hostels in the Scheduled Areas of the State having 1781 inmates belonging to Scheduled Tribe communities were given grant-in-aid to the extent of Rs. 2,51,565 and 73 Hostels with 2258 Scheduled Tribe inmates catering especially for the Scheduled Tribes were in receipt of grant-in-aid to the tune of Rs. 4,95,100.

In addition to the above, the District School Boards are also running 35 Hostels in the Scheduled Areas of the State. The expenditure incurred by the District School Boards during the year 1957-58, amounted to Rs. 2,30,000 approximately.

It would be difficult for me to give an account of the detailed expenditure incurred in each and every educational scheme being implemented in the Scheduled Areas and for Scheduled Tribes in the State. A summary of the expenditure incurred by the Government on all the educational schemes during the year 1957-58, under the plan sector would give you an idea about the efforts of Government for removing illiteracy amongst the S.Ts. It would not however, be out of place to bring it to your notice that the State Government with the assistance of the Centre has provided an amount of Rs. 69,85,800 for the development of Education among the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas during the Second Five Year Plan, out of which an amount of Rs. 19,65,88 has already been spent during the preceding two years, i.e., 1956-57 and 1957-58, besides the committed expenditure and expenditure incurred by the Government of India under the Centrally Sponsored programme.

*Agriculture* :—

The first step taken towards the improvement of the economic conditions of the B.Cs including the Scheduled Tribes, was to provide them with land. All waste lands owned by Government not specifically assigned for any public purpose are being given to the Backward Classes for cultivation purposes. The Scheduled

are located at Likheda and Chitrasani. So far, an expenditure of Rs. 74,490 has been incurred on the maintenance of these units which also includes Rs. 16,000 spent under non-recurring items.

In addition to the above, four Primary Health Units are functioning at the following places for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Abhone | Taluka Kalwan, | Dis. Nask |
| 2. | Bhiloda | " Umbergaon, | " Thana |
| 3. | Maswan | " Palghar, | " " |
| 4. | Kukurmunda | " Taloda, | " West-Khandesh. |

The above units served 146 villages and treated 62,159 patients at the centres. The maternity staff visits villages under the jurisdiction of these centres and treats cases in the houses of the Scheduled Tribes. An amount of Rs. 61,554 was incurred on the units during the year 1957-58.

*Multi-purpose Projects* :—

Seven Multi-purpose projects have been started in the Scheduled Areas of the State under the certrally sponsored programme at the following places :—

1. Mokhada Taluka in the Thana District,
2. Akrani Mahal in West Khandesh District,
3. Santrampur in Panchmahals District,
4. Khedbramha in Sabarkantha District,
5. Aheri in Chanda District,
6. Dharampur in Surat District,
7. Peint Mahal in Nasik District.

These projects cover a population of 187,865 spread over 688 villages. The expenditure incurred on these projects upto 30-6-58 was of the order of Rs. 29,88,700. The people's contribution by way of labour, cash, etc. realised was approximately Rs. 3,60,000. 1686 maunds of fertilisers and 2170 maunds of improved seed were distributed, 920 demonstration plots were laid, 70 acres of land were brought under fruit plantation, 3798 acres of waste land have so far been reclaimed and 2930 acres of land have been brought under irrigation. 10 new schools were started, 162 Adult Education centres were conducted and 67 community centres were started.

In addition, the following stage I and Stage II Blocks are functioning in the Scheduled Areas of the State.

*Stage I Blocks.*

Nanded Taluka, Broach Distrirt
Jhagadia Taluka, Broach District
Kalwan Taluka, Nasik District
Surgana Taluka, Nasik district
Peint Taluka, Nasik District
Akkalkuwa Taluka, West Khandesh District
Bhiloda Taluka, Sabarkantha District
Vijayanagar Taluka, Sabrakantha District
Limkheda Taluka, Panchmahals District
Santrampur Taluka, Panchmahals District
Bansda Taluka, Surat District
Dharampur Taluka, Surat District
Mangrol Taluka, Surat District
Naswadi Taluka, Baroda District
Chhota Udepur Taluka, Baroda District
Shahpur Taluka, Thana District
Umbergaon Taluka, Thana District
Navapur Taluka, West Khandesh District
Gadchiroli Taluka, Chanda District
Kinwat Taluka, Nanded District

*Stage II Blocks.*

Vali Mahal and Jhagadia Taluka } Broach Dist.
Sobgadh Taluka, Surat Dist.

**Community Development Blocks.**

Dangs Taluka Dangs Dist,

During the year 1957, 31 S.T. persons were given legal assistance in civil proceedings and 38 S.T. persons in criminal proceedings, the expenditure incurred on this account being Rs. 4,262.

Thus it would be clear that the task of an all round improvement of the S.Ts. and the Scheduled Areas is being achieved at rapid place during the plan period, and with the generous assistance that is forthcoming from the centre every year under the plan schemes as well as centrally sponsored programmes, it is not only expected but the Government has determined to achieve the goal for their all round amelioration in the shortest span of time giving them all the needed opportunities and facilities which they were deprived of due to their seclusion and segregation from ages together.

## DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED AREAS UNDER THE SPECIAL MULTIPURPOSE TRIBAL BLOCKS

by

**Aditya Pratap Singh**

Now India is a free country, where all the people are equal, having equal shares, rights, opportunities, and are in duty bound to work for the country. But the distinctions between high and low, rich and poor, caste Hindus, Adibasis and Harijans, and the backward classes are very great. These must be removed, caste system be discouraged and the miserable conditions of the Adibasis and the Harijans should occupy the special attention of the Government.

Adibasis are scattered all over India and number about 250 lacs, divided in about 212 tribes. They are very poor, illiterate, primitive in culture, and freedom loving. No body had cared for their uplift excepting the Christian missionaries. That too was specially for conversion. They did not try to improve their economic conditions, even of the converts. Thanks to Bapuji, the father of the nation, and Bapaji, the greatest social leader, who having realised this drawback had already started work to remove it and owing to their suggestions, after the attainment of Swaraj, philanthropic attitude has been adopted by their deserving successors Shri Jawaharlalji, the Prime Minister and Shri Dr. Rajendra Prasadji, the President of India. These two leaders and Shri Acharya Binova Bhave all of all world fame, have taken up this question whole-heartedly.

Tribal welfare schemes and works in various forms are going on. There are Tribal Ministers in several States, and in others, Social Welfare Ministers are in charge. There are many private societies helped by Government, under the Bharatiya Adimjati Sewak Sangh, Delhi. Shri Dr. Rajendraprasadji is its president with a number of non-tribals

Government towards their share capital. Forty-one societies were given grants to the tune of Rs. 2,82,309. Seventeen Farming Societies registered in the Scheduled Areas and under-developed areas of Dharampur and Pardi talukas of Surat District were advanced loans to the extent of Rs. 2,56,693 and an amount of Rs. 88,580 was given as subsidy to these societies, towards management expenses. 753 acres of land were also made available to these societies by Government. Sixty Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies were also given advance loans and subsides to the extent of Rs. 7,57,419 and Rs. 12,368 during 1956-57.

A majority of the Scheduled Tribes are dependent upon forest labour and forest produce for their livelihood. Government have also extended many concessions to the Scheduled Tribes living in the forest areas such as collection of dead wood, grass leaves for compost manure, mahoura flowers, fruits and material for agricultural use. The loss of revenue sustained by Government annually comes to more than Rs. 10 lakhs. Forest lands are also given to the adivasis on certain conditions for cultivation every year and forest coupes are also allotted to the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies organised by the Adivasis. During the year 1957-58, 310 coupes were allotted to 135 Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies at an upset price of Rs. 34,70,317.

In order to increase the hereditary technique of the Adivasis, various sorts of training centres are opened and training is being imparted to them in arts and crafts. The training commences after the transplantation operations are over and when there is no work left to them—agricultural and non-agricultural. The units giving the training to the Adivasis are termed as peripatetic units. The object of the training is also to enable the Adivasis to engage themselves in small occupations in the scarcity months and earn their livelihood. Besides such units, there are also 14 peripatetic schools functioning in the Scheduled Areas to impart training to the STs. in bamboo work, fire work, and bee keeping.

A tailoring centre for Bhils and Thakardas has been organised at Modasa in the Sabarkantha district. A Carpentry and Smithy School is already functioning in Deogad Baria in Panchmahals district and a Stationary School is also started in Nasik District for imparting training to the Adivasis in tailoring, carpentry, smithy, bee keeping and charcoal making. The Industrial School at Dharampur in Surat District is another such trainng centre imparting training to Scheduled Tribe pupils in weaving and carpentry.

The students under training in all the above training centres are paid stipends of Rs. 20 per month per pupil, and after the training is over, they are also given financial assistance by way of loans and subsidies for starting their industries on small scales.

Under the scheme of water supply, wells are being provided to the Scheduled Tribes in villages having a population of 200 or above and where there are no public wells and other sources of drinking water, such as streams, rivers etc. During the years 1956-57 and 1957-58, more than

250 wells were constructed in the Scheduled Areas and an amount of Rs. 3,00,000 approximately was spent by Government on this account. A revised water supply scheme has been undertaken at Ahwa in the Dangs District at a cost of Rs. 24,650.

Veterinary dispensaries are also located in the Scheduled Areas of the State and in all 41 dispensaries are functioning in the Scheduled Areas of the Old Bombay territory and Vidarbha Region for free treatment of the animals belonging to Scheduled Tribes.

*Medical and Public Health* :—

Two dispensaries with mobile units at Kathi and Mirakhedi in the districts of West Khandesh and Panchmahals were sanctioned under the First Five Year Plan to provide indoor accommodation for patients in the interior. The unit at Mirakhedi is a mobile one equipped with a mobile van for providing medical aid at the doors of the Scheduled Tribes. A total number of 10,033 patients were treated in these dispensaries and the expenditure incurred thereon during the year 1957-58 was Rs. 17,953. Three more mobile dispensaries have also been opened at Vyara in District Surat, Yawal in District East Khandesh, and at Vankaner in District Sabarkantha for providing medical relief to the tribals residing in these areas, under the Second Five year Plan.

A.V.D. Unit has also been sanctioned for the tribal people of Panchmahals district.

In addition to the above, 15 hospitals and 38 dispensaries are already being maintained by the Government in the various district of the Scheduled Areas of the State to provide medical relief to the Scheduled Tribes.

37 centres have so far been opened in the Scheduled Areas of Panchmahals and West Khandesh District under the Sub-dispensaries scheme and 199 village medical aid centres are providing patent medicines to the Scheduled Tribes living in hamlets where no medical facilities are available. Voluntary Agencies which render medical aid to the Scheduled Tribes are also being given grants-in-aid every year under the Second Five Year Plan. During the year 1957-58 a grant-in-aid of Rs. 500 was sanctioned to the Village Medical Aid Society, Bulsar. The total expenditure incurred on all the above schemes during 1957-58 comes to 5,35,252.

A statewide scheme is being implemented since 1953 to combat malaria. The Scheduled Tribes and the inhabitants of the Scheduled Areas are also benefitted and there has been considerable fall in incidence of malaria in the Scheduled Areas. The malaria control operations covered 14753 villages in the Scheduled Areas of the districts of Thana, Nasik, West Khandesh, East Khandesh, Panchmahals, Surat, Broach, Sabarkantha and Baroda. The expenditure worked out pro-rata on the basis of the total population and population of the Scheduled Areas in the districts concerned comes to about Rs. 1,37,346 for the year 1957-58.

Two combined Medical and Public Health units have been started since November 1955 and August 1956 for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes in Panchmahals and Banaskanta Districts, which

and tribal social leaders to help him, like Shri U.N. Dhebar, Shri Dr. Kunzru, Shri Shrikantji, Shri Dharamdeo Shastri, Shri Vanikarji, Shri Nana Bapat, Shri L.N. Rao and others.

But since India is a big country the tribesmen belong to the stone age as well as to the atomic age. They live in open tracts, and far remote in hills, and mountains cut off from all civilization, and from their non-tribal brothers. So for such high landers Government has adopted special measures. They are the special multi-purpose tribal blocks, each of 27 lacs or more. They are 43 in number including 10 of M.P. of which one has been provided for the Pondi-Uprora block, where I live.

The Pondi-Uprora block is situated at the eastern end of the Satpura hills. It is 945 sq. miles in area with 54000 population. It is hilly, rugged, full of *nallas* and rivers, like the Hasdo, Tan and the Ahran. It is rich in minerals and natural resources. The Korba Coal mines, its Thermal plant and the bauxite deposits are quite near. The Hasdo projects are being surveyed for irrigation and hydroelectricity. The block is also included in the Dandkaran scheme and portions have been reserved for it has got about 2 miles of pacca road. Katghora Surguja road is under construction but the progress is very slow. The climate cannot be said to be bad. Malaria Unit has begun its work. There was no case of influenza, no case of small pox, no case of cholera in epidemic form. People are mostly Tanwars, Kawars, Gonds, Manjhwars, Bijhwars and Dhanuhars.

The Block was started on 2-10-56 and a whole time B.D.O. was found for only 10 months. So not a single house, nor a single well has been completed. Bulldozer, tractor and the medical van are lying idle, no medical doctor has yet been posted. Only about three lakhs of rupees has been spent. About 5 lacs had been granted more for schools, and that too has been matched away, as teachers had not received 6 months pay. No roads have been built, though there are one S.D.O. and two Overseers. There is only one jeep car for the whole area and that too is lying out of order. Extension Officers and V.L. Ws. are lying idle with little work receiving a monthly salary of Rs. 5,000/- or more.

Looking into the conditions prevailing in the block, I am afraid the same plight may not be existing elsewhere. As such it should be the duty of the department and the general public to see that the wishes of the Government and of the great leaders are carried out successfully and not a single pie is wasted. Such Blocks have been started not to solve the unemployment problem, but to improve the socio-economic conditions of the masses concerned. I, therefore, lay the followin suggestions for the successful implementation of the tribal blocks.

(1) The Officers appointed must possess inclination and ability to live amongst tribal communities, and the desire to render continuous service to the tribals. They must have the aptitude to know their language, customs, and traditions. They must be men of character, strength and perseverance, capable of inspiring confidence, love and enthusiasm amongst the tribals. They must try to become leaders and friends of the people.

Many people accept jobs in such blocks simply to get service and then try to run away. Such people should not get jobs in such blocks, no amount of training can improve them. Once an officer is appointed, he must not be transferred on promotion. This should also be discouraged. They must complete the period for which they are appointed. In such areas as far as possible tribals should be appointed or local people. B. D. Os. of the rank of E.A.Cs. are appointed for such blocks, but such type of officers are not available generally, as is the case of the Pondi Uprora block. So willing persons should be appointed on promotion i.e., experienced Tehsildars and the like, having some knowledge of anthropology and the required qualities.

2. House difficulties of the workers and officers must be removed first. A number of officers and workers, high and low, are appointed in such blocks which are mostly situated in small villages. It is not possible to find suitable houses for all. They cannot work efficiently, nor can they live with their families. This makes them take leave every week or every fortnight or every month, to visit their families. Generally living without a comfortable house tells upon their health.

At present the P.W. Department is entrusted to construct quarters, office buildings and dispensaries, which work is done at a very late stage. The B.D.O. with the help of his Assistant Engineer and overseers should be allowed to complete the work either departmentally or by contracts, or the whole block people should be engaged in removing house difficulties first.

3. The officers and workers should be provided with amenities of life. They should get bad climate allowance, medical, conveyance and touring allowances.

4. Pacca roads should be built first and then approach roads, so that bus service can be extended to the remotest part of the block. This will lead to social contacts of the aboriginals with their non-tribal brothers. They will be able to market their produce to get a good price. They will be able to go to distant places for work in times of scarcity, or when they are free from agricultural operations. The workers will also not feel the pangs of seclusion, and will be able to move conveniently for timely work and help. Public contribution according to the paying capacity of the people should be fixed.

5. Co-operative Forest Labourers' Societies should be started along with ordinary societies. Forest blocks, and coupes should be given to such societies on easy terms. The societies in turn should sell the timber to the tribals on royalty system for export and sale either by carts or rivers. Members of the societies should even get credit. This is the best way to keep the tribals engaged and work for money. In the block of Pondi-Uprora, the Hasdo river plays an important part. During the zamindari time a poor tenant who had an axe only could gather dry wood from the forest, float it down by rafters and after selling timber could pay the royalty. Thus he could purchase a pair of bullocks, bring waste land under cultivation and become rich in no time. Well-to-do tenants who had bullock carts exported by their carts. This is a very good system and it should be revived

through such societies. Along with the co-operative societies, grain golas should be maintained to supply seed and advance paddy for consumption at 25 per cent interest. In such blocks money crops are very little, so people sell their paddy or wheat to purchase their other necessities of life, and to meet their expenses and when they have nothing to eat, they borrow paddy at 50 per cent interest or more. In this way their indebtedness goes on increasing and ultimately they lose their fields.

6. Improvement of agriculture is also an integral part of the scheme. Primitive ways of cultivation should be done away with and intensive cultivation should begin. Good seeds, fertilizers and good manures should be introduced and manure pits should be dug to preserve cowdung. Demonstration and propaganda are very essential for this. Small bunds should be built for irrigation and to save the fields from inundations, pumping sets should be supplied on hire. Kabilkast land should be brought under cultivation and be given to the landless and to the holders of uneconomic holdings. Co-operative farming should also be tried.

7. Cottage industries wherever possible should be started according to the material available. Carpentry, rope making, bamboo basket making, silk production, honey collection, spinning and weaving, dairy farming, poultry farming, goat keeping, sheep rearing and oil pressing can be undertaken with advantage. Students after they leave school should be organized and helped to start such industries. Today the only thing the people are doing in the Katghora tahsil is that they try to keep their capital in tact. They purchase young pairs of bullocks and buffaloes, take light work, and pay great attention to their health. When they are well grown up, they are sold at double or trible the original price. But when their cattle are killed by wild animals or by cattle diseases, their whole economy is lost, and this will happen if wild animals are not allowed to be shot dead indiscriminately. This aspect may kindly be examined. Efficient veterinary departments should be maintained. Cattle breeding, and protection from diseases should be paid particular attention as cattle are the real wealth of the people.

8. The B.D.O. should try to establish village Panchayats in every village or in a group of villages, and train the members in village administration. They should be provided with community and information centres. He should encourage village leadership, adult-education should be also started. The tribals should take part in every activity and not be mere onlookers. Timely medical help should be given to the tribals and to their cattle. Good wells should be dug. Lastly the B.D.O. should treat his extension officers like his younger brothers and see that they work harmoniously.

9. Basic type of education should be given to the tribals, so that after their school life they would be in a position to earn their livelihood. Agriculture should form the main item of their studies. Their culture should be respected and teachers knowing a bit of social science should be appointed. At present mid-day meals are given to primary school children and scholarships are granted to the middle school boys, with boarding house

facilities. Arrangements should also be made for their high school and college education.

Merely granting scholarships will not be profitable. This is the age of college education. The number of colleges is increasing year by year in all urban areas. When I was young there were only four colleges in the whole of C.P. and now there are as many colleges in my district alone. My tahsil of Katghora which is as big as the Wardha district would not have had a high school even, had it not been due to the efforts of the Shiksha Vikas Samity, Katghora, which started one at first and handed it over to the Government. This is a proof to show that the non-tribals are advancing in geometric progression and the tribals hardly in arithmetic progression. So at the present rate of acculturation, proper and scientific integration and assimilation of the tribals with the non-tribals will take years. They will always remain down—trodden and inferior to their non-tribal brothers. I therefore, suggest that in such blocks, wherever it is possible rural colleges should be started with agriculture as one of its subjects and they should be affiliated to a tribal university at the centre. Many such blocks can unite with other tribal N.E.S. blocks adjoining them. Moreover India is advancing in industries by leaps and bounds. Its mineral and natural resources are being surveyed. Many such blocks are rich enough for such exploitations.

Hence rural colleges are very essential. It will help agriculture side by side with industries. It will create leadership which will take the country ahead and save it from the false propaganda, due to the absence of any congress organization inside the tahsil.

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## PROGRESS REPORT OF ACTIVITIES IN MULTIPURPOSE DEVELOPMENT BLOCK OF SANTRAMPUR.

**by**

**Addit'onal Block Development Officer, M.D.P. Santrampur.**

The Special Multipurpose Development Block for tribals of 60 villages round about Sukhsar village in the Eastern part of Santrampur taluka has been started with effect from 2-11-5 by the State Government. The area of the Block is 82·3 sq miles and covers a population of 27,769 souls. The area in acres of the Block is 50,594 acres 30 gunthas. The total population of 27,769 comprises of adult males (10,256), adult females (9,933), children under 5 years (2,882) and children from 5 to 16 years (4 693) and consists of 4,626 families. There are 4,425 owner cultivators, 7 non-cultivating owners, 51 agricultural labourers and 100 skilled labourers and workers. There are three

types of industries *viz.* oil pressing, blacksmithy and pottery and 11, 25 and 55 persons are engaged to work in each respectively. Nature of soil is *Jirayat, Kyari* and *Bagayat*. The total cultivated area measures 52,650.59 acres including double crop area), current fallows A. 460. G. 38. Government waste lands A. 2,663. G. 2 and barren uncultivable land A. 12,667. G. 3. Average rainfall is 37" to 40" per year.

The percentage of literacy is only 2.30 per cent. There are no public school buildings except at one village. The school buildings are rented. There are 36 rented buildings for the schools and 1570 students are now studying and taking advantage of education. Besides, there is one Ashram school conducted by the Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad.

The Central village is Sukhsar and it is to be the headquarters of the Block as soon as suitable accommodation for office building and staff quarters is available at the village. There are no village sites in the villages except at Suksar, Hafwa Padalia and Bhojela and the people live apart from each other in their own fields. The population is more than 60 per cent of Adiwasis in all the villages except at Sukhsar. Since it is spread in their own fields there is no collective community life. The people being uneducated, ignorant and living in hilly areas, are of a suspicious nature and having not enjoyed collective life for generations, are not responsive to community life. As they are backward and uneducated, their mental attitude is not easily receptive of the new ideas and are forgetful of the new points of thought presented to them. They are giving patient ears to the new thoughts, but being always of suspicious nature and having undeveloped and uncertain minds, hesitate to put new ideas into action unless there is actual "learning by seeing".

The headquarters of the Block is at present at Santrampur, a taluka headquarter. The officer is housed in three small rooms by the side of the Mamlatdar's office. Necessary furniture at a cost of Rs. 2,468/- for use of the staff has now been locally purchased on obtaining sanction of the Divisional Officer and the office furnished properly. It is to be shifted to Sukhsar, a central village in the Block as soon as the office and residential quarters are built at the village.

The office building is under construction and will be completed within a couple of months. The staff quarters for the permanent staff have been sanctioned and are under construction. The office will be shifted as soon as the building will be ready.

The Adiwasis live apart and have no extra houses to provide others. There is even dearth of places in their living accommodation. In such conditions the Gram Sevaks are not able to get residential accommodation at their circle villages. In all there are 10 Gram Sevaks in the Block and 10 Gram Sevaks quarters are to be built. Four Gram Sevaks quarters are under construction and will be ready within a month. The other six Gram Sevaks Quarters will be taken in hand after the monsoon.

### Agriculture.

*Land Improvement* :—In this connection the Adiwasi cultivators were convinced about the prevention of soil

erosion by means of systematic field bunding and contour bunding. About 1193 acres of lands were field-bunded and 103 acres of land were surveyed for contour bunding.

*Improved methods* :—The cultivators of the Block generally follow the practice of sowing of paddy by broad casting only. They were explained the advantages of improved method of drilling and transplanting of paddy. Uptil now 108 demonstrations on improved agricultural methods were held on the fields of cultivators. Due to this about 25 acres of land were brought under Japanese paddy cultivation. About 115 acres were brought under sowing of cotton, ground nut and maize corps. Thus they realised the benefits of improved methods to some extent. A sum of Rs. 500 was advanced for J.P.C. to 12 cultivators.

*Improved seed distribution.*—The staple food of agriculturists is maize in this Block. They generally use local grain of maize and the outturn is low. Several demonstrations were held to show the benefits of the improved seeds. The distribution was made as under—

| Crop | 1957-58. | 1958-59 |
|---|---|---|
| Maize. | 40 B. Mds. | 250. B.Mds. |
| Paddy E.K. | — | 50. B. Mds. |
| Wheat | 182-0. ,, | — |
| Gram | 4-20. ,, | — |
| Cotton | — | 4-20. B.Mds. |

This cotton is in expansion stage and about 15 per cent of lands are under improved strain. A subsidy of Rs. 349-88. n.P. was paid to cultivators.

*Improved implements.*—The agriculturists of the Block are ignorant of improved implements. They use only one wooden plough for all agricultural operations. They are apathetic to the new implements and method of tilling and sowing. In order to make improved implements popular, the Gram Sevaks were given 8 karanchi ploughs and 10 seed drillers for demonstrations. Several demonstrations were held in most of the villages of this Block.

They responded well and they were supplied as under :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Baroda hoes | 5 |
| Iron ploughs | 12 |
| Iron hoes | 24 |

A subsidy of Rs. 57-42 was also paid to the purchasers.

*Manure and fertilisers.*—The Adivasis are not aware of the benefits of the well prepared compost and farm yard manures and fertilisers.

147 demonstrations on fertilisers were held on the fields of cultivators and they realised the importance of the fertilisers. The use of well-prepared compost and farm yard manures was also explained. As a result 830 manure pits were dug and they put into the pits the refuse for compost.

56 B. Mds. of sulphate of ammonia and one ton of manure mixture were supplied to the agriculturists. The subsidy of Rs. 193/- was also paid to the users. The following fertilisers were supplied for holding demonstration on the fields of the agriculturists.

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Sulphate of amonia. | B.Mds. |
| (2) Super-phosphate. | 6 ,, |
| (3) Sulphate nitrate | 6 ,, |
| (4) Manure mixture | 70 ,, |
| (5) Urea. | 5-10 ,, |

*Green manure.*—20 B. Mds. of san seed were distributed for green manuring and 40 acres were brought under green manuring.

*Plant Protection measures.*—The agriculturists of this Block are quite ignorant of prevention of crop pests and diseases, thereby they never get full yield of crops. In this direction, they were convinced of preventive measures for pests and diseases. As a result distribution was done as under :—

| | 1957-58. | 1958-59. |
|---|---|---|
| Gammoxene | 58 lbs. | 450 lbs. |
| Zinc phosphite | 9 | — |
| Sulphur. | 13 | — |

*Fruit and Vegetables.*—For development of fruit trees and increase in the income of agriculturists, they were persuaded to plant fruit trees. Due to this 228 grafts of mango and lemon were supplied. Rs. 183-15 nP. was also paid to the growers. This year about 500 grafts are indented. About 73 acres of land were brought under vegetable growth. 18 lbs. of vegetable seeds of different kinds were also supplied.

*Demonstration and meeting.*—With a view to increase food production in agriculture, it is quite essential to show the benefits of improved seeds, implements, fertilisers and other improved techniques. 255 such demonstrations were held and 5890 persons took part. One Agriculture and Cattle show was also organised at the village Sukhsar and about 3000 people attended the same.

*Crop Competition.*—The crop competition in wheat, maize, paddy crops was arranged and 45 cultivators participated in the competition. Prizes of Rs. 75, 50, 25 in each crop have been awarded to the winners.

*Organisations.*—To train village leaders in Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and Minor Irrigation 8 camps were organised and 326 village leaders have been trained uptil now.

One study tour of 20 progressive cultivators was arranged to see the agricultural activities in Bombay State.

*Farmers Unions.*—To set up food production, the introduction of improved seeds, implements, and methods was essential through the organised bodies like Panchayats and Farmers Unions. 7 Farmers Unions were established and 246 members were enrolled.

*Collaboration of Van Mahotsava.*—In this Block two Vanmahotsavas were collaborated and the following number of trees were planted.

| | 1957-58. | 1958-59. |
|---|---|---|
| Fruit trees. | 223 | 730 |
| Other trees. | 3000 | 2380 |

## Irrigation and Reclamation

There are no main irrigation works in the whole Block. There are of course small village ponds at some four villages but irrigation is not possible. The land is highly undulated and no flow irrigation works are possible considering the condition of the area.

The agriculture land in the Block though hilly is fertile. There are 703 kacha wells in the Block area. The soil water in the well is not very deep. Without good showers of rain the agriculturists get rabi crops without the help of irrigation in most cases,

The agriculturists were encouraged to rabi crops under their wells by deepening and making them pucca and also by constructing new wells. They have responded well to this scheme. In this direction the achievement was as under:—

| | | Amount sanctioned. |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Construction of new wells. | 97 | 76,950 |
| (2) Repairs to the existing wells. | 252 | 1,65,400 |
| (3) Pumpings. | 6 | 17,000 |

Uptil now, 2 pumping sets were supplied to the Adivasi cultivators for irrigation facilities.

**Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Aids**

*Animal Husbandry.*—The agriculturists of this Block have very poor type of bullocks and cows. For improvement of this live-stock the breeding bulls were located.

48 white leghorn cocks have been obtained from Poona at subsidized rates through agricultural Department and 19 dozens of eggs of improved breed were supplied to the agriculturists for improvement of poultry.

The scheme for poultry development has been worked out in consultation with the Agricultural Officer, Poultry Development, Kirkee, and submitted to the Government for approval. An amount of Rs. 27,800/- has been provided and sanctioned by the Government for utilising under that scheme.

*Fodder.*—In this Block, there is no practice of feeding their cattle with green fodder. 28 lbs. of lucorn seed for green fodder were supplied and they raised green fodder during last year.

**Veterinary Aid**

There are two posts of Stockmen in this Block. One joined on 22-2-57 and the other joined on 8-3-57. Both have been assigned separate jurisdiction over 30 villages to carry out the activities pertaining to the Department.

The above stockmen worked in the above areas for the Veterinary activities such as treating of sick animals, vaccination in epidemics and castration by burdizo method and have carried out propaganda for improvement of cattle wealth. Before this Block was started in this area, agriculturists were getting cattle castrated and treated by country method as they were of suspicious nature. Now the agriculturists are taking much interest in improving their cattle wealth. In all, the stockmen of the Block have castrated 397 scrub bulls and have treated 1,116 animals for non-contagious and 8 animals for contagious diseases. There were epidemics of H.S. and R.P. diseases among the cattle in 22 and 6 villages respectively of this Block. The Stockmen of the Block had attended to the work very promptly and they vaccinated 10,023 animals by H.S. Vaccine and by G.T. vaccine (wet) against the above cited diseases and thus the cattle wealth was saved.

The population of cattle in this Block is 38,392. The cattle wealth is very poor and it is hoped it will be improved during the Block period.

There is budget provision of Rs. 1,000 for purchase of instruments and medicines for every year.

### Health and Rural Sanitation

*1. Soak-pits.*—78 soak-pits have been dug during the year 1957-58. The village people were encouraged to take more interest to have the soak-pits in every house.

*2. Urinals.*—The village people of this Block are residing scatteredly and they are of very suspicious nature. The villagers were explained the benefits of the use of the urinals and as a result of this 31 katcha urinals have been prepared according to local conditions.

*3. Cattle-sheds.*—The village people are keeping more animals than they actually require for agriculture purposes. They keep their cattle loose in the houses by night and allow them to move in the field by day. Attempts are being made to improve this condition and as a result of this 178 cattle-sheds have been improved.

*4. Bath-rooms.*—26 katcha bath-rooms have been prepared according to local conditions. The villagers are habituated to take the baths in river or some stagnant pools. They are explained to have the bath-rooms just near their houses or in verandahs. They have been explained the advantages of using waste water for growing vegetables in summer season or kitchen gardening.

*5. Magan Chula.*—The propaganda of Magan Chula is being carried out but the people are not giving good response to this. Attempts are, however, made to persuade the public. One Magan Chula has been prepared at Makvana for demonstration purposes.

*6. Disinfections of wells.*—There are no Government wells in this Block except in one or two villages. The disinfection of wells is being carried in respect of the wells used by the public for drinking water. 225 wells have been disinfected by bleaching powder (T.C.L.)

*7. Checking of birth and death register.*—The birth and death registers are being checked by the Sanitary Sub-Inspector.

*8. Small-pox epidemic.*—There was an epidemic in the village viz. Vangad. There were 12 cases of small-pox, out of which 2 were fatal. Re-vaccination and primary vaccination work was carried out.

*9. Hotel Inspection.*—There are 3 hotels in the Block and they are checked for keeping neat and clean.

*10. Latrines.*—The Adiwasi people are residing in their fields scatteredly. They are habituated to go for a call of nature in open space or just on the bank of river. They are advised to use the latrines and as a result of this persuasion, a few trench latrines are being prepared according to the local conditions.

In all, 15 wells have been proposed to be constructed during the Block period. Out of this, one well is under construction at village Sukhsar. It is expected to be finished within a month, whereas the work of digging the well at village Saraswa has been held up due to hard rockmot with a depth of about 10 feet.

### Education

The Block villages are of the ex-State Santrampur area. The Rulers did not pay any heed to the development of the area educationally, socially or economically. The result was that so far in 6 villages

there had been only one school building for the primary school at Afwa. After the merger a number of schools have been established in the area and these schools are housed in rented katcha buildings. 31 rooms of school buildings have been proposed and sanctioned to be constructed during the plan period. The construction of school buildings and paying popular contribution therefor has been found very popular in the area and Adiwasis have given a good response to these activities. At present 8 school rooms have been completed and 9 school rooms will be finished within a month.

### Social Education

1. *Adult Literacy Centres.*—The literacy movement is gaining ground in this project. At present, 33 adult literacy centres are running and 160 adults have been made literate. The total number of adults under training at present (both I and IInd test is 867.

2. *New libraries.*—Though illiteracy prevails in most of the area, 3 new libraries have been started at Sukhsar, Nani-Bhugodi and Varuna-Ashram. Books, newspapers etc. have been purchased and handed over to the organisations concerned except at Varuna Ashram.

3. *Bhajan Mandlis.*—10 Bhajan Mandalis have been organised on principles of community life and they have been supplied materials and equipments required for Bhajan Mandalis. These organisations are being utilised for other activities pertaining to Social Education, Agriculture and Co-operation.

4. *Radio-set.*—Though the villages are scattered all over the area, one new radio-set has been installed at Sukhsar.

5. *Training Camps.*—8 Gram Sahayak Training Camps have been organised in the Project area and 326 farmers were trained in Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Minor Irrigation. By Shramdan given by the trainees katcha road of 2¼ furlongs has been constructed. Another Bandhara was done at Moti-Bhugedi.

One Adiwasi Youths Camp was also held at Varuna Ashram for ten days. It was inaugurated by the Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Bombay, North, Government of India and conducted by the Prant-cum-Project Officer, Lunavada. 22 Adiwasi youths were trained in various subjects by the heads of departments from the district. The certificates signed by the Collector were awarded to the trainees by Shri Maneklal M. Gandhi, M.P. Kalol.

6. *Organising sports, games, entertainments etc.*—For recreational activities, entertainment programmes were arranged at different villages. One 'Kavi Sammelan' was also arranged at Sukhsar. The party consisting of 6 persons was called from Baroda. Nearly 400 people attended this function. Programmes of folk dances, singing Bhajans and kirtans, telling interesting stories regarding prohibition etc. were arranged Adiwasi people participated in it. Sports, competitions and entertainment programmes were organised at Sukhsar on 15th and 16th August 19.7. Gram-safai programme was successfully carried out with the help of the students from Varuna Ashram.

Social Education day was celebrated on 1st December, 1957 and Rs. 16/- from

Sukhsar and Natwa villages was collected as people's contribution towards this. Harijan Week, Five Year Plan publicity week, prohibition propaganda week, Van Mahotsava, 26th January, 1958 etc. were also celebrated in different villages of the Project area. Talks and discussions regarding agriculture, small savings, irrigation, social education etc. were also held.

Exhibition and Cattle show was arranged at Sukhsar for two days and the progressive farmers were awarded prizes by the Educational Inspector, Panch Mahals, Godhra.

7. *Youth Clubs and Farmer's Unions.*—One Youth Club enrolling 21 members and 7 Farmers Unions having 247 members have been organised.

8. *Children's Organisation.*—Four Bal Melas (baby-shows) have been organised and healthy babies were awarded prizes of utensils in a large gathering of the village people.

9. *Women's organisations.*—8 Mahila Mandals enrolling 336 members mostly Adivasis) have been organised recently in the headquarters of the Gram Sevaks.

10. *Farmer's Tour.*—One study tour of 20 progressive farmers was arranged to visit the various agricultural activities within the State.

General.—A meeting of all the primary school teachers (nearly 36 schools) was held at Sukhsar and the teachers were explained the aims and objectives of Community Development Programme.

One new Ashram School at Vangad with 25 (boys and girls) students has been started.

15 Adiwasi boys studying in Vth standard have been sent to Kadana Agricultural School for training in Agriculture craft etc.

Opening of two new primary schools at Patdia and Bhitodi (Patisara) have been proposed this year.

**Communications.**

There are no roads in the Block area except Santrampur-Sukhsar-Jhalod road and Fatehpura-Jhalod road running through the Block area. Both these roads are under construction by the Public Works Department. In the plan programme 36 miles of village roads are to be prepared. As per orders contained in Government Resolution, Political and Services Department No. MDP. 6457-V dated 18-10-57, popular contribution on the arterial roads is to be waived subject to conditions. Four such roads viz. Hafwa-Kanthagar—Sagdapada and Patadia Balaiya, Sukhsar--Vangad and Afwa Nani-Bhugedi roads have been started and the work is in progress. The necessary tools and other implements have been purchased. The construction work will be a great relief to Adiwasis in their economic condition especially because there had been no good shower of last rains in the Block area. The other village roads will be taken up very shortly.

**Rural Arts and Industries**

The main raw materials of the area are seasam, hemp fibre and ground-nuts etc.

Looking to the existing availability of raw materials in the area, it is proposed to take up the following industrial

activities :—

(*a*) To organise industrial co-operative societies of oil man (Ghani) and to obtain facilities for loan for improved Ghani, loan for share capital and stocking of oil seeds etc.

(*b*) Organisation of Training activities

(1) Rope-making class which will train 45 persons in Rope-making in one year.

(2) Carpentry and Smithy school, which will train 30 persons in three years.

(3) Tailoring school for males, which will train 45 males in three years.

(4) Tailoring school for ladies, which will train 30 ladies in two years.

(5) Village Pottery Unit, which will train 42 potters in two years.

The above five schemes are sanctioned, out of which Tailoring school for males was started from 27-1-58 at Sukhsar Block headquarters. 15 students are under training and the class is running very smoothly. Tools and equipments are purchased for tailoring school for females.

Village Pottery school was organised on 21-7-58 at Afwa and 6 trainees are under training.

Charge of tools and equipments for carpentry and smithy is taken on 8-7-58 from Palampur and the same are not received by this office owing to the fact that the booking is closed. On receipt of tools and equipments the school will be started immediately.

Order has already been placed for machines for Fibre school. The school will be started immediately on receipt of machines.

**Co-operation**

At the introduction of the Block in this area on 2-11-56, there were 7 Co-operative, Multipurpose and Credit Societies covering 47 villages of the area. The number of societies has now reached 12 coverning 60 villages of the Block. One more Credit Society has been organised at Balaiya which will be registered during the month. The total number of agriculturists in the Block is 4425 out of whom 1523 families have been covered by co-operative field, i.e. 34·10 per cent of the population is already covered. There are 60 villages in the Block and all the villages have now been covered and thus 100 per cent of the Block area is under the co-operative field.

The target for co-operative movement fixed for the period of 5 years is as follows :—

| S.No. | Name. | No. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | M.P. Co-operative Societies | 8 |
| 2. | M.P. large sized societies. | 8 to be converted |
| 3. | Purchase and Sale Union. | 1 |
| 4. | Backward Classes Housing Societies. | 6 |
| 5. | Grain-Depots | 8 |
| 6. | Construction of godowns. | 2 (Small size) |

Since the commencement of the Block, propaganda towards intensive development of co-operative movement

is carried on. Assistant District Co-operative Officer of the block pays special attention to increasing members, share capital, saving deposits and short-term loans. Due to these efforts the following achievement has been made so far.

| Progress during the Block. period | | Co-operative movement Total progress i.e. position on 31-7-58. |
|---|---|---|
| M.P. & Credit Societies organised. | 6 | 3 M.P.+9 Credit=12 |
| M.P. & Credit Societies registered. | 5 | |
| Large-size Societies converted. | 2 | 2 |
| Total members enrolled | 655 | 1,523 |
| Share capital raised | 13,242 | 35,307 |
| „ „ „ by Govt. | 8,300 | +8,300 |
| Agriculture Finance short-term loan | 1,16,850 | 1,16,850 |
| Villages covered | 13 | 60 |
| Percentage | 22% | 100% |
| Population covered | 3,275 | 7,615 |
| Percentage | 14.10% | 34.10% |
| Reserve funds | 1,062 | 2,112 |
| Working capital. | 64,364. | 1,41,317 |
| Grain depots | 2 Proposals for 2 starting 2 Grain depots at Vangad & Sukhsar Sant for loan. | |
| 100%coverage of population villages. | 4 | 4 |

The Co-operative Societies are being regularly inspected. The Assistant District Co-operative Officer has carried out 49 inspections while the Gram Sevaks have carried out 36 uptill now. Frequent visits are being made to all the Societies and help and proper guidance is given to Group Secretaries.

One Branch of Purchase and Sale Union Ltd. Santrampur taluka has been opened and it has started its functioning. 129 B.M. sameri maize seed and 145 ground-nut seed have been supplied to society members, in the last month. Fair Price shop is also being conducted by the Branch.

Though vigorous efforts are being made to enrol agriculturists as members in Co-operative Societies, most of them do not come forward to be the members of the Societies as in this year their economic condition is not sound, due to scarcity conditions prevailing in the area. They are not in a position to pay share capital at the initial stage. The second reason is that the agriculturists get loans for wells from project fund as the Bank does not provide long term loans and the rate of interest in Society is higher than that of tagai loans and as such they are being attracted by these loans of tagai

## Rural Housing

In the budget plans and estimates sanctioned by Government vide their letter No. MDP, 1056/14316-G, dated 29-5-1957, there is a scheme to organize Backward Classes Co-operative Housing Societies in Project area, so that their age-old superstitious beliefs may go and they may be able to enjoy better community life. The Societies are to be organised on co-operative basis. In organising such societies the members are to be enrolled by collecting share capital of 10/- from each member. In the first place it is difficult to persuade them to live together. In the current year due to shortage of rain and consequential financial resources, it has been more difficult to persuade them to pay initial share capital of Rs. 10/-.The implementation of the schemes of the Co-operative Housing Society has, therefore, been

rather made difficult. However, efforts are being made to organise such societies. Rs. 1,90,000. (non-loan) will be utilised for housing the individual capacity they do not come to organise housing societies.

## SARVODAYA PHILOSOPHY IN ACTION.

by

D. N. Wandrekar

On reading the title of this paper, readers may conclude that this must be a treatment of the great Bhoodan movement initiated by Shri Vinobaji Bhave. The forty to fifty lakh acres of land obtained by Vinobaji for distribution among the landless and specially the two thousand gramdans where work on social reconstruction on Sarvodaya lines has already begun, would offer a fascinating study of the subject of the heading. The writer unfortunately has never been in active touch with the Bhoodan movement. The movement no doubt is a big step in the establishment of a Sarvodaya Samaj. But it is doubtful whether it will be able to solve all the economic and social problems specially of the rural masses, which are getting more complex and complicated in these days of astounding scientific progress.

What is Sarvodaya? The plain meaning of the word Sarvodaya is the Udaya or all round advancement of every one both as an individual and as a constituent or component unit of society. This would mean that inequalities whether social, cultural, economic or political would disappear and a new order of society would be established wherein there would be no distinctions based on caste, creed or class and no scope for exploitation. The idea of such a society may sound Utopian to some of us. When thirty five years back Gandhiji placed before the country his ideas of Satyagraha and non-violent non-cooperation for winning the freedom of our country from the greatest imperialistic power of those days, his ideas were also termed as Utopian. But the Nation did accept his weapons of Satyagraha and non-violence and did succeed in winning its freedom. What was then termed a Utopia has proved a reality. Gandhiji was not content merely with winning political freedom. He wanted to remould our society on the basis of Sarvodaya. This task is stupendous and it requires a personality like Gandhiji for its achievement. But this does not mean that attempts in this direction should not be made on similar lines by persons who may be smaller but who have faith in this concept and the ability to put it into practice in limited fields.

To elaborate the idea of Sarvodaya Samaj a bit further. in such a samaj the present cleavages wnich have sprung from caste, communal and religious

differences would disappear. There would be no scope for exploitation by one individual or the other and this would be reflected in the individual's daily life so that one would desire to live on the toil of others. There would be full scope for every one for the expansion and development of his individuality. This development can only be achieved in a society which is organised on the principle of equality. Society is a living organism no less than a human being and its vitality depends on the coordinated activity of all its constituents or components and not of one or more at the expense of the others. Consequently cooperation finds a most important place in the idea of a Sarvodaya Samaj. Gandhiji placed before the Nation this idea of a Sarvodaya Society for a free India. Had he been alive, perhaps we would have had a different planning.

Gandhiji passed off on the 30th January, 1948. The Government of Bombay which was then headed by the late Shri Bal Gangadhar Kher desired to pay its humble tribute to the memory of the Father of the Nation. The Government thought that the best memorial would be to put into practice the Sarvodaya principles as enunciated by Mahatmaji through the agency of tried and experienced social workers who have not merely made a study of the ideology of Gandhiji but who have been attempting to embody the same in their day to day life. Accordingly it decided after consultations with prominent social workers that this experiment should be tried in each district of the old Bombay State in a compact area of 30 to 40 villages with more or less homogeneous, social and economic conditions, through such local social workers. The selection of the area was done in consultation with the social worker in charge, who was termed a Sanchalak. It was however decided that the area to be selected should be a backward area, *i.e.* an area in the interior of a district, economically badly off and devoid of civic amenities or an area predominently inhabited by backward people like the Adivasis or jungle folks. Amongst the Sanchalaks you come across such eminent personalities as Shri Appasaheb Patwardhan, Shri Jugatrambhai Dave, Acharya Bhise, Shri Shrirang Kamath and others whose life-long devotion to constructive work is well-known.

For implementing this programme the Government proceeded to appoint Sanchalaks, one in each district in the year 1949 to formulate and carry out Sarvodaya Schemes in their respective districts. A State Sarvodaya Committee was also constituted in order to guide the Sanchalaks and coordinate their activities. The chief work of this committee is to sanction the different schemes formulated by the Sanchalaks and to pass the annual budgets therefor. It was contemplated in the beginning that each centre should spend a sum of about rupees one lakh per year for its different activities. But it was found in practice that the budgets rarely exceeded a sum of Rs. 75,000 per year.

The Sanchalaks are authorised to organise centre advisory committees from amongst the local social workers to advise them in framing schemes for their respective Sarvodaya areas. This has also helped in creating enthusiasm for

Sarvodaya work in other parts of the district concerned. Further, the district heads of the departments concerned have been instructed to render whatever help is needed by the Sanchalak. The Collector and other district heads are also instructed to attend the meetings of the Centre Advisory Committees and take part in their deliberations. Thus the chief district officers are in touch with the Sanchalaks and their activities in the respective Sarvodaya areas.

For facilitating his work, the Sanchalak usually divides the area under him into four or five regions or subcentres and appoints workers according to the plan drawn up for that region. The duty of these workers is to see that some one or the other of the planned activities is started and carried on in practically every village included in the sub-centre. On an average each Sanchalak has under him about 15 to 20 workers trained in different activities taken up in his area. Not all workers are posted at the headquarters of the centre or the sub-centres. Most of them are spread out in the villages according to the nature of their activities. The result has been that about five hundred wholetime workers have been planted in some of the most difficult tracts of the State. With a view to compare notes and by way of a refresher course, annual Shibirs or seminars of these workers are held regionwise. These seminars are visited and addressed not only by the Minister and officers concerned but also by some of the well-known public workers in different spheres.

The total number of the Sarvodaya Centres in the old Bombay State was 29 and the number of villages covered by them came to over 1200. After the re-organisation of States the Government has decided to have Sarvodaya Centres in the new regions now included in the State. Accordingly eight more centres have been started so far. The activities organised in these centres roughly fall under seven heads viz. (1) Education (2) Agriculture (3) Cottage Industries and Cooperation (4) Health and Hygiene (5) Communications (6) Water Supply and (7) Social Amenities. The expenditure incurred on these activities upto 31st March, 1956 comes to about Rs 97,00,000 Compared to the rest of the State the people residing in the Sarvodaya areas are very poor. All the same they have been coming forward enthusiastically to contribute their share mostly in labour, specially in activities like construction of approach-roads, construction of drinking water wells, construction of small bandharas or tanks, construction of school buildings or community halls. Roughly their contribution will come to about twenty lakhs. Adding this figure to the contributions from the Government it can be seen that a sum of nearly Rs. 1,17,00,000/- has been spent for Sarvodaya work in the State during the last seven years.

Although Bhoodan and Gramdan do come within the sphere of Sarvodaya, none of the centres had taken up this activity very seriously. Some of the Sanchalaks were doing some work in this direction in their individual capacity. The activity had not gathered big momentum. But at the Conference of the Sanchalaks held in August 1957 it was decided that in future all the activities

of the centres should be based on Bhoodan or Gramdan philosophy, meaning thereby reconstruction of every village as a self-sufficient gramraj unit. How this should be achieved was laid down in a comprehensive resolution. Its implementation depended on the faith and capacity of the different Sanchalaks. On the whole the progress was not very satisfactory.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave who has been touring the different States in India on foot, entered the Bombay State on the 23rd March last. His tour in the State extends up to the 11th January 1959. He will thus give about ten months to the different districts in the State and cover hundreds of villages far in the interior, preaching the gospel of Sarvodaya and Gramdan. During this tour he will visit a few villages in some of the Sarvodaya centres. Taking advantage of his tour, a conference of the Sanchalaks was organised on the 25th May at Mahud, a village in the Solapur District Sarvodaya Centre. Shri Vinobaji did the inauguration of the conference. In his inaugural address he expressed his appreciation of the work done so far in the different Sarvodaya Centres by the Sarvodaya workers and the help rendered by the State Government in the same. He agreed that the work being done was Sarvodaya work and he had no objection to the agency of the Cooperative Societies and Grampanchayats being utilised for the reconstruction work in the gramdan villages in these centres. The Mahud Conference and Vinobaji's address have given a fresh impetus to the reconstruction work in the Sarvodaya Centres. As hardly five months have elapsed since that conference, it is too early to gauge the progress made so far.

I had the opportunity to visit all the centres on many occasions. During my tours of these centres I had made it a point to visit the most distant villages, however inaccessible, and to meet the local villagers and try to find out from them how they are enthused over the Sarvodaya work, whether they feel that it is their own work, whether a spirit of self-reliance has been roused amongst them, whether they have been awakened to a sense of collective effort to remove their common difficulties and whether they have become keen for an all round advancement. On the whole there seems to be a great awakening amongst them to their present wretched condition and a desire to get it changed by their own efforts with some help if available from other sources. This is the secret of their voluntary Shramdam or labour contribution. This is not the result of any pressure by the Sanchalak or his colleagues. What the Sanchalak does is to be in touch with the villagers, understand their problems and help them to find a solution. It is then for the villagers to carry out the solution thus thought out. The villagers have now realised that in certain fields of effort they can successfully tackle their problems by their collective labour. They have gained self-confidence and a spirit of team work has been roused in them. This psychological change is a great thing. The sense of utter helplessness prevalent in these areas and amongst these people is giving place to a sense of self-confidence and self-reliance. The petty spirit of self-gain is giving place

to a wider out-look of gain for the village or community. With a view to take advantag of this psychological change the Sanch laks are inducing the villagers to organise cooperative societies and to form their panchayats so that the initiative in framing the programmes should be theirs and the execution of the programme be done in an organised way. Many such societies and panchayats have come into existence in these areas providing scope for local talent and opening up of avenues of public service. It is not necessary to review the achievements under the seven different heads given above. It may however be stated that every centre shows an all round progress and most of the villages have now got some or other of the amenities so essential for civic life. The progress is not uniform in all centres. It depends largely on the calibre of the Sanchalak and the local workers and on the response their efforts evoke.

Perhaps entrusting such work to a non official who has no place in the official hierarchy is something new in the history of administration. Naturally there has been a good deal of criticism about this departure from the normal practice both in the legislatures and outside. It was therefore but proper that the result of this new experiment should be properly evaluated after it was given a trial for a sufficiently long period. Accordingly in July 1955 Government appointed a small committee consis ing of Shri V.L. Mehta as Chairman and Prof. D.G. Karve and Shri D.A. Shah as members to assess the results of the working of the various Sarvodaya Schemes. The committee submitted its report a year later. The committee has summarised its evaluation in para 105 of its report. The same is reproduced here.

"It is our broad conclusion, however, that considering these limitations (referred to in previous paras) the results of the experiment have been, on the whole, promising. When the scheme was inaugurated, there was practically no official Government sponsored project for the all oound development of such backward tracts or depressed areas. Social welfare agencies with limitations of finance could not undertake plans for all-embracing socio-economic development. For the first time, Government created a special machinery for undertaking the development of these hitherto neglected areas on comprehensive lines. This step has had a psychological effect on the minds of the people in the areas served and in their vicinity by creating a hopeful outlook. They have had thrown open to them the opportunity of making their work known though a social worker who enjoys their confidence and of organising themselves so that external help can flow to them more freely. We consider that, apart from the material results achieved, this is a valuable gain secured which should be consolidated for the benefit of the weakest membars of society who, according to the conception of Sarvodaya, should be the State's first concern."

# बहु-उद्देशीय आदिम जाति विकास खंड और आदिवासियों का उत्थान कार्य।

लेखक : अ० ह० चित्रालकर, एम० ए० (डबल) काव्यतीर्थ

आजीवन सेवक, भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ, दिल्ली

...... जातियों का विकास तेजी से हो, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में परिवर्तन हो, विकास कार्य में उनकी रुचि हो और वह धीरे धीरे स्वावलम्बी हो, इन उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिये बहु-उद्देशीय आदिम जाति विकास खंड की आयोजना की गई है। आदिम जातियों और अन्य लोगों में महदन्तर है। आदिवासी अपनी पुरानी रूढ़ि तथा अन्धविश्वासों पर ही दृढ़ श्रद्धा रखने वाले होते हैं। ये मेहनती भी हैं, किन्तु उचित दिशा में मेहनत न करने से उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधरती नहीं। नये नये आविष्कार और यातायात के साधन उपलब्ध होने से अब उनके क्षेत्र अन्य क्षेत्रों से सम्बन्धित हो रहे हैं। इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि उनकी स्थिति और भी निकृष्ट हो रही है। उनके अज्ञान का फायदा अन्य समाज की शोषणात्मक प्रवृत्तियां उठा रही हैं और वह पहले से ही गरीब होते हुए और भी शोषित हो रहे हैं।

इस प्रकार उनकी यह दुःखद दयनीय, अवस्था को खत्म करने का एकमेव उपाय बहु-उद्देशीय विकास खंडों की स्थापना ही हो सकती है जिससे उनकी आर्थिक तथा सांस्कृतिक उन्नति उत्तरोत्तर हो सकेगी। अविकसित आदिवासी क्षेत्रों का विकास करने से बहुत सी ऐसी चीजें सामने आयेंगी जिनका सुधार होगा और आदिवासी लोगों की बुनियादी हालत में आमूलाग्र बदल होगा। इस उद्देश्य को सामने रखकर गृहमंत्रालय ने विकास मंत्रालय के साथ ४३ बहु-उद्देशीय विकास खंड आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में चलाने का तय किया और यह खंड भारत के अत्यन्त पिछड़े इलाकों में तथा पिछड़े लोगों में प्रारंभ करने को सोचा गया है। इस तरह के विकास खंडों का ढांचा तथा कार्यप्रणाली अन्य सामुदायिक विकास खंडों के सदृश ही रखी गयी। किन्तु यह ५० देहातों के लिये तथा २५,००० जनसंख्या जो कि २०० वर्गमील के क्षेत्र में रहते हों इनके लिये ही चलाने का सोचा गया। इस प्रकार के विकास खंडों के लिये ५ साल में २७ लाख रुपये विकास कार्य पर खर्च किये जाने वाले हैं। यह योजना कार्यान्वित भी की जा रही है। किन्तु अभी तक जो जो कार्य हुआ है, इससे क्या हम यह कह सकते हैं कि ये विकास खंड जिन उद्देश्यों को लेकर शुरू किये गये थे, उनकी पूर्ति हो रही है?

आदिवासी लोगों के कल्याण की दृष्टि से इन खंडों में जो कार्यप्रणाली रखी गई है, वह तत्समान अन्य विकास खंडों से मिलती जुलती है। इन

विकास खन्डों को प्रारंभ करने के पहिले सम्बन्धित क्षेत्र का सर्वेक्षण करना आवश्यक था। यदि विकास कार्य बिना सर्वेक्षण के प्रारंभ किया जायेगा, तो, जो कार्य आवश्यक है वह पूरा नहीं होगा और अन्य कार्य जिसकी प्रथम आवश्यकता नहीं है, वह किया जायेगा।

आदिम जाति के लोगों का प्रश्न अन्य लोगों के प्रश्न से बिलकुल भिन्न है! उसे हल करने के मार्ग भी उसी तरह भिन्न होंगे। अतः उनमें जागरण लाने के लिये नये सिरे से कार्य-प्रणाली शुरू करनी चाहिये जिससे उनमें स्थानीय नेतृत्व उत्पन्न हो। यह स्थानिक नेतृत्व उनकी आदिवासी परंपरा आदि अविच्छिन्न रखकर अपने मूलभूत प्रश्न हल करने के लिये सतत प्रयत्नशील रहेगा।

आदिवासियों के विकास की दृष्टि से हम, आदिम जाति को ५ वर्गों में विभाजित कर सकते हैं।

(१) भ्रमणशील आदिम जातियां जो कि आखेट तथा भ्रमण से अपनी आजीविका खोज लेती हैं,

(२) वे आदिम जातियां जो पहाड़ों की चोटियों पर निवास कर अस्थायी कृषि 'शिफ्टिंग कल्टिवेशन' से जीवन यापन करती हैं,

(३) वे आदिम जातियां जो पठारों पर या मैदानों में निवास कर हल द्वारा खेती करती हैं,

(४) वे आदिम जातियां जो अपने पड़ोस के लोगों के साथ कुछ हद तक घुलमिल कर उनके जैसे बने हों,

(५) वे आदिम जातियां जिनका पूर्ण विकास हो गया हो। इनमें से ४ और ५ श्रेणी के लोग तथा-कथित सभ्य लोगों के स्तर पर ही आये हुये हैं। अतः अन्य पिछड़े लोगों को उन्नति की दृष्टि से जो जो सुविधायें एवं सहूलियतें आदि दी जाती हैं, वही इनके लिए योग्य होंगी। इन्हें पृथक या विशेष ध्यान की आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि इनमें और समाज के अन्य अंगों में विशेष अन्तर नहीं है। १, २ और ३ श्रेणी के लोगों का विकास करना अतीव आवश्यक है। ये लोग अज्ञानी होने के कारण, अन्य लोगों के शोषण के शिकार, शीघ्र बन जाते हैं। इनकी आर्थिक अवस्था अति निम्न दर्जे की है। अतः वास्तव में इन ३ दर्जे के लोगों की उन्नति के लिये विशेष बहुउद्देशीय ब्लाकों की योजना होनी चाहिये। ऐसे क्षेत्र हरेक प्रदेश में कितने हैं, इसकी सूचि आदिम जाति कल्याण विभाग या समाज कल्याण विभाग के पास अवश्य होगी। अतः ऐसे इलाकों में प्रथम यह खंड शुरू कर इन लोगों के आर्थिक, शैक्षणिक, तथा सांस्कृतिक विकास की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये। सबसे मुख्य प्रश्न है उन्हें शोषक प्रवृत्तियों से बचाकर उनकी आर्थिक उन्नति करना। यदि उनकी उन्नति अच्छी हो गई, यदि उनके हाथ में पैसा रहने लगा, तो जीवन की सुविधायें उन्हें आसानी से मिल सकती हैं, उनके जीवन का दर्जा बढ़ सकता है। इस दृष्टि से जो सर्वसाधारण बजट बहुउद्देशीय विकास खंड के लिये रखा गया है वह कहां तक उपयुक्त है यह देखना चाहिये। बहुउद्देशीय विकास खंड का बजट निम्न तरह से रखा गया है :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (अ) प्रोजेक्ट व्यवस्था पर खर्च | रु० | ६,७५,०००/- |
| (ब) कृषि विकास तथा मवेशियों का सुधार | रु० | २,५०,०००/- |
| (क) सिंचाई | रु० | ३,५०,०००/- |
| (ख) जमीन का उपयोगी-करण (रिक्लमेशन) | रु० | ५०,०००/- |
| (ग) स्वास्थ्य और ग्राम सफाई | रु० | २,००,०००/- |
| (घ) शिक्षा | रु० | ७५,०००/- |
| (ङ) समाज शिक्षा | रु० | ७५,०००/- |
| (च) कुटीर उद्योग | रु० | २,००,०००/- |
| (छ) यातायात सुधार | रु० | ३,५०,०००/- |
| (ज) गृह निर्माण | रु० | २,५०,०००/- |
| (झ) सहकारी संगठन विकास | रु० | २,००,०००/- |
| (ञ) अन्य (विविध) | रु० | २५,०००/- |
| | | रु० २७,००,०००/- |

इस प्रकार, खर्च के ब्योरे से पता चलता है कि प्रोजेक्ट में व्यवस्था-खर्च के मद में ६,७५,०००/- रूपयों का खर्च अनुमानित है। यह पूरी योजना का लगभग २५ प्रतिशत है, जो कि बहुत अधिक है। इससे कम खर्च करने की आवश्यकता है। इसी प्रकार अन्य मदों को देखने पर पता चलता है कि शिक्षा विकास तथा समाज शिक्षा में से प्रत्येक मद पर ७५,०००/- रु० यानि प्रतिवर्ष सिर्फ १५,०००/- रु० रखे गये हैं। यह कहां तक उचित है? शिक्षण पर तथा समाज शिक्षण पर अधिक रकम खर्च करने की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि स्थानिक नेतृत्व उत्पन्न करने के लिये यह आवश्यक है। सिंचाई के लिये ३,५०,०००/- और जमीन के उपयोगीकरण (रिक्लेमेशन) के लिये ५०,०००/- रुपये, यह रकम एक जैसी सभी खंडों में रखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि किसी स्थान पर सिंचाई के लिये यह रकम पर्याप्त होगी तो किसी क्षेत्र में यह रकम अत्यधिक होगी। यातायात सुधार पर ३,५०,०००/- रु० की रकम खर्च की आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि यह तो पी० डब्लू० डी० का कार्य है और सभी दूर के रास्ते आदि का निर्माण करना उनका कार्य है। वेलफेयर (कल्याण) के लिये निर्धारित मद में से यह धन खर्च करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। बजट में दर्शित धनराशि में से सहकारी आन्दोलन को भी अधिक बढ़ावा दिया जायेगा। यह राशि पर्याप्त तो है किन्तु सहकारी समितियों के संगठन के लिये इसका कितना उपयोग होगा और आदिम जातियों का शोषण कम करने में इसका कितना भाग रहेगा यह तो एतदर्थ स्थापित होने वाली मूल्यांकन समिति करेगी, किन्तु साधारण आदमी भी यह कह सकेगा कि सहकारी सोसायटियों के नियमों में, जबतक आदिवासी लोगों की खास परिस्थिति तथा समस्याओं की ओर ध्यान देकर संशोधन नहीं किया जाता, तब तक सहकारी समितियों से आदिवासी लोगों का आर्थिक उत्थान होगा यह समझना गलत होगा, क्योंकि बहुधा पैसे वाले गैर आदिवासी लोग सहकारी समिति में घुसकर अपना ही स्वार्थ सिद्ध करते हैं। इसी प्रकार गृह निर्माण के लिये रखी गई राशि बहुत अधिक है। यह धन आदिवासियों के गृह निर्माण के लिये है या औरों के लिये भी, यह स्पष्ट होना चाहिये।

उल्लिखित तीन श्रेणी के आदिम जाति लोग पिछड़े क्षेत्र में रहते हैं, उनका विकास करना है यह बात सामने रखकर वैसा 'अप्रोच' उनकी समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये बनाना चाहिये। पहिले पांच साल में उनकी उन्नति त्रिविध करने की है। शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक। यह तीनों प्रकार का कार्य करते समय एक लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया जाना चाहिये। यह लक्ष्य प्रतिवर्ष पूरा होता है या नहीं यह देखना चाहिये। और कार्य करते समय जो अनुभव आये उसी के प्रकाश में लक्ष्यपूर्ति करने की योजना, मार्ग तथा संगठन में आवश्यकतानुसार परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। यह कार्य मिश्नरी-स्पिरीट से लगन के साथ करने की आवश्यकता है। शैक्षणिक कार्य में, उनमें स्थानीय नेतृत्व उत्पन्न करना तथा उन्हें हस्त कलाओं की शिक्षा देना अन्तर्भूत होना चाहिये। शिक्षा में प्राईमरी या दूसरी शिक्षा ही केवल नहीं होनी चाहिये। शिक्षा क्षेत्र में बच्चों की बालवाड़ी से लेकर बूढ़ों के समाज शिक्षण तक सारी शिक्षा रहनी चाहिये। उसी प्रकार उद्योग की शिक्षा, कृषि शिक्षा तथा जंगल विषयक शिक्षा उन्हें मिलनी चाहिये।

उनकी आर्थिक उन्नति के लिये उनके बीच सहकारी समितियां खोलना, ग्रेन गोला खोलना, परिश्रमालय चलाना आदि आवश्यक है। उस क्षेत्र में और क्या उद्योग चल सकता है इसका सर्वे करके वह भी शुरू करने की आवश्यकता है, जिससे उन्हें रोजी मिल सके। जहाँ घास है वहां घास का उपयोग, जहां कृषि है वहां कृषि करने का तरीका, आदि सिखाना चाहिये। जहां पानी की सिंचाई की समस्या है वहां उसे दूर करने की आयोजना करनी चाहिये। जहां तालाब है या निर्झर है वहां मछली पालन खूब अच्छी तरह किया जा सकता है। इसी प्रकार नकद पैसे जिससे प्राप्त हो सकते हैं ऐसी चीजों का उत्पादन वहां किया जा सकता है और वहां से क्रयविक्रय समितियों के माध्यम से वह बाजार तक पहुंचाया जा सकता है। उनकी खेती सुधारी जा सकती है। उनकी खेती पर मेढ़ बांधना आदि काम भी इसमें सम्मिलित हो सकता है। अस्थाई कृषि से उन्हें परावृत्त करने के लिये दूसरे पर्याय दिलाने चाहिये। मुर्गी पालन, बकरी पालन, सुअर पालन आदि पर भी आवश्यकतानुसार ध्यान देना चाहिये।

सारांश आदिवासी जीवन के अनुसार शिक्षा प्रणालि की योजना होनी चाहिये और शिक्षा अर्थकरी, अर्थ संपादन करने वाली होनी चाहिये।

यातायात के लिये पगडंडियां या कच्ची सड़कें बनाना, पुल या पुलियां बांधना चाहिये, निवास के लिये मकान बांधना, सामाजिक स्वास्थ्य की ओर ध्यान देना, हर ग्राम में कम से कम १ कुंआ खुदवाना आदि कार्य किया जाना चाहिये। उनमें जो बीमारी आती है उससे भी उन्हें छुटकारा प्राप्त हो इस दृष्टि से दवाई आदि का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। यह सब कार्य उनके सहयोग से कम खर्च में ही किया जा सकता है। आदिवासियों के श्रमदान से कई काम सफल हो सकते हैं किन्तु आदिम जातियों से फुकट श्रमदान करा लेना अच्छा नहीं होगा। इसका उनके मन पर बुरा असर होगा। अतः कुछ कम मजदूरी देकर उन्हें श्रमदान में जुटाना आवश्यक होगा और वह ऐसे कामों में आसानी से हिस्सा लेंगे।

कार्य को शीघ्र हल करने की दृष्टि से कार्य-क्रम को आदिम जातियाँ ममत्व की भावना से देख लें या यह अपना कार्य-क्रम है यह जान लें तो कार्य अच्छा होगा। इस कार्य में उनकी अभिरुचि उत्पन्न करना अतीव आवश्यक है।

बहु-उद्देशीय विकास खंड में से कुछ खंड गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को अग्रिम योजना (पाइलौट स्कीम) के तौर पर देना चाहिये, जिससे उनकी सेवाभावी वृत्ति का फायदा उठाकर यह हम देख सकें कि आदिवासी समस्या का हल शीघ्र होता है या नहीं। उनके अनुभवों के आधार पर एक ढांचा तैयार करना चाहिये जो कि सारे ही खंडों में अमल में लाया जा सके, ताकि अगले पंचवर्षीय योजना में वैसे कदम उठाये जायें। जिन संस्थाओं के पास अच्छे कार्यकर्ता हैं, और जिनका हिसाब किताब आदि ठीक रहता है, ऐसे कतिपय गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को इस के कुछ विकास खंडों का कार्य सौंपा जाय।

इसमें कुछ लोग आपत्ति उठायेंगे कि बहु-उद्देशीय विकास खंड के चलाने में कई प्रशासकीय बातों का अन्तर्भाव होता है जिससे गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं के कार्यकर्ता यह काम निभाने में असमर्थ होंगे। यह संदेह वृत्ति अशोभनीय है। कई प्रकार के जटिल प्रश्नों तथा प्रशासकीय समस्याओं का हल, प्रशासकीय अधिकारियों की अपेक्षा, हमारे समाज तथा राजनैतिक सेवकों ने जिस चातुर्य तथा कुशलता से निकाला है वह प्रशंसनीय है। इतनी जटिल समस्याएं आज के विद्यमान मंत्री, उपमंत्री तथा अन्य बड़े बड़े सेवक हल कर रहे हैं। उनमें प्रशासकीय कुशलता का अभाव है यह कहना ठीक नहीं होगा। अतः समाज सेवकों के अनुभव का फायदा उठाने के लिये ४-५ ऐसे ब्लाक गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को देने में सरकार को हिचकिचाहट नहीं होनी चाहिये। खंड के कार्य में शिक्षा विभाग का तथा सहकारी आन्दोलन का कार्य भी गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को सौंपने से प्रभावशाली नेतृत्व आदिवासियों में उत्पन्न किया जा सकेगा। जब तक आदिम जाति के लोग अपने प्रश्नों का हल निकालने के लिये स्वयं प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह आदिवासी उत्थान कार्य ठीक ढंग से नहीं बढ़ सकेगा। बाहर से आने वाले अधिकारी वर्ग जिन्हें इस कार्य में रुचि नहीं है, जो केवल पदवृद्धि और स्वार्थ भाव से कार्य करते हैं, उनसे कार्य के प्रति अधिक अपेक्षा करना ठीक नहीं होगा। सेवा-कार्य जिनका जीवन-कार्य है, ऐसे सेवाभावी कर्मनिष्ट सेवक ही इस जटिल समस्या का हल शीघ्रता से निकाल सकते हैं। यही बात अनुसूचित जाति के कमिश्नर की १९५७-५८ की रिपोर्ट से पुष्ट की गई है। अभी तक जो कार्य प्रशासकीय यंत्र से चल रहा है, उसकी सम्यक् आलोचना कमिश्नर ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में की है। वह यही दिखाती है कि उपयुक्त कार्यकर्ता गण उपलब्ध न होने से, शासकीय स्वीकृति समय पर न आने से तथा बिना सर्वेक्षण के विकास खंड का कार्य शुरू करने से आदिवासियों का उतना लाभ नहीं हुआ जितना अपेक्षित था। शासकीय नौकरियों के लिये एक प्रकार के शैक्षणिक स्तर की आवश्यकता रहती है और वह आदिम जातियों में न मिलने से बाहर के लोग वहां लाये जाते है। गैर सरकारी संस्थाएं शैक्षणिक स्तर को उतना महत्व न देते हुए अल्प स्तर के कर्मचारी नियुक्त कर उनको संस्कार से, प्रशिक्षण से तथा संपर्क से अच्छे प्रभावशाली कार्यकर्ता बना सकती हैं। जो कार्यकर्ता गण ग्राम के काम काज में अधिक रुचि तथा दिलचस्पी लेते हैं, वही कार्यकर्ता विकास खंड का कार्य ठीक ढंग से कर सकेंगे।

PART 3

# Papers Submitted

TO

# the Conference

IN

# Anthropology Section

भाग तीसरा

# सम्मेलन के

# नृवंशशास्त्र विभाग में

# प्रस्तुत निबन्ध

# A PLAN FOR ASSIMILATION OF THE TRIBALS OF INDIA

by

**T.C. Das, Reader in Anthropology, Calcutta University**

In the Fourth Tribal Welfare Conference held at Koraput in April-May 1957 I proposed a fivefold classification of the tribals of India into

(1) the nomadic food-gatherers and pastorals,

(2) the shifting cultivators of the hill-slopes,

(3) the plough cultivators of the plateaux and foot-hills,

(4) the tribals partially assimilated into the Hindu social system, and

(5) the fully assimilated tribal groups occupying a fairly high social status among the Hindus.

These different classes of tribals need different types of measures for getting them properly integrated into our nation. These measures can be roughly divided into the following seven categories, namely, economic, educational, medical, political, social, religious and psychological. Each of these measures is not equally necessary for all the five classes into which we have divided the tribals. The fifth class, for example, i.e. those who have been successfully assimilated, does not require any special consideration or ameliorative measure as a tribal class. It may be allowed to share the benefits of such measures only which are promulgated for the general, rural or urban population. In many respects the fourth class of our tribals also may be treated in the same way. Therefore, the special measures indicated above are really meant for the first three classes. In the following pages I shall try to chalk out a programme of welfare work for each one of the first three classes of tribals -- indicating therein what measures are necessary in the immediate present and what may be left for the future, in order to wipe out the gulf which now separates the three tribal classes from one another and from the non-tribals.

## Class I. Nomadic Food-gatherers and Pastorals

The nomadic food-gatherers are the most backward, not only among the Indians as a whole but even among the tribals themselves. Their economic, social and political position is the most miserable. Educationally also they are the most backward. They, therefore, deserve the greatest consideration in our work of rehabilitation. But unfortunately their case has, as yet, received scanty consideration as they have no means of voicing their demands. In fact, they do not even know that they have a claim to the good things of the world. Steeped in ignorance, poverty, superstition, apathy and fatalism, they pass their life in oblivion in the dense forests and steep hills where civilisation has not yet peeped in.

*Economic Relief*

Economic relief is the most urgent measure with which we should start

our work with them. But nomadism stands in the way. Therefore, our first duty is to win them over from nomadism. But this is not an easy task. To get them settled, we must have sufficient and suitable land and other facilities. Government have come forward with offers of land, money, bullocks, seeds, and houses in the plains for getting them settled. But the nomads themselves are not yet ready to avail these amenities. The question of socio-religious adjustment looms large before their eyes. They are not used to settled life and, therefore, they are afraid of it. They understand the jungle and its numerous animal life but not the open plains with its wily human inhabitants. They are loath to submit themselves to plough-cultivation with its monotonous tasks spread throughout the year. They have to be taught the details of agriculture theoretically and practically. Their food has to be adjusted to the new occupation. A new way of life is not an easy proposition to the untutored mind. Hasty measures to bring this about are sure to cause maladjustments, leading to great sufferings to the people. To get them settled may be taken as our ultimate aim but we should think of such immediate measures which would give some relief to the people without much disturbance of their present adjustment. These nomadic food-gatherers move in the forest in search of roots, tubers, leaves and fruits, which they generally consume. They also hunt and fish for the same purpose. In addition to these subsistence-gathering, they also devote part of their time and energy to gather minor forest products which are either sold to forest-contractors or in the markets nearby. We have seen the Birhors of Ranchi District and the wild Kharias of Dhalbhum, selling Sabai grass and Chop fibre ropes in the markets near their habitat. The money received from this source is mostly spent on the purchase of rice, salt and cloth. These nomads are also employed by the forest contractors as lumbermen. The contractors generally exploit the ignorance of these tribals. The Government of Bombay have evolved a very practical scheme to stop tribal exploitation by these contractors. They have organised a number of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies among these tribals with the help of social workers, have advanced money to these Societies and have leased out a number of forest coupes to them. The members of these Societies now get better wages and better treatment. Some of these organisations are making good profit, a part of which is spent on welfare work among the constituents. The constituents and labourers of these Co-operative Societies are given better quarters wherever they are taken to work. They get medical help from the Society which also runs mobile primary schools for their children. Some of these societies also provide the necessities of life at a cheaper rate. Transport of timber has also been undertaken by some of these Co-operatives. The wild rovers of the forest, being attached to these Co-operatives, have become semi-settled and have realised the benefit of constant employment and steady work. They have got the training to live a co-operative life with others. A few years' work in such an organisation makes the nomad fit for settled life. He is divested of his former habits and ideas

and becomes more co-operative without being conscious of it. This, we think, is one of the best methods of schooling the nomads for settled life. Instead of transferring the nomad directly from his roving life to settled agriculture this is a better method as an intermediate stage. Once the initial opposition to settled life is broken, our task will be easier. We shall be able then to set all the mechanisms of change one by one and bring about the desired transformation.

*Education*

Education is the most potent means to bring about permanent changes in the socio-economic condition and cultural outlook of a people. Through it new ideas are disseminated, new ideals are set up and a new life is brought into being. In our drive to assimilate the tribals education will, therefore, play the most important role.

The nomad has also his own system of education. The children learn the jungle-lore from their parents, companions, and elders of the camp. Training is given through apprenticeship. Moral laws, tribal etiquette, idealism, behaviour-pattern etc. are taught through myths and folk tales. Practical knowledge about the types of food, the means of preparing them, the places of their occurrence, etc are learnt by day to day foraging excursions with the parents. Knowledge about the habits and haunts of animals and birds is also acquired from this source. We cannot replace this education as our knowledge of jungle-lore is much less complete and practical. We should not try to impose our system of education till we can induce them to adopt settled or semi-settled life. As a result, we shall have to keep quiet for some time with this potent weapon in our quiver till we make some head-way on the economic front. The Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies of Bombay have, no doubt, organised moving primary schools for the nomads but they were meant for the children of their constituents and labourers who lead a more or less semi-settled life. Moreover a large number of families usually gather in these work-centres and remain settled in one camp for a number of months. Besides this. the movements of these groups are guided by the organisers of the Societies. This is not possible for the ordinary food-gatherers who move in the jungles in small bands of four or five families. An experiment, however, may be conducted to attract the children of such families to a residential school established within the zone of their annual movements. If the parents could be induced to leave their children in such schools to be fed, clothed and educated at State expense, it would be a long step towards weaning them over from nomadism to settled life, at least in the next generation.

*Medical Help*

The nomads need medical help more than any other group of tribals. They live in the most unhealthy parts of the forest-covered hills. They are helpless victims of malaria, filaria, dysentry, black-water fever, kala-azar and such other diseases which infest their habitat. They also suffer from diseases of malnutrition. Infant mortality is very high among them. They have to wage an unequal war with the inclemencies

of weather which constantly weeds out the weaklings. They, of course, know the use of some herbal medicines but mostly depend on the magical practices of their medicine men. In most cases diseases are attributed to evil spirits and treatment follows aetiology. This is also the case among the second class of our tribals. Though we realise the necessity of medical relief among these nomads yet we are again confronted with the difficulty of how to minister to their wants. Establishment of small hospitals within their zones of movement may, however, prove fruitful in inducing them to visit these institutions for medical relief when necessary. There should be arrangement for a few indoor beds so that the serious cases may be kept and treated there. Arrangement for maternity cases in such hospitals would be a great inducement for the nomads, once they understand the utility of this service, to put the diseased under the care and treatment of our medical men. It may also help in the recruitment of students for the school. The hospital and the school should be set up near one another and the teacher and the doctor are to work together. A store may also be established in the same spot to supply such articles which the nomads require in exchange for the forest products collected by them. This will induce frequent visits which will help in the growth of the school and popularity of the hospital. The store may be ultimately turned into a cooperative store which, in course of time, will organise such business for which there is some possibility and in which the nomads may be interested. In this way a three pronged attack may be organised against nomadism in the initial stage. The seat of the hospital, school and store may be the nucleus of a village for the nomads. This may, thus, solve the most difficult problem of nomadic life.

Work on other sides such as social, religious and political spheres should wait till the main problem of nomadism is solved.

So long we have dealt with the nomadic food-gatherers. But there is another class of nomads, I mean the pastorals, who also should be treated almost in the same manner. Here also nomadism is the main obstacle to assimilatory approaches. But the case here is not so acute as among the food-gatherers. As producers of food the pastorals have a better economic standding. They live in bigger groups and their movement is more or less regulated. In settling the pastorals we require sufficient pasturage for the cattle of the group. Here there is no necessity for changing the basic economy of the people. We have extensive land in the foothills and the prairies which may be converted into good ranches for grazing the cattle. Once this is achieved, there will be little difficulty in settling the pastorals. Regulated seasonal movement may be necessary according to the condition of the pastures but that will not hamper with the settled nature of life round about the dairying centre to which the different herds and their owners will be attached. When the pastorals are settled in the manner indicated, the main problem will be in connection with the disposal of the surplus milk. In the manner of the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies among the food-gathering tribes, Milk

Co-operatives may be started at convenient centres within the pastoral zone. The work of these Co-operatives will be (1) collection of milk, (2) its processing into different kinds of dairy products, and (3) its disposal. There is a good market for milk and milk-products in the plains, particularly in our urban areas. Such a measure will not only help the pastorals but will also save our children from milk-powder imported from Australia and America. A good amount of money which is now finding its way to foreign countries, will remain within the country and help its children.

Medical relief may be organised in the same way as among the food-gatherers but educational facilities should be further elaborated. Besides primary education there should be arrangement for imparting vocational education to the children of the pastorals. Training in the dairying processes and care of the cattle should form a part of this education. Promising students of these schools may be sent to higher institutions for further specialised training with stipends and scholarships. Thus among pastoral nomads too our work should mainly proceed through the three channels indicated above. Social, political and religious movements may be started but need not be emphasised till the people are thoroughly settled and their economic life established on a sound footing.

**Class II. The shifting cultivators of the hill-slopes**

In this category we have the best specimens of Indian tribal life. They are a vigorous set of people —healthy both in body and mind. Our attempt here should be to preserve as much of this vigour as possible. They must be given the amenities of civilised life without disturbing the better elements of their culture. Our problem here is how to transfer this group from the second to the fifth category, skipping over the third and fourth ones. It is not an easy task to achieve.

The basic economy of this category of tribals is shifting cultivation. But shifting cultivation has been rightly denounced by agricultural and forestry experts as extremely harmful to the land on the slopes of the hills and to the country as a whole. It has also been dubbed as a very wasteful method of cultivation. It leads to denudation, erosion, and dessication. It affects the rainfall of the surrounding territory and causes flood in the plains. As a result there is a move in the Government level to stop this type of cultivation altogether and remove the shifting cultivators to the plains and settle them on permanently cultivable land. In the Tribal Welfare Conference held in November 1953 this point was thoroughly discussed by several members. The solution suggested by the agricultural and forestry experts involves the following three questions :—

(1) Whether each State has sufficient land in the plains to settle its shifting cultivators or not.

(2) Whether it will lead to any serious maladjustment in the life of the people concerned or not, and

(3) Whether any alternative solution is available or not.

Shri R. V. Subrahmanian, the then Secretary to the Government of Assam, Tribal Areas Department, stated that there was sufficient land in Assam to settle the shifting cultivators in the plains. But he did not try to answer the other two questions. On the other hand an important Garo member of the Garo Hills District Council stated that his people had been demanding land in the plains and were ready to come down and adopt permanent cultivation but the Government had not, uptill then, been able to satisfy their demands.

The Government of Orissa had also adoped the policy of removal of the shifting cultivators to the plains and had started experimental stations. Dr. N. Datta-Majumdar, the then Secretary, Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa who had personal experience of running such stations in that State spoke in the Lohardaga Tribal Welfare Conference against hasty promulgation of the policy on ground of maladjustments which in one case, at least, according to him, led to the abandonment of the station by its occupants who preferred their former life and went back to the hills.

Our personal opinion in this respect is that shifting cultivation should not be stopped with undue haste, as we believe that all the States burdened with such population have not enough land in the plains to settle them. Moreover, there are other objections to such wholesale removal, particularly the human aspect of adjustment and provision for labour to work in the forests in connection with lumbering and collection of minor forest products. On the other hand, we may try to fight the evils of shifting cultivation by (1) restricting the area of such cultivation to places where the gradient is not very steep i.e. less than 45 degrees, (2) compelling the cultivators to plant and protect such trees in the area of cultivation which will grow quickly e.g. wattle and provide the vegetation blanket so important in preserving its soil and moisture and (3) inducing the shifting cultivators to grow orchards so that the evils of denudation and its necessary consequences will be stopped and a permanent source of income established. If these measures do not succeed then the question of removal to the plains might be discussed and the availability of sufficient land in the plains enquired into. Thirteen years back in our monograph on the Purums of Manipur we pointed out the difficulties of adopting the policy of shifting the shifting cultivators and suggested these alternative methods (T.C. Das - The Purums. An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur, 1945 pp. 286-290).

Shifting cultivation is sufficient to maintain those who practise it above wants, provided they are industrious. But it is not enough to keep them in a moderately comfortable standard. For the latter, supplementary income is necessary. We would recommend the introduction of a few varieties of cottage industry for this purpose. Weaving is generally practised by the women among Assam tribes. Improved looms, improved designs, and fast colours may help in the growth of this industry. In the plains of Assam there is extensive cultivation of Eri and Muga silkworms and of weaving of fabrics out of their products. This may be introduced in the

hills too. In Chota Nagpur tusser cocoons are reared by the tribals but reeling and weaving are not in their hands. Cultivation of lac may be easily introduced among the shifting cultivators of Assam as we find in Chota Nagpur. In many of these hills suitable timber is available for manufacture of furniture toys, bobbins for mills etc. Carpentry, may, therefore, be taken up as a cottage industry. Other suitable cottage industries for such areas are canework, basketry, manufacture of umbrella handles and bee-keeping.

To foster the growth of these cottage industries, arrangement should be made for marketing the products. Raw materials are locally available but the markets for the finished goods are in the plains. Transport is a dfficult problem where the State should come in. Construction of roads is necessary to facilitate movement of goods from hills to plains and vice versa. Cooperative societies should be formed for this purpose with the support of the State, at least in the initial stage. Thus, shifting cultivation supplemented by cottage industries may raise the standard of living of the shifting cultivators without disturbing their present environmental adjustments. This should constitute our economic programme in the shifting cultivation areas.

Our educational programme for the shifting cultivation areas should be mainly drawn up in support of the cottage industries which we intend to encourage in the area. Besides Basic Schools we should have a number of schools with industrial bias. Training in the different cottage industries is to be organised in them. Secondary schools also should be started in a larger number and scholarships and stipends should be provided for higher education and technical and professional education. A serious attempt should be made here to teach the regional language to the people in a planned manner so that in course of next ten years every one will be able to read and speak this language. Primary education however should be imparted through the mother tongue but even in its upper forms the regional language should be introduced as a second language so that the children who will go over to the Secondary School may not meet with any difficulty in following the lessons usually imparted in the regional language. The regional script should be followed in primary schools but in the secondary stage Roman script should be added. Teachers of primary schools should be recruited, as far as possible, from among the tribals themselves. In the Secondary stage, though it is desirable, we need not insist on this aspect. The village school teacher should act as the source for dissemination of all new ideas and ideals. This would necessitate establishment of a special type of Teachers' Training School. This is the outline of our educational programme for the shifting cultivators.

Coming to medical relief the plan which has been recommended for the pastoral people may be utilised here as well. We should here try to attract tribal women for training in nursing and midwifery so that they may go amongst their own people and serve in the local hospitals.

The political organisations of the shifting cultivators should be preserved and utilised, as far as possible, for village administration. The establishment of District Councils is a move in the right direction. Between the village and the District, intermediate administrative units may be organised to train people to think in terms of bigger units. As a result of the establishment of suzerain authority the village chiefs and village elders have lost their position in popular mind. The Village Council of Elders in many areas has lost its functions with the cessation of interval or inter-village hostilities. Establishment of our courts have deprived them of the residue of their previous powers. They are now mere shadows of their former selves. This position should be changed. The village chiefs and village elders should be given some real function and power in the administration of the village and other local units. This would help to reinstate them in their former glory, though not in full, yet in part at least. The ordinary people will find something to aspire after and life will become worth living again.

We should not try to bring about any change in their social organisation and religious beliefs and practices at this stage. It should be left entirely to the tribals themselves. Through education and contact new ideas will surely permeate tribal mind and gradually break down the cruder elements of religion and the unethical parts of social organisation. Absolute non-interference should be our policy in these two respects. On the other hand, encouragement should be given to the colourful festivities with dancing and singing.

This is in short our programme for assimilation of the tribals of second category. Here we mainly depend upon the educational approach for the assimilation of these tribals.

### Class III. Plough-cultivators of the contact areas on low plateaux and at the foot of hills.

The tribals of the third category are permanently settled subsistence-agriculturists. Lack of sufficient cultivable land is the main economic problem of this group. This has been caused by over-population on the one hand and grabbing of tribal land by non-tribals settled in the area on the other. The tribals of this area have, as a rule, uneconomic holdings and the non-tribals generally possess bigger farms cultivated with tribal labour. The result is that a large number of tribals of this area have turned out labourers who either work as agricultural labourers in their own or neighbouring villages or go to industrial areas or forests in search of jobs. At the end of harvesting operations each year a large number of men and women leave their homes for a few months to earn some money to supplement their meagre income from land. The solution of the economic problem of this area entails

(1) provision for more land by bringing under cultivation hitherto uncultivated land,

(2) arrangement for irrigation or drainage to open up new lands,

(3) equitable distribution of cultivable land,

(4) introduction of suitable cottage industries with facilities for marketting,

(5) increase in crop out-turn by introduction of scientific methods of agriculture and agricultural training,

(6) setting up of machine industries, where absolutely necessary, as a last resort, to absorb the surplus population from agriculture and

(7) legislation to stop acquirement of land by non-tribals. These are some of the means to solve the main economic problem of the third category of tribals.

This group has already absorbed a considerable number of cultural traits of modern life. In comparison with the first two classes of tribals, this one has made considerable advance in modern education. They have already given up either completely or partially their own traditional system of education. They have realised the value of modern education and there is an eager desire on the part of parents to send their children to schools and colleges. Tribal boys and girls earn their own livelihood at an early age. They render substantial help to their parents in their agricultural operations. In spite of this the parents willingly undergo loss of their children's labour and send them to schools and colleges. The parents not only lose the earnings of their children but also have to pay for their education. But urge for education in this group is so great that these losses are not heeded. They have understood that expenditure on education is really a profitable investment for the future. This tempo has to be maintained and the urge satisfied. This will, in a short time, change the whole aspect of their life. But there is one important point to be remembered in this connection. Their motive for this education is to secure service, if possible Government service. I have asked scores of tribal boys living in Adibashi Hostels of Chota Nagpur about the aims of their life and have invariably received the same reply. Government service is the ultimate goal of their education. If this be not available, then service in some private firms but always service. None expressed any desire to go back to their own farms equipped with scientific knowledge about agriculture. None thought of going to business or professions. It is a dangerous run towards unproductive education. They have been attracted to it by the examples of their advanced neighbours. They regard this sort of education to be a short-cut to success. They hold the high-caste Hindu gentry as their model and they are trying to imitate them. Unfortunately, the tribals do not realise the fact that their models are trying their utmost to give up the very same thing after which the tribals are running. They must be disillusioned and it can be done only by selfless missionaries. I do not mean missionaries who go amongst them for proselytization but those who are ready to devote their life to the true service to humanity. No one else, I believe, can convince them about the futility of this unproductive education, the lure of which have overpowered their imagination. One day of course, they will realise their folly and recoil from it. But then it will be too late. Much good material will be lost; many hearts will be broken. The task of the missionary will be to avert this danger, and give them true and useful education—education which will be profitable to the individual and to the nation. The nature of this education

has to be settled in the wider perspective of national and individual needs.

The tribals of this category have partially realised the efficacy of modern medicine. The medicine-man and the medical man are both approached for treatment of diseases. The latter is gradually gaining ground and the day when the former will be completely ousted from the field is not far away. The ball has been set rolling and it will gather momentum as it proceeds onward. Our task here is to supply the men and materials and then wait and see. But there is a great scope for building up a consciousness about public sanitation and personal hygiene.

The social organisation is breaking down. The nuclear family of the old days is giving place to the joint or extended family. The clan still regulates marriage but not sexual life. Inter-tribal and intra-clan marriage now often go unpunished. These changes need not disturb us. They are the effects of modern education which have imported new ideas and new ideals. But there is one development in this group which is causing anxiety. There are indications of the growth of castes among the tribals on class lines. Holders of official positions, affluent farmers and followers of Hindu religion are claiming a higher status in society and have started marrying within their own group. Side by side with this connubium there is also a tendency to commensality. True education is expected to eradicate this tendency.

## CONCLUSION

We have tried to indicate the lines of approach for the first three categories of our tribals. The remaining two have already lost the distinctive tribal pattern. They have absorbed sufficient modern traits which preclude all special treatment for them. We, therefore, do not take into consideration their cases. Measures for their benefit should be of the same order as might be prescribed for their neighbours.

In our previous paper read at the Koraput Conference we classified the tribals into five categories. In the present paper we have suggested the approaches for assimilating the first three of them. We regard economic approach to be the most important and fundamental one. Money provides necessities and comforts and raises the standard of living. With accumulation of wealth new needs are created and to satisfy them new articles are introduced. This is true of every department of life. Therefore if we can put more money into the pockets of the tribals they will absorb more elements of modern civilisation. Economic approach is meant to create more wants in the country and society.

Steeped in ignorance for ages the tribals need education most. His traditional system is unsuited to the modern times. He must know the new ways of life and how to meet its requirements. The economic approach may bring in money to him but its proper utilisation depends on education. Education is, therefore, necessary both for earning and for spending. It also makes him conscious of his duties and responsibilities to his family, to his neighbours and to his country. Educational

approach, thus, makes him fit for participation in modern life.

Medical relief is also an important approach for modernising the tribals. It destroys the belief in spirit-basis of disease and death and thereby liquidates to a considerable extent the hold of superstitious beliefs. Concepts of magic and evil spirits disappear with the realisation of the efficacy of modern medicine and surgery. The people are released from the grip of an overwhelming fear of the supernatural. Primitive religion receives a rude shock which it can hardly survive. Medical approach, thus, relieves us from the necessity of a direct attack on the religion of the tribals which has a deep root in their mind.

Above all the other approaches is the missionary approach. This is the approach of love to humanity and service to the afflicted. This was the approach of the Buddha, of Chaitanya, of Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi. They have set the ideal for the missionaries of all countries and faiths. If our social workers go to the tribals with the message ot love and sympathy and lead amongst them a life of dedication, they may work wonders by examples of their life. They will be able to disseminate true culture and thereby bring about changes which no other approach can dream of.

## THE MALAPPANTARAM ON THE PATH OF PROGRESS

by

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A small group of people known as the Malappantaram inhabits the forest areas of the Western Ghats, namely the Shencottah, the Koni, The Mani Mala Ranges. The Achencoil river, the Mukkadavu stream and the Pampa river pass through the territory occupied by the group. Till a few years ago they were considered as a nomadic group in the hunting and food collecting stage.

L.K. Iyer in his 'Travancore Tribes and Castes' (1939) says "they are a nomadic tribe and are found in regions where lack of competition gives them greater freedom and more room for movement. They are one of the least modified tribes of the Pre-Dravidian race".

The writer was a member of the field parties deputed by the Department of Anthropology in 1949 and 1953 to study the group. The party deputed in 1949 visited three settlements in the vicinity of Shencottah and Aryankavu villages and interviewed a small group at Achencoil.

The second party visited in 1953 the Malappantaram settlements at Anakoppam-Kannupally, Kottavasal, Ulkonam,*

Muthalathodu, Aruvikarathodu and Sanguvilamodu near Tura and Vellan modu near Neduvathumoli in Koni Range. Rorschach Projective Technique Tests were administered by the writer to 41 individuals (26 males and 15 females) during her visit to the settlements in 1953. What interested the writer was the tremendous change in the mental and social attitudes of the group which she had occasion to examine closely during the two visits in 1949 and 1953.

In 1949, the members of the department had to wade across the Kaluthurutty river near Aryankavu to contact a straggling group of four Malappantaram families who had made their home under a projective ledge of rock. Their material possessions consisted of a few earthen pots and old tins. Each family was found to have its own hearth and sleeping place in the rocky shelter. A medicine man was performing a rite for curing the ailment of one of the members of the group. At Kannupally and Aryankavu, the wandering bands had to be brought down to Kannupally village (Shencottah) and Aryankavu to be interviewed by the members of the Department. What struck the writer was the extraordinary resemblance of the Malappantaram to the lower caste groups of Tinnevelley District in both appearance and dress. They talked a patois of Tamil and while working with the writer most of them expressed their ideas in clear lucid Tamil with an intonation characteristic of Tinnevelley region.

In 1953, a surprise awaited the writer. When she enquired about the Kaluthurutty group interviewed in 1949, she was informed that the small band had been allotted a bit of land in the Reserve forest in Ulkonam, on the right bank of the stream. She visited the Ulkonam settlement. There were five families living in the area. The structure of the little hamlet was similar to that of other tribal settlements in the region with 'pukka' huts. There was a cleanly swept plot where the members of the department could sit and work. Men were vociferous in their demands of more amenities.

Sufficiently large plots in the forest had been cleared by individual families to grow tapioca. She was also informed that they grow one crop of hill paddy, the yield being sufficient for about 2 months in a year. During lean periods, men and women collect firewood from the forest under a licence granted by the Forest Department and sell it in the neighbouring villages. Each head load fetches about twelve annas to one rupee. The land surrounding the homesteads was utilized for growing bananas, papaya, guava trees and yams. The children of the settlement trek four miles across the railway line down to Aryankavu village to attend the primary school there. Though they talk Tamil at home, they learn the three R's. in Malayalam, the regional language.

The next surprise was at Kannupally. Instead of having to collect the wanderers as was done in 1949, the writer found them in a new hamlet which they had founded and called Anakoppam. Here a strange sight met the vision. Coconut and arecanut palms were coming up all round the homesteads. The visitors were entertained with green coconuts and guava fruits. The huts were well-built

and there was a council house which was also used as a guest house. Among them were a few old friends whom the writer had met in 1949. The group had gained the poise and balance generally observed in other settled tribal groups.

The third group at Muthalathodu, Achencoil, presented a similar picture. 'Lean-to' type of shelters described by previous writers was rare. They could be found only in one settlement near Achencoil, where one family consisting of an old blind woman and her son with his wife in child-bed was residing. The old woman was lodged in a separate lean-to. In all the other places the huts were well built with bamboo, and thatched with grass. Brass and aluminium utensils had taken the place of earthen pots.

Another interesting settlement was Vellanmodu situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Neduvathumoli in Koni Range. The settlement was fairly large with 8 huts and a spacious council house. The headman of the settlement informed the writer that they had been living on that site for more than fifteen years. The children were attending a Malayalam School in the neighbourhood. They could not afford paper and pencil for writing. They were using dried palm leaves to write on with a sharp iron pin (style) for the pencil. The writer was told that many of the primary schools situated in the interior practised this age-old method. There were small plots of land under permanent paddy cultivation. The settlement is coterminous with the area under the Grow More Food campaign in the district. The settlements of Sattanmodu-Tura and Muthalathodu, Sanguvilamodu and Aruvikarathodu near Achencoil were of recent growth, not more than 10 years old.

The rapid change that is taking place in the mode of living of the Malappantaram is of great importance. Earlier studies of the group (Census Report 1931, and L.K. Iyer's 1939) show that the group lacked many of the characteristics of a tribe, having no organized social life. Many of the informants told the writer that their forefathers immigrated to the forest areas adjacent to Tinnevelley district during the famine of 1877. Their number according to the Census Report of 1901 was a very insignificant figure being 51. It was 186 in 1941.

Economic incentives seem to have served as an impetus for bringing about remarkable changes in the group's mode of living. Instead of wandering about in search of edible roots, the small bands have settled down to produce tapioca which is easy to grow. They also keep on to their subsidiary occupation of collecting minor forest produce such as *damar*, honey, wax and ginger which they sell to the Forest contractors. Deficit in the family budget is made up by the sale of fire-wood collected in the forest.

Corresponding changes have taken place in the type of the dwellings. 'Leanto's have been replaced by huts built on the pattern prevailing in the area. In Kerala simple tools such as a bill-hook, a pick-axe, and spade and the necessary will to produce food are sufficient to enable a man to put up his

shelter and raise tapioca. No large investment or energy is needed for them. So, these tiny groups of nomadic hunters could settle down easily not only without any obvious maladjustment but with avidity and enthusiasm.

The ease and rapidity with which the group has reacted to the changing conditions sets one thinking. That the group is reacting favourably to the settled mode of life is proved beyond doubt by the foregoing examples. The changing mode seems to have left no deleterious effect on the social life of the tribe. They had no clan organization. They practised cross-cousin marriage. They had no organized religious system which could act as a cohesive force in keeping the different bands together. The group seems to have realized that it had nothing to lose by adapting to a settled mode of life. The 'wandering spirit' in them could still find an outlet in their subsidiary occupation of collecting minor forest produce.

The settlement of the Malappantaram is illustrative of the fact that the process of integration of small groups with larger communities can be smooth and not disruptive, if there is adequate cooperation between the political authorities and the group concerned. In the course of the last decade the group had gained the confidence that its woes and weals are matters of concern to the authorities. The officers including petty forest officials have also reacted fittingly to the changing attitude in the country by extending their help unstintingly with sympathy and understanding. The group is absolutely sure that no one can deprive it of its food and that it can enjoy the fruits of its labour.

It is easy for the weakly structured group to react favourably to changes which integrate rather than disintegrate its group life. There may be many such small groups in the country which need the helping hand of the social scientist and the Government to give them stability and security. The results achieved in the adjustment and integration of the Malappantaram of Kerala and other groups similarly advancing will, it is believed, be an impetus to the rapid extension of the spirit of co-operation and sympathy in bettering the condition of many more tribal groups which have the potentiality to tread the path of progress and lay their role as integrated units of the great Indian population.

# SOME TRENDS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES AMONG THE ORAONS

by

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This paper seeks to describe some of the changes which have taken place in the traditional social system of the Oraon community. The development is not unique; it is one example of a situation that is found in all parts of the world, which results when a relatively simple peasant economy or tribal economy is brought into contact with the modern world.

**The traditional social organization**

In the traditional Oraon society the largest political unit was the tribe. A tribe was divided into a number of territorial segments (*parhas*). These were divided into a number of villages, which constituted the smallest political units.

Each clan was associated with one *parha*, (a tribal section) in which it constituted the aristocratic nucleus. A *parha* comprised a number of villages. The number varied from *parha* to *parha*. Each *parha* had a distinct name, but generally they were called by a number. Each *parha* had its particular territory where it owned and defended its agricultural land, village sites forest tracts, grazing lands. water-sources and fishing pools.

A village was associated with a lineage, the *bhuinhari khunt*. The *bhuninhari khunt* formed the aristocratic nucleus, and the stranger lineages, the *gairos* clustered round these agnatic groups. These stranger lineages were identified with the aristocratic lineages even though the members of the aristocratic lineages comprised a small proportion of the community.

The ownership of the farm land in each village was vested in the *bhuinhari khunt* which was sub-divided into lineage segments and the ancestral land was apportioned among the segments, each segment having the exclusive and permanent ownership of its portion. Thus the land was held jointly by each segment of the *bhuinhari khunt* under the control of its head. The lineage heads were the custodians of the land and could not sell the land. The remaining *bhuinhari* lands were the public lands which included the service holdings, the uncultivated land, and the forest tracts within the village boundary. These remained as the common property of the whole village. Portions of this public land were set apart for various purposes such as :

(*a*) *Service holdings* :—

*Majhas* or royal land *i.e.* land set aside for the *parha* chief. *Pahani* land *i.e.* land assigned to the village *pahan* or *naigas* (the village priest) for the performance of his religious duties.

*Mahtoi* land *i.e*. service land allotted to the village headman for has support.

*Panbhara land i.e.* land set apart for the *Pahan's* assistant, for carrying water on ceremonial occasions and for assisting the *pahan* during sacrificial rites.

Small allotments were also made for the support of the village servants, herdsmen, musicians, and artisans *viz.* the potters, the weavers and the blacksmiths.

These public lands were not resumable by the *non-bhuinhari* people so long a single member of the *bhuinhari khunt* remained in the village.

(*b*) *Land for the village gods :*

*Khunt bhutkheta* land *i.e.* land dedicated to the worship of the lineage gods. Each *khunt* had its separate *khunt bhutkheta.* The *gairos* (stranger lineage) had *gairo bhutkheta* lands. These lands were cultivated by a member of the respective *khunt* who devoted himself to the propitiation of the lineage gods.

Public *bhutkheta i.e.* land set aside for the worship of the village gods *viz.* Gaon deota *bhutkheta* and district gods (*desauli bhutkheta*). This land is cultivated by the *pahan* because it is his special duty to sacrifice to the village gods.

*Dalikatari* land *i.e.* land reserved for the earth-goddess, who was the deity of the whole nation and whose sacred symbol was the snake.

*Andher bhutkheta i.e.* fields devoted to particular spirits who are invoked by the ojha, the witch doctor, when the village is visited by epidemics.

According to the traditional system, people paid no regular revenue to tribal chief, but used to give him offerings of grain on ceremonial occasions. The Raja had no special remuneration beyond his service holdings of *majhas* land.

Chotanagpur tribes lived in relative isolation and security until sixteenth century. In 1585 during Akbar's reign Shahbaz Khan sent a detachment to Khukra and the Raja of Chotanagpur was made a Malguzar or tributary. As a result of external conquest the tribal chief became tributary to a wider empire. The alien government claiming itself to be the legal owner of the soil collected revenue from the peasants through the revenue farmers. The Muslim rulers thus introduced a new revenue administration in Chotanagpur and with it came a change in the fundamental notion of the chief's power in relation to land. The appointment of the Raja as a revenue farmer gave him considerable political power over his chieftains. With increasing political power, the Raja acquired economic rights over the land. The council of clan elders (*parha panchayat*) and the village panchayat was superseded by the council of the Raja, composed of his followers and companions. To maintain his administrative staff the Raja made gifts to his followers. This has led to the breakdown of the traditional *bhuinhari* system of land tenure. The creation of zamindars has resulted in the conversion of the *bhuinhar* proprietors to tenants. Rent-receiving middlemen further reduced the cultivators to landless labourers. Finally, with the establishment of courts and the appointment of numerous administrative officers the powers of the village panchayat were to some extent transferred to the administrative courts. In general the economic life of the

tribesmen, already near to the margin of subsistence was made even more difficult by having to support a large number of landlords of one kind or another. Rebellions and disorder from time to time brought to the notice of the Government the 'tribal problem' and some efforts were made to protect the tribes from exploitation, but these efforts were half-hearted.

In the previous paragraph I have described how contact with outside world and modern economic and political developments have brought many changes. I shall now discuss how far these changes have affected the life of the Oraons.

## Agriculture

In the traditional system, agriculture was the basis of the Oraon livelihood and occupations such as hunting, fishing, and cattle rearing and crafts were subsidiary to agriculture. Successful farming means sufficiency of food, and other things being equal, good health and increase of population. A good harvest is followed by ceremonies and rejoicing. If the harvest is poor, there is anxiety and fear.

Agriculture today is still the basis of economy, in the sense that it is still the chief means for subsistence. Nevertheless agriculture today differs from that of a century ago. Numerous factors are responsible for this difference. The increasing number of colonists into Chotanagpur has resulted in the reduction of land. The new administration completely ignored the traditional system of land tenure and elevated private rights. The land became the private property of the revenue farmers and zamindars and not of the people. As holders of land the zamindars began to lease or sell lands to the outsiders. Thus loss of land, growth of population, and growth by immigration, the exactions of the zamindars and money lenders, need for cash and so forth have led to the dispersal of the *bhuinhari* lineages. These are found scattered in other districts of Bihar, as well as in the neighbouring districts of Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

A largely increased population has caused pressure on the soil. Since the paddy-land is limited the peasants cannot devote themselves entirely to the raising of paddy crop and some of them had to participate in the new commercial economy in order to support themselves. Many have taken to market gardening and produce a good deal of vegetables in their *bari* lands all the year round. A considerable amount of lac and oilseeds are also produced for export. The development of communications has not only facilitated trade but has also made mining centres and industrial cities easily accessible from any part of Chotanagpur. Every year after the harvest, two thirds of the male population from each village migrate for six months to the cities, mines or to the tea-gardens of Assam. The educated members have permanently migrated to the towns. They work in offices, schools, hospitals, missions or as labourers.

Thus under the modern conditions a village is no longer a self-contained unit, but has a great deal of economic transaction outside the village. Though the distribution of the resources of village

agriculture has been changed, the integrity of the system of paddy-cultivation, its antiquity, its separation from elements of modern economy are still preserved in the new economy. This is demonstrated by a high degree of ritualization and by the strict control of the village panchayat over men and their agricultural activities. There is no rite or festival in the village which is without agricultural implications. Numerous rites and ceremonies must be performed by the cultivator to ensure protection and fertility of his fields. No one may cut paddy until the day appointed for the first-fruit ceremony (*Nawakhani*), when everyone must eat at least a token amount of the new crop. In this way the system of cultivation and its attendant rites and observations have been preserved in the new economy.

**Village Panchayat and the Parha Panchayat.**

In the traditional system the village panchayat was a powerful body and by reason of its economic and political power it had administrative rights over all the lineages, *bhuinhari*, *gairo* and serving castes. The panchayat was responsible for the economic security, for the maintenance of peace and order within the village, for settling civil and criminal cases and for good relations with other villages and clans, and with the gods. Cases of incest and inter-village disputes were referred to the *parha* panchayat. With the creation of landlords the economic and the administrative powers of the panchayat were transferred to the Government. The establishment of civil and criminal courts and of the Police further led to the decline of judicial power of the village panchayat. The super-imposition of landlordism on the *bhuinhari* system and the introduction of a rent system have greatly affected the notion of ownership of property and thereby the whole constitution of the village. There developed an individualistic concept of property and joint family holdings broke up. I shall discuss this later.

All these changes have an obvious effect on village unity. The dispersal of *bhuinhari* lineages and the influx of new comers have led to the heterogeneous clan composition of a *bhuinhari* village. This means the lineages within a village lack kinship ties with one another and feel less obliged to submit to the authority of the village panchayat. New occupations have converted many young people into temporary or permanent wage-earners outside the village. These people, when they return, do not defer to the village elders, and the panchayat cannot enforce its decisions on them.

However in spite of its weakening, the traditional panchayat still performs some functions of social control. Disputes are heard within the village before they go to court. The parties concerned may or may not accept the panchayat's decision and the panchayat has no power to enforce it. Those who are not satisfied with its decision and have enough money may go to the courts. But the people in the villages say they seldom go against the decision of the traditional panchayat. Thus despite changes, the panchayat has continued to exist. It still commands its traditional sanctity

and is entrusted with administrative and judicial work. Petty disputes between the families are either settled by lineage heads or may be referred to the traditional panchayat. The panchayat still maintains peace and order and protects its people from external dangers.

Even religious faith has brought little change in the traditional panchayat. Both the Christian and the non-Christian members of the lineages are represented on it. All the members of the panchayat have an equal role to play, whatever be their religion.

### The Administration and the villages

The village and the administration are closely linked with each other and to describe the social structure of a village at the present day without reference to the administration would result in distortion. Yet the link between the villages and the administration is weak. Continued failure of the Government to safeguard the interests of the tribesmen has shaken their faith in the Administration. The villagers look upon the Administration as unsympathetic, ignorant of the wants of the common man, and extremely powerful. The Government is spending large sums of money on welfare activities, yet the suspicions of the villagers persist inspite of these benevolent schemes. The monetary loan does not even create affection or sentiments of loyalty towards the institutions which have provided it, the reason being that no ties have been created between the Administration and the villages. This is the reason why the autonomy of the village in the internal affairs is preserved in the face of the Administration. The Administration does not try to break down the village ties or to destroy the autonomy of the village.

It is only recently that Government panchayats have begun to function in Chotanagpur. Though the modern Gram panchayats have been given tremendous administrative power over the village community, in practice they have achieved little. Lack of education, lack of spirit, lack of proper guidance and funds, the self-interest of the members, village intrigues, autocratic behaviour and the misuse of power account for their failure. The village community has been for so long deprived of participation in local government that the tribesmen do not feel that the Government panchayats are theirs. The tribal representatives seem to share in the general apathy and do not play an important role on the Government panchayat.

### Dhumkuria and education

In the traditional system, education is imparted by the *dhumkuria*, at the period of transition from childhood to adult life. Both the boys and the girls have to pass through various rites and undergo tests before they are granted adult status. For this purpose they are required to sleep in their respective *dhumkurias* and thus are separated from their family. Instructions are given by the older members of the *dhumkuria* in folklore, traditions, magical beliefs and practices, moral code, sexual instruction, dancing and communal activities. Through these they aim to create group solidarity, self-discipline, obedience and respect to the elders, and readiness for mutual help.

The indigenous system is designed to train a child for group life, and consequently attention is focussed on the group rather than the individual. An individual is expected to become exactly like the rest, and he must conform to customary rules.

The modern system of education has a wide scope for personal development. Under the changing circumstances the tribesmen eagerly desire education which will enable them to fit into the modern world. But the system of primary education which is the only type provided to the village community does not help them to fit into new surroundings or to improve their economic condition. Few villagers can afford to send their children to secondary schools, which are few in number and often at a great distance. It is only in the urban areas that the facilities for higher education are provided. A few students go for higher studies, but only a very small number have reached University level, as most parents are too poor to bear the cost of University education in the towns. It is only since the war that colleges have been opened in Ranchi and in a few other towns of Chotanagpur. Today Government is spending considerable amount of money on the education of the tribal people, and more tribals now avail themselves of the opportunity. But due to lack of proper guidance, many tribal children are preparing for unskilled occupations rather than entering the professions and skilled trades. There are few doctors, engineers or businessmen. If the tribesmen are to play a fuller part in the national life, it is necessary that they should concentrate more on skilled occupations.

### Modern kinship

A joint family still remains the ideal pattern of domestic organization. The father pays the tax of his sons and is responsible for providing tools, seed, manure and directing agricultural activities. The sons also take subsidiary occupations in order to clothe themselves and their children and purchase what they need. The father is responsible for the family's food, but he often receives help from his sons. The sons and their wives get their meals from a common pot. On the father's death, if the joint family continues, the elder brother takes over as its head. The brothers may continue to farm together, until such time as they decide to partition.

Despite the prestige of the joint family, there are numerous factors which render its permanence unlikely under the modern conditions. The need for cash, the increase in population, easy communications and the scope for new occupations have increased mobility from the village to the town. Consequently lineage is becoming increasingly heterogeneous in occupation and wealth. Disparity of income, education and religious affiliations necessarily create tension within a family. Joint families disintegrate and elementary families emerge as the domestic unit.

The scattering of lineages, the influx of newcomers, and religious changes have weakened the lineage ties and the unity of whole village. The scattered lineages cannot maintain relations, and the lineages belonging to different clans

lack patrilineal ties with the rest of the village. The lineages are not obliged to submit to the authority of the traditional panchayat, nor to co-operate economically and ritually. Yet these changes have paradoxically helped to maintain solidarity more than seems possible. The village people still continue to believe in institutional rules associated with the lineage and make an attempt to maintain lineage relationship under difficult conditions. The forces (rapid communications, good roads, and buses), which have effected in dispersal of lineages, have also made it possible for the scattered kinsmen to maintain contact even at a distance. *Yar* and *Sangi* friendships between the members of two families belonging to different clans are still made. Thus fictitious patrilineal ties are extended to different lineages and the whole village becomes an exogamous unit. These alliances are more important today as they bind in the immigrant stranger lineages by kinship ties.

With the disintegration of the lineages the village is becoming more an aggregation of elementary families. These may appear to be independent units but they are not. Decreasing size has deprived the family of its required labour, and today an average individual family is barely above subsistence level and cannot afford to pay for labour. Hence there is much co-operation in labour and sharing of food among the kinsmen. Help is given by kinsmen. For instance, *ropa* (transplantation), the building of a house, thatching, weeding, and so forth are carried out with the help of close kinsmen, both Christian and non-Christian. The relatives are given rice-beer and food. Such help is known as *madad*. When the kinsmen cannot help, neighbours are invited. If a man urgently requires labour to do a particular piece of work, he may secure *pachcha* service from the young men and women of the village *dhumkuria*.

The Christian Oraons on conversion may develop a feeling of exclusiveness towards their non-Christian kinsmen, and may at times neglect their duties towards them. But they consider it an obligation to help their non-Christian kinsmen. With education they are more conversant with the law and advise their illiterate kinsmen in legal matters. They co-operate and participate in all ceremonies and feasts, (except in religious worship) such as at births, marriages, and deaths. When a girl is married, the bride-wealth is distributed to both the paternal and maternal kinsmen according to their code of rights, irrespective of their religious affiliations.

The unity and solidarity of the village was formerly expressed at the annual jatra festivals and in various communal activities. These festivals and ceremonials continue to be performed by the non-Christian Oraons. They organize hunting excursions, *phagu sendra* (held in March), and *koha sendra* (the great hunt held in April), in which both the non-Christian and Christian Oraons participate. Special offerings are made to the goddess Chandi by the members of the non-Christian *dhumkuria* before they start. Every year the *parha jatra* festival is held. This is the annual meeting of the neighbouring *parhas*, when

the outstanding disputes between the clans are settled by the *parha* panchayat. It is a great occasion for all the neighbouring villages, when all the *bhuinhars* who have been separated from the ancestor villages, as well as other kinsmen and friends are invited to celebrate the occasion. Sarat Chandra Roy has written, 'In fact the Jatra of old would seem to have been the great social congress of the Oraons, the first and the last attempt to secure and maintain solidarity of the tribe'. Under the changing circumstances it is an attempt to re-establish the lost clan solidarity, and it cuts across the division between Christian and non-Christian Oraons.

The rules of clan exogamy are strictly observed. So also are the rules of village exogamy. The village panchayat was till recently the principal administrative, executive, and judicial institution of the village, and has worked to maintain smooth relationship between the lineages as well as between them and the alien immigrants.

To sum up the modern changes are : the economy has changed and with it the structure of the community ; the *bhuinhari* lineages are no longer land-holding groups ; the authority of the traditional panchayat has declined ; the Goverment panchayat has been established; the nuclear family has emerged as the domestic unit. All these changes which have taken place are not the result of one factor or other, so much as part of a general process by which the village has been incorporated into the modern world.

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## SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND RELIGION AMONG THE SAURIA PAHARIYA OF RAJ-MAHAL DAMIN (SANTAL PARGANAS)

by

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The population of the Pahariyas, who inhabit the district of Santal Parganas in Bihar has been shown as 97, 328[1] and 1,07,764[2] in the two censuses of 1931 and 1941 respectively. They are divided into three sections, viz, the Sauria (Maler) the Mal and the Kumar or Kumarbhag. The latter has not been included in the list of Scheduled tribes. Of these the Sauria are the most primitive. They are scattered in all the sub-divisions of Santal Parganas, but their major concentration is in the Rajmahal sub-division. A scheme for systematic survey of the tribe was drawn up by me under the instructions of Dr. B.S. Guha, the Director. The investigations were carried out by a field party comprising of myself and Sri Hari Mohan, the Research Assistant, from December, 1956 to March, 1957. In all, the investigations were carried out in ten villages of Raj Mahal Damin (S.P.) covering the social and economic life of the tribe. Here in this paper an attempt has been made to give the outline of Social Organisation and Religion of the tribe.

1. Lacey, W.G.—Bihar & Orissa Census Report 1931 (1932) Vol. VII, Part II, Tables XVIII, Pp. 151-59.
2. Archer, W.G.—Census of India-1941 (1942) Tables, Vol. VII. Bihar Pp. 63-86.

**Family** :—From the study of the social life of the Sauria Pahariya of Raj Mahal, it has been found that the family among them is a biological one, which is also called elementary, comprising the husband, the wife and their unmarried children. Married sons and daughters form separate households after their marriage and are given different and distinct social position in the Sauria society. The genealogies of the families of the Sauria Pahariya of the ten villages under survey present four types of family structure found among them. These are as follws :—

(*i*) Family consisting of parents and unmarried and married children working together for common food under the same roof.

(*ii*) Family comprising parents and unmarried and married children working together for common food under the same roof.

(*iii*) Family consisting of married sons maintaining their separate entities and sharing separate houses, and

(*iv*) family consisting of parents and unmarried and married children working separately under the same roof.

| Name of the village | Total No. of Households | Types of Family | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. 1 | % | No. 2 | % | No. 3 | % | No. 4 | % |
| I. Jokmari | | | | | | | | | |
| (A) | 44 | 23 | 52·27 | 14 | 33·82 | 4 | 9·09 | 3 | 6·82 |
| (B) | 10 | 10 | 88·33 | 2 | 16·67 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| II. Kulbanga | 34 | 19 | 55·88 | 10 | 29·40 | 4 | 11·77 | 1 | 2·94 |
| III. Banchappa | | | | | | | | | |
| 'A & C' | 13 | 9 | 69·23 | 4 | 30·37 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 'B' | 8 | 2 | 25·00 | 4 | 50·00 | 2 | 25·00 | ... | ... |
| IV. Dhobni | 16 | 14 | 87·50 | 2 | 12·50 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| V. Matio | 15 | 10 | 66·67 | 5 | 33·33 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| VI. Baddarkola | 64 | 40 | 62·50 | 13 | 20·31 | 1 | 1·56 | 10 | 15·63 |
| VII. Khorwa | 41 | 23 | 56·10 | 15 | 36·59 | ... | ... | 3 | 7·31 |
| VIII. Orgori | 53 | 33 | 62·26 | 19 | 35·85 | ... | ... | 1 | 1·89 |
| IX. Dalwabara | 45 | 20 | 44·44 | 16 | 35·55 | ... | ... | 9 | 20·00 |
| X. Gumo Pahar | 47 | 19 | 40·43 | 19 | 40·43 | ... | ... | 9 | 19·14 |

From the foregoing table it will be seen that family type 1 comprising of parents and unmarried children forms the basis of Sauria social structure. Family type 2 comprising of parents and unmarried and married children sharing the same house and working together comes next. From the survey on the basis of genealogical tables it has been found out that monogamons type of families is the rule among the Sauria Pahariya of these villages. Polygyny which was the monopoly of the rich and the few, the chief or the headman has taken its root among all the Sauria Pahariya due to the advent of money economy in their life.

In Sauria life the passage of one stage into another is viewed with great concern as it is regarded as vulnerable to be easily wounded and injured by the denizens of spirits which abound the Sauria country. Hence all the important stages of a Sauria life *viz*, pregnancy, birth, marriage and death are considered by them susceptible to evil influences. As such the Sauria, like most of the tribes keep precautions during these so that the evil spirits which lie in wait for such occasions may not succeed in their machinations. The precautions which they take on these occasions are associated with different stages of Sauria life *viz*, pregnancy, birth, marriage and death.

**Marriage :**

The Sauria consider it important and necessary for an adult male to marry. Marriage is a necessity according to the Sauria to keep the family life going. Hence on reaching maturity, the father of the young man considers about getting a bride for his son. For doing this work for him, he engages two matchmakers named as 'Sittus' who negotiate and settle the match along with the articles and amount of bride-price. Usually, the 'Pon' and 'Bandi'—the bride-price in cash and kind respectively—vary from place to place. The usual old-custom of the amount of 'Pon' was Rs. 18/- only. But now-a-days it varies from Rs. 18/- to Rs. 50/- and more. In days gone by the usual custom was Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/-. Besides 'Pon', the bride-price in kind *i.e.* Bandi consists of rice, cloth, pulse, cooking oil, salt, spices and tobacco leaves and one mat and in some areas a chicken. The amount and quantity vary according to the means of the party. Besides, one pig is essentially given to the bride's people. Sometimes, the non-availability of enough money to pay the 'Pon' and 'Bandi' makes a youth unable to get a bride. In such circumstances, the would-be-bride-groom works in the house of the bride-elect to earn the bride-price. The value of bride-price is reduced in the case of second, third and subsequent marriages. Usually the 'Pon' in the second marriage ranges between Rs. 6/- to Rs. 13/- and during the third and subsequent marriage, its value in terms of bride-price is much reduced and sometimes a cloth to wear is the only bride-price paid.

Of the following four kinds of marriage the first one is the regular and the most prevalent type of marriage among them.

(i) Marriage by bride-price or marriage by purchase.

(ii) Marriage by exchange.

(*iii*) Marriage by service and

(*iv*) Marriage by adoption.

Besides the above kinds of marriage, two types of marriage *viz.*, *Levirate* and *Sororate* also occur among the Sauria Pahariya. These occur between the relations between whom joking relationship exists. The former takes place between a woman and her husband's younger brother after his death. In this marriage the younger brother does not pay any price as she is supposed to have already been purchased by his elder brother. The latter type occurs between a man and his wife's younger sister or sisters. The bride-price for this marriage is comparatively less.

Although marriage is a necessity in the Sauria Society, divorce has also become a matter of course. The following reasons make divorce possible.

(*i*) Incompatibility of temperament.

(*ii*) Absence of any issue.

(*iii*) Unfaithfulness on the part of the wife.

(*iv*) Laziness on the part of the woman.

Although divorce is most commonly resorted to for one of the first three reasons stated above, it is very rarely resorted to for the fourth *i.e.* laziness on the part of the woman.

It is a significant point to note that in contrast to the accounts given by previous writers, such as Bainbridge[3], my field inquiry revealed that divorce has been taken as a matter of course among them. But one has no scope for thinking otherwise of the very frequent divorces, as in their family life love and devotion, go un-diminished in full force till they are bound in the family bond.

To say that there is no widow in the Sauria society may not be exaggeration. The border-line between widowhood and remarriage is so close and coalescing, that the above statement may be taken as an axiom. Re-marriage is a common phenomenon among them and widow-remarriage is also a part of the same. Wife is an asset in their society whether she is a 'second' 'third' or a 'widowed' wife.

**Kinship System:**

There is no reference about the kinship system of the Sauria Pahariya in the old literature. But writing in 1938 Sarkar[4] mentioned that the Malers have a distinct term for each of the relations. The relationship terms as applied by the Sauria Pahariya are classificatory in nature. The form of the Dual Organisation which follows the classificatory system of relationship among other tribes, does not exist among them. The twin organisations like the moeties are also not perceptible. The basis of the functioning of the Dual organisation among the Sauria Pahariya is the kin-grouping and their special system of avoidance. The close kin-group extends upto three generations on both sides *i.e.* on one's father's and mother's sides. But here also the preference is for mother's lineage. Her

3 Bainbridge, R.B.—The Saorias of Raj Mahal Hills, Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 4, 1907, pp. 58-59.

4 Saskor, S.S.—The Malers of Raj Mahal Hills, 1938, pp. 56-57.

collateral relatives in the fourth generation come outside the scope of the system of avoidance. Strikingly enough the cross-cousin marriage in its true form also does not hold good among them. Cross-cousins in the father's lineage, *viz* father's sister's sons or daughters do not go outside the scope of the system of avoidance.

Death has a special meaning for the Sauria. In their opinion, the coming of death does not sever one's connection with this physical world. The dead men are supposed by them to be with their families. The Sauria offer sacrifices in the name of those dead ancestors who hang and hover, although not physically, round their habitations. Hence their belief that death is not the complete negation of life but it is resurrection which envisages life after death. This very belief is manifested in the rites associated with death.

The Sauria society is patrilineal. Inheritance is in the male line. Writing on this aspect of the Sauria, Dalton[5] noted that "the eldest son if there be one takes half and the other half is equally divided amongst the agnates". Sharing the same view on the basis of his informents Risley[6] maintained the eldest getting the largest share, the second less, and so on. Bainbridge[7] also confirmed the previous statements saying that if a man has two sons, the property is divided in the proportion of 6 to 4. If there be no sons the daughters inherit equally, but in this case the *Panchayat* is entitled to a buffalo or a pig for the usual feast. My inquiry revealed that the Sauria social system does not allow female to inherit family property. This system is in line with the patrilineal type of Sauria society where father-right prevails.

**Political Organisation :**—The units of the political organisation of the Sauria Pahariya is the village. As among other tribes the most important organisation of the Sauria is their political system, which governs the social life of the tribe both internally and externally. Village organisation is their basis unit which organises the functions of the village.

The Sauria villages have evolved out of the habitations of the Kindred group-families of Kin-group in the beginning which formed a village of their own. But under the present circumstances this has received set-back when even a blood brother is found to have shifted to another village breaking the village solidarity and integrity. Beyond the village organisation is the organisation of a number of villages which are supposed to function as a close Kin-group for social and religions activities. Sometimes, the entire area under the jurisdiction and power of the Sauria chief *viz* the Sardar is taken to form this group which varies from ten to twenty and sometimes over fifty or more. For the intra-village relationship and functioning of these villages, village organisation under the *manjhi* or the headman functions. But for the inter—village relationship, the influence

5 Dalton, E.T.—Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal 1872, pp. 274.

6 Risley, H.H.—The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, 1891, pp. 59.

7 Brainbridge, R.B.—The Saories of Raj Mahal Hills, Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 59.

and power of the '*Sardar*' (Chief) plays the vital role.

The posts of '*Sardar*' and '*Manjhi*' have become hereditary. The traditional offices of the '*Sardar*' and '*Manjhi*' have been taken over by the Government for the successful running of administration and collection of revenue. The Government however do not interfere with the traditional selection and inheritance of the offices of these officials. The persons already selected according to their social system, are only given a formal approval and seal by the Government to facilitate the successful collection of land revenue. The *Sardars* and the *Manjhis* get stipends from the Government, the former getting Rs. 10/- per month and the latter getting Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per month. This is in line with the system of pacifying the Pahariyas by winning them over by granting stipends to their chiefs and headmen which was initially started by Captain Robert Brook[8] (1772-74) and Captain James Browne[9] (1774-78) was successfully implemented by Cleveland[10] in the year 1780.

But the '*Sardars*' are few and far between. The actual guardian of the village is the '*Manjhi*' (headman) who in his turn is assisted by the 'Gorait'. The *Gorait* is also a recognised village-official to assist the Manjhi or the headman. But he does not get any stipend from the Government. His post has also become hereditary. The council of the elders of the village is presided over by the Manjhi where the Gorait works as public prosecutor.

The institution of the bachelors called as *Kod-bahada* has almost become obsolete among the Sauria Pahariya. The presence of such type of institution of the Sauria was meant for training the youth, both boys and girls, in the realm of tribal life and culture, to keep the song and dance alive and to make them know their arts and crafts to grow as responsible members of their society. The Sauria openly admit that the fear of shame as directed by the non-tribal neighbours has been at the root of the disappearance of these bachelors' dormitories.

**Religion :**

Ancestor plays an important role in the life of the Sauria. At every turn and twist of a Sauria's life-economic pursuits and social observances, ancestors are remembered and are offered their due sacrifices and propitiation. The principal deities of the Sauria are the *Chal, Raksi* and *Kando Gosain*. In contrast to the writings of the earlier writers, it was found that the principal deities have their representation in wood and stone and that a structure housing the *Kanodo Gosain* was in existence. These deities are offered sacrifices and offerings during sowing and harvesting of different crops and also during any disease or epidemic, by the village priests, the *Kando Nanjhi*, the *Kotwar* and the *Chalwe*.

8 Hamilton, Buchanan—Journal of Francis Buchanan of Bhagalpur 1810-1811 published vide Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV 1929 Parts III & IV. pp. 542.

9 Ibid, Appendix I, pp. 542.

10 Ibid. pp. 541-543.

**Conclusion :**

From the foregoing discussion it will be evident that the Sauria family is of biological type where parents and unmarried children form the family boundary. Married sons and daughters usually maintain separate households of their own.

The basis of Kin-grouping is classificatory system. The basis of matrimonial alliance is the Kin-grouping. The prohibited degree of such alliance is extended upto third generation on father's and mother's sides but mother's collateral relatives are preferred. The necessary requisite for marriage is bride-price. The effect of contact with the neighbouring people has given an incentive to them to charge high bride-price. The outcome of this contact brought money economy among them which ultimately has put a heavy premium on the bride-price which has in its turn made divorce more frequent.

Death, according to them is not the complete negation but resurrection—life after death. Ancestor worship has its root in the idea and rites associated with death.

Sauria Society is patrilineal, descent is traced through father. Hence the system of inheritance also moves in the same line. The political organisation of the tribe is an important one which guides and runs their social life. The village council decides and settles the disputes and other issues of the village. But today the presence of the Government sponsored *Panchayat* is rather a burden on their old and original social system.

The fear of the unknown and unknowable leaves a premium on the ancestors to help them in their way. But today, one comes across the new trend of adoption of Hindu gods and goddesses, such as Kali etc.

Analysing the contents of their culture, one finds the social and religious life of the Sauria Pahariya has received a set-back under the influence of culture-contact.

## ORIGIN OF SANSIS

by

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India is a land of numerous tribes and castes whose origins are shrouded in the mystery of the past. The under world—economically and socially backward population of India is attracting the attention of Sociologists, Anthropologists, Ethnologists and Historians, more than ever before. This category of Indian peoples is divided into four main classes:—(i) Scheduled Castes; (ii) Scheduled Tribes; (iii) Other Backward Classes and (iv) Ex-criminal Tribes.

Ever since 1886, when Herbert Hope Risely blazed the trail of research on Indian Anthropology, much has been written on the aboriginal tribes of India, but nothing reliable has been written on the Ex-criminal tribes of Northern India, who were fallaciously taken to be the aboriginals but now, though scant, yet the anthropmetric data and blood tests are proving their remarkable resemblance with the Indo-Aryan races of this land. Some of the Ex-criminal tribes of India are doubtless aboriginals but they are only confined to the north-eastern, western, central and southern parts of the country. The Sansis of Punjab are not at all racially connected with the aboriginals.

It is not easy to trace the tribes and castes of India and it is particularly difficult in the case of Ex-criminal tribes, who remained in nomadic mode of life for many centuries. The Sansi tribe is one of the prominent Ex-criminal tribes of India. Some English and Indian writers have tried to describe them but they dealt with them only as criminals. They laid a particular emphasis on the dress, habits, modus operandi and wandering life of the vagrant people. They gave them the peculiar and ridiculous names after their own fancy. W.H. Sleeman is the greatest source of the ethnic confusion of the Ex-criminal Tribes, and any writer who wrote anything after him seems to be influenced by him. He gave their origins on the ground of the statements given by the culprits and convicted by him in the Law Courts. The work of the findings of Anthropological and Ethnological laboratories cannot be accomplished by the fetters and shackles of police, which he tried to do, but all in vain. Some writers who have written something on the Ex-criminal tribes are:- SLEEMAN, HERVEY, CROOKE, RUSSELE, HIRALAL, SHERRING, ROSS, ROSE, DUYYANANJAN, ENTHOVEN, IBBETSON, WILIAMS, WILSON, MASIGK, HARI KISHEN KAUL, TOMKINS, TUPPER, BERKLEY, GRAHAM BAILEY, TEMPLE, MACLAGAN, ELLIOT, GUNTHORPE, KENNEDY, BHARGWA, PAUPARAO, HOLBINS, MAJUMDAR, BHATACHARYA, MALCOLM, TOD, POWLETTE. RAHGHAVIAH, NESFIELD, BLUNT, and several others. Although most of them have confused and contradictory ideas, yet some of their opinions will be useful.

The most confounded is the name of the Sansis Tribe. Mr. Kennedy gives as many as 22 different, ridiculous meaningless and misleading names to the Sansis (Kennedy—*Criminal Classes* p. 245). Similarly many others claim that the Kanjars, the Haburajs, the Bhatus, the Karwals and the Berias are synonymous terms.

The Sansi Tribe derives its name from one Sansmal, about whose origin some of the traditions are given below:—

(1) According to the Sansis of Sialkot, once a raja banished his daughter who gave birth to a child named Sansmal or Sansi who is the founder of the tribe (H. A. Rose-*Tribes and Castes of Punjab.* vol. III, p. 363).

(2) According to Gujrat Sansis, they take their descent from Raja Sansmal of Lakhi Jungle (*Ibid.* p.367).

(3) According to Jhari Sansis, they are descendants of Sansmal, a Panwar Rajput free-booter of Rajputana (*Ibid*).

(4) According to Lahore Sansis, they are the descendants of Raja Sansmal of high lands of Central India (*Ibid*).

(5) According to the Sansis of Gujranwala, we find, "This tribe is an offshoot of Bhatti clan and they take their name from one Sansi whose great grandson Udret, eighteen generations ago came from Bhatner in Hindustan and adopted a pastoral life in this district". (District Gazetteer of Gujranwala, 1883-84, p. 33).

(6) James Tod also says in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan that the Sansis are Bhatti Rajputs.

The Sansis themselves, also claim that they are the Bhatti Rajputs from Bhatner and the Sansis of the districts of Gujranwala and Sheikhupura relate many stories of Ranjit's sanguinary connection with the tribe. Even the Kanjar tribe which derives its name from 'Kanjar' a territory of Baroli district of Bharatpur State is often connected with the Sansis though in actual life no social or matrimonial relationships exist between them and the Kanjars have a separate creed, whereas the Sansis of all the parts of India worship a common ancestor, Raja Sansmal. Anyhow all the writers are unanimous that the Sansis, the Berias, the Kanjars, the Bhatus, the Karwals and the Haburas are the natives of different places in Rajasthan. Some say that the Sansis, Gujjars and the Berias are brothers. "There were formerly some Rajputs living in the village of Biyana in Kanjar, Baroli district of Bharatpore State. The Gujjars and the Berias sprang from the Rajputs who lived there. The Gujjars took up cultivation and the Berias became wanderers. Among the Berias there were two famous leaders, named Sahasmal and Sahasi. The descendants of Sahasmal became known as Berias and those of Sahasi as Sansis" (M. Paupa Rao Naidoo—*the Criminal Tribes of India* Vol. III, p. 24). According to E.A.H. Blunt the Berias, the Bhatus, the Haburas, the Karwals and the Sansiyas possess similar features to such an extent that they may safely be regarded as the offshoots of a single nomadic race" (B.S. Bhargava. *The Criminal Tribes of Northern India*, p.9). About the origin of Sansis there exist many fallacious views. Some say that the Kanjar is the stock and that the rest of the Ex-criminal Tribes of Northern India are its offshoots, while some claim that the Sansi is the original stock of these allied groups." "Now most of the prominent writers are unanimous that the Kanjars are offshoot of Sansis and that Bhatus and Kanjars are synonymous" (*Ibid* p. 17). These views cannot be accepted unless the blood tests of the Ex-criminal Tribes are taken exclusively. Some facts about the Sansis are sufficiently clear that they are Bhatti Rajputs of the Indo-Aryan origin, who in ancient times settled in the Punjab.

Anyhow, if the Sansis, the Bhatus and the Karwals are synonymous, then Dr. D.N. Majumdar, a very great authority on Indian Anthropology can be depended upon. He took the blood tests of 113 Bhatus and 155 Karwals of Cawnpore, Muradabad and Lucknow, and writes, "The Karwals and the Bhatus resemble the Khasas of cis-Himalaya and the Jats and the Khatris of Kashmir and Punjab". (*Science and Culture* 1942, p. 334).

In the 13th century A.D. many Rajput clans were scattered in different parts of India, by the invasion of Ala-ud-Din Khilji, and most of them journeyed towards the Punjab and U.P. Thus some clans were scattered when Chitor was devastated by the Khiljis. Before this historical event, Jesal a Bhatti Rajput founded the city and the State of Jesalmer in 1156 A.D., but he was also expelled from Jesalmer in 1180 A.D. This was the time after which several Rajput clans again became wanderers, plunderers, free booters and robbers like their Aryan ancestors of yore, who scared away the aboriginals and occupied the land of five rivers. After many years, some wandering groups settled at favourable sites while some kept wandering till recent times and now they are the so called Ex-criminal tribes of Northern India. Probably this was the period of the famous freebooter, Sansmal. Time rolled on but different groups of these people remained nomads. The leaders of the individul groups continued to be called Rajas according to their Rajput convention as Sansmal is also called Raja by the Sansis. Some wandering tribes advanced farther to the Punjab and some of them settled in the territories of Hissar, Sirsa, Ferozepur and Bhatinda. The Sidhu and Berar families of the Rajas of Patiala, Faridkot, Nabha and Jind, are also the descendants of those wandering Rajput tribes which were connected with the Sansis having a common ancestor. By that time the followers of the clan of Sansmal were recognised as a separate Sansi Tribe like the families of Barar and Sidhu, (houses of the rajas of Faridkot and Patiala), which were recognised as separate clans after the names of their leaders and ancestors. The settled tribes linked their relationships with the local Jats and like them they also began to practise the customs of bride price and widow marriage. Thus, they fell in the eyes of Rajputs and were called Jats who are thought to be of lower social grade than the Rajputs. This condescension of Jats from Rajputs is strongly corroborated by Crooke, Ibbetson, Rose, Russele and particularly by Sir Lepel Griffin in his book "Rajas of Punjab". The Bhatti Rajputs spread over many parts of the Punjab and the famous Jat sub-castes of Punjab, Aulakh, Bains, Bajwa, Bal, Chhina, China, Gil Kahlon, and Kharal all belong to the Bhatti Rajputs (H.A. Rose – *Tribes and Castes of Punjab*, Vol. II, pages 25, 35, 38, 41, 146. 169, 171, 299, 441 and 495 respectively). Also the Jat families of Randhawa, Sekhu, Sial, Sidhu, Sindu, or Sandhu, Wattu and Wirk, are the descendants of Bhatti Rajputs. (Ibid Vol. III pages 319, 394, 417, 421, 423 and 508 respectively). Now there are 514 exagamous subcastes of Sansis of Punjab, out of which 58 names of subcastes are common between the Sansis and the Jats (E.D. Maclagon, *Census of India*, 1891, Vol. XXI, part III, p. 314). The names of the villages, Rajasansi, Sainsra, Theri Sansian and Sansowal give a strong proof of the ecological and ethnic settlements of Sansis in the Punjab. The Sansial Dogra Rajputs of Jammu also indicate same connection with this tribe (Bingley-*Dogras* p. 27).

There were 12 Sikh confederacies or Missals, but the Sindhanwalia and the Sukarchakia Missals had the

greatest influence and power in the 18th century and even upto the first quarter of the 19th century A.D. These two Missals were close consanguines of the Sansis. The names of these Missals are named after the names of the villages Sukarchak and Sindhawala founded afterwards, but the first and the native home of Sindhanwalias and Ranjit Singh is Rajasansi. "Raja Sansi was founded about the year 1570 A.D. by one Raja, a Jat of Sansi Tribe. Hence the name of the town. With the Raja was associated his brother Kirtu in the founding of the town and the latter is the common ancestor of the Sindhanwalia family and of that of Maharaja Ranjit Singh" (District Gazetteer of Amritsar, p. 78, 1883-84). Again, "Sindhanwalias claim like most other Sikhs, a Rajput descent, but they have also a close connection with the thievish and degraded Tribe of Sansis, after which their ancestral home Raja Sansi five miles from the city of Amritsar is named". (Sir Lepel Griffin - *Ranjit Singh*, p. 153). Here the question arises why the Sansis are considered thievish and degraded. Certain groups of Sansis remained wanderers, while their consanguines, now known as Sindhanwalias, settled, made relationships with the Jats and began to be called Jat Sansis instead of simply Sansis. Their wandering brothers were poor, propertyless and without any possession of land. According to circumstances, after some time, they also began to settle in the villages, but they had to depend on the Jats and began to serve them as messengers and odd jobbers. Some of them took to begging also. The Sindhanwalias and Sukarchakias began to hate them denying any relationship with them in order to be respected and accepted by their Jat relatives. Thus, the Sansis of the Punjab became one of the lower rungs of the ladder of society. The Sindhanwalias also invented some false stories that they had no connection with the thievish, degraded and criminal Sansis, but it is not easy to erase history, and we read, "But from the comparison of the Sindhanwalia genealogy with that of the Bhatties, it appears probable that the Sansi was the name of Bhoni, fourth in descent from Jaudhar, and from Sansis the Sidhanwalias and the Sansis have a common descent. The Sansis were the thievish and the degraded tribe and the house of Sindhanwalia naturally feeling ashamed of its Sansi name invented a romantic story to account for it. But the relationship between the nobles and the beggars, does not seem the less certain, and if history of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is attentively considered, it will appear that much of his policy and many of his actions had the true Sansi complexion". (Sir Lepel Griffin—*Punjab Chiefs* Vol. I, P. 219). Although the British government remained on friendly terms with Maharaja Ranjit Singh in his life time and was surely afraid of his power and temerity, yet at heart the Britishers always hated him as a criminal and contemptible person, as some of the remarks of the English writers, mixed with frank truth, jealousy and animosity, show. "Ranjit was a distinguished man, but his appearance was mean. He could neither read nor write and his knowledge of European affairs was a mixture of truth and fable, but there was a resolute rascality about the mouth, and a roguish twinkle in his single eye, which

always impressed strangers." (J. Talboys Wheeler-*Tales from Indian History*, p. 214). H.A. Rose is the greatest authority on the tribes and castes of Punjab, and while writing on Sansis, he writes in his Vol. III, p.379, "The rank and influence of Sindhanwalia family, who belong to this tribe, and the renown of their representatives, the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh have given the lasting political notoriety to Sansis."

Whether notoriety or name and fame whatever may be, it is the heritage and pride of Sansis, as Ranjit Singh was the blood and bone of the Sansi Tribe. It is great discredit to the Sikh historians who have not imbibed the true spirit of Sikhism which is founded on the bedrock of casteless society, that they have always been trying to conceal the Sansi ancestry of this great man of his time, not generally going beyond Ranjit's great grandfather, Budha Singh who was baptised and became a Sikh.

In the initial stages of the occupation of this country the English were greatly troubled by the nomadic freebooters of India. The English knew well how to kneel down before strength and how to tread roughshod on the weaker antagonists. They gave jagirs and estates to robbers like Amir Khan but forged fetters of terrible acts for the homeless nomadic tribes who were dealt with under a special regulation—Regulation XXII of 1793, of the East India Company. From 1860 onwards, the year of the organisation of the Indian Police, these people were dealt with according to the Indian Penal Code. But it is strange that "In 1856, a circular had been issued in the Punjab, making the Sansis, the Bawrias and other two tribes amenable to a system of roll call" (J. C. Curry – *The Indian Police*, p. 241). In 1871, the first Criminal Tribes Act was passed by the Governor General-in-Council, and overnight, millions of Indians were made criminals, as tribes, branded as born criminals. Excepting in India no such act has ever existed in the history of world civilization. Along with 126 other groups, the Sansis remained under the mill-stone of this act till 31st of August, 1952, when this obnoxious act was repealed by the national government of Independent India. During this period of 160 years, the Sansis were ill-treated by the State and shunned by the society. So they degenerated morally, economically and socially, which was natural and inevitable.

In the light of above facts now it is clear that the Sansis are Bhatti Rajputs. In spite of the miscegenation of centuries the physical features, the blood tests, stature and other traits of Sansis resemble remarkably those of their Jat and Rajput brothers. Bhatti was the son of Baland, a Yadu Rajput, but after the death of his father, Bhatti changed the patronymic of Yadu or Jadu to Bhatti. "In tracing the Yadu Bhatti history, two hypotheses alternately present themselves to our minds, each of which rests upon plausible grounds, one supposing the Bhatti to be of the Scythic, the other of the Hindu origin. The incongruity may be reconciled by presuming the co-mixture of the two primitive races, by enlarging our views and contemplating the barrier, which in remote ages separated Scythia and

India and admitting that the various communities from the Caspian to the Ganges, were members, of one grand family, having a common language and common faith in that ancient empire whose existence has been contended for or denied by the first names in science, the Bharataversha of King Bharat, the son of Budha, the ancestor of the Yadu Bhattis now confined to the nook of a desert". (James Tod—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* Vol. II. chap. 1, p. 170). The Lord Krishna of Mathura was descendant of the Yadu race and ancestor of Bhatti Rajputs. "The Punjab form of the Rajputana word Bhatti is the title of the great modern representative of the ancient Yadubansi Royal Rajput family, descendants of Krishna and therefore of lunar race." Ibbetson-(*Punjab Castes* p. 144.)

Numerous races have been meeting and mingling in the land of five rivers, since times immemorial. Innumerable hordes had been coming and going between India and Iran and farther to Europe. Some writers are of the opinion that the Gypsis of Europe are from the stock of Indian gypsis. "The Kanjar and Nat tribes are supposed to be the same as gypsy tribes of Spain and Europe". (M.A. Sherring-*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, p. 389).

Those who have studied the Sansi way of life, customs, Tribal Councils and dialect, acknowledge that they are the real representatives of the Aryans who came to the Punjab in the ancient periods of civilization. "A British colonel, about to retire from the Indian Army, called on me one day and brought with him a small book written in French published in Leyden in the later sixties of the last century. The more I read in this small thesis, the more astonished I became. Here was my own language spoken by a mysterious race, whose origins were in the doubt, but whose existence was felt almost in every country of the world. But, in the Punjab only extant comparable affinitive race seemed to be the race known as the Sansis." (Diwan Chamanlal, Member of Indian Parliament, broadcast from All India Radio, New Delhi, on 29.8.1954).

In the end it can be asserted that the Sansis were, in the Medieval age, the Rajputs of Rajputana. They were the Sursena, and Yadus of Mathura and the Aryans of the ancient Punjab, and who knows by which name will they be known by posterity. I have taken athropometric measurements and studied blood serology of the Sansis, and they undoubtedly prove that they are descendants of Indo-Aryans, like the Rajputs, Khatris and Jats of the Punjab, whose results will be published shortly in my book. "The Sansis of Punjab"

# ANTHROPOLOGY IN ADMINISTRATION

by

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A book on this caption was published in 1956, wherein Prof. H.G. Barnett of Oregon University had described the function and role of staff anthropologists in administration. In the preface, the High Commissioner for U.S.A. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands recommends the book to the students of anthropology and public administration. The book includes chapters on the role of anthropologists as consultants and executives in administration. The problem and role of anthropology in administration in our country are significant issues. Indian independence wrought in systematic and objective approach for welfare of nearly two crores of tribal people. Union and State administrations channelised substantial sums for that purpose. In our two Plans, tribal and social welfare was given important place. Indian tribes are in different socio-economic levels. From territorial consideration there are interior and frontier tribes. The frontier tribes in N.E.F.A. have added to political insecurity due to their typical geographical situation. The interior tribes may not involve imminent danger to security of the country. But adult franchise guaranteed by the Constitution places them in a significant position in the political determination of the country as a whole, and several States in particular. I have chosen this topic for deliberation in the 5th Tribal Welfare Workers' Conference. It is high time that we could ventilate our ideas and thoughts to evolve a sound policy defining the role of anthropology, vis-a-vis other social sciences in the country.

In India Anthropology was for a pretty long time confined to travelogues and notes by the able administrative officers, on various tribes and castes. Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, Risley's Peoples of India provided basic data on the customs and practices of a large number of our backward population. Added to those were compilations by Thurston, Rangachari, Russel, Hiralal, Hutton and others. Moreover, there are many obscure notes published and unpublished in various record rooms of Governments, Mission centres and archives. Many of those might have perished through neglect. Those may not be scientific, but are valuable depiction of observation and experience of many, although slightly tinted by personal equation. At the next phase, the history of anthropology in the sub-continent begins to be clear. Calcutta University opened a department of anthropology. An Anthropological section was attached to the Zoological Survey of India. Other Universities began teaching the subject as a full subject or part of an allied subject. Simultaneously, monographs by S.C. Ray, Grigson, Hutton laid a sound foundation for the discipline. By 1930 's anthropology had gathered solid support of

all disciplines in England and U.S.A. Actually scholars of other disciplines like Boas and Malinowski took the thread of research, and contributed towards the organisation of world anthropology. Simultaneously, application of anthropological studies solving human problems was being seriously considered.

In U.S.A. applied anthropology as an organised branch is now about two decades old. In U.K. it was limited to colonial administration only. In India it is only post-war in character. As has been referred to earlier in post-independence era when tribal policy took a new orientation, anthropological knowledge was envisaged for utilisation in administration. Due to encouragement of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, tribal research bodies were set up first in Orissa, and then in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. These bodies employed trained anthropologists. Of course, the Central Department of anthropology had carried out investigation among a large number of tribes of N. E. F. A., Andamans and Travancore. For the first time staff-anthropologists associated themselves with regular administration as members of the States Civil Service. Now it is time to analyse their role in administration, and define their function in clear terms. With an experience of being the Head of Bihar and Orissa Tribal Research Bodies the author can state a few basic problems which face the anthropologists within administration.

The general opinion prevailing in almost all the quarters in Governments as, that the anthropologists in Tribal Research Bodies will principally function as consultants and advisers in tribal affairs. Governments are launching ambitious programmes of tribal welfare. The ultimate goal perhaps is to assimilate the tribes into the general social order of the country. I say perhaps because the top policy makers have not laid this policy in clear terms. Up to 1950 or so the anthropologists were blamed for desiring to segregate the tribes and retain them as living museums for their intellectual pursuits. Particularly, the social workers were bitter in their criticism. This misconception was largely due to improper co-ordination of the objects of the social scientists and social workers. The former were insisting and even still insist for retaining as far as practicable the cultural and social traditions of the tribes. This insistence does not include isolation of the tribes. Rather it envisages the dynamics of culture change, progressive reorientation of tribal life and outlook, but not bringing in frustration and maladies ; integral components of urban industrial civilization, into otherwise healthy life of the tribes. The insistence also was justified, because our ignorance of values of tribal life has brought in distrust and apathy among the tribes. Those in turn disrupt otherwise sincere and lofty ideals of the social workers. Better days are in the horizon. This misconception is giving way, and the social workers themselves are in favour of receiving anthropological training. The leading social workers' organisation, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh have incorporated anthropologists in their fold.

Now coming to the administration proper, anthropologists are still in its periphery. Although they have been taken into regular service, in temporary posts, they have been obliged to collect a few data from various aspects of a large number of tribes within their jurisdiction. The tribal research bodies with their advisory boards, are quite conscious of the tribal problems and their range. By now the problems have been enumerated. Studies have been made on a few problems. On the basis of those findings certain specific advices have been submitted by the anthropologists. In Bihar State the rehabilitation of the Birhors, a nomadic jungle tribe was possible by consultation with the anthropologists in 1955. In 1955 there were a few incidents of suspected human sacrifice. It created a panic in the mind of the population and touched even the sophisticated urban population of Ranchi. The cause and effect of human sacrifice among acculturated Munda and Oraon in mid-twentieth century were points for debate and controversy. The author can recapitulate the anxiety in the minds of the administrators. The anthropologists applying their own methods of study held that 'fertility cult' which is common to tribals and even to advanced Hindus is the basic concept involved whenever sacrifices are offered. Man is considered the most potent creature, and hence human blood and flesh can satisfy the innumerable gods and spirits and can yield bumper crop. Re-education of our tribes can eradicate irrational concepts of chance accidents, and imbibe analytic mind. There were several other problems like appropriate welfare measures for the Asur and Birijia, two very ancient stocks of the land.

In the State of Orissa there are a larger number of tribes, and the tribal population is 1/5th of the total population. Added to that, quite a large number of Orissa tribes are in a real primitive stage. In Northern districts, Hill Juang, Hill Bhuiyan and Hill Kharia are hunters, shifting cultivators and food gatherers. In Southern districts, the Lanjia Saora, Kutia and Dongria Kondh, Koya, Gadaba, Bonda and some sections of Paroja are shifting cultivators, hunters and gatherers. The Agency tracts of former Madras Presidency now included in three districts of Koraput, Ganjam and Phulbani are reputed for extremely unhealthy climate and high hill ranges. Due to that, so far quite a large number of tribes have remained in semi-isolation. They have posed problems which may perhaps be compared to those of Assam and N.E.F.A. Orissa was the first British Province which created a Backward Classes' Welfare Department in 1946. Prior to that, a high powered committee was constituted in 1939 with Thakkar Bapa as the Chairman, to go into the details of administration of the then Partially Excluded Areas. The Committee suggested measures for improving the lot of tribes and other Backward communities in those areas. From 1940 onwards, of course hampered by the second World War, for several years welfare programmes have been launched in this State. There are schemes like Ashram or residential schools with vocational bias, settlements, soil conservation, stipends, scholarships, co-operatives, grain-golas, water supply, yaws control, technical

institutes and several others. But so far there has not been any systematic appraisal of those schemes. The impact of the schemes on the socio-cultural life of the tribes, acceptance, or rejection of all or some of the schemes by the tribes and concomittant results are yet to be evaluated. Now Multipurpose Blocks have been opened in predominant tribal areas for alround development of the tribes.

This is more or less the state of affairs in all the States. States like U.P. may not be serious as there are no tribes. But States like M.P., Bihar, Assam, Orissa and Bengal cannot take it lightly. I have earlier pointed out how application of anthropology was seriously taken up at some quarters, while at others it remains in undefined state. No doubt, certain eminent anthropologists like Evans Prichard have outright rejected the idea of applied anthropology. They hold that science loses its dimension and significance when applied. There is science and its application but not applied science. Others like Redfield, Barnett, and even Kroeber think that problematic approaches are useful and not devoid of context. Whatever it may be, Daryll Forde thinks that application of anthropological knowledge by the administrators in the formulation of Government policy has been useful. (Anthropology Today—Chicago University Press – 1953. Page 841). Nadel of course agrees that broad survey of a tribe, region or a group of tribes is an ideal way of doing research, where the researcher is free to do as he likes or dislikes. But where the handling of specific studies is left to administrators certain misgivings arise. Anthropologists cannot-produce data automatically useful to government. (Chicago University Press 1953 Page 178). Majumdar agrees with Nadel that role of anthropologists should be collection of data, broad surveys advices to the administration, and if necessary, handling the material.

Majumdar is correct when he says that in India anthropologists are in a tight corner, as they are not given scope to handle the date they gather. We are not quite fortunate like Barnett, and the innumerable distinct anthropologisits in U.S.A. Trust Territories to get involved in direct administration of the communities we have surveyed and advised *modus operandi* of their welfare. Take the case of anthropologists employed in Governments. They are called upon to say whether particular community deserves to be included among Scheduled Castes or Scheduleds Tribes. The determination of the social status of a community has quite a good deal of significance. Indian Constitution has guaranteed privileges for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, in service and education. Those are tempting for any group particularly for the sophisticated crosssection of the group. Therefore there are a large number of representations of certain groups to be included in one or the other category. The status, therefore, can be determined through investigation into the socio-cultural background of the group, its economic level and educational standard. This may seem not very important on the face of it and a quick answer is sought from the anthropologists. But without proper survey the answer can hardly be found. Coming now to

the advices on appropriate welfare measures for tribes or groups, it is necessary to emphasise that there must be adequate data available for concrete enunciation. Tribes vary widely in their background and traditions. Sections of tribes may also vary, and the same tribe may show variation on the basis of geography and topography and stimulus for change. Hence quick advices may be based on conjectures, which may ruin the prestige of the discipline. A point here arises whether an anthropologist can do more to solve problems than a seasoned administrator, who has remained in an area for a fairly long time. The experiences of the latter are certainly very valuable and can qualify him to plan for the people in his charge. But an anthropologist with his training to understand value judgments, culture as an integrated whole will certainly be able to visualise the problems not only on a short range basis but also on a long term measure. Our difficulty has been that whenever we plan for a people we plan from above. Hence the schemes mostly do not catch the imagination of the people. Their impact is not felt. We do not survey before launching a scheme but think of survey after certain latent lacunae become patent. Therefore, it turns to be cart before the horse.

Government of India have been liberally providing funds for the welfare of Backward Classes. While sanctioning funds, immediate goals are taken into consideration. The result has been this that resettlement of tribes in the colonies have not yielded any increase in standard of living of the settlers. Shifting cultivation with complementary factor of soil erosion is still going on extensively. Very often the settlers if they are from among the primitive tribes find the new environment uncongenial and run away to mountain abodes. Their prejudices and beliefs are not taken into account while trying to settle them. Colonisation is thought of as a purely administrative measure. In many of our colonies, partially assimilated or fully assimilated tribes are settled. Administrators say that they are not difficult to handle and are anxious to avail the opportunities. But primitive tribes are a wretched idle lot, pine for hill cultivation and want to run away at the slightest provocation. Thereby, we can publish that we have settled so many hundred families in the country, but we have not touched even the fringe of curbing shifting cultivation. If the potentialities of the tribes in their moorings be surveyed, we would not insist on colonisation of all the tribes on one master plan. Anthropologists associated with administration could therefore point out through investigation the desirability of a programme.

The knotty problem of tribal education has already taken quite a gooddeal of time of our educationists, social workers and administrators. We are introducing different education systems at different times in different States. We have not categorically rejected or approved prevailing general education for the tribals. Our difficulty is, whenever we introduce a system of education among a particular tribe we do not take into account the traditional method of education indigenous to the tribe. Therefore, we fail to get results. The Bureau of Indian

Affairs, U.S.A. in its education division has made use of cultures, languages, art, history and acculturation of the American Indians. Anthropologists with linguists and psychologists can be useful in an identical manner in our country to evolve a pragmatic pattern of education for the tribals in different areas, taking into consideration inter and intra tribal variations.

There is difference of opinion whether anthropologists may remain in advisory capacity or enter into administration. Much can be said on both the sides. But I think if anthropological knowledge can be seriously considered by the administration, the anthropologists within, must be fully involved in the administration. In India although anthropological knowledge is being given importance, the advices given by the anthropologists are not accepted. A common grievance is that anthropologists will need investigation, survey, check and recheck which delay formulation of policy. But should we prefer to travel in darkness and get way-laid or should we try to search for a light and protection, and travel in safety? The method of the scientists is experimentation, observation and inference. No scientist can forego anyone of the stages to advance his opinion. Hence anthropologists cannot solve problems with a magic wand which administrators might have taken years to visualise. The task of the anthropologist becomes doubly complicated due to the fact that he has no demarcated laboratory. The vast expanse of society and diversities in it are his laboratory. His objects are human beings. The inter-relationship of rational beings are complicated. Hence his tools are bound to be flexible. Situations also change at a very rapid rate. New innovations may radically alter the values and pattern of a society. Even within a short time he has to take stock of abnormal situations. For instance, setting up of a Steel Plant at Rourkella in a backward tribal area, has altered the configuration of the tribal culture in that area. New values have been adopted, and cultural bases are widened to adjust to the changes. There are multiplicity of new problems, unforeseen before. There may be many other elements. Similarly, Dandakaranya Project in a very backward area of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh is bound to shake entire background of the tribes. In that area there are very primitive tribes like Bonda, Koya, Dangria Kondh, Maria, Muria and Lanjia Saora. Now sophisticated Bengalis will come to live there. New roads, industries, railway lines and mines will open up the area to considerable outside contact. It will not be an easy task for the administration to maintain social and economic balance, and adjustment of the diverse elements. Here anthropologists can help the tribes or play significant role in administration of development programmes. But they have to survey and investigate the area and the people, before they are equipped to shoulder this responsibility.

It is, therefore, open for serious consideration as to how a synthesis can be made of anthropological knowledge and administrative experience. Without it, appointing anthropologists will not improve the matter to any great extent. Anthropologists will complain that their

painstaking efforts are not utilised, and administrators will complain that anthropologists are not capable of delivering goods in time. Each State may therefore appoint a State anthropologist under the State Development Commissioner. He may be assisted by a psychologist, economist and linguist. He will be both adviser, consultant and executive. He will attend all development boards at the State level. He need be tolerated and assigned definite functions. He may have some say in the State Planning. We have now recognised district as the unit of development. Therefore, in predominantly tribal districts there will be District Anthropologist, who will try to solve immediate problems for the District Magistrate. He, of course, will work under the guidance of the State Anthropologist. He will attend the Development Committees at the district level. In this way anthropologists can directly participate and get involved in administration.

Another important function of the State Anthropologist will be to organise training and refresher courses for the tribal welfare workers and Village Level Workers under the Community Development. It is widely felt that public servants in tribal areas are to be trained to understand the implications of the tribal life. Such training will enable the workers of the Multi-purpose Blocks to carry out their onus to utmost satisfaction.

The third function of the State Anthropologist may be evaluation of various development measures. At present there is no such programme for the State Research Bodies. Research Bodies under the control of the Welfare Department cannot do justice, if they are entrusted with this work. Evaluation is unfortunately taken as coterminous to criticism. A subordinate of a Department finds it difficult to be frank in his report which may bring antagonism, with his superiors and colleagues. Hence evaluation of schemes may preferably be done by an agency not under the control of the Welfare Departments. The State Anthropologist under the Development Commissioner can discharge this function in a better way. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may also set up an agency under his control for this purpose. To expect his Regional Assistant Commissioners to perform this part is too ambitious. Firstly, many of them are not technically qualified for this work. Secondly, their jurisdictions are so vast that they can hardly concentrate on any particular scheme in any particular region. Further they are not in the know of the mechanism, specific to a State administration, and their intrusion may not be appreciated on all occasions. Evaluation may be facilitated when another study is going on simultaneously in an area. Hence the State Anthropologist with his district counterparts and assistants can form an agency, whose findings may also be available to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This conference will add impetus to anthropology and its application to tribal welfare, if these aspects are clearly defined and Governments are recommended to give serious consideration to the problems, and evolve definite policy towards the role of anthropology in administration.

# भारत के आदिवासी और उनकी समस्याएं—एक विश्लेषण

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भारत में गणतन्त्र राज्य कायम होने के बाद जन जातियों की समस्या, बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बन गयी है। जन गणना के अनुसार जन जातियों की संख्या ढाई करोड़ से भी अधिक निर्धारित की गयी है। ये जन जातियां, शिकार तथा संग्रह से लेकर कृषि तथा उद्योग के विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में पाये जाते हैं। भौगोलिक दृष्टिकोण से वे भारत के उत्तर, पूर्वी, केन्द्रीय तथा दक्षिणी पहाड़ी और जंगली भागों में फैले विशेषतः केन्द्रित हैं।

यों तो जन जातियों का बाहरी सम्पर्क बहुत दिनों से रहा है, परन्तु ब्रिटिश शासन काल में सम्पर्क की इस विधि में और भी वृद्धि हुई। फिर अठारहवीं सदी के मध्य से ही शासनाधिकारी, मिशनरी, समाज सेवक तथा मानव वैज्ञानिक किसी न किसी कारण से जन जातियों में दिलचस्पी लेते रहे हैं तथा अपने-अपने ढङ्ग से उन्हें 'सभ्य मानव'' बनाने की कोशिश करते रहे हैं। परन्तु उनके तरीके और अभिप्राय भिन्न होने के कारण जन जातिय समस्याओं के प्रति उनका दृष्टिकोण भी बिल्कुल भिन्न रहा है, तथा इन सभी के आपस में घात प्रतिघात, एवं समागम के अध्ययन से आदिवासी कल्याण योजनाओं के इतिहास की एक झांकी मिलती है।

प्रस्तुत लेख में, सबसे पहले मैं यह दिखलाना चाहता हूं कि किस प्रकार मानव वैज्ञानिक तथा समाज सेवकों ने गत ३० वर्षों से जन जातिय समस्याओं पर विचार किया है, तथा कहां तक उनके विचार शासन तथा जन जातीय समाजों द्वारा अपनाये गये हैं। इसके बाद में मैं जन जातीय कल्याण सम्बन्धी प्रशासकीय ढांचा प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ, और फिर अन्त में बिहार राज्य का उदाहरण लेकर, सरकार द्वारा भिन्न-भिन्न जन-जातीय क्षेत्रों में कियेजाने वाले कामों का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं। साथ ही साथ मैं जन जातीय नीति तथा उनके कार्यक्रमों का भी वर्णन कर देना चाहता हूं।

## *मानव विज्ञान और जन जातीय अध्ययन*

एक योग्य शासन के लिये मानव विज्ञान का महत्व शायद पहली बार १८०७ ई० में समझा गया जबकि ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के ''कोर्ट आफ डाईरेक्टर्स'' ने एक विधिवत् फैसला किया कि इस प्रकार का ज्ञान देश के भावी प्रशासन में बहुत ही उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा। इसी कारण गर्वनर के परिषद् द्वारा डा० फ्रान्सिस बुचानन को ''बंगाल के निवासियों और उनकी हालातों की जांच करने के लिये'' नियुक्त गया था। उसके बाद से ही मानव विज्ञान से भिज्ञ अधिकारियों को जैसे रीजले, थर्सटन, डालटन, ग्रीगसन, गर्डन आदि को ब्रिटिश सरकार द्वारा भारत के विभिन्न जन जातियों तथा जातियों पर ''गजेटियर'', 'मोनोग्राफ'' तथा ''हन्डबुक'' आदि लिखने के लिये नियुक्त किया गया। उन्हीं लोगों के

अग्रगामी प्रयास के फल स्वरूप हो, चाहे इसका वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से जो भी मूल्य हो, एक बहुत बड़ा साहित्य तैयार हुआ जिससे शासकों को काफी सहायता मिली।

इन प्रारम्भिक रचनाओं में सिर्फ जन जातियों और जातियां का साधारण वर्णन मात्र मिलता है। यह १६३१ की बात है जबकि डा० जे० एच० हटन ने आदिवासियों पर हुये सम्पर्क के बुरे प्रभाव की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया। उनके अनुसार समस्या का समाधान "एक स्वयं प्रशासित जन जातीय क्षेत्र कायम करना था जिसमें कि उनके चारों ओर के तथा सम्बद्ध इकाई के विषय में स्वयं निर्णय का अधिकार दिया जाय।

एस० सी० राय ने बिहार के कुछ जङ्गल निवासी बन जातियों के बारे में उसी प्रकार उनके उपर सम्पर्क के बुरे प्रभाव का वर्णन किया है। एक लेख में उन्होंने अपने विचारों को इस प्रकार व्यक्त किया है :

"ब्रिटिश शासन के अन्तर्गत उनके क्षेत्रों में सड़क तथा रेलवे मार्ग के खुल जाने तथा क्रमिक रूप से जंगलों का क्षय होने यहां तक कि उनके लिये जङ्गलों के व्यवहार में आपत्ति होने के कारण, ये जंगल निवासी जन जातियां (बिरहोर' और कोरवा) धीरे-धीरे परन्तु निश्चित रूप से खतम होते जा रहे हैं। इसका कारण कुछ तो अकाल है तथा कुछ "जीवन के प्रति उदासीनता" है।

एस० सी० राय से प्रभावित होकर एक दूसरे भारतीय मानव वैज्ञानिक डा० डी० एन० मजुमदार ने "हो" जाति का अध्ययन करना शुरू किया तथा १६३७ ई० में अपने अनुसन्धान को प्रकाशित भी करवाया। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि "कोल्हन क्षेत्र के "हो" जबकि पहले अध्ययन किये गये थे, उस समय से अब काफी निकृष्ट हो गये हैं।

उन्होंने लोगों को "एक निकृष्ट वंश के, कमजोर शारीरिक के तथा जीवन के प्रति उदासीन पाया"। उन्होंने अपने दूसरे लेख में बतलाया कि अधिकतर ये जन जातियां खतम होती जा रही है। 'कोरवा के बारे में जिसका उन्हें विशेष अध्ययन था, उन्होंने कहा कि "लिंग अनुपात में अधिक अन्तर होने से उनमें बहुत सी बिमारियां आ गई है, जीवन की महत्त्वाकांक्षा कम हो गई हैं तथा इसी प्रकार के कारणों से उनकी जन संख्या भी कम हो गयी है"। उन्होंने लोगों की मानसिक पृष्ठभूमि को पहचाना जिसके कारण उनकी बड़ी अवनति हुई थी, तथा इसे भारत के सभी जन जातियों के बीच सामान्य पाया। उन्होंने यह बतलाया कि उनकी अवनति तथा उदासीनता के कारण उनकी बदली हुई आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक अवस्थायें ही है तथा उनके क्लेश का उन्होंने ग्यारह लक्षण बताये।

जो भी हो, जन जातियों के भविष्य के बारे में, पहली बार धृष्ट और स्पष्ट विचार डा० बेरियर एलविन ने मध्य प्रदेश के बेगा के ऊपर लिखे गये अपने स्मरणीय पुस्तक में किया। उन्होंने इस पुस्तक में न केवल सुधार और सभ्यता के अनियमित तथा जल्द-बाजी से पैदा हुए दुष्परिणामों के लक्षणों की ओर संकेत किया बल्कि उसका उपाय भी बतलाया। उनके अनुसार पहली आवश्यकता इस बात की थी कि एक "राष्ट्रीय उद्यान" का निर्माण हो जिसमें केवल बेगा ही बल्कि उनके पास पड़ोस के

हजारों साधारण गोण्ड भी शरण ले सकें। शासन को इस अनुरूप बनाना था जिससे जन जातियां अधिक से अधिक सुख तथा स्वतन्त्रता पूर्वक रह सकें। कोई भी मिशनरियों को जन जातियों के जीवन में प्रवेश करने की अनुमति नहीं देना चाहिये था। इस प्रकार जो कुछ भी सम्भव हो सकता है जन जातियों की उन्नति तथा उनकी भलाई के लिये करना चाहिये था बशर्ते कि उनके जीवन की अच्छाइयां और उनकी संस्कृति तथा उनकी स्वतन्त्रता भी बर्बाद न हों। बाहरी दुनियां से उनका सम्पर्क जहाँ तक हो सके बिल्कुल कम कर दिया जाय।

सन् १६४१ के अन्त में डा० एलविन ने "लास ओफ नर्व" नामक अपनी दूसरी पुस्तक प्रकाशित की, तथा इसमें उन्होंने अपने "बैगा" नामक किताब में जो विवाद प्रस्तुत किया था, तथा उसे मध्य भारत की दूसरी जन जातियों में कहाँ तक लागू किया जा सकता है, उसकी व्याख्या की। इस पुस्तक में उनके "विच्छेद" का विचार ही अधिक स्पष्ट जान पड़ा। इसे समझाने के लिये मैं उनकी कुछ पंक्तियों को उद्धृत करता हूं" ........ "परन्तु मध्य भारत के जन जातियों के लिये, कुछ स्पष्ट अवसरों को छोड़कर शराब की वास्तविक नुकसानी जन जातियों पर यह पड़ता है कि, यह उन्हें बाहरी लोगों के सम्पर्क में लाता है तथा पतित वर्ग के बाहरी लोगों पर उन्हें निर्भर बनाता है।" डा० एलविन ने बहुत सी और पुस्तकें और लेख भी छपवायें, है जिसमें कि उन्होंने जन जातियों की संस्थायें, तथा उनकी आदतों को सुरक्षित रखने के विषय में लिखा। उनके "राष्ट्रीय उद्यान" तथा "पूर्ण अलगाव" के विचार जन जातियों की समस्याओं के समाधान के लिये मनोवैज्ञानिकों का विचार समझा गया। इन सभी लेखों के कारण ही समाज सेवकों तथा भारत राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों द्वारा मानव वैज्ञानिकों पर 'विच्छुदी", "पुनर्जीविक" तथा "परिवर्तन नहीं करने वाला" का आरोप लगाया गया।

*समाज सेवक और आदिवासी*

समाज सेवकों तथा राजनीतिज्ञों ने श्री ए० वि० ठक्कर के नेतृत्व में, जो महात्मा गांधी के अति निकट के साथी थे, जन जातीय समस्याओं के विषय में दूसरा ही छोर अपनाया। सन् १६४१ में श्री ठक्कर ने अपने आर० आर० काले मेमोरियल भाषणों के लिये भारत में जन जातियों की समस्याओं के विषय को ही चुना। उन्होंने अपने भाषण के उत्तरार्द्ध में मानव वैज्ञानिकों का, उनके "विच्छेद" के सिद्धान्त के लिये आलोचना की। उन्हें यह बात समझ में नहीं आयी कि क्यों वे लोग समतल निवासियों की सभ्यता से जन जातियों को अछूता रखना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने इसका कारण केवल मानव वैज्ञानिकों का शोध सम्बन्धी आकर्षण बतलाया।" ......"इन लोगों को उनके अगम्य पहाड़ियों तथा जंगलों में विच्छेद कर रखना, उन्हें बिल्कुल शास्त्र विषयक लोगों के जिज्ञासा के लिये शीशे के अन्दर बन्द कर अजायब घर में रखने के समान है।" उन्हें अलगाव तथा विच्छेद खतरनाक सिद्धान्त के समान जान पड़े क्योंकि वे राष्ट्रीय संघटन के जड़ पर ही कुठाराघात करते हैं।

अपने भाषण के पूर्वार्द्ध में श्री ठक्कर ने विचार के दूसरे पहलू, समाज सेवकों के विचारों की व्याख्या की। उन्होंने कुछ मानव वैज्ञानिकों द्वारा समाज

सेवकों पर लगाये गये "मध्यस्थी" शब्द पर आपत्ति प्रकट की। उन्होंने यह समझाने की कोशिश की, कि भारतीय समाज सेवकों तथा राष्ट्रीय राजनीतिज्ञों द्वारा व्यक्त की गयी नीति "समीकरण" की नीति है। समाज सेवक के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में उन्होंने जन जातियों की समस्याओं को इस प्रकार विभाजित किया : (१) गरीबी (२) अशिक्षा (३) आवागमन का अभाव (४) खराब स्वास्थ्य (५) प्रशासन की त्रुटि (६) नायकत्व की कमी। उन्होंने उन लोगों की गरीबी की ओर, उनके "लोक प्रसिद्ध आलस्यपन के स्थानान्तर यानि काटने और जलाने की खेति इत्यादि पर दृष्टिपात किया। मनुष्यत्व के विचार से, उन्होंने इन सभी समस्याओं को जन जातीय क्षेत्रों से निकाल देने को कहा, तथा इसके लिये एक कार्य की सीमा स्थिर कर दी जो किसी भी जनजातियों के बीच लागू होगा। सम्पर्क के महत्व तथा उसकी आवश्यकताओं पर जोर देते हुए उन्होंने कहा''जब तक जन जातियाँ सम्पर्क के द्वारा अधिक उन्नत लोगों से अपने आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक क्षेत्रों में अपनी पिछड़ी हुई अवस्था को नहीं जान लेता है, वे कभी भी उन्नत नहीं कर सकता है। जन जातीय समस्याओं के समाधान के लिये जिन दो द्वारों को मानव वैज्ञानिकों ने तथा समाज सेवकों ने अपनाया उसका घात प्रतिघात की चर्चा कर देना आवश्यक है।

इन सभी प्रतिवादों का जो इस शताब्दी के तीसवें तथा चालीसवें वर्ष में हुए उनका प्रभाव भारतीय व्यवहारिक मानव विज्ञान पर बहुत ही बुरा हुआ। जब १९४७ में भारत स्वतन्त्र हुआ, तथा सरकार का ध्यान जन जातीय कल्याण के कार्यों की ओर गया, मानव वैज्ञानिकों का जन जातीय समस्याओं के विशेषज्ञ रूप में जो दावा था, उसका कुछ भी ख्याल नहीं किया गया। जन जातीय समस्याओं के सम्बन्ध में उनके अधिकार की अवहेलना सरकारी स्तर पर जारी ही रही तथा वे मानव विज्ञानिक शोध तथा सलाह के लिये सरकार के द्वारा रक्खे गये।

दूसरी ओर समाज सुधारकों ने अपने कार्य कलापों के विस्तार के लिये, राजनैतिकत था प्रशासकीय वातावरण बहुत ही अनुकूल पाया। उन लोगों ने अपने साथियों तथा दल के लोगों को ही सरकारी काम काजों में कर्णधार के रूप में पाया। वे लोग पहले से ही जन जातियों की समस्याओं के लिये मानव वैज्ञानिक सुझाव के विरुद्ध पक्षपाती थे। उन लोगों ने जन जातीय नीतियों के निर्माण में सभी सहायता समाज सेवकों से मांगी तथा जन जातीय कल्याण के कार्यों को करने का अधिकार उन्हें दे दिया। इस प्रकार सच पूछा जाय तो, समाज सेवकों ने अर्ध सरकारी तथा अर्द्ध वैज्ञानिक दोनों का कार्य किया। वे लोग जन जातीय बातों में सरकार को परामर्श देने लगे, तथा सरकार से जन जातियों को 'मदद' करने के लिये समृद्ध दान पाने लगे। और बाद में जन जातीय कल्याण की योजनाओं के लिये छोटे छोटे सम्मानित सरकारी पदों को भी प्राप्त करने लगे। वे लोग जन जातीय कल्याण सम्मेलन अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर करने लगे। देश के विभिन्न भागों में जन जातीय कल्याण कार्यों के लिये १९४८ में गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं का एक संघ की स्थापना हुई जिसका नाम भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ हुआ और जिसका सभापति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद हुए। आरम्भ में इस संघ के अन्तर्गत १८ संस्थाएँ सम्बद्ध थी, १९५० में इसकी संख्या ५० हो गई

इन संस्थाओं ने जन जातीयों तथा उनके समस्याओं और कल्याण कार्यों के विषय में समाचार पत्र, पत्रिका, परचे, तथा पुस्तक आदि छपवाना शुरू कर दिया। जन जाति समस्याओं पर हुए प्रशासकीय कमेटियां तथा सम्मेलनों में ये समाज सेवक लोग विशेषज्ञ का काम करने लगे, उन लोगों ने जन जातीय समस्याओं पर हुए देशीय तथा अन्तर्देशीय सम्मेलनों में भी भाग लेने लगे।

### मानव शास्त्रों की प्रतिक्रिया

इन विकासों को जैसे जन जातीय कल्याण में सरकार की बढ़ती हुई सोच, समाज सेवकों का सरकार पर विशिष्ट प्रभाव, तथा सरकारी और गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा मानव विज्ञान का तिरस्कार को देखकर मानव वैज्ञानिकों पर अलग-अलग आपकी प्रतिक्रिया हुई। अल्प संख्यक मानव वैज्ञानिकों ने इन सभी विस्तारों से उदासीन हो वैज्ञानिक शोधों में तल्लीन रहे। मानव वैज्ञानिकों का दूसरा दल जो सरकार द्वारा म्यूजियम तथा पैमाईस (Survey) के कार्यों का सम्पादन करने के लिये नियुक्त किये गये थे, सिर्फ अपने विभाग के विस्तार के लिये ही सरकार से कोशिश करते रहे, तथा थोड़ा बहुत जो भी सरकार उनके लिये करती थी उसी में वे संतुष्ट रहे। तीसरा दल जिसमें बहुत से विख्यात मानव वैज्ञानिक शामिल थे उन्होंने बहुत से लेख तथा भाषणों के द्वारा, जन जातीय कल्याण कार्यों में व्यवहारिक मानव विज्ञान के महत्व को बतलाया। उन लोगों ने मानव वैज्ञानिक स्थिति का फिर से अध्ययन किया तथा क्रमबद्ध सांस्कृतिक सम्पर्क का सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित किया। "इस्टर्न ऐन्थ्रोपोलोजिस्ट" (१९४९) के एक विशेष जन जातीय कल्याण अंक में, जो डा०डी०एन० मजुमदार तथा डा०सी०भौन० फ्यूरर हैमेन डौर्फ द्वारा सम्पादित था, व्यवहारिक मानव विज्ञान, जन जातीय योजना तथा कल्याण योजनाओं के सम्बन्ध में बहुत से महत्वपूर्ण लेख प्रकाशित हुये। समाज सेवकों की आवश्यकता समझी गई, परन्तु कल्याण कार्यों के लिये मानव शास्त्रीय प्रशिक्षण पर विशेष जोर दिया गया। "वैज्ञानिक योजना" निम्नलिखित सिद्धान्तों पर विशेष प्रकाश डाला गया।

१. अलग-अलग जन जातियों तथा उनके क्षेत्र के अनुसार उनके विशेष समस्याओं सम्बन्धी सावधानी पूर्वक योजना बनाना।
२. अलग-अलग जन जातियों, उनके समूह तथा उनके मुख्य समस्याओं तथा आवश्यकताओं का अध्ययन।
३. जन जातिय क्षेत्रों में काम करने वाले समाज सेवकों को पर्याप्त मात्रा में विशेष प्रशिक्षण, तथा प्रशासकीय पदाधिकारियों के साधारण तथा व्यवहारिक प्रशिक्षण।
४. योजनाओं के बनाने तथा उनके सम्पादन में आदिवासी बुजुर्गों का सक्रिय भाग।

इन लेखों में जन जातीयों की कुछ ऐसी समस्याओं पर संकेत किया गया जिस पर तुरन्त ध्यान देना आवश्यक था :

१. स्वास्थ्य तथा सफाई,
२. आर्थिक-कल्याण-भूमि तथा मजदूरी सम्बन्धी समस्यायें जिनमें प्रशासकीय सुधार भी शामिल थे,
३. सामाजिक आर्थिक सुधार,
४. संस्कृति सम्पर्क तथा भविष्य।

इस प्रकार भारतीय मानव वैज्ञानिकों ने इस शताब्दी के तीसवें और चालीसवें सालों के अन्त तक, जन जातीय समस्याओं को एक दूसरे ही रूप में लिया। अब इन्होंने जन जातीयों पर सम्पर्क के बुरे प्रभावों को जोर देना बन्द कर दिया तथा प्रशासन द्वारा जो नीति नियत कर दी गई थी उसी में अपनी सम्मति को देने को तैयार होने लगे। डा० वेरियर एलविन ने जिन्होंने "राष्ट्रीय उद्यान" की नीति को इतना प्रश्रय दिया था अब अपने विचारों में संशोधन करने लगे तथा जन जातीय उन्नति के कार्यों के लिये "सचेत योजना" पर जोर देने लगे। उनके वर्तमान परिवर्तन विचार की एक झांकी उनकी पुस्तक, "फीलासफी इन नेफा" में मिलती है। इससे पता चलता है कि राष्ट्रीय सरकार के बदली हुयी अभिलाषा तथा उद्देश्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए "सचेत संस्कृति सम्पर्क" का परिपाठन करना आवश्यक है। डा० एलविन गत पांच वर्षों से आसाम सरकार के (एन०ई०एफ०ए०) नागा पहाड़ी जन जातियां में मानव वैज्ञानिक मन्त्रणा अधिकारी के हैसियत से काम कर रहे हैं।

दूसरे कल्याण कार्य साधारण जन-जातियों द्वारा संदेह की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। विशेष कर जन जातीय नेता, कांग्रेसी समाज सेवकों के प्रति वैर का भाव रखते हैं। जन जातीय के बीच स्वगत राजनैतिक जागृति बढ़ती जा रही है। इस नई जन जातीय चेतना को जागने तथा विविध जन जातीय दल के बन जाने से सरकार तथा समाज सेवक गण भी जन जातीयों की तरफ से अपने पैतृक भाव के प्रति जागरुक हो रहे हैं, तथा व्यवहारिक मानव विज्ञान और जन जातीय बुजुर्गों को, कल्याण की योजनाओं के निर्माण तथा सम्पादन करने में मदद ले रहे हैं, यद्यपि यह आधे दिल से ही हो रहा है। इस प्रकार की सहकार्यता १९५३ में की गई थी, जबकि समाज शास्त्रज्ञ, समाज सेवक, कांग्रेस पार्टी के आदिवासी नेता, तथा सरकारी अफसर लोहरदग्गा नाम के एक जन जातीय शहर में आयोजित किये गये और जन जातीय कल्याण सम्मेलन में भाग लिये, तथा जन जातियों की उन्नति के लिये बहुत से कार्य कलापों पर विचार विमर्श किया गया। इससे सम्मेलन का उद्देश्य इस मतलब में पूरा हुआ कि, पहली बार व्यवहारिक समाज शास्त्री, समाज सेवक, जन जातीय नेतायें तथा सरकारी पदाधिकारी सभी एक साथ आपस में मिले। मानव वैज्ञानिकों तथा समाज सेवकों के विचारों में शराब बन्दी, शिक्षा की विधि जो मतभेद थे उन पर विचार विमर्श हुआ, यद्यपि इसका निबटारा नहीं हो सका। मानव वैज्ञानिकों के "निरुपण स्तर" को स्वभावतः समाज सेवक लोगों ने अनुमोदन नहीं किया। जो भी हो, एक दूसरे के विचारों को जानने के लिये तथा भविष्य में पारस्परिक सहकार्यता कि आवश्यकता को समझने के लिये मीलन का यह सुन्दर श्री गणेश था।

### *कल्याण कार्य के प्रशासकीय यंत्र*

जन जातीय कल्याण के लिये प्रशासकीय यन्त्र के वर्तमान ढांचा का विकास व्यवहारिक मानव वैज्ञानिकों, समाज सेवकों तथा बुजुर्ग जन जातियों के आपस की क्रिया प्रतिक्रिया के आधार पर ही इसके विश्लेषण करने से, उन लोगों में किस हद तक सहकार्यता हुई है उसका पता चलता है। भारत के राष्ट्रपति जो भारतीय जन जाति सेवक संघ, तथा बिहार जन जाति मण्डल नामक सामाजिक कल्याण संस्थाओं के

भी सभापति हैं, वो विधान के अनुसार उन्हें अनुसूचित जन जातियों के हित के लिये विशेष अधिकार दिया गया है। इस कार्य में अनुसूचित जन जातियों तथा अनुसूचित जातियों के मुख्य कमिश्नर से भी उन्हें मदद मिलती है जो सरकार के आर्थिक तथा शिक्षा सम्बन्धी योजनाओं के सम्पादन के पश्चात् राष्ट्रपति को अपना रिपोर्ट देते हैं, तथा विधान में दिये गये उनकी दूसरी सुविधाओं पर भी ख्याल करता है। मुख्य कमिश्नर को चार प्रादेशिक सहायक कमिश्नर की मदद से सभी जन जातीय कल्याण के कार्यों को केन्द्रिय स्तर पर नियन्त्रण रखता है। ऐसे क्षेत्रीय कमिश्नर की सख्या विभिन्न राज्यों को बढ़ाने की बात चल रही है। कमिश्नर गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को कोष के रूपयों का बंटवारा करते हैं तथा उसके प्रधान इसे व्यय करने का भार भी रहता है। गैर सरकारी रूप से वर्तमान कमिश्नर भारतीय जन जाति सेवक संघ के उप-सभापति भी हैं, तथा मुख्यतः वे एक कर्मठ समाज सेवक हैं। उनकी निजी सहायता के लिये दो मानव वैज्ञानिकों की नियुक्ति हुई है, जो उन्हें "विशेष विषयक बातों" में सहायता देते हैं। एक मानव विज्ञान विभाग जो भारत सरकार द्वारा संचालन होता है, शिक्षा विभाग के अधिन है तथा इसका मुख्य कार्य कर्म नृवंश विद्या सम्बन्धी शोध करना है। कल्याण कार्य से इस विभाग का कोई विशेष सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता है।

राज्य के स्तर पर उदाहरणार्थ, बिहार, जहां ३० लाख जन जातियों की आबादी है। वैधानिक रूप से, अनुसूचित जन जातियों के अधिकार तथा मांग के वैधानिक सुरक्षा, तथा उनकी भलाई के लिये इसका उत्तरदायित्व राज्यपाल पर है। राज्यपाल के निमित्त मुख्य मन्त्री (जो प्रसङ्गवश संथाल पहाड़ियां सेवा मण्डल तथा जन जातीय सेवा मण्डल के सभापति भी हैं), तथा कल्याण मन्त्री मण्डल पर आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में होने वाले विशेष योजनाओं के सम्पादन का भार सौंपे गये हैं। इन विशेष योजनाओं के अलावे, साधारण विकास के कार्य जो सारे राज्य के लिये है, साथ ही साथ जन जाति क्षेत्रों में भी शिक्षा, जन स्वास्थ्य, कृषि तथा खेती जैसे विभिन्न मन्त्री मण्डल द्वारा संचालित किये जाते हैं। विशेष अवसरों पर दूसरे मन्त्रिमण्डलों द्वारा कल्याण मन्त्रिमण्डल से सलाह ली जा सकती है, परन्तु साधारणतः राज्य सरकार के विभिन्न विभागों में अधिकतर इस तरह का एकीकरण नहीं है।

कल्याण मन्त्रिमण्डल जन जाति क्षेत्रों में स्कूल, छात्रावास, दवाखाना आदि खोलने के लिये, जन जाति सेवा मण्डल तथा संथाल पहाड़िया सेवा मण्डल जैसे गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को दान भी देता है। इन गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को केन्द्रिय गैर सरकारी से भी दान मिलता है। वे, कल्याण मन्त्रिमण्डल, अथवा केन्द्रिय गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा अनुमोदित किये गये तथा आर्थिक रूप से व्यवस्थित योजनाओं को चलाने के लिये शिक्षा तथा सेवक नियुक्त करते हैं। इस तरह के कल्याण कार्यों के लिये वे जनता से भी चन्दा इकट्ठा करते हैं।

राज्य के नियन्त्रण तथा देखभाल के अलावे केन्द्रीय सरकार ने प्रत्येक प्रदेश में योजनाओं के, विशेष कर जो केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा अनुमोदित तथा आर्थिक रूप से व्यवस्थित है। देखभाल के लिये अपने प्रतिनिधियों को रक्खा है। प्रादेशिक उप कमिश्नर नामक पदाधिकारी, केन्द्रीय तथा राज्य

सरकारों के बीच मध्यस्थ का काम करता है तथा अपने प्रदेश में होने वाले कल्याण के कार्यक्रम तथा उन्नति के बारे में अनुसूचित जन जाति तथा अनुसूचित जातियों के कमिश्नर को इसका विवरण देता है।

कल्याण मन्त्रिमण्डल, जन जातीय मन्त्रणा संघ तथा जन जातीय शोध संस्था द्वारा जनजातीय कल्याण के कार्यक्रमों तथा नीति के निर्माण में मन्त्रणा ग्रहण करता है। विधान के अनुसार जनजातीय मन्त्रणा संघ में २० सदस्य हैं जिसमें तीन चौथाई अनुसूचित जन-जाति हैं। इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य यह है कि जनजाति सम्बन्धी बातों पर आदिवासी नेतागण पूर्ण रूप से सरकार को अपना परामर्श दे सकें। परन्तु अभी तक इस उद्देश्य को पूरा करने है इसे सफलता नहीं मिली चूंकि इसमें प्रशासकीय पदाधिकारियों का ही प्रभुत्व रखता है। मुख्य मन्त्री, कल्याण मन्त्री, तथा कल्याण विभाग के सचिव क्रमशः इसके सभापति, तथा सचिव हैं। इसकी सभायें बहुत कम ही होती है तथा आदिवासी नेताओं को आदिवासी कल्याण के कार्यक्रमों में कुछ करने का व्यवहारिक रूप से कोई अवसर नहीं मिलता है।

जनजातिय शोध संस्था जिसमें संचालक, दो उप संचालक तथा छत्र शोध सहायक हैं हाल ही में कल्याण मन्त्रिमण्डल के अन्तर्गत खोला गया है। डा० गुहा के निर्देशन में इस शोध संस्था का उत्तरोत्तर विकास हो रहा है। इसके मुख्य कार्य, जनजातियों की समस्याओं पर राज्य सरकार को सलाह देना, बिहार के जनजातीय जीवन तथा उनकी संस्कृति पर शोध, करना, तथा एक नृवंशीय अजायब-घर का निर्माण करना है। जनजाति शोध संस्था के वास्तविक कार्यक्रम नियन्त्रण परिषद् द्वारा निश्चित किया जाता है। इस नियन्त्रण परिषद् के अन्तर्गत नौ सदस्य हैं, जिनमें एक मानव विज्ञान विभाग, बिहार विश्वविद्यालय, एक समाज शास्त्र विभाग, पटना विश्वविद्यालय, दो गैर सरकारी कल्याण संस्थाओं के हैं, तथा बाकी सरकारी हैं। बिहार सर-कार द्वारा नियुक्त किये गये व्यवहारिक मानव वैज्ञा-निकों के कामों पर अभी भी ध्यान रखना है तथा अभी यह भविष्य की बात है कि मानव विज्ञान वर्त-मान स्थिति में क्या कर सकती है।

### *बिहार में कल्याण योजना*

अब तक बिहार राज्य में सरकार जनजातियों की भलाई के लिये क्या कर रही है इसका उल्लेख हमें बिहार राज्य द्वारा प्रकाशित विवरणों से मिलता है। उनकी अधिकतर योजनायें जो कार्यान्वित की जा रही है उन्हें दो मुख्य भागों में बाटा जा सकता है, आर्थिक तथा शिक्षा सम्बन्धी। आर्थिक कार्य क्रमों के अन्तर्गत भूमि का पुनरूद्धार, छोटे-छोटे सिंचाई के कार्य गृह उद्योग के लिये रुपयों की सहायता कर, खादी के कामों के लिये चरखों का बंटवारा, अनाज के गोलों का खुलना, कुछ प्रतिशत नौकरियों की सुरक्षा आदि, आते हैं। *शिक्षा सम्बन्धी योजनाओं* के अन्तर्गत, नये स्कूलों का खुलना, छात्रवृत्तियों का वितरण, छात्रावास का खुलना, और उसकी देखभाल तथा जन जातीय शिक्षा गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को दान के लिए देना, सम्मिलित हैं। इन आर्थिक तथा शिक्षा सम्बन्धी योजनाओं के अलावे, खानाबदोश बिरहोर तथा पहाड़ी जन जातियों की विशेष समस्याओं के लिये विशेष कल्याण जन योजना बनाना जैसे : खारिया तथा बिरहोर के खानाबदोश परिवारों को बसाना, तथा स्थानान्तर

खेती करने वाली पहाड़ियाँ जन जाति की विशेष कल्याण योजना, सड़कों का निर्माण, कुंओं की खुदाई, दवाखानों का खुलना तथा उनकी देख भाल, जनजातीय कल्याण योजना के महत्वपूर्ण विषय है।

इनमें से बहुत सी योजनायें राज्य सरकार द्वारा अर्थ व्यवस्थित है, परन्तु उन्हें केन्द्रीय सरकार से सहायक दान दिया जाता है।

१६५२-५३ में राज्य सरकार ने, अकेले करीब १,२७,००० रूपया १७६ योजनाओं के ऊपर, २५ डाक्टरी तथा शिक्षा सम्बन्धी संस्थाओं को सहायक दान देने के अलावे, खर्च किया। १६५३-५४ में कार्यान्वित हुये योजनाओं की संख्या ३२५ हो गई तथा इनपर खर्च किये गये कुल रूपयों की संख्या ५,००,४७७ थी। डाक्टरी तथा शिक्षा सम्बन्धी संस्थाओं पर फिर ४४,००० रूपयों का सहायक दान दिया गया। गत तीन वर्षों से यह रकम लगभग १०० प्रतिशत अधिक हो गया है। 'विवरण रिपोर्ट' में बहुत सी योजनाओं के बारे में विस्तारपूर्वक लिखा गया है परन्तु यहां पर एक दो का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है।

अनाज का गोला (बीज और अनाज बांटने का केन्द्र), खोलना बिहार सरकार की मुख्य योजनाओं में से है। यह गत कितने सालों से चल रहा है। इसका उद्देश्य न केवल लालची महाजनों के नाजायज फायदा उठाने से आदिवासियों को बचाना है बल्कि कृषि के कामों के लिये भी समय पर उन्हें बीज देना है। बिहार में सरकार ८०० अनाज का गोला खोलना चाहती है जो १६०० जनजाति गांवों के लिये होंगे। १६५५ तक कुल मिलाकर ३४७ गोले खोले जा सके हैं।

जन जाति सेवा मंडल तथा संथाल पहाड़ियाँ सेवा मंडल जैसे गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को, ठक्कर बापा योजना नामक एक विशेष योजना के लिये पर्याप्त मात्रा में दान मिलता रहा है। इस योजना को चलाने के लिये बजट में कुल मिलाकर ५,७६,४०० रूपये रक्खे गये थे। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत छोटानागपुर में कुल मिलाकर २७६ स्कूल तथा ३१ होस्टल जन जाति बच्चों के लिये खोले गये थे, और इन सब की व्यवस्था जन जाति सेवा मंडल द्वारा की जा रही है। इन स्कूलों में जनजातिय लड़के तथा लड़कियों को निःशुल्क भोजन, कपड़ा तथा किताब आदि दिये जाते हैं। इस प्रकार हरेक साल ज्यादा से ज्यादा स्कूल खोले जा रहे हैं, ज्यादा से ज्यादा छात्र वृत्ति दी जा रही है, तथा जनजातियों की आर्थिक दशा सुधारने के लिये बहुत सी योजनायें बनाई जा रही है। विवरण में दिये गये तुलनात्मक आंकड़ो से पता चलता है कि प्रत्येक साल ज्यादा से ज्यादा रूपये जनजाति कल्याण पर खर्च किये जा रहे हैं।

### *सरकार की नीति*

इस प्रकार वर्तमान प्रशासकीय ढांचों का रूप किये जाने वाले जन जातीय कल्याण कार्य, तथा जनजातियों की उन्नति के लिये जो रूपया खर्च हो रहा है, बहुत ही प्रभावशाली मालूम पड़ता है। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि 'सुधार का कार्य' ठीक तरह से हो रहा है। परन्तु एक उद्यमी मानव वैज्ञानिक का, जिसने एक तरह सरकार तथा समाज सेवकों के कामों को देखा है तथा दूसरी ओर

जनजातियों पर इसके परिणाम का भी अध्ययन किया है, यह अवस्था संतोषजनक नहीं दीख पड़ती। सरकार तथा समाज सेवकों का 'जंगली को सभ्य बनाने' का प्रभुत्वशाली उपाय, पहले से चले आये हुये व्यवहारिक मानव वैज्ञानिकों के विरूद्ध पक्षपात अभी भी जारी है तथा निसन्देह जनजातियों की संस्कृति को हेय दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। वे सिर्फ अपना ही भौतिक लाभ देखते हैं। वे उनके आस पड़ोस की भूमि तथा उनके औजार तथा व्यवहार के तरीकों के सुधारने में विश्वास करते हैं। उनके मूल्य निरूपण एवं निर्धारण के अधिकार को वे हमेशा तिरस्कार करते हैं,। इस तरह सरकारी तथा गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं का पैतृक भाव ही सदा मुख्य स्थान पाता है। मैं डा० टैक्स के इस कथन में बहुत बड़ा सत्य देखता हूँ, जब वह अपने एक लेख में कहते है कि भारतवर्ष में राष्ट्रीय राजनैतिक स्वराज्य आने से इसने पैतृक शक्ति को सिर्फ एक समूह से दूसरे समूह पर हस्तान्तर कर दिया है। 'असभ्य जनजातियों' से इस प्रकार के व्यवहार के नतीजे की चरम परिणति हम उत्तरी पूर्वी सीमा एजेन्सी के 'नागा विद्रोह', तथा अलग राज्य के मांग के लिये मध्य भारत के राजनैतिक देशीय झारखंड आन्दोलन में देखते हैं।

मैं इस बात को बिहार के पहाड़ियों में रहने वाली जनजातियों में किये गये एक क्षेत्रीय अध्ययन से साफ करना चाहता हूं। सरकार तथा समाज सेवक, सौरिया पहाड़िया को समतल भूमि पर बसाने के लिये बहुत उत्सुक हैं। वे उन्हें समतल भूमि पर इसलिये बसाना चाहते हैं कि पहली बात उनका भौतिक हालत सुधरेगी, तथा दूसरी बात यह होगी कि कुरवा खेती काटने और जलाने की खेति से जो जंगलों का नाश होता है, उसकी सुरक्षा हो सकेगी। सरकार ने दस 'आधे पहाड़ियों'। वर्णसंकर, परिवारों को समतल भूमि पर बसाया है। परन्तु इसका परिणाम आदर्श पहाड़ियों पर बहुत ही खतरनाक हुआ है। हमलोगों के अध्ययन से यह पता चलता है कि वे लोग किसी भी हालत में नीचे जाकर समतल भूमि पर बसने के लिये तैयार नही हैं। कुछ लोगों ने तो इस हद तक भी कहा है कि यदि उन्हें सरकार नीचे जाने के लिये बाध्य करेगी, तो वे समतल भूमि पर जाकर 'सुख से रहने' के बनिस्पत पहाड़ियों पर ही बाल बच्चों के साथ गोली खाकर मर जाना अधिक श्रेयस्कर समझेंगे।

पहाड़ियों पर ही रहने के लिये वे जो अपनी तर्क पेश करते हैं, उसपर विशेष ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। मैंने ५० पहाड़ियों पर जो प्रश्नों का समूह व्यवहार में लाया था, उससे यह पता चलता है कि वे सभी यह सोचते हैं कि पहाड़ियां ही उनकी परम्परागत निवास स्थान है, तथा उनके देवी देवता तथा भूत वहीं पर निवास करते हैं। सभी सूचकों द्वारा दिये गये अपने इस उत्तर में उन लोगों ने बतलाया कि वे 'कुरवा' काटने और जलाने की खेती तथा पेड़ पौधों के वातावरण को छोड़ना नहीं चाहते जो उन्हें समतल भूमि पर जाने से नहीं मिलेगी। इन उत्तरों के अलावे, ६० प्रतिशत लोगों ने समतल भूमि पर रहने वाले संथाल जनजातियों के क्रूर स्वभाव के बारे में बतलाया, जिसके साथ वे रहना चाहते हैं। जब उन्हें यह कहा गया कि यदि वे लोग 'संथाल'

दूसरी जगह को हटा दिये जांय तो क्या वे जाने के लिये तैयार होंगे, फिर भी इस सवाल के जवाब में उन लोगों ने निराशा प्रकट की। दूसरे सवाल के जवाब में सभी स्त्री सूचकों को मिलाकर ५७ प्रतिशत उनलोगों ने समतल भूमि पर जाने का पूर्ण विरोध किया। और कहा कि वहां जाकर उनके बच्चों को बिमारी हो जायगी तथा वे मर जायंगे।

जब लोगों का अपने पुराने पहाड़ी निवास स्थान के प्रति इस तरह का भाव है, तो कहां तक सरकार तथा कल्याण सेवकों के लिये यह कहना कि समतल भूमि उनके लिए सुखकर होगी, उचित है ? क्यों हम किसी जनजाति समूह के सामाजिक धार्मिक मूल्यताओं को उनके भौतिक के कल्याण लिये भूल जांय। भारतवर्ष में, पिछड़े जनजातियों की उन्नति के नाम पर उनके स्वयं निर्धारण के अधिकार की अवहेलना की जा रही है। मैं फिर एक बार इस पर गौर करने के लिये यह दुहरा देना चाहता हूँ कि, भारत में जनजाति कल्याण की योजनाओं में यह एक बहुत खतरनाक खोखलापन है। बहुत से ऐसे उदाहरण यह दिखलाने के लिये पेश किये गये हैं कि, किस प्रकार जनजातियों के स्वयं निर्धारण के अधिकार पर पैतृक भावनाओं का ही प्रभुत्व रहा है। समय आ गया है जबकि व्यवहारिक मानव विज्ञान वर्तमान भारतीय स्थिति में जनजातियों की योजनाओं के लिये अपना एक विशिष्ट स्थान बना लें, तथा इसे अपने विचारों को व्यवहारिक रूप में लायें।

PART 4

# Papers Submitted
TO
# the Conference

## Tribal Representatives Section

भाग चौथा

## सम्मेलन के आदिमजाति प्रतिनिधि
## विभाग में प्रस्तुत निबन्ध

## SOME THOUGHTS ON THE ECONOMIC BETTERMENT OF THE TRIBALS

by

**Ambalal Vyas.**

Amongst civilized countries the per capita income of Indians is the lowest, and amongst Indians the per capita income as well as the general standard of living of the Tribals is decidedly the lowest. While making this categorical statement we have to exclude a few Gond and Bhil Rajas and Jamindars from the list of 2 crores of tribals in India. Though the tribals live isolated in hills and forests in different parts of India and speak different dialects and languages, their ways of life, their likes and dislikes every where are same or similar. In each area they are at different stages of civilisation and culture. Some are more primitive and some are less; some have become partly acculturised and in some there are now no traces of primitiveness left and have become like other backward class people.

Economically the tribals in Orissa can be placed in different categories according to their occupations and means of livelihood. Those living on mere hunting and on fruits, roots and leaves of forest trees alone are very rare. A small percentage live only on forests, by selling forest products like grass, bamboo, fuel, timber, lac, gums, tusser cocoons, honey, and wax; an equal number live only on different kinds of labour, in forests, fields, tea and coffee gardens, factories, mills and mines. But majority of them now live on some kind of agriculture, settled or shifting, but supplemented for sometime of the year, more or less by other different kinds of activities mentioned above. Those who live on agriculture alone may be hardly 20 per cent. The number of Government servants of all categories, and of those employed by District Boards and Municipalities may not be more than 12,000. But this number is bound to increase with the spread of education. In Orissa 20 per cent of posts are reserved for them, but for posts other than class IV, qualified tribal candidates are not available in sufficient numbers.

Amongst the 30 lacs of tribals in Orissa about whom I can speak with some greater accuracy, the number of those who live on agriculture alone may be roughly four lacs or approximately one lac families. About 16 lacs or 4 lacs of tribal families live partly on agriculture and partly on some kind of labour either in the fields, forests, factories or mines. Approximately 10 lacs or 2·5 lac families are only day labourers. The agriculture practised by the 16 lacs is partly settled and partly axe cultivation or 'Podu chas' wherein valuable forest trees are indiscriminately cut down, burnt and in the ashes some cereals, pulses or turmeric are grown. For two or three years crops in this kind of

cultivation have a luxuriant growth because of natural manures and destruction of weeds and pest insects by fire.

These 20 lacs of agriculturist tribals or approximately 5 lacs of agriculturist tribal families are, now, after the abolition of Zamindari system and after the Rajas have been deprived of their kingly powers, either big or small land holders or peramanent tenants or both. Only a small number amongst them may be tenants-at-will.

From the All India Labour Inquiry figures it appears that out of 70 per cent of the total population living broadly on agriculture in India 46·9 per cent are owner cultivators, 8·8 per cent are tenant cultivators and the rest are agricultural labourers. In Orissa the percentage living on agriculture is higher, broadly it may be 80 per cent. The all-India figure for the size of average holding per family is 7·5 acres but in East India it is 4·5 acres. Seventeen per cent of the holdings in India are below one acre; 21 per cent are between one and 2·5 acres and 21 per cent are between 2·5 and 5 acres. In Orissa 80 per cent of holdings are less than 5 acres in size. Percentages for the tribals may not be very much different from these. The number of big landholders amongst the tribals may be very small.

All these holdings are uneconomic holdings and without some subsidiary occupation can not assure even two square meals a day to the family members of the landholders all the year round. At present in Orissa the tribals live on mango fruits and mango stones, jack fruit and their seeds, and on Mahua flowers for nearly four months in a year.

Hunger for land amongst the tribals is increasing day by day and after 10 years it will be difficult, almost impossible, to cope up with their demand for new lands. Many forests which had so far remained unreserved in Orissa and which were open to the tribals for 'Podu' or shifting cultivation are gradually being reserved for timber, rains and for prevention of floods and soil erosion, and now the scope for shifting cultivation is being minimised. Population is increasing and as a result per capita cultivated land is decreasing. The following figures are revealing :—

| Census year | | Area of cultivated land per capita | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | in cents | | in acres |
| Year | 1891 | 109 cents | or | 1·09 acres |
| ,, | 1901 | 103 ,, | ,, | 1·03 ,, |
| ,, | 1911 | 109 ,, | ,, | 1·09 ,, |
| ,, | 1921 | 111 ,, | ,, | 1·11 ,, |
| ,, | 1931 | 104 ,, | ,, | 1·04 ,, |
| ,, | 1941 | 94 ,, | ,, | ·94 ,, |
| ,, | 1951 | 84 ,, | ,, | ·84 ,, |

Serious efforts are being made to bring under cultivation all cultivable waste lands but under the circumstances narrated above unless the tribals take to settled and intensive forms of agriculture and grow more cash crops also, as the Khonds in Phulbani are growing turmeric (Haldi), it would be difficult, nay impossible, for them to live a decent contended life. For improving their standard of life which is the lowest, they will have to make utmost efforts in all directions. Over and above intensive cultivation, growing of vegetables and

fruit trees, they will have to be given some supplementary means of livelihood. They will have to be persuaded to keep cows and buffaloes for rearing draught animals and dairy farming, sheep and goats for meat and wool, improved varieties of poultry for eggs, and learn some subsidiary cottage industries also. Those who are settled agriculturists should be persuaded to take up spinning on the Ambar Charkha. Along with this an urge for better living and for improvement of living standards will have to be created and inculcated amongst the coming generations of the tribals.

Unless their sources of income are developed and expanded and unless their exploitation by Zamindars, Sahukars, forest contractors, and petty Government servants is stopped, there is no chance of bettering their lot. By organising different kinds of co-operative societies manned by properly trained and sympathetic personnel only this stupendous task can be accomplished. Multipurpose Co-operative Societies have been started in tribal areas in all States including Orissa, but most of these are not working well. Forest Co-operatives also have been started and are showing good results whenever these societies have been sponsored by experienced non-official agencies and have got the guidance of honest and efficient workers. If left to unsympathetic Government agencies they will work on paper only and the benefits if any will not reach the tribals. Educated tribal youths should be trained to undertake the responsibilities of successfully running these societies. Grain golas have been started in many States.. If properly worked out, they would prove very useful and stop a large part of the exploitation which the tribals are experiencing in their dealings with sahukars for loans of grain for food in lean months and for seeds. The progress of Grain golas in Bihar was appreciated and praised by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his reports. I happened to visit one such Grain gola near Ranchi two months back. But on enquiry from the Thana Officer, I was sorry to find that while about 2,300 maunds of paddy were loaned out three or four years back this year's stock for loaning had dwindled to about 237 maunds. Paddy loaned is not fully realised back each year and some paddy though realised is not credited. I do not draw any generalisations from this one particular example. But if this kind of work is done at many places the whole scheme would go to dogs. In Orissa large sums have been sanctioned for starting Grain golas but in many cases 56-57 Grain gola buildings in tribal areas are still being constructed by the Block Development Officers In some cases though the buildings were ready, paddy could not be purchased and stored for loaning as the market rates were higher than the rates prescribed by Government for making purchases. If the whole Government machinery does not become welfare—minded, alert and efficient, the welfare schemes can not bear the desired fruits.

Prohibition is another thing which will have to be enforced sooner or lat r if the economic condition of the tribals is to be improved. A substantial portion

of their income is wasted on liquor, and the moral degradation that heavy drinking habit entails can not be calculated in coins of silver or gold. Social service organisations should create the atmosphere by propaganda and personal contacts for the State Governments to enforce prohibition even at the cost of heavy loss to the treasury.

States and Central Governments are spending vast sums of money for rehabilitation for colonies, for healthy and better living facilities like education, drinking water wells, tanks, roads, houses and dispensaries, and for the improvement of the economic condition of the Tribals. Satisfactory progress has been achieved in many respects but in the economic field the Government machinery has not borne the expected results, Government Officers including the Block Development Officers who are keymen and are being considered the corner stones of the whole development edifice have, in my personal opinion, miserably failed in enthusing the people for better living, and in ushering in an era of economic betterment in tribal areas as well as in other rural areas. Perhaps they are temperamentally unfit and unsuited for this kind of economic improvement work. It would be better if schemes like houses, roads, wells, tanks, and minor irrigation projects only are left in charge of the Block Development Officers. All schemes regarding economic betterment of the tribals and of other rural people should be entrusted to Khadi and Village Industries Board or to experienced non-official organisations like Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh. Their approach is different but more practical and they would create greater popular interest and support for economic schemes like Ambar Charakha, weaving, Tadgud, oil press (Ghani) and hand-pounding of rice which would give wages to thousands of unemployed or semi-employed tribals and rural people. Intensive development schemes of Khadi Commission are showing better results though the progress in the beginning may appear slow.

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## THE LAND PROBLEM OF THE NILGIRI TRIBES

by

**Dr. S. Narasimhan.**

*Introduction* : In the Nilgiri hills of the South, there are many primitive tribes (Adimjati or Adivasis). In and around Ootacamund, the Queen of Hill Stations in India, there live about 900 Todas. Their features, habits and ways of life have not only attracted the attention of many in India but have actually focussed the interests of almost every University and Anthropologist in most

parts of the world. There are many other tribes, who have lived on these hills from time inmemorial.

Who is it that should be called a primitive tribal? Are we not Adivasis ourselves? Why should the queer name be foisted on a particular section of human society? Are there not such societies in other parts of the world? Is there any unitary character in such societies all over the world?

These societies present certain broad differences of technology, social structure and organisation from the types of societies, we ordinarily think of as civilized. There are no cultural yardsticks, by which one could measure the progress of a society and term them as primitive or advanced. Broadly speaking, we might call primitive all the tribes that make little or no provision for the unproductive days and have no use for writing. Many of us know of the savages who gorge themselves or fast. The Irulas and Kurumbas of the Nilgiris would feast on the numerous tubers, roots and fruits during the seasons, when they are available in abundance and would not go for any work for any thing. They do not mind fasting when they do not get any food. They go for work only for three days in the week just to tide over. It is curious to note that in spite of receiving the influx of so many diverse races and nations through ages in successive waves, the tribal art and culture have remained rather static and crude. Each wave receded in turn, leaving comparatively little mark on the tribal population. Of late, a sense of security is developing in the minds of these people and they are in a stage of transition. Now that they are free from fear and insecurity and that the Government are taking all measures to educate them freely and making all provisions for their socio-economic development, they are sure to pass by natural impulse, towards the understanding and embellishment of life.

*The Nilgiri Tribes*: The tribes of the Nilgiris are :—

(1) Todas called Thodhuvar, (2) Kota called Kov-makkal, (3) Irula, (4) Kurumba (5) Paniya, (6) Kattu Naikan, and (7) Kasaba. Kasabas are not very much different from the Irulars. Their population according to the 1951 census is as follows :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Todas | 879 | (Including converts) |
| 2. | Kotas | 1,272 | |
| 3. | Irulars | 1,736 | |
| 4. | Kurumbas | 2,773 | |
| 5. | Paniyas | 4,652 | |
| 6. | Kattunaikans | 940 | |
| 7. | Kasabas | 246 | |
| | Total | 12,492 | |

The Nilgiri hills form a plateau at the junction of the Eastern and Western Ghats. The average elevation of the plateau is about 6,500 feet from the mean sea level. In the north, the plateau merges into Mysore and in the west into Malabar. In the south and south-east, the hills rise very abruptly from the adjoining plains of the Coimbatore District. The Paniyas, Kasabas, Kattunaikans Kurumbas and Irulas live on the lower slopes up to an altitude of about 4,000 ft. The Kotas generally live at altitudes between 4,000 and 6,000 feet.

The Todas live mostly on the top of the plateau, above 6,000 feet. The whole plateau was divided by its original inhabitants into four tracts called : (1) Paranginad (The country of Ranga) in the east, (2) Merkunad (Western country) in the west, (3) Todanad (country of the Todas) in the north and (4) Kundhanad also known as Nanjanad. The low lying areas formed a belt, where deadly forms of malaria were rampant. This was the reason why the Nilgiris Plateau and its inhabitants have been isolated from the people of the plains for a very long time. Most of the early explorers fell either victims to malaria or were forced to turn their backs to the hills with fever and emaciation. In the year 1822, John Sullivan, the then Collector of Coimbatore, successfully scaled up the plateau and discovered Ootacamund and the surrounding areas. With this discovery began the pressure on the land in the District.

1. *The Toda Land problem* : The Todas and the Kotas are peculiar to the Nilgiris, for the like of them are not found in any other part of the country. The Todas are purely a pastoral people. They live on the produce of their herds of huge buffaloes and gifts of grains from the other tribes. They were the lords of the land. They differ in every aspect of life and manners from their neighbours. They are used to an arcadian fashion of life. Todas are lacto-vegetarians. There are over 14 clans amongst the Todas and each clan divided itself into hamlets called "*Munds*". These munds were distributed all over in scattered groups. Each mund would consist of two to six semi-barrel shaped huts belonging to the same number of families. They are fairer and more well-built than any other tribe in the Nilgiris. Their build compares favourably with that of men from more advanced communities in any other part of the country. They practised the unusual customs of polyandry, buffalo sacrifice at funerals and infanticide. Their population remained static because of this practice of infanticide and venereal disease. Infanticide was stopped by the intervention of the Government during the latter part of the last century. On rising in the morning, the Toda would salute the Sun and let the buffaloes out of the pen, milk them, churn the previous day's milk and take the bufflaoes out for grazing on that seemingly endless carpet of grass-the beautiful "Downs". The Toda would spend all the day with his buffaloes. The women are confined to ordinary household work. They do some beautiful embroidery work. They are not allowed to have anything to do with milking or churning. Milk and milk products provide the food for the tribe. The dairies in which milk is stored and churned are in fact, the temples of the tribe. The various operations in these dairies are considered sacred and religious. These ceremonials are gone through amidst prayers for the health of the buffaloes and abundance of grazing and water. During the early part of the year, when the grass on these moorish Downs dries up due to frost, the Todas used to migrate into the Kundhas and return to their homes when the Downs become green again. The social status of the Toda depended upon the number of herds of buffaloes he possessed. The Toda never believed in any existence

without the buffalo. Thus it would be clearly seen that the Todas were virtually the lords of all the Downs on the Plateau, that vast green carpet of grass extending over miles and miles, dotted with sholas and Toda Munds. This vast arena where Nature appeared in all her best was called "*Mazshard*" or what was later on named the "*Wenlock Downs*". This was the home of the Toda people for generations and centuries. The most important Munds, the sacred dairies (the dairies or temples) were in the Wenlock Downs. The Pykara river and the most imposing Mukurty peak were all sacred to the Toda tribe. All the Downs around munds were the grazing grounds for their herds. The Wenlock Downs comprise about 20,000 acres of land. Some of the Toda clans lived in the other parts of the plateau outside the Wenlock Downs. These buffaloes do not thrive at lower elevations. Agriculture was never the occupation of the Todas. The other tribes which cultivated the land paid the "Gudu" or gift of grain to the Todas. The Irulas and Kurumbas never paid any gudu to the Todas.

In 1822, Sullivan, the then Collector of Coimbatore first entered Ootacamund. With him came the first European settlement in the way of rehabilitation of the sick and retired military officers of the East India Company. Sullivan himself bought land from the Todas paying them compensation. He built the first European Bungalow. Many of the other Europeans also paid the Todas and got lands. The Government of the day readily recognized such transfers. The Todas' title to the land was thus a recognized fact. The total extent of Todanad was about 217,000 acres.

By about 1830, the Europeans were required to pay the Todas sixteen times the usual revenue assessment of compensation, for the lands they have hitherto enjoyed. In 1831, the Government gave the settlers wastelands without paying any compensation to the Todas. In 1835, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, recognized the Todas as the Jenmi and ordered payment of Rs. 150 as compensation for the land taken from them at Ootacamund. The Court of Directors, again in 1843, refused to recognize the prescriptive right of the Todas and ordered them to pasture their herds on payment of a nominal tax on the Government lands. The Government came forward with a plan for regularisation of the Toda holdings. Early European settlers were required to pay a quit rent of Rs. 3-5-0 per acre. By about 1863 waste land rules were framed and about two to three thousand acres were sold to European planters. The levy of grass was reduced from Re. 1 to annas eight only per acre. Lands taken for tea and firewood plantations were exempted from any levy for the first three or four years to encourage such plantings.

The settlers were intefering with the Toda holdings and the Government were determined to secure the lands around the toda munds and also preserve the beauty of the "Downs". Accordingly the Court of Directors held that the Todas should be secured from interference from the new settlers, in the enjoyment of their munds and spots appropriated for religious rites. As a

first step, Pattas were issued for three ballas or about 11·6 acres around each mund. This was again raised by another 9 ballas or about 34-38 acres around each mund on the express condition that neither it nor the forest on it should be alienated and that the land should only be used for pastoral purposes.

*Toda Patta Lands* : Around each toda mund an area of about 12 ballas or about 45·84 acres were reserved for pastoral purposes. Special pattas granted for these people for these lands were called the Toda Pattas. The reservations were the inalienable property of the Toda community. The total extent of land under this head was 5,575 acres. The practice of leasing these lands to Badagas and others was checked by penal assessment on land so leased and cultivated. Much of the land was taken from the Todas after paying them compensation called "Gudu" money. Accordingly Toda patta lands were reduced to about 2,795 acres. Out of this 2,795 acres, 1,402 acres do not come within the Wenlock Downs. Only about 1,393 acres come within the Wenlock Downs. The forest department prevented all encroachment by others into these lands. TheToda patta land was not Government land. The Government had a certain interest to see that these lands were not disposed of to outsiders.

All the Toda patta lands were brought under the control of the Forest Department. By a G.O. the Todas were given exemption from the operation of the Madras Forest Act and were allowed in respect of their own patta lands, liberty to graze their own cattle, remove firewood, and grass for their domestic requirements. They were also given special free permits to gather honey, wax, timber, bamboo, rattan and fibre to thatch their huts and temples. The Government were anxious to create an agricultural bias in the Todas. They directed, that crops like vegetables and potato could be cultivated in these Toda patta lands on obtaining a special permit for the same. From 1926, onwards, the Government gave them all facilities and at least some of the Todas took full advantage and cultivated the lands themselves. In 1955-56, the Government felt that if these people were made to settle down in small agricultural farms of their own, their social and economic conditions would improve. They were even supplied with the necessary seeds and manure.

In 1953, an attempt was made to form an agricultural Co-operative Credit Society to enable them to get short-term loans. An amount of Rs. 1,000 was collected from them towards share capital. The Registrar of Cooperative Societies refused to register the same as the Cooperative Banks refused to advance money on Toda patta lands as they were not the un-encumbered property of the Todas. Naturally, the Todas applied to the Government to assign these Toda patta lands on a permanent basis (Ryotwari basis). The Government were prepared to assign 1,402 acres of Toda patta lands outside the Wenlock Downs on a ryotwari basis but refused to assign any land out of the 1,393 acres of Toda patta lands in the Wenlock Downs. But the Todas feared that they would all be evicted and displaced from their very

ancient homes, the Wenlock Downs—the land of their sturdy buffaloes—and refused to accept any assignment outside, unless and until they were assigned the Toda patta lands within the Wenlock Downs. They preferred to perish in their own homes to being forced to migrate to other places. Consequently the share amounts they contributed to the Society were refunded to them. They continued to stay on in the Wenlock Downs and cultivated about 518 acres of land. This was declared as "unauthorised cultivation". Thus the Toda patta lands neither belonged wholly to the Government nor to the Todas. If it really belonged to the Government, then such an un-authorised cultivation would have been declared as encroachment on Government land as being "Unauthorised cultivation".

In their deplorable plight, the Todas were not able to cultivate their own land by themselves. The Todas were accused of not cultivating their land themselves but leasing them to outsiders. They were not given any financial assistance. They were not cultivators by tradition. The co-operative movement was of no avail to them as the Cooperaive banks refused to finance the Todas because they had no absolute title over their lands. No sowcar would lend them any money as they had no land of their own to offer as security. The result was many of them leased their lands for a nominal value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per acre. Now let us examine as to what this costs the Toda or the Government :—

About 535 acres have been leased this way. If these had been leased by open auction each acre would easily fetch Rs. 200

| | |
|---|---|
| @ Rs. 200 per acre 535 acres would fetch ... | Rs. 1,07,000 |
| By indiscriminate leasing to get some ready cash at anything from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per acre the Todas get only ... | Rs. 45,000 |
| Loss per annum | Rs. 62,000 |
| Loss by such indiscriminate leasing during the last 10 years (62,000 x 10) ... | Rs. 620,000 |

The lessee actully would earn much more than this amount. Thus if a cooperative was formed, the land comes under the absolute control of the Society and leasing of the land goes out of the picture. If only a cooperative had been formed earlier, about 6,20,000 rupees would have been saved during the past 10 years. Of late the Government got an idea to preserve the Wenlock Downs as a national park. Soil conservation and preservation of the Downs as catchment area for the Hydro electric project have been agitating the mind of the Government.

The Plantation Companies which were given permanent rights over the land in the Wenlock Downs are also taking to potato cultivation. But they do this, as they need not take annual permits to do

so. Recently about 120 acres of land, right with in the Wenlock Downs were assigned to political sufferers. I am given to understand that much of this land has been sold already. The total extent of land wanted by the Todas is only 1,393 acres out of about 20,000 acres in the Wenlock Downs. The Todas and their munds with the huge herds of buffaloes form part and parcel of the beauty of the Downs. As said elsewhere they prefer extinction to rehabilitation on land elsewhere. The Government, more than once, assured them, that it was never their intention to evict them from the Downs. Today the Government have given them permission to cultivate 175 acres in the Wenlock Downs. It is my humble suggestion that a Cooperative Farming Society be formed for the purpose of bringing this plot under joint cultivation. Soil conservation measures must first be taken free of charge by the Government and the land handed over to the Society. An advance of at least Rs. 500 per acre should be given to the Society. The society could very easily bring the whole area under cultivation by the Todas for the Todas. This might be done as a Pilot Scheme. If this is successful, then the rest of the Toda-patta lands might also be brought under such a scheme. It is necessary to get expert opinion as to the possible consequences on the available catchment area for the Hydel Project in the vicinity.

The land problem of the Todas is a burning question. Their population is only 879. Their population has remained almost static and there have been occasions when the number went far below what it should be.

*Toda Population.*

| Year. | Population. |
|---|---|
| 1871 | 675 |
| 1891 | 736 |
| 1901 | 805 |
| 1951 | 879 |

The above figures go to show that the population of the Todas has remained almost static. For the 50 years' period between 1901 and 1951 the increase has been only 74. Prince Peter of Greece focussed the attention of the government on these people. It was discovered that venereal disease viz. Syphilis was rampant amongst the Tribe. This was responsible for absence of live-births. At the instance of the Madras Government, intensive mass treatment for this disease was done between 1952 and 1956. The result was that between 1954 and 1957 there have been as many as 45 healthy children born. The total land with the Todas today hardly comes to about 2 acres per capita. This is in spite of the vast area of land available around them. The need of the hour is re-orientation of the life of the Todas. An immediate attempt should be made for the economic rehabilitation of the Todas on their very homeland, the Mazshard or the Wenlock Downs. Their problem should be considered on a very different footing from that of others who before, long, have merged with the common stream of life of more progressive people. They are a problem race. There must be a glow of a brighter future in the hearts of the Todas. Here is a field of application of the Sarvodaya ideal. Unlike any other tribe these are a hardy type and it would be a calamity to allow them to dwindle.

*The Kota land Problem*: The total number of Kotas today is only 1272. They are distributed in seven hamlets called Kotagiris or Kokaals. The seven hamlets are :—

(1) Aggal Kotagiri, (2) Kilkotagiri, (3) Thiruchgadi Kotagiri, (4) Kollimalai Kotagiri, (5) Kundha Kotagiri, (6) Sholur Kotagiri and (7) Gudalur Kotagiri. The Kotas are very good artisans and musicians. They are also good agriculturists and they cultivate their land. They rear cattle. The women work in the fields and besides household duties, help the men at the smithy. They are industrious and tenacious in their habits. They are very good potters. This is one of the very few tribes in India from which not a single individual has embraced any other faith. Not a single Kota has been convicted in all history in any court of Law.

The Kota hamlet of Aggal in Kotagiri was situated right in the centre of the town. With the advent of a very large number of immigrants, who interfered with the Kota way of life, true to the tradition of the Adivasi, the Kotas had to flee or recede further down into an unhealthy valley where they had to build up a new hamlet. This happened in about 1905. Much of the land was forfeited to the Government and some sold. Their economic plight is deplorable. From a survey of their food habits, I find they consume only a poorly nourishing type. The average weights vary between 100 to 130 lbs for the adults. The intake would be between 2,000 and 2,250 calories per capita per day. Protein and essential food factors are lacking. They have been living side by side with the Todas for ages and centuries. They have common religious ceremonies in which the Todas and the Kotas have each a duty to perform.

It is wrong to say that the Kotas are not cultivators. In a paper read before the 3rd All-India Tribal Conference at Jagdalpur, Sri Muthirulandi the then Director of Harijan Welfare, Madras, in para 4 of the paper, said that the Kotas never cultivate lands. This is not correct. Of the two most ancient tribes of the Nilgiris, the Todas and the Kotas, the Kotas alone were agriculturists. During some of the common temple ceremonies when the Toda priests present ghee to the temple lamps and take in return grains as present from the Kotas, the way the Todas bless the Kotas during such ceremonies is as follows :

"May it be well, O ! two Kotas :
May it be well
May all the fields flourish and may there be rain (in plenty)".

Thus it would be seen that even the Todas recognized Kotas as cultivators.

A German missionary by name Metz wrote in his "Tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills", that the Kotas were good cultivators. The book was written about 130 years back.

All the land around the Kota hamlets, cultivable or otherwise, forest or swamp included within the several nads, was practically at the disposal of the village elders. They took to the Bhurty or the shifting system of cultivation, paying revenue only on the Bhurty acreage cultivated, though they enjoyed rights over very large tracts of land.

When the Government wanted to abolish the Bhurty system of cultivation in 1864 and 1882 during the permanent settlement in the Nilgiris, the Kotas alone, of all the tribes in the district, were given the ordinary Ryotwary pattas. Other tribes were given only Condition pattas. This was in recognition of the fact that the Kotas were capable of cultivating the lands. The Kotas are therefore good cultivators.

The Kotas of Gudalur were deprived of all their lands during the latter part of the last century, when there was a great political uncertainty in that part of the Nilgiris. The then ruler of the Wyanads refused to recognize the cession of the Wyanads, especially the Gudalur taluk, to the East India Company by the rulers of Mysore. The Kotas were also refused permission to remove clay for their pottery. During those political land feuds, Kota tradition has it that the whole Kota village consisting of about 150 houses in Gudalur was set fire to. The Kotas fled for life. The whereabouts of about 40 families are still not traceable. Today one is able to see in Gudalur a ruined mound with about five or six houses where once stood a village with 150 houses. They were thus deprived of all their lands.

Many Kotas forfeited their lands to the Government as they were unable to pay the land revenue. Some had to mortgage or sell their lands due to their economic plight. Many still cultivate their lands and during the time when they don't have work in the fields., they take to carpentry and smithy work and supplement their earnings. The Government of Madras recognized the needs of these peace loving people and observed the principle that, where land is available in and around the Kota villages for assignment, the claims of the Kotas were to be given preference, other things being equal. Forest land to the extent of at least 100 acres is available. A Farming Co-operative Society might be formed and the landless Kotas rehabilitated there. There are over 100 landless Kota families.

*The Irulars*: There are very many tribes, who live all along the lower slopes of the High Ranges of Travencore, the Palni hills, the Siruvani and Attapady valley of Malabar, Coimbatore and the Nilgiri hills. In Mathurai and the High Ranges these people are known as Muthuvans and Uralis. In the Attapady and Siruvani valley of Malabar, the Vellingiri and other hillslopes of Coimbatore, and the foothills of the Nilgiri hills especially along the north eastern and southern slopes, these tribes are known by the term Irulars. The present town of Coimbatore and its suburbs were once Irula territory. An Irula chieftain by name Kovan founded the village called Puthur. This later became Kovanputhur from which is derived the present Coimbatore. With the influx of people from Mysore and adjoining places in these parts the Irulars receded into the interior and slopes of the adjoining hills. "Irul" in Tamil means darkness. They build their huts in deep jungles only and majority of these people are dark in complexion. It is perhaps because of this that they were called Irulars.

In the Nilgiris the population of Irulars is 1,786. The census figures for

the previous years show a slight increase or decrease from this figure. Such deviations are not mainly due to birth or death rates but also due to the periodic migrations of the tribes from place to place within these hills and those of Coimbatore. They are to a certain extent nomadic. The later Rulers of Mysore, conferred on some of the Irula families, the rights over the vast tracts in which they lived. The Irulars were authorised to collect land rent, a part of which had to be paid to the Mysore rulers. Some of the Irula families still have those copper pattas. The Districts of Salem, Coimbatore, Nilgiris and Thiruannamalai were handed over to the East India Company at the end of the Mysore Wars. Much of the lands occupied by the Irulars was taken over by the British Government and preserved as Forest Reserves. Some land was given to the Irulars under the Conditional Assignment system. The main condition was that the land could not be sold or mortgaged to a non-Irula. Many Irulars live in the Government Reserve Forests. They are given small patches of land for cultivation purposes under an annual permit system. Irulars take to shifting cultivation. Some of these families in the Reserve Forests have been living in one and the same place for over a hundred years. The Irulars are good cultivators. Because of their poverty they have not been able to cultivate their lands properly. When the Government gave them lands, they were not given any financial assistance to take to any organised and orderly system of cultivation. The result was much of the land remained fallow. Wild fruit trees were allowed to grow naturally. They continued to depend for their food on the wild fruits, tuber, roots like yams etc. Only very small patches of lands were cultivated. At any rate the conditional assignment was able to prevent them from selling the lands.

The climatic conditions in the places where the Irulars live are ideal for the natural and almost wild growth of all varieties of tropical and subtropical fruits like plantains, mango, guava, pomegranate, papaya, jack fruit, all varieties of citrus fruits and pineapples. The soil is also suited for the cultivation of Ragi, maize, and sweet potatoo in abundance. Leafy vegetables like Amaranth and Solanum grow very well. Yet the Irulars are very backward. They are unable to work even in their own lands. They suffer mostly from malnutrition. They have no stamina to stand physical strain for any appreciable length of time.

About a thousand acres are under conditional assignment to the Irulars. A fairly large area of very fertile land is in the hands of the Government. Hundreds of acres of cultivable lands in the low lying plains along the south and south-eastern boundaries of the Nilgiris are also in the hands of the Government. In some of these areas even paddy could be cultivated. These lands could really be used to rehabilitate the Irulars, Kurumbas and Kasabas on a cooperative basis. There are many landless families. Nearly 5,000 acres are in the hands of the Government. In many parts even pepper, cacao, pulses, cardamom and fruits could be cultivated. Rice is perhaps the only commodity that could not be grown in all the places. This might be the only

staple commodity that would have to be imported into the area. This is not peculiar to the Irulars alone. I feel that more attention should be paid to the cultivation of sweet potato as it alone might help in solving the problems of food scarcity in famine conditions. This however cannot replace the cereals wholly. Jack fruit, which grows almost wildly, is liked by the tribes and consumed in good quantities. The seeds are nutritious. They are in good demand from the Irulars and others. The yield is also considerable. The Irulars are in a stage of transition. They are not so nomadic as before. Here is therefore a field in which a new society could be created. Social re-orientation in the life of the Irulars is quite possible.

Financial aid to enable the Irulas to continue in their present methods of cultivation would only lead them to ruin and indebtedness. All the present evils would be perpetuated. Their food habits are crude. They will not prove to be good labourers if they are given any jobs. Already they go to work only for three days in the week, whatever might be the wage. The only way to rehabilitate them would be to settle them in lands and persuade them to take to organised methods of cultivation.

The minimum requirement of land per family would be about five acres. Twenty families might be rehabilitated on a hundred acre plot on co-operative basis. Highly productive commercial crops in addition to the usual food crops should be cultivated. There must be a continuous production with perhaps brief spells of intervals. The maintenance costs should be within the means of the grower. The grower should not be made to lose wages where he has the facility to earn. No single crop could satisfy the above conditions. Therefore only multiple crop cultivation should be taken to. The following scheme might be adopted with advantage on every five acre plot.

| Acreage | Crops to be cultivated. | Annual market value. |
|---|---|---|
| | | Rs. nP. |
| 1. | *Coffee.* A crop of very high commercial value, producing on an average 1·5 cwts. per acre. The average price it fetches per cwt. would be Rs. 200. Thus it would fetch ... | 300·00 |
| 1. | *Sweet Potato.* Average yield per acre is 50 maunds. The annual domestic needs at the accepted rate of 6 ounces per head per day for a family of 3 units for one year would be 3 maunds. Deducting this, actual surplus available would be 47 maunds. 50 maunds would get @ Rs. 3·50 per maund. ... | 175·00 |

| Acreage | Crops to be cultivated | Annual market value |
|---|---|---|
| | | Rs. nP. |
| 1. | *Plantains.* Average production per acre would be 112 maunds. A wastage of 5 per cent say about 5·5 maunds should be allowed. Domestic consumption @ 2 ounces per head per day as per the calculations of the Nutrition Advisory Committee, for a year for a family of 3 units would be 3·5 maunds. Allowing for wastage of 5·5 maunds, 166·5 maunds would fetch @ Rs. 12·50. a maund ... | 1,318·75 |
| 1. | *Ragi (A staple Cereal).* This would mostly serve the domestic needs. Average crop per acre would be about 853 lbs. Domestic consumption as per the calculations of the Nutritional Advisory Committee would be 14 ounces per capita a day. For a family of 3 units per year it would be 957 lbs. Thus there would be a deficit of about 104 lbs. But the cost of ragi if sold out would be ... | 105·00 |
| ½. | *Fruits (Oranges 60 trees).* Fruit trees such as orange would yield only after 7 years. After allowing for wastage and domestic consumption the earnings would be @ Rs. 12 per tree ... | 720·00 |
| ½. | This plot should be used to build a house and growing a Kitchen garden only ... | — — |
| | At least one man in the family going out for work in the neighbouring coffee or tea plantation could earn for 3 days in the week @ Rs. 1·50 per day......(For a year) ... | 234·00 |
| | Total earnings. | 2,852·75 |
| | Less for Ragi domestic consumption cost of 957 lbs. | 118·00 |
| | Cost of plantains for domestic consumption (3·5 maunds) ... | 43·75 |
| | Actual gross earnings | 2,691·00 |

A moderately nutritious diet giving about 3,000 calories as per the calculations of Dr. Aykroyd would cost Rs. 6 per month. Dr. Aykroyd has also stated that a 25 per cent extra on this should be allowed for expenditure on such items as jaggery, sugar, condiments etc. (Dr. Aykroyd's evidence before the Bombay Textile Enquiry Committee). Thus the total for one unit would be Rs. 6 plus Rs. 1·50 = Rs. 7·50. This was again based on calculations when the cost of living was at 100 points (pre-war base). So now with a cost of living index of say 350 points the cost of such a diet per month per one consumption unit in the family would be :—

$$\frac{7{\cdot}50 \times 350}{100} = 7{\cdot}50 \times 3{\cdot}5 = \text{Rs. } 26{\cdot}25.$$

Therefore @ Rs. 26·25 per unit the annual expenditure for an average family of 3 units would be :—

Rs. 26·25 × 3 × 12 = Rs. 945.

Deducting this from the gross earnings :

Rs. 2,852·75 — Rs. 945·00 = Rs. 1,907·75.

Thus an actual surplus of about Rs. 1,907·75 would be available. Even allowing 60 per cent for costs of cultivation, repayment of debts, clothing and extras there could be an annual saving of not less than Rs. 1,907·75 minus Rs. 1,138·75 = Rs. 769·00.

The crux of the problem is formation of Agricultural Co-operatives for each 100 acre block. Where there are lands with the tribals themselves, the whole area should be redistributed in a rational way. Two years' period should be allowed for each family to bring under cultivation all the five acres. If they fail then the land should be given to another landless family, which is a member of the co-operative. At present enough land is available for such an assignment.

*Kurumbas.*—These people are also known as Kurumans. They live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri plateau. There are proto types of these people in the Trichy, North Arcot, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur Districts. Those people are called Kurubas. There are four main divisions of the Kurumbas called : (1) Jenu Kurumba, (2) Mullu Kurumba, (3) Halu Kurumba and (4) the Billinje Kurumba. Of these the last one, the Billinje Kurumba is the magician type. The other Kurumbas are afraid of these Billinje Kurumbas. Of all the tribes in the Nilgiris, the Kurumbas are the most backward. Some of them, even today live in caves and natural shelters provided by boulders on the hill slopes. They are good agriculturists. Their food habits and pattern of living are similar to those of the Irulars. Most of them live in the Government reserve forests. Some of them have been given condition patta lands. Their method of cultivation is very crude. They are very poor. Malnutrition is rampant. Their diet is of the minimum subsistence type. The average weight of the adult varies from 100 to about 125 lbs. Their population is :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1891 | ... ... | 3,966 |
| 1901 | ... ... | 4,083 |
| 1951 | ... ... | 2,773 |

The difference in the figures is mainly due to their periodic migration from one district to another and also errors in the

methods of enumeration. The Kurumbas have become agriculture minded. Their land problem is almost similar to that of the Irulars.

*Kattunaikans.*—There are only about 940 of them on the Nilgiris. They mostly live in the Gudalur taluk. They live in the interior of the Government Reserve Forests. Hence they could not cultivate as they liked. Though they resemble the Kurumbas more, they are different from them. They have no common deity. They do not have any common temples. The places they live in are very fertile slopes. Coffee would yield more in those areas. They work in the neighbouring coffee plantations. Much of the land they live in are in Government hands. They might be rehabilitated on lands as the Irulars and the Kurumbas.

*Kasabas.*—The Kasabas are almost the same as the Irulars. They are good agriculturists. They live on the northern and eastern slopes of the Nilgiris. Their population is only about 246. Many live in the Reserves. They do not have much land of their own. They do not own any lands worth mentioning. They could also be rehabilitated on the same lines as the Irulars.

*Paniyars*: The Paniyars are the largest of the jungle tribes of the Nilgiris. Unlike the Todas and the Kotas, the like of whom are not seen in any other part of the country, the Paniyars live in larger numbers in the adjoining District of Malabar. Their total population in 1951 was 41,500. In Malabar they number about 36,900. Their population on the Nilgiris was only 4,652. They live only in the Wyanads. They are very much different from the other tribes of the Nilgiris. The Paniyars are really slaves bought and sold with the lands to which they are attached. They are good cultivators. They work as labourers under the Gownders and Nayers of the Wyanads. Very few of them own any land. They live in the Genmi lands. The Co-operative movement and other progressive schemes have been of no avail to the Paniyas. They live a life of poverty. The soil of the lands they live in, is very fertile. During the south-west monsoon season the whole area gets heavy rain. Coffee, banana, all kinds of fruits, paddy and timber on the slopes grow very well. The Government must acquire land and settle the Paniyas on the land and encourage cooperative farming amongst the tribal people. Unlike the more progressive section of human society, the tribal people could not come forward with any share contribution to Co-operatives to any extent. Unless the Paniyas are properly rehabilitated, they are sure to be an eye sore to all progressive measures taken for the welfare of any community of men in the area. The Paniyars are not a very sturdy race of men. They suffer from malnutrition, malaria, and hookworm. Their average weight for adults ranges between 100 to 135 lbs. The average calorific value of the food consumed is about 2,200.

*General.* I. I have discussed at length the land problem of the tribes of the Nilgiris. The land problem is very intimately associated with the food problem. They could not be considered separately. Unless the land problem is

solved the question of self sufficiency recedes further away. Famine, pestilence and cultural backwardness are sure to play their full part in the life of a vast section of people. What is the use of the beauty of the land if the few people on it could not lead a life worth living? The solution of the food problem is a fundamental factor in the re-orientation of the way of life of tribal people. This naturally merges into the broader aspects of agricultural, economic and social development. Today, poverty, abject misery, a brooding pessimism and hunger have been accepted as almost inalienable aspects of life. A rapid scheme to improve the culture and education and a successful solution of the land problem alone could provide the necessary anthropological factors for the progress of primitive tribes that might be assimilited into the common stream of life of the ever advancing human society.

II. On the Nilgiris the total tribal population is only 12,548. Of this only a comparatively small number, say 879 are Todas. They are a unique tribe, the like of whom are not seen in any part of the world. Out of 879, about 240 live on the Wenlock Downs. The land problem of the other Todas and converts is no problem at all. Their ancient homeland is the "*Mazshard*" or the Wenlock Downs. Many attempts have been made to create an agricultural bias in the Todas. Now that this pastoral race is becoming more and more agricultural minded they should be encouraged to take to co-operative joint cultivation. It is a shame to be not able to solve the land problem of about 240 todas out of the crores and crores of men and women in this great country. It is high time the seriousness of the problem is realised, To displace them from their own homes in the Downs might prove an irreparable wrong step taken in our attempts to bring about socio-economic development.

III. A new approach, spirit and determination are required to solve the tribal problem. After all, it is the sacred duty of our Government to include within their sphere of responsibility, the socio-economic development of Tribes. The progress so far made is remarkable. But it still needs a change in tempo. All progressive measures and schemes should be implemented at a greater pace than hitherto attempted. The aim of agricultural development should not merely be to increase the actual production but it must also include the allotment of a larger share of such an extra production for the benefit of the weaker and more needy sections of society.

IV. Land hunger in the Nilgiris amongst the non-tribal population is becoming more and more expressive. This is especially so in the case of the more economically developed sections. Even in remote periods in history, the Government have tried to protect the lands belonging to the tribals by special precautionary measures, like the formation of the Toda patta and conditional assignment etc. The only mistake committed was that the tribes were not given the much needed economic assistance. The land must be made productive. If at this stage of transition, we forget the importance of reserving enough land for the rehabilitation of the

tribes before assigning lands to the more progressive sections, a more terrible and tragic mistake could not be committed.

V. Re-orientation in the life of the tribes is a necessary factor. While one could insist on keeping and preserving the better aspects of the tribal culture and life, no one should be blind to the urgent need of bringing about desirable changes in the food habits of these people. They have to be educated on modern lines. Take the example of the missionaries. They were able to succeed largely because they were starting schools for education, and offering financial assistance to those that were prepared to give up their traditional beliefs and habits. We often hear the remark that the converts amongst the tribes are much better off. The economic assistance is the crux of the matter. This should certainly be possible with a little more of proper planning and reservation of land for the tribals. Otherwise they are sure to fall a prey to any sort of religious or political propoganda,

VI. *Suggestions* :

(i) All available land for cultivation, and cattle farming in and around the places where the primitive tribes live and are settled, should be reserved for their rehabilitation.

(ii) The future development of agriculture in the case of the aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris essentially depends upon the organization of these people into Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies or Unions.

(iii) In the Nilgiris, the Government should first take all soil conservation measures before assigning them to these cooperatives.

(iv) A Development Committee for the District should be formed. The members of such a Committee should be drawn from amongst the tribes, social organizations, and the administrative officers of the Agriculture, Forest, Animal husbandry and Co-operative Departments of the Government. The District Collector should be the President of such a Committee. The Committee might meet once in a month or once in two months. The Committee should keep upto date statistics of work done and production.

(v) An expert committee to go into the consequences of land allotment to the Todas in the Wenlock Downs on the catchment areas for the Hydro-Electric Schemes might be appointed. This Committee should report on the exact measure of consequences to the Hydel project and the ways and means to overcome the same.

(vi) Any further assignment of lands in the lower slopes of the Nilgiris to non-tribals excepting Harijans should be discouraged immediately.

(vii) The co-operation of the people themselves should be sought for more and more. Once the people are well organized

collectively, it would be easy for them to take full advantage of expert advice, assistance, and all the facilities offered by the Government. Cottage Industries should be started.

With all these measures, I am sure, the land problem of the Nilgiri Tribes could be solved successfully. We would have certainly created a very useful society of men and retrieved them from the agelong rut of social, economic, and cultural backwardness. The tribes before long would slowly be assimilated into the general national life of the country. I request this Conference to pass a resolution to the effect that sufficient land for rehabilitation of the tribal population should be reserved at all costs.

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## SUGGESTIONS FOR TRIBAL WELFARE IN NILGIRIS DISTRICT

by

**Ramaswamy Adigal.**

1. *Toda Patta Lands.*—Todas occupying Toda Patta Lands in the Wenlock downs at Ootacamund in a large number, have been living there for several hundreds of years and were attached to clans, temples, *munds* and buffaloes in their traditional moorings. As such the lands lying in the Wenlock Downs should be left to the monopoly of the Todas to preserve the monopoly of the traditional community.

2. *Assignment of Lands.*—All Adivasis throughout the Indian Union and specially in the District of Nilgiris should be provided with at least five acres of land for each individual. Where and when lands are not available, people who hold more acres should be made to part with some to help the Adivasis.

The Adivasis of Nilgiri District, such as the Irulas, Kurumas, Panias and Kattunayakans have nothing which can be called as their own patta lands. A very few *i.e.* about 2 per cent of the Adivasi population of about 15000, have annual conditional lease lands.

The rest are in enjoyment of the forest waste lands from time immemorial, the threat of their eviction at any moment hanging upon them always. This position must change and all these forest lands and other revenue waste lands should be permanently assigned to the Adivasis and pattas granted to them.

3. *Formation of Co-operatives.*—Co-operative farming societies should be organised to help the Adivasis in their cultivation.

4. *Labour and Remuneration.*—(1) All minor forest contracts should be given only to Adivasis through Multipurpose Co-operative Societies exclusively meant for Adivasis.

(2) Though the Forest Department is employing the Adivasis for departmental

labour in Nilgiris District, fair wages at Rs. 2 per adult per day should be fixed.

(3) The Government should issue instructions to all the Estate owners in Nilgiris District to employ Adivasis in preference to others. The all-India labour union and the local labour unions of the District should be requested to co-operate and help in employing the Adivasis in Estates.

5. *Housing Colonies.*—In Nilgiris District the Government is constructing housing colonies for Adivasis at the rate of 100 houses per year under the Plan Scheme. At this rate the Government can not complete construction of houses for the entire population in this District within the Plan period. So the number of constructions should increase so as to complete the construction of the required number of houses to Adivasis within the Second Plan period. Such houses should be given away free of all costs to Adivasis without expecting from them either manual labour or any portion of cost of the house as is the case now in this District, for, the Adivasis have no means at all either to pay for or labour without remuneration and at the same time starving.

6. *Cottage Industry.*—It is highly pitiable that the proposal to open an All-India Handicraft Basket Making Training Centre at Berliar in Coonoor Taluk, in Nilgiris, which was initiated and kept alive for over three months was closed down, though a building at a cost of Rs. 6,000 was constructed for the purpose. The centre should be opened immediately and the same will provide work for the many Adivasis in the newly created colony and other surrounding places of Burliar.

7. *Education.*—All tribal residential schools now run by Government should be entrusted to private bodies like the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Gandhi Smark Nidhi, Servants of India Society or private organisations which are registered and have practical experience in running Tribal Residential Schools. All tribal residential schools should be basic in nature.

At present residential schools for tribals are aided only upto 5th standard. The same aid in full is not given for High School education for Adivasis, excepting the concessions like those granted to scheduled caste students. This will not work well with the Adivasis and will not encourage them to take to secondary education. So special exemption should be given to Adivasis to encourage them to take to High School studies. Such aid should be free food, clothing, bedding, books and special fees etc.

8. *Medical Aid.*—Adivasis in Nilgiris District live in far off interior jungles and so Mobile Medical Vans could be of no use to them as they do not reach them. Neither doctors nor dispensaries are available to them nearby. Hence the Government should open dispensaries at various places within reach of the Adivasis at least on a population basis.

9. *Roads.*—There are absolutely no road facilities to the Adivasis and for want of the same a vast majority of them are denied the many advantages of town visiting, and they still remain the same old most uncivilised hill tribesmen. So provision of road facilities to

the following tribal areas in Nilgiris District should be made forthwith.

(1) A road from Kunjapanai on the Kotagiri Mettupalayam main road upto Hallimoyar connecting the tribal places of Vagapanai, Kengarai, Mettukkal, Kadinamalai, Kokudu, Garikeyur, Nandhipuram and Kallampalayam.

(2) A road from Kalhatti to Anaigatti and Siriyur connecting Sighur and Sokkanahalli.

(3) A road connecting Anaigatti with Denadukombai (via) Siriyur and Chinnakunnoor.

(4) A road connecting Anaigatti with Thorathatty (via) Siriyur and Ebbanad.

10. The appointment of a full time Special Welfare Officer exclusively for the hill tribes should be made at the State level for the state of Madras.

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## OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES (TRIBAL) WELFARE IN UTTAR PRADESH

by

**Shyam Manohar.**

When one thinks of Harijans and Girijans (Adivasis) he can scarcely forget Bapu, Bapa and Dharm Dev Shastri and their positive constructive contribution to their cause of uplift and welfare. The population falling under the category of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been classified as backward classes for the purposes of welfare activities under the Five Year Plans, and the Constitution safeguards their rights. According to the census report of 1951, there are no scheduled tribes in Uttar Pradesh, while there were 292,800 in 1941. Presumably the Adivasis living in the areas of Jaunsar-Bawar (Dehradun), Tehri-Garhwal, Garhwal, Nanital and Dudhi (Mirzapur) have either been assimilated in general population statistics or at best classified as scheduled castes. One can simply wonder what made the Government of U.P. not recognise the tribal status of the inhabitants of these regions in the State. Both from anthropological and socio-ethnological points of view the population presently recognised as 'Other Backward Classes' is essentially Tribal—in character and content. Had the area been declared as scheduled area, help would have come from the Central Consolidated Fund reserved for Backward classes welfare and they would have secured reservation of some seats exclusively for the tribals in the State legislature. But, unfortunately the State Government fights shy to acknowledge one single apparent fact that Adivasis live in Uttar Pradesh. When anyone at any time raises this question

he is silenced by giving one reason or the other—we are caring for them, we are diverting funds for social welfare adequately, we classify them as other backward classes for purposes of their uplift and welfare, and last of all, when the Government are doing all they can, why bother about a name or a category, whether they are put here or categorised there. Well, the matter cannot rest here. The Government fights shy to part with political privileges which are the legitimate right of the Adivasis. The Backward Classes Commission, Central Government, anthropologists, social workers - all recognise the inhabitants of sub-Himalayan region as belonging to scheduled tribes. Let us see when the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commision to declare 'Other Backward Classes' as scheduled tribes bears a fruit and due political rights conferred and restored. Jaunsaris, Bawars, Rajis, Marchas, Garhwalis, Koltas and other tribes inhabit these regions.

The aboriginal tribes living in the area have not breathed the air of civilization. They live a primitive and peculiar life concentrated in their own. They have yet to learn that beyond their homes and hearths, religion and social customs, more civilized people with differing social order and customs exist. Something of a paradox it is. Himalaya reared civilization, education and philosophy and now the very tribal people of Himalayan regions are backward and at the brink of being the most primitive in their culture and pattern of living. People call this a backward region but late Thakkar Bapa preferred to call it an ancient part of Bharatwarsha-that was India. Unlettered Himalaya stands high on the foundation of hunger, backwardness and primitiveness. Himalaya awaits to get rid of ignorance. It beckons us to be there and serve the people and the cause of the long lost culture. Once civilized and cultured area—Ashok Rock Edicts at Kalsi, Yajna Kund near Ashok Ashram, holy places like Haridwar, Badrinath, Kedarnath, Jamnotri, Gangotri and Mansarovar—bear enough testimony; today is bleak and barren without the light of culture and civilization. A vast field is open for the social workers to work among the tribals in the area.

For the purposes of economic development of the region the State Government had earmarked a sum of Rs. 34,78,024 during the first five year plan, and the Centre also contributed Rs. 7,40,000 toward the welfare fund. For the welfare activities during the Second Five Year Plan period a further sum of Rs. 78·00 lakhs has been earmarked. Apart from, this Ashok Ashram Kalsi, Servants of India Society, Central Social Welfare Board, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Harijan Sevak Sangh are doing their bit to uplift the people who are in the lap of poverty and disease and ignorance.

In the sub-Himalayan region which I recently tracked, the problems of V.D. leprosy, prostitution, slavery due to Mat credit system, illiteracy etc. abound, and need to be remedied immediately. With the custom of polyandry—a number of brothers sharing the same common wife or wives between

themselves, the V.D. and leprosy have reached astounding proportions. People of Jaunsar Bawar and Tehri Garhwal are industrious, self-reliant but lack love for literacy and light. They prefer to remain ignorant to enjoy the bliss of their ageold peculiar customs and manners to new and civilized manners and customs. Not far away, Rawai-Jaunpur—the land of Koltas and a flourishing supply base for prostitutes to the brothel houses flourishing in the plains below—is still in the grip and mighty clutches of the slavery due to Mat credit inspite of specific provisions made under the Kumaon and Jaunsar Bawar Zimidari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1956 and the Jaunsar Bawar Debt Control Regulation Act, 1948.

Under the Mat credit system, now illegalised but practised in a clandestine manner, the Zimidar Thokdars used to lend money to the Koltas, who in return lived with the Zimidar working for him till he paid back the interest and the money borrowed. The labour and the fruit of labour of such a Kolta slave were the property of zimidar for generations together. A Kolta thus enslaved could marry if he chose, but could not support either his wife or children. They had to manage for livelihood by themselves. This brought in the evil of prostitution. Kolta girls are sent off to plains for the purposes of prostitution, earn and pay off the debt. Agents work amongst them, take undue advantage of their poverty and thus by hook or crook or by giving them some token money entice away the girls and ladies for prostitution markets of Delhi, Saharanpur, Meerut etc. Thus the social customs combined with economic distress lead these simple folk into the snares of the taffickers and a large number of damsels of the area fill in the rank and file of the brothels. These fallen angels go back to their own people and often some of their own kith and kin accompany them back into the cities as no special stigma is attached to their profession. They have no problems of social ostracism but they cannot escape the inevitable diseases such as V.D., T.B., leprosy etc., which during recent years have spread extensively in Rawain Jaunpur, Jaunsar Bawar and Tehri Garhwal. The Government and the philanthropic institutions such as Ashok Ashram under Sri Dharm Dev Shastri, Secretary, Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh are doing their bit no doubt and are wedded to preventive and constructive programmes. So these are the running sores indeed, and if they are not cured earlier might run in huge proportions—they are already running in big proportions. Thus to be on guard immediate drastic repellant actions are called forth.

Recently I had the occasion of conducting a sample survey of 793 families in Jaunpur (Naugaon) area in dist. Tehri Garhwal with Dr. Suresh Chandra Saxena of Aligarh and under the guidance of Shri Dharm Dev Shastri. The figures speak for themselves.

(*a*) (1) No. of families surveyed : 793. (2) Professional fallen angels : 69. (3) number dying in profession : 15. (4) number whose whereabouts are unknown : 4. (5) No. in city red light areas apart from those listed under (2) : 39.

(6) number rescued or sick : 13.

(b) Survey of another 27 in active profession in the city brothels from the area—(1) Professionals surveyed : 27. (2) Rescued : 4. (3) Unmarried who took to profession or were forced in to it: 22. (4) Divorced who took to profession : 2. (5) Widows taking to profession : 3. (6) Those who took to profession due to Mat Credit—11, Landlessness and poverty—5, due to traffickers 11.

Intensive survey of the area will give eye—opening results and I will request the Central Social Welfare Board and the Govt. to depute a team to take up survey work.

When I recently toured the region I surely saw the signs of awakening, but no real work of lasting nature on big scale has yet been done for the welfare of the Adivasis. Something should be done to raise the standard of living of the people.

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# THE PLACE OF HANDI IN THE LIFE OF THE SANTAL OF THE SANTAL PARGANAS

by

**U. Guha, (Dept. of Anthropology, Govt. of India)**

If we study the life cycle, festivals and ceremonies of the Santal of the Santal Parganas, it will be seen that at every step, the Santal are using *handi* as one of the necessary ingredients of worship as well as a means of enjoyment. During the Janam Chatiar ceremony, the father of the child has to worship *handi*, that is, he has to offer *neem-damandi*[1] as well as *handi* to the gods and his ancestors. The offering of *neem-damandi* alone would not complete the worship. The *handi* for this occasion is especially prepared with great care and observance of certain rites. The child's lips are touched with the sacred *handi* which is believed to be very potent and beneficial. For the Caco Chatiar ceremony, pots of *handi* are brewed with ceremonial rites. When marriage is fixed between a boy and a girl, the boy's party is welcomed by the girl's party by first offering them *handi* and then food. *Handi* must be offered; otherwise, the boy's party *will* feel insulted. The same procedure is gone through when the girl's party visits the boy's home. Here the offering of *handi* is considered to be the very essence of courtesy, without which no negotiation of any kind can proceed. During the Dabapla ceremony[2], the jog-manjhi offers *handi* to gods. If no *handi* is offered, the gods would become angry and curse the party concerned. On the

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1 A mixture of neem leaves and atap rice.

2 This ceremony is held on the previous evening before the marriage.

day of the marriage, the *Maroa puja* is held. This is done by pouring *handi* on that spot where the *sal* and the *mahua* branches have been planted. It is believed that the man and the woman as represented by the *sal* and the *mahua* branches, will grow strong and healthy by imbibing *handi*. If no *handi* is offered, the couple will be sickly and soon die. Before the departure of the newly wed couple from the bride's house, *handi* is poured on the Manjhithan to please the spirit of the manjhi (head man) who will then bless the departing couple. Before the couple is welcomed at the boy's house, the boy's father must perform *handi puja* to purify himself and have the household blessed at the advent of the new couple. When the bride finally goes to her father-in-law's house, she must carry a pot of *handi* on her head as an offering to the household gods of her husband. This pot of *handi* is prepared with great care and plenty of rituals. The pot is nearly full to the brim. The bride must not spill even a drop on her bridal journey as she is supposed to carry happiness and prosperity. In fact, *handi* is used ceremonially at several stages of a wedding.

On the occasion of the last rites of the Santal, *handi* is worshipped and offered to the departed soul. The offering of *handi* is essential; otherwise, the departed soul cannot proceed on his way to the Hanapuri contentedly.

Again, when we examine the different festivals and ceremonies, the same thing becomes very noticeable, that is, the essential part played by *handi* in all the activities of the Santal life. In the Baha Parab, Arok-seem, Janther Puja, Sohræ, Magh Seem and in all others, *handi* plays a prominent part. There is a '*handi*' puja in nearly all of them. *Handi* is offered to the gods on all occasions. It is especially brewed for each ceremony with due rites and rituals. Great care is taken to ensure that *handi* is not contaminated in any way. The place of worship is smeared with cowdung, and the animal is sacrificed there and *handi* is poured over it and the whole thing is offered to the gods. Sometimes, only *handi* in *sal* leaf cups is offered to the gods. Blood of the sacrificial animal which is supposed to carry the mana, becomes very potent when mixed with *handi*. This can only be drunk by the Naiki (priest) and the Kudum Naiki (assistant priest). Thus *handi* is an integral part and parcel of the religious and ceremonial life of the Santal. From birth onward as the Santal child imbibes the social customs round him, he gradually assesses the place of *handi* in his life.

*Handi* is a multi-purpose tool in the life of the Santal. Not only for the religious purpose and social ceremonies but for the sake of enjoyment in life too, *handi* is essential for the Santal. With dancing and music, a Santal must have plenty of *handi* which enables him to go on dancing and singing throughout the night and sometimes even throughout the night and day more or less continuously. This helps him to sublimate his frustration and aggression by channelising socially the forces of the unconscious. During the Sohræ festival, drinking and dancing go on for five days and five nights, which give an opportunity to the dammed up energy to spend itself through socially sanctioned vehicles.

It has been noticed that the villages near the cities have many more cases of drunkenness than the far away villages. The former have access to the shops which sell liquor which are much more potent than the home brewed *handi*, while the latter, being far away, cannot buy liquor. Again, the former earn a tidy sum by working as labourers. Instead of going through the laborious process of brewing *handi* at home, they buy liquor from the licensed shops very easily. With these urban Santal, *handi* has lost its traditional multi-purpose use and has been dichotomized. For the purpose of religion and rituals they still brew *handi* at home and never use any other liquor. But for the sake of enjoyment, they drink liquor profusely. Those urban Santal, living near the cities and towns, earn easily and spend lavishly in liquor shops. Though their income is more than the rural Santal, the economic picture is not at all happy or pleasant. Indebtedness is more rampant among them than among the villagers where licensed liquor shops have not found their way yet. It is a common sight to see the villagers pawning their ornaments and even brass utensils to repay the '*bhagat*' or the money lenders.

There is a lot of anxiety about drinking and it is associated with the economic pressure due to indulgence—the cost of liquor and the inevitable consequence of debt. The anxiety built up by drinking and its after-effects add up gradually and the anxiety level rises sharply to the next catharsis in drinking.

It is distressing to note that these urban Santal are gradually losing zest in their own traditional ceremonies and festivals. Consequently, they are brewing and drinking less *handi*. *Handi* is being replaced by liquor from the shops in their every day life except in the religious ceremonies where *handi puja* is still a 'must'. Community *handi* drinking, the enjoyment of singing and dancing together are gradually giving way to individual liquor drinking. Excessive drinking seems to be the sole pastime of these Santal.

Even now in remote villages, men and women, young and old, together indulge in drinking sprees. It enhances the community bond and strengthens the in-group feeling. But among the urban Santal, individualism is taking the place of communism. Consequently, the urban Santal feel more insecure than the rural Santal. Subsistence levels are precarious in both the urban and the rural Santal. But the latter feel more secure in the in-group feeling and are less anxiety-ridden than the former which leads to more drinking of alcohol whose primary function is to reduce anxiety. The incidence of insobriety is more in the urban Santal than in the rural one.

Next, the question arises whether the use of *handi* in religious functions can be replaced by some other non-alcoholic beverage. It has already been seen that *handi puja* is essential in all the religious ceremonies. This has sanction from their creation myth and other folk tales which describe how Marang Buru taught Pilehu Haram and Pilehu Buri—the ancestors of the human beings—to brew *handi* and offer it to Chandu Baba—the creator and other gods. The creation myth describes in detail through what

hazards Marang Buru had to pass in order to bring the different ingredients for the *ranu* or the yeast which was used to ferment rice to make *handi*. There is a warning also against excessive drinking which was instrumental in the fall of Pilehu Haram and Pilehu Buri.

The use of *handi* has both social and religious sanctions in the life of the Santal. Even those Santal who are drinking more of other alcoholic beverages than *handi*, are striking firmly to the use of *handi* in their worship. Even now the Santal cannot think of replacing *handi* for religious ceremonies by anything else, not even the Ganga water. This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that some of the urban Santal have adopted a few Hindu festivals like the Chata Parab, the Pata Parab etc. and have added a few Hindu gods and goddesses such as Mahadev, Lakshmi, Kali etc. to their own pantheon. But they have more or less modelled the Hindu *pujas* to their own traditional ceremonies and they use mostly *handi* there and sometimes the Ganga water and *Handi* as well.

Once a Santal has become used to buy easily a very intoxicating liquor, he gets into the clutches of the money lenders. This is an important cause for the loss of their land, of life-long indebtedness and of consequent degradation. They try to forget their degradation and frustration through excessive drinking thus spending more money than they can afford. So the vicious circle goes round and round. The Administration must find out ways and means of saving them from the evil claws of the money lenders and at the same time not to destroy their social and religious fibres by the introduction of sudden prohibition. Some substitute suited to their traditional way of life must be sought for before taking any drastic measure regarding total prohibition.

## FUTURE OF TRIBAL WELFARE

by

**Gopi Nath Sen.**

At present the movement of tribal welfare is more static than dynamic. Although the National Government has chalked out many ambitious plans since Independence, the condition of the tribal people has not changed within ten years. The government have given constitutional privileges to the tribal people. The tribal people could not progress much for want of proper training in constructive work, economic upliftment and community leadership. They follow the sterotyped system of education. Tribal welfare movement is now in a most dangerous condition due to unpractical economic plans and programmes. If tribal welfare is to progress the tribal people would have

to strive for their own development. The government and non-government institutions should be careful about their developments. They must not apply the general ideologies of the progressive people.

The condition of the tribal people is still unchanged. In this scientific world their contribution is totally neglected by the sophisticated people. If we search among them we can find many jems and jewels scattered here and there who have no patronage, help and recognition. The set back of whole tribal welfare movement is due to the lack of proper research on their economic, educational, cultural and social studies. The whole tribal welfare work depends on sincerity, earnestness and missionary work. Their progress cannot be revolutionised unless they feel that they are builders of their destiny. Tribal welfare work depends on the following factors. Their basis of culture will be more conventional than conversational.

**Economic Upliftment :**

In this modern age the tribal people should have equal status with other communities. The vital economic background of the nation depends on their indigenous raw materials, and productivity of labour. If these factors can combine themselves then the economic strength will be substantive. Tribal welfare cannot be fulfiled unless their economic footholds are solid and sound. Since ten years the officials and non-officials are chalking various plans and programmes to fulfil the economic plannings but they are not able to reach their objectives on account of their dishevelled outlook.

The tribal people are really frusrated by contemptible thoughts. They can not understand how to develop their ideas and thoughts.. Their whole economic structure is on the verge of destruction. They do not know how to build up again their economic life. On the onset of sophistication the tribal people have lost their old and traditional economic development through the arts and crafts and cultural and social aspects.

The economic uplift work for the tribal people is generally outlined as follows :—(a) aptitude of works (b) natural inclination of development work (c) foreign ideas to be inter-linked with their traditional thinking.

**Co-operative Village System :**

The tribal economic life will depend on the co-operative basis. They should form themselves in a composite way so that there may be no chance of despondency. Now the officials and non-officials should try to organise the co-operative villages in every State of India. The villages of India either for tribals or non-tribals should have co-operative system. In this present age all great thinkers acclaim that the co-operative is the basis of Socialism. Vinoba Bhave preaches the Sarvodaya.

In India the tribal land problem has not yet been solved. The tribals are being still exploited at the hands of exploiters. They used to give up their lands. So the lands should be distributed through their co-operative societies. The

tribal people will be independent in all their economic sphere.

The Government should help the tribal people to develop the co-operative village system. They should organise agriculture, industry and education through the co-operative institutions. Their life should find out a new light by which they may be able to live in a most dignified way.

By the help of co-operative village system they will be self-sufficient in economic life. Now their economic structure has been shattered. There is doubtful future hanging before them. They do not find any development in this age of competition. The tribal people lost their wits how they could find out their livelihood. From ages they struggled for existence; so they think that nothing is remunerative to them. If we want to bring the confidence of our tribal people in the field of economics then they should be taught properly to live in a co-operative society where they should find out their way of life which will be congenial to them.

**Educational System**

The educational system of the tribals should be imparted in their language and folk lore. At present the Government do not give much emphasis on their language and folk lore on account of which the tribals are being deprived of their ancestral culture. We find from the statistics that the tribal people in West Bengal alone constitute 5·96 per cent of the total population of the State. Here the government of West Bengal do not care to introduce folk lore and tribal languages in the educational system.

The tribal people as well as non-tribals should be taught tribal language and folk lore. By the present day educational system they are suffering from illusionism more than any other community in India.

The tribal education should stand on vocational and theoretical training combined with their traditional mode of thinking. Their whole educational system should be moulded by their environments. So there will be institutions of the tribal people where the mode of education would be different from the present system. The examinations of those institutions would be taken through their work, thinking and constructive ideas.

The problem of selection of books are the main hindrance of the tribal education. All the difficulties can be overcome if they are educated in their local dialects and languages. Also the non-tribals should have to learn their languages.

**Village Administration :**

The village Panchayat is the only solution to combat all the evils of the people. As long as the villagers can not form their "Gram Raj" or village administration, it will not be possible to better their lot. To-day we are thinking of political socialism in India which our Prime Minister Nehru would like to translate into action. But we can not understand how this is possible in this soil where we do not find a little ray of Sun from the dark cloudy sky. The village administration should be in the hands of villagers who would decide their destiny. The

middle class or rich class can not bring Gram Raj through their western ideas. The village must be administered by the villagers so that it may be possible to find out the real birth of Socialism. In the words of Jaiprakash Narain we should say "Socialism is not the setting up of institutions but a way of life." The village Panchayats are such institutions by which they can reach the goal of Socialism.

India is now free from foreign bondage. Still we find that slavery is not yet effaced from this soil. The difference between man and man still exists in this great country. If we go back to ancient India there we shall find the Panchayat was in existence. In ancient days the tribals like Gonds, Mechas, Santals, Nagas and others had their own "Gram Raj" or village administration.

The tribals have for ages possessed an effective form of village self-government with village headmen and their assistants and councils of village militia of unmarried youngmen. They advanced further in local self government and developed a wider organization known as Parhas or Pira which are federations of villagers, with their federal executive and judicial councils known as Partha Panchayats. They even went further and organized wider confederations or inter-parha leagues which contained the germs of a State, but whose further development came to be arrested under adverse circumstances. Although, within the last hundred years or so these organizations have been weakend through the inevitable loss of much of their older functions and powers, the outer form and some of the social and even judicial functions of the older organizations still survive and the stranger in Chota Nagpur is startled to find some aboriginal villagers in the Ranchi District nominated as Raja, Dewan, Pandey, Kotwar and so forth, as reminiscences of a glorious past.

**Relation between Officials and Non-Officials**

Between officials and non-officials there should be better understanding, The team work is vital and necessary for these two groups. There should be no difference between Karmi and Karmacharis i.e. workers and Government servants as it had been in the British Regime. We do not find in free India the brotherly feelings between officials and non-officials. If the government do not give any scope to non-officials then the tribal upliftment work would suffer from generation to generation.

We hope, the government would establish good relationship with the non-official workers and give scope for work. We think more Karmis would give more genuine service than Karmacharis. The karmis are to sacrifice their life for the cause of social work as they did in British India. The Government should help those workers in every walk of their life. In this way we think we can establish better relationship between officials and non-officials.

# TRIBAL WELFARE IN GENERAL

by

**Aditya Pratap Singh.**

Tribal people are the real and ancient inhabitants of India. They were illiterate, backward, mentally weak, and wanted to enjoy free life. They lived on fishing and hunting and very little agriculture. They were divided into a number of tribes, different from one another, in customs and manners and social life. Each tribe had its head and Panchayait of elders. If a tribe happened to be very large in number, it had a chief. They worshipped natural objects, like hills, trees, tigers and the village and the family gods. They thought that nothing happened without a demon to do it. So if anybody fell ill or there was an out-break of any disease, they associated it with evil spirits, and to pacify them, they sacrificed goats, hens, buffaloes, even human lives, and offered cocoanuts. They believed in black art also. They knew very little about medicines. They took wine and had their own amusements, *e.g.* folk dances, *karma* etc. Each tribe tried to dominate the other and to rule over it. Though the fittest survived, they were never known for good leadership.

As time passed on, they learnt agriculture, and lived in villages to protect themselves from robbers and dacoits. They then began to have many things in common. A grazier to graze their cattle, mostly Raot or Ahir by caste, a blacksmith to repair their agricultural implements, Raot or Bargah to bring water in ceremonies and to clean pots. In Chhattisgarh side of Madhya Pradesh all villagers dance *Karma* and on Bhado Badi XI Moon they keep fasting, and at night worship a twig of Kalmi tree, and pitching it on the ground, dance *Karma* round about it.

In Katik mostly, they perform *Goura* dance. For about a week they dance with *Madar* and *Dhol* to pacify the village Gods and on the last day they prepare idols of Mahadeo, Parbati whom they call Goura and perform their marriage ceremoniously. When villagers find that it does not rain in their villages properly and timely, and crops fail, they organise '*Bar*' ceremony. '*Bar*' means *Bari i.e.* God of rainfall. They dance for 12 days without any break and on the last day they prepare idols of Bar-Raja and Bar Rani and celeberate their marriage with great pomp. On this occasion also '*Dhol*' (wooden drums) and *Madar* are used. When '*Goura*' or '*Bar*' is going on, females, rich and poor, who do not observe parda, come out, go to the neighbouring villages, from one house to another and dance '*Suwa*'. Whatever they get, mostly in kind, they bring and enjoy and save something for common purpose. In 'Pus' males go out in the neighbouring villages and in their own, to dance 'Danda' (sticks dance) from one house to another and take whatever is given. They divide the

whole among themselves, and keep some thing for common purpose. In this way '*Suwa*' and '*Danda*' are great festivals which foster friendship and create opportunities for creating a fund.

Nowadays non-tribals also have begun to take part in such amusements.

Non-tribals came to India about 10 thousand years ago. The aboriginals could not compete with the immigrants, who became their masters, leaders, kings, Badshahas and occupied places of vantage. Adibasis either became servants or migrated into forests and hilly areas. Very few of them could retain their property.

The outsiders did not care for them excepting exploiting their labour, as they are very honest and true to their word. There were innumerable invasions by Turks, Persians and Afganis, which lasted till 1761. It is shocking to read the history of Gondwana, the old Madhya-Pradesh and its capital, Nagpur, which was settled by Bukht Buland.

In the latter half of the 18th Century, the East India Company began the conquest of India. They invited Christian missionaries and innumerable Adibasis were converted, by persuasion, bribe, threat, compulsion and by promising them education, medical help and service.

The company's regime ended in 1857 and the British Government took over the charge of the Indian Government. The Queens' proclamation saved the people a little from conversion. The British Government did nothing to remove caste differences and forbade Adibasis to be called Hindus. They wanted to unite the Adibasis for their own ends. In name they passed also the Land Alienation Act. Result was that many outsiders, Banias and money lenders purchased the land of Adibasis who then migrated from towns to villages and from villages to the jungle.

Now thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and other great national leaders, India is a free country, to work out its own destiny under Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, since the 15th Agust, 1947. Great leaders like Mahatmaji, Shri Thakkar Bappa and others, who had begun to ameliorate the condition of Adibasis by studying their miserable conditions all over India, suggested to the Government to pay special attention to their condition. Accordingly suitable provisions have been made in the Indian Constitution for their welfare. Schedule Tribes Order and Scheduled Areas Order have been passed. Seats have been reserved for Adibasis in the Parliament, Assemblies and Councils. They are offered Government services, high or low, and reservations have also been made in colleges and schools. Their interests are protected againat Banias. Innumerable schools with midday meals and middle schools have been opened with stipends in several States. School and college fees are not charged and scholarships are granted to poor students. Clothes are also distributed. Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks have been started where public contribution is very low. Roads are being constructed in Adibasi areas. Tribal welfare centres have been opened and Adibasi boys are taught cottage

industries. Special technical schools with stipends like that of Korba in Bilaspur district M.P. have been started. In some places forest co-operative societies are being organised.

In scheduled areas where tribals are more than 50 % in number there are Government departments with Tribal Ministers and Deputy Ministers. In other areas Bhartiya Adimjati Sewak Sangh with its affiliated and recognised societies is working, being aided by the State and Central Governments. Other leaders like Shri Acharya Bhave are also carrying on philanthropic work as in Koraput where Anna Saheb Sahasra Budhe is in charge of the work.

This move of the Government has discouraged foreign missionaries. Their number in 1956 which was 5691 has reduced to 4844 in 1958.

But all these welfare activities have not been able to produce the desired effect, among the 250 lacs of Adibasis. So I humbly make the following suggestions. I also belong to a tribe and live in Pondi Uprora Multi-purpose Tribal-Block.

(1) Gross illiteracy :—Adibasis are mentally weak and illiterate, so no kind of improvement is possible without knowledge. Whatever they get by reading, writing and hearing, vanishes away if any suspicion arises in their mind. Local leaders for their ends go on doing such mischiefs and try to oust Tribal leaders from politics. Moreover there are so many parties against the congress and its Government. So higher education and college education should be given to the Adibasis, as little knowledge is dangerous. But higher education is not possible without stipends and establishing rural colleges with boarding house facilities. Sending Adibasis to towns for education takes away their village life and they shun manual labour. Moreover with the growth of education among non-tribals, education upto 8th class, does not afford good prospects for services. They forget it soon when they get no job. Basic training is being given to them but the caste tradition and superstitions do not allow them to do a new thing, and to break the tradition and superstitious ideas requires good knowledge and leadership.

(2) Service :—Though minimum qualification has been fixed for Adibasis for Government services, it is not given effect to properly, and they do not fare well. So after they get a job, they should be sent for training to remove their shyness and sheepish habits and to become liberal. They should be posted to rural areas so that Adibasis should know that they can also rise up. Progress of the human race depends upon their clear understanding of the powers of the human mind.

(3) Non-Tribal agriculturists should be encouraged to settle among

Adibasis after protecting their interests. Banias and money-lenders should not be allowed to loot them. In this way they will mix with outsiders and learn many things from them, by increasing their standard of living, and try to work side by side with them. It is found that whenever there are non-tribals the village leadership goes to them. This has become a curse for the tribals to some extent and they are looked down upon, but in general it has been a blessing when the Adibasis are advanced and united. Through them the Sarvodaya scheme should be enforced.

(4) Poverty is the main cause of backwardness, and nothing substantial is being done for them, excepting the landless labourers. The out-turn of crops is very low as the method of cultivation is un-scientific. Consolidation is absent and fragmentation of holdings is on the increase. Hilly and forest tracts where they live, receive good rainfall, but not timely always, so their fields are subject to heavy innundations which damage embankments, and when there is no rainfall crops fail for want of irrigation. To fight this the tribals should have a good knowledge of agriculture and acquire industrious habits. The Government should help them. Moreover it has been felt that agriculture alone cannot support the family. There must be some diversification. For this cottage industries, forest co-operative societies and industries, should be encouraged in rural areas. Government should improve the means of communications and supply electricity to villages.

(5) Government is doing its best for communications and power but so far towns are getting the greatest benefit where only 17% of the whole population live. Such amenities should be extended to villages especially to Adibasi areas. Without roads people can not go out for work conveniently and to market their produce, and without electricity industries cannot be developed economically in villages.

(6) Government has started several welfare schemes for the Tribals *e.g*. N.E.S. Blocks, C.D. Blocks, Multipurpose Blocks and welfare centres, but they are not doing satisfactory work. Tribals are very poor. They can render Shramdan for a day or two, but cannot donate large sums. Demand for wells and school buildings is increasing, but what about roads and the like, which require huge amounts. So the question of public contribution should be again examined and suitable public donations according to the paying capacity of the people should be fixed. I have already brought this fact to

the notice of the Madhya Pradesh and Central Governments. At present nothing substantial is done to improve the economic condition of the tribals. This should also be looked into.

The failure or success of a block depends upon its officers. They are mostly outsiders and live in open areas and towns. Inwardly they do not want to go to villages and when they are posted they try to run away, and do not try to know how to move and behave with the tribals. They do not care for them and some take to immoral life especially those who are un-married or live without their families and become a nuisance to villagers. The officers want amenities for themselves and do not try to win the confidence of the people. They must identify themselves with the people and show them the proper way to progress. Proper persons who really want to go to villages or who live in villages should be given a a job in the trial blocks and facilities be given to them. Government is appointing committee after committee and sends officers after officers for inspection of the working, and for giving guidance and instructions, but it has not been a success to a great extent. The best way to improve is to encourage the life membership system of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sewak Sangh. The three top heads, great leaders and philanthropists, true friends of Adibasis, who are now vice-presidents of the Sangh, should be requested to enlist suitable and willing persons after careful enquiry and due consideration for life membership of the Sangh, and with the permission of the Government keep them in charge of the Tribal blocks for observation, work and help. They should keep the Sangh informed, and the working committee of the Sangh after due consultation with the experts, suggest ways and methods to the Government for success of these flocks.

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## TRIBAL WELFARE : A RETHINKING

by

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A study of the nature of India's population will show that it is composed of various race elements who at one time or other entered this sub-continent. The earliest people who made this country as their habitat are what we call the tribals. Later on, Aryan people also happened to come to India and had a contact with the aboriginals. This contact could never have been a friendly one because the former was a highly imperialist race which tried to dominate and subjugated the tribals. The tribals resisted it but were defeated and pushed

into the interior of the country. This naturally created bitterness in the indigenous population.

This was rather a political side of the problem. On the cultural side it was surprising that Aryans could not win over the tribals. Tribals too did not care much for the better relationship between the two communities. This Aryan tribal clash is of historical significance because it is here that we have an inkling of the origin of the problem of tribal welfare. In a nutshell the approach of Aryans towards tribals was that of imperialist nature viz. condemnation of the tribals and a desire to wipe them out.

The next phase of the problem started with the advent of Rajput kingdom in plains. During these times also there was a clash between the so-called martial race and the tribals of Central India and this state of affairs continued till the rise of Mughals during which period the Rajputs were able to win over tribal chieftains to their side and advantage. Here it must be noted that tribals were exploited merely to consolidate the shaky position of Rajputs.

With the extinction of Mughal power, the foreigners mainly Britishers filled the vacuum. At the initial stage they also could not frame a definite policy. During the early period of their occupation they faced no difficulty in regard to the tribals partly because they did not meddle with their affairs but when they tried to penetrate into tribal areas they had to face difficulties in spite of the spade work done by the christian missionaries for subtle introduction of British power. There was the famous rebellion in Santhal Parganas and elsewhere against the Britishers. They were taken aback and they decided not to indulge in the tribal affairs. Simultaneously a section of British officers and Christian fathers also endorsed this policy for reasons other than political. They believed that introduction of welfare work amongst the tribal areas will spoil the simple and unsophisticated tribals. This policy of isolation could not continue for a long time. The forest contractors and local merchants went into the interior and naturally affected the tribals for bad or good. The process of acculturisation started and everywhere there was a general consciousness amongst the tribals. This was further intensified at the time of freedom movement.

Gandhiji was the first to recognise the sad plight of tribals and therefore he included 'tribal welfare' as one of his 14 point constructive programme. Due to his guidance and inspiration a band of social workers started opening schools for the education of tribals and rendering medical help etc. This was a right approach because it discarded the old conception of isolation of the tribals and upliftment idea harboured in the minds of the officers of some of the States of that time. However it was not an accepted policy and things continued as they were previously, till the passing of our Constitution which guaranteed equality to all the communities of India and envisaged India as a welfare State. Naturally we have to reconsider our concept of the tribal welfare in this context.

Today tribal welfare cannot be conceived only in terms of isolation or giving something to the tribals by way of economic aid, reservations and right of vote. Well, this may be equally guaranteed to the tribals in the social and political fronts. What about economic regeneration of the tribals.

Our democracy will not succeed unless we extend the idea of equality in the realm of economics. Therefore the essence of the tribal welfare lies in the economic betterment of the tribals. Today all the resources of the tribal areas are practically exploited by the non-tribals. It is the forest contractor who is profitted by the forest products and not the community which lives there. Similarly is the case of mineral products. This should be stopped. Therefore, first of all we should create a nucleus amongst the tribal people of a particular given region who are prepared for exploiting the regional resources for the betterment of community and country at large. When I refer to tribal people and region I mean a hetrogenous community of a definite area who have a common ancestor, customs and tradition and dialects etc. When we could prepare a team of tribal pioneers for the welfare of this community we should not hesitate to hand over the work in the particular region to the whole community.

To start with, we may create Forest Co-operative Societies as in the case of Bombay State and train the local leadership for the task to be entrusted to them. In doing so, we must be cautious of undesirable elements who may frustrate our attempt for one reason or other. When we have achieved our desired objective, we may widen the scope of the activities to other fields so as to enable the tribals to manage their own affairs.

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## ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE SAURIA PAHARIYA

by

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**Introduction**

The present paper on the economic organisation of the Sauria Pahariya is based on my field investigation carried on in ten villages of Jokmari, Kulbanga, Banchappa, Mathio, Dhobni, Banderkola, Kherwa, Orgori, Dalwabara and Guma which are in the Raj Mahal Sub-division in the district of Santal-Parganas. The Saurias of these villages were systematically surveyed under the Direction of the Director, Dr. B.S. Guha by a party consisting of Sri B.B. Verma and myself from December 8, 1956 to March 27, 1957.

The Pahariyas are divided into two main divisions, namely Mal Pahariya and the Sauria Pahariya. About the

Kumarbhag Pahariyas, the earlier writers namely Dalton[1] and Risley[2] are of the opinion that they are another division of the Mal Pahariya. We are here mainly concerned with the Sauria Pahariyas who are concentrated in Raj mahal, Godda and Pakaur Sub-divisions in the district of Santal--Parganas. In Purnea district they are found in Sadar Sub-division, Katihar and other parts of the district. For the population of the Saurias, we have to rely upon the census data of 1931 and 1941.[3] During 1931, their population was 59,891 consisting of 30,555 males and 29,336 females. This gives a sex ratio of 96·01 females per 100 males. During 1941, the Sauria population consisted of 28,870 males and 29,784 females which gives a sex ratio of 103·2 females per 100 males. This shows that there has been an increase of 7·19 females per 100 males during a period of ten years. The population of the ten villages enumerated by me during 1956-57 was 1377 consisting of 653 males and 724 females. This gives a sex ratio of 110·87 females per 100 males. Comparing it with the sex ratio of 1931 and 1941, it is found that the female population of the Sauria is increasing.

**Economic Organisation.,**

I now come to a description of the Economic Organisation, the investigation of which includes the following items namely :—

1. Agriculture
   (a) Shifting cultivation
   (b) Plough cultivation
2. Sabai Industr
3. Hunting
4. Other sources of livelihood viz. weekly market, wine making etc.
5. Livestock
6. Mahajan.

**Shifting Cultivation.**

Beginning with their agriculture, it was found that the Saurias have their own lands which were settled to them under the Santal-Parganas Regulation III of 1872. Out of 355 families studied, 90·14% have their own lands and the remaining families are landless. These landless families purchase jungle from the villagers for two or three rupees for preparing Kurwa. They cease to be its owner after two or three years.

Shifting cultivation is known as Kurwa. Out of the ten villages surveyed, the Saurias of village Orgori have taken to plough cultivation as their village is situated on the plains. Preparation of the Kurwa starts from the month of December. Before clearing the jungle, a fowl (Khairu) or an egg (Panu) is offered to the Gosai who is supposed to reside in that part of the jungle. The sacrifice is made by the

1 Dalton, E.T. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. p. 264—1872, Calcutta.

2 Kisley, H.H. The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, vol. II. p. 68—1891, Calcutta.

3 Archer, W.G Census of India, 1941 vol. VII. Bihar, p. 63, 67, 86 – 1942. Simla.

head of the family whose Kurwa is being prepared. They chant as follows :—

"Dario Ku, Manar Ku, Eru Dokom".

Meaning :—"O, Gosai, do not harm us, we are giving you a goat. Be happy and kind to us". When the puja is over, they start clearing jungle for which sickle (Tatroo) and axe (Masu) are used by them. They leave the trunk on the ground up to 2 or 3 feet high. The leaves and branches of the trees are left there to be dried till March when they are burnt. Fire is applied to the dried wood from a 'Murha' which consists of a bamboo stick to the head of which are attached leaves of the trees. Both sexes participate in clearing the jungle. Labourers are also employed for cutting the jungle. Both sexes are given equal wage. They work from nine in the morning to two in the afternoon for which they are paid eight annas and four seers of grain. The Saurias have another system called 'Bewa choim' for clearing the jungle. According to this system, a man pays two or three rupees to the village head. The village head fixes up a day for clearing his jungle. On the fixed day, one man from each household goes to clear his jungle free of wage. There is no hard and fast rule for the money to be invested in 'Bewa choim', which is spent during festivals. They also get their Kurwa prepared by the Santals. In return, the Santals take all the timber obtained from that part of the jungle. One Kurwa field is cultivated for two or three years, after which it loses its fertility. It is then abandoned for a period varying from four to six years.

**Sowing and Harvesting.**

Sowing in the Kurwa field starts from the month of June. Before sowing, a puja is performed to please the 'Gar Gosi' and 'Chal Gosi'. A she-goat (Eru) or a fowl (Khairu) is sacrificed by the head of the family. The blood is sprinkled on the seeds. All these are done to please the Gosai for good crops. When the puja is over, the sowing operation is started. Jogri or Khanta (digging stick) is the only agricultural implement used by them in the Kurwa. The earth is dug with the Jogri. A mixture of maize and bean is sown dibbled in June which are harvested either in December or January. Rahar and Sutri are sown dibbled while millet is sown broadcast. Their sowing and harvesting time is the same as that of the maize and bean. The Saurias take all care to protect the crops in the field. From September onwards, they live in the Kurwa field with their entire family members, and return to the village sometimes in January or February. They live there to watch the crops against wild animals and thieves. Whenever they find injurious grass along with the crops, they weed them at once. Tatroo (Sickle) is used for weeding which is done by both the sexes.

**Yield of the Kurwa :**

About 1170 bighas of the Kurwa were cultivated by the Saurias during 1956. The crops raised by them were maize, millet, bean, rahar, and sutri, the total production of which was 798 mds. and 20 srs, 736 mds and 30 srs, 191 mds,

182 mds and 30 srs., and 4 mds respectively. Thus, in all about 1913 maunds were produced in an area of 1170 bighas. This means, the yield per bigha in the Kurwa field is 1·64 maunds.

**Plough cultivation :**

In addional to the shifting cultivation, plough cultivation has also been taken up by the Saurias. Out of 355 families plough lands are owned by 268 families measuring about 1220 bighas out of which only 421 bighas were cultivated during 1956. Thus 65·49% of the plough field remained uncultivated, due to non-availability of draught cattle, dearth of men and non-availability of seeds in time. Cattle are hired from the Santals or from other Hindu or Muslim castes living on the plains. They pay Rs. 6 for a pair of cattle. They also manage to get cattle free of cost from the Santals. In return, they have to do free tending and grazing of the cattle for a year. If they fail to get cattle in time, the lands are not cultivated. It was further found that the sowing and harvesting time of the Kurwa and plough cultivation are more or less the same. Due to dearth of men, they fail to cultivate both the lands simultaneously. The dearth is felt, more when their females fall ill. Besides all these, failure to get seeds from the Mahajans in time leads them to leave the plough lands uncultivated.

**Sowing and Harvesting :**

The agricultural implement used by them in the plough cultivation is 'Arre' (Plough) which they make themselves. Plough cultivation is done on two types of land, namely Jot bari or bargi and paddy field. Jot bari is found even on the hills. They start ploughing the field soon after the rain starts. The jot bari is ploughed twice or thrice while the paddy fields are ploughed more times than that. This is done by the males. Before sowing the crops, a fowl or pigeon is sacrificed to the Gosai by the head of the family, for good crops. The crops produced in the plough field (Jot bari) are maize, millet, mustard, surguja, rahar, sutri, til and bean. Maize and surguja are sown broadcast in October and are harvested in February. The other crops to be sown broadcast are rahar, sutri, til and maize. They are sown in June and are harvested in December. Bean is sown broadcast in June and is harvested in October. Regarding paddy, it was found that the seeds are sown broadcast in June or July when the monsoon is in full swing. The seedlings are ready in a month when they are transplanted in other fields. By the end of January, its harvesting comes to an end.

**Yield of the Plough field :**

The production of different crops produced in an area of 421 bighas is as follows :—

| Name of crop | Total Production (mds.) |
|---|---|
| Maize | 459 md. 10 srs. |
| Millet | 120 mds. 20 srs. |
| Mustard | 106 mds. 20 srs. |
| Rahar | 113 mds. 30 srs. |
| Sutri | 4 mds. |
| Bean | 9 ,, |
| Til | 4 ,, |
| Surguja | 2 ,, |
| Paddy | 831 ,, |
| Grand Total | 1650 maunds. |

**Shifting and Plough Cultivation.**

In the plough fields, in all, 1,650 maunds were produced during 1956. The per bigha yield of the plough cultivation is 3·91 maunds. We have seen earlier that the per bigha yield of the shifting cultivation was 1·64 maunds. Comparing it with the per bigha yield of the plough cultivation, we find that it is 2·27 maunds less than the plough cultivation.

**Sabai cultivation.**

Having discussed the shifting and the plough cultivation, I now come to the Sabai industry of the Saurias. In the past, sabai cultivation was a good source of their livelihood. Sabai grass used to be consumed by the paper manufacturing company. The Government had given its management into the hands of the authorised mahajans. This arrangement proved to be a failure. Time went by. The present position is that the Saurias are not doing its cultivation as it requires heavy expenditure which they can't afford to spend. The Saurias of village Jokmari have formed 'Pahariya Sudhar Samity' to improve the sabai cultivation. The Pahariyas of the neighbouring villages are also becoming its members. During 1956, only 100 maunds of sabai were produced which were sold in the market at Rs. 3 per maund. Out of the ten villages surveyed, there has been no sabai cultivation in nine village since twenty years.

**Property and Ownership.**

After describing different types of land owned by the Saurias, it will now be worth while to mention their traditional laws which govern the ownership of the movable and immovable properties. Lands were settled to them according to the provision made in the Santal Parganas Regulation III of 1872. It also gave them a right of occupancy after twelve years of possession[4]. The lands which were settled to them are their private property. The rent is collected by the village head (Manjhi). The Manjhi can settle land to any man of his community. Inheritance is patrilineal. The eldest son inherits comparitively larger share than the rest. If there is no male issue, the daughters may inherit the property provided her husband comes to live in the wife's home, as Gharjamai. The property of those people who die without any heir is acquired by the village head. A step son has no claim on the acquired or inherited property of his step-father. The movable properties like ornaments, utensils etc. are their personal belongings. The personal belongings are buried with the dead which they believe are used by the deceased in the other world.

**Hunting**

The hunting implements of the Saurias consist of bow and arrow, which are owned by all of them. These are mostly used for protection against wild animals and thieves while watching the crops in the field. At village Kherwa, they killed two porcupines in one day. They went into the jungle in a group of five persons early in the morning armed with bow (Ertu) and arrow (Charu) and returned in the evening.

4 O. Malley L.S.S. Bihar District Gazetteers-Santal Parganas p, 288, 298—1938, Patna.

Baghdhannu (Tiger trap) is another hunting implement used for hunting tiger. They fix up the trap before sunset and remove it on the following morning. The Saurias of village Banderkola hunted two tigers in a week. Hunting a tiger is a prestige winning event. The two tigers' skins were sold for Rs. 17 and Rs. 11 respectively.

The Saurias of village Mathio and Dhobeni sometimes go to the river for fishing. The river is a half mile away from the village. Jimri (Fish trap) which they obtain from the market is used for fishing. The fish is entirely meant for their own consumption.

**Sources of cash income.**

(a) *Market.*

The weekly market known as hatia is one of the main sources of their cash income. This is held on the plains and attracts a large number of the Saurias living on the hills. Bamboo and fire wood are sold throughout the year. In addition to these, they sell seasonal fruits like mango (Tatreh) in the months of Baisakh and Jeth, Imli (Tetli) during Magh-Falgun, and Sarifa (Ateh) in the month of Bhado. Sometimes they sell pork and grain in the hatia. Things to be sold in the hatia are carried to the market by both sexes. It was further found that whatever they earn there, they spend it in buying things like rice, tobacco leaves, cloth, ornaments etc. On the hatia day, rice and fish are cooked in most of the households.

**Mahua wine.**

This is another source of their cash income. They know that its preparation is an illegal thing, still they do it. They purchase mahua from the market at Rs. 3 per seer and prepare five bottles of liquor out of it. The liquor is sold at Re. 1 per bottle. The regular customers are Santals, Hindu and Muslim castes living on the plains.

**Livestock.**

The domesticated animals of the Saurias are cows (Ou), oxen (Bardi), goats (Eru), fowl (Khairu) and pigs (Kisu). The number of animals owned by a family determines its social and economic status. The Saurias of village Jokmari milk their cows, the total production of which is only five seers. The entire milk is carried to the market where it is sold to a sweet meat vendor at annas eight per seer. The other animals viz. pigs, goats, fowls are sometimes sold in the market when they are in need of money. They are also sacrificed to the Gosai and thus are of much cultural importance.

**Mahajan :**

A description of the economic organisation will remain incomplete without describing the role played by the Mahajan in their economic life. They take loan during preparation of the Kurwa, sowing, harvesting, marriage, death and festivals. On cash loans, the mahajans take fifty per cent interest and on loans in kind hundred per cent interest is charged. Once they take loan from the mahajans it becomes difficult for the Saurias to get rid of the debt, because the interest goes on multiplying. The Saurias are in the know of all these things, still they are friendly with them because they get the loan at any time

and also without difficulty. Soon after the harvesting, the mahajans go to the village for loan collection. They take half of the produce. The Saurias do not keep any account and so whatever is told by the mahajans is accepted by them. In some of the villages, the mahajans have seized the plough lands of the Saurias during the last three years. The Saurias cannot raise any voice because they are heavily indebted to them.

Cash loan is also distributed by the government. The Saurias took loan from the government, the amount of which varied from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40. They do not know as to how much interest will be charged. A number of graingolas have also been opened by the government. At present it stocks only paddy, which is given to the tribal people at 25 % interest. The graingolas at present are much helpful to the Santals than the Saurias.

**Conclusion.**

The entire discussion on the economic organisation of the Sauria Pahariya enables us to arrive at the following conclusions :—

(1) The Saurias possess four types of land namely (a) Kurwa jungle (b) jot bari (c) paddy field and (d) sabai field. These lands were settled to them according to the provisions made in the Santal Parganas Regulation III of 1872.

(2) Shifting and plough cultivation are practised by the Sauria. A comparison between their per bigha yields revealed that the per bigha yield of the plough cultivation was only 2·27 maunds more than that by the shifting cultivation. The yield of the plough cultivation may be increased if they get draught cattle, manure, seeds and cash loan either from the government or from the mahajans in time.

(3) Sabai cultivation which once used to give employment to the Saurias as labourers besides cash income from its sale is now in a decaying state. The Saurias however have made an attempt to improve the sabai cultivation by forming "Pahariya Sudhar Samity". This shows that the idea of cooperation is not alien to them. Hence, a cooperative society with the assistance and supervision of the government may improve the sabai cultivation.

(4) The Mahajans play a vital role in their economic life. All work of the Saurias stops if they fail to get loan in cash or kind from the mahajans. They go to the mahajans because of two main reasons namely, (a) they get loan at any time they like (b) they get loan without giving any thumb impression. The graingolas which at present stock only paddy may be more helpful to them if other crops raised by them viz. maize, millet, mustard, surgujja, bean etc. are also stocked there. A proper implementation of these schemes may decrease the influence of the Mahajans in the Pahariya country.

# THE BIR ASURS AND THEIR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

by

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Ethnologically the present scheduled tribes of Bihar and West Bengal, namely the Asur and Birjia and the other backward classes of Bihar and the scheduled castes of Uttar Pradesh, namely the Agaria, are inter-related groups of people and really constitute a single tribe though in administrative references they are being treated as if they are separate groups of people. In such references only their BIR Section has been described as the Asur and their other two remaining sections, namely the Birjia and Agaria Asurs have been described by their sectional names. According to the 1941 Census returns their total population of 57,635 in Indian Union was distributed in the following way :—

| Territory. | Asur. | Birjia. | Agaria. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indian Union. | 4,564 | 2,076 | 50,995 | 57,635 |
| Bihar State. | 4,388 | 2,075 | 2,799 | 9,262 |
| M.P. State. | 176 | 1 | 5,228 | 5,405 |
| U.P. State. | ... | ... | 42,968 | 42,968 |

Their traditional community occupation had been iron-smelting, primitive tillage through slash and burn method, hunting and forest collection, due to which they had been constantly a non-sedentary group of people moving from place to place in search of food and raw material for their industry. In respect of the present community occupation, they as a whole now constitute a heterogeneous group of people and so only the economic problems from anthropological point of view of the Bir section are presented here in this short Paper as in this respect they only now are a homogeneous group out of the whole tribe. Hereafter in this paper the word, Asur, will signify only the Bir section of the Asur instead of the whole tribe as shown earlier.

The Asurs are inhabiting the *Pat, i.e.* highlands of Bishunpur, Ghaghra, Chainpur (Ranchi district), Mahuadanr (Palamau district) Police Stations of Bihar and the following is the list of villages in these Police Stations where they are mostly found :—

*Police Station Bishunpur* :

1. Narma. 2. Bahagara. 3. Amptipani. 4. Gurdari. 5, Chatam. 6. Chirodi. 7. Kujam. 8. Ambakona. 9. Heltatola Balatu. 10. Bani, Chapal.

*Police Station Ghaghra.*

1. Bimarla. 2. Ghaghra Ghughuru. 3. Dirgaon. 4. Salgi. 5. Barang. 6. Korle. 7. Jilingsiral (Hethehi).

*Police Station Chainpur.*

1. Dawanapat. 2. Chikpat. 3. Jarda Pat. 4. Harikona. 5. Burjupat. 6. Ganitola. 7. Dina (Saraitola). 8. Beltanga. 9. Galu—Dulu Sharna. 10. Kathgaon, Ganidara. 11. Karamdin-Simar. 12. Lupung Pat. 13. Dokapat. 14. Besna Pat. 15. Jairagi. 16. Katabil (Banstoli).

*Police Station Mahuadanr* :

1. Pakripat.

After the introduction of the Settlement Code in these areas in the beginning of the present century, settled agricultural life was introduced among them. The settlement did not directly affect their economic dependence on their neighbouring forests for food supply in the form of collection of roots, fruits, green leaves and wood for agricultural as well as fuel purposes and regulated hunting. But as they became permanent and annual exploiters of the same neighhouring forest tract with increasing trend of population, their neighbouring forest automatically lost the previous significance for them as the direct source of their food-supply.

The loss of their neighbouring forest as a source of food-supply in economic sense brought before them the necessity of regular and systematic occupation of plant cultivation, for which they began also to keep dry cattle. It also brought the necessity of keeping poultry, pigs and goats for supply of meat food. Similarly, with the opening of their country through roads and other means of outside communication and other contacts, trade and commerce increased and barter economy was gradually replaced by exchange economy. For cultivating lands, they needed money to pay the rent in cash to the landlord and other taxes like Chaukidari. In the course of contact with other people and specially traders, they acquired taste for foreign goods and thus money became essential for their day to day life. Similarly there was a demand for many of their raw products and their manual labour by the neighbouring people and the outside world, which in return became source of their cash income.

In spite of these changes their economy is primarily subsistence agricultural economy, *i.e.* consumers' production economy.

In such economy where food production is meant for direct consumption, the cultural and social food values determine, only next to the natural environment, the nature of plants to be cultivated by that group of people. The Asurs like other neighbouring tribal groups of the people drink corn-beer and it is also culturally the recognised item of hospitality and ceremonial, communal as well as religious feasts. They prepare beer specially from rice, maize and gondli corns. Next to rice, maize corn is their staple food. The *gondli* is only preferred during the scarcity period and its major use is for preparation of beer among them. Surguja or Jatni—a kind of oil seed is the next important crop which they grow and it has very little direct consumption value for them and is

primarily cultivated as cash crop. The other plants they cultivate are of subsidiary economic significance.

The lands owned by them are of two kinds, wet and dry, which they call as *Loeng* and *Toeng*, respectively. In Sadani they are known as *Don* and *Tanr*, *i.e.* rice land and upland. This classification of cultivated land has been also followed in official Land Record Papers. Again *Don* and *Tanr* lands have been officially classified into I, II and III classes of *Don* and *Tanr* lands in those records according to the quality of the soil. Coming to the distribution of their individual familywise landholding into *Don* and *Tanr* and again into their respective classes according to the quality of the soil, the conclusions of landholdings census made by me at Lodapat Asur settlement (village Bahagara, P.S. Bishunpur) can be safely regarded as representative. Here there are 18 Asur families who constitute the settlement. The total population of the settlement comes to 113 and every family has land. The total extent of the lands of the 18 families comes to 258 Acres $69\frac{13}{18}$ cents. The following is the classified statement of these lands :—

| *Don* | | | *Tanr* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | II | III. | I | II & III | Total |
| A. C. | A. C. | A. C. | A. C. | A. C. | A. C. |
| $0-33\frac{1}{3}$ | $4-29\frac{2}{3}$ | $4-77\frac{8}{9}$ | $13-88\frac{2}{9}$ | $235-40\frac{1}{2}$ | $258-69\frac{13}{18}$ |

As far as inequal distribution of land is concerned if we take into consideration the number of each individual family multiplied by the average per head cultivated land in the settlement there are only four families which own more than their proportionate share. Out of such four families two have just above the margin of such share and only the two families have more than 100 per cent of such share. The rest of the 14 families have less land in consideration of the membership of their family multiplied by the average per head cultivated land in the settlement.

The *Don* lands are annually cultivated with only a single crop whereas the I class *tanr* land, *i.e. Bari* is cultivated twice annually. The II and III class *tanr* lands are annually cultivated for three to four years at a time ; afterwards the lands are left fallow to regenerate fertility by growth of natural vegetation etc. and only after a lapse of two to ten years such lands are again brought under cultivation and annually cultivated for three to four years again. They call it *Palta, i.e.* a type of shifting cultivation through plough cultivation method. Rotation of crops is followed in such *tanr* lands whereas in the rest of the Asur fields same crops are grown from year to year. Such crops are paddy in *Don* fields and maize and mustard in the *Bari* field, *i.e.* 1st class *tanr* land.

Coming to average annual cereal yield of the families there were only two

families out of 18 which had cereal for home consumption for the whole year and there were four families with annual cereal deficit for four to six months. The remaining families had deficit for 2 to 3 months. The usual method of meeting the cereal deficit is to depend upon roots, fruits, leaves and other collections from the forest, sale of raw materials collected from the forest as well as finished handicrafts like rope, rain-coat etc., wages from contractual manual labour and temporary migration to tea gardens of eastern India. The failure of Sarguja crop complicates their economic situation more, when demand for money for paying rent and other annual charges, for purchase of clothes etc. and cash expenditure associated with different phases of annual and cyclic life bring more pressure for money on their existing economic resources. In such cases they meet urgent and unavoidable charges by selling their maize, gondli and other stocks, and fowls, eggs, pigs etc. meant for their food. This temporarily solves their immediate problem but affects their future life in many ways.

Most of the *tanr* lands are usually situated on stiff slopes and annual loosening of soil by plough and accompanied by heavy rain causes heavy erosion of soil in such fields. The Asurs call it washing away of the land. After 15 to 20 years of continuous cultivation such lands being completely eroded become unfit and uneconomical for further cultivation for years to come. The extent of such annually eroded lands, which become completely unfit for further cultivation, can be easily understood with the available figure from the latest Settlement Report of the Ranchi district, for such erosion between the two Settlements period between the years 1910—1935 for Police Station Bishunpur as a whole. In this period 35·69 per cent of the available cultivable virgin lands were brought under fresh cultivation, whereas the acreage of uncultivable waste land increased in this Police Station area at the close of the second Revisional Settlement of 1935 by 9·9 per cent.

The Asur agriculture is based on family manual labour, tools and cattle etc. There were 29 active ploughs and 60 dry cattle for the same at the Lodapat Asur settlement at the time of my intensive study during the summer of 1957. Out of this each of six cattle was taken on hire on *Buha* system for which the hiring persons had to pay at the rate of 6 to 8 maunds of threshed corn to the owners of cattle for working them for a year. One of the others cattle was accepted on mortgage and the remaining fifty-three cattle were owned by different individual Asur families of the settlement. The existing number of active ploughs were not considered by the Asurs as sufficient to properly and timely cultivate the fields of individual families. No family in the settlement had surplus plough and also no family had money to hire ploughs from outside for cultivating its own fields. The ploughs are given on exchange among different families in the settlement. So even if the land is cultivated it is done not at the earliest and suitable period of the season but when the plough becomes available after the completion of work of

its owner. Secondly, the periods of preparing of soil and cultivating coincide with the closing of the agricultural year when *generally* most of them face scarcity of food from their own stock. So such Asurs having food scarcity, neglect the proper care of their fields and their concern is to procure food for mere physical survival of the family members rather than thinking of organising their agricultural operation on sound grounds.

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## HOUSING OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES IN KUTCH

by

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The Kutch region which now forms part of the Bombay State as a separate district has a total population of 5,67,606 out of whom the population of scheduled castes is 44,987, that of scheduled tribes is 21,241, and that of the Other Backward Classes is 1,008. The total population of all the backward classes, therefore, comes to 67,236. Most of the backward classes traditionally used to reside in small 'Bhungas' which consisted of circular enclosures constructed with grass or straw with conical thatched roofing with a door and sometimes only an opening with no window at all. Persons who could afford to spend some more time and labour on the 'Bhungas' covered the walls with thick mud plaster. The 'Bhungas' were liable to catch fire easily and many cases of fire occurred from time to time and when the houses were in a cluster of 4 or 5, all the 'Bhungas' usually caught fire and the backward class persons were rendered shelterless. The people had again to put in more time and energy for reconstruction of their 'Bhungas' leaving their normal work and consequently suffered loss of wages also. A number of cases of fire to the 'Bhungas' were reported every year to the Collector of Kutch and the Backward Classes Officer, Kutch, and aid was requested for relief and for construction of new 'Bhungas'. In order, therefore, to give some relief to the backward classes and to reduce the danger of fire it was thought in 1952 that if some improvement in the housing conditions of the backward classes could be brought about, the danger of fire could be reduced or eliminated and the loss to the backward classes avoided. In the beginning it was, therefore, decided to pay housing subsidies to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribe members at the rate of Rs. 150 per family for providing them with suitable housing materials and for enabling them to engage skilled labourers as may be necessary. The unskilled labour was to be provided by the beneficiaries who had also to contribute a little money for

completion of their houses. The approved design of a house consisted of one room of 12′×10′ and a kitchen of 5′×5′, and four small windows were to be provided (two in the room and two in the kitchen) and one door for entry to the main room. It was considered that for each house a plot of land of 90′-6″×15′-0″ would be sufficient. Generally the houses were to be constructed in the units of two to eight houses to save expenditure on walls. Those who could afford to build better houses were allowed to do so, but were entitled to subsidy of Rs. 150 only. The beneficiaries were also required to keep a plinth of about one foot in every case. The estimate per house was originally worked out as under :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Door | ... | Rs. 20 |
| 2. | Four cement windows at Re. 1 each | ... | Rs. 4 |
| 3. | Roof | ... | Rs. 66 |
| 4. | Country tiles | ... | Rs. 30 |
| 5. | Stones, mud, unskilled labour etc. | | Rs. 50 |
| 6. | Skilled labour. | | Rs. 30 |
| | Total | | Rs. 200 |

The stones which were used for construction of the walls were generally collected by the beneficiaries and the construction was done in mud. Where stones were not available nearby, mud bricks were used for construction of the walls. Soil at such places is of a good quality and mud bricks prepared out of the soil generally did not crack on drying.

2. The housing scheme was started in the year 1952-53 and had made good progress during 1952-53 and 1953-54. Although on account of the small aid given for housing and on account of the poor conditions of the backward classes, it was not possible to construct pucca houses, the scheme had helped them to construct good type of houses with tiled roofing. In 1954, when Shri B.N. Datar, Minister, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India visited Kutch, he saw some of the houses and recommended that the rate of subsidy may be raised to Rs. 200 per house so that the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people could construct better houses. The rate of subsidy was thus increased to Rs. 200 per house from 1954-55 and the benefit of the scheme was extended to the Ex-Criminal tribe people from the year 1955-56. In 1955, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes toured in the Kutch area and saw the working of the housing scheme. He advised that the subsidy may be increased to Rs. 300 per house in view of the increase in the cost of materials so as to enable the poorer people also to take advantage of the housing scheme. This suggestion to increase the subsidy to Rs. 300 was included in the Commissioner's Report for the year 1955, and after due consideration the suggestion has recently been accepted. Even the house of the description mentioned above costs about Rs. 400 now and it has, therefore, been decided by the Bombay Government that the housing aid may be increased to Rs. 300 where the cost of a house comes to Rs. 500 or more. The beneficiary is now provided a subsidy of Rs. 200 in the beginning as advance and the balance of Rs. 100 is paid on completion of the house.

3. The scheme has progressed and has been supervised well and it has been possible to provide better houses to a number of scheduled caste, scheduled tribe, and ex-criminal tribe members. The total number of houses for which aid has been sanctioned from the year 1952-53 is as follows :—

| | YEARS | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1952-53 | 1953-54 | 1954-55 | 1955-56 | 1956-57 | 1957-58 | Total |
| Scheduled Castes. | 179 | 253 | 419 | 599 | 77 | 172 | 1,699 |
| Scheduled Tribes. | — | 382 | 371 | 512 | 69 | 132 | 1,466 |
| Ex-Criminal Tribes | — | — | — | 20 | 10 | 25 | 55 |
| Total | 179 | 635 | 790 | 1,131 | 156 | 329 | 3,220 |

The scheme has been so popular and successful that a number of applications from needy persons are still being received and many persons requested me during my tour in Kutch to help them in securing such aid.

During the month of August 1958, I toured in the Kutch district and visited 39 villages and saw about 150 houses constructed by the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and ex-criminal tribes in those villages with the Government aid. I saw a number of houses constructed with stones in mud and also constructed with mud bricks in mud. Some of the persons who were aided have done cement or mortar pointing on the walls constructed with stones in mud and the others have plastered their walls with mud and cow-dung to give additional strength to the walls. Although the houses at all the places were found to be covered with country tiles a few houses of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, constructed in Bhirandiara village in Banni area of the Bhuj taluka had grass thatching. It was learnt that in desert area the people were accustomed not to use tiles, firstly because the tiles had to be brought from a long distance and thus they become costly and secondly because they were always afraid of earthquakes. In some cases the backward classes have constructed very good houses by supplementing the aid from their own savings. It may be stated that most of the houses seen by me during my tour were found to be decent and can be valued between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500. The scheme has worked very well in the Kutch district and the social workers and the backward class people whom I met during the tour also expressed their satisfaction at the execution of the scheme. The idea of providing cheap but durable houses

suitable for the poor section of the people deserves to be encouraged and adopted in other areas. A large number of people who are absolutely shelterless or are residing in unsuitable houses such as 'Bhungas' described above or small structures with old tin sheets or torn tents etc. require to be urgently aided. A large number of people who are in such indigent circumstances cannot be aided if the housing is made costly. Ordinarily such persons should at least be provided with housing accommodation normally available in villages and minor repairs which can be done by the people from their own resources. It will, therefore, be better to arrange surveys of the various regions and to work out designs and estimates of houses suitable for different regions, consistent with the type of houses usually found in rural areas in such regions and then to determine the minimum aid required to be given to very poor and needy persons having no shelters at all or dwelling in most unsuitable huts. If only minimum aid to such persons is provided, it may be possible to help a considerable number of backward class persons. In Kutch it has been possible to persuade the backward classes to construct their houses with small aid as on account of small rain-fall in the area there is very little danger of damage to the houses by rain and the houses need not, therefore, have deep foundation, high plinth or very strong roofing. In other regions, the housing aid may have to be suitably increased considering the climate and other local requirements. Housing of the backward classes in Kutch, however, provides an important clue as to how it is possible to meet the pressing needs of a number of poor and needy people. In my opinion the subsidy should normally be available to the indigent people only who cannot afford to take loans for housing purposes as they cannot find their way to repay the loans. The backward class people who have got fairly suitable houses and want to construct better houses, or persons who are living in decent rented houses and want to construct their own houses should be given loans only. Unless the question of solving the housing problem for the most needy people is seriously considered on these lines, most of the really poor and needy people may not be able to take advantage of the housing schemes, as it will be impossible for the various State Governments to meet their housing needs even if considerable amounts are set aside for housing aid.

# EFFECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL SCHEMES ON THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE UTHLU BIRHORS

by

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The Birhors (literally the jungle men) also named sometimes as *chopdars* (makers of rope from chop) are a small tribe of Bihar constituting about ·07% of the scheduled tribal population in Bihar. According to the Census Report of 1,941 their total population in Bihar was 2550 and distributed as follows :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Hazaribagh | ... | 1,623 |
| 2. | Ranchi | ... | 561 |
| 3. | Palamau | ... | 11 |
| 4. | Singhbhum | ... | 355 |

No idea can be given of their present territorial distribution as they are nomadic and no census of the tribewise distribution in different areas has been conducted after 1941.

Ethnologically, the Birhors belong to the Proto-australoid Munda group of people and linguistically to the Austro-asiatic sub-family of the Austric linguistic family. They are also bilingual in the sense that with non-Birhors they speak "Sadani" which is the common lingua-franca of Chota Nagpur.

The tribe is divided into two main sections, namely the Uthlus (wanderers) and Jaghis (settled). The Uthlus do not stay at one place permanently but roam from jungle to jungle, in groups of a small number of families, chasing game, collecting edible wild roots, fruits, honey, making ropes and small wooden articles and selling them in the market. They do not camp close to each other but at a distance of a few miles. They ordinarily stop at one place and hunt and use the raw materials of the forest. As they cannot get the raw materials from the same patch of forest for a sufficiently long period and as it also becomes difficult for them to dispose of their finished products like ropes and small wooden articles in the same local markets, they wander and move in small groups making their temporary camps at each place known as "tandas".

In Bihar special developmental schemes to settle the non-sedentary tribal groups like the Uthlu Birhors, Paharias, hill Kharias and Parahaiyas, practising hunting, primitive industry and slash and burn type of primitive tillage are being carried out and attempts are being made to settle about 600 families of the above tribal groups during the Second Five Year Plan.

The Birhor special developmental schemes aim at settling 45 Birhor families in the two colonies constructed at Jehangutua and Beti in Bishunpur Police Station in the district of Ranchi. The schemes conceive family as a unit for settlement and so provision has

been made on uniform basis for each family however small or big it may be. The budgetary provisions of the schemes are as follows :—

| *Item* | *Jehangutua* | *Beti* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. Settlement | 44,391-0-0 | 50,390-0-0 | 94,781-0-0 |
| 2. Education | 4,321-0-0 | ... | 4,321-0-0 |
| 3. Cottage Industry (rope-making). | 34,573-0-0 | ... | 34,573-0-0 |
| Total | 83,285-0-0 | 50,390-0-0 | 1,33,675-0-0 |

Under the Settlement head the main provisions to each Birhor family are a two roomed, mud—built, country tile roofed house, five acres of culturable waste land and other necessities for starting agriculture.

*Sources of Livelihood.*—The main source of livelihood of the settled Uthlus is still traditional agriculture. Agriculture has not been successfully introduced so far among them for the reasons discussed in the later section of this Paper. Their traditional occupations have been badly affected due to their leading a settled way of life and furthermore their wants have also increased. The economy of these Uthlus have thus declined. Brief details of their major occupations with the effects of settlement are given below.

Hunting is one of the major occupations of the Birhors. The technique and equipments for conducting this occupation are very simple. Only a small axe is to be purchased and the hunting nets are prepared by themselves. These meagre equipments have set limits on their hunting only small game, like monkeys, small apes, squirrels and wild hens etc. The technique is simple but requires full co-operation of the Birhors. No individual can hunt the main game singly.

After settlement, their sources of getting the game i.e. the forests in which they go for hunting expeditions are limited. Neither they get the privilege to go from one forest to another nor to the same forest at proper intervals. Usually, the game leave the forest in which the Birhors have once or twice gone for conducting hunting expeditions. This led them to seek another hunting ground full of game but on the other hand their present sedentary life least provides them with this opportunity.

Rope-making is another major occupation of the Birhors and they are again dependent upon the forest for its raw materials. The bark of the creeper known as *chop* (Bauhenia-scandens) which grows sufficiently in the forests of Bishunpur and which hinders the growth of the valuable trees like timber etc., is most usually used for making ropes. By indigenous processing and

plaiting mainly the bark of this creeper and sometimes of a few other trees, the Birhors prepare several rope articles.

The settled Uthlus have to face many problems such as limited local market and a few consumers etc. Consequently, their products bring low price, even lower than the cost of production. This is because they cannot go very far to other markets to dispose of their finished products at a rather high price; they have to be contented with this low price. Previously while nomadic, they could go far and wide to sell their goods to earn satisfactory price for their labour. Now sometimes the demand curve is so low that they are unable to dispose of their single produce and to depend upon other resources. To illustrate the above contention the previous and present prices of a few articles are given below :—

| *Name of article* | *Previous market value* | *Present market value* |
|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. Doer | 0-4-0 | 0- 2-6 to 0-3-0 |
| 2. Danhuri Jori | 1-4-0 | 0-12-0 to 1-0-0 |
| 3. Sika | 1-4-0 | 0-12-0 to 1-0-0 |
| 4. Ghora Paga | 1-4-0 | 0-14-0 to 1-2-0 |

Similarly in such other articles the prices have declined.

Carpentry is another handicraft which adds to the subsistence economy of the Birhors. For this occupation they require wood and tools. The tools though a few in number are purchased from the local *Lohra* (blacksmith). For cutting wood for this craft they haye to take permit from the local Forest Office on payment of annas eight per tree. This permit, however, on payment is not easily obtained but usually much of their time is wasted in the Forest Office. On account of the limitations of the market much higgling takes place. Therefore the finished wooden articles fetch low price. To exemplify, the prices of a few articles are given below :—

| *Name of article* | *Previous market value* | *Present market value* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Katouth (wooden tub) | Of variable size and prices but the price has been. lowered at least by 20 %. | |
| 2. Wooden mortar and pestle (of usual size) | Rs. 3-0-0 | Rs. 2-0-0 |

Similarly, the other minor occupations like collection of wild roots, fruits, honey and medicinal roots have been affected due to their permanent settlement.

Thus it may be summed up that as the sources of getting raw materials for the settled Uthlus are limited and moreover as the prices of the finished articles have declined due to their limited market centres, there has been a significant decrease in the income of the settled Uthlus.

On the other hand, the items of expenditure of the settled Uthlus have also increased. This is because, firstly while wanderers they used to live in leaf built huts which were quite compact and warm during winter season but the present mud-built houses are open and very cool in winter. This necessitates their getting some sort of clothings as protection against chill. Secondly, it is also due to their coming into contact with more advanced people. Sometimes a few non-tribal administrative or welfare officers give their discarded garments to these Birhors. This adds to their new taste of clothings and ultimately increases their wants and expenditure.

The consumption of staple food has also increased, i.e. rice also is used more as the other articles for consumption such as the wild edible roots, leaves, fruits etc., are not sufficiently available at present.

The major occupation to be introduced among these settled Uthlus is settled agriculture and accordingly each family has been provided with five acres of land at Jehangutua Birhor Colony and at Beti they will be similarly allotted the lands. The yield out of these lands has so far been little due to manifold reasons. Firstly, the authorities have made a great mistake in giving the "disputed" lands to the Birhors of Jehangutua. These lands now allotted to the settled Birhors were previously allotted to other poor non-Birhor tribals of the village Jehangutua and they did reclaim certain portions of this land also. Then the lands were snatched away from these non-Birhor tribals and given to the Birhors. But the previous allottees have not been provided with any other lands instead. Also no compensation or subsidy has so far been paid to these non-Birhor tribals, for the labour, money and energy they had put in reclaiming certain portions of this land. So the Birhors at the outset have been placed in a bad atmosphere and the attitude of the surrounding people towards the Birhors is that of jealousy and enemity. These non-Birhor tribals frighten the Birhors with dire consequences if they would plough their lands. The Birhors, though they are taking to cultivation of these lands because the Government officials are at their back. yet are always in fear of their neighbouring tribals. Secondly, it will take certainly a few years before the Birhor waste lands can be reclaimed for making them fit for cultivation. The schemes also provide other necessities for starting agriculture, such as ploughs, bullocks, etc. But still these necessities have not been provided to the settled Birhors side by side with the provision of the lands which causes delay to their taking to agriculture. The Birhors of

Jehangutua settled two and half years before have still not been provided with full equipments.

The Birhor special developmental schemes do not provide any item for feeding the animals given to Birhors. This increases their anxiety as to how they should feed the bullocks when they have nothing to feed themselves. Lastly, these Birhors require proper supply of seeds at the proper sowing seasons which is another complaint of these Uthlus.

Thus from the few facts stated above, it can be concluded out-right that it will take at least a few years before they can initially get the benefit of the lands allotted to them.

The economic life of the Birhors after settlement has therefore worsened. Their income has decreased, expenditure increased and they have to face new problems. In such poor conditions the other amenities provided in the schemes are not of much use to the Birhors, *e.g.* the complete education scheme has not achieved any significant success. No child is going to the school at present as the children help their parents in collecting firewood and grazing goats etc. in these hard days. The provision in the scheme for starting a rope-making training *cum* production centre at Jehangutua has remained unimplemented so far.

Thus in this hard intermediary period, *i e.* till these settled Uthlus can get the advantage of the lands provided to them, if due help and consideration to the problems of the settled Uthlus is not given, the schemes may not result in success.

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## EDUCATION OF TRIBAL CHILDREN

**by**

**Shyam Manohar.**

The Indian Conference of Social Work met at Madras for its decennial session in the last week of December, 1957. In the two sessions of the workshop meeting on Education of Tribal Children the subject was discussed from all perspectives, under the Chairmanship of Sri R.S. Mishra, Member, Servants of India Society and Member of Executive Committee, Bharatiya Adimjati Sewak Sangh. The discussions were lively and were conducted by Sri Nana Bapat, Joint Secretary, M.P. Vanwasi Sewa Mandal. Some 15 out of the fifty delegates hailing from all parts of India participated in the discussions.

Education of the tribal children was both simple and complex. It was simple inasmuch as it dealt with the elementry stages having been totally neglected during the long period of British rule in

India. It was complex since it produced innumerable difficulties. The areas were remote and inaccessible due to want of communications. The villages were small. Parents were reluctant to send children to schools, primarily due to their economic loss. Teachers of right type were not available. The areas were without proper medical aid and primary necessities of life were not available, unless a person attended a poor weekly market held at long distances. The education was too bookish and it made the tribal children unfit for their tribal environment and he became unemployed unless he got a suitable job as a school master or the fourth class Government servant or private post. Girls were not sent to school at all. Children were neglected on account of easy divorces and remarriages found in the social customs of the tribal society.

To overcome all these difficulties it was suggested that the Government should take up full responsibility of the education of tribal children through official and non-official agencies compensating for the loss to the parent who suffered economically if the child was taken away.

Balwadies for tribal children should be started and free food and clothing should be given to the children from that age. The balwadies would attract the mothers to the school and they would take special interest in the welfare of the children. Social education activities can be started with the balwadies and primary schools, and the child and the mother can be prepared for community life.

Balwadi childien should be taught through their mother tongue and the means and the apparatus to be used for the purpose should be in keeping with the tribal environment.

The schools should be basic schools in their real sense and the basic craft to be used as medium of education should vary from spinning and weaving and agriculture to occupations of forests available locally. The child should not be uprooted from his environment.

Though the aim of the education will be the same for all *i.e.* preparation for life, the content of the education of the tribal child will differ according to the peculiar environment of the tribal area. A separate curriculum should be prepared for the basic schools in tribal areas. The tribal child may be slow in literary achievement but he is very quick and at times shows wonderful skill in things to be done by hand.

He is physically stronger, he picks up sports, and games easily. He can be a good forester, a good scout, a good military man. His latent capabilities should be fully drawn out while educating him.

The eight years basic course should be the minimum standard of education to be prescribed for the tribal child. It should be followed by technical, vocational and occupational training for a course of two to three years enabling him to stand on his own legs.

Educational and technical training centres should be located in the tribal areas and not in towns, so that the tribal child will not be lost to his area and he will love to work for the development of his own area and the progress of the tribal people.

Real and substanital achievement in this effort will depend upon real, sincere and capable officers and voluntary field workers who keep themselves aloof from politics. Training centres for workers should be started and as far as possible tribals should be given preference in selections. Non-tribals who can work with a spirit of devotion and practical human approach should be recruited for this work. They should be properly trained for the environment and in the environment all necessary facilities should be afforded to them to promote a sense of security. The creation of a cadre of service, both official and non-official, is essential for the purpose. Those who are willing to serve for the cause for a fixed period not less than 10 years should be admitted to the cadre after proper tests. It was recommended that special service conditions should be prescribed for such life workers even paying higher salaries if necessary to attract young and ambitious men to this new field of activity.

After all tribal education is a duty we owe to the country. Nearly two crores of our countrymen are tribals totally neglected for centuries. Their welfare cannot be achieved without proper education, and therefore, high priority should be given by the State in its development plans. Governments, Central as well as the State, have been doing a lot in this direction by establishing separate departments in the States which have a considerable proportion of tribal population and by aiding a number of private agencies. But in view of the great magnitude of the problem, greater and more concentration are required to solve the problem of the development of the tribal land and tribal population.

No nation can march forward on the road to welfare and development, unless it takes along with it every unit of the population. The tribal welfare agencies have to play the role of being a bridge between the welfare state with socialistic pattern of society and the two crores of adivasis in India. Education is the first requisite to arouse a sense to develop and progress. The poverty-striken, oppressed Adivasi has been coaxed to remain a museum piece—isolated in tribal pockets to serve as a subject for anthropological and ethnological research by the Western and some Indian adventurists. The times have changed now. With the coming of independence we can scarcely afford to isolate our own brethren. They are human beings, our own flesh and blood and no matter how much we have to toil—our constitution, our culture, our society enjoins upon us the duty to strive to pull them up and make them stand shoulder to shoulder equally to bear the burden of the future India. In order to canalise the tribal resources and the human potential and the mental bent for nation's sake, priority has to be given to educate the tribal children and provide social education to the adults. For the sake of the welfare of the nation, eradication of illiteracy should be our motto.

## TRIBAL ASPIRATIONS IN RENASCENT INDIA

by

**E.De. Meulder.**

The Mahatma's words are to the point in Tribal India :

"I do not want my house to be a prison house. I want the doors and the windows of my house to be wide open and the winds of the whole world to blow freely about my house".

Tribals are the non-Aryan and even pre-Dravidian folk of India from whom the monotheists from the post-vedic period gradually borrowed practices, such as "Holy" and the painting of gods in blue and black.

Their social system represents one of the most ancient democracies of India. Tribal panchayats are among India's most ancient democratic institutions. Tribals eventually fled to the forests because they refused—they still do--to be "acculturated" into a vertical system of social inequality whilst their own tribal system was and is deeply rooted in a horizontal plane of democratic equality.

Throughout the history of India, large numbers of people have come under suppression at the hands of a few, claiming to be superior by birth, and ordained by providence (KARMA) to lord it over others. This phenomenon has always led to lower suppressed classes to revolt or to allow themselves to be converted to other religions.

Buddhism was in fact a revolution against casteism which was then prevalent. Soon after Buddhism was established as a distinct religion in India, the whole community was virtually divided into two classes *e.g.* the *Brahmins* and the *Shramans.* Mention of this fact is found in many inscriptions even from the days of Ashoka.

It is a well-known fact that the backward classes and the adivasis were pitted against the Indian National Congress to prevent the onrush of nationalism which was about to sweep away not only the British Rulers but also their proteges. The guarantee which was given to the rulers by the paramount power encouraged them as well as others to believe that they would stay on. The rulers of the Eastern States Agency were outmanouvered by the national movement.

The unsophisticated people are always used for political purposes by unscrupulous leaders ; real religion has nothing to do with this aspect of the question, though it usually gets the blows and the blame all the same.

### Renascent India.

By now most of the real anthropologists are against the attempt to "acculturate the tribals" which term is too often but a euphimism for enrolling them into the caste system.

Whatever be the view of anthropologists, old and new, the tribals have some definite aspirations of their own. And they ought to be consulted before proceeding with aboriginal welfare work. *What are those aspirations ?*

1. *Tribals want to remain tribals,* yet they *also want to be considered as Indian citizens, with equal rights and equal opportunities.*

They want to remain tribals, but no longer in isolation. They wish to be integrated into the great national life of India. The best of them feel that they have a great role to play on the variegated inter-provincial stage of a united India. They refuse henceforth to be used as pawns or as stooges in the political game of old Rajas and old politicians.

Exaggerated provincialism and narrow linguistic quarrels are threatening to tear to shreds the very unity of India.

Tribals are one of those cementing communities that are not confined to one province or to one religion or to one language only. It is important to strengthen the tribal world of India into a great living cultural unit of its own, which should stand on equal terms with the other great living communities of one great nation.

2. *Tribals want land upto the extent of a real economic holding for themselves and for their progeny.*

They want security in the possession of this land and they want therefore to be protected in the possession of that land against arbitrary expropriation, whether this comes from the extreme right or from the extreme left *e.g.* they wish to be protected against the wiles of economic liberalism or communism.

The very laws that are meant to protect them are often turned against them or are kept secret from them.

3. *Tribals want freedom, real freedom.*

(*a*) *Freedom from want*: never in history were aboriginals fed worse than at present in their deforestated and overgrazed village areas.

(*b*) *Freedom from fear,* specially in the courts and in the Police stations, in many of which especially in former Indian States, "Zulum" is still the order of the day. Examples abound.

(*c*) *Freedom from discrimination,* in employment in education, in the community-projects which too often are but outlets for educated unemployed outsiders, mostly from town areas.

(*d*) *Freedom from the tyrany of half-baked* anthropologists and their politics.

4. *Tribals want to be delivered from the notorious pertunia system* whereby they are supposed to produce revenue for the States through the grogshops which are erected by especial "Privilege" in aboriginal areas. That is how through liquor white Americans destroyed the Red Indian Tribes in North America.

This *pertunia* system should be replaced by a reasonable permit system of their own ancient native beer. The present permit system is unreasonable. Under this, an aboriginal has to walk at times 35 miles to get such a permit.

5. Aboriginals do care for education but here also, *they insist on freedom to choose the schools of their choice,* even if they are not State-schools or basic schools. Red tape is killing primary and college education by conditioning all education. Examinations, text books, arbitrarily chosen and changed are gambling dice in the hands of second rate school inspectors and politicians.

Private schools and colleges all over the globe have played an immense role in the true renaissance movements of the world. They still do. Think of Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Nalanda, Shanti Niketan, The St. Xaviers Colleges.

6. *Aboriginals want the money, allotted to them, to be spent honestly, fairly, intelligently and with vision. For example,*

In Bagicha block in Musgutri in Jashpur district in M.P. 25 lakhs of rupees have been allotted for aboriginal welfare but only roads are being built for outsiders to enter more easily. The only thing upto date in these blocks is the account of pay-books of the officials.

**Aboriginals resent the following.**

(1) *They are not asked for their opinion.*

(2) *They are not given responsible jobs,* even if they are equally and better qualified than non-aboriginals, as Dr. H.N. Kunzru pointed out at Lohardaga.

(3) *They are often not trusted.*

(4) *They are often not treated as normal human beings.*

(5) *They are labelled with the horrible name "Banjati"* which might be translated as "jungly". How much more decent is the word "Adimjati" or better still Adibasi ?

**The Right Approach.**

Uanikhar, of the Tata Social Institute, distinguishes 4 kinds of approaches to the tribals.

(1) The Anthropological approach (2) The Political approach, (3) The Government approach and (4) The missionary approach.

He holds that the perfect approach is the missionary one.

**Indian Traditions.**

Christians in India will be fully respected, says Dr. John Matthai. (Indian Nation, Saturday, August 4, 1956).

Does this also apply to Christian aboriginals and Christian Harijans ?

'Dr. John Matthai, former Finance Minister of India and a prominent leader of the Christian community said here to-day that he had every confidence that the rights of Christians in India as a community and a religious organisation will be fully respected".

But Dr. John Matthai added, "The kind of cultural and spiritual autarchy which is now advocated in certain quarters is so inconsistent with the traditions and spirit of the country that it must seem to outsiders as a sign of a growing lack of confidence in ourselves and a decline in our moral standards. The wonderful work accomplished by

Buddhist missionaries in nearby Asian countries has left permanent marks on the civilization and culture of these countries. Even today missionaries of the Ramkrishna mission are found in European countries and in America, working with a zeal and disinterestedness which have earned them widespread appreciation. There was a time when India was a haven of refuge for people, suffering religious persecution in other countries, in the same way England offered asylum to those persecuted for political reasons abroad. Surely the advent of independence is not going to leave us less and not more tolerant than we have been in the past".

National India recognises already now that christian missions have played a leading role in integrating aboriginals and Harijans, as free citizens, in a great united country. All that has been accomplished and achieved so far is only a dress rehearsal. The greatest task lies ahead.

The Harijans and Aboriginals must be helped both by State-enterprise and by private enterprise.

Private enterprise should be welcomed and equal support should be given to aboriginal and Harijan work, even if it be organized by the Christian community of India.

All hands on deck are required in India not to stop but to win the battle of hunger which India cannot afford to lose.

Let us stop tearing each other's social and spiritual work to pieces.

All hands are needed to build up a casteless society, a society in which the best will be made of India's immense natural resources and above all a society in which men, women and children will be considered more important than anything else on account of their human dignity. Both Religions and Science are at one on the question of this dignity.

"Biological studies lend support to the ethics of universal brotherhood, for man is born with drives towards co-operation, and unless these drives are satisfied, man and nations alike fall ill. Man is born a social being who can reach his full development only through interaction with his fellows. The denial at any point, of this bond between man and man, brings with it disintegration. In this sense every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind".

(*Unesco statement on Race*)

# THE UNLISTED TRIBES OF KERALA

by

**N. P. Damodaran, Assistant Commissioner for S.C. & S.T., Trivandrum.**

The necessity of maintaining a correct and comprehensive list of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes has repeatedly been stressed. A defective list while on the one hand it results in the denial to the deserving of the special privileges conferred by the Constitution, on the other hand gives opportunity to progressive communities wrongly included in the list to flock in and get at them. Steps have already been taken by the Government of India as well as by State Governments with a view to remove such anomalies.

The reorganisation of States and the consequent adjustment of territories made the matter more complicated in so far as some territories with tribal population were taken away from the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State, whereas others were tacked on to it to form the present Kerala State. Rethinking about the preparation of a fresh list became necessary. With this object in view the Kerala Tribal Board set up a Sub-committee to go into the question and submit its recommendations regarding the revision of the existing list of Scheduled Tribes. According to the terms of reference the Committee had within its purview (i) the omission of certain names found in the list of communities non-existent in Kerala (ii) the deletion of names of communities which have lost their tribal character and (iii) inclusion of tribes which are not found in the list. The Committee consisted of Shri A.A.D. Luiz, Chairman, Shri Nettur P. Damodaran, Convener and Sarvashri K. Krishna Menon, E. Kannan, Lakshman Kani and T.T. Kesavan Sastri. The Sub-Committee has already submitted its report to the State Government. I only intend to throw light upon a few communities which *either totally escaped* the notice of the persons responsible for the preparation of the earliest list or *were wrongly described* by them. To the former category belongs the *Malayalar* of Aralam, in Cannanore district and the *Allar* of Palghat district and to the latter, the *Karimpalans, Mavilans* and *Kurichians* who, though Tribes, have been listed as Scheduled Castes.

No mention of Malayalar or Allar is seen in the 1951 Census Report or the earlier Reports. In 1951 Census though tabulation of individual Castes and Tribes was done with reference to providing information relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the scope of it was confined to the names already included in the list of the President. Census of India Paper No. 4 page 1, reads, "What was a Scheduled Caste and what was a Scheduled Tribe had been specified by name in the President's Orders under Art. 341 and 342 of the Constitution respectively."

"The figures for Scheduled Castes given *in the brochure do not include persons* who returned themselves under a caste name which though locally believed to be identical with a Scheduled Caste is not specifically named as such in the President's Orders". The list contained in the President's Orders were faithfully followed and hence the Census Reports may not be of much help to us in spotting out unlisted Tribes.

*Malayalar* :

The small hamlet of Malayalar lies on the slopes of the Western Ghats, some 40 miles removed from the coastal town of Tellicherry. The Malayalar are a small tribe comprising of about 90 souls distributed in 21 dwellings. Till recently the existence of such a people was little known even to the inhabitants of the nearby township of Iritty which is only seven miles away from the tribal village. Deals were mostly affected through the agency of hawkers who took merchandise to the settlement and distributed it in exchange for paddy.

The Malayalar Village is surrounded by the Virpat forest of which about 2,000 acres formed the community lands of the tribe. They lived by doing shifting cultivation in these and the adjoining forests. The impact of civilization has been too disastrous to the people. Their community lands have changed hands. Now the people find no land to cultivate except the plots around their houses and a few bits of land around the village. Repeated cultivation of the same plots in the same old crude way has made them barren and their labours unrewarding. Lands became dearer and the litigation that cropped up have left the people poorer. Their population also dropped consequently, which is now 1/5 of what it was some 20 years ago, according to their own assessment.

The Malayalar like Kurichians of Wynaad, the Muthuvans and Kanikkars of Travancore are shifting cultivators following matrilineal system of inheritance. They have much in common with these tribes and the Nayars and matrilineal Thiyyas of North Malabar, in their ways and customs.

An interesting feature of this tribe, made more curious in their geographical setting, is the existence of certain traces that would remind us of a dual division of the whole community. Two 'Nalpatis' are the hereditary chiefs of the tribe, of whom one represents the 'Eastern Section' and the other the 'Western Section'. These two groups, it may be pointed out, are not exogamous, nor is there any rivalry between them. Each of the two groups has its own temple of the hunter-god 'Vettakkarmakan'. Every boy born in that community has to undergo a ceremony during which he swears allegiance to either of the two Temples. A boy is free to choose his Temple, but usually half the boys swear allegiance to one temple and the other half to the other. This division is not reflected in the other aspects of the social life of the tribe.

I would only state before closing about these people that it is high time for recognizing this community as a Scheduled Tribe, so that means could be

devised to render them a helping hand before it is too late to do so

*Allars :*

The Allars, numbering about 350 are one of the few food gathering tribes of Kerala. The foot hills of the Western ghats in the Perinthalmanna Taluk in Palghat district are their abode. They speak Malayalam with a peculiar accent and with an admixture of Tamil words.

The physical features of the Allar bear close resemblance to those of the Austroloid type met with frequently in the lower strata of society in South India, more particularly in the Tamil districts. They have curly and bushy hair, receding forehead, wide nose, full lips and long arms. Their stature is medium and skin colour varies from light to dark brown.

The Allars live in small groups. Their hut which they call 'padi' comprises of a roof thatched with leaves supported by bamboo or wooden poles, and is intended only to provide shelter from the rains. They keep fire burning throughout the night in their settlements affording them protection from wild animals.

They are not seen using bows and arrows, blow pipes or such other long range arms, not even spears. Big game hunting seems to be totally absent. Knives and axes which they fetch from nearby villages, and digging sticks form their complete equipment. They catch small game such as monkeys and rodents and birds using traps and snares with which they are thoroughly conversant. They collect forest produce and firewood and take it to the roadside for sale, the proceeds being utilized to buy rice and salt to supplement their food.

Little is known about the religion or rituals of the Allars. They believe in the existence of an Omnipotent whom they refer to by the term 'Fatachavan' which means 'the Creator. They propitiate ancestors and offer worships to a Goddess 'Malakorathi'.

Typical of the food gathering people they are bilateral, with neither of the sex having an upper hand in their affairs. They mix and move about freely and are equal sharers. This has given rise to serious misgivings to outsiders who have been attributing to them promiscuity of the worst type. Tribal groups are usually headed by a male member. In the conduct of rituals and propitiation ceremonies men seem to play the major role.

The Allar who still live a most primitive life under trying conditions have so far been completely left out and neglected. It would be difficult, even dangerous at this moment to suggest any remedy or indicate steps to be taken to improve their lot, mainly due to want of sufficient information. A thorough ethnographic study would have to be undertaken and the mode of approach analysed. First of all, it is most urgent to include them in the list of Scheduled Tribes and recognize their status as a tribe that needs the attention of those concerned with looking after their welfare.

Coming to the Karimpalans and Mavilans, the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950, does not contain the name of Karimpalan, Mavilan and

Kurichians. Instead, these are included in the list of Scheduled Castes. Kurichian has subsequently been transferred to the list of Scheduled Tribes. The Karimpalans and Mavilans are still in the list of Scheduled Castes though it would be more proper to transfer these names also to the list of Scheduled Tribes.

*Karimpalar :*

E. Thurston refers to them as a "small hunting and cultivating forest tribe in Malabar. "They are 'Punam' (shifting) cultivators, hewers of wood and collectors of wild pepper and are found in the foothills north of the 'Camels Hump'. They wear the Kudumi (Hari Knot) and are said to follow Marumakkathayam system of inheritance in the female line, but they do not perform the 'Thalikettu' ceremony. They are supposed to have the power of exorcising the demon Karuvelli, possession by whom takes the forms of fever." Rao Bahadur Gopalan Nair in "People of Wynaad" adds that when Nairs go for hunting the Karimpalans have a right to lead them to the forest, thereby indicating the idea that they had the domain over the forests.

These people are now met with rarely and lie scattered over Wynaad and the mountanous regions of the Tellichery and Taliparamba taluks. Even some decades ago, they were recorded as nearing extinction. Mr. Nair says that a settlement which had about 150 of them a few years back had when he visited it only 37 individuals living.

Like Malayalar, the Karimpalar also are akin to the other matrilineal shifting cultivators of Kerala. No detailed study of this tribe seems to have been undertaken so far. Nothing peculiar has been brought out in the aspects of their social life. In fact very little is known about it. It would only suffice to say that the Karimpalar are a tribe and still live a tribal life wherever they exist, though the heavy fall in their numbers has been causing disintegration among them. It will be hard to deny them the privileges of a Scheduled Tribe since the very purpose of conferring these privileges is to stop disintegration that is being wrought in by the impact of civilization.

*Mavilans :*

The Mavilans are found only in the Taliparamba and Hosdrug taluks of Cannanore district. The Census Report of 1901 describe them as a tribe of shikkaris and verbalists who follow the Makkathayam (patrilineal) system of inheritance, unlike most of their neighbours. The Malabar Gazetteer recorded them as divided into two sub-sects and 30 illoms. At present a few houses and about five hundred individuals remain.

In spite of their long association with civilized people amongst whom they had been living, they still preserve their tribal characteristics in tact. They have not yet discarded their dialect, a corrupt form of Tulu, which they still speak notwithstanding that they had been surrounded by Malayalam speaking people for centuries and occasions to establish contact with the Tulu speaking people of South Kanara were rare.

The community is organized under a Chief known by the term 'Chingattan'

whose decision on matters pertaining to the community is final.

Much confusion seems to have been caused by the term 'Jati' which is indiscriminately used to denote a tribe as well as a caste. The civilized people, with their deep-rooted notions of the caste system have not been able to differenciate a tribe from a caste. But for this, none of the above tribes has been absorbed into the caste system and placed in the hierarchy of castes. Every one of them claims to be superior to others. Some of them, of course, worship Hindu Gods. But the Gods and Goddesses that play important roles in their rituals and ceremonies are mostly unfamiliar to their civilized brethren and the attempt to associate them with Hindu Gods as their various manifestations could only be a recent invention.

Judging by their present condition these communities are far behind many of the Scheduled Castes educationally, socially and economically. The Malayalar who thrived only a few decades ago have now to struggle for their very existence. The Mavilans still continue to be basket makers, mahouts and agricultural labourers. Their herbs and panacca are no longer accepted, as good by the public. The Karimpalars are puzzled and completely left behind. Evil spirits have disappeared with the spread of education and they now have none to exorcise. It will be very hard if all these people lagging behind in the struggle for progress are left as they are to struggle and perish.

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## ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF ASSAM FOR THE WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES

by

**B. W. Roy, Joint Secretary to the Government of Assam, Tribal Areas Department.**

The programme for the welfare of Backward Classes includes the welfare activities for (i) Hills Tribals (ii) Plains Tribals and (iii) Scheduled Castes in the State. The note below relates to the activities concerning the Hills Tribals and Plains Tribals under Art. 275 Programme included in the State Sector of the current Five Year Plan.

The ceiling of expenditure fixed for the Second Plan period under the Article

275 Programme is as below :—

| *Heads.* | *Hills Tribals.* | *Plains Tribals.* |
|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. |
| Education | 84·7970 lakhs | 45·5715 lakhs. |
| Medical | 28·9655 ,, | 17·4325 ,, |
| Public Health | 12·6065 ,, | 15·7320 ,, |
| Agriculture | 27·1795 ,, | 4·3415 ,, |
| Forests | 88·7585 ,, | 4·3890 ,, |
| Cottage Industries | 5·2535 ,, | 4·0660 ,, |
| Sericulture and Weaving | 20·0070 ,, | 4·7595 ,, |
| Co-operatives | 6·2795 ,, | — |
| Veterinary | 14·6395 ,, | 8·8350 ,, |
| Public Works | 377·3590 ,, | 81·5480 ,, |
| Miscellaneous | 34·8460 ,, | 12·8250 ,, |
| General Administration (Pub). | 2·3085 ,, | 12·8250 ,, |
| | 703·00 lakhs | 199·50 lakhs. |

At the time of the preparation and finalisation of the Art. 275 Programme for the Second Plan period it was held that the Government of India would make available to the State Government the entire amount required for the execution of the Programme as it was done during the First Plan period ; but the position changed in the meantime. The Government of India, while communicating approval to the schemes for the year 1956-57, intimated that the State Government would be required to bear 1/3rd of the total expenditure involved in their execution. The abrupt change in the pattern of the Central grant for financing the Art. 275 Programme put the State Government in a financial embarrassment and the matter had to be taken up with the Government of India. The Government of India, after some correspondence and discussion, agreed to exempt the State Government from payment of any share of expenditure involved in 1956-57 but advised the State Government to limit that year's expenditure to the amount of grant-in-aid made available during that year. The pattern of Central assistance for Art. 275 Programme from the year 1957-58 onwards has also been changed; for the schemes concerning Hills tribals the Central assistance is almost on 100 per cent basis, while for the schemes for Plains Tribals it is on 50 per cent basis. The financial targets and ceiling of

Central assistance are now being worked out according to this pattern.

### 1956-57.

For the year 1956-57 the planned expenditure was Rs. 153·471 lakhs for various schemes for Hills tribals and Rs. 37·303 lakhs for Plains tribals. Against these figures the Government of India sanctioned grants-in-aid of Rs. 125·00 lakhs for the Hills and Rs. 24·86 lakhs for the Plains tribals. Out of these grants Rs. 96·27 lakhs and Rs. 18·70 lakhs (appx.) were expended for the implementation of various schemes approved under Art. 275 Programme for the Scheduled Tribes in Hills and Plains areas of the State respectively. Some of the main physical targets achieved during the year are stated hereunder but they are confined to the four main heads, viz., Communications, Education, Health and Agriculture.

### Hills Tribals

The improvement of communications in the Hills districts by way of constructing roads fit for vehicular traffic throughout the year is the topmost need of the people. For the construction of roads during 1956-57 an amount of Rs. 80·6 lakhs was sanctioned by the Government of India out of which Rs. 61·11 lakhs could be spent. The difficulties in the construction of road programme in the hills districts are many. The main causes may be attributed to shortage of technical staff, lack of materials, transport difficulties, limited period of working season due to heavy rains, etc. The expenditure during the year was incurred mostly in executing incomplete works continued from the First Plan period.

Under the head "Education" Government of India's grant was Rs. 15·44 lakhs against which an amount of Rs. 12·27 lakhs was spent. Under this scheme 1,131 students got stipends ; 232 boys were helped for purchase of text books ; 432 schools were given grants for maintenance, construction of school and hostel buildings etc. Fifteen L P. Schools were established newly.

An amount of Rs. 2·823 lakhs was spent under the 'Health' programme. The major portion of expenditure was on construction of dispensary buildings which remained incomplete from the First Plan period.

The expenditure incurred on the Jhum Control Scheme, which forms an item in the "Forest" head under the Programme, was Rs. 5·43 lakhs during 1956-57. Seven demonstration centres were started in different hill districts during the year.

### Plains Tribals.

The total expenditure on various schemes executed during 1956-57 for the benefit of the scheduled tribes in the Plains districts of the State under the Art. 275 Programme was Rs. 18·70 lakhs, of which Rs. 4·74 lakhs was for 'Education', Rs. 2·08 lakhs for 'Health' schemes and Rs. 6·89 lakhs for 'Communications'. Under the various schemes for 'Education' 616 students got stipends, 500 were helped with grant for the purchase of text books, and 196 schools were given grants for maintenance and for the purpose of improving the school or

hostel buildings etc. The 'Health' programme was mainly confined to the award of various stipends for training of tribal boys and girls in the courses of nursing, pharmacists, etc. With the sum of Rs. 6·89 lakhs spent for road programme 19 miles of roads were constructed and improved during the year.

**1957-58.**

The planned expenditure for the year included in the Five Year Plan under the Article 275 Programme was Rs. 144·432 lakhs for Hills and Rs. 35·166 lakhs for Plains tribal areas. Against the plan figures the Government of India sanctioned grants-in-aid of Rs. 120·075 lakhs for various schemes for the Hills tribals and Rs. 19·373 lakhs for the Plains tribals. Out of these grants Rs. 83·20 lakhs and Rs. 19·044 lakhs had been spent for different schemes in the Hills districts and Plains tribal areas respectively.

**Hills Tribals**

During the year the expenditure on "Education" was Rs. 9·88 lakhs, on 'Health' schemes Rs. 5·20 lakhs and Rs. 44·89 lakhs on 'Communications' executed by State P.W.D. Under educational schemes 1,455 students were awarded stipends, 186 were given grants for purchase of text books, 5 M.E. Schools provincialised, 214 schools were helped with funds for various purposes, such as maintenance, construction or improvement of school/hostel buildings, purchase of equipments etc. etc.

The expenditure on 'health' schemes was incurred mainly on construction work of dispensary buildings and in awarding stipends to 64 students for training as compounders, nurses, etc. Four travelling dispensaries had also started functioning during the year.

Rs. 44·89 lakhs spent under the 'Communications' head were utilised in constructing/improving 54·5 miles of P.W.D. roads.

A total sum of Rs. 1·49 lakhs was spent under 'Agriculture' and the expenditure was incurred in the improvement of paddy cultivation, land reclamation etc. For the Jhum Control scheme an amount of Rs. 7·89 lakhs was spent during the year. With this sum 9 demonstration centres had been opened, besides maintaining the centres already in existence.

**Plains Tribals.**

The total expenditure incurred for different development schemes under the Art. 275 Programme for the scheduled Tribes people in the Plains areas of the State during 1957-58 was about Rs. 38·087 lakhs of which the government of India's share was Rs. 19·044 lakhs. Within this amount the expenditure on Education schemes was Rs. 5·05 lakhs, on 'Health' schemes Rs. 3·30 lakhs and on road communications Rs. 24·89 lakhs. The plains tribal people have a tradition in the art of sericulture and weaving. To encourage them to take more interest in weaving an amount of Rs. ·571 lakhs was spent during the year.

**1958-59.**

The current year's programme involves a total outlay of Rs. 140·62 lakhs for different schemes in the Hills districts

and Rs. 42·00 lakhs for Plains tribals. The Government of India's grants-in-aid for the Programme was Rs. 139·57 lakhs for the Hills and Rs. 21·00 lakhs for the Plains tribals. The original planned targets of expenditure were Rs. 132·085 lakhs for the Hills and Rs. 35·804 lakhs for the Plains. The expenditure incurred upto June 1958 was Rs. 7·43 lakhs for different schemes in the Hills Districts and Rs. 4·32 lakhs in the Plains Districts for the Plains tribals.

The statement below will clarify the financial position of the programme for the welfare of Backward Classes during the first 3 years of the current Plan period.

**1956-57**

Rs. in lakhs.

| | *Plan figure* | *Govt. of India's grant* | *Expenditure* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hills Tribals | 153·471 | 125·00 | 96·27 |
| Plains Tribals | 37·303 | 24·86 | 18·70 |
| | 190·774 | 149·86 | 114.97 |

**1957-58**

| | *Original Plan figure* | *Govt. of India's grant* | *Expenditure.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hills Tribals | 144·432 | 120·075 | 83·193 |
| Plains Tribals | 35·166 | 19·373 | 19·044 |
| | 179.598 | *139.448 | †102.237 |

**1958-59**

| | *Anticipated grant from Govt. of India* | *Anticipated Expenditure.* |
|---|---|---|
| Hills Tribals | 139·57 | 140·62 |
| Plains Tribals | 21·00 | 42·00 |
| | ‡160·57 | §182·62 |

**Central Sector.**

In addition to the above programme taken up under the State Sector of the Plan certain schemes have been taken up under the Central Sector as well. The provision for these schemes during

*Excluding Rs. 9·75 lakhs for Hills and Rs. 19·37 lakhs for Plains tribals to be borne by State Government.

†Excluding 19·044 lakhs for Plains tribals and Rs. 0·965 lakhs for Hills tribals from State revenues.

‡Excluding Rs. 1·05 lakhs for Hills tribals and Rs. 21·00 lakhs for Plains tribals to be borne by State Government.

§Including Rs. 1·05 lakhs for Hills tribals and Rs. 21·00 lakhs for Plains tribals from State revenues.

the entire Plan period is Rs. 228·31 lakhs and the Central grant for this purpose is on 100% basis. An amount of Rs. 8·991 lakhs was spent for the Centrally Sponsored Schemes during 1956-57 and Rs. 26·60 lakhs (approx.) during 1957-58 and the anticipated expenditure for these schemes for 1957-58 is Rs. 49·45 lakhs. These Centrally sponsored Schemes include the free education scheme for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes Students in the State reading upto the Degree Course. The expenditure on this particular scheme is also to be shared by the State more or less on a fifty-fifty basis. The tentative provision for this scheme during the 2nd Plan period is Rs. 73·26 lakhs out of which Rs. 17·814 lakhs were spent in 1956-57 and 1957-58 and Rs. 10.95 lakhs have been provided for the current financial year. Under this scheme 7 M.P.C.D. blocks had been established for which the Plan provision (from Home Ministry's share) is Rs. 102·00 lakhs during the 2nd Plan period. An amount of Rs. 1.961 lakhs and another sum of Rs. 11·01 lakhs were spent for this scheme during 1957-58 and 1957-58 respectively. Current year's plan provision for this purpose is Rs. 21.00 lakhs.

Besides the schemes mentioned above the Government of Assam has undertaken other schemes of development for the benefit of the scheduled tribes in the Hills Districts from two other sources, namely, the provisions under the heads "normal" and "General Five Year Plan outside Art. 275 Grants". Under these heads Rs. 133·70 lakhs and Rs. 119·20 lakhs were spent in 1956-57 and 1957-58 respectively.

**Expenditure State—Scheduled Castes—Second Five Year Plan**

Rs. in lakhs.

| Name of the Schemes | Expenditure incurred in 1956-57 | 1957-58 | Upto June, 1958 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Housing | ·95 | 1·07 | ... |
| 2. Fishery | ·0472 | ·01 | ... |
| 3. Sericulture and Weaving | ·0617 | ·126 | ·00447 |
| 4. Education | 1·174 | ·834 | ... |
| 5. Cooperative | ·1425 | ·142 | ... |
| 6. Cottage Industries | ·054 | ·148 | ·0245 |
| 7. Medical | ·056 | ·017 | ... |
| 8. Public Health | ·1145 | ·28 | ... |
| 9. Water Supply | ·456 | ·45 | ... |
| 10. Aids to Voluntary Agencies | ·70 | ·71 | ... |
| 11. Publicity | ·607 | ·60 | ·070 |
| Total | 4·364 | 4·382 | ·09897 |

**Expenditure incurred during First Five-Year Plan period under Art. 275 of the Constitution.**

Plains Tribal Areas.

| Heads | | 1951-52 | 1952-53 | 1953-54 | 1954-55 | 1955-56 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Education | ... | 4,41,303 | 4,22,104 | 6,85,712 | 13,44,253 | 28,93,372 |
| 2. Medical | ... | 1,07,028 | 2,02,755 | 3,11,993 | 4,66,445 | 10,88,221 |
| 3. Public Health | ... | 80,071 | 1,75,500 | 2,88,097 | 6,01,026 | 11,44,694 |
| 4. Agriculture | ... | .. | 6,650 | 17,029 | 78,636 | 1,02,315 |
| 5. Forests | ... | 28,000 | 25,548 | 1,23,363 | 1,87,202 | 3,64,113 |
| 6. Cottage Industries | ... | .. | ... | ... | 21,710 | 21,710 |
| 7. Sericulture & Weaving. | | 17,646 | 89,362 | 83,330 | 1,57,996 | 3,48,334 |
| 8. Veterinary | ... | ... | 37,546 | 14,450 | 1,79,831 | 2,81,827 |
| 9. P.W.D. | ... | 1,97,000 | 1,38,177 | 3,82,702 | 18,64,949 | 25,82,828 |
| 10. Miscellaneous | ... | 1,500 | 2,17,850 | 4,05,880 | 8,72,830 | 15,00,060 |
| Total | ... | 8,72,548 | 13,16,492 | 23,63,556 | 57,74,878 | 103,27,474 |

**A short note on the achievement of 7 M.P.C.D. Blocks**

For balanced development of Tribal people in Hills and Plains areas of Assam the Government of India in the Ministry of Home Affairs sanctioned 7 M.P.C.D. Blocks for Assam to be jointly financed by the M.C.D. and the Ministry of Home Affairs—the share of the M.C.D. being limited to Rs. 12·00 lakhs only.

Accordingly 6 Blocks were inaugurated on 2nd Oct '56 and one on 2nd Oct. '57 in places named below :—

| *Name of places and Blocks* | *Date of inauguration* | *Budget* |
|---|---|---|
| *United K.J. Hills* | | |
| (1) Mairang | 2-10-56 | 27·00 lakhs |
| (2) Saipung-Darrang | ,, | ,, |
| *Mikir Hills.* | | |
| (1) Diyung valley | 2-10-56 | ,, |
| (2) Rongkhong | ,, | ,, |
| *Garo Hills.* | | |
| (1) Dambuk-Aga. | 2-10-56 | ,, |
| *Mizo Dist.* | | |
| (1) Lungleh | 2-10-56 | ,, |
| *North Lakhimpur* | | |
| (1) Murkong-Selek | 2-10-57 | 24·00 lakhs. |

The Government had to face a number of difficulties initially and had to wait for a good deal of time before any scheme could be initiated there.

Because of the lack of communication facilities and of the minimum amenities of modern life it was not easy to persuade the technical personnel, already in great demand, to take their jobs in these blocks. The barrier of language also created a problem. As the adequate number of local candidates were not available, Gram Sevaks were recruited from outside. But due to difference in language intimacy between the people and the Project Staff could not be established easily and so the survey work could not be finished in the stipulated time. This coupled with the dearth of technical staff held up the preparation of schemes for a long time. Even after the preparation of a scheme its implementation could not be speeded up as people's co-operation so essential in implementing a scheme could not be enlisted to the extent desired. The natural resistance of the people had to be overcome with patience and persuasion instead of hustling them with the desired measures. This occasioned some delay which was a necessary price to pay for sake of more lasting results. In view of this no attempt was made to "force" upon them any development programme which they would not receive open heartedly.

With the passage of time, however, they are gradually showing interest in the various development schemes and it is expected that the progress of expenditure on different schemes will attain the tempo desired.

Below is given a short resume on the achievements on various items of development schemes.

Area covered by the 7 M.P.C.D. Blocks is 4,813 sq. miles with a population of 1,68,000. Number of villages covered is 1,281.

In view of the current food shortage attention has been concentrated on Agriculture. 8,619 mds. of fertiliser have been distributed and the area under green manure was 65 acres. 2,053 compost pits have been dug so far and 516 mds. of improved seeds and 50 Nos. of improved implements have been distributed. 694 Agriculture demonstrations were held and 77 holdings have been taken up for demonstration. 2,797 acres of land have been brought under irrigation.

72 drinking water wells have been constructed and 60 renovated.

It has been possible to constitute 102 Youth Clubs and 26 Mahila Samities with a membership of 1,349 and 293 respectively.

In the Mahila samities the members are taking great interest in crafts of various nature.

172 miles of katcha roads have been constructed and 88 miles of existing roads have been improved.

People's contribution amounted to Rs. 39·98 lakhs—Rs. 36·69 lakhs in labour and Rs 3·29 lakhs in cash and other contribution.

Government expenditure on the 7 M.P.C.D. Blocks on 31st June 1958 is indicated below :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Block Headquarters | 844·00 |
| 2. Animal Husbandry and Agri. Extn. | 190.00 |
| 3. Irrigation | 43.00 |
| 4. Reclamation | 106.00 |
| 5. Health. | 189.00 |
| 6. Education | 177.00 |
| 7. Social Education | 119.00 |
| 8. Communications | 239.00 |
| 9. Rural Arts, Crafts etc. | 65.00 |
| 10. Housing for Project staff | 469.00 |
| | 2441.00 |

(Rupees in thousands).

# आदिवासी छात्र और उनका विकास

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भँणसाली ग्राम सेवाश्रम यह संस्था टाकली गाँव में (तहसील सावनेर, जिला नागपुर) करीब ८ वर्ष से ग्राम विकास का कार्य कर रही है, जिस क्षेत्र में इस संस्था का कार्य है, वह आदिवासी क्षेत्र नहीं है, फिर भी आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों को भँणसाली सेवाश्रम में लाकर रखा गया। पू० बापू के अन्तेवासी दरिद्रीनारायण के व्रत को धारण कराने वाले, जीवन की उग्र तपस्चर्या के साथ संयम नियम से एक निष्ठ सेवा भावी तपस्वी सेवक के सानिध्य से लाभ उठाकर, उनके जीवन से जीवंत प्रेरणा लेकर, यह विद्यार्थी कुछ सिख लें, इसी उद्देश्य से श्री नाना वापट (वनवास सेवा मंडल के मंत्री) और श्री श्रीकांत (कमिश्नर, वन्यजाति) ने इन विद्यार्थियों को २०० मील की दूरी से बोंदर-आश्रम से यहां लाकर रखा। धीरे धीरे हमारे यहां यह आश्रम कार्य सुचारू रूपसे आगे बढ़ने लगा।

विद्यार्थियों का छात्रावास करीब चार साल से चल रहा है। प्रति वर्ष इनमें भरती होकर करीब २० विद्यार्थियों से इनकी संख्या एक सौ बीस तक पहुंच गयी हैं। राज्य पुनर्रचना के कारण मंडला-बोंदर के लड़कों की जगह विदर्भ के चार जिलों के लड़कों को प्रवेश दिया जाता हैं। और अब इस साल भंडारा, चांदा जिले के दो छात्रावास और १२ प्रायमरी शालाएँ आश्रम के द्वारा संचालन हो रही है। मुझे आदिवासी क्षेत्र में स्वयं रहने का मौका कभी नहीं मिला। लेकिन उनका छात्रावास चलाने का मौका मुझे मिला उसपर से आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों को छात्रावास में निवास और उनके सामाजिक विकास के बाबत में अपने कुछ अनुभव लिख रही हूं।

साधारणतया ऐसा एक सामान्य नियम है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र में ही छात्रावास खोले जाय। इसमें दुहेरा दृष्टिकोण है। एक तो छोटे उम्र के बालक अपना घर छोड़कर कहीं जाना पसन्द नहीं करते। और उनका क्षेत्र छोड़कर नये क्षेत्र में उन्हें ले जाना नामुमकिन है। इसलिए वे जहां रहते हैं वहीं उनके लिये शालाएँ और छात्रावास खोलना निहायत जरूरी है। दूसरे, एक क्षेत्र से दूसरी जगह ले जाना इसका जो प्रवास खर्च है, यह शासन के लिये अधिक हो जाता है। लेकिन जैसे मैट्रिक की पढ़ाई के बाद कालिजों में पढ़ने वाले लड़कों को अपना घर क्षेत्र छोड़कर अपने जाति-पाति के झमेले से दूर होकर, एक मानव सागर में आना ही पड़ता है। तब उसे बाहर की दुनिया, संसार के लोग कुछ अलग ही नजर आते है। वही स्थिति, हमारे इन छोटे बच्चों की होती है, जब वे नये नये, अपने जंगल-पहाड़ के छोटे छोटे गांव छोड़कर आते है। लेकिन देखा गया है कि आश्रम का दैनंदिन जो कुछ जीवन है वह आदिवासी छात्र अपने को बहुत ही थोड़े

दिनों में अनुशासन और व्यवस्था में स्थिर बना लेते हैं। दूसरे विद्यार्थी कुछ दिनों में ही शायद भाग जाते। इतना ही नहीं, यहां के वातावरण में यहां के अन्य ग्रामीण जनता में यहां आने वाले, महानुभव, एवं सज्जनों में जो संस्कार, विकास, अभ्यास, एवं बुद्धि का एवं उनकी जीज्ञासु वृति का वह परिचय देते हैं, ये सबको ग्रहण कराना चाहते हैं। उनका दिल दिमाग कोरी स्लेट सरिखा है, इसलिये नये लोग, नया वातावरण, नयी शिक्षा, नया विज्ञान यह जो नयी नयी चीजों का उन्हें दर्शन होता है वे सब कुछ अपने में समा लेना चाहते है। कुछ दिनों में "हम आदिवासी और वह कोई दूसरे" यह भेद भी मिट जाता है, और सबकी बराबरी में आकर हमारे साथ वे खड़े रहते है, जिससे समय पर तो यह पहिचानना भी मुश्कील हो जाय कि आदिवासी कौन हैं? यह एक नये वातावरण का ही परिणाम है। कुप-मंडूकसी दुनिया में रहने वाले लोगों को संसार के महासागर का अनुभव कहां से हो? वैसे ही हमेशा अपनी जमात, अपने प्रदेश को छोड़कर जो गये ही नहीं वे बाहरी दुनिया को क्या जाने? वे वैसे समझे की दूसरों से कितने पिछड़े हुए हैं? उन्हें जबतक प्रकाश में लाया नहीं जाये, जब तक दूसरे वातावरण का परिचय न कराया जाय तब तक यह असंभव है। कभी कभी हम सोचते हैं कि इन्हें बम्बई, देहली की सैर करा दी जाय, याने वे सब कुछ समझ लेंगे। लेकिन नहीं, उसका उलटा ही असर होता है। प्रकृति की गोद में खेलने वाले ये बच्चे कुसंस्कार, बुरायी या और रंगीली दुनिया के झकमक के लोभ में पड़ जाते हैं। मैंने पहले ही बताया कि उनका दिल दिमाग कोरी स्लेट है, योग्य मार्ग दर्शन नहीं रहा तो अच्छा बुरा जो कुछ हो उनका असर इनके ऊपर तुरन्त ही होता है। और अच्छायी से बुराई का असर तो आसानी से ही हो जाता है, यह सभी का अनुभव है, इसलिए इनकी उन्नति की दृष्टी से भेदाभेद से परे ऐसा वातावरण देने के लिए जहाँ अच्छे सुस्वभावी, सेवा भावी कार्यकर्त्ताओं का सहज लाभ मिल सके, ऐसे आश्रमों की जगह में नियम को अपवादरूप करके भी कुछ छात्रावास अवश्य खोले जाये ऐसी मेरी नम्र राय है।

जापान में पुराने मिकेडो की नीति यह थी कि कोई जापानी अपना वतन छोड़कर जापान के बाहर न जाय, लेकिन यह नीति जब बदली और जापान इस दुनिया के मैदान में आया तब हमने देखा की उन्होंने सारे दुनिया का बाजार अपने हाथ में लिया। उनकी शक्ति इतनी बढ़ी की यह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न हो गया। आदिवासियों को भी अपनी सीमा के बाहर निकल कर अन्य जाति, अन्य समाज में सहजा सहजी ऐसा मिश्रीत होना चाहिए, नहीं तो "आदिवासी एक समस्या कायम के लिए बनी रहेगी"। हम यह भी देखते है कि जर्मनी में बैठा हुआ एक लड़का आस्ट्रेलिया के लड़के से पत्र व्यवहार करता है। अमेरिका के विद्यार्थी भारत के विद्यार्थियों को कुछ न कुछ भेट देते हैं, इतना ही नहीं अपने देश के बड़े नेता बच्चों के प्यार से अमेरिकन बच्चों को हाथी का बच्चा भेट देते हैं। इससे और आगे बढ़कर हम सोचें की जब हम अपने देश से सांस्कृतिक प्रतिनिधि मण्डल (cultural delegation) और ऐसे अनेक प्रकार के प्रतिनिधि मण्डल परदेश भेजते हैं, और परदेश

से भी कई प्रतिनिधि मण्डल यहाँ आते हैं आखिर ये अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय चहल-पहल आदान प्रदान किस लिए? इसलिए ही न कि इसके कारण आपस में मित्रता सहकारिता, समभाव और प्रेम बढ़ता है। आपस में मित्रता, ममत्व और आत्मीयता बढ़ने से कलह और युद्धों को स्थान ही नहीं रहता। फिर अपने आदिवासी भाई बहनों को, बच्चों को भी संसार के मैदान में क्यों न लाया जाय? उनको अपने जङ्गल पहाड़ों में छुपाये रखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं। उनकी शक्ति का सच्चा परिचय तो तब होगा जब वे हमारी बराबरी में शिक्षा ग्रहण करके हमारे साथ खड़े रह सकेंगें। और इसलिए आदिवासी क्षेत्र, आदिवासी ही शिक्षक इस मंडल से हमें थोड़ा बाहर आने की जरूरत है। विचारों का आदान प्रदान, दूसरों के साथ मेल मिलाप, जितना उदारता से होगा उतना ही हमारा जीवन का क्षेत्र विकसित होगा। और इसी दृष्टि से मुझे लगता है कि गैर आदिवासी क्षेत्र में भी ऊपर बताई गई हुई अनुकूलता के कारण आदिवासी बच्चों के स्कूल और छात्रावास अवश्य खोले जायें। जैसे कि हरिजनों के लिए हरिजन छात्रावासों में हरिजनों के सिवाय अन्य जातियों के कोई जाते ही नहीं, हरिजन शिक्षकों के सिवाय कोई पढ़ाते ही नहीं, वैसे ही यदि आदिवासी बच्चों के लिए हुआ तो उनको नये संस्कार, नये विचार, नई भावनायें कहां से मिलेंगी? क्षेत्र भी आदिवासी, बच्चे आदिवासी, शिक्षक आदिवासी ऐसा ही यदि आग्रह रखा जाय तो वे विद्यार्थी कतई अपनी प्रगति नहीं कर सकते। उन्हें तो मानव समुद्र की लाटें जो उछलती हैं उससे घुल मिल जाना है। हम देखते हैं ये जाती पाती के भेद ने तो देश का सत्यानाश करने में कोई कसर नहीं रखी। वर्षों से इस विषय में कई व्याख्यान बड़े-बड़े नेताओं ने दिये, सन्तों ने दिये लेकिन देखते हैं कि धर्म कर्म के कार्य तो क्या छोटे से इलेक्शन सरीखे मामलों में भी जाति पाति का जहर उगल आता है। हम सब एक ईश्वर की संतान है, मानव धर्म हमारा धर्म है एक मानव जात ही हमारी जात है" यह शिक्षा भेदा-भेद से परे ऐसे पवित्र आश्रमीय स्थानों में ही सहज व्यवहार में मिलती है। और वही टिकती है। उसी बल पर हमारे राष्ट्र के भाग्य और उज्वलता की बुनियाद है।

हमारा आग्रह रहता है कि हम आदिवासी विभाग में खोले हुए स्कूलो में, छात्रावासों में आदिवासी शिक्षक ही रखें लेकिन यह आग्रह तभी सफल हो सकता है जब कि ऐसे आश्रम में निवास करने वाले विद्यार्थियों का सर्वांगीण विकास अन्यों के लिये जो व्यवस्था (Basic Normal school training) की है वह उनके लिये भी आश्रमीयवातावरण के साथ हो। तब ये शिक्षक जरूर अपने क्षेत्र में जाकर अपने आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों को नये ढङ्ग की शिक्षा देने में सफल होंगे। और तभी हमारा यह आग्रह भी उचित होगा। लेकिन फिर भी मुझे लगता है कि शायद ऐसे आग्रह की जरूरत ही न पड़ेगी। जब जाति पाति के भेद को शासन से भी तिलांजली मिल जायेगी, तब जिन्हें सहज स्वाभाविक अच्छा सदृढ़ शरीर मिला है, जिसमें परिश्रमी निष्ठा है, जिन्हें अपने देश बांधव के लिए दिल में प्रेम है ऐसे शिक्षा प्रेमी आदिवासी आदिवासी क्षेत्र में क्या और गैर आदिवासी क्षेत्र में भी लगन से काम करेंगे और जहां तहाँ उनकी मांग होगी। जिन्होंने प्रयत्न से श्रेष्ठत्व पाया है उन्हीं को लोग चाहते हैं।

इसलिए तो गोरा कुमार, रोहीदास वगैरा की बड़ों में तुलना हुई ; उन्हें कोई जात पात का भेद नहीं छुआ। यह स्थिति सबके लिए हो जाय तो कितना अच्छा होगा ?

विद्यार्थी को हम शाला में भेजते हैं तब माता पिता का कोई उद्दिष्ट रहता है। इन आदिवासी बच्चों के लिए वैसे पूछा जाय तो पू० ठक्कर बापा ने ही माता पिता का स्थान लिया है। और आज उन्होंने सौंपे हुए कार्य को हम सब सम्भाल रहे हैं।

हमारे सामने कुछ होना ही चाहिए। आश्रमी वातावरण में रह कर वे सामुहिक जीवन जीते हैं। भाई चारा, मित्रभाव आत्म सम्मान, इनमें निर्माण होता है। इनको जो शिक्षा मिलती है वह स्वावलम्बन की, परिश्रम की, बौद्धिक और आध्यात्मिक है। यह आपस में एक बड़े समाज की व्यवस्था करने के लिए दूसरे के लिए खपते हैं। उनमें प्रेम है, निष्ठा है, भक्ति है। उनमें से कोई बीमार पड़ गया तो वे सब उनकी फिक्र करते हैं। वे खेलते हैं तो साथ में ; गाते हैं तो साथ में नाचते हैं, सब मिलकर, इनमें एक दूसरों से खूब आगे बढ़ने की स्पर्धा आज नहीं है। शोषण रहीत स्वावलम्बी समाज वादी समाज रचना ज्ञान बाल्यावस्था से ही इन्हें मिल जाता है। आखीर ऐसे इन विद्यार्थियों का भविष्य क्या है ? इन्हें अपने हाईस्कूलों को, कालेजों की परीक्षा पास करवा कर शहरी नागरिक बना दिये जांये ? क्या अन्य शहर-वासी की तरह खान-पान, रहन-सहन, लिवास पहनने में ही इनके विकास के बीज छिपे हुए हैं ? क्या आज पढ़ाई पूरी कर लेने के बाद नौकरी के लिए दूर दूर भटकने में, और ओखी नौकरी मिलने में ही उनके जीवन की सार्थकता हम देखेंगे ? मुझे लगता है यह तो उनके जीवन की दयनीय अवस्था ही कहीं जायेगी। इन विद्यार्थियों में से कुछ विद्यार्थी नार्मल स्कूल : बेसिक ट्रेनिंग स्कूल की शिक्षा पायेंगे तो कुछ विद्यार्थी अच्छे शिक्षक बनकर शिक्षा प्रचार का कार्य करेंगे। लेकिन सभी विद्यार्थी तो शिक्षक नहीं बनेगें। उसी एक क्षेत्र में सभी का समावेश भी न होगा।

मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि बुनियादी शिक्षा के बाद इन विद्यार्थियों को उत्तर बुनियादी ; (Post Basic training) दी जाय और उसके बाद पोस्ट ग्रेज्युयेट (Post Graduate) की शिक्षा मिले। यह शिक्षा काल में वे किसी प्रकार अन्य स्कूलों में हाईस्कूलों में, कालेजों में शिक्षा पाये हुए विद्यार्थियों से कम न रहेंगे, बल्की ज्ञान सम्पादन कार्य कौशल्य और परिश्रम एवं निष्ठा में बढ़कर ही रहेंगे। हम सबको यह यथा विधि परिचय है कि हमारी आधुनिक शिक्षा प्रणाली में धन और आयुष्य का काफी व्यय और बरबादी होती है।

दुःख की बात है कि स्वराज्य को मिले आज आठ साल बित गये हैं लेकिन हमारी गाड़ी उसी रास्ते पर चल रही है जो अंग्रेज हुकुमत ने डेढ़ सौ साल चलायी। क्या हम नई बातें सोचने के लिए, ग्रहण करने के लिए, उसका अमल करने के लिए इतने असमर्थ हैं कि हम अपने बल पर शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुछ परिवर्तन नहीं कर सकते ? क्या इस देश में विद्वानों का, बुद्धिवानों का, देश के हित चिन्तकों का अकाल पड़ गया है जो अभी भी हमारे हाथ में सारे सूत्र आने पर भी आगे कदम बढ़ा नहीं सकते ?

शासन की तन्त्रप्रणाली का दोष निकाला जा सकता है। लेकिन यह एक क्षुल्लक बात है। यह भी है, जिन श्रफसरों को सिर्फ अंग्रेजों का राज्य टिकाने के लिए ही केवल तनखा, राज्य व्यवस्था सम्भालने का काम किया उनके जरीये देश कल्याण की (welfare state) बनाने की जिम्मेदारी अदा करने का अपने नेताओं ने सोचा है !

अब इन बड़े-बड़े समाज कल्याण के कामों में आमूलाग्र परिवर्तन जो करना है, इसमें बड़ी हिम्मत की जरूरत है। पश्चिमी संस्कृती में पले हुए, शिक्षा पाये हुए अपने बुजुर्ग नेताओं से पूज्य गांधी जी ही एक ऐसी शक्ति थी जो कुछ करवा सके क्यों कि वे हिम्मत से जैसे उन्हें सलाह देने का अधिकार रखते थे वैसे ही जो कुछ हुआ उसका परिणाम भुगतने को भी वे सबके साथ तैयार रहते थे।

आज ऐसी हिम्मत दिलाने वाला शायद कोई दिखता नहीं, और इसी कारण पूज्य बापू ने बताई शिक्षा पथ पर चलने के लिए सब डरते हैं, वे खुद इस पर विश्वास करने के लिए हिचकते हैं। फिर भी डगमगाये कदम से क्यों न हो, जो इस शिक्षा प्रणाली के नये प्रयोग को ही, अपनी जीवन दीक्षा बनाले उनके लिए उन्होंने दरवाजे खोल दिये हैं।

लेकिन इसमें भी एक बड़ी मुश्कील दिखाई दे रही है। वह है कि मर्यादित मात्रा में संस्थाओं को मदत देना।

शासन के अधिकारियों के जरीये आदिवासी क्षेत्र में शिक्षा, छात्रावास, निवास के लिए मकान और साधन सामग्री जुटाई जाती हैं। वहां शत प्रतिशत मदद दी जाती है। और जहाँ स्वखुशी से अपना जीवन इनकी सेवा में खपाने वाले कुछ कार्यकर्ताओं के बल पर बड़ा व्यापक रूप से संघटीत कार्य होता है फिर भी कार्य में विशेष कोई फर्क न रहते हुए भी १००, ८०, ७५ नहीं तो ६० प्रतिशत की मर्यादा में ही शासन की मदद मिलती है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वैसा फर्क संस्था संस्थाओं में क्यों किया जाय ?

इसके कारण इन कार्यकर्त्ताओं के सिर पर जो अपना सारा बोझ से दूर टहकर, या उसका मोह छोड़कर इन कार्य में पड़े हैं उन्ही के शरीर पर इन आदिवासी कार्य के लिए पैसे जुटाने का एक बड़ा बोझ आ पड़ता में। ऐसे कार्यकर्त्ताओं को ही समाज से कुछ प्रतिष्ठा होती है। जिनके बल पर यह बाकी की रकम अनुदान के रूप से मिलाई जाती है। लेकिन उनका जो सही उपयोग हमें जो करना चाहिए, बच्चों का जीवन, और भविष्य की जीवन की तैयारी में इससे भावना, कल्पना, जीवन दीक्षा और शिक्षा मिले यह उद्देश्य मारा जाता है। २५ साल से जिन्होंने इन सेवाओं का बोझ आपने कंधों पर उठाये हैं, आज वयोवृद्ध हो चुके हैं इन सभी कार्यकर्त्ताओं का यह आज दिन तक का अनुभव है।

ऐसे सेवा भावी कार्यकर्त्ताओं पर इस तरह की जिम्मेदारी लादने का कोई प्रयोजन नहीं इनके जीवन का, इनके अनुभवों का तो हमें अधिक से अधिक उपयोग कर लेना है। इससे जो देश की दौलत बढ़ेगी, इसकी गिनती में उन्होंने हर साल लाये हुए

पांच पचीस हजार की कोई गिनती नहीं उस पांच पचीस हजार लाने की चिन्ता में उन्हें अकाली वृद्धत्व आता है। हमेशा उनके सिर पर चिन्ता की तलवार लटकती रहती है। और आखीर हम यह भी देखते है कि जहां इस तरह से पैसे नहीं जुटा सके कि वहां हिसाबों में गड़बड़ी होने लगती है। यह सारे पाप-चरण के लिए हम क्यों किसी को मजबूर करे? सरकार के पास जो पैसा है वह आखीर जनता का ही तो है? गरीबों की मेहनत का अमीरों के पास गया और अमीरों से टैक्स के रूप में सरकार ने वसूल किया। सरकार के पास पैसे की कमी नहीं। और छोटी सी कमी को पूरी करने के लिए उनके अनेक रास्ते हैं। फिर यह रुपये पैसे का सद्व्यय इन्हीं गरीबों के लिए हो। इस विषय में भी मैं आग्रह तो नहीं करती, लेकिन अपनी नम्र राय पेश करती हूं कि जहाँ संन्यस्त जीवन स्वीकारे हुए फकीर कार्यकर्त्ता हो, जिनको दो रोटी दो कपड़ों के सिवाय कोई परिग्रह न हो, वहां शासन की तरफ से उन पर भरोसा करके जरूर शत प्रति अनुदान दिया जाय। उसका हिसाब पूछा जा सकता है, ठीक ढङ्ग से रखा जा सकता है। उनकी शक्ती का इस तरह से सही माने में आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य के लिए उपयोग किया जा सकता है। लेकिन हां—यह थोड़ा विशेयान्तर हुआ, फिर भी यह एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है जिसकी उलझन में कई कार्यकर्त्ता फसे रहते हैं। और इसलिए इसका रास्ता निकालना जरूरी है। नई शिक्षा प्रणाली के मुताबिक शिक्षा पायें हुए विद्यार्थियों का भविष्य क्या होगा? जैसे कि मैंने पहले बताया वैसे कुछ तो शिक्षक बनेगें। कुछ चतुर बुद्धि प्रगल्भ विद्यार्थी विशेषज्ञ में आगे बढ़ेगें कुछ इंजिनियर बनने चाहेंगे कुछ डाक्टर; लेकिन इसका प्रमाण आखीर कुछ सिमित मात्रा में ही रहेगा।

सबसे पहला प्रश्न तो यह है कि आज आजाद हिंदुस्तान में जिस प्रकार का कार्य जनहित की दृष्टि से आगे बढ़ रहा है उस दिशा में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाय। जैसे की विविध दिशाओं में इलेक्ट्रीकल, मिकेनिकल, और ट्रेकनिकल अलग अलग विषयों का ध्यान पढ़ाना, चाहे रेडियो, तार, टेलीफोन का हो, वायुयान या मोटरें मिकेनिकल हो चाहे वो टेक्सटाइल का हो यह शिक्षा पाये हुये विद्यार्थियों की कुशलता जांच कर जहाँ जहाँ उनकी जरूरत हो वहाँ उन्हें काम दिया जाय। फिर भी ये अफाट मानव समुद्र में अपनी योग्यता और मर्यादा में ही सब आगे बढ़ेगें। इसलिए दूरदर्शता से सोचते हुए मेरा अल्प मत के मुताबिक मैं एक सुझाव नम्रता पूर्वक रखना चाहती हूं और वह यह है कि इन शिक्षा पाये हुए विद्यार्थियों की जगह जगह पर कालोनी (colony) बसा दी जाय आज हम देखते हैं देश में भले ही मोटे-मोटे आँकड़ों में अन्नोत्पादन बढ़ रहा है यह बताया जाता है, लेकिन वास्तविक परिस्थिति यह नहीं है, क्यों हमें अमेरिका से धान्य मंगवाना पड़ता है। खैर।

बात यह है इन आदिवासी शिक्षित विद्यार्थियों की जहाँ अपने पास खेती की मुबलक जमीन है, जो आज उत्पादनक्षम नहीं है; वहां बसाया जाय। जमीन का सीलिंग (मर्यादा) होने ही वाला है, कुल कायदा आ गया है। कई जगह आदिवासी इलाकों में खनीज सम्पत्ती निकल रही है। ऐसी जगह पर इनकी कालोनी

बसा देने से वे एक अच्छा शोषण रहीत समाज का सुन्दर नमूना पेश करेंगे। क्योंकि इनमें परिश्रम है, निष्ठा भी है, ज्ञान है, विज्ञान भी है; वे अपना जीवन सुन्दरता से बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और वे भी किसी के मथ्थे नहीं, अपने प्रयत्न और पुरुषार्थ से। इन्हें जरूरी औजार, साधन सामुग्री दी जाय। बस, इतना ही काफी है। रहने के लिए मकानों की थोड़ी बहुत आर्थिक मदत दी जाय। उन्हें महलों की जरूरत नही। छोटी-छोटी सुन्दर मजबूत झोपड़ियां ही उनके लिए काफी है।

मैं समझती हूं इस तरह से जो बसाई हुई प्रजा होंगी वे ही आत्मसंतुष्ट भाव से रहेंगी। अपना परिश्रम करेंगी। हाथ में परिश्रम का हल होगा हृदय में ज्ञान का दीप होगा, और देश बनाये रखने के लिए आज दिन तक इन प्रजा ने जो साथ दिया है वे आखीर तक देकर अपना ॠण अदा करेंगी। क्योंकि भारत की आबादी, भारत की शान यह अगणित लोगों के परिश्रम के पसीने में है यह ऊपर छल्ले जीवन से क्या होता है? इनके परिश्रम के पसीने से सिंची हुई धरती के फूल ही टवटवीत और सुगन्धित रहते हैं, सदा जीवित है और रहेंगे; और फूलतो मुरझा जाते हैं, उनकी क्या गिनती?

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# आदिम जातियों में सामान्य कल्याण कार्य

## द्वारका प्रसाद बिलथरे, एम० एल० ए०

प्रगति कि इस अधाधुंध दौड़ से सदियों से पिछड़े हुए आदिम जातियों को भी सामान्य स्तर में लाने का जी तोड़ परिश्रम और उद्योग कांग्रेस सरकार कर रही है। आदरणीय ठक्कर बापा द्वारा बनाई योजना को क्रियान्वित करने के लिए भारतीय संविधान में बापा की इच्छानुसार ही संरक्षण दिया गया है, तदनुकूल ही बहुमुखी योजनाएँ इनके उत्थान-हेतु कुछ एक साथ कुछ क्रमानुसार प्रारंभ की जा रही है। इसके लिए सन् ४७ से ही तेज कदम उठाये गए, सन् १९५१ में सम्पूर्ण प्रभुत्व सम्पन्न प्रजातन्त्र गणराज्य की स्थापना के बाद एक बड़ी धन राशि का प्राविधान इस कार्य के लिए किया गया और उनके सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए साधन का अभाव तथा अनुभवी कार्यकर्त्ताओं की न्यूनता रहते हुए भी इस ओर प्रयत्न किये गये। १० वर्षों की अल्पावधि में आदिम जातियों की प्रगति देखकर लोग दङ्ग रह जाते हैं। ऐसे बहुत कम क्षेत्र हैं जहां प्रगति इस हद तक हुई हो।

प्रान्तीय सरकारें तो इस ओर विशेष प्रयत्न शील है हीं और इसके लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार भी धन राशि प्रदान करने के साथ साथ चलने वाले कार्यों को बराबर पार्य्यवेक्षण भी करती जा रही है, परन्तु गैर सरकारी संस्थायें भी प्रायः हर एक प्रान्त में एक बहुत बड़ा योग दान कर रही है! इतना ही नहीं कुछ संस्थाएँ तो कुछ क्षेत्रों में अच्छे पैमाने पर आदर्श कार्य करते हुए सरकार का

मार्ग दर्शन भी करा रही है। भील-सेवा मण्डल, बनवासी सेवा मण्डल, बिहार और हिमाचल प्रदेश आदिम जातियों के बीच सेवा कार्य करने वाली संस्थाएँ तथा और भी कुछ इसी प्रकार श्रेय के योग्य हैं। भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ ने सभी सरकारी और गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं के समन्वय और सहयोग की नीति की प्रणाली को जन्म देकर इस क्षेत्र में अनोखी सूझ दिखाई है, जिसमें दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी आदिम जातीय कल्याण कार्य की महत्ता बढ़ती जा रही है।

यों तो शिक्षा, कृषि, स्वास्थ्य, उद्योग सहकारिता सफाई या यातायात के साधन सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक कार्य प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में प्रगति कर रहा है। परन्तु जितनी राशि व्यय होती है और जितनी शक्ति और साधन लगाएँ जाते हैं उनका सही उचित ढङ्ग से उपयोग न होने के कारण न तो बापू और बापा का अभीष्ट पूर्णरूप पूरा हो रहा है और न इन आदिम जातियों और राष्ट्र का ही वास्तविक और पूर्ण कल्याण हो सकता है।

इस मान दण्ड से जैसा कि आज दुनिया के साथ-साथ भारत वर्ष भी किसी न किसी रूप कतिपय क्षेत्रों से भटक रहा है, उसे उचित मार्ग नहीं सूझ रहा है वैसे ही आदिम जाति कल्याण कार्य में यही स्पष्ट परिणाम दीख पड़ता है, क्योंकि एक ओर जहां हम उन्हें विकास की ओर ले जा रहे हैं दूसरी ओर वहीं हम उनकी स्थाई उपयोगी प्राचीन परम्पराओं की परिपोषक भारतीय संस्कृति से उन्हें अलग करने जा रहे हैं। दुनियां को चका-चोंध कर देने वाली प्रगति की दौड़ में ही हम उन्हें या तो जान बूझ कर या अन जाने में घसीटते लिए जा रहे हैं। क्योंकि उनके मार्ग-दर्शक संयोजन-कर्ता, संचालन कर्ता और कहीं-कहीं योजना सृजन-कर्ता स्वयं ही यह समझने में असमर्थ हैं, कि इस कृषि प्रधान देश का विकास किस प्रणाली से किस दिशा में, किस सीमा तक करना है और फिर इन आदिम जातियों के विकास का क्या सिद्धान्त होना चाहिए, उनकी भी क्या प्रणाली और रूप रेखा होनी चाहिए, ताकि यह उनकी संस्कृति की रक्षा करते हुए उनका सर्वांगीण विकास कर उन्हें तत्स्थानीय व तत्समाज के लिये उपयोगी और कल्याणकारी रह सकें, तथा राष्ट्र के एक अभिन्न और महत्व पूर्ण अङ्ग का रूप लिए रह कर उसे स्थायीत्व प्रदान करते हुए सर्वत्र और सर्वांगीणय विकास का काम करने में सहायक है।

यह जागरण-काल है अथवा यह सदियों से रोग ग्रस्थ लोगों के रोग मुक्त होने का अवसर है। इसमें भूख की ज्वाला तीव्र होने से रोग मुक्त व्यक्ति कुपथ्य भी ग्रहण करने का दुराग्रह कर बैठता है ऐसे समय में राष्ट्र-हित-चिन्तक रूपी वैद्यों को इनके बीच में कार्य कर्त्ता बन कर बैठते हैं। बहुत सावधान रहने की आवश्यकता है अन्य था इनका हित करते करते इनके अहित के साथ-साथ पूर्ण राष्ट्र का अहित कर बैठे इनके अन्दर आज भी कुछ-कुछ भारतीय संस्कृति के उत्कृष्ट गुण परिपूर्ण रूप में हैं उनकी ओर हमें सदा लक्ष्य रखना है लोभ में आकर हम गलत कदम न उटा बैठें यह आवश्यक है।

इस देश में कर्म को ही प्रधानता दी गयी है, कोरा ज्ञान या केवल ज्ञान या केवल चर्चा यही किसी

भी व्यक्ति समाज देश आदि के पतन का मूल भूत कारण है इसी के कारण निष्क्रियता को स्थान मिलता है, मोगे-मोगे खर्च प्रवृत्ति निर्माण होती है। विध-विध्वंसक मनो वृत्ति बनती है सहयोग और सद्भावना नष्ट होती हैं और इनमें कहीं राजनीति आ गई तो शंकर भगवान हैं। रक्षक हुआ तो ठीक हो सकता है, अन्यथा नहीं।

इनके विकास या कल्याण कार्य में इनकी स्थानीय परिस्थिति के साथ-साथ इनका मनोबल, मनोभूमि इनकी संस्कृति इनकी परम्परा इनकी आवश्यकता इनके साधन आदि बातों की ओर दृष्टि पात करना अति आवश्यक है। गांधी जी, विनोबा जी, डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद, पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू, जैसे प्रतिष्ठा शाली और देश-कल्याणकारी लोगों ने हमें बराबर संचेत किया है। अतः इनकी विकास योजनाएं बनाते और क्रियान्वित करते समय इस सभी बातों पर सचेष्ट ध्यान देना ही श्रेयष्कर होगा।

इनके कल्याण कार्य में शिक्षा का महत्व है, प्राथमिक, माध्यमिक और उच्च शिक्षा की व्यवस्था किसी न किसी रूप में सरकारी गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा की जाना चाहिए प्रायः अभी माध्यमिक शिक्षा की व्यवस्था में इन्हें छात्रावासों की सुविधा दी जाती है परन्तु यह ही सत्य है कि अच्छे गुरु-कुलों में रख कर इन्हें माध्यमिक ही नहीं उच्च शिक्षा देनी चाहिए। छात्रावास के अभाव में ये आदिम जातीय के ये भावी आधार स्तम्भ अन्नतत्र भटकते हुए देखे गए है, इनके पूर्व संचित सदगुणों कि लोप तो होने ही लगता पर वर्तमान अपव्ययता पूर्ण दुर्गुण भय नागरिक जीवन की इन्हें ऐसी चाह लगती है कि फिर इन्हें न तो वह आदिम जातीय क्षेत्र और न आदिम जातियों के सुलभ सरल सद्भाव पूर्ण और सहकार्य भय जीवन से ही इन्हें ममता रह जाती है, ये नागरी वातावरण से चिपके रहना चाहते हैं, इनकी शिक्षा का समन्वय कर्म के साथ ही हर दिशा में होना आवश्क है व्यवहार से शास्त्र और शास्त्र से व्यवहार का परस्पर सम्बन्ध होना ही चाहिए इस सम्बन्ध में इनकी क्षेत्रीय परिस्थिति और साधन को प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिए। शिक्षण काल में इन्हें वर्तमान नगरीय वातावरण से दूर ही रहना चाहिए परन्तु यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि यदि इनके शिक्षण की व्यवस्था वन्य प्रदेशों या ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में की जाती है जो आवश्यक है, तो इनके साथ उसी क्षेत्र के आस-पास के क्षेत्रों के आदिवासियों के अतिरिक्त अन्य जातीय लोगों को राष्ट्रियता पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध सहयोग सतभाव बनाए रखने के लिये जातिगत और दलगत भावनाएँ जो अध्ययन के साथ-साथ जातीयता और संप्रदायिकता उभाड़ने वाली वर्तमान चुनाव प्रणाली के राजनैतिक वातावरण से उत्पन्न होकर राष्ट्रीयता के क्षेत्र को विषाक्त-दिषाक्त करते आ रही है। और विशेष कर ये नव जात शिशुवत ज्ञान अनुभव और प्रगति के सम्पूर्ण संस्कारों के लिए एक जिज्ञासु की भांति इस क्षेत्र में आते हैं, उनके लिए इस ओर सावधानी बरतना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है मेरा यह दृढ़ मत है कि प्राथमिक शिक्षा-सदन से लेकर गुरुकुल एवं सदन ग्रामों और वनों में ही स्थापित किए जायँ। छात्रावास और शिक्षण सदन एक ही व्यवस्था-के अन्तर्गत रहें, ताकि सम्पूर्ण दिनचर्य्या सहृदय और प्रतिभा सम्पन्न राष्ट्रीय जीवन से ओत प्रोत शिक्षकों, आचार्यों,

प्राचार्यों की दिन चर्य्या से समरस इनका जीवन हो जाय। मैं मानता हूँ कि नृतत्व शास्त्री लोग संभवतः इससे सहमत कुछ अंशों में न हो, क्योंकि उनके सोचने की शैली भी पश्चिमी शैली के आस-पास ही प्रायः घूमती हुई देखी जाती है। वे यह प्रायः भूल जाते हैं कि हमें भारत के नव निर्माण में स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा का भी ध्यान पूर्णरूप में रखना होगा, और इस लिए अराष्ट्रीय भावनाएँ उखाड़ने और पनपाने वाली प्रणालियों का मूल पद विलोप होना चाहिए।

स्त्री-शिक्षा की व्यवस्था भी बालकों की शिक्षा की भांति आश्रम जीवन से प्रारम्भ करनी चाहिए, इसमें नारी सुलभ गुणों की रक्षा करते हुए वनों और ग्रामों को प्रतिदिन की दिनचर्या से सामंजस्य-बनाए रखने वाली शिक्षा की व्यवस्था शास्त्रीय और व्यवहारिक दोनों को अन्योन्याश्रित करके दी जाना चाहिए, दोनों की शिक्षा में "स्वेस्वेकर्मण्येऽभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः" इस सिद्धान्त का पूर्ण रूपेण ध्यान रखना चाहिए, शिक्षित बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ने से देश का हित कदापि नहीं हो सकता, अशिक्षित बेकार तो सिर दर्द सरीखे हैं ही फिर शिक्षित बेकार तो मां, बाप, पालक बनों के साथ-साथ सम्पूर्ण देश के लिए सिर दर्द ही नहीं घातक बन सकते हैं। अतः यह ध्यान रखा जाय, कि शिक्षित बेकार न तो स्त्री जाति में न पुरुष जाति में भी बढ़ने पावें, आर्थिक शक्ति के अभाव में जीवन स्तर बढ़ा देना ग्रामीण जीवन और विशेष कर आदिम जातीय जीवन के लिए एक जटिल समस्या बन जाती है।

गृह-उद्योग, कृषि, बागबानी, गोपालन, वनोपज-संग्रह, ग्रामीण वाणिज्य, कला, संस्कृति, विज्ञान, इनका समावेश इनकी शिक्षा-दीक्षा में अनिवार्य रूप से किया जाय। इनकी कला, और संस्कृति में उत्तरोत्तर विकास की भी आवश्यकता है। परन्तु शास्त्रीय-कला और संस्कृति से भी ये अछूते न रखे जांय। प्रकृति, विकृति और संस्कृति, आज का जीवन इनका मानव प्रकृति के नियन्त्रण हैं। या उसमें विकृति है। संस्कृति का प्रभाव अभी न्यून मात्रा में ही है अतः इस ओर पूर्ण रुप से क्रमिक-सुधार के साथ हमें लाना ही होगा, वर्तमान शिक्षा-प्रणाली और उसके स्तर में कहीं न्यूनाधिक और कहीं मूलतः परिवर्तन शीघ्र वांछनीय है प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन दोनों की भी आवश्यकता के अनुसार समावेश किया जाय। छात्रावास केवल छात्रावास न रहे, वरन उन्हें आश्रम का ही स्वरूप दिया जाय और आश्रम का वातावरण और सारी दिन-चर्या आकर्षक उपयोगी और पवित्र बना कर रखी जाय इनके शिक्षण का सम्बन्ध और उपदेश अधिकांशतः ग्राम और वन-जीवन से संलग्न रखा जाय।

कृषि ही आदिम जातियों का प्रथम धन्धा है, परन्तु आज की कृषि मात्र इनकी आर्थिक स्थिति, इनका स्वस्थ-जीवन बनाने में उपयुक्त नहीं है। कृषि-कार्य के विकास के लिए भी न तो प्राचीन और न एकदम वैज्ञानिकता से परिपूर्ण अर्वाचीन प्रणाली, इन्हें आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकती है, एक कुशल वैद्य की तरह किस मर्ज पर कौन सा नुस्खा स्थान और वातावरण तथा रोगी की शारीरिक और मानसिक व्यवस्था को देखकर देना चाहिए, यह भी नहीं करना होगा दोनों प्रणालियों को कुशलता के साथ यथा साध्य और आवश्यकता देखकर उपयोग किया जाय, आंख-मूंद कर एक ही प्रणाली से लाभ की जगह उलटा परिणाम देखने को मिलता है, खाद्य, उत्तम बीज,

बांध, रक्षा आदि के साथ-साथ इनके लिए सिंचाई की व्यवस्था करना, विषम और अधिकांश पहाड़ी भूमि के कारण कठिन होता है। अतः लघु सिंचाई योजना को लागू कर कुंए, तालाब, छोटे मध्यम, बांध सिंचाई-पम्प इन सभी का सहारा लेना आवश्यक है। बड़ी योजनाएं सफलीभूत कदापि नहीं हो सकती।

कृषि-उत्पादन में कीमती और पौष्टिक धान्य उपजाने का मोह अब काफी हो चला है, इससे फायदा उठाने का यही समय है। अतः साधन देने में सरकार को बिलकुल ही संकोच नहीं करना चाहिए, यही समय है जबकि इनके प्रेरित, उत्साहित और जिज्ञासु मनोभूमि से विशेष लाभ उठाया जा सकता है।

फल-साग-भाजी उत्पादन करने की प्रथा प्रायः कम देखी गयी है. अतः सरकार को विशेष सुविधायें, साधन, शिक्षण और पूंजी देकर इस ओर पर्याप्त प्रगति करना चाहिए, पौष्टिक तत्वों के, अभाव से शारीरिक विकास का तो अभाव रहता ही है, मानसिक विकास में भी बाधा पहुंचती है। साथ ही स्वास्थ्य भी चिन्ता इस ओर प्रगति करने से एक समस्या थोड़े मार्ग दर्शन व व्यय आदि हल हो जाती है।

इन आदिम जातियों का दूसरा सम्बन्ध गोपालन से आता है, परन्तु गोपालन से जो उचित लाभ मिलना चाहिए वह इन्हें नही मिल पाता। गोपालन के उन्नत तरीकों से ये सर्वथा अनभिज्ञ रहते हैं। अच्छी नस्लें, उनका सुधार, उनकी रक्षा की व्यवस्था उनकी उपयुक्त खुराक, उनसे लिए जाने वाले कार्यों का अनुपात और शक्ति के बारे में इन्हें कोई ज्ञान और अनुभव प्रायः नहीं रहता, अतः यद्यपि यह समय अधिक लेगा, परन्तु इस ओर सरकार को शीघ्र ध्यान देना चाहिए। कृषि गोपालन का अन्योन्याश्रयी सम्बन्ध को देखते हुए दोनों को साथ-साथ लेकर चलना चाहिये। एकदम उच्च प्रणालि लागू करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, परन्तु क्रमिक सुधार और क्रमिक विकास की प्रगति अपनाई जाना चाहिए। आज तक इस क्षेत्र में कोई ठोस कदम इस सिल-सिले में उठायी गयी हो, यह देखा नहीं गया है, हां कहीं-कहीं एक दो सांड बाहर से लाकर नस्ल (ब्रीड) का कार्य प्रारम्भ किया गया है परन्तु कोई अच्छा परिणाम देखने में आता नहीं।

गृह-उद्योग इनके जीवन में खेती और गोपालन के अनिवार्य धन्धों की तरह एक विशिष्ट व्यवसाय है। आज यह भले ही क्षत विक्षत हो परन्तु प्राचीन भारत का प्रत्येक ग्राम इस नाते से स्वावलम्बी था। आज मशीनवाद के अधिकार में यह अन्तिम सांसे ही ले रहा है, परन्तु गृह उद्योग का सम्बन्ध उनकी सदा की दिन चर्या से आता है, इसके लिए भी उन्हें नगर और मशीनो का आश्रय करके रहना पड़ता है। प्रकृति के द्वारा प्रदत्त शक्तियों, वस्तुओं और साधनों का उपयोग करके वे अपना कार्य निकालते थे और उसमें ही अपनी कला प्रतिभा को निखार देते थे। आज भी कई आदिम जातियाँ इसे अच्छे रुपमें वे जीवित रखे हैं हुए हैं। यदि आज के प्रगति शील और साधन सम्पन्न संसार के साथ इसका सम्बन्ध जोड़ दिता जाता है, और इन आदिम जातियों को पूँजी देने के साथ-साथ इन्हें थोड़ा मार्ग-दर्शन दिया जाता, तथा इनके द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुओं के उपयोग का अवसर दिया जाता है तो

अल्पावधि में ही इनका यह उद्योग चमक उठेगा, और हस्तकला प्राचीनता से भी आगे बढ़ जायेगी इसके लिए स्थानीय चीजों को ही महत्व दिया जाय। बाहिर से लायी चीजों द्वारा निर्माण कार्य में न तो इन्हें अभिरुचि होती है और न वह स्थायी हो सकता है, अतः इनके उपयोग में आने वाली अथवा आस-पास जिनकी मांग हो उनके निर्माण में ही इनकी शक्ति, साधन और समय का उपयोग किया जाय। विशेष चीजें जो बाहिर खपत सकें उनके उत्पादन में भी ध्यान रखा जाय। इस प्रकार गृह उद्योग में चार चांद लगाने के लिए व दुनियां के बाजारों में भी उनकी प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ाने के लिए स्थानीय कलाकारों, उद्योगकारों के लिये अल्प-कालीन प्रशिक्षण के केन्द्र बार-बार खोल कर कई हिस्सों में इनका प्रशिक्षण कार्य पूर्ण किया जाय। इससे कालेजों में या निम्न प्रशिक्षण सदनों में अनुभव हीन तथा अज्ञात धन्धे वालों को शिक्षा देकर माथा पच्ची और समय बर्बाद करने की अपेक्षा यह ज्यादा लाभप्रद हैं। क्योंकि 'स्वे स्वे कर्मण्येऽभिरतः संसिद्धि लभते नरः' यह कहावत कोई गलत नहीं है जन्म जात गुण और पूर्व संस्कार ही सफलता में अधिक सहायक होते हैं, इन धन्धे के प्रोत्साहन के लिए बाहरी माल आयात पर साधारण प्रतिबन्ध लगाने से भी लाभ हो सकता है।

'व्यापारे वसति लक्ष्मीः' इस सिद्धान्त को देखते हुए थोड़ा सा वाणिज्य की ओर भी आदिम जातियों को अभिमुख करके इस क्षेत्र में भी आगे बढ़ाना चाहिए, इससे लोगों में चतुराई आती ही है, साहस उत्पन्न होकर भय संकोच दब्बू और भोला-पन भी दूर होता है, क्रय विक्रय की क्रिया से बुद्धि की कुशाग्रता इनके विकास के लिए आवश्यक है स्थानीय उत्पादित वस्तुओं के क्रय विक्रय के साथ ही बाहर भी आयात निर्यात का शिक्षण होना चाहिए और स्वतन्त्र रूप से इस ओर बढ़ने देना चाहिए परन्तु सरकारी व गैर सरकारी इनकी संरक्षक संस्थाएँ एक पर्यवेक्षक की तरह इन पर दृष्टि रखे रहें ताकि कहीं बड़ी हानि या खतरे का सामना करना न पड़े। भील सेवा मण्डल बम्बई इस क्षेत्र में अनु-करणीय कार्य कर रहा है वैसा ही सर्वत्र करना श्रेयष्कर होगा। विकास योजनाओं से आदिम जातियों को समुचित लाभ तब तक नहीं मिल सकता जब तक की योजना कार्यान्वित करने में बाहर के लोग इनके साथ समरस नहीं हो जाते हैं। विलायती साहब बनकर इनके बीच रहने से या इनके बीच जाने से इनका विश्वास सम्पादन नहीं कर पाते, साथ ही विकास कार्यों के नियम कुछ ऐसे आड़े से पाये जाते हैं कि यदि ये साधन हीन, उत्साह, हीन, द्रव्य हीन आदिम जातियों किस की ओर उत्सा-हित भी होती है। किन्तु नियमों के प्रति बन्ध इन्हें ठन्डा कर देती है। और एक बार प्रेरणा लेकर उठने के बाद दुबारा इन्हें प्रेरित करना कठिन हो जाता है।

विकास योजना में आर्थिक अंशदान की अपेक्षा श्रमदान ही कुछ भाव में वहां के लिये सफल हो सकता है विज्ञान के साधनों का प्रयोग यथा साध्य यत्र-तत्र अनिवार्य होने पर ही किया जाय ऐसे साधन इन्हें न दिये जांय, जिन्हें या तो ये खरीद न सकें, या जिनका उपयोग करना इनके लिए कठिन हो जांय। विकास योजना के कर्मचारी पर्याप्त संक्रिय सह-योगी सहृदय सुशील और सरल व समरस होकर रहने

वाले रहें इनके पास पहुंचने की सरल वृत्ति हो, और आवश्यक मांग को शीघ्र क्रियान्वित करने की क्षमता और साधन रहें।

विशाल योजनाओं से कृषि, गोपालन, फल, साग स्थानीय गृहोद्योग, सिंचाई, स्वास्थ्य मनोरंजन सहकारिता, शिक्षा सफाई पर ही क्रमशः अधिक महत्व दिया जाय।

स्वास्थ्य-सुधार की दृष्टि से इनके लिये निम्न बातें अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। अच्छा भोजन, स्वच्छपेय पानी, फल और साग, दूध व घी हवादार गृह ये सारी चीजें यों तो ग्रामों से भी भलीभांति प्राप्त नहीं हो पाती। वन ग्रामों में तो और कठिनाई होती है।

अच्छे भोजन की विविधता उसमें पौष्टिक द्रव्यों का समावेश, इसका ज्ञान बहुत कम रहता है। अतः शिक्षा में इसका समावेश नितान्त आवश्यक है। विशेष कर स्त्री वर्ग की शिक्षा में यह व्यवस्था अनिवार्य की जानी चाहिए। फल और साग-बाग के प्रसार से फल-साग भाजी की पूर्ति हो सकती है इसका प्रसार तेजी से होना चाहिए। गोपालन के उत्तम तरीकों को क्रमशः अपनाने से और खेती के साथ ही इसको प्रधानता देने से कुछ वर्षों में यह समस्या हल हो जायगी। अमेरिका के सूखे दूध से इसकी पूर्ति कहां तक हो सकेगी, यह विचारणीय है। इससे और परावलम्बी बनाया जा सकता है तथा गोधन की महिमा और उसके पालने के प्रति अवहेलना की ही भावना बढ़ सकती है। आदिम जाति क्षेत्रों में भी सूखे दूध और अमेरिकन घी का प्रवेश कुलद श्री गणेश ही समझना चाहिए।

स्वच्छ पानी की व्यवस्था पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में कुंआ खोद कर ही की जा सकती है परन्तु पत्थरों का काट कर पानी निकालना एक दुष्कर कार्य है! यह समस्या एक कठिन समस्या है, हजारों रुपयों की बरबादी के बाद भी पानी निकालना कठिन हो जाता है। पाताली कुए, वैल बोरिंग मशीन से खोद कर बनाना किसी तरह ८०-९० प्रतिशत तक सम्भव, हो सकता है। परन्तु पाइप लगाया जाता है यह बार-बार बिगड़ने वाला होने से विशेष काम नहीं होता, जहां झरने होते हैं अथवा जहां जल-कुण्ड होते हैं, उन्हें भी शुद्ध रखने की व्यवस्था यदि सरकार की ओर से कुछ दिन रखी जाय तो भी लाभप्रद हो सकता है। निस्तार तालाब बनाने की योजना भी ठीक हो सकती है परन्तु उसके शुद्ध रखने का बड़ा प्रतिबन्ध रहने से हो सकता है।

शुद्ध और हवादार घर बनाने से चोरी आदि का भय उन्हें रहता है अतः सरकार की गृह निर्माण योजना में इस बात का विशेष ध्यान रहे, कि आदिम जाति को रुचने वाले उनकी सामान्य संस्कृति और सुविधा का ध्यान रखते हुए वहां की परिस्थिति और वातावरण के अनुरूप मकान ही बनाए जांय। चोरी आदि का खतरा न रहे, देख-रेख की सुविधा का भी ध्यान रखा जावे। आगे पीछे आंगन बाड़ियों का रहें फल-फूल-साग-भाजी के पौधों के लिये स्थान का उत्तम चुनाव किया जाय। रास्ते आस-पास का पड़ोस व्यवस्थित बन सके, ताकि सफाई की सुन्दर व्यवस्था रहे।

औषधि और चिकित्सा के अभाव में अत्यधिक कष्ट और मौत का सामना कभी-कभी करना पड़ता है। अतः ये साधन देना तो आवश्यक है। नगरों में इसकी पूर्ण व्यवस्था हैं। पर ग्रामीण और आदिम ग्रामीण क्षेत्र इससे उपेक्षित अभी भी कतिपय स्थानों

में पाये जाते हैं इसकी व्यवस्था से इनके प्राकृतिक जीवन और प्राकृतिक तथा मानसिक चिकित्सा को एकदम उपेक्षित नहीं करना चाहिए। आज भी ऐसी अनेकों जड़ी बूटियों और चिकित्सा का ज्ञान इन भोले-भाले लंगोटी धारी आदिम जातियों को है कि अच्छे-अच्छे डाक्टरों और वैद्यों को दांतों तले उङ्गली दबानी पड़ती है। इनके इस ज्ञान को पूर्ण संरक्षण तो दिया ही जाय, पर साथ ही इसका संग्रह किया जाय और इस सम्बन्ध के साहित्य को लिखा जाय उनका उपयोग चालू रहने दिया जाय। असहायावस्था में इनके तत्काल सहायता की व्यवस्था नजदीक रहे। इनके अन्दर आज भी जीवन शक्ती अच्छी रहती है क्योंकि ये प्रकृति-बल और मनोबल के सहारे अधिक रहते हैं कृत्रिमता के दास बन जाने के बाद इनमें भी विकृति आने का भय है। अतः इनके पास नजदीक साधन तो सभी दिये जांय, परन्तु उपयोग में इनके स्वावलम्बन को धक्का न पहुंचे ऐसी सावधानी रखी जाय।

व्यायाम, खेल, कुस्ती, तैरना आदि, कुछ संस्कृत ढंग की शिक्षा देने से इनकी दीनता हीनता दूर होकर इनमें कुशलता आती है और समानान्तर पर विकास कार्य भी होता है। अतः दो-दो, चार-चार, ग्रामों के बीच में कुछ न कुछ साधन देना ही चाहिए।

सहकारिता की शिक्षा सच्चे रूप में आदिम जातियों से ली जा सकती है। इंगलैंड और अमेरिका आदि से यह गुण लाकर इन्हें देने की आवश्यकता नहीं, अतः सहकारिता क्षेत्र में बड़ी-बड़ी योजना लाने की बजाय इनमें जो आपस में सहकारी कार्य चलते हैं उनमें ही पहले क्रमिक विकास किया जाय उनके ऊपर बाहर का आदमी लादा न जाय और न बाहर के कानून कायदे ही जैसे उसे विकास होता जाय आप साधारण बढ़े और वर्तमान विकास के कार्यों को क्रियान्वित करने के लिये उनका समावेश कराते जांय उनका मार्ग दर्शन आवश्यकता अनुसार किया जाय। हिसाब किताब आदि रखने और कार्य भार सम्भालने की आवश्यकता उन्हें धीरे-धीरे समझा दी जाय और सब साधारण यह कार्य बढ़ाना प्रारम्भ कर वनोपज, ग्रामीण अन्न-भण्डार, तथा अन्य उत्पादित वस्तुओं अथवा बाहिर से आने वाली उपयोगी वस्तुओं खाद्य की आदि के उपयोग में सहकारिता को व्यापक बनाया जाय।

लोक गीत, लोक साहित्य, नृत्य और वाद्य यह इनके जीवन की दिन चर्या की संस्कृति की और विचारों की झांकी है। इनसे ही इन्हें जीवन रस प्राप्त होता है। अतः इनकी उपेक्षा बिल्कुल न की जाय। किन्तु उन्हें लिखित किया जाय और निरन्तर सुधार और विकास किया जाय। विभिन्न क्षेत्रीय गीतों, साहित्यों आदि को परखने का एक दूसरे को मोका दिया जाय ताकि उनमें व्यापकता और विशालता और स्पर्धात्मक शक्ति का प्रादुर्भाव देखकर मनुष्य अधिक सीखता है और यह तभी सम्भव होता है। जब जनसम्पर्क बढ़ाया जाय। आदिम जातीय क्षेत्रों में इसका आज भी अभाव है इनका यदि शीघ्र कल्याण करना है। इनके अन्दर से भय संकोच भोलापन, दब्बूपन, हीनता और दीनता हटाना है तो यातायात के साधन और साधनों की अपेक्षा अधिक लाभ प्रद होंगे। अतः साधन अधिक देने की ओर सरकार शीघ्र ध्यान दे।

समाज सेवा योग्य गुणों का अर्जन जिन आदिम जाति स्त्री पुरुषों युवक, युवतियों बालक, बालिका

ने किया है। उन्हें समाज में तत्काल स्थान देना चाहिए परन्तु इन पर नियन्त्रण अवश्य करते रहना चाहिए और अधिक मार्ग दर्शन किया जाय। स्वतंत्र और उन्मुक्त छोड़ देने से कच्ची लता की तरह या पिछले पदार्थ के तरह दूसरी ओर भी झुक सकते हैं। कुछ दिनों तक ये वातावरण को अपनी अनुकूल बना सकने में असमर्थ देखे गए हैं। वातावरण के अनुकूल ही बन जाते हैं। और तब लाभ की बजाय हानि होते देखी जाती है। भविष्य में इनमें स्थायीत्व आ सकेगा परन्तु फिर इससे पूर्ण लाभ नहीं हो सकेगा।

मद्य पान, कुछ गन्दी आदतें इनके प्रायः ये शिकार हो जाते हैं। कुछ और चालाक और मक्कार लोगों की कुसंगती में पड़ कर ऐसे कार्य करने लग जाते हैं कि इनके संरक्षण माता-पिता, और ग्राम के लोग न सिर्फ दुखी हो जाते हैं, वरन इनसे घृणा भी करने लग जाते है।

आदिम जातियों के लोगों का बहुत सा समय आलस्य में भी बीत जाता है। अतः इसके सद् उपयोग की व्यवस्था बुद्धि पूर्ण ढंग से की जानी चाहिए। सामूहिक गृह उद्योग भजन, कीर्तन, मनोरंजन खेल, ग्राम सुधार निर्माण कार्य, बागवानी, भ्रमण आदि, में समय लगाने से एक पंथ दो काज होंगे।

सरकार की ओर से कुछ चुने हुए लोगों के विभिन्न उद्देशों और विभिन्न-विभिन्न जरियों से आस-पास तथा कभी-कभी कुछ दूरस्थ क्षेत्रों में भ्रमण द्वारा अनुभव आदि का सुयोग देते रहना चाहिए, आपस में विचार विनियम संस्कृतियों, रहन-सहन, भोगोलिक, ऐतिहासिक, सामाजिक, आदि बातों के अध्ययन का अधिक अवसर मिलने से स्पर्धा, जिज्ञासा, आदि गुणों का विकास होता है।

वैसे ही राष्ट्रीय पर्वों, सामाजिक उत्सवों और जयन्तियों में इन लोगों को मार्ग दर्शन मिलता है। अतः ऐसे अवसरो से चुकना नहीं चाहिए। नाटक भजन, कीर्तन, प्रवचन, सद्ग्रन्थ—अध्ययन, महापुरुषों के चरित पठन, आदि के द्वारा अच्छे आदर्शों व कार्यों की ओर प्रेरित करते रहना चाहिए।

आदिम जातीयों के विकास के इस पुण्य अवसर पर सच्चे जन सेवियों द्वारा यदि ऊपर बतलायी गयी सभी बातों पर सावधानी रखी गयी तो इनके आर्थिक, सामाजिक, शारीरिक, नैतिक, और बौद्धिक विकास में लम्बा समय नहीं लगेगा। और सही ढंग से विकसित होकर ये राष्ट्र के सुदृढ़, सबल और सद्-उपयोगी अङ्ग बन जावेगें! आगे बढ़ी हुई जातियों के समनक्ष आजावेंगी।

# आदिमजाति का कल्याण

## महावीर प्रसाद महता

विशाल भारत के कोने-कोने में दो करोड़ से भी अधिक की संख्या में युगों से तिरस्कृत मानव, आदिम जाति की संज्ञा से सम्बोधित निवास कर रही है। यह वनों, पहाड़ों, तथा गुफाओं में निवास करने वाले जाति के लोग भी वैसे ही भारतीय नागरिक है जिस तरह उपजाऊ मैदानों के सम्पन्न एवं जागृत नागरिक। किन्तु नागरिकता की समानता के बावजूद जन-साधारण और आदिम जाति के बीच जो असमानता की कठोर दीवाल, अशिक्षा, गरीबी, अस्पृश्यता और पिछड़े पन के कारण विद्यमान हैं वही हमारे विचार का विषय है।

उन्नतिशील समाज के विचारक इस बात से पूर्णतः सहमत है कि इस प्रकार की तिरस्कृत एवं पिछड़ी वन्य जातियों को सर्वसाधारण के स्तर पर लाया जाय। यह कार्य एक महान् और कठोर तपस्या का कार्य है। आदिम जातियों के बीच निस्वार्थ भाव से कल्याण कार्यों द्वारा ही हम उन्हें आकर्षित करके उनकी क्रमशः उन्नति कर सकते हैं। जीवन बनाने का कार्य बहुत ही दुष्कर कार्य होता है। लगन शील कार्यकर्त्ता, दुख की परवाह किये बिना इस कल्याण कार्य में जब निःस्वार्थ भाव से कूद पड़ेगें तभी यह कल्याण सम्भव है वरना कितनी भी अच्छी योजना क्यों न हो लाभ कुछ भी नहीं होने का है। यह आज का सुन्दर संयोग है कि हम एक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र हैं जिसके सविधान द्वारा वन्यजातियों को सुरक्षा एवं उन्नति का अवसर मिला है। साथ ही हमें पूज्य ठक्कर बापा और महात्मा गांधी द्वारा प्रस्तुत सेवा का मार्ग भी उपलब्ध हैं। भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ के नेतृत्व में देश भर में आदिम जाति कल्याण संस्थाएं भी चालू हैं तथा अनेकों कर्मठ कार्यकर्त्ताओं का सहयोग भी प्राप्त है। आज इस प्रकार के संयोग के बल पर हमें यह कार्य करने का अवसर प्राप्त है और हमें २ करोड़ के मानव समुदाय को ऊपर उठा कर जन-साधारण के स्तर पर पहुंचाना है।

अभी देश में आदिवासी कल्याण के नाम पर कुछ अमानुषिक और राष्ट्र विरोधी कार्य भी कुछ विशेष सम्प्रदाय वालों द्वारा चलाया जा रहा है जिसके विषय में चर्चा करना युक्ति संगत है। धर्म परिवर्तन से कल्याण कार्य दिखाने की दिशा में विदेशी ईसाई मिशनरियों का विशाल समूह आर्थिक सम्पन्नता के साथ कार्यरत हैं। देश के कोने-कोने में और सुदूर के जङ्गलों में यह मिशनरियां संलग्नता पूर्वक धैर्य के साथ आदिवासियों के बीच सेवा करती हैं तथा उन्हें ईसाई धर्म को स्वर्ग का मार्ग बतलाकर अपने धर्म में दीक्षित कर लेते हैं। इस कार्य में वे शिक्षा प्रचार से, अन्न, वस्तु तथा रुपये के वितरण से तथा अन्य प्रलोभनों से आदिवासियों को आकर्षित कर लेते हैं। और युगों से तिरस्कृत मानव, सहज ही में उनके चंगुल में आ जाता है। इसमें आदिवासियों का कोई दोष नहीं है। इन मिशनरियों को भी हम पूर्ण दोषी नहीं कह सकते हैं। यह दोष

मुख्यतः हमारे भारतीय उन्नत समाज का है जिसने आदिम जातियों को तिरस्कृत करके अपने से अछूता रक्खा। यह मोका तो हमने ही इन विदेशी कार्य-कर्त्ताओं को प्रदान किया है। यदि हमने अपने ही भाइयों को इस प्रकार बहिष्कृत नहीं किया होता तो आज यह भयंकर परिणाम क्यों कर उपस्थित होता।

सेवा का कार्य यदि धर्म परिवर्तन के उद्देश्य से किया जाय तो वह सेवा नहीं किन्तु जघन्य पाप है। यदि अपने बौद्धिक विचारों के तर्क से कोई अपना धर्म परिवर्तित करता है तब वह उचित है किन्तु यहा तो अनपढ़, गरीब और असहाय आदिवासी परिवारों को रुपये के आधार पर फैलाया हुआ सुन्दर जीवन का चित्र उन्हें बरबस अपनी ओर आकर्षित कर लेता है और वे अपना कल्याण उसमें देखते हुए धर्म को सहर्ष बदल लेते हैं। भूखे को भोजन पहले सूझता है और धर्म तथा भगवान बाद में। इस लिए हम आदिवासी भाइयों को इस धर्म परिवर्तन के लिये दोषी कह ही नहीं सकते। इन मिशनरियों ने कार्य तो बहुत ही अच्छा किया, जिन्हें भारतीय समाज ने नहीं पूछा उन्हें ये गले लगाये तब इसमें उन्होंने मानवता वाद की दृष्टि से तो महान् कार्य किया। किन्तु इस सेवा को सौदेबाजी की दृष्टि से एक अन्य आकांक्षा से प्रेरित होकर किया गया इस लिये हमें यह पाप जघन्य लग रहा है। यद्यपि इन मिशनरियों के कार्य ने भारतीय समाज के आंखों पर पड़ी हुई पट्टी को हटा दिया फिर भी हम अपने उन्नत समाज को इसके लिये अधिक दोषी नहीं कह सकते जिसका कारण निम्न प्रकार है :—

हम भारतीय सैंकड़ों वर्षों से गुलामी की जंजीरों में जकड़े रहे और आज से लगभग ७०० वर्षों से हम इस गुलामी से लड़ते आ रहे थे। हम अपनी गुलामी की बेबसी से अपने किसी समय के परित्यक्त भाइयों को अपने में पूर्णतः मिला नहीं पाते थे फिर भी इतिहास साक्षी है कि इन आदिवासी भाइयों ने भी देश के अन्य समाज के कन्धे में कन्धा मिला कर हमारे आजादी के आखिरी दिनों तक हमारा सहयोग और साथ दिया। हम तो स्वयं मजबूर थे, हम तो स्वयं ही गुलाम थे, तब वैसी बेबसी की हालत में किस प्रकार अपने इस आदिवासी समाज को ऊपर उठा ले। दूसरी ओर विदेशी आक्रमणकारियों ने तथा शासकों ने हमारे बीच फूट की भावना फैला कर हमें अलग रखने और लड़ाने का कार्य किया जिससे उनका शासन मजबूत रहे। इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति इच्छा रहते हुए भी हमें कार्य करने का अवसर नहीं मिला। बल्कि अंगरेजी शासन में इन मिशनरियों को रक्षा और सुविधा प्रदान करके बढ़ने का अवसर दिया गया। इस कार्य में राजनैतिक चाल मुख्य रही है। हमारे समाज के ही एक अङ्ग को बहका कर के देश को दलों में विभक्त करने की नीति से सभी अवगत हैं।

हमने स्वतन्त्रता के बाद सर्व प्रथम इस कार्य पर ध्यान देकर विधान में समानता देते हुए अन्य बहुत सी विशेष सुविधाएं आदिवासियों को प्रदान की है। साथ ही सेवा कार्य करने वाली निःस्वार्थ भाव वाली संस्थाओं को भी सरकारी सहायताएें उपलब्ध होती हैं। फिर भी हमारी सरकार के पास उतना आर्थिक साधन नहीं है जितना इस विदेशी मिशनरियों के पास हैं।

हमने भारतीय संविधान में धार्मिक स्वतन्त्रता

दी है किन्तु इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि राज्य, धर्म को रक्षा न करें, संस्कृति की रक्षा न करें और लाखों व्यक्ति जो अनपढ़ और मूर्ख एक-एक वर्ष में अपने धर्म को बदल डालें। यह हमारी आदिम जातियों के बीच, कल्याण कार्य में प्रधान बाधा है और सरकार को उचित कदम उठा कर के राष्ट्रीय रक्षा, सांस्कृतिक और भाषा की रक्षा, और विशेषतः असहायों की रक्षा के उद्देश्य से मिशनरियों के इस दूषित उद्देश्य के सेवा कार्य को रोक लगा देनी चाहिए।

विश्व के किसी भी सभ्य देश में यह बात कभी भी बर्दाश्त नहीं की जा सकती है कि उनकी संस्कृतियों को इस प्रकार दूसरे देश वाले मिशनरियों के भेष में आकर लूट लें।

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# आदिवासियों की चिकित्सा की शिक्षा

## स्वामी जीतपुरी

मैं भारतीय आदिम जातीय सेवक संघ का जिन्होंने मुझे अपने विचार यथा अनुभव देश के महान् नेताओं के सम्मुख रखने का अवसर प्रदान किया, बहुत आभारी हूं। ये अनुभव मैंने बनों में आदिवासियों के साथ रह कर प्राप्त किए हैं।

१. *मेरा उद्देश्य* ;—इस यात्रा का मेरा वास्तविक उद्देश्य यह था कि आयुर्वेदिक चिकित्सा से रोगियों को बहुत थोड़ा लाभ पहुंच रहा है, उसके कारण की खोज कर सकूं। नाविक चाहे कितना ही बुद्धिमान क्यों न हो यदि उसकी नाव अच्छी नहीं तो वह यात्रियों को नदी के पार पहुँचाने में सर्वथा असमर्थ रहेगा। वैद्य समाज के पास यह औषधियां ही शुद्ध प्राप्त नहीं होगीं तो इलाज ठीक कैसे हो सकेगा।

२. *कृत्रिम द्रव्य* :—पाकिस्तान से अब कोई औषधि नहीं आती परन्तु, बाजार में नाम लेने से सब औषधियां मिल जावेंगीं। अगर ऊद (हिन्दी) यह पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में होती है। भले ही थोड़ी सी साथ ले आये परन्तु औषधि के लिए यहां मिलना कठिन है। परन्तु, अगरबत्ती तथा नकली लोबान के लिये आम मिल जाता है। यह अगर मध्यप्रदेश के चन्दन से तैयार किया गया है। ऐसी ही बहुत सी वस्तुएँ बंशलोचन, केसर, कस्तूरी, तुरंजबीन शीर रिवश्त, आदि मैंने भारत में बनती देखी हैं। क्या यह औषधियां यथार्थ रूप में भारत में मिल सकेंगी ?

हमारे आदि ग्रन्थों में बहुत सी औषधियां लिखी हैं जो आज यथार्थ रूप में नहीं मिलती। अपितु शासन व्यवस्था के ठीक न होने से अनेक नकली द्रव्य औषधियों के नाम से बाजार में बिक रही हैं। उदाहरण के लिए अष्टवर्ग की प्रसिद्ध औषधि भारत के दस स्थानों से मंगवाएँ, वे सब भिन्न-भिन्न ही भेजेंगें। आदि ग्रन्थों की यह यथार्थ औषधियां कौन सी हैं, कहां मिलती है, इसे खोजने का प्रयत्न किया जायें।

*बनउपज ज्ञान* :—भारतीय आदिवासियों के पास औषधियों का ऐसा अनुपम ज्ञान है। जो हम सभ्य कहलाने वालों के पास नहीं। हमारे ऋषि मुनि जिन्होंने आयुर्वेद को जन्म दिया है या वह स्वयं ही इस बात को कहते हैं—

ओषधीर्नाभरूपाभ्यां जानन्ते ह्यजपावने।
अविपाश्च गोपाश्च ये चान्ये वनवा॥
गोपालास्तापसा व्याधा ये चान्ये वनं चारिषः।
मूलाहाराश्च ये तेभ्यो भेषजं व्यक्ति रिच्यते॥

अर्थात् औषधियों के नाम रूप, गुण को उन बनवासी लोगों से अपनी जो कन्द, मूल, और फूल पर गुजारा करते हैं, वही बनवासी रोगहारी औषधि के ज्ञान में विशेष निपुण होते हैं। अब तो परिवर्तन हो रहा है। आदिवासियों की संतान अपना रहन-सहन सब बदल रही है। इस परिवर्तन से आदिवासियों से यथा शक्ति उन औषधियों का ज्ञान प्राप्त करने और ऐसी औषधियों को प्राप्त करने जो न तो बाजार में हैं और न ही पुस्तकों में उनका नाम तक है, परन्तु आदिवासी उनका प्रयोग करके लाभ उठा रहे हैं इस बात की खोज करने में विभिन्न आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में घूमा हूँ।

*यात्रा क्षेत्र* :—मैंने भील क्षेत्र मन्दसौर, रतलाम, कुशलगढ़, झाबुआ, धार, इन्दौर, देवास, तथा खरगौन। के वनों को पदयात्रा द्वारा देखा। कोड़क आदिवासी क्षेत्र उज्जैन, भोपाल, सीहोर, रायसीना में आदिवासी क्षेत्र की यात्रा की। सहेरिया आदिवासी क्षेत्र में मोरीना, शिवपुरी, ग्वालियर, गुना, झांसी, दतिया आदि जिलों को पैदल चलकर देखा और वहां के वनों में रह कर वहां का ज्ञान प्राप्त किया। साथ ही हिमाचल का कुछ भाग और शिवालय की घाटों को देखा और वन औषधियों की खोज की। मुझे यह कहते हुए प्रसन्नता होती है कि मुझे अपने इस उद्देश्य में पर्याप्त सफलता प्राप्त हुई है।

*क्या देखा* :—मैंने अपनी यात्रा में हजारों वृक्षों, जड़ी बूटियों, झाड़ियों, फूलों, तथा फलों को देखा। घास, पत्थर, मिट्टी तथा स्रोतों के दर्शन किये। जो औषधियां आजकल बाजार में आती हैं, उनके असली स्वरूप को देखा। और जिन औषधियों का अभाव है उनके स्थान पर कौन सी औषधियां बाजार में जाती हैं। इन सब बातों का पता लग आया।

*वन औषधियों के अज्ञान द्वारा हानि* :—मैंने इस बात को अनुभव किया कि वनौषधियों का ठीक ठीक ज्ञान न होने से प्रायः खोदकर, काटकर या उखाड़कर नष्ट की जा रही है। आयुर्वेदिक मर्यादानुसार तो शायद ही कोई औषधि ली जाती हो। भारतीय मर्यादा के अनुसार वृक्षों तथा अन्य जड़ी-बूटियों को भी संस्कार किया जाता है। वह किस समय किशोर, युवा, प्रौढ़ और वृद्ध आते हैं। किस समय उनकी छाल, पत्तों, फूलों, तथा जड़ों में पूर्ण शक्ति होती है, किस समय, किस ऋतु में, किस नक्षत्र तथा तिथि में कौन सा अङ्ग लेना चाहिए, उस सब का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लेने के लिये प्रयत्न किये क्योंकि इस ज्ञान के बिना औषधि का लेना लाभ की जगह हानि पहुंचा सकता है। औषधियां तथा वृक्ष युवा होने पर मस्ती में आकर मृदु लसदार पदार्थ निकलते हैं! रवी रूप में गर्भ धारण करते हैं, अण्डे देते है, तथा अपने अङ्ग से शिशु को जन्म देते हैं। वह औषधियां आनन्द-बहुल होती हैं,

सोती हैं, वह जागती हैं, क्रोध करती हैं, प्रहार करती है, बीमार होती है तथा मरती भी हैं। इन सब बातों का मैंने वनों में रहकर अनुभव किया।

अब तो आदिवासियों ने जिस प्रकार की कच्ची, गली, सड़ी, रोगी, अथवा मरी हुई औषधि व्यापारी को लाकर दी, उसने वैसे ही आगे बाजार में बेच दी। कई औषधियां तो केवल नाम से बदले में भेजी जाती हैं और फिर मूल्य में इतना अन्तर है कि जन-साधारण को वह औषधि बहुत महंगी पड़ती है और इसी कारण वह उनका लाभ नहीं उठा सकते। वह अपने खेतों, वनों तथा भूमि को औषधियों से वंचित रह जाते हैं।

मैं नमूने के लिये कुछ चीजों के भाव आपके सामने रखता हूं।

| आयुर्वेदिक नाम आदिवासी | स्थानीय भाव | दिल्ली भाव |
|---|---|---|
| | रु० | रु० |
| १ अनन्त मूल सांझूर | १० | ४० |
| २ अर्जुन छाल साधड़कूंवा | ६ | २० |
| ३ अर्णी अर्णी | ८ | ३० |
| ४ अतिबला पटारा | ८ | ४० |
| ५ अपामार्ग बीज कूकर घास | ८ | ७० |
| ६ इममी छाल | ८ | ३० |
| ७ इरमेघ छाल रयूंजा | ७ | ३० |
| ८ एर्ण मूल | १० | २६ |
| ९ कदम छाल | ६ | ३० |
| १० करंज बीज | १५ | ४० |
| ११ कलहारी मूल | १०० | २०० |
| १२ कुटजा कुड़ा | ६ | २६ |
| १२ काक जंघा | ८ | ३० |

| आयुर्वेदिक नाम आदमजाति | स्थानीय भाव | दिल्ली भाव |
|---|---|---|
| | रु० | रु० |
| १४ काकनासा कुज्ञा | ८ | ३० |
| १५ खिहर खैर | ८ | २६ |
| १६ उशीर रावनतूर्णी | २० | ६० |
| १७ अमृता नाली | ५ | २० |
| १८ गुड़मार मिठमरू | १५ | — |
| १९ गुंजा चिजी, गोमची | १५ | ४० |
| २० गुमभारी सुर्मर | १० | ३० |
| २१ मूरी आंवला | २० | ६० |
| २२ चकमर्द पकड़ | २ | २० |
| २३ पाठाफूल फांग | १० | ४० |
| २४ पटोलकड़वी लबी | ४० | ८० |
| २५ शालपर्णी बड़ा बघाल | ४० | १२० |
| २६ नागरमोथा सेला | ५ | २६ |
| २७ देवदाली देवदारू | २० | ६० |
| २८ बदारीकन्द बड़ाकन्द | २० | ४० |
| २९ विजयसार छाल बीजा | | ४० |
| ३० वियसार लकड़ी | — | ३० |
| — ,, गोंद | प्रतिसेर | ५० |
| ३१ बांसा मूल बांसा | १० | ३६ |
| ३० पृष्टपर्णी बड़ा बलारा | ४० | १२० |
| ३२ बांसा पत्र बांसा | १२ | २० |
| ३३ मोच रस सम्मरगोन्द | ४० | १४० |
| ३४ रेणुका बीज नेगड़ | २० | ३० |
| ३५ द्रोण पुष्पी गूमां | १० | ४० |
| ३६ वारही कन्द कालाकन्द | १४ | ४० |

अब आप फर्क का अनुमान कर सकते हैं। यह तो व्यापारिक फर्क है। अब इसमें आदिवासी को

क्या मिला ? केवल एक टन का सुन लीजिये। मेरे सामने एक व्यापारी ने कोली कांदा। (जङ्गली प्याज) का एक सौ मन का सौदा किया। उखाड़कर, धोकर काटकर तीन पैसे सेर के हिसाब से १ रु० १५ आने प्रति मन ठहरा। यही कोली कांदा बाजार में ४० रु० प्रति मन के भाव से बिकता है। इसमें आदिवासी को केवल नाम मात्र की मजदूरी मिलती है। औषधि का मूल्य तो नहीं मिलता, वह तो मुफ्त में दी जाती है। आदिवासी से २ रु० प्रतिमन लेकर स्थानीय व्यापारी १५ रु० प्रतिमन तथा दिल्ली का व्यापारी ४० रु० या ५० रु० प्रतिमन थोक बाजार भाव में बेचता है और रोगी को वही चीज १०० प्रतिमन मिलती है। पंजाब में जो हरड़ दो रुपया प्रतिसेर थोक में बिकती है और रोगी को पांच पैसे प्रति हरड़ मिलती है और इस प्रकार ६ रु० प्रति सेर पड़ती है। आदिवासी से चार आना सेर के भाव, बल्कि इससे भी कम में ली जाती है।

इस आर्थिक संकट के कारण आदिवासी अधिक माल ला कर व्यापारी को देता है। इसी कारण अब सी बूटियां, औषधियां तथा वृक्षों का चिन्ह तक समाप्त हो गया है। बुन्देल खण्ड के जिस क्षेत्र में मैंने यात्रा की, वहां पर सोना (श्योनाक,) एक प्रसिद्ध औषधि, के अब थोड़े ही वृक्ष शेष रह गए हैं। वह भी थोड़े समय में समाप्त हो जाएँगें। फिर श्योनाक नाम से कोई और ही चीज मिला करेगी। गोरीसर (सरवाल) की केवल दो बेलें हीं ३५० मील में दिखलाई दीं। आदिवासी चार सेर पत्तों या छाल के लिये वृक्ष को ही काट कर नष्ट कर देते हैं।

भारतीय जन-साधारण के स्वास्थ्य के लिये अच्छी तथा सस्ती स्थानीय औषधियों की बहुत आवश्यकता है। आयुर्वेदिक में एक स्थान पर लिखा है —

यस्मिन् देशे हि यो जातः, तज्जं तस्यौषधं हितम्।

अर्थात् जो व्यक्ति जिस देश में उत्पन्न हुआ है, उसके लिए उसी देश की औषधियाँ हितकर होती हैं। यही कारण कि देश का बड़ा भाग तथा जन-साधारण अब भी इन्हीं देशों की औषधियों का प्रयोग करते हैं। इन्हें अच्छी, ताजी, और यथार्थ औषधियाँ मिलनी चाहिए, तभी वे अपना दुख दूर कर सकेंगे। देश का धन बचाने के लिये देश की औषधियों का विज्ञान द्वारा विकास करके उपयोग किया जाये और अपने ही देश की चीज काम में लाई जाये।

भगवान न करे यदि संसार के किसी भी देश में युद्ध छिड़ जाय और विदेशों से पेटेंट तथा अन्य औषधियां आना बन्द हो जाये तो मेरे सुयोग्य साथ सूची वैद्य 'इंजेक्शन' की खाली सुई से रोगी को नहीं बचा सकेंगें। तब इन जड़ी-बूटियों की जड़, छाल, पत्तों, बीजों आदि से रोगी स्वास्थ्य प्राप्त कर सकेंगें। हमारे देश की तो मिट्टी। सौराष्ट्री, गेरू, पीली भी औषधि रूप से काम आती है। सौराष्ट्र की मिट्टी को ही सौराष्ट्री कहते हैं जो फटकड़ी के नाम से सारे भारत में प्रसिद्ध है। यहां के पत्थर भी तो रत्न हैं। जिनमें अमृत और विष दोनों हैं और जो औषधि के रूप में काम आते हैं।

१. मेरे विचार में भारत की सर्वसाधारण दुखी जनता के हित को ध्यान में रखते हुए कल्याणकारी राज्य का कर्त्तव्य है कि वह कृत्रिम वनस्पतियों तथा औषधियों की बिक्री कानून द्वारा बन्द कर दें।

२. आदिवासी जनता को शिक्षा दी जाये कि किस ऋतु में किस औषधि का कौन सा भाग काम में लेना चाहिये। इस ज्ञान प्राप्ति से अच्छी औषधि भी मिल सकेगी और साथ ही वन उपज की रक्षा भी हो सकेगी।

३. ऐसे आदिवासियों को जङ्गल से औषधि लाने की आज्ञा दी जाए जो ऊपर लिखित ज्ञान प्राप्त कर सके हों।

४. भिन्न-भिन्न क्षेत्रों में वहां के जलवायु के अनुसार उस क्षेत्र की वनौषधियों को बोया जाये। वहां के निवासियों को उनके गुणधर्म से परिचित कराया जाय ताकि वे उन औषधियों से लाभ उठा सके।

५. यदि वह सारा कार्य आदिवासी-सहकारी-समितियों द्वारा किया जाय तो आदिवासियों को शिक्षा मिलेगी, उनकी आर्थिक अवस्था भी सुधरेगी उनका साल भर कार्य भी मिलेगा, उनकी बेकारी दूर होगी और सबसे बड़ी बात वह कि उनके पुराने अनुपम ज्ञान का पुनरुद्धार होगा।

यदि भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवा संघ अपने किसी आजीवन सदस्य को इस कार्य पर लगा दे जो भ्रमण करे और इस कार्य को संगठित करे तो यह देश के जन-साधारण पर विशेष कर आदिवासी जातियों पर भारी उपकार होगा। वैसे सब संस्थाओं तथा कार्यकर्त्ताओं के सहयोग के बिना इस महान् कार्य का सफल होना बहुत कठिन है। मैं प्रत्येक उस व्यक्ति तथा संस्था से जिसको इस कार्य में रुचि है सहायता की अपील करूंगा।

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# आदिमजाति–कल्याण

## श्री भगवत् मुरमु

हमारे देश में आदिम जातियों की संख्या दो करोड़ के लगभग हैं। जमाने से देश के अरण्याच्छादित हिस्सों में अपने विभिन्न रस्म रिवाज, तौर-तरीका, सामाजिक संगठन को लेकर विभिन्न आर्थिक स्तर का जीवन निर्वाह करते आये हैं। इनका जीवन स्तर शिकार से लेकर खेती एवं औद्योगिक मजदूरी तक का है। भौगोलिक तरीके से देश के उत्तरी-पूर्व, मध्य एवं दक्षिणी भाग में पाये जाते हैं। आजादी के पूर्व पाश्चात्य मिशनरी लोगों ने इनके बीच अपने तरीके से सेवा का कार्य प्रारम्भ किया। इनकी सेवा भावना के अन्तर्गत धर्म परिवर्तन का स्वार्थ अन्तर्हित था और वर्तमान काल में भी इनकी सेवा भावना को प्रेरित करने वाला यही एक मात्र स्त्रोत है।

आजादी के बाद जब राष्ट्रीय सरकार कायम हुई तब इन दो करोड़ आदिम जातियों के उत्थान की समस्या उनके सामने उपस्थित हुई। इनके सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं सांस्कृति विकास के लिये संविधान में

एक विशेष धारा का प्रबन्ध किया गया और यह निश्चय किया गया कि इन आदिम जातियों को देश के अन्य समुन्नत समाज के समकक्ष लाया जाय। इनकी मुख्य समस्या का विभाजन हम निम्न प्रकार कर सकते हैं।

१—गरीबी
२—अशिक्षा,
३—आवागमन के मार्ग की कमी
४—स्वास्थ्य
५—शासन
६—नेतृत्व की कमी।

१—*गरीबी* :—आदिवासी जङ्गलों एवं पहाड़ों में रहते हैं। इनमें से कुछ को छोड़कर बाकी सभी जंगली जानवर, जंगली जड़ी बूटी, मेहनत मजदूरी एवं औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में परिश्रम करके अपना गुजरकरते हैं। कुछ आदिवासी साधारणतः खेती करके अपना गुजर करते हैं। लेकिन इनके खेती का तरीका बहुत पुराना है। कुछ लोग पहाड़ों पर "चलती खेती" से भी अपनी जिन्दगी निर्वाह करते हैं, लेकिन मुश्किल से इसके जरिये ये तीन माह निर्वाह लायक अन्न पैदा कर सकते हैं। शेष नौ महीने इन्हें जंगली जानवर या जंगली जड़ी बूटी पर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है। कुछ लोग औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में बिहार में खासकर जमशेदपुर के लोहे के कारखाने तथा झरिया के कोयले के क्षेत्र में मजदूर के रूप में काम करते हैं!

आदिम जातियों के बीच अनेकों प्रकार के हस्तकारी एवं कुटीर उद्योग का प्रचलन प्रारम्भिक काल से है। लेकिन मशीन युग के पदार्पण के साथ-साथ वे सभी विलुप्त होते जा रहे हैं। वस्त्र स्वावलंबी आदिवासी लोग प्राचीन काल से होते आ रहे थे, लेकिन यह हस्तकारी अब अनेकों आदिवासियो के बीच से उठ गयी है। संताल परगने के संताल अपने प्रयोग के लिये बहुत सुन्दर रंग विरंगे एवं मजबूत कपड़े बनाते थे, लेकिन अब उनके बीच से यह कला धीरे-धीरे खतम होती जा रही हैं। जो प्राचीन दस्तकारी का काम आदिम जातियों के बीच से धीरे-धीरे खतम हो रहा है, उसको सरकार की ओर से प्रोत्साहन प्रदान करने की आवश्यकता है। महाजन एवं सूदखोर लोग अभी भी इन भोले-भाले आदिम जातियों का बुरी तरह शोषण करते हैं। ये कठिन परिश्रम से जो कुछ भी पैदा कर पाते हैं या मजदूरी से जो पैसा कमा पाते हैं सभी इन्हीं महाजनों की जेब में चले जाते है। अभी एक का पांच ये महाजन लोग आदिम जातियों से वसूल करते हैं। जब ये नगद या ऊपज के रूप में महाजनों के इस कर्ज को वसूल नहीं कर सकते तब लाचारबस इन्हें अपनी जमीन महाजनों को बन्धक देनी में पड़ती है। बिहार में इस प्रकार जमीन को बन्धन रखना गैर कानूनी है, लेकिन अनेकों आदिवासी कर्ज से दबे हुए रहने के कारण उनके जीवन का एक मात्र सहारा जमीन भी इन्हें बन्धक रखना पड़ता है; इसकी पूरी छान बीन होनी चाहिए और सरकार को इस दिशा में ठोस कदम उठाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

महाजनों की चंगुल से बचाने के लिये हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार ने आदिवासी के बीच ग्रेन गोला खोलने की योजना तैयार की। प्रत्येक २० गाँव के बीच एक ग्रेन गोला रहे ऐसी हमारी बिहार सरकार की योजना है। अब तक ३९० ग्रेनगोला खुल चुके हैं और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना काल में और भी इस प्रकार के गोले खोले जाने वाले हैं। आदिम जातियों की आर्थिक उन्नति की दिशा में सरकार का यह एक

ठोस एवं सराहनीय कदम है। लेकिन इसका प्रबन्ध अभी तक संतोष जनक तरीके से नहीं हो पाया है। अभी इसका संचालन सरकार के सीधे कल्याण विभाग द्वारा होता है। समय पर आदिवासियों को कर्ज मिले और उसकी वसूली समय पर हो ऐसा संतोष प्रद प्रबन्ध बहुत कम देखने में आता है। सरकार के सभी प्रयत्न एवं साधन प्रस्तुत करने के बावजूद भी ग्रेनगोलेा की योजना से आदिवासी विशेष रूप से लाभान्वित नही हो रहे हैं। इसलिये इनके संचालन में आमूल परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। मेरी राय में स्थानीय लोगों की एक छोटी समिति बना दी जाय और उसके जिम्मे इसकी देख भाल एवं संचालन का भार दिया जाय। ग्राम पंचायत के जिम्मे इन ग्रेन लोगां को सौंपना एक महत्व पूर्ण एवं लाभप्रद कदम सरकार का होगा। अनेकों ग्रेन गोलों में अभी तक १५-१५ वर्षों के बकाये चले आ रहे, इन कर्जों को जैसे भी हो माफ कर के आदिवासियों को इन कर्ज से मुक्ति दिलाने की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है।

नशा का व्यसन आदिम जातियों की आर्थिक समस्या का एक प्रमुख अङ्ग है। सभी आदिम समाज बुरी तरह से नशा पान के शिकार हो गये हैं। यहां तक कि नशा पान इसके समाज में धार्मिक कृत्य के रूप में प्रचलित हो गया है। उनकी इस समस्या को बहुत सावधानी एवं नाजुकता से हल करने की आवश्यकता है। सरकार इस काम को सफलता पूर्वक नहीं कर सकती। अतः यह गैर सरकारी संस्था के जरिये ही सम्भव है। अतः मेरा सुझाव है कि राज्य सरकार अविलम्ब मद्य निषेध का विधेयक लागू करे और सभी गैर सरकारी संस्थाएँ इसे अपने रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम का एक प्रमुख अङ्ग बनाले।

संक्षेप में आदिम जातियों की आर्थिक अवस्था को सुधारने के लिये इनकी खेती के तरीके का आधुनीकरण, इनके बीच प्रचलित दस्तकारियों को प्रोत्साहन देना, महाजनों के चंगुल से मुक्ति एवं मद्य निषेध लागूकरने की आवश्यकता है।

२ - *शिक्षा* :—शिक्षा आदिम जातियों की एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण एवं प्रमुख समस्या है। आदिवासी तथाकथित सभ्य समाज के सम्पर्क से दूर, जंगलों एवं पहाड़ों में रहते हैं। अनेकों आदिवासी तक अभी भी आधुनिक सभ्यता की रोशनी नहीं पहुँच पायी है। अपने सामाजिक रस्म रिवाज के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त करने, जीवन के कठिन संग्राम में विजय पाने तथा सामाजिक संगठन को सुदृढ़ रखने के विभिन्न आदिम जातियां को अपनी खास-खास सामाजिक संस्थाएँ होती है ये सामाजिक संस्थाएँ आदिम जाति सामाजिक संगठन का प्रमुख अंग होता है। अतः उनके बीच में शिक्षा का प्रचार अगर इन्हीं संस्थाओं के जरिये हो तो बहुत ही उपयुक्त हो। आदिम जातियों की शिक्षा के विषयों में एक खास बात यह ध्यान में रखने की आवश्यकता है कि वर्तमान शिक्षा की बुराई इसमें न आने पावे तथा इनकी सामाजिक विशेषताएँ विलुप्त न हो जांय। शिक्षा का रूप यह अवश्य रहे कि इसमें शारीरिक श्रम को भी महत्व प्राप्त हो। वर्तमान समय में आदिम जातियों के बीच शिक्षा प्रचार का कार्य सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं के जरिये होता है। बिहार में श्री ठक्कर बापा योजना के अन्तर्गत दो प्रमुख गैर सरकारी संस्था आदिम जाति सेवा मण्डल रांची तथा संताल पहाड़िया सेवा मण्डल

देवघर द्वारा आदिम जातियों के बीच शिक्षा प्रचार का कार्य लगभग एक दशक से ऊपर हो रहा है। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत दोनों संस्थाओं द्वारा प्रत्येक साल लगभग ६ लाख रुपये सरकार का व्यय होता है जिसमें करीब एक संताल पहाड़ियां सेवा मण्डल द्वारा पूज्य ठक्कर बापा द्वारा बनायी योजना जिसमें चौबीस प्राईमरी, ४ मिड्ल एवं दो उच्च विद्यालय एवं कुछ छात्रावास चलाये जा रहे हैं। इन दोनों संस्थाओं का कार्य छोटा नागपुर प्रमण्डल एवं संताल परगना जिला तक ही सीमित है। आदिवासियों के बीच इन दोनों संस्थाओं का सेवा कार्य अत्यन्त प्रशंसनीय है। श्री ठक्कर बापा योजना द्वारा इस अंचल में आदिवासियों के बीच शिक्षा की दिशा में निःसंदेह क्रान्तिकारी तरीके से प्रगति हुई है, लेकिन वर्तमान समय में इस योजना में कई दृष्टि से काफी परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता प्रतीत होती है। इसके स्कूल अधिकांश दूर जंगल एवं पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में अवस्थित है। इसमें १० वर्ष पूर्व शिक्षकों का जो वेतन क्रम निश्चित किया गया था, वही अभी भी मौजूद है। न इन्क्रीमेन्ट और न प्रोविडेन्डफन्ड की व्यवस्था है। इन दिनों शिक्षा विभाग के अन्य प्राथमिक स्कूलों में शिक्षकों का जो वेतन क्रम है उससे भी कम वेतन क्रम ठक्कर बापा योजना में निर्धारित है। दस वर्ष की योजना की इस अवधि में जब कि बाह्य परिस्थिति में अनेकों परिवर्तन हुए, लेकिन इस योजना की रूप रेखा में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया। अतः इस योजना के उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये अब इसमें आमूल परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक और विचारणीय स्थिति है। आज के सरकारी पक्ष के साधारण लोग पूछते हैं कि इन संस्थाओं द्वारा हुए कामों का चुनाव के नतीजों पर कैसा असर हुआ। ये कार्य गैर राजनैतिक एवं शुद्ध सेवा की दृष्टि से होने से ही उचित तरीके से हो सकते हैं। राजनैतिक के उथल-पुथल एवं नतीजों पर दृष्टि होने से पूज्य ठक्कर बापा के विचारों का श्राद्ध हो जायगा।

साधारणतः यह देखा जाता है कि आदिम जातियों के कल्याण कार्य में सरकारी योजनाएँ अनुसूचित क्षेत्र के लिये ही खास तौर से बनती है। अनुसूचित क्षेत्र से बाहर के आदिवासी उपेक्षित से रह जाते हैं। सरकार के कल्याण कार्य की योजनाएँ ऐसी होनी चाहिये जिससे सभी जगह की आदिम जाति के लिये लाभदायक हो।

सरकारी अनुदान की रकम जो आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य के लिये स्वीकृति होती है, वह गैर सरकारी संस्था को बहुत देर से मिलती है तथा उसपर बहुत प्रकार का बन्धन भी रहता है। फलतः समय की कमी एवं प्रतिबन्ध की अधिकता के कारण रुपया खर्च नहीं हो पाता और ३१ मार्च के बाद वह लेप्स हो जाता है। पुनः अनेकों कोशिश करने पर भी इसकी स्वीकृति शायद ही मिल पाती है। अतः केन्द्रीय सरकार राज्य सरकार को यह आदेश दे दे कि गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को उचित समय पर स्वीकृत रकम दे दे जिससे वे समय पर अपना काम पूरा कर सके। साल के अन्त में खर्च कर जो भी रुपया बच जाता है, उसको गैर सरकारी संस्थाएँ योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये मनोनुकूल तरीके से खर्च कर सके इसकी उन्हें छूट देनी चाहिये।

खेद का विषय है कि आदिवासी बच्चों को अभी तक अपनी मातृभाषा से प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में बहुत

कम ही राज्यों में शिक्षा देने का प्रबन्ध हो सका है। बिहार राज्य में भी इस ओर कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। इस ओर प्रत्येक राज्य सरकार को ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। इस सिलसिले में आदिम भाषा की लिपि के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना अनुपयुक्त नहीं होगा। किसी भी आदिम भाषा को अपनी लिपि नहीं है। कई एक जन जातीय भाषाएँ काफी परिमार्जित एवं उन्नत से उन्नत साहित्यिक भावना को व्यक्त करने में समर्थ है। संताल भाषा इसका एक प्रमुख उदाहरण है। लेकिन लिपि के उलझन में पड़ कर वह आगे नहीं बढ़ रही है। यह कहीं देव नागरी में, कहीं उड़िया में, कहीं बंगला तो कहीं रोमन में लिखी जाती है। और पुस्तकें भी इसी प्रकार प्रकाशित होती हैं। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि इस भाषा के साहित्य की प्रगति जो एक सुनियोजित ढंग से होनी चाहिये वह नहीं हो पा रही है। इधर दो एक दशक से इस भाषा में अच्छे कवि एवं लेखक उत्पन्न हो रहे हैं और पढ़े लिखे नवयुवकों में अपनी भाषा में रचना करने की प्रवृत्ति जागृत हो गयी है। इसमें कई एक पत्रिकाएँ भी प्रकाशित हो रही हैं। लेकिन लिपि के अभाव में उसमें तारतम्य नहीं आ रहा है। फलतः साहित्य की गाड़ी जो निर्बाध रूप से आगे बढ़नी चाहिये थी नहीं बढ़ रही है। और लिपि के चौराहे में अटक जाती है। मैं एक बार फिर केन्द्रीय सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे राज्य सरकार को बाध्य करे कि वे जो भी किताबें प्रकाशित करे देवनागरी लिपि में करे और अन्य लिपियों में प्रकाशित होने वाली पुस्तकों एवं पत्रिकाओं को प्रोत्साहन न दे। इस दिशा में अगर कोई गैर सरकारी संस्था कार्य करने को तैयार हो तो उसे यथेष्ठ प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये।

३—आवागवन के मार्ग की असुविधा :—आदिवासी मुख्यतः जंगलों एवं पहाड़ों में रहते हैं। वर्तमान सभ्यता के सम्पर्क में लाने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि इनके निवास तक आवागमन की सुविधा हो। कुछ सड़कें अवश्य बनायी जा रही हैं, लेकिन आवश्यकता को देखते हुए यह प्रयास बिल्कुल नगण्य है।

४—*स्वास्थ्य* :—प्रकृति के निकट सम्पर्क में रहने पर भी आदिवासियों का स्वास्थ्य साधारणतः अच्छा नहीं रहता। वे कई एक बीमारियों के शिकार बने रहते हैं। वर्तमान युग का आधुनिक तम चिकित्सा सम्बन्धी साधन इन्हें उपलब्ध नहीं। वे अपनी ही जड़ी बूटी तन्त्र मन्त्र एवं भूत प्रेत की मदद से रोगों से लड़ते रहते हैं। नतीजा यह होता है कि वे साधारण से साधारण बीमारी में भी उपयुक्त चिकित्सा के अभाव में वर्षों तक शिकार बने रहते हैं। और कभी-कभी इन्हें इसका कठिन मूल्य भी देना पड़ता है। सर्दी गर्मी एवं जाड़ा वर्षा में खुले बदन रहने की वजह से तथा खाद्या-खाद्य का कुछ विचार नहीं रहने की वजह से तथा बहुधा खाद्य में पौष्टिक तत्व की कमी की वजह से रोग निरोध की शक्ति कम हो जाती है। फलतः ये किसी भी रोग के आसानी से शिकार बन जाते हैं। इनके मकान भी छोटे, कम हवादार एवं रोशनी से हीन होते हैं और बहुधा जानवर एवं मनुष्य एक ही घर में रहते हैं, जो स्वास्थ्य की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त हानिकारक है। आदिवासी क्षेत्र में पीने के पानी की भी एक बड़ी समस्या है। ये लोग बहुधा जंगल के गढ़े एवं झरने आदि का पानी पीते हैं जिससे इनका स्वास्थ्य और गिर जाता है। अतः पेय जल का प्रबन्ध होना आदिवासी क्षेत्र में अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

५. *शासन* :—आदिम जातियों की प्रमुख समस्या आर्तिक एवं सामाजिक है। इनकी समस्याओं को बहुत दूर दर्शी एवं नाजुकता से हल करने की आवश्यकता है। राज्य प्रशासन की जरा सी असावधानी से एक पूरे समाज की संस्कृति एवं सामाजिक संगठन खतरे में पड़ सकती है। मुझे संतोष है कि आदिम जातियों के कल्याण एवं उनकी बहुमुखी विकास के लिये संविधान में यथायोग्य व्यवस्था की गयी है और केन्द्रीय सरकार इसके लिये सदैव जागरुक है। राज्य एवं केन्द्र के प्रशासन में हमारे देश के आदिम जाति के सदस्य यथायोग्य भाग ले रहे हैं। आदिवासी समाज में राजनैतिक जागृति बहुत जोर शोर से आ गयी है और अब वे अपने हक को पहचानने लगे हैं। संविधान के अनुसार जितनी सुविधाएँ इन आदिमजातियों के कल्याण के लिये दो गयी वह भी अनेकों राज्य सरकार अभी नहीं कर पाये हैं। अनेक राज्यों में जन जातीय परामर्श दातृ समिति का गठन भी अभी तक नहीं हुआ है। हमारे बिहार राज्य में स्कूलों एवं कॉलेजों में अभी तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध नहीं हो पाया! प्रत्येक राज्य में जहां जन जातियां की संख्या अधिक है, वहां के मन्त्री मण्डल में एक जन जॉतीय सदस्य रहे ऐसा अनुदेश केन्द्र का राज्य सरकार को रहना चाहिये। संसद में या राज्य सभासदों में जन जातीय सदस्य जो सुझाव पेश करते हैं, उनपर बहुत सावधानी से गौर किया जाना चाहिए और जो उचित हो उसे अविलम्ब अमल में लाने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए।

६. *नेतृत्व की कमी* :—कोई भी समाज तब तक आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता जब तक उसके बीच में से कोई पथ प्रदर्शक न हो। अभी जन जातियों में शिक्षा की कमी है, इसलिए अभी अपने समाज को सन्मार्ग की ओर ले चलने की व्यक्तित्व की कुछ कमी अवश्य है। लेकिन वर्तमान समय में भी कई ऐसे नवयुवक मिलेंगे जो अपने समाज को प्रगति के पथ पर अग्रसर कराना चाहते है। भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ जैसे गैर सरकारी संगठन को इस दिशा में आदिम जातियों का मार्ग दर्शन करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है और जन जातीय नवयुवकों को नेतृत्व का ज्यादा से ज्यादा अवसर प्रदान करने की कोशिश रहनी चाहिए। और भी गैर सरकारी संस्थाएँ जो राज्य स्तर पर काम करती हैं वे भी इस दिशा में अमूल्य भाग ले सकती है। अब हमारे केन्द्रीय सरकार का शनैः शनैः दृष्टिकोण यह होते जाना चाहिए कि जन जातीय कल्याण योजना के कार्यान्वयन में ज्यादे से ज्यादे जन जातीय नवयुवक भाग ले सकें। भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ को अपने में सम्बद्ध सभी गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को इस दिशा में सक्रिय कदम उठाने का निर्देश दे देना चाहिये। इससे जन जातीय नवयुवकों में कल्याण कार्य के प्रति आस्था भी होगी और नेतृत्व का अनुभव भी उन्हें प्राप्त होगा।

# आदिवासी सेवा के विषय में मेरे कुछ अनुभव

## बलराम दास

आदिम जातियों के प्रति विचार पूर्ण दृष्टिकोण रखते हुए पूर्व युगीय समाज व्यवस्था को समाज जीवन बनाने का मौका मिला था, मगर वर्त्तमान समाज जीवन की समदृष्टि पूर्ण विचार धारा के वजह से हवा बिल्कुल ही बदल गयी है। आज हरेक मनुष्य को ही सचेत होना पड़ा क्योंकि सबको ही उचित समाज व्यवस्था में जिन्दा रहना पड़ेगा। आदिम जातियों ने पूर्वकाल से ही वर्णा-श्रम धर्म को ग्रहण नहीं किया और अपनी आज़ाद मनोवृत्ति की ही रक्षा करते आती थे। वर्त्तमान काल में वह असम्भव सा ही प्रतीत होता है, कारण पूर्व व्यवस्था के साथ-साथ समाज में वे लोग कदम उठा न सकेंगे। आजादी के साथ ही पिछड़े हुए जातियों को अपने उन्नयन का मौका मिला। लेकिन फिर भी वे समझ नहीं पा रहे थे कि किस प्रकार उनको आगे बढ़ना है। विदेशियों ने कुछ संरक्षक पिछड़ी वर्गों को आगे बढ़ाया था। मगर उनकी मनोवृत्ति अपने को उन विदेशियों का गुलाम समझने में ही सीमित थी। आज वे लोग भी सोच विचार कर रहे हैं कि उनके पिछड़े हुए भाई बहनों के लिये ऐसी कौन सी संस्था अपनाई जाय कि आधुनिक समाज व्यवस्था और जीवन के साथ यह लोग अपने को सम्मिलित कर सकें तथा कदम मिला सके। समाज जीवन में शेष बची हुई जो भी त्रुटि है उसे दूर करने के लिए सरकार कानूनी तौर तरीके से भर सक प्रयत्न शील है।

आदिम जाति उन्नयन के व्यवस्था में कृषि सुधार को सर्वप्रधान स्थान देकर उनको खाद्यान्न में स्वावलम्बी ही नहीं बल्कि सारे समाज के लिये अन्न समस्या व भूखमरी दूर करने की सुव्यवस्था करना सर्वोन्नयन का आदर्श समझा जायगा। आदिम जाति के या उन्नत-समाज के हर भूमिहीन को कृषि योग्य जमीन मिलने से वे अपने को तकलीफ से बचाने की कोशिश करते रहेंगे और साथ ही साथ अपने समाज जीवन को बनाने का प्रयास कर सकेगें। बिना विचार बुद्धि के किसी काम में संलग्न होने से उन्नयन चेष्टा कभी सफल नहीं हो सकती है। विशेष तौर पर कोशिश करने के बावजूद भी वे लोग जङ्गल में ही पड़े रहे और इसलिये उनके दिलों में देश की आजादी के लिए कोई भी आवाज बुलन्द होना नामुमकीन ही है। आज उन्हें यह बात का पता नहीं है कि अब कौन सी सरकार राज चला रही है, और उस सरकार के साथ उन लोगों का क्या सम्पर्क है? दूर पाहाड़ी इलाके में कोई समाज सेवी अगर पहुंचते हैं तो मुसीबतों का सामना करना पड़ता है। बहुधा उन्हें राज प्रतिनिधि समझकर वे उनके तरफ न ध्यान देने की ही कोशिश करते हैं और साथ ही साथ अपने स्वतन्त्र विचार धारा को ही प्राधान्य देते हैं। फिर भी हर कुछ परेशानी सहकर समाज सेवी जब कुछ करना करवाना चाहते हैं, तो उन्हें उन लोगों के साथ हार्दिक संस्पर्श में आना पड़ता तो है ही, लेकिन वह भी जब वे

अपने को उनके परिवार का एक अङ्ग बना लें। और तभी ही वे उन मार्ग दर्शकों के साथ सहयोगिता करने में मजबूर हो जाते हैं।

वन्य जाति के बीच रचनात्मक कार्य करने के लिए इस तरह के अनुभवी एवं मौलिक विचारक बुद्धि संपन्न मार्ग दर्शकों को विदेशी मिशनरीयों के नाते हरेक व्यवस्था के साथ साधन मिलना जरूरी है। आदिम वर्ग के लोगों में विचार साफ व शुद्ध रहते हुए भी गन्दी कुटनीति अनुभवी समाज सेवी के बीच इस तरह की रुकावट पैदा करती हैं कि वह स्थान छोड़ कर दूर कहीं जाकर अपनी जान व मान उन्हें बचानी पड़ती है। फिर भी अगर कोई समाज सेवी इन मुसीबतों का मुकाबला करते हुए आत्मिक विचार बोध से काम करने में प्रयत्नशील हो सकें तभी ही कुछ काम होना सम्भव है, और नहीं तो इसी तरह की भ्रष्टाचार व ग्राम्य-कुटनीति की कुचेष्टा आदर्श-पूर्णों के लिए निरुत्साह जनक हो जाती है।

वर्तमान समय में ऐसा समझा जाता है कि विभिन्न रचनात्मक कार्यों के तथा संस्था के सेवक अगर परस्पर अन्तदृष्टि से मिलकर पिछड़े हुए वर्गों उन्नयन तथा सुधारात्मक कार्य के लिए मिलकर प्रयास करें तो दुष्ट-विचार प्रगट नहीं हो पायेगा। ग्राम्य सेवा के क्षेत्र में आजकल यह भी एक अस्पष्ट कठिनाई देखने को मिलती है जिससे उन्नयन काम में रुकावट पैदा हो जाती है। बहुधा समाज सेवकों को सरकार व कांग्रेस के नेताओं के साथ स्पष्ट तौर पर संस्पर्श में आना पड़ता है, लेकिन कहीं-कहीं रचनात्मक सेवक गोपन तौर पर राजनैतिक गुटबन्दी में फस जाते हैं, जोकि समाज व्यवस्था की उन्नति के लिए काफी खतरनाक समझा जाता है। आज हमलोगों के सामने जो समस्यायें हैं वे कहीं भी कम नहीं कही जा सकती हैं। और उन सबमें, सबसे ज्यादा समस्या है देश को आगे बढ़ाने की। यह तभी सम्भव है जब सरकारी या गैर सरकारी संस्था ने आपस में एक हो कर इस काम को करने का प्रयास करें।

देश को आगे बढ़ाने के काम में जब भी आत्मिक विचार बुद्धि सम्पन्न कर्मचारियों ने कोशिश की जनता ने उनके साथ सहयोग दिया। हालां कि यह सच तो है ही कि अगर ग्रामीण जनों का सहयोग न मिले तो गांव में कोई भी सेवा कार्य के सफल होने में काफी समय लग जायगा। जबकि पिछड़े हुए वर्गों के बीच समाज सेवा बहुत ही जरूरी है, लेकिन फिर भी घने जङ्गलों में तो इसी तरह के स्थानों में पहुंचना सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए असम्भव ही हो जाता है। फिर कभी सरकारी कर्मचारी कोई अनुभवी समाज सेवक के साथ कार्य के लिए जाते हैं तो ग्राम की गुटबन्दी तथा कुटनीति अपनी प्रभाव विस्तार करती ही रहती है, जिसका परिणाम यह होता है कि उन लोगों को अपनी मान मर्यादा तथा नौकरी बचाने के लिए उस स्थान का त्याग देना जरूरी हो जाता इस तरह की परिस्थिति अगर हमेशा के लिए जारी रहे तो देश को सुसंगठित करने के मामले में काफी संघर्ष करना पड़ेगा।

आदिम जातियों के बीच शुद्ध समाज जीवन अपनाने के लिए जो प्रयास किया जा रहा है उसमें सरकारी सहयोगिता पूर्ण विचार के साथ काम ठीक है, परन्तु बहुधा देखा गया है कि सेवकों के काम को सिर्फ नौकरी के दृष्टि से देखी जाती है फल-स्वरूप सेवकों के दिल में चोट लगती है, जिसका

फलस्वरूप समाज सेवा के काम में रुकावट पैदा हो जाती है। समाज सेवा तथा ग्रामोन्नयन के लिए हालां कि विरोधी दलों का उद्देश्य तो एक ही है मगर सरकारी या गैर सरकारी दलों में विरोधी मनोभाव साफ-साफ तौर पर स्पष्ट है, और यह ही समाज के उन्नयन कार्य में ही अधिक हानि पहुंचाता है।

आदिम जाति के लिए शिक्षा व्यवस्था और भी सुगम होना जरूरी है, क्योंकि एक तो वे गरीब हैं साथ ही साथ पिछड़े भी। सरकार ने कानूनन आदिम समाज वर्ग के छात्रों को कक्षा ६ से कक्षा ११ वी तक आधी छात्रवृत्ति पर ही विद्यालयों में जाने के लिए व्यवस्था कर दिया है, लेकिन जिन को दोनों समय खाना ही नसीब न होता हो वे क्या देगें और फिर क्या पढ़ेंगे स्कूल में ! इसलिए सन् '५६ से इन लोगों के लिए बिल्कुल ही मुफ्त शिक्षा व्यवस्था के लिए सरकारी कानून में हेर फेर करने का सुझाव पेश करते हैं।

आदिम जाति के लिए शराब पीना एक बहुत खतरनाक नशा है जिससे धन और मन की तो हानी होना स्वाभाविक ही है साथ साथ ही स्वास्थ का खराब होना भी कोई विशेष बात नहीं है। इस लिए गैर सरकारी और गैर कानूनी जो शराब की दुकान आज गांवों के बीच स्वास्थ को हानि पहुँचाने के साथ ही साथ धन जन को हानि पहुंचा रहे हैं, सो बिल्कुल बन्द हो जाना जरूरी है, क्योंकि शराब के नशे में कोई भी व्यक्ति हिता-हित ज्ञान-शून्य हो जाता है, और फिर पिछड़े वर्गों के बीच जो कोशिश की जा रहीं हैं उनकी, उन्नती, के लिए, उस ओर न तो ध्यान दे सकने का समय उनके पास रहता है और न किसी समाज सेवी के किसी भी बात के तरफ ध्यान देते हैं। इसी लिए सारे खुले भट्टि उठा दिए जायें और न सरकारी कहीं खोला जाय। वे घर में पचाई हाडियां बना कर पीयें, इससे कोई विशेष नुकसान नहीं है, क्योंकि इसको पीने से ताकत और ताजगी के साथ ही उनमें स्फूर्ति भी आ जाती है, धन के बचत के साथ नशा का भी मजा आ जाता है और पेट भी भर जाता है, खुले तौर पर नई दाम से बिकने वाली शराब के चलते समाज सेवकों का सारा का सारा काम चौपट हो जाता है। आदिम जाती के लोगों के लिए यह गम्भीरता पूर्वक सोचना ही जरूरी है।

आदिम जाती के लोगों ने एक धारणा बना ली है कि वह उन्नत समाज से बिल्कुल ही परे हैं, और इसलिए उन्नत समाज को उन्हें अपने धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक, व आनुष्ठानिक अनुष्ठान से भाग लेने देना चाहिए और जब-जब यह मौका उन्हें नहीं दिया गया वे अपनी सांस्कृतिक मनोवृत्ति के कारण धर्मानुष्ठान में साम्प्रदायीकता खड़ा कर देते हैं। धर्म ने ही मनुष्य को आज हम जहां हैं वहां पहुंचा दिया है; लेकिन फिर भी उन्नत समाज के लोग सब भूल जाते हैं कि एक दिन ऐसा भी था जब आज के पिछड़ी हुई वर्ग से भी अनुन्नत और अज्ञानता के घोर अन्धकार में थे। जो कुछ भी हों, जब मनुष्य आत्मिक सुधार के साथ साथ आगे बढ़ता रहता है उनको उतना ही पिछड़े दिशा का दर्शन मिलना सम्भव नहीं होता है !

यह महान कार्य आज सिर्फ देश सेवकों के ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान को सारी की सारी जन-सख्या के ऊपर आ पड़ा है। समाज में मनुष्य हिंसा द्वेष को पैरां तले कुचल कर और सच्चाई को प्रतिष्ठा देगा तब ही समाज जीवन में दिव्य दर्शन होना सम्भव होगा, और साथ ही साथ समाज का सारा दुर्गुण दूर हो जायगा।

PART 5

# Reports Submitted

TO

# the Conference

BY

# the Three Sections

भाग पांचवां

# सम्मेलन के

# तीनों विभागों द्वारा प्रस्तुत

# प्रतिवेदन (रिपोर्ट)

# समाज कल्याण विभागीय बैठक की चर्चाओं का निष्कर्ष

श्री जुगतराम दवे की अध्यक्षता में इस सम्मेलन का काम तारीख १३ और १४ जनवरी १६५६ को दो दिन चला। १५० से ४०० तक प्रतिनिधियों की उपस्थिति रही। निबंध और निवेदन पढ़े गये। कार्यकर्ता, आदिवासी और सरकारी अधिकारी तीनों वर्गों ने चर्चा में अच्छी संख्या में भाग लिया।

चर्चाओं के उपरान्त निम्न निष्कर्ष सर्व सम्मति से स्वीकृत किये गये।

## निष्कर्ष

*१. भूदान-ग्रामदान—*

आचार्य विनोबा के आन्दोलन में सब से अधिक सहयोग देश के वनवासियों ने दिया है यह बड़ो गौरव और अभिमान की बात है।

मिले हुये ग्रामदानी ग्रामों के नवनिर्माण के कामों में भारत की जनता और राज्य सरकारें पूरी उदारता के साथ योग दें ऐसी आशा रखना स्वाभाविक है। आज सारे देश में ग्रामदान के लिए अत्यन्त अनुकूल लोकमत तैयार हुआ है, यह देखते हुए राज्य सरकारें इस आन्दोलन के सहायक कानून शीघ्र बनावें।

ग्राम पंचायतों को इस प्रकार का स्वरूप दिया जाय, जिससे वे सही मानी में ग्राम स्वराज्य की संस्थायें बनें।

*२. वनवासी और कृषि सम्बन्धी कानून—*

कृषि के लिए वनवासियों को जमीनें मिल जायें इस हेतु से कानून बनाये जाते हैं यह स्तुत्य है। लेकिन कानून से लोगों को वकीली युक्तिओं में पड़ने की इच्छा पैदा होती है। वनवासी लोगों को इस स्थिति में उतारना हर प्रकार अनिष्ट है। इसलिये जमीन सम्बन्धी कानून इस प्रकार के बनाये जायें जिससे इन्हें जमीनें किसी अदालती कार्य-वाही के बिना ही मिल जाया करें।

भूमिहीनों को भूमि देने के सबसे उत्तम मार्ग हैं :—

१. भूदान के जरिये, अथवा
२. सरकार खुद जमीनें प्राप्त करके इनको दे सकती है।

*. वन्य लोगों की त्रिविध तरक्की—*

वन्य लोकों की आर्थिक तरक्की त्रिविध दिशाओं में की जानी चाहिये :—

१. कृषि-गोपालन।
२. खादी और ग्रामोद्योग।
३. जंगल का काम।

सारी योजनायें इन तीनों अङ्गों के समतोल समन्वय से करनी चाहिये।

*४. सहकारी खेती—*

सहकारी खेती के ऊपर दिन प्रति दिन जोर दिया जा रहा है। यह वनवासियों की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त लाभदायक है, और आदिवासियों के हित में उसकी सर्वांग पूर्ण योजना बना कर वन्य किसानों को उसका लाभ देना चाहिये।

*५. वनवासियों की पाठशालाओं में ग्रामोद्योग उपहार और वस्त्र की व्यवस्था।*

वनवासियों की स्थिति को देखते हुए कानून की जबरदस्ती से उनके बच्चों को पाठशाला में खींचना असंभव और अयोग्य है।

बच्चों के घर की परिस्थिति देखते हुए उन्हें पाठशाला में उपाहार और वस्त्र देना चाहिए। और यह स्वमान के साथ वे पा सकें इस लिये पाठशाला में कृषि और वस्त्रोद्योग आरम्भ कर उन्हीं के हाथ से वह उत्पन्न करवाना चाहिए।

६. *बुनियादी शिक्षा*—

बुनियादी शिक्षा पूरे जोश और श्रद्धा के साथ सारे देश में लागू की जानी चाहिए। वनवासी प्रदेशों में जो बुनियादी शिक्षा के व्यापक प्रयोग के लिये सर्वथा उत्तम हैं, उसे दाखिल करने में जरा भी विलम्ब न होना चाहिए।

ऐसे प्रदेशों में गांव-गांव में बुनियादी पाठशालायें हों।

हर १० गांवों के बीच में उत्तर बुनियादी पाठशाला हो।

हर तालुके में उत्तर बुनियादी महाविद्यालय हों।

शिक्षा पद्धति में शिक्षा पाये हुए विद्यार्थी हर प्रकार देश के जीवन में अपना स्थान प्राप्त कर ही लेंगे ऐसी आशा है। फिर भी उनको विश्वास दिलाने के लिए यह आवश्यक किया जाय कि उनको देश के और सरकार के सब कामों में अग्रता दी जाय।

७. *वन्य भाषाओं का अभ्यास*—

भारत की सब वन्य भाषाओं और सभ्यता की विशेषताओं का आदर के साथ अभ्यास होना चाहिए।

इस के लिये हर वन्य भाषा के पटक में समाज शास्त्र और भाषा शास्त्र के अभ्यासी समाज सेवकों की समितियां होनी चाहिए।

वनवासी सेवा में लगे हुए सेवकों को और ऊपर बताई समितियों को चाहिए कि वे वनवासियों के लिये हर प्रकार का सुन्दर और शिष्ट साहित्य निर्माण करें।

८. *कार्यकर्त्ताओं की तालीम*—

देश के वन्य प्रदेशों में सेवा करने वाले कार्यकर्त्ता अभी बहुत ही कम हैं। वनवासियों में से ही अच्छे सुशिक्षित और संस्कारवान कार्यकर्त्ता तैयार करने के लिये सुदीर्घ तालीम की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।

आश्रम शाला और उसी प्रकार की बुनियादी संस्थाओं को बुनियादी शिक्षा की उच्चतम कक्षा तक पहुंचाना इनके लिये सबसे अच्छा उपाय होगा।

९. *सेवकों और शिक्षकों के मकान*—

वन्य प्रदेशों में काम करने वाले ग्राम सेवक और सेविकाओं एवं शिक्षक शिक्षिकाओं के लिये निवासों की बड़ी कठिनाई है। उनके लिये सादे सस्ते निवास बनाने के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार सहायता देगी तो योग्य होगा।

*शालाओं और बालवाड़िओं के मकान*—

वन्य प्रदेशों में बुनियादी शालाओं, बालवाड़िओं के लिये भी मकानों की सहायता केन्द्रीय सरकार से दी जाय तो उत्तम होगा।

*१०. कॉम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्टों के नियमों में वनवासी के लिये विशेष सुधार*—

कॉम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट तथा राष्ट्रीय विस्तार योजना में लोक भाग का नियम वनवासी की स्थिति के अनुकूल बनाना चाहिये।

दरिद्रता के कारण अपना भाग देकर वे योजना का लाभ नहीं उठा सकते।

अर्धभूख होने से काम करने आते हैं तो भी निर्बलता के कारण काम बहुत कम कर पाते हैं।

यह परिस्थिति देखते हुए वनवासियों के विकास

कार्य उनको नीचे बनाये रूप में वेतन देकर किये जायें—

| | कीमत रु० |
|---|---|
| १. एक भोजन-पूर्ण और समतुलित-काम पर जाने के पहिले | ०.५० |
| २. रोकड़ नगद उन्हें दिया जाय | ०.५० |
| ३. लोक भाग के तौर पर जमा किया जाय | ०.५० |
| कुल दैनिक वेतन | १.५० |

*११. विविध लक्षी विकास योजनाएँ—*

इन योजनाओं के अमल के सबन्ध में जो कुछ सुना गया और अनुभव में आया है उसे लक्ष्य में लेते हुये उनमें अनेक बुनियादी सुधार होना आवश्यक है।

इसका सर्वांगीण विचार करने के लिये आदिम जाति सेवक संघ एक समिति मुकर्रर करेगी तो ठीक होगा।

यह भी वांछनीय मालूम होता है कि देश में कई ब्लाक बम्बई की सर्वोदय योजना की पद्धति से प्रतिष्ठित सेवा संस्थाओं को पूरी जवाबदारी के साथ सौंपे जायें।

*१२. नशा बन्दी—*

शराब, ताड़ी की बाकायदा बिक्री करने की और इजारे देकर उसमें से सरकार की आमदनी करने की प्रथा ब्रिटिश जमाने में चलाई गई थी। उसने वनवासियों में इन व्यसनों की आदत को अत्यन्त ही व्यापक और दृढ़ बना दिया है। शराब के व्यसन से हमारी वनवासी जनता की रक्षा करना उनकी उन्नति के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

जिन राज्यों में अब तक नशाबन्दी नहीं की गई है वहां वह तुरन्त ही करनी चाहिये।

जिन राज्यों में नशा बन्दी होते हुए उसके अमल में शिथिलता है उसे दूर करने के उपाय शीघ्रातिशीघ्र होने चाहिये। शराब बन्दी के काम को सिर्फ सरकारों के ऊपर न छोड़ कर लोक नेताओं और संस्थाओं को उसे गम्भीरता के साथ हाथ में लेना चाहिये।

काले गुड़ का प्रयोग शराब बनाने में इतने बड़े पैमाने पर चला है कि इस के संबंध में साधारण कानून काफी नहीं है। सरकार को चाहिये कि शक्कर के कारखानों से ऐसा गुड़ उठा कर उसे समुद्र में डुबा दिया जाय।

नवसार क्षार का भी शराब बनाने के काम में उपयोग किया जाता है। उसकी बिक्री के ऊपर कड़ा नियमन होना चाहिये।

*१३. नीरा—*

नीरा और ताड़ गुड़ बनाने का काम जहां पर लोक संस्थाओं के नियमन में लाया गया है वहां पर परिणाम बहुत ही अच्छा आया है।

व्यसन वालों को निर्दोष और पौष्टिक पेय देकर उसने उन्हें व्यसन से परावृत्त करने में मदद की है।

उसने अनेक लोगों को प्रामाणिक काम देकर शराब बनाने और बेचने के गैर कानूनी कामों से बचा लिये हैं।

सर्व राज्यों में लोक संस्थाओं के नियमन में नीरा केन्द्र चलाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

*१४. जंगल कामदारों का सहकारी आन्दोलन—*

बम्बई राज्य के इस आन्दोलन ने वनवासियों

को अच्छा लाभ पहुंचाया है। आर्थिक लाभ के अतिरिक्त वनवासियों को व्यापारी तथा सरकारी तंत्र के जुल्मों से बचा कर जंगल का अन्धकार दूर करने में उसने बहु मूल्य काम किया है।

भारत के सब राज्यों को इस आन्दोलन को अपने वन्य प्रदेशों में दाखिल करना चाहिये।

बम्बई राज्य में कार्यकर्त्ता और सहकारी संघ इस कार्य में अनेक तकलीफें अनुभव कर रहे हैं। ये सारी तकलीफें सहानुभूति और श्रद्धा के साथ काम लेने से निवारण की जा सकेंगी। बंबई राज्य शीघ्र इसका उपाय करे ऐसी उससे प्रार्थना की जाय।

*१५. सर्वोदय योजना—*

देश की विकास योजनाओं में बंबई राज्य में १० वर्षों से चलाई गई सर्वोदय योजना एक अनोखी और विशेष कर वन्य प्रदेशों में शुभ परिणाम देने वाली योजना साबित हुई है। देश के सब राज्यों में सर्वोदय विचार की निष्ठा रखने वाले लोक सेवकों के जरिये इस प्रकार की योजना जारी की जाय। देश के सही विकास के लिये यह परम आवश्यक है।

*१६. आदिम जाति सेवा संस्थाओं को सहायता*

वनवासियों में काम करने वाली संस्थाओं को अपने सारे कामों की सुव्यवस्था के लिये कार्यकर्त्ता रखना और कार्यालय चलाना पड़ता है। ऐसे खर्चे के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार से सहायता देना योग्य होगा।

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## REPORT OF ANTHROPOLOGY SECTION

The Anthropological Section of the Fifth Tribal Welfare Conference, Bordi, met in the Conference Hall of Bordi High School on 13th January, 1959 at 2-30 P.M. The following persons were present in the sectional meeting :—

Dr. B.H. Mehta, Head of the Departmet of Tribal Welfare, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, was in the Chair.

Smt. Jyotirmayi Debi, Deputy Minister, Health and Welfare, (Bihar).

Dr. T.B. Naik, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, M.P.

Shri Nityanandas Das, Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa.

Dr. P.H. Sirsalkar, Lecturer, Government College of Arts and Science, Gulbarga, Mysore State.

Prof. Sher Singh, Assistant Director, All-India Radio, Bombay.

Mr. Narayanji, Secretary, Adimjati Seva Mandal, Ranchi, Bihar.

Mr. P.G. Shah, President, Gujarat Research Society, Tribal Research Unit, Bombay.

Mr. M.T. Shukla, Research Assistant, G.R.S. Tribal Research Unit.

Mr. G.P. Kulkarni.

Mr. V.V. Bhagavat.

Mr. H.S. Saxena, Research Officer, Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Mr. M.D. Gupta, Deputy Director,

Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh, Raipur, M.P.

Mr. M.P. Kothe, Adivasi Shikshan Prasarak Mandal, (Yeotmal), Vidarka, Bombhay State.

Mrs. P.P. Naidu, Planning Commission, Government of India.

Miss R.C. Toppo, Sectional Officer, Bihar Tribal Research Institute.

Mr. S.S. Chakraborty, Research Officer, Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Summaries of a number of papers were presented at the Seminar. Three papers were read at the sessions.

Shri Das read his paper on "The Administration and the Anthropologist". The paper discussed the role of the Anthropologist in the Development Project, and the Tribal Research Institute. The sessions agreed to recommend to the Conference that "in its opinion a clear policy is needed defining the role of the anthropologist, other social scientists, and research organisations in the planning, organisation and evaluation of development projects".

It was recommended that Anthropologists should be consulted before the planning and implementation of schemes in tribal areas.

Amongst the functions of the Tribal Research Institute, Training and Evaluation should be included.

Shri P.G. Shah, Dr. T.B. Naik, Mrs. P.P. Naidu, Mr. Narayanji, Miss R.C. Toppo and others took part in the discussions.

The Chairman pointed out the different interpretations of the science and functions of Anthropology; and suggested that other scientists, especially the regionalist, the sociologist, etc. had important functions to perform to promote scientific development in tribal areas.

Shri Narayanji of Bihar pointed out that Anthropologists and other social scientists were not able to give clear guidance about what had to be done under prevailing situations, and how programmes had to be carried out.

The Chairman pointed out that social scientists know a good deal of theory; but unless they had a close study of local situations and had facts at their command, they could not suggest immediate solutions and programmes to deal with their problems. If anthropologists studied the manner in which the community dealt with them, changes and improvements can be suggested by them to the Government as well as the communities.

Shri P. G. Shah spoke on the Dublas of Gujarat. The sessions recommended that comprehensive surveys of at least the major tribes should now be carried out; and these surveys should study all aspects of the life of a tribe. It was also recommended that in order to expedite major researches, group researches should be undertaken under competent Anthropologists and Sociologists. Each research worker could study one aspect or a defined part of a problem; and then the co-ordination and interpretation of data so gathered can be done by the Chief of Research, that is the Scientist.

The next paper by Prof. Sher Singh

dealt with the Sansis, an Ex-Criminal tribe.

The members of the Section discussed the problem of Approaches to Tribal Development on the morning of 14th January, 1959.

The Section agreed after discussions that broad regional development including the making of roads, local irrigation projects, and the discovery of natural local resources should be done by the State; and such programmes should not be the responsibility of inadequately mature tribal communities. It was pointed out that high priority was given to such programmes, and in many under-populated tribal areas, this could disorganise local economy.

The village road, maintenance service, etc. could be the responsibility of the community.

Regarding road construction, the construction of rustic bridges to provide contact to distant villages at present without roads, and to market areas should have the highest priority. Pukka bridges, in the opinion of the Section, were not immediately needed in remote tribal areas.

The Section recommended gradualness and phasing programmes of economic development. In the first instance the existing economy should be improved and strengthened. Meanwhile careful surveys and investigations must be carried out to discover natural resources and markets for produce. Later, economic programmes should be the result of study, intimate contact with villages, careful study of tribal opinion, and careful guidance to village communities to implement programmes concerned with their advice and approval.

The Section was of opinion that special social service programmes should be devised to contact and win the sympathy and confidence of village communities in the first instance. Elementary medical assistance, child care, youth recreation, and provision of vital needs like wells, etc. could be regarded as social preparation programmes for immediate economic development. Community participation in such activities reveals local leadership, creates local workers, creates general enthusiasm, and leads to community participation eventually leading to community organisation.

The service approach rather than the administrative approach is vital for development in tribal areas.

The social preparation programme should be accompanied and followed by a programme of youth recreation, youth organisation, and youth training for community service, An intensive programme of training camps run by trained youth leaders can achieve substantial results to promote economic development.

The final success of community development and organisation will depend on the improvement and proper organisation of the education of children and youth.

Discussing the problem of Panchayats in tribal areas, the Section was of opinion that in most areas the present Panchayats are non-representative; they do not possess even elementary capacities for

management and execution of programmes; they are yet to develop decision-making abilities and habits; and in most areas non-tribals dominate tribal communities.

It was therefore necessary to create first a number of community workers. They should be assisted and guided by the community development personnel to develop initiative, shoulder responsibilities, and obtain experience of handling situations and programmes. Welfare Councils should function side by side with Panchayats so that they may gradually provide a better and more representative personnel to the Panchayat. A carefully planned distribution of functions under direction and supervision can create right type of panchayats after some time.

The Section finally examined the problem of impact of community development in tribal areas.

The section was of opinion that the nature of impact will vary according to the extent and degree of acculturisation and the competence, drive and strength of development authorities.

The absence of training of development authorities in tribal areas was generally deplored.

Gradualness of development, according to the Section, can produce more durable results.

The Section emphasised the urgency of realising the need for the complete reorganisation of forest economy in tribal areas. Agriculture should be developed as a secondary economy, along with poultry farming, vegetable and forest cultivation, and animal husbandry. Tribal crafts and the commercial development and use of forest products and labour in Reserved Forests could act as supplementary economies for the tribal areas.

The Section desired the enactment of new legislation to replace the existing Forest Acts. The present existence and management of forest villages in Reserved areas required examination, not only to protect the interest of tribals; but to bring the advantages of community development to these villages.

The development of agriculture within and outside the forest areas, should reduce the severity of the impact on the traditional economy of tribals. A more exhaustive study and planned rehabilitation of shifting cultivation was therefore necessary. The structure and functions of the Forest Department needed revision in the light of the needs of forest development; and the Forest Department should be able to develop Forest Extension Service in order to help the people to help themselves.

The impact of education, social education and religious activities of welfare agencies on the culture of the people were not discussed on account of the shortage of time.

Members of the Sections and others were shown educational films on Forest Development, Community Development, and Regional structures of tribal areas by the Extension Division of the Department of Tribal Welfare of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

## REPORT OF THE TRIBAL REPRESENTATIVES SECTION

The Tribal Representatives Sectiốn of the Fifth Tribal Welfare Conference, met in the Conference Hall of Bordi High School on 13th January 1959 at 2-30 p.m. About 200 to 300 delegates and visitors of the institutions and other visitors to the Conference attended the sectional meeting. Shri Williamson Sangma, Minister for Tribal Welfare, Assam, presided over the section. Seven Papers were read at the sessions and the discussions were held thereon.

Shri E. De. Meulder read his paper on "The Tribal Aspirations in Renascent India". It provoked a good deal of thought provoking discussion. The members did not agree with the main principles of his article. They appreciated the welfare work done by the Christian missionaries but they were of the opinion that the tribal way of life should not be hampered. They felt that the gulf between the tribals and non-tribals can be bridged in the near future by the welfare activities that are carried on by the welfare institutions and that the tribals too can be brought to the level of the other sections of the community. The section was of the opinion that the Govt. of India be requested to take effective steps in order that the tribal people may grow freely and spontaneously without any interference from outside people or agencies in bringing about a change in their traditional faith, religion or way of life while carrying on welfare work among them.

The Chairman while summing up the discussion on this subject pointed out that the bad customs should not be allowed to grow. They should die a natural death. The tribals should be allowed to improve their culture. Their life should be moulded in such a way that their progress should not be hindered. For this purpose they require a nursing agency till they stand on their own legs.

Shri P.C. Dave read his paper on "Housing problem of the Backward Clasess in Kutch".

In the course of discussion on this paper the participants therein expressed their opinion that money should not be wasted in giving loans to tribals as they are not in a position to repay them. It would be advisible if the subsidy is given to tribals for their housing schemes, agricultural development etc. Only urban tribals may be given loans.

'Tribal Welfare in general' by Shri D.P. Bilthare and Shri Bhagwat Murmu. "Land problem of Nilgiris tribes" by Dr. S. Narsimhan and Pelican Toda, "Herbal Medicines in the Tribal Areas and their economic exploitation" by Shri Jitpuri, "Creating local leadership among the tribals" by Shri Adityapratap Singh and "The problems of the Adivasis of the Vindya Pradesh" by Shri Vrajraj Singh were some of the articles read at the section and they were discussed at length.

Shri Indrajit Singh, Bombay, Shri Mishra, Deputy Secretary for Tribal Welfare, Orissa, Shri S.N. Singh, Dy Secretary, T.W. Bihar, Smti Toppo, Shri

B.M. Poogh, Shri N. Nityanand Das, Shri Shashi Meiran Aeir, Shri Pagare, Shri R.S. Misra, Shri S. Venkatraman, Shri Tikaram Manjhi, Shri Bhayyaram Munda and Shri Shyam Manohar and a few others took part in the discussions.

A few speakers laid stress on the necessity and usefulness of starting Ashram Schools in all States on the Bombay pattern.

The section observed that the free financial aid should be given to the tribals for excursions (भारत दर्शन) so that their outlook of life may be broadened. The tribals should get encouragement for education and so the award of scholarships should be continued. But at the time of award of the scholarship, the economic status and the financial condition of the recipient's family should be taken into consideration. Those who are financially poor should get the first preference.

It was also pointed out that the scholarship amount should be given in proper time. Very often poor tribals suffer only because they do not get the amount when it is needed. The general trend of opinion of the section was that the State Govt. should be more prompt in distributing scholarships to tribal people and in paying grants to non-official agencies in time so that the work may not suffer specially on that account.

The section emphasised the urgency of starting rural agriculture colleges for the development of tribals. In every State there should be at least one such rural college.

The section desired that 25 per cent of the total expenditure of the welfare work now carried on through State agency should be paid to the non-official agencies and the welfare work carried through them.

The Chairman in his concluding speech thanked the workers and delegates of tribal section for the valuable suggestions they had made in the course of discussion. He said that the tribals should be brought to the same level as others. The tribals too want a prosperous India and the tribals are a part and parcel of our society. The tribals have their problems and they would be solved soon.

In the end Shri N.M. Wadiva, Secretary of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh thanked the Chairman and the representatives of tribal community, officials and the social workers, and others who contributed their articles to the Conference.

# PART 6

# APPENDICES

# भाग छठा

# परिशिष्ट

# APPENDIX I

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED ON 14-1-1959 BY THE FIFTH TRIBAL WELFARE CONFERENCE, HELD AT BORDI, THANA DIST. (BOMBAY STATE) UNDER THE AUSPICES OF BHARATIYA ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH, DELHI.

**Resolution 1.—Life Membership Scheme.**

The Conference expresses its satisfaction at the Scheme of Life Members started by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh with a view to give some security of service to Social Workers among the Adivasis and believes that the scheme will create in the workers enthusiasm to carry on the work continuously in a missionary spirit.

The Conference expresses its deep sense of gratitude to Dr, Rajendra Prasad, Shri G.B. Pant and Shri U.N. Dhebar, who have spared no pains to give the scheme a concrete shape, and hopes that the scheme will be expanded so that the services of Life Workers of Regional Cadre may be availed of.

The Conference appeals to the educated and service-minded youth of the country to dedicate their lives to the service of the tribals, and hopes that the Adivasis will themselves offer their services for this laudable work, resulting in the development of the qualities of local leadership, self-reliance and spirit of service among them.

It is necessary that the public also should give their support to the scheme for expanding it and making it permanent. The Conference therefore appeals to the public as well as to the Government that they should give liberal financial help and grants to implement the scheme successfuily.

**Resolutlon 2.—Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies.**

The experiment of Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies started under the inspiration of the late Shri B.G Kher and the Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai has been a success so far in Bombay State, inasmuch as it has put an end to exploitation of Adivasis by middlemen and the Adivasis have begun to enjoy the full benefit of the forests in the place of contractors, which has developed a sense of self-reliance and corporate life. It has also brought about good relations between the Adivasis and the Forest Department and resulted in the protection of the forests. The Conference therefore is of opinion that such Forest Cooperative Societies should be started in other States as well. The Conference greatly appreciates the recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare in this respect.

The Conference requests the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh to take steps to encourage and implement such schemes as soon as possible in other States also.

**Resolution 3.—Multi-Purpose Blocks.**

The Conference expresses its gratitude to the Govt. of India for starting

Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks in Adivasi areas. The Conference is of opinion that in order to gain the confidence of Adivasis in this work, it is desirable to take the help of experienced workers who have been working for a long time among them with a spirit of sacrifice and missionary zeal.

The Conference hopes that the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh will give its full and active cooperation through its institutions to make the scheme a success.

The Conference requests the Ministry of Home Affairs that at least five Multipurpose Blocks may be conducted, as an experimental measure, by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh through its affiliated institutions so that the purpose of the Blocks may be achieved.

The Conference further requests the Ministry of Home Affairs to make necessary modifications in the scheme, so that the B.A.J. Sevak Sangh may be enabled to work them to suit local conditions on the lines of facilities given by the Bombay State Government for the implementation of Sarvodaya Scheme working successfully in that State.

**Resolution 4.—Gramdan.**

The Conference feels gratified over the popularity among the Adivasis of Gramdan Movement started by Acharya Vinobaji and appeals to Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and its affiliated institutions to give their full support for the expansion of the movement and carry on intensive welfare work in the Gramdan villages, by securing the cooperation of the public and the Government, where and when necessary.

**Resolution 5.—Prohibition.**

The Conference congratulates the States where prohibition has been introduced successfully and requests the other States to follow the same policy in the interest of the Adivasis.

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# भारतीय आदिमजाति सेवक संघ, दिल्ली, द्वारा आयोजित पाँचवी आदिमजाति कल्याण परिषद् में स्वीकृत प्रस्ताव

*प्रस्ताव ?*

भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ ने आदिवासियों की सेवा को स्थायिता देने के उद्देश्य से आजीवन सदस्यों की योजना चालू की है, उसपर संमेलन संतोष व्यक्त करता है। सम्मेलन को पूर्ण विश्वास है कि इस योजना के द्वारा आदिवासियों की मिश्नरी भावना से निरन्तर सेवा को प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा।

आजीवन योजना को मूर्तरूप देने में राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी, श्री पण्डित गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त जी तथा श्री ढेबरभाई ने जिस तत्परता से प्रयत्न किया है, उनके लिए सम्मेलन इन

महानुभावों के प्रति कृतज्ञता व्यक्त करता है।

आशा है उक्त योजना का विस्तार किया जायेगा जिससे क्षेत्रीय स्तर पर भी आजीवन सदस्यों की सेवाएँ उपलब्ध हों।

सम्मेलन देश के शिक्षित और सेवा भावी युवकों और युवतियों को आदिवासियों की सेवा के पुनीत कार्य में जीवन देने के लिए आह्वान करता है। सम्मेलन को विश्वास है कि इस कार्य में स्वयं आदिवासी भाई बहन आगे आवेंगे और उनमें अभिलषित स्थानीय नेतृत्व, आत्म विश्वास और समर्पण की भावना का विकास होगा।

आजीवन सदस्य योजना को स्थायी और व्यापक रूप देने के लिए आवश्यक है कि देश की जनता इसे अपनाए। इसलिए सम्मेलन देशवासियों से और सरकार से अपील करता है कि आजीवन सदस्य योजना की पूर्ति के लिए भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ को उदारता पूर्वक धन दें।

*प्रस्ताव २*

बम्बई राज्य में स्वर्गीय बाला साहेब खेर और श्री मुरारजी देसाई की प्रेरणा से जङ्गल कामगार सहकारी समितियों का जो प्रयोग हुआ है वह पूर्ण सफल रहा है। इससे आदिवासियों का शोषण रुका है, ठेकेदारों के स्थान पर स्वयं आदिवासियों ने जङ्गल में कार्य करके आत्म विश्वास तथा सहकारी जीवन पाया है। इसी प्रकार जङ्गल विभाग तथा आदिवासियों का सौहार्द भी बढ़ा है, और जङ्गल की सुरक्षा में वृद्धि हुई है।

सम्मेलन का निश्चित मत है कि बम्बई राज्य के समान अन्य राज्यों में भी ऐसी सहकारी समितियाँ स्थापित की जायें।

संमेलन को यह जानकर सन्तोष हुआ है कि केन्द्रीय आदिम जाति कल्याण सलाहकार मण्डल ने इस सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक सिफारिश भी की है। संमेलन भारत सरकार के गृह-मन्त्रालय से और भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ से अनुरोध करता है कि बम्बई राज्य के समान अन्य राज्यों में भी उक्त योजना को क्रियान्वित करने के लिए आवश्यक कदम शीघ्र उठाने की चेष्टा करें।

*प्रस्ताव ३*

केन्द्रीय गृह-मन्त्रालय ने आदिम जाति क्षेत्रों में सामूहिक विकास के लिए विशेष रूप से बहु-उद्देशीय विकास ब्लाकों की जो योजना चालू की है, उसपर संमेलन सन्तोष प्रकट करता है। संमेलन के विचार से आदिवासियों का विश्वास प्राप्त करने के लिए ऐसे परखे और अनुभवी व्यक्तियों का सहयोग लेना आवश्यक है, जो वर्षों से आदिवासियों में मिशनरी भावना तथा समर्पण भाव के साथ सेवा कार्य कर रहे हैं।

संमेलन भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ से आशा करता है, कि वह अपनी संस्थाओं के द्वारा उक्त योजना को सफल बनाने में सक्रिय सहयोग देगा।

सम्मेलन भारत सरकार के गृह-मन्त्रालय से प्रार्थना करता है कि प्रयोग के रूप में पांच ब्लाक भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ द्वारा चलावें, इससे उस उद्देश्य को प्राप्त करने में शीघ्र सफलता मिलेगी जिसके लिए उक्त ब्लाकों की योजना चालू की गई है।

संमेलन आशा करता है कि केन्द्रीय गृह-मन्त्रालय योजना को क्रियान्वित करने की पद्धति में

ऐसे कुछ आवश्यक सुधार करेगा जिससे भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ को स्थानीय परिस्थिति के अनुसार थोड़ा फेर बदल करने की सुविधा प्राप्त हो सके।

बम्बई राज्य में सर्वोदय योजना की पूर्ति के लिए ऐसी सुविधाएँ दी जा रही हैं।

*प्रस्ताव ४*

सम्मेलन को यह जानकर खुशी होती है कि पूज्य विनोबाजी का ग्रामदान आन्दोलन आदिवासी समाज में लोकप्रिय हो रहा है। भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ और उससे सम्बन्धित संस्थाओं से अपेक्षा है कि वह अपने अपने क्षेत्रों में इस आन्दोलन को व्यापक बनाएँ और ग्रामदान में प्राप्त ग्रामों में सेवा कार्य सघन रूप से करें, इसमें जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त करें और आवश्यकतानुसार सरकार से भी मदद लें।

*प्रस्ताव ५*

जिन राज्यों में शराब बन्दी जारी की है, सम्मेलन उन्हें धन्यवाद देता है, तथा अन्य राज्यों से भी इस नीति का अनुसरण करने की अपेक्षा करता है।

## APPENDIX II

# MESSAGES

# अखिल भारतीय आदिमजाति कल्याण सम्मेलन बोर्डी के लिये प्राप्त शुभ संदेश

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Vice-President of India* :

It is good to know that the inauguration of the fifth Akhil Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangha Sammelan was done by our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. You always have my best wishes for the success of your endeavours.

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SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *Prime Minister of India* :

He desires me to inform you that he regrets he cannot attend the 5th All-India Tribal Welfare Conference to be held at Bordi on the 12th of January, as he is heavily engaged then.

The Prime Minister, however, sends his good wishes to the Conference,

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**श्री मोरारजीदेसाई,** *वित्त मन्त्री भारत सरकार*

मुझे आशा है कि सम्मेलन में से कार्यकर्त्ताओं को मार्गदर्शन और प्रेरणा मिलेगी। स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के बाद हमने इस क्षेत्र में काफी कार्य किया है लेकिन जब तक आदिम जाति की शिक्षा का और आर्थिक समस्या का सरल उपाय हम नहीं कर सके तब तक हमारा कार्य रुकना नहीं चाहिये। इस मौके पर सम्मेलन के कार्य को मैं शुभ कामनायें भेजता हूं। और इसकी सफलता चाहता हूं।

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SHRI G.M. BAKHSHI, *Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir* :

In the days of slavery they (the tribals) were ignored and neglected but in Republican India those impediments have been removed and they are marching on to progress like their fellow citizens in other parts of India. Freedom will cease to have much meaning if any section of our population remains behind. Progress must be universal and many-sided.

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SHRI V.K. KRISHNA MENON, *Minister of Defence* :

It would have given me great satisfaction and also a source of informed inspiration if I could have been present there.

I regret, however, that it is impossible for me to be present at Bombay about that date. I wish your Conference every success.

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SHRI B.V. KESKAR, *Minister of Information and Broadcasting* :

The work that the Conference has to do is of the highest importance for the future of the Indian society. Please accept my best wishes for the success of your Conference.

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SHRI P.S. DESHMUKH, *Minister of Co-operation* :

I send you my very best wishes for the success of the Conference and the prosperity and progress of the primitive tribes of India.

SHRI S.K. PATIL, *Minister of Transport and Communications* :

I send my good wishes for the success of the Conference.

DR. K.L. SHRIMALI, *Education Minister* :

I wish the Conference every success.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR, *Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs* :

I wish the Conference all success.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH, *Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel* :

I take this opportunity of sending you my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI K.C. REDDY, *Minister for Works, Housing and Supply* :

The welfare and advancement of the tribal groups in the country is of paramount importance to the country. I am happy to know that the matter is receiving earnest attention of our planners, administrators and seasoned social workers. I send my best wishes to the members of the Sevak Sangh and wish the Conference maximum success.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR, *Union Minister for Communications* :

I take this opportunity, to convey my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI D.P. KARMARKAR, *Minister for Health* :

The cause for which the Conference is being held naturally deserves high priority in our national welfare programmes. I wish the Conference all success, and I am quite sure that it will give effective guidance for tribal welfare work in the coming year.

SMTI. VIOLET ALVA, *Deputy Minister for Home Affairs* :

I shall be away in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on that date and, as such, I regret my inability to attend this Conference.

I wish the Fifth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference every success.

SHRI S. FAZL ALI, *Governor of Assam* :

I would have liked to attend the Conference but I regret that I am unable to do so on account of my local engagements. Being, however, deeply interested in the tribal people as a whole, I have much pleasure in sending my message of good wishes and Ashirwad on the occasion of the Conference and hope that the deliberations held at the Conference will result in fruitful and constructive suggestions for the welfare of the tribal people which the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh is so anxious to promote.

SHRI V.V. GIRI, *Governor of Uttar Pradesh* :

The services rendered by the late Thakkar Bapa in the cause of the uplift

of backward and primitive tribes in India are worthy of emulation and intensification until the objective is fulfilled. I am sure under the inspiring guidance of the President of India and other eminent personalities associated with this work, the welfare of these tribes is well assured. I send my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI Y.N. SUKTHANKAR, *Governor of Orissa* :

No country can make any real lasting progress so long as several sections of the population are lagging behind and no serious steps are taken to improve their education, health and economic conditions. It is, therefore, gratifying to find that since Independence several agencies, including the Central and the State Governments, have been doing their best to bring about the uplift of all the backward sections of our population in order to make up for the long neglect they have suffered in the past but there is still much to be done for their advancement. The tribal population has a culture of their own and also a long tradition of inherited skill in certain arts and crafts. We have, however, to take care that in taking steps to improve their economic and social status, their own culture is not destroyed.

The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh deserves full support in the rewarding task of improving the lot of the primitive tribes. I wish the conference all succcss.

SHRI BHIMSEN SACHAR, *Governor of Andhra Pradesh* :

I send my very best wishes for its success.

SHRI GURUMUKH Nihal SINGH, *Governor of Rajasthan* :

The Governor, Rajasthan sends his best wishes on the occasion.

SHRI N.V. GADGIL, *Governor of Punjab* :

He sends his good wishes for the success of the conference.

SMTI. PADMAJA NAIDU, *Governor of West Bengal* :

The Governor conveys her good wishes on the occasion of the Fifth All India Tribal Welfare Conference.

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO, *Governor of Kerala.* :

Tribal welfare is one of the most pressing and at the same time challenging problems confronting the country. I have no doubt that the deliberations of the Conference will help to accelerate progress in the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

I send my best wishes.

SHRI S.L. SILAM, *Speaker, Bombay Legislative Assembly* :

I am sure that the deliberations at the Conference will greatly help in the solution of the problems connected with the welfare of our fellow citizens from the tribal areas.

I am happy to send my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

SHRI J.M. RAINA, *Chief Commissioner, Manipur, Imphal* :

My short stay in Manipur has

brought me into contact with our tribal friends here. I have been very happy to meet them and would be happier still if I could do something for their welfare. Various methods have been tried in the past for achieving this objective. To my mind, the approach has to be a very balanced one whereby we can solve their problems without much interference with the customs and the laws prevalent among the tribals. Yet we have to bring them into the line with modern developments and requirements. I have no doubt, this conference will also be discussing this problem and their decisions will undoubtedly be expected with interest and attention. I wish the conference every success.

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Shri Partap Singh Kairon, *Chief Minister, Punjab* :

Needless to say that welfare of the Tribal people in a welfare State as ours is second to none in importance and it is time that some thing substantial was done to do away with the inequalities that are existing in our system. It will indeed be through such endeavour as also our efforts in other spheres of material prosperity that we would be able to achieve some thing lasting in the annals of human emancipation. The under—dog as well as those deprived of the bounties of nature by cruel destiny, I believe, should find opportunities to shake of their shekles and march hand in hand with their comparatively advanced brethren.

Kindly accept my good wishes for the success of your conference with the noble cause of which I associate myself with all my heart.

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**श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द,** *मुख्य मंत्री, उत्तर प्रदेश*

आशा करता हूं संमेलन जिस उद्देश्य से किया जा रहा है उसको प्राप्त करने में सफल होगा।

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Dr. Hare Krishna Mehtab, *Chief Minister, Orissa.*

The ChiefMinister wishes the Fifth All-India Tribal Welfare Conference every success.

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**श्री गोपी चन्द भार्गव,** *मंत्री, पंजाब*

आज की प्रगति की दौड़ में पिछड़े मानव मात्र की भलाई, सेवा एवं उत्थान के लिये जो भी आयोजन और प्रयत्न किये जांय उनकी प्रत्येक व्यक्ति सराहना करेगा। मुझे आशा ही नहीं अपितु पूर्ण विश्वास भी है कि इस सुअवसर पर उपस्थित प्रत्येक व्यक्ति महामहिम राष्ट्रपति, पूज्य पंत, श्री मेहता एवं ढेबर भाई आदि की उत्प्रेरक वक्तृताओं से एक नए पथ का अनुसंधान तथा अपने में नई स्फूर्ति और नव प्रेरणा प्राप्त करेगा।

मैं ईश्वर से इस आयोजन की सफलता की कामना करता हूं।

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**श्री विचित्र नारायण शर्मा,** *स्वायत्त शासन मन्त्री, उत्तर प्रदेश*

सम्मेलन में सौभाग्य से इतने चोटि के गण्य मान्य नेता आ रहे हैं कि पूर्ण आशा होती है कि सम्मेलन को आशातीत सफलता मिलेगी।

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Shri D.S. Desai, *Minister for Public Works.*

He wishes the Conference every success.

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**श्री चरणसिंह,** *राजस्व मन्त्री, उत्तर प्रदेश*

संमेलन के सफलता पूर्वक आयोजन के लिए मैं अपनी शुभ-कामनाएँ प्रकट करता हूं।

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SMTI. PARKASH KAUR, *Deputy Minister, Social Welfare and Health, Punjab* :

The Tribal people play such an important part in our country that real and lasting progress of the nation is not possible without a shoulder to shoulder advance of these people with the better advanced section of society. I send my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

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SHRI LARSINGH KHYRIEM, *Deputy Minister, Assam.*

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the conference by our President. I wish the Conference success.

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SHRI RASIKLAL PAREKH, *Revenue Minister, Bombay* :

Wish all success and hope that your work will get a fillip by this Conference.

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SHRI MANEKLAL SHAH, *Minister, Local Self Government, Bombay* :

Wish all success for the Conference.

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*Minister for Tribal Welfare, Orissa.*

Hope all round success not only to Conference but also to your mission uplifting age long neglected Adibasis and bringing them in par with others in all schemes of life in all spheres of life.

*Welfare Minister, Bihar.*

Wishing the function all success.

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SHRI HITENDRA DESAI, *Minister for Education, Government of Bombay.*

Wish the Conference all success.

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SHRI R.M. ADANI, *Minister for Prohibition, Village Panchayats and Cottage Industries. Bombay.*

He wishes all success to the function.

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*Commissioner of Kohima, Assam*

Sincere greetings for successful session of the Conference.

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DR. H.N. KUNZRU, *New Delhi.*

I hope that the Conference will draw the attention of both the Central and the State Governments to their tribal people's problems which have not received adequate attention for a long time. I trust that the Conference will be a success.

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**श्री पुरुषोत्तमदास टण्डन,** *इलाहाबाद*

प्रातः स्मरणीय ठक्करबापा के द्वारा स्थापित भारतीय आदिम जाति सेवक संघ के काम को मैं आदर की दृष्टि से देखता हूं। मेरा अनुमान है कि इस सेवक संघ की प्रेरणा से पांचवा अखिल भारतीय कल्याण सम्मेलन होने वाला है। मैं उसमें पहुंच न सकूंगा। सम्मेलन के कार्य की सफलता और आदिम जातियों के दिनों दिन उत्थान का अभिलाषी हूं।

**श्री काका कालेलकर,** *एम०पी०, नई दिल्ली*

बोर्डी को मैं अपना घर मानता हूं। आस पास के प्रदेश के साथ मेरा हार्दिक प्रेम बन्धा हुआ है। तीस-पैंतीस बरस पहले मैंने काफी घूमकर आदिम जाति लोगों के निवास देखे थे और झोंपड़ियाँ खड़ी करने में सहयोग करने का आनन्द भी लूटा था।

संघ के इस पांचवें सम्मेलन को मैं हर तरह की सफलता चाहता हूं। श्री वेकुन्ठलाल मेहता के सभापतित्व में ठोस कार्य जरूर ही होगा।

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**श्री चन्द्रभानु गुप्त,** *लखनऊ*

आदिवासियों की सेवा का कार्य एक पुनीत कार्य है, उनके उत्थान की समस्यायें ऐसी हैं जिनके ऊपर हम सब का ध्यान जाना ही चाहिए, अब जबकि देश गणराज्य में परिवर्तित हो गया है, हर पिछड़े वर्ग को ऊपर उठाना हम सब का मानवीय कार्य है, विश्वास है कि सम्मेलन उन सब प्रश्नों के ऊपर विचार करेगा जो आदिवासियों की प्रगति में सहायता दे सकें। मैं अपनी शुभकामनायें इस सम्मेलन के अवसर पर भेजता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि सम्मेलन के द्वारा और उन विचारों के द्वारा जो सम्मेलन में प्रस्तुत किये जायेंगे, एक नया कदम, आदिम जातियों के उठाने की तरफ हम ले सकेंगे।

In addition to the above, messages wishing the Conference all success were received from the following :

1. Shri Krishra Vallabh Sahay, (Bihar).
2. Director, Deptt. of Anthropology, Government of India.
3. Dr. N. Datta Majumdar, I.A.S. Secretary to Government of Orissa.
4. Shri B. Sarkar, I.C.S., Tribal Welfare Deptt., West Bengal.
5. Shri Atulya Ghosh, M.P.
6. Shri Shakti Bose, Sanchalak G.S. Nidhi W. Bengal.
7. Shri Janardan Pillai, Sanchalak G.S. Nidhi, Kerala.
8. Shri K.V. Datey, Sanchalak G.S. Nidhi Madhya Pradesh.
9. Shri Harihar Vyas, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Jabalpur.
10. Shri Shankar Upadhyay, Dungarpur.
11. Shri S.S. Mishra, S.I.S., Cuttack.
12. Shri R.K. Deshpande, Pleader, Jashpurnagar.
13. Shri Sarladevi Sarabhai.
14. Shri Naga Baba, Bharamore.
15. Shri Karam Singh. (H. Pradesh)
16. Shri Jitendra Mohan Dev Barma, Tripura.

## APPENDIX III

# LIST OF DELEGATES AND VISITORS WHO ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE

*Members of the Executive Committee. (Ex-officio delegates)*

1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
2. Shri U. N. Dhebar.
3. Shri L. M. Shrikant.
4. Shri D. J. Naik.
5. Shri N. M. Wadiwa.
6. Shri Dharamdev Shastri.
7. Shri R. S. Misra.
8. Shri Narayanji.
9. Dr. S. Narasimhan.
10. Shri P. G. Vanikar.
11. Shri Bhayyaram Munda.

*President of the Conference and Chairmen of the Sections. (Ex-officio delegates)*

1. Shri V. L. Mehta, President of the Conference.
2. Shri Jugatram Dave, Chairman of Social Welfare Section.
3. Dr. B. H. Mehta, Chairman of Anthropology Section.
4. Shri Williamson Sangma, Chairman of Tribal Representatives Section.

*Life Members of Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh (Ex-officio delegates)*

1. Shri Sukumar Pagare.
2. Shri D. M. Bidkar.
3. Shri J. H. Chinchalkar.
4. Shri N. V. Bapat.
5. Shri Gauri Shankar Dalmia

*Elected Delegates from Affiliated and Recognised Institutions :*

1. Shri K. Matsyalu, Kovvur.
2. Shri A. K. Patro, Kovvur.
3. Shri C. Sriramulu, Hyderabad.
4. Shri B. Ramdev. Hyderabad.
5. Shri P. C. Pal, Calcutta.
6. Shri Gopinath Sen, Calcutta.
7. Shrimati Savitri Bhandary, Barama.
8. Shri R. N. Patnaick, Keonjhar.
9. Shri B. C. Mahanty, Keonjhar.
10. Shri S. R. Venkataraman, Madras.
11. Shri Pelican, Ootacamund.
12. Shri P. Thathan, Ootacamund.
13. Shri M. V. Kavanthan, Kotagiri.
14. Shri T.A. Solban, Kotagiri.
15. Shri Pettican, Kotagiri.
16. Shri Satyan, Alwaye.
17. Shri L. D. Ninama, Dohad.
18. Shrimati Hirabai Ninama, Dohad.
19. Shri R. B. Paramar, Dohad.
20. Shri Ratan Singh G. Mahida, Rajpipla.
21. Shri D. C. Purohit, Rajpipla.
22. Shri J. G. Natawadkar, Nandurbar.
23. Shri B. G. Chaudhari, Nandurbar.
24. Shri D. I. Vasave, Nandurbar.
25. Shri Valwi, Nandurbar.
26. Shri Amrit Ragho Pawar, Palghar.
27. Shri Tukaramji Gitamaster, Mozari.
28. Shri Kishna Rao Upase, Mozari.
29. Shri M. P. Kolhe, Yeotmal.
30. Shri G. P. Masram. Yeotmal.
31. Shri Madhavbhai Jagabhai, Vedchhi.
32. Shri M. K. Chowdhari, Vedchhi.
33. Shri Narayanbhai Patel, Vedchhi.
34. Shri Bhula bhai, Vedchhi.
35. Chinnathai Rathod, Vedchhi.
36. Shri Bhagwat Dave, Vedchhi.
37. Shri V. L. Agnihotri, Nasik.
38. Shri Dongarram More, Nasik.

39. Shri R. P. Pawar, Nasik.
40. Shri D. P. Bilthare, Mandla.
41. Shri Aditya Pratap Singh, Mandla.
42. Shri Manki Singhraj, Ranchi.
43. Shri Pyare Kerketta, Ranchi.
44. Shri Ram Das Sahu, Ranchi.
45. Shri Bhagvat Murmu, Deoghar.
46. Shri Jitu Kisku, Deoghar.
47. Shri Mahabir Prasad Mahto, Gosaindih.
48. Shri Tikaram Manjhi, Gosaindih.
49. Shri Balram Das, Ghatshila.
50. Shri Bijoy Prasad Navaratanlal, Patna.
51. Shri Bandhi Sha Gond, Patna.
52. Shri S. N. Misra, Allahabad.
53. Shri Shyam Dutt Joshi, Kalsi.
54. Shri Ratanchand Rojhe, Salogra.
55. Shri M. V. Ghule, Lashkar.
56. Shri Lakshmichand Vaishya, Lashkar.
57. Shri Shrivastav, Bhopal.
58. Shri Brajraj Singh, Rewa.
59. Shri Swami Prasad Arjaria, Rewa.
60. Shri C. M. Kedaria, Bombay.
61. Shri P. G. Shah, Bombay.
62. Shri T. Sambayya, Nellore.
63. Shri Jival Naik, Nellore.
64. Shri K. Venkayya, Gurzala.
65. Shri I. Peddeswar Rao, Kovvur.
66. Shri V. V. Dandekar, Palghar.

*Visitors from Affiliated and Recognised Institutions*

1. Shri Ooke Nagamaiah, Hyderabad.
2. Shri Muthuvan. Ootacamund.
3. Shri N. Kambathan, Ootacamund.
4. Shri Ramanathan, Ootacamund.
5. Shri B. Angaran, Kotagiri.
6. Shri S. H. Raju, Kotagiri.
7. Shri K. N. Ajjan, Kotagiri.
8. Shri M. G. Desai, Dohad.
9. Shri N. K. Hathila, Dohad.
10. Shri P. M. Parikh, Dohad.
11. Shri C. M. Dangi, Dohad.
12. Shri D. B. Bamanya ,Dohad.
13. Shri V. K. Nesarta, Dohad.
14. Shri R. D. Padvi, Nandurbar.
15. Shrimati Lakshmi D. Padvi, Nandurbar.
16. Shrimati Usha Valvi, Nandurbar.
17. Shri Tukaram Kohain, Nandurbar.
18. Shri B. Kohain, Nandurbar.
19. Shri Shankerlal D. Gujrati, Nandurbar.
20. Shri Guruji Surji Padvi, Nandurbar.
21. Shri Digambar Narain Padvi, Nandurbar.
22. Shri R. U. Naik, Nandurbar.
23. Shri L. D. Bande, Mulund.
24. Shri S. L. Sirbaiya, Mozari.
25. Shri K. L. Rajgond, Yeotmal.
26. Shri G. L. Gedam, Yeotmal.
27. Shri Shantilal Joshi, Vedchhi.
28. Shri Prabhubhai Patel, Vedchhi.
29. Shri Nana bhai, Vedchhi.
30. Shri Singabhai, Vedchhi.
31. Shri Kanjibhai, Vedchhi.
32. Shri Bhim Singh, Vedchhi.
33. Shrimati Pushpa Behen, Vedchhi.
34. Shrimati Lila Behen, Vedchhi.
35. Shri Keshav Bhai, Vedchhi.
36. Shri Kishore Bhai, Vedchhi.
37. Shri Chhanna bhai, Vedchhi.
38. Shrimati Anandi Behen, Vedchhi.
39. Shri Ramsi Bhai, Vedchhi.
40. Shri Chandrakantha Bhai, Vedchhi.
41. Shri Bhulabhai Gamit, Vedchhi.
42. Shri Maganbhai Gamit, Vedchhi.
43. Shrimati Vani Behen, Vedchhi.
44. Shrimati Amba Behen, Vedchhi.
45. Shri Yaswant bhai, Vedchhi.
46. Shri Rambhai, Vedchhi.
47. Shri Mistrilal, Vedchhi.
48. Shri Manikyalal, Vedchhi.
49. Shri Prabhubhai Patel, Vedchhi.
50. Shri Keshav Bhai Patel, Vedchhi

51. Shri Dayanand Patel, Vedchhi.
52. Shri Nanubhai Patel, Vedchhi.
53. Shri Thakurbhai Naik, Vedchhi.
54. Shri Kalyanji Mehta, Vedchhi.
55. Shri Chimanlalji Bhatt, Vedchhi.
56. Shri Prabhakar Pathak, Vedchhi.
57. Shri S. S. Bhoye, Nasik.
58. Shri N. B. Dixit, Nasik.
59. Shri A. R. Kambait, Nasik.
60. Shri S. D. Kshirasagar, Nasik.
61. Shri Kacharu Bhau Raut, Nasik.
62. Shri Pandurang Sonavane, Nasik.
63. Shri Awari, Nasik.
64. Shri Pardeshi, Nasik.
65. Shri G. L. Marskoley, Mandla.
66. Shri Shyam Manohar, Mandla.
67. Shri Himat Singh, Mandla.
68. Shri Chain Singh, Mandla.
69. Shri D. P. Gurgutia, Deogarh.
70. Shri Ram Sevak Pathak, Lashkar.
71. Shri Dilkhushbhai Patel, Rajpipla.
72. Shri Dilipchand Pandya, Rajpipla.
73. Shri Vir Singh K.Nisarata, Rajpipla.
74. Shri P. Chindusonar, Nandurbar.
75. Shri K. B. Odakha, Nandurbar.
76. Shri T. G. Kokami, Nandurbar.
77. Shri A. M. Joshi, Nandurbar.
78. Shri D. A. Shivankar, Mozari.
79. Shri Shukla, Bombay.
80. Shrimati Hemlata Acharya, Nasik.

*Distinguished Visitors*

1. Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, Govt. of India.
2. Shri Sri Prakash, Governor of Bombay.
3. Shri Shantilal Shah, Minister, Bombay.
4. Shri Raja Naresh Chandra Singh, Minister, M. Pradesh.
5. Shri B. G. Gadhe, Minister, Bombay.
6. Shri Bahadur Bhai Patel, Dy. Minister, Bombay.
7. Shri Shyamrao Patel, Dy. Minister, Bombay.
8. Shri Shivbhanu Solanki, Dy. Minister, M. Pradesh.
9. Shri Bhikhabhai Bhil, Dy. Minister, Rajasthan.
10. Shrimati Jyotirmayi Devi, Dy. Minister, Bihar.
11. Shri S. R. Bhise, Bordi.
12. Shri Shanker Saran, Delhi.
13. Shri Y. V. Mukne, Jawahar.
14. Shri H.G. Patil, Bordi.

*Officials*

1. Shri M. C. Nanavati, Planning Commission, Delhi.
2. Shri B. N. Maheshwari, Dy. Secy., Ministry of Home Affairs. Delhi.
3. Shri T. N. Bahl, Director, Tribal Welfare, M. Pradesh, Raipur.
4. Shri Pradhan, Secretary, to the Government of Bombay.
5. Shri Jaul, Dy. Secretary to the Government of Bombay.
6. Shri Gawai, Dy. Director, Social Welfare, Bombay.
7. Shri Karkhanis, Dy. Director, Social Welfare, Bombay.
8. Shrimati P. P. Naidu, Asst. Chief, Social Welfare, Planning Commission, Delhi.
9. Shri Sinha, Dy. Secy; Government of Bihar.
10. Shri M. D. Gupta, Dy. Director, Tribal Welfare, M. P.
11. Smt. R. C. Toppo, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, Bihar.
12. Shri Rymbai, Under Secretary' Govt. of Assam, Shillong.

13. Shri Nityanand Das, Tribal Research Institute, Orissa.
14. Shrimati N. Das, Orissa.
15. Shrimati Lakra, I/C Training Centre, Ranchi.
16. Dr. T. B. Naik, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara.
17. Shri P. D. Kulkarni, Officer on Special Duty, Planning Commission, Delhi.
18. Dr. Sirsalkar, Gulbarga College, Gulbarga.
19. Shrimati Barua, Director, Handicraft Board, Bombay.
20. Shri Vimal Chandra, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi.
21. Shri P. C. Dave, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Baroda.
22. Shri K. K. Leuva, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Ranchi.
23. Shri Gyanchand, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Raipur.
24. Shri T. Nageshwar Rao, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Visakhapatnam.
25. Shri Kalyanam, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Madras.
26. Shri Damodaran, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Trivandrum.
27. Shri Shashimeiran Aier, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Shillong.
28. Shri S. K. Kaul, Asst. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi.
29. Shri Saxena, Research Officer, Commissioner's office, N. Delhi.
30. Shri Sher Singh Sher, Asst. Station Director AIR, Bombay.
31. Shri Ambalal Vyas, New Capital, Bhubaneshwar.
32. Shrimati Shinde, Social Welfare Board, Bombay.
33. Shrimati Kusum Desai, Social Welfare Board, Bombay.
34. Shrimati Pushpa Desai, Social Welfare Board, Bombay.
35. Shrimati Meenakshi Bakhale, Social Welfare Board, Bombay.
36. Shri Ramteke, Social Welfare Officer, H. Pradesh.

*Other Visitors*

1. Shri Bhaga Bhai Patel, Dharampur.
2. Shri Nanu Bhai M. Desai, Dharampur.
3. Shri Bhabu Bhai Mehta, Dharampur.
4. Shri D. M. Ilpate, Bombay.
5. Shri Bhirgaji, Bombay.
6. Shri Korche, Bombay.
7. Shri Borikar, Bombay.
8. Shri Kumre, Bombay.
9. Shrimati N. D. Ilpate, Bombay.
10. Shri M. K. Sahasrabhudhe, Kolaba.
11. Shri Khare, Kolaba.
12. Shri P. G. Bapat, Kolaba.
13. Shri Shankerrao Khedkar, Datiya.
14. Shri Swami Bhagwan Puri, Datiya.

15. Shri Kantilal Shab, Dhulia.
16. Shri Bhalu bhai Mehta, Dhulia.
17. Shri Hari Bhatsavle, Dhulia.
18. Dr. Ghokale, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Bombay.
19. Shri M. M. Wakhre, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Bombay.
20. Shri Ramchandran, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi.
21. Revd. E. De. Meulder, Ranchi.
22. Shri Chitre, Bordi.
23. Dr. Churi, Bordi.
24. Shri Jagannath Patil, Bordi.
25. Shri Gajanan Johri, Bordi.
26. Shri Thakur Bhai, Bordi.
27. Shri Swami Jitpuri, Delhi.
28. Shri Ram Chinchalikar, Bombay.
29. Mrs. Chinchalikar, Bombay.
30. Shri N. P. Thosar.
31. Shri G. S. Bakshi.
32. Shri H. Desai.