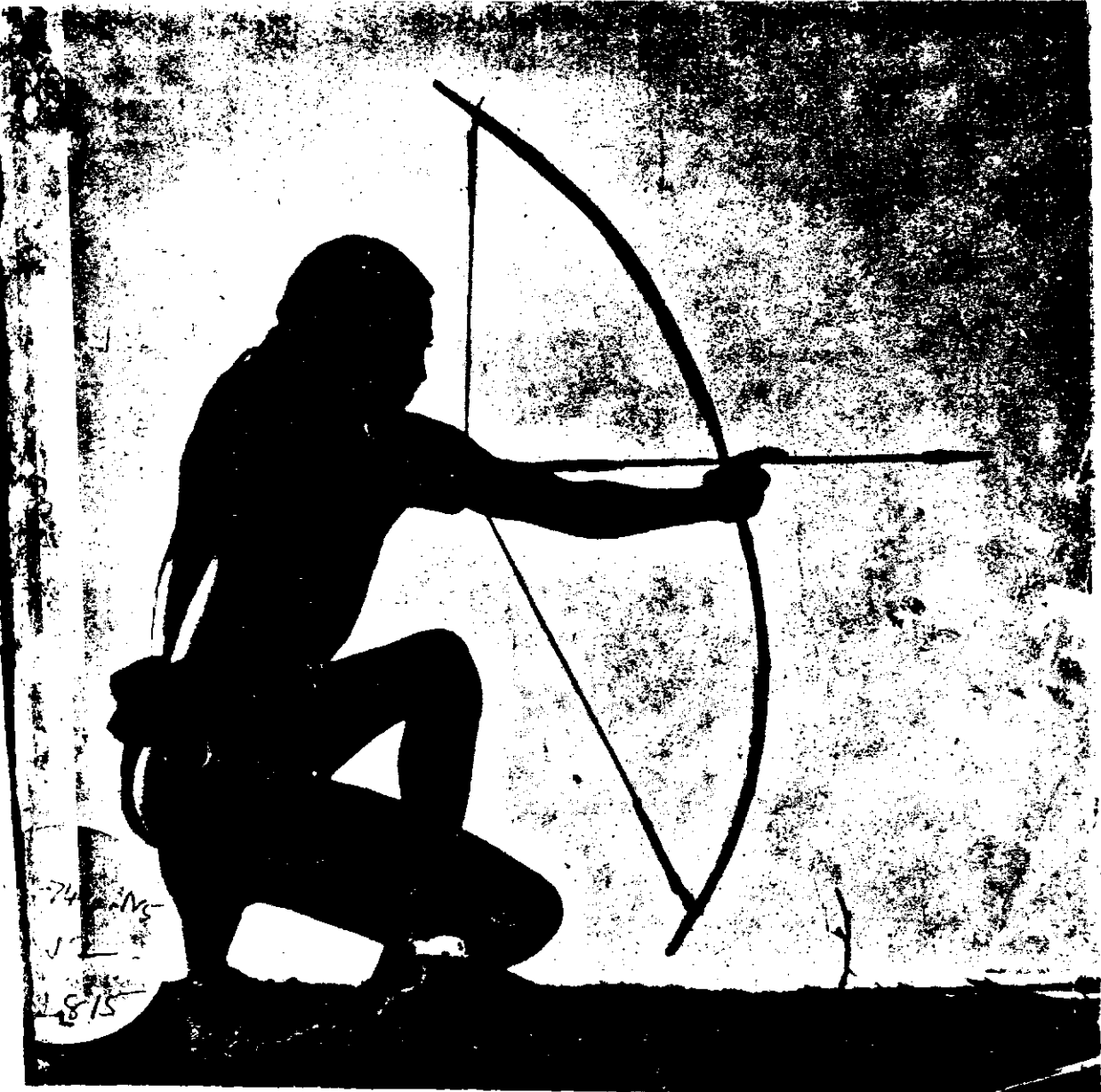


BROCHURE
containing
the speeches delivered at the
CONFERENCE
held in Delhi on the 7th, 8th and 9th June, 1952,
to discuss **PROBLEMS** dealing with



the **SCHEDULED TRIBES** and the **SCHEDULED AREAS**

दूरके करले निजेर बन्धु,

परके करले भाई ।--(मः रविन्द्रनाथ ट्योर)

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**The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, being escorted to the Conference Hall by
Dr. K. N. Katju and Shri L. M. Shrikant.**

FOREWORD

In view of the importance and urgency of the problems of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas and the sumptuous grants made by the Central Government to the various States for the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes and the development of the Scheduled Areas, a conference was held in the Central Hall of Parliament House on the 7th, 8th and 9th June, 1952, with the following two objects in view:—

- (a) to suggest a right approach to a number of problems concerning the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas in various States in India; and
- (b) to make constructive suggestions on the general lines for the practical working of the welfare schemes in the light of experience gained through the working of various schemes of development of various States and non-official institutions interested in the tribal welfare.

The Chief Secretaries of the various State Governments were requested to detail delegates for the conference. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi, was also requested to send their representatives to attend this conference. In addition to the Members of Parliament, well known Anthropologists, Social Workers, Missionaries and others interested in the Tribal welfare work, also attended the conference. The invitees were also requested to submit papers on various subjects connected with the tribal welfare in order to help in the drawing up of the agenda of the conference. On receipt of papers which were altogether 41 in number, it was, however, found that some of these were not up to mark, and therefore it was decided that the conference

should discuss problems concerning the following three subjects only:—

- (i) Education of Tribals (No. of papers received—10);
- (ii) Tribal economy (No. of papers received—6);
- (iii) Grants-in-aid given to State Governments under Article 275 of the Constitution (No. of papers received—11).

2. The task of the conference was made easy on account of the previous circulation of the memorandum on Tribal Welfare adopted by the Tribal Committee of the Indian Conference of Social Work at its meeting held in Calcutta on the 29th and 30th December, 1951, (of which I happened to be the Chairman). The conference was the first of its type where social workers of various institutions connected with tribal welfare work, the tribal representatives in Parliament and State Legislatures and well known Anthropologists met at a common platform to discuss various problems connected with the tribal welfare. The conference also made it possible for the Officers-in-charge of the Tribal Welfare in the various States to meet together for the first time for exchange of views with the Central Government regarding the grants given to the States from Centre for the welfare schemes. As the conference was held in the Central Hall of the Parliament House, Members of Parliament, specially the Tribal representatives, showed a very keen interest in the conference and took an active part in its proceedings by delivering speeches. They desired to have a bigger conference to which all the Scheduled Tribe Members of the various Legislatures in the different States should be invited. I, however, feel that if we are to come to grips with the problems of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas, a quiet and

cooler atmosphere is absolutely necessary for the conference with a limited number of people really interested in the subjects, and who have given sufficient time and thought to them, to partake in it.

3. The conference was inaugurated by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and addressed by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the Minister for Home Affairs, Dr. K. N. Katju, who was also the Chairman of the conference. For want of time it had not been possible to pass resolutions in the conference. This Brochure contains the addresses of the President, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Home Affairs and also the various speeches that were delivered at the conference, for general information. The general views of the conference are indicated in my concluding Hindi and English speeches. I have also given in a separate Brochure some of the papers which were received on the three subjects discussed in the conference. It has not been possible to print all the speeches delivered in the conference on account of the bulkiness of the Brochure. For the same reason, most of the speeches printed in this Brochure, have been abbreviated in order to include only such matter as had a direct bearing on the subjects discussed. I hope that the publication of the Brochure will indicate the lines

on which various problems concerning the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas are to be tackled. It is also hoped that in future more time will be given by all concerned to the study of these problems. It will not be out of place to mention here that the total expenditure on the conference has not amounted to more than Rs. 3,000 which is a very modest sum taking into consideration the conveniences and the facilities given to all those who attended the conference.

4. I am thankful to the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Kingsway, Delhi, for making arrangements for the stay of non-official invitees to the conference and for the trouble and expense they have undertaken in making their stay comfortable. I am also thankful to the authorities concerned of the Delhi University who also placed a few rooms in the Gwyer Hall Hostel at our disposal for the delegates to stay in. Thanks are no doubt due to all those persons who very kindly attended this conference and made it a success.

L. M. SHRIKANT,
Commissioner

for

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

New Delhi,

the 19th September, 1952.

M E S S A G E S

106, Constitution House,
New Delhi.

2nd June 1952.

My dear Lakshmidas Bhai,

I thank you for your kind invitation to the Conference to discuss problems concerning Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas to be held on Saturday the 7th June 1952. I regret my inability to attend it. The problems which are to be considered by the Conference demand urgent solution if our Scheduled Tribes brethren are to be brought to the level of the advanced classes socially and economically as they have already been brought politically by means of the introduction of adult franchise. I hold the view that the only way of helping these classes socially is by the introduction and rapid spread of Basic Education or Nai Talim to be imparted by specially trained, competent and sympathetic teachers. For the solution of their economic troubles, work by starting their co-operative societies on the model we have adopted in Bombay will be an effective remedy. We must have

a number of selfless workers who are prepared to live amidst them and in their conditions and help them against exploitation by money-lenders, traders and unscrupulous Government employees. As regards the economic development of tribal areas, we should put special emphasis on developing cottage and village industries suitable to local conditions and bring a modern outlook to bear on them. Mere grants-in-aid to the present administrative machinery will not achieve any results. I thank you and wish your deliberations all success.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) B. G. Kher.

To

Shri L. M. Shrikant,

Commissioner for Scheduled Castes
and Scheduled Tribes, South Block,
New Delhi.

चीफ मिनिस्टर,

गवर्नमेंट आफ बम्बई ।

सेक्रेटरियेट, बम्बई ।

ता० ५-६-५२

साई श्री श्रीकान्त,

हिन्द के पिछड़े हुए वर्ग के प्रश्नों की चर्चा के लिये वहाँ परिषद रखी गई है यह जान कर मुझे आनन्द हुआ । अपने देश में हरिजनों और पिछड़े हुए वर्ग की जन संख्या करोड़ों से गिनी जाती है । उन लोगों की उन्नति किये बिना हम कभी आगे नहीं जा सकते । कम से कम सब के लिये खाना, कपड़ा और मकान का सब से पहले प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए । शिक्षण का प्रबन्ध भी इतना ही अनिवार्य है । गांधी जी ने शुरू से ही इस प्रश्न का महत्व देख लिया था और स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के अपने कार्यक्रम में उस को

प्रथम स्थान दिया था । कांग्रेस भी हमेशा आदिम जाति के उद्धार का कार्य करती रही है । अपने विधान में भी इस प्रश्न पर पूरा ध्यान दिया गया है और केन्द्रीय और प्रान्तीय सरकारें खास महकमों रख कर इस कार्य पर ध्यान दे रही हैं । मुझे आशा है कि थोड़े ही वर्षों में हम हरिजनों और आदिम जाति के उद्धार के कार्य को पूरा कर सकेंगे और भारत के सब नागरिक स्वराज्य का सच्चा फायदा उठा सकेंगे ।

आप के अहम कार्य की में सफलता चाहता हूँ ।

आप का—

हस्त० मुरारजी देसाई

INAUGURAL SPEECHES

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad

I am very happy that you, who have been devoted to the cause of the tribal people in your different ways and have by now acquired familiarity with the problems which confront the tribal people and those who seek to serve them, have gathered in this Conference to give a concerted thought to this great problem and to devise a co-ordinated plan of service of the tribal people. The Constitution of India laid a mandatory duty on the Government of the land to give its special attention to this problem. To discharge this mandatory obligation the Government appointed a special officer to look after this work. You all know Shri Lakshmidas Shri Kant. The cause of the tribal people is and has been his life's mission. But the problem is so complicated and intricate that it needs the co-operation of many minds and so it is that you are meeting here today to make your valuable contribution to its fuller understanding and to the devising of effective ways for its early solution.

We have in India a large population known as the Scheduled Tribes of nearly 2 crores. They are spread over the whole country but their population is concentrated very largely in the States of Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Bharat, Madras and Rajasthan. There are many problems relating to them which need handling in a sympathetic and imaginative way. They differ from the other population of the country in many respects, for example they have different languages, different customs and different modes of living, and generally speaking they can easily be distinguished from the others on account of these differences. But even amongst themselves, they differ very considerably from one another. Their languages differ, so also do many of their customs. It becomes difficult to handle their problems on account of this variety and these differences that are found amongst them. In many parts of the country they have been occupy-

ing hilly jungle tracts, and are thus not easily accessible, which has been one of the reasons for their remaining more or less cut off from the rest of the community. They have not unnaturally remained behind others in education, and generally speaking their economic condition also is poor. In some places they have taken to agriculture, but in many places, they are not settled agriculturists and whatever of agriculture they have is of a very primitive nature. They have old cottage industries like spinning and weaving and many of the tribes weave many artistic designs and live in very clean and artistically constructed houses. They are simple, but for that reason not any the less artistic. Except in parts which are infested with malaria, they maintain good health because of their simple and open life. But generally speaking, they do not have any of the modern amenities of life. Christian missionaries from various countries of the world have worked amongst them and at great sacrifice have spread education and generally helped in effecting improvement in their living conditions. They have also been able to convert to Christianity a considerable number from amongst them. There has been another unknown and perhaps unperceived movement going on for their assimilation with the adjoining population, and especially in the parts where they reside the fringe area is inhabited by people, many of whom must have at some stage or other formed part of the tribal population there. But they have become so assimilated with, and absorbed in the society of the locality that they are no longer distinguishable from others and are easily distinguishable from the tribals. My own belief is that there has been a considerable intermixture of blood between the tribal people and other Indians and he would be a bold man who would say that there has been no admixture of tribal blood, say for example, amongst many of the so-called higher castes of the Hindus in

Bihar. Because of their backwardness in education, there have not been people wanting who have not scrupled to exploit them for their own purposes. The problem therefore which has to be tackled on a large scale is to create facilities which will enable the tribal people to come in line with others in the matter of education and economic development.

The question arises—what is the kind of advancement and progress that we advocate for them? Will it be regarded as a progressive step if they become assimilated with the rest of the society, or is it desirable to provide facilities for their economic and other development in their own line, maintaining their own customs, mode of living and culture? Whatever the line that may be adopted, one thing should be accepted and adhered to in all circumstances. There can be, and should be, no idea or intention of forcing anything on them either by way of religion, language or even mode of living and customs. Even where we feel that the religion or the life that is offered is better than theirs, there is no justification for forcing it upon them against their will. My own idea is that facilities for education and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them and it should be left to them to choose whether they would like to be assimilated with, and absorbed by the surrounding society, or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence. In India with its variety of life, there is enough room for tribal people to carry on their separate social existence if they so desire. If they find, however, that from their own point of view it would be better for them to get assimilated, they will do it without any large-scale effort on the part of others. In other words, personally I am for service to them uninfluenced by any consideration of winning them over for particular groups, religious or other. It is only in that way that we can win their confidence, and even for raising their

standard of living and improving them educationally, it is necessary to win their confidence first.

Under the Constitution we have got to take special care of them, and funds have to be provided to help them. As I have said, the problem will differ not only from State to State, but also from area to area or region to region within the same State, and different solutions will have to be found in different places. It is therefore not possible to lay down any one programme which will be acceptable and desirable for all except in general terms and I would like to lay down that programme in general terms according to my own opinion, which has been formed after some study of the problem and some association with the work that is being done amongst them.

(1) The first and the foremost thing which has to be done is to encourage the spread of education from the lowest to the highest standard. The difficulty that will have to be encountered would be with regard to text books and the language in which they should be written. Personally I think that in the lowest classes the only language that can be used is the mother-tongue of the child. If there are no books available, they should be prepared. If there is no script, some prevalent script should be accepted. Personally I should think that like other children, tribal children also will have to acquaint themselves with two scripts—one will be the script of the language which is prevalent round about them, and the other will be the Hindi script which, according to the Constitution, is going to be the script of India. It will perhaps be desirable to introduce the Hindi script for all tribal languages because in any case the tribal people also have to learn Hindi at some stage or other for all-India purposes, and in the absence of any script of their own, it is much better that their languages should adopt the script which will be the most prevalent script and which

as a matter of fact is even today the most prevalent script in the country. I also think that the basic form of education will suit them very well and wherever any educational programme has to be initiated, it is much better to start with that programme of basic education. To enable the poorer section amongst them to take advantage of these educational institutions, they should be given not only free education and books, etc., but free hostel accommodation, and scholarships should be given to them on as extensive a scale as the finances can permit because there is a great leeway to make up.

(2) For improving their economic condition I think efforts should be made to settle them on land. In some places they have taken to settled agriculture. This should be encouraged, and it should be made difficult, if not impossible, for others to cheat them of their land on which they are settled and which they are cultivating. I know that in some places transfer of land is prohibited or restricted. That should ordinarily be the law, of course taking care that by too rigid restriction they may not lose their sense of proprietary right in the land. They are very fond of their forest life and they also derive many advantages from forests. While the protection and the preservation of forests as a national asset is necessary, care should be taken not to deprive them of facilities which they have been enjoying and which are of help to them. There are many tribes which have not taken to settled agriculture and take recourse to shifting cultivation. Efforts should be made to settle them on land and shifting cultivation should be discouraged. For this, not only propaganda but demonstration will be required so that they may see that on the whole settled agriculture is more profitable. Necessary help, financial and otherwise, should be given to induce them to take to settled life.

(3) Government should take steps to give them employment in the public services for which suitable candidates with minimum qualifications may be available.

(4) Their artistic taste and natural capacity should be availed of by the State by encouraging them to take to occupations which suit them. With training and encouragement, there is no reason why they should remain behind others in any occupation, and in the educational curricula provision should be made for giving them necessary occupational training. Those who go in for higher education will naturally take to occupations and professions suitable for that class of people and encouragement should be given to them in those lines.

(5) They have their own tribal organisations for dealing with social and other matters. These may be encouraged to come in line with panchayats which are being started and fostered by the States. As their population is in a way concentrated in particular localities, these panchayats will very largely be exclusively manned by them and it is likely that they will run them according to their own notions subject to the law. I think that that should be encouraged.

(6) Above all, efforts should be made to make them feel that they are an important and integral part of the nation and they have to play their part in it as any other community or group in the country.

The Conference is going to consider various aspects of the broad problem, with particular reference I understand to the question as to how the grant which the Government is making can be best utilised. I have indicated some of the items on which what Government is in a position to spend can be usefully employed, and I would

leave it to the members of the Conference to consider various aspects and

give their own indications as to how best they can be served.

राष्ट्रपात डा० राजन्द्र प्रसाद

मुझे इस बात से बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि आप लोग जो कि जन-जातियों के हित में अपने अपने तरीकों से कार्य करने में रत रहे हैं और जिन्हें जन-जातियों और उनकी सेवा करने का प्रयास करने वालों के सामने आने वाली समस्याओं से अब तक काफी परिचय हो गया है आज इस सम्मेलन में इस विचार से समवेत हुए हैं कि आप लोग इस महान समस्या पर सम्मिलित रूप से विचार करें और जन-जाति लोगों की सेवा करने के लिये एक समन्वित योजना तैयार करें। भारत के संविधान ने देश की सरकार का यह अनिवार्य कर्तव्य विहित कर दिया है कि वह इस समस्या पर विशिष्ट ध्यान दे। अपने इस अनिवार्य कर्तव्य के पालन करने के लिए सरकार ने इस कार्य की देख-भाल करने के लिए एक विशिष्ट पदधारी नियुक्त किया है। आप सब लोग श्री लक्ष्मीदास श्रीकान्त को जानते हैं। जन-जातियों के हितार्थ कार्य करना उनके जीवन का मिशन है और अब तक रहा है। किन्तु यह समस्या इतनी उलझी हुई और जटिल है कि इस के लिये अनेक विचारवानों के सहयोग की आवश्यकता है और इसलिये आज आप यहाँ एकत्रित हुए हैं कि आप इस समस्या के स्वरूप को और अधिक स्पष्ट करने तथा इसके शीघ्र सुलझाने के लिए प्रभावी कार्यक्रम तैयार करने के लिये अपना महत्वपूर्ण अंशदान कर सकें।

अनुसूचित जन-जातियों के नाम से ज्ञात लोगों की भारत में काफी आबादी है। उनकी संख्या लगभग २ करोड़ के है। वे समस्त देश में फैले हुए हैं। किन्तु उनकी आबादी का बड़ा भाग आसाम, बिहार, बम्बई, उड़ीसा, मध्यप्रदेश, पश्चिमी बंगाल, मध्य भारत, मद्रास और राजस्थान के राज्यों में है। उनसे सम्बन्धित समस्याएँ अनेक हैं जिनका सहानुभूतिपूर्ण और समझ बूझ से हल करना आवश्यक है। देश की अन्य आबादी से वे बहुत बातों में भिन्न हैं। उदाहरणार्थ उनकी भाषायें विभिन्न हैं, उनके रस्म-रिवाज भिन्न हैं उनके रहन सहन का तरीका अलग है और आम

तौर पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि वे इन विभेदों के कारण अन्य लोगों से सहज में ही अलग पहचाने जा सकते हैं। आपस में भी वे लोग एक दूसरे से बहुत विभिन्न हैं। उनकी भाषाएँ विभिन्न हैं और उनके रीति रिवाज भिन्न हैं। जो विभेद और विभिन्नताएँ उनमें पाई जाती हैं उनके कारण उनकी समस्या को सुलझाना मुश्किल हो जाता है। देश के अनेक भागों में वे जंगल भरे पहाड़ी इलाकों में रहते रहे हैं और इसलिये उन तक पहुंचना आसान बात नहीं है और अन्य कारणों में से यह भी एक कारण है जिसकी वजह से वे समाज के अन्य लोगों से न्यूनाधिक अलग बने रहे हैं। यह बात अस्वाभाविक नहीं है कि वे लोग अन्य लोगों से शिक्षा में पिछड़े रहे हैं और आमतौर से यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति भी खराब है। कुछ स्थानों में तो उन्होंने खेतीबाड़ी शुरू कर दी है किन्तु अनेक स्थानों में स्थायी दृष्टि से बसे हुए कृषक वे अभी नहीं हो गये हैं और जो कुछ खेती-बाड़ी वे करते हैं वह भी बहुत ही पुराने युग की सी है। उनके यहाँ कातने बुनने की किस्म के कुछ कुटीर उद्योग हैं और कुछ जन जातियाँ तो बुनावट में बड़े ही सुन्दर डिजाइन डाल लेती हैं और वे साफ़-सुधरे और खूबसूरत से बने हुए धरों में रहते हैं। उनका रहन-सहन सादा है किन्तु साथ ही वह बहुत ही कलात्मक भी है। जिन प्रदेशों में जाड़ा बुखार होता है उनके अतिरिक्त अन्य प्रदेशों में उनका स्वास्थ्य उनके सादा जीवन और खुली हवा में रहने के कारण अच्छा होता है। किन्तु आमतौर से यह कहा जा सकता है कि जीवन की आधुनिक सुविधाओं में से उन्हें कोई भी प्राप्त नहीं है। संसार के विभिन्न देशों के ईसाई मिशनरियों ने उनमें काफी काम किया है और बड़े त्याग से उनमें शिक्षा का प्रसार किया है और उनकी रहन-सहन की हालतों में भी सुधार करने में साधारणतया सहायता की है। वे लोग अच्छी संख्या में उन्हें ईसाई बनाने में भी कामयाब हुए हैं। आस पास की आबादी में घुलमिल जाने की एक अन्य अज्ञात और सम्भवतः अदृष्ट क्रिया भी बराबर

हो रही है और विशेषतया जिन प्रदेशों में वे रहते हैं उनके छोर वाले क्षेत्रों में आज भी ऐसे लोग बसे हुए हैं जिनमें से अनेक किसी न किसी समय-पर वहां की जन-जातियों की आबादी के भाग अवश्य रहे होंगे। किन्तु वे लोग उस प्रदेश की समाज में इस प्रकार आत्मसात् हो गये हैं और घुलमिल गये हैं कि अब यह संभव नहीं है कि उन लोगों को वहां के अन्य लोगों से अलग पहचाना जा सके और जन-जातियों से तो वे सहज में ही अलग पहचानें जा सकते हैं। मेरा अपना यह विश्वास है कि जन-जातियों और अन्य भारतीयों के बीच में बहुत काफी रक्त-अभिमिश्रण हुआ है और यदि कोई यह कहे कि उदाहरणार्थ तथाकथित बिहार के हिन्दुओं की उच्च जातियों में से अनेकों में ऐसा अभिमिश्रण नहीं हुआ है तो वह सचमुच में ही अनुचित साहस करने का बोधी होयेगा। ऐसे लोगों का अभाव नहीं है जो अपने स्वार्थ के लिए इन लोगों के शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में पिछड़े होने के कारण इन का शोषण करने में हिचकिचाहट नहीं करते। अतः बड़े पैमाने पर जिस समस्या का हल हमें करना है वह वही है कि हम ऐसी सुविधायें पैदा करें जो इन जन-जातियों को शिक्षा और आर्थिक विकास के क्षेत्र में अन्य लोगों के स्तर पर आने में समर्थ कर सकें।

सवाल पैदा होता है कि किस प्रकार की उन्नति और प्रगति हम उनके लिए चाहते हैं? क्या यह बात प्रगतिशील समझी जायेगी यदि वे आज के अनेक भागों में घुलमिल जाते हैं अथवा क्या यह वांछनीय नहीं है कि उन्हें ऐसी सुविधायें प्रदान की जायें जिन से वे अपनी ही तौर पर और अपनी रीति-रिवाजों और रहन-सहन और संस्कृति को बनाये रख कर भी अपना आर्थिक और अन्य प्रकार का विकास कर सकें? जो कोई भी तरीका अपनाया जाये एक बात तो मान लेनी ही है और हर हालत में उस पर चलना ही है। वह यह है कि धर्म, भाषा, रहन-सहन, अथवा रीति-रिवाजों की दृष्टि से उन पर किसी चीज को लादने का विचार या अभिप्राय न तो हो सकता है और न होना चाहिये ही। उस अवस्था में भी जब

कि हमारी यह भावना हो कि जिस धर्म या जीवन की रीति-नीति को हम उन्हें देना चाहते हैं वह उनकी अपने धर्म, और रीति-नीति से अच्छी है यह बात बिल्कुल न्यायसंगत नहीं हो सकती है कि उनकी इच्छा के विरुद्ध हम उसे उन पर लादें। मेरा अपना विचार है कि उनकी शिक्षा के लिए और उनके आर्थिक जीवन में साधारण दृष्टि से सुधार के लिये हमें उन्हें सुविधायें प्रदान करनी चाहिये और यह बात उन पर छोड़ देनी चाहिये कि वे अपने चारों ओर के समाज से घुलमिल जाना या आत्मसात् हो जाना चाहते हैं अथवा अपना अलग जन-जातीय अस्तित्व बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। अपने यहां की रहन-सहन की विभिन्नताओं के कारण भारत में जन-जातियों के लिये इस बात के लिये पर्याप्त मौका है कि यदि वे ऐसा चाहें तो वे अपना पृथक सामाजिक अस्तित्व बनाये रखें। किन्तु यदि उनको ऐसा लगे कि उनके अपने ही हित की दृष्टि से उनके लिये यह बेहतर होगा कि वे इस प्रकार घुलमिल जायें तो दूसरे लोगों की ओर से बिना किसी महत् प्रयास के स्वयं वे ही ऐसा कर लेंगे। मेरा व्यक्तिगत विचार यह है कि किसी विशिष्ट वर्ग, धर्म अथवा अन्य समूह में उन्हें मिला देने के किसी भी विचार से प्रभावित न हो कर उनकी सेवा की जायें। इसी रीति से हम उनके विश्वास-पात्र बन सकते हैं और यह तो आवश्यक ही है कि उनके जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा करने के लिए और शिक्षा की दृष्टि से उनमें सुधार करने के लिये सर्वप्रथम उनका विश्वास प्राप्त किया जायें।

संविधान के अनुसार हमें उनकी विशिष्ट देखभाल करनी है और उनकी सहायता के लिये हमें रूपा लगाता है। जैसा कि मैंने कहा है यह समस्या एक राज्य से दूसरे राज्य में ही विभिन्न न होगी वरन् एक राज्य के ही एक क्षेत्र से दूसरे क्षेत्र में, एक प्रदेश से दूसरे प्रदेश में भी विभिन्न होगी। और विभिन्न स्थानों में इस के सुलझाने के लिये विभिन्न प्रकार के हल निकालने होंगे। अतः यह सम्भव नहीं है कि साधारण बातों के अतिरिक्त अन्य बातों के लिये भी कोई एक ही कार्यक्रम बना दिया जाये जो सब को स्वीकार्य हो और जो सब के

लिये वांछनीय हो। मैं केवल साधारण बातों के बारे में ही वैसा कार्यक्रम अपने विचार के अनुसार आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जो कि इस समस्या के कुछ अध्ययन के पश्चात् और उनमें जो काम किया जा रहा है उस काम से सम्पर्क रहने के कारण बनाया गया है।

१. सर्वप्रथम और सर्वोपरि जो बात हमें करनी है वह यह है कि निम्नतम श्रेणी से लेकर उच्चतम श्रेणी तक की शिक्षा के प्रसार को हम प्रोत्साहन दें। इस बारे में जिन कठिनाइयों का सामना हमें करना पड़ेगा वे पाठ्य-पुस्तकों के सम्बन्ध में होंगी और इस बारे में होंगी कि वे पाठ्य-पुस्तकें किस भाषा में लिखी जायें। व्यक्तिगत दृष्टि से मेरा यह विचार है कि निम्नतम कक्षाओं में तो केवल जिस एक भाषा का प्रयोग किया जा सकता है वह तो केवल बालक की मातृभाषा ही हो सकती है। यदि ऐसी पुस्तकें उसमें नहीं हैं तो वे तैयार करनी चाहियें। यदि कोई लिपि नहीं है तो किसी प्रचलित लिपि को अपना लेना चाहिये। मेरा यह विचार है कि अन्य बालकों की तरह ही जन-जातियों के बालकों को भी अपने को दो लिपियों से परिचित करना होगा। एक तो उस भाषा की लिपि होगी जो उनके चारों ओर बोली जाती है और दूसरी हिन्दी लिपि होगी। संविधान के अनुसार भारत की लिपि हिन्दी होने वाली है। संभवतः यह वांछनीय होगा कि सब जन-जातियों की भाषा के लिये हिन्दी लिपि को ही अपना लिया जाये क्योंकि हर हालत में जन-जाति लोगों को हिन्दी तो किसी न किसी अवस्था में अखिल भारतीय प्रयोजनों के लिये सीखनी ही होगी और उनकी अपनी किसी लिपि के अभाव में यह कहीं बेहतर है कि उनकी भाषा उस लिपि को अपनाये जो सर्वाधिक व्यापक लिपि होने वाली है और जो वास्तव में आज भी देश में सर्वाधिक व्यापक लिपि है। मेरा यह भी विचार है कि बुनियादी तालीम उनके लिये बहुत उपयुक्त होगी। और जहाँ कहीं भी शिक्षा का कोई कार्यक्रम आरम्भ किया जाना है वहीं यह बहुत बेहतर होगा कि वह बुनियादी तालीम के कार्यक्रम से आरम्भ किया जाये। उनमें से गरीब

लोगों को इन शिक्षा संस्थाओं से लाभ उठाने के लिये समर्थ बनाने के लिए यह उचित है कि उनको न केवल निःशुल्क शिक्षा दी जाये और किताबें ही बिना मूल्य की दी जायें वरन् यह भी आवश्यक है कि उन्हें छात्रावासों में भी स्थान दिया जाये और जहाँ तक देश के वित्तीय साधनों के अन्दर सम्भव हो बड़ी तादाद में उनको छात्रवृत्तियाँ दी जायें क्योंकि इस क्षेत्र में भी उनको अभी बहुत कुछ कमी पूरी करनी है।

२. मैं यह समझता हूँ कि उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये उनको भूमि पर बसाने के प्रयास करने चाहियें। कुछ स्थानों पर तो उन्होंने स्थायी दृष्टि से खेतीबाड़ी करनी आरम्भ कर दी है। उनको इस सम्बन्ध में प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिये और यह बात यदि असम्भव नहीं तो कठिन तो कर ही देनी चाहिये कि अन्य लोग धोके से वह जमीन उनसे न ले लें जिस पर वे बसे हुए हैं और जिस पर वे खेतीबाड़ी कर रहे हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि कुछ स्थानों में भूमि को मुक्तकिल करना या तो निषिद्ध है और या सीमित कर दिया गया है। साधारणतया यही कानून होना चाहिये। हाँ, इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि कहीं बहुत ज्यादा कठोर बाधाओं से उनके दिल से भूमि के स्वामित्व की भावना ही दूर न हो जाये। वे लोग अपने वन्य जीवन से बहुत मोह रखते हैं और उन्हें वनों से बहुत लाभ भी है। ठीक है कि राष्ट्रीय निधि के रूप में वनों की आवश्यकता है और उन्हें बनाये रखने की आवश्यकता है। किन्तु जहाँ यह ठीक है वहीं इस बात का भी ऐतिहासिक बरतना चाहिये कि उन्हें उन सुविधाओं से वंचित न कर दिया जाये जिनका कि वे अब तक उपभोग करते रहे हैं और जिन से कि उनको काफी मदद मिलती है। ऐसी अनेक जन-जातियाँ हैं जो स्थायी कृषि में अब तक नहीं लगी हैं और जो दहिया कृषि कर लेती हैं। इस बात का प्रयास करना चाहिये कि उन्हें जमीन पर बसा दिया जाये और दहिया खेती को प्रोत्साहन नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये। इस के लिये केवल उन्हें प्रोत्साहन देना ही पर्याप्त न होगा बल्कि प्रमाण की भी आवश्यकता होगी कि जिससे

वे लोग यह देख सकें कि सब बातों को ध्यान में रख कर यह प्रत्यक्ष है कि अपेक्षाकृत स्थायी कृषि ही अधिक लाभदायक हो सकती है। वैज्ञानिक और अन्य लाभकारी आवश्यक सहायता देकर उनको इस प्रकार के स्थायी जीवन में लगने के लिये तैयार करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

३. सरकार को लोक सेवाओं में उन्हें नौकरी देने के लिये कदम उठाना चाहिये जिनके लिये कि उनमें से न्यूनतम योग्यता वाले अभ्यर्थी प्राप्य हैं।

४. उनकी कलात्मक अभिरुचि और उनकी स्वाभाविक क्षमता से लाभ उठा कर राज्य को उन्हें ऐसे धन्वों में लगा कर प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये जो उनके लायक हों। यदि प्रशिक्षण और प्रोत्साहन उन्हें दिया गया तो कोई कारण नहीं कि वे अन्य लोगों से किसी धन्वे में क्यों पीछे रहें और शिक्षा के विषय क्रम में उन को धन्वों की आवश्यक प्रशिक्षण देने के लिये प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। जो लोग उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करते हैं वे लोग अपने वर्ग के लोगों के लिये समुचित धन्वों और पेशों को स्वभावतः अपना लेंगे और इसी दिशा में उनको प्रोत्साहन भी देना चाहिये।

५. अपनी सामाजिक और अन्य समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये उनके अपने जन-जातीय संगठन हैं। इन संगठनों को इस बात के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिये कि वे विभिन्न राज्यों द्वारा शुरू

और पोषित की जाने वाली पंचायतों के साथ कदम-ब-कदम चलें। क्योंकि देश के एक विशिष्ट भाग में उनकी आबादी बहुत संकेन्द्रित है इसलिये ये पंचायतें अधिकतर ऐसी होंगी जिनके वे ही लोग कार्यकर्ता होंगे और यह बिल्कुल सम्भव है कि वे लोग कानून के अधीन रह कर उन्हें अपने विचारों के अनुकूल ही चलायेंगे। मेरा विचार है कि ऐसा करने के लिये उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिये।

६. इन सब से महत्व की बात यह है कि ऐसे प्रयत्न करने चाहिये जिन से कि उनके मन में यह भावना हो कि वे राष्ट्र के आवश्यक और अविच्छिन्न अंग हैं और देश में किसी भी अन्य समुदाय या वर्ग की तरह ही उनको भी अपना पार्ट अदा करना है।

इस व्यापक समस्या के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर यह सम्मेलन विचार करने जा रहा है और मुझे यह मालूम हुआ है कि खास तौर पर यह इस बात पर विचार करेगा कि जो अनुदान सरकार दे रही है उसका किस प्रकार से सर्वोत्तम रूप में उपयोग किया जाये। मैंने वे कुछ बातें बता दी हैं जिन पर वह रकम जो सरकार दे सकती है उपयोगिता से काम में लाई जा सकती है और मैं इस सम्मेलन के सदस्यों पर यह बात छोड़ता हूँ कि वे इस समस्या के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर विचार करें और सुझाव दें कि उन सब की सर्वोत्तम सेवा कैसे की जा सकती है।

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister

This audience is more or less a select audience and it largely consists of experts in this field of work. I am myself not an expert, and possibly if we sat down to discuss your problems, I might not be able to contribute much, because you know more about these problems.

I suppose you have invited me here because I happen to occupy the office of Prime Minister. Well, that may be right. But I think I have another, and possibly a greater claim to participate in this Conference, and that is that I feel, not today, not since I be-

came Prime Minister, but for many years previously I had felt very strongly attracted towards the tribal people of this country. That attraction was not the attraction of the seeker after curiosity about odd customs and the like. It was not even the attraction of the doer of good, who wanted to go and do good to other people. It was just the attraction of feeling happy with them, of feeling at home with them and liking them without any desire to do them good or to have good done to me. I have no particular desire to do good to others. I think it is a very laudable desire, but it leads to

great excesses which do not result in good to either the doer or the recipient.

I have found in the tribal people many qualities which I do not find in the people of the plains and the cities and many other parts of India, and those qualities attracted me.

The tribal people are a virile people. They sometimes went astray. They sometimes quarrelled and cut each other's heads off, which were deplorable occurrences and should be stopped. But even so, it struck me as perhaps a little better than the more evil practices that prevail in the cities. It is sometimes better to cut the hand or the head off than to crush and trample on the heart of a man or a people. So I felt happier with these simple folk. Perhaps, also there is something of the nature of the nomad in me which found congenial soil there. So I approached them in a spirit of comradeship and of getting on with them rather than a person aloof who had come to look at them, examine them, weigh them, measure them and report about them or to try to make them conform to my particular way.

I am getting a little alarmed when I see not only in this country, but in other countries, great countries, how people are anxious and keen to make others according to their own image or likeness, and impose this way of living or that way of living. We are welcome to it. But why impose our way of living on others who have their own way of living? That applies not only internally but internationally too, and in this great field of foreign affairs, there would be much more peace if people did not want to impose their way of living on other people and other countries.

I am not at all sure which way of living is better, ours or theirs. But in some ways I am quite certain theirs is better. If that is so, then it is absolute presumption for any of us to approach

this problem with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do and try to make them a second rate copy of ourselves.

One way of describing tribal folk is the people of the frontiers and the people away from the interior. Just as the hills breed a rather different type of persons from those in the plains, so also the frontier breeds a rather different type of persons from those who live away from the frontier. My own predilection is rather for the mountains than for the plains, rather for the hill-folk than the plains people. So also I prefer the frontier, not the frontier physically, but the conception of living near the frontier, because living near a frontier or roundabout it prevents one from becoming complacent. A very grave danger, especially in a great country like India, where the frontier may be thousands of miles away, is complacency as we become wrapped up in our petty problems.

The approach to the tribal people should be one of learning from them and having learnt, to try to help and cooperate. There is a very great deal to learn from them, especially in the frontier areas. They are an extremely disciplined people, often much more democratic than most others in India. Without a constitution and the rest, they function democratically and carry out the decisions made by their elders or their own representatives almost without exception. Above all they are a people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life: not people who sit in stock exchanges and shout at each other and call that civilization. I would prefer any day to be a nomad in the hills to being a member of stock exchanges or being made to sit there and listen to those frightfully ugly noises there. Is that the civilization we want the tribal people to have? I hope not. I am quite sure that ultimately the civilization of the tribal folk, of song

and dance will last when stock exchanges have ceased to exist in this country and other countries.

It is a great pity that in large parts of India we have drifted away from the aesthetic side of life. We have still a good deal of folk songs and dances when we go to the villages, because our so called modern city civilization has not affected them so much as it has affected us. We confine our attention to the cinema which is an excellent medium for good things, but unfortunately, as it is, it is not particularly inspiring. When I look at the progress of what is called modern civilization in India, I see many good things. I see also the lack of many good things. Some of the things lacking here, which I find in the tribal folk, are the spirit of song and dance and enjoyment of life. Therefore if we go there and meet these people, we must learn and imbibe something of that spirit and not go there with long faces and black gowns and try to kill that spirit among these people.

For half a century or more, we have had a struggle for freedom in this country, culminating in the achievement of Independence. That struggle itself, apart from the result, had a liberating tendency. It raised us and improved us and hid for the moment some of our weaknesses and other qualities. We must remember that this experience of hundreds of millions of Indian people did not extend to the tribal areas. It did affect somewhat the tribes in the central parts of India but in the frontier areas, say, of Assam, it did not affect them at all, or did not affect them much, partly because those areas were cut off from any approach in the old days and partly for other reasons.

One of the reasons was that we who live in the plains and the cities were a little afraid of going out of our native haunts into the mountains. Christian missionaries have gone there and spent

practically all their lives there. I do not find many instances of people from the plains going and settling down there to spend their lives. But apart from that we were not allowed to go by the old British authorities, so that our freedom movement did not reach those people. Rumours of it reached them. Sometimes they reacted rightly and sometimes wrongly, but whether they functioned rightly or wrongly is not the point. The essence of the struggle of freedom, which meant raising some kind of a liberating force in India, did not reach those areas, chiefly the frontier areas which are the most important tribal areas. The result is that we have been psychologically prepared during the last 30, 40 or 50 years for various changes in India while these frontier areas were not so psychologically prepared. In fact they were prepared the other way by the British officers or sometimes the missionaries who were there. The missionaries did very good work there and I am full of praise for them, but politically speaking, they did not particularly like changes in India. In fact, just when changes were coming in India, there was a movement in north-eastern India, supported by many foreigners there, to encourage those people of the north-east to form separate and independent states. How it was considered practical or feasible from any point of view, I do not understand. But my point is those people in the north-east frontier were conditioned differently during the past generation and even in recent years. The fault lay partly with us and partly with circumstances. In tackling this problem, we have to consider these very important factors.

It is not a question of opening so many schools and so many dispensaries and hospitals. Of course, we want schools and hospitals and dispensaries and roads and all that, but that is rather a dead way of looking at things. What we ought to do is not merely to put up a school building but somehow

to develop a sense of oneness with these people, a sense of unity and understanding. That involves a psychological approach.

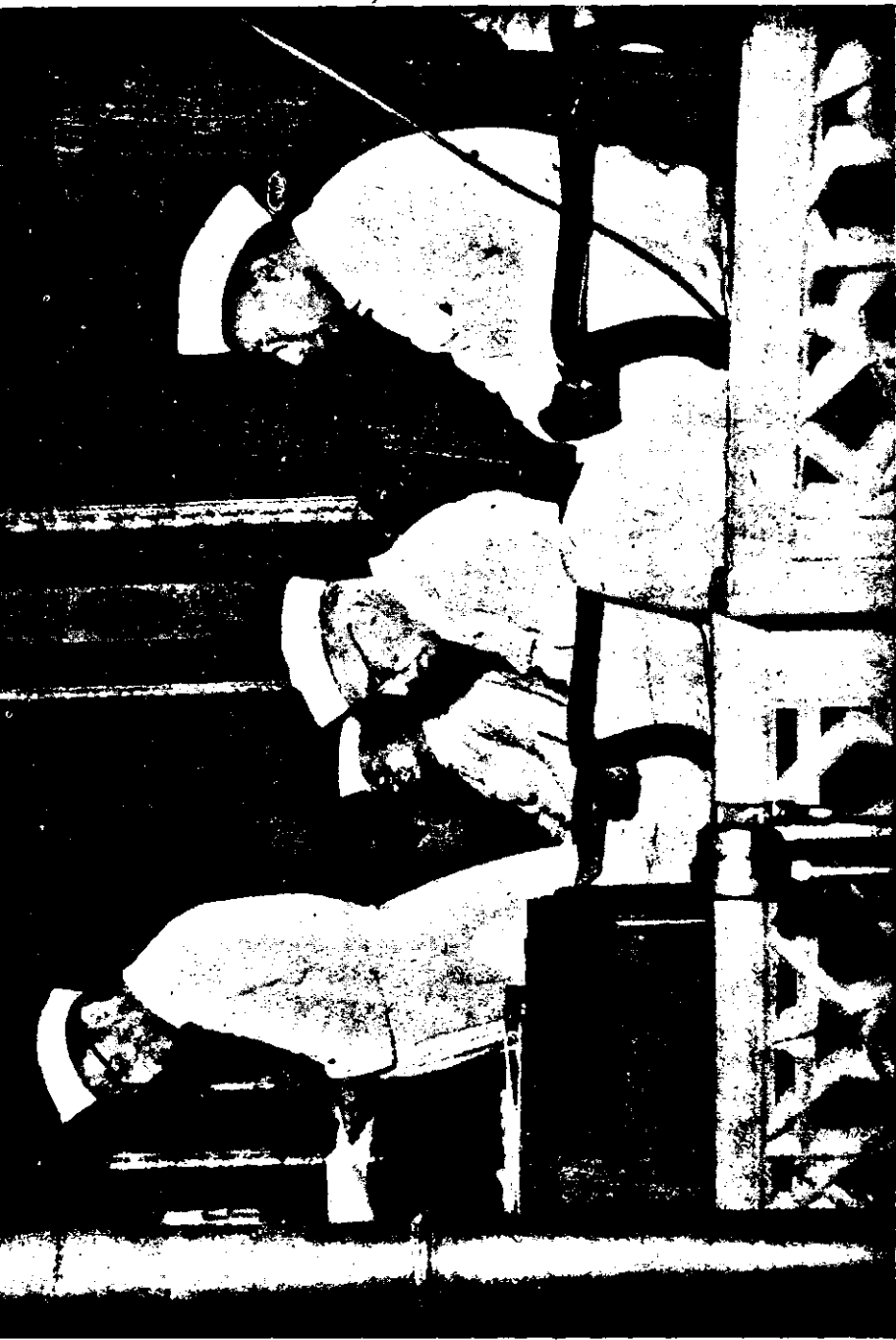
You may talk here day after day about development programmes in regard to schools and other matters, but you will fail completely if you do not touch the core of the problem. The problem is to understand these people, make them understand us and create a bond of affection and understanding between us. After the achievement of independence, the basic problem of India, taken as a whole, is one of integration and consolidation. Political integration is now complete but that is not enough. We have to do something much more intimate than political integration and that process takes time. It is not a matter of law. It grows. You cannot force it to grow just as you cannot force a plant or a flower to grow. You can only nurture it and produce conditions where it grows. So the greatest problem of India today is psychological integration and consolidation, to build up a unity which will do away with provincialism, communalism, and various other 'isms' which disrupt and separate.

If you approach the tribal people with affection, go to them as a liberating force and as a friend so that they may feel you have come not to take away something from them but to give them something, that is the right integration. But if they feel you have come to impose yourself, to interfere and come in their way, to try to change their methods of living, to take away their land, to push some of your businessmen there who will exploit them, then it is all completely wrong. The less we hear of this type of integration and consolidation of the tribal areas, the better.

One had to be careful in appointing officers in the tribal areas. We ought to be careful in appointing officers

anywhere. But we have to be doubly careful in appointing officers in the tribal areas, because an officer in the tribal areas is not merely a man who has passed an examination or gained some experience of routine work. He must be a man or woman whose mind, and even more so whose heart, understand the problem; who is an enthusiast in this business, who does not go there just to sit in an office for a few hours a day and for the rest curse his luck at being sent to an out of the way place. That is the type of man who is completely useless. It is better to send a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination, but who goes in friendship and affection to these people and lives with them. Such a man will produce better results than your highest intellectual who has no heart or understanding of the problem. The man who goes there as an officer must be prepared to share his life with tribal folk. He must be prepared to enter their huts, talk to them and eat with them and smoke with them, if necessary, live their lives and not consider himself as something superior or apart, and thereby gain their confidence and respect and then advise them.

The language problem is almost always exceedingly important from the psychological point of view. The best of solutions one might offer would break down if it produced a wrong reaction on the other side. One must therefore make it perfectly and absolutely clear that Government would encourage the tribal languages. It is not a question of merely allowing them to continue. They must be encouraged and helped and made to flourish. We must go out of our way to do so. That is the only right approach and the only country that has adopted that policy and done it with success is the Soviet Republic. Lenin and others were exceedingly wise in this respect. Whatever their ultimate objective was, they wanted to win the good-will of these people, and they won it by their policy,



The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing the Conference. On his left are seated Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri L. M. Shrikant and on his right is Dr. K. N. Katju.

by encouraging their languages, by going out of their way in helping hundreds of dialects, by preparing dictionaries and vocabularies and even by evolving new scripts where there were none. They wanted those people to feel they could live their own lives and they did produce that impression. In the matter of languages there must be no compulsion but the only policy should be to encourage their languages. I have no doubt at all that the West Bengal Government must have, say, in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, schools in Tibetan for the Tibetan-speaking people in our territory. We are a big country and we have to function as a big and varied country and deal with the varied aspects of it. A difficulty may arise about the script. If the tribal people have a script, use it of course. But normally they do not have a script and the only script they have thus far learnt to some extent is the Roman script. It is a good script no doubt and because many people have learnt it, I would not push it down. I would encourage it. But probably—here I do not speak with any assurance but am merely putting this to you—in evolving a script, it would be better, not only in the present but in the future, to use the Devanagari script. It is a relatively easy script but apart from that, obviously it will put them more in touch with the rest of India than any other script. But where many of them have already learnt the Roman script, I would not suddenly force them to come away from it because I do not want any feeling of compulsion to be created in them.

There are generally two ways of approaching the problem of the tribal

people. One might be called the anthropological approach of treating these people as museum specimens to be observed and written about and not as living human beings with whom one could work and play. The other approach is of rather ignoring that they are something special and different and trying to absorb them into the normal pattern of society elsewhere. Both these approaches are wrong. It is an insult to them to treat them as specimens for anthropological examination and analysis except in the sense that everybody is more or less an anthropological specimen. One might not realise it but one could be examined in that way. The other way, of forcible assimilation and even allowing sometimes normal factors to operate, would be wrong. This is what I mean by normal factors. Suppose you don't protect their lands. I have no doubt unscrupulous people from outside will go and take possession of those lands. They will take possession of the forests and interfere with the lives of the tribal people if normal factors are allowed to have a free play. Therefore we must give them a measure of protection in their areas so that no outsider can interfere with them except with their consent and goodwill. The first priority in the tribal areas as well as elsewhere in the country must be for roads and communications. Without them anything else would not fit in. Then again there is the need for some kind of schools, some health relief work and cottage industries and the like—simple things which fitted in—but one had always to keep in view the fact that we are going there not to interfere with their way of life but to help them live it.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister for Home Affairs

The Prime Minister said just now that this is a Conference of experts. I think that is absolutely true and a good deal of exploratory work has

been done before this Conference was summoned. We wanted to get advantage of the expert knowledge of people who come here and, therefore, all have

been asked, and have kindly acceded to our request to send us their summaries of what they propose to say, to send us copies of papers that they wish to read, and those papers and summaries have been circulated to all members of the Conference, so that their criticism might also be received by us. The result is that every single participant in this Conference knows what the views of other members are and we would now like to have as much clarification of these views as possible and I am certain that out of the deliberations of this Conference will emerge a large volume of opinion which may well be treated as the basis for forming a co-ordinated plan for a number of years to come.

The President and the Prime Minister have both addressed us from the general aspects of the problem. My own personal knowledge really dates back to the last five years. In Orissa and Bengal, I had the opportunity, to my great personal advantage, of visiting many villages and many homes, and I can say from personal knowledge what the Prime Minister has just now observed that when we go to these homes, it is really not for doing any good to them, but for learning a lot from them. For instance, to give one concrete example, I have never come across cleaner villages and cleaner homes than the homes of Adibasis—beautiful, perfectly clean and neat and artistic. It was not done by giving previous notice, as is usually done when officers visit these villages when they have the lanes swept, etc. I would just enter into a home. There I found that the floors were properly swept, and in one village I was astonished to be told that the women-folk made it a point not only to clean, but to whitewash or mud-wash the walls of their houses practically every day. Such a sense of cleanliness I have never observed anywhere before. Secondly, one thing struck me greatly.

For the last two thousand years we members of the plains, living in the plains, have been going through a lot of vicissitudes, but it seems to me that the village people living in these tribal areas and borders and Adibasis living in parts of Orissa, have suffered enormous troubles, enormous travails and miseries. But they have taken care not to bow to any alien rule. They have shifted to the interior of their valleys, interior of their forests, but they have kept their independence alive. Thirdly, I have never come across a more truthful people than these Adibasis. This is a very distinguishing feature. I do not know whether the nearer you come to the urban areas the more you take to more sophisticated method of living and method of speech. But these are very excitable people, they will cut off the heads of people at the slightest provocation. But having done so they will go to the nearest police station and confess they have done it. They will stick to that confession right through from the Police Station to the committing Magistrate, Sessions Court and the High Court. I was told that one High Court went to the length of saying that having regard to this deliberate regard for truth, no sentence of death should be passed, so far as possible, barring very exceptional cases, in the case of the tribal people. So I can corroborate from personal knowledge what the Prime Minister has said, namely, that we will fail utterly if we go there from any superiority complex point of view. I repeat once again that anyone who goes there probably stands to learn much more from them rather than what he will be able to impart to them.

Now very many points have been put before you, very many problems. Take for instance, the script problem. I will only mention it. In the first place, there are many tracts where there is a local dialect without a script. I will give you one instance. It surprised

me a great deal. I have come to consider Coorg, for instance, as a very advanced part of the country—our Commander-in-Chief and one of our Ministers come from there. I was surprised to find that there was no script of their own dialect. They are taught in the schools in Canarese. They will write their own dialect in Canarese, which is the language that is spoken in the neighbouring Mysore. The difficulty about this script is this which most of you will very carefully consider. If you get units where the tribal people concentrate, then, of course, you can either invent a script for them or adopt Devanagari, whatever you may like. But where they are spread over, then the question arises. There is the State script; there is our national script; and there is the Roman script or the English language. In Darjeeling, in the primary schools—fifth and sixth classes—I saw young children learning four languages, i.e., Nepali; Bengali; Hindi (because it is the national script); and then English for international advantage. Most of the Adibasis are learning Oriya, Hindi and English. So I do hope that this problem of script will be very carefully considered by you. There can be no doubt that the State script should be studied, whether it is Assamese, Bengali or Oriya. Devanagri in its present form or in its modified form makes no difference. We should remember that where you get these State units, Bengal, Orissa, Assam, etc. there they say, unless you learn to read and write Oriya, Bengali or Assamese language, the State Government might not be able to give them that opportunity for entering public services in the State itself which the Constitution directs that they must have. Therefore, this question of script may present some difficulty. On the one hand, there is the desirability that they should be taught their tribal language, and made to feel that the tribal language is a living thing and must be encouraged; and on the other

hand, there should not be a multiplicity of languages.

Then one thing distinguishing is their intelligence. I will give you one instance which occurred to me. In North Bengal I went into the interior. I had some women summoned living in the forests. I went towards the women-folk, who were unsophisticated, entirely illiterate but healthy having their babes-in-arms. I told them,—“I have come among you, how can I help you? What would you wish me to do?” The first woman rather hesitated and blushed, because it was rather a new thing for them to have a Governor coming to them and talking to them. Ultimately after a minute or two, one woman came forward to speak on their behalf and she said that the first requirement she wanted was schools for girls. I was greatly surprised. I repeat again, Adibasis have no touch with the outer world at all. The second thing she said was, “We want doctors, we want nurses”. I told them, “You are living in such clean and healthy surroundings, why do you want nurses?” The third requirement she said was drinking water and the fourth, as the Prime Minister said, was communications. These are the four things they need: schools, medical facilities, communications and pure water supply. There has been a tremendous awakening among these people. This was the talk long before the general elections, but in this area the missionaries have been working for a long time. The Prime Minister praised them. I praise them myself. I do hope that this very community will be able to produce hundreds of thousands of Indians who would go and settle down among these people in the spirit in which these missionaries have come and settled down among them, eating with them, teaching them how to dress, how to live. Not a trace of superiority about them. I have met many who have not gone to their homes for several years, even forty years.

When we are talking of education, one thing occurs to me, namely, these people have got a great artistic bent of mind, a natural tendency, a natural instinct, and I wish that the State Governments and the Central Government also would encourage them to develop them, to give them stipends and make them enter schools and reserve for them seats in the State schools and, if necessary, to give them scholarship to go to foreign countries in the schools of art in London and America. I am certain that having regard to their own predilections and their natural tendencies, they would turn out to be very fine artists and they would enrich our art wealth.

Then comes, what the President pointed out, their cottage industries, their lands and forests. One thing that occurred to me is that if you want to improve them in any way, if you want to induce them to change their habits of cultivation, of living, of making their industrial products, you must first study what was the reason why they adopted the old methods. They have shifting cultivation. That was easy. There was no pressure of population. There was plenty of land available. These people had no implements; they had no plough; and no other kind of manure. They took advantage of the virgin soil. That virgin soil exhausted in three or four years. Then came soil erosion, and they went somewhere else. If you give them better farming, I am certain that they will give up this shifting cultivation and they will settle down in their own colonies. Similarly about cottage industries. They have got a great community spirit. They have a great sense of unity and co-operation among themselves. They offer a wonderful field for development of co-operative spirit. If there is anywhere any opportunity for expansion of the co-operative principle of life in everything—cultivation, farming, dairy-farming and cottage industries,—it is among the tribal areas.

I won't take much of your time. I very well remember in Sambalpur district rope-making work had been started. A European lady was incharge. I asked her, "How do you find them?" She said "They are good people but the difficulty with them is that they are so care-free that if they got four rupees they don't do any work but remain at home and indulge in dance, music and plenty of drink. When the four rupees are exhausted they come again for work. They are very much fond of good life. That is a very fine trait of character."

Lastly, I would say, win their affection—as the Prime Minister has said. Become one with them and try to spread this doctrine of prohibition—not the coercive thing but the persuasive. You live a good life yourself and then you show them that drinking is bad, makes you evil, makes you commit all sorts of crime, and I am sure they will listen. That is what occurs to me and I am sure that this Conference will yield us very good results.

I think the Prime Minister knows and all other friends know that we have got a very strictly qualified agenda—short agenda. Discussions are going to be limited to three topics and we do not want to waste time here. We propose to disperse either tomorrow—I hope all the deliberations will be over by then—or at the most till Monday. We do not want aimless talking without end and without beginning. We want concrete proposals, concrete discussions which will yield results, which will give us the benefit of sound proposals, which we would then like to circulate among the State Governments. You are all aware that in this field, leaving aside the Centrally administered areas, the real responsibility lies with the State Governments and the Central Government can aid them by grants-in-aid or by offering them advice. We have appointed officers, I hope of the type which the Prime Minister referred

to, and that is all that we can do. The State Governments can function well and, lastly, I would suggest to you that in this field there is the greatest scope for non-official endeavour, non-official organised endeavour. If you set aside ten lakhs of rupees and if you do it through the official agency, in the first place, there might be some difficulty in getting hold of officers of the missionary type, of independent enthusiasm and affection for their work. Secondly, the moment you do it through the official agency, well, you know how money somehow or other gets wasted. If you do get properly organised non-official organisations of the type of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and many others that I have seen in Bengal and in Orissa, then I am sure that every rupee will be properly spent and will yield results and will not be

merely diverted into utterly useless channels.

I would, therefore, strongly recommend to all friends who have come here from every State, both officials and non-officials, that they would see to it that organisations of the type of the Ramakrishna Mission, Bharatia Sevak Sangh, etc. which are doing wonderful work, come forward, under proper control, proper supervision, in charge of people of the type which the Prime Minister emphasised, and then the State Government should give them liberal grants and leave them alone and let them do their work under general supervision.

I won't stand now in your way. I hope that you will enjoy your stay in Delhi. The weather has become very cool and your deliberations, I hope, will make it cooler.

S P E E C H E S
DELIVERED IN THE
C O N F E R E N C E

**Primary Education
for
Tribals**

Dr. B. S. Guha, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

I was born amongst the hill tribes in Assam and educated and spent my early life there. I represent, therefore, the tribal people of Assam, as one of them and if not physically at least in spirit. Then during my college years in the United States, I had the occasion to spend some months among the Ute and Navaho tribes in Colorado and New Mexico on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution. After return to this country during the last 25 years I have been travelling and working among most of the tribal population of India from Kaffiristan in Chitral to Travancore, and from the Andamans to Assam. I can claim, therefore, that I have a fair idea and some amount of personal experience and knowledge of the needs and habits of life of the tribal population of the different parts of the country. As one of them in feeling and spirit I can also understand and feel the aspirations, their mental attitude and how life moves among the aboriginal or the tribal population, whatever you may like to call them. I must here say that the term aboriginal is often misunderstood and there is nothing derogatory about it. "Aboriginal" means the original population. The expression aboriginal is thus the same as the word "Adivasis" and there should be no objection to the term.

There are two ways of approaching the problem relating to tribal people whether it is education or their economic uplift. First of all, as the Prime Minister has rightly said this morning, there is no justification for assuming any superiority complex. One should go there as a humble student who has come to learn about the people and to understand them. As an Anthropologist I believe that the fundamental factor in the approach to the problem of any people is first to understand the life of the people among whom anybody would

like to work. I have had occasions recently to study our civilized Indian communities in several areas in Bengal and I find that the approach to them, the understanding of the various aspects of their life, is just the same as among the tribal population. Only their modes and patterns of their life are different. A true Anthropologist does not look upon the primitive people from above. In this respect I feel that he is often misunderstood. What the Prime Minister has pointed out as the correct approach to the problem is exactly what a scientific minded Anthropologist and not the Pseudopolitical Anthropologist feels about it. With due respect to him I would say, however, that an Anthropologist of the modern times does not look upon these people as Museum specimens. Just as a modern Zoologist does not want to preserve animals in the zoo but in their natural surroundings, in the same way would the Anthropologist like to see the aboriginal population live and prosper in their own habitations and environment. He studies their life and lives with them but you cannot study and feel the pulsations and dynamics of their life if they are regarded as just so many objects for study. Of course it is true as it happened in the United States, Australia, Melanesia and some other parts of the world and our Andaman islands, there are some tribes who on coming face to face with more powerful and civilized population, find it very difficult to maintain their existence. In the process of contact with civilisation due to competition or disease they gradually die out. The problem with regard to them, therefore, is a problem of preservation, the problem of life. The question of amelioration in these cases does not arise. You all know that certain tribes like the Tasmanians have been completely wiped out from this world as a result of this lethal contact. There are

even now certain tribes in the Andaman Islands who live in very primitive conditions, on hunting and fishing and no agriculture. In the early years, pirates and marauders who frequented the Bay of Bengal treated these simple folks shamefully by kidnapping their women and killing their men folks. From that time onwards a strong dislike to any foreigner has grown among them with the result that when they see a foreigner they shoot him with their bows and arrows. When the Settlement was first established in 1857 in Port Blair, those tribes like the AKA-BEA who lived in greater Andaman Island were won over by a friendly approach. "Homes" were established and attempts were made to acculturate them by very high-minded social workers like Portman, Man, etc. One thing, however, was not foreseen by these well-intentioned and really sincere well-wishers of these tribes, namely, the consequences that civilisation brings in its train. Syphilis, tuberculosis and measles which did not exist in the islands before and against which no immunity had developed among these ancient people were brought by Indian convicts and European ruffians with the result that the entire tribe was almost wiped out. From an approximate figure of 5,000, the tribe has now been reduced to 23 only and it is only a question of time before the Andamanese will be completely extinct.

Now, there is another group of the same tribe who has remained hostile all along and live outside the contact zone. Not only do they survive to-day in outer islands but their hostility has left them in their primitive vigorous condition. This aspect of the tribal life cannot be ignored and in any scheme of amelioration or welfare it has to be carefully understood and studied. The Anthropologist draws the attention of the social workers to this and presses for such safeguards as would not kill or destroy tribal population in the name

of improvement or uplift. He is not against their advancement or progress but he only wants their zest for life not to be destroyed so that they can continue to live and not die. It is for this reason and as the first experiment of this kind in India a Sub-Station of my Department has been opened in the Andaman Islands with the concurrence of the Administration, to try to establish intimate contact with the surviving tribes, understand their language, habits of life and mental outlook so that a planned programme can be evolved which, while keeping them alive, will promote gradual adjustment to the new conditions now surrounding the Islands.

I have brought in all these points to show the size of the problem which should require our attention and to see whether we look upon education and other measures of welfare in the light that people for whom they are meant, benefit by them or not. If as a result of our education, the people do not benefit but die out, then our whole object is defeated. In any scheme that we have for educating the tribal population, we have got to be careful to see that it is so devised that the tribal population benefit from it and does not prove to be in any way injurious to them. I feel very much that any imposition of anything from outside is a dangerous thing. Psychologically it may kill their self-respect and self-confidence. Therefore, the aim of education—a subject which we are going to discuss now—should be such that it would promote self-respect, spirit of co-operation and collaboration and self-confidence among the tribal population without which no real progress can be made. Education should increase these qualities which are abundant among them and which are such welcome features of tribal life and not kill or lessen them. Those among us who have been working among these people and have seen them at close quarters, have been very much struck by the independent spirit and co-operative life

in tribal communities. I do not say that everything is good among the aboriginal population or everything in their culture is exemplary; this is not so. These tribal people, living in very secluded parts of mountains have developed certain patterns of life. We have to judge them by that pattern and not by something ideal from outside. If we do so, we can then get a correct picture. In the scheme of education among the tribal population, as elsewhere, we cannot follow a uniform pattern as there are great diversities among them. It must depend upon the particular people inhabiting a particular part of the country. They have got great physical differences and also many cultural differences. We have got to see that in any plan that we devise the fundamental aspects of their life are bettered and not worsened. Now what makes a people survive? It is the fact that you cannot completely remove them from the roots on which they have been raised. This simple fact is true about animals as it is true of human beings and it is certainly very true of the tribal population. You all know that many of us resent any imposition from outside, even sometimes when the particular change is to our good, like abolition of child-marriage, polygamy etc. Many of us do not want to imitate Western culture even though it is progressive. In the same way, it will be wrong for us to think of imposing our own pattern of culture and ideology on the tribal people. As the Prime Minister said this morning, we should approach them as human beings, live among them and understand them but not with a superior attitude or with a feeling that we are doing them good. In this way only can the process of education of the tribal people develop into an integrated whole comprising all aspects of life, political and social, and not otherwise. There are many existing institutions such as the Dormitory life among many tribes, where children receive instructions into the larger and wider

aspects of their life. In any scheme of education that is to be devised these indigenous institutions which have served to develop discipline and corporate life among the tribal people should be fully utilised and not looked upon with derision. In this connection there are a few things which I would like to say from my personal experience. I have been working among the Abors, a tribal people of Assam, of whom I am going to show you a film tomorrow evening. These people are not primitive in the sense the primitive tribes of South India or the Andamans are primitives. They are a very progressive-minded people. But they have got a different culture of their own. It is in approaching this type of people that utmost care and caution has to be shown. These tribal people have their own age-long traditions and have their well-developed community life. They are mountainous people and live under special conditions based on sound foundations of a virile life. They are not brutal people at all as commonly supposed. They grow their own cotton, spin their thread and weave their own cloth. They are simple, unsophisticated people with a free happy-go lucky life. They enjoy themselves and know how to work also. Now, in a basic approach to education for these people, we should encourage these things which give so much happiness and value to their day to day life and nothing should be done which may destroy them. They are vigorous people and their lives are better balanced in many respects than of many of ours here. These people feel very strongly about thoughtless remarks regarding many of their food habits. They eat meat of various animals, including Mithun and they use a kind of beverage from finger millets in large quantities. This drink may not be palatable to us who have been brought up under Indian standards, but we should think seriously before attempting to condemn it and try to look at this habit from the point of view of the tribal people. As a matter

of fact I may say that no attempts to stop these habits will bear any fruit but will only alienate their sympathies. These people hunt animals of all kinds and their whole tribal social structure is based on hunting and fishing. In all these cases, our judgment should be based only on scientific facts and not on sentiment. For instance, when the ingredients of their diet were chemically examined it was found that the calory-intake was not adequate and they lack many of the essential vitamins but their *Apong* or beer which contains about 2.4 per cent of alcohol, supplies many of the vitamins they lack in their food. *Apong* drinking would, therefore, appear to be essential for hard active life. This is one aspect of the question to which attention should be paid.

Now to turn to education, what form should it take among them? The basis of education should undoubtedly be such that it is in accord with their tribal structure, their traditions and their surroundings. I have visited several schools opened up recently among these people. There are two defects that I have noticed. Firstly, I will take up the question of the location of the schools. The persons who devised the system are no doubt well-meaning and have the interest of these people in their hearts but their idea was to remove the children from their natural surroundings and keep them at considerable distances from their villages in newly constructed boarding houses. These artificial surroundings in which they are designed to be brought up would result in divorcing them from their tribal life and really turn them into so many Museum specimens. It is not the Anthropologists, therefore, who want to keep them as Museum specimens but the system of education that has been sponsored by the Government. To give an example, in a place between Silli and Zero in the Yamne valley in the Abor Hills a

school has been started. This place is mid-way between the two villages. The idea apparently is that boys from both the villages could come and be taught there. It was amidst dense jungles, infested with wild animals. Now how could one expect that the boys who come to this school will feel happy here with the inevitable consequence that when they go back to their homes to attend any ceremony they do not want to come back. The school should, therefore, be located in the village itself within their natural surroundings and friends and relations, if it is to be effective and as I have remarked previously the existing tribal institutions—the *Moshups* or the dormitories of the Abors should be utilised and form the centre of their instruction.

Secondly, the medium of instruction in these schools, I noticed was Assamese and not the Abor language which is the mother tongue of the children. It is true that educated Abors are difficult to find but the teachers who are appointed in the schools must learn the language of the tribal people before they are appointed. I have no objection against Assamese being taught as a second language and in my opinion it should, because it is the language of the people of Assam. But it is also undeniable that the first lessons that children must learn should be in their mother tongue and in no other language. Once I was visiting the school at a village called Mebo. I had an Abor interpreter with me. When we found a teacher teaching his class and writing on the black-board, the interpreter suddenly exclaimed that the language was not written in correct Abor and there were mistakes. The teacher who was a *Miri* could not reply and the boys laughed. It must be emphasised, therefore, that no other language excepting the mother tongue of the people should be the medium of instruction in any tribal area. In Assam, the Assamese script should be introduced and Assamese language should be taught no doubt. In the upper stages, Hindi can

be introduced; and finally English in the higher schools and colleges as an international language. In this matter of script, we should take cognizance of the existing facts as among many tribes the Roman script has been existing for a long time and there is no point in trying to change the system though adjustments to an uniform Indian script may be the ultimate objective. In the matter of curriculum that is to be adopted in any of these tribal population, I need hardly say that the orientation should be practical. Things should be taught which have a bearing on their everyday life. I saw geography of the world being taught in the Abor schools but they had not the slightest idea of the geography of their own surroundings, an idea of rivers around them, the contours, the mountains of their beautiful habitats etc. To teach the topography of the land they live in will be very helpful to them. Charity begins at home and we should begin with their own traditions and his-

tory and values and ideologies which give motive force to their life, their mountain conditions, their existing methods of cultivation, the type of things which they can grow in their land, etc. Attempts should be made to develop the existing institutions they possess and very great care and time should be taken to introduce any alien habit and object which may shake the very foundations of their tribal life.

My view is that in education, as well as in economic life, the social structure of the tribal people should receive primary consideration. Their traditions, their lives, their history, must be understood before we can be successful in introducing other things. Finally, we should approach them as human beings and try to understand them and live with them as human beings, as our friends and neighbours. Then alone can we do any good work and not as aliens who have come to save them or uplift them.

Shri Jaipal Singh, Member of the House of the People (Bihar)

Before I go on to the specified subject about which talks will be given this afternoon, I would like, without being parliamentary, to request you, on behalf of all of us who have come from all parts of India, to thank the President, for his gracious speech this morning. I do not think we need pass a formal resolution, but, if you will convey to the President, our thanks, that should suffice. The President's speech in itself contains practically everything that any one of us might have to say. He has given a very clear picture of his ideas and those ideas have been in a popular way amplified by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. To my mind, what they have said is more than enough. There are so many people here and outside who call themselves experts, but I would like them to do a certain amount of heart-searching as to whether they answer to the description

given by the President and his two Ministers this morning. How far do those definitions, those qualifications that are absolutely essential for any one who has to work amongst any group of backward people in our society, obtain; how far do they fit into that picture? Then alone can they say they are fit to become experts. I think if we approach the problem as experts, we are nowhere. We should be there to learn from these people and from that experience enrich them in return. Unfortunately, there are too many people in this country who think that the tribal people have no religion, no language, no culture, nothing worth preserving. It is this type of person I have come across in my own life who has been working amongst them and who thinks that everything that the Advasis have should be uprooted. If that is the kind of approach, I am afraid, the type of education, whether

it is primary or advanced, that we intend to impart to these people, is not going to enrich them. It is going to upset and eradicate the very roots of their life and if it does that, then it certainly is not going to ennoble the life of this country. Any form of education that we impart must be something that ennobles the man and, at the same time, simultaneously, also enriches the country. If that is so then obviously primary education at least must be imparted in the language of the mother tongue of the people, and it must be in the atmosphere that is natural to the people, as the previous speaker has already pointed out. Geography may be a very good thing. But what is the good of trying to teach geography to a person who is not, at that stage, able to understand its value to him. I do not mean to say for one moment, therefore, that the whole world has to be shut out from these people. The Advasis are a part of India. In anything that is done for them and by them, it must have some relation to the rest of India. But basically at the primary stage, it is absolutely essential that we do strengthen the very roots of their existence; whereas, today, I find throughout the country, amongst all social welfare workers, the very idea seems to be to uproot the very roots of the people.

Let not the non-tribal community be scared of the tribal people and *vice versa*. At present there is a good deal of disputes between the two groups, if I may call them so. There is almost

hatred between the two. One looks down on the other: one is afraid of the other. There is this century-old fear of each other. I think if education can remove all these barriers by better understanding, then primary education will have amply succeeded.

The next point I wish to stress is there must be a follow-up of this Conference in Delhi in the Upper House or the Lower House of Parliament, and it is for those members of Parliament who have been elected in Parliament to make this demand. If you want our willing cooperation, if you want willing cooperation of the people, you must provide sufficient funds. The amount of 180 lakhs that you are giving from the Centre will do no good unless willing cooperation of the people is forth-coming. You must work through the tribal people first and last. It is no good making long speeches here and wasting our time unless the Government is prepared to place ample funds at your disposal.

I have every hope that something tangible would be attained by this Conference. I shall be very glad to learn that the Advasis are not really pulling in one direction and others in the other direction. My firm faith is that the greatness of this country will depend upon the solution of the tribal people. Without the solution of the tribal people which is a very important problem of problems, there can be no greatness in this country.

श्री एन० वी० बापत, बनवासी सेवा मण्डल, माण्डला (मध्य प्रदेश)

आज प्रातः काल में आपने आदिवासी समस्याओं पर प्रकाश डालने वाले तीन महत्वपूर्ण भाषण सुने। अभी डा० गुहा तथा श्री जयपाल सिंह के प्रभावी व्याख्यान हुए। उन से यह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र में कार्य करने वाला सेवक उन लोगों में तन्मय हो कर काम करे।

मैं यह जानता हूँ कि इस प्रकार मिल जुल कर काम करने वाले कार्यकर्त्तियों की हमारे में कमी है। पर मैं आप को बता देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं जिस मध्य प्रदेश के बनवासी सेवा मण्डल में काम कर रहा हूँ उस को पूजनीय ठक्कर बापा से प्रेरणा प्राप्त हुई है और उस के द्वारा इस सफलता से कार्य चल रहा

है कि स्वयं श्री जयपाल सिंह को कार्य देखकर प्रसन्नता हुई और स्वयं खुशी से उन्होंने १६०० रुपये का दान मण्डल को दे दिया ।

यदि हमें आदिवासी उत्थान का कार्य ठोस रीति से करना है तो वह गैरसरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा ही अधिक सफलतापूर्वक हो सकता है । परन्तु गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं को पर्याप्त आर्थिक सहायता न मिलने के कारण उन के कार्य में क्षति पहुँचती है । तीस-तीस साल पुरानी भील सेवा मंडल जैसी संस्थायें आर्थिक अर्चन में हैं । आर्थिक अर्चन के कारण संस्थाओं के सुशिक्षित आदिवासी कार्यकर्ता भी निरुत्साहित हो जाते हैं और कार्य जैसा चलना चाहिये वैसा नहीं चल पाता । बनवासी सेवा मंडल की २८ प्राथमिक शालायें हैं परंवे भी इसी आर्थिक आपत्ति के शिकार हैं ।

इसलिये मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप पहले यह तय कर लिये कि किस प्रकार गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को पूर्ण आर्थिक सहायता दी जा सकती है, जिस से उन का कार्य अबाधित चल सके ।

बड़े बड़े शिक्षा पण्डितों ने एक राय से यह माना है कि बुनियादी तालीम आदिवासी शालाओं में दी जावे । यह ठीक है पर मने बांदा जिले के माडिया क्षेत्र में यह अनुभव किया है कि वहां माडिया लोगों में काम करने के लिए योग्य शिक्षक नहीं मिलते । टिक कर काम करने वाले आदिवासियों में मिल जुल कर रहने वाले कार्यकर्ताओं का अभाव है ।

शिक्षकों के अभाव से अनिवार्य शिक्षा की या बुनियादी तालीम की बातें करना बेकार है । इसलिये प्रथम हमें चाहिये कि हम अच्छे कार्यकर्ता तैयार करने के लिए यथोचित प्रबन्ध करें । कम से कम एक वर्ष उन्हें प्रात्याक्षिक शिक्षा दें और उन्हें सब प्रकार की सुविधा देकर समग्र ग्रामसेवा करने की तैयारी से आदिवासी क्षेत्र में भेजें ।

एक मांडिया गांव की बात है, स्कूल में पढ़ने योग्य अनेक बालक बालिकायें उस गांव में होने पर भी एक प्रबन्धक महोदय शाला बन्द करने का सोच रहे थे । शाला में नहीं आते थे । कारण ढूँढने पर यही पता चला कि बच्चों को ११ से ५ बजे तक बन्द कमरे में पुस्तकी शिक्षा दी जाती है । प्रकृति की गोद में खेलने वाले आदिवासी बच्चों को प्रारम्भ में ही खेल कूद, स्काउटिंग, पेड़, पहाड़ पर चढ़ना, तैरना व शिकार खेलना, नाचना, गाना आदि बातों द्वारा जब तक शालाओं में उच्चोत्तमक शिक्षा नहीं दी जाती आदिवासी बच्चे शाला की ओर आकर्षित नहीं होंगे ।

अन्त में मैं आप से यह आग्रह करूंगा कि इस कान्फ्रेंस में आप यहां तय कर लें कि किस प्रकार गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा पूरी आर्थिक सहायता दे कर कार्य किया जावे और किस प्रकार आदिवासियों का दिल अपने स्वभाव और आचरण से जीतने वाले शिक्षक कार्यकर्ताओं की कमी दूर हो । विषय व्यापक है पर समय कम है इसलिये मैं भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University.

All Anthropologists generally agree that the tribes will be served best if they are helped to retain their culture and at the same time helped to assimilate the better elements of the culture of the surrounding population. Education is the process through which such changes can be introduced. In this particular matter, again, before any educational programme can be taken up, it is essential that the tribal system of education should be carefully studied.

In simpler societies, the links between different stages in the life of an individual are fairly visible and can be observed even by the adolescent. In the industrial society in which we are living these links are not always visible and we are not in a position to teach our children by such direct methods. In the case of the tribal folk, however, this difficulty does not exist. A tribal child learns a good deal of adult activities by imitating the grown-

ups, especially parents and elder brothers and sisters. This direct approach of education to life, among tribals is not only true of our own country, but of tribal folk in other parts of the world. There are regular educational institutions also for their children. Many of these institutions are now dying out, through discouragement by the powers that be. In practically every case there was a ceremony of admission. There was also, generally, graduation into novices, moderately experienced, and leading groups.

Community feeling is quite strong in tribal villages and is expressed through their social economic and religious activities. In the better organised institutions for adolescents the participation in adult activities of the community is even more well marked. The youthful members even in the last generation in some areas formed a kind of cooperative group which worked for the entire village and also to maintain their organisation. Planned hunting, house repair, cultivation weeding, reaping, threshing, setting up temporary sheds for festivals, making cups and plates for guests, and dancing and singing all come under such training and practice activities. They serve also to emphasise the strong community feeling that binds the villagers together.

There is no formal examination, in the sense that we have here. But a certain standard of skill has to be attained in all these simple processes, and with a little effort can be attained. Here there is no problem of learning less abstract and more abstract subjects which are suited to different individuals. The regard of the community of adolescents and of the community in the village serves to keep the standard of attainment at a fair level.

This linking of education at every stage to later life activities is recognised by all educationists of standing as extremely valuable for the students.

It can be ensured in educational institutions only if the training, i.e. the education of the children and adolescents is centred round major occupational activities of adult life. Since the tribal folk are accustomed to this type of education, we should try to conserve this valuable trait of their culture in our institutions for training their children.

Since the cultural life of the adults of the community of which the children will be in school and cultures similar to theirs will figure largely in the content of education it is obvious that text-books for children and those meant to help teachers will have to be written anew, incorporating in them the necessary information and details on subjects, processes and functions that will enter in the learning and teaching activity of the school. Reference to parallel traits of culture and later to somewhat different traits, needed for acculturation will gradually come in higher grades, closely following the syllabus laid down. About the medium of instruction, everybody is agreed that children can learn far better through the language spoken at home than a foreign language even if they attain a certain amount of working knowledge of the latter. It follows, therefore, that the mother tongue should be the medium of education in the primary schools for the first 4 years.

Script.—In order that literacy may be immediately beneficial by giving access to the literature and publication of advanced neighbours, the script should be of the Regional State Language. Where, however a tribe is scattered in several States they should be consulted and an alphabet designed best to meet their needs, without multiplying writing symbols. Only those sounds which occur in their language should be represented each by one symbol. Also the same phonetic should have the same symbol everywhere.

Also no letter in such alphabets should have more than one significance.

Methods of teaching.—Since new text books will be written it will be worthwhile to avoid some of the mistakes made in text books meant for beginners in our ordinary schools. The words used in such books are usually selected by the author of those texts for syllabic and spelling drill from among terms considered suitable by him. Since children have already a fair vocabulary, in all societies, by the time they come to Schools, the proper course would be to collect their actual conversation at about school age or a little earlier. The words that occur frequently can then be selected for the primers for lowest grades. I collected such vocabularies for Bengalee children of age three or thereabout and published in 1933 a Primer on the basis of such words. It made learning very easy for its readers.

Acculturation.—Reference has already been made to the need of addition of culture traits of advanced people through Schools. The syllabus will indicate the lines on the same. Since the greatest need of tribals is improvement of their material condition, and since economic forces are extremely potent in causing cultural changes, this part of acculturation will be most important. We may ensure through Schools that wherever archaic and primitive tools are employed instead of more efficient modern tools, there should be a progress from the former to the latter demonstrating the advantage gained thereby. The same steps may be adopted with regard to archaic processes of production and their replacement by modern and more useful methods.

Care should be taken in dealing with the economic life of tribes to encourage

socialised forms of production and distribution which are still prevalent or were so until recently among many tribes.

Type of schools.—Since the density of population in most tribal areas is low it will not be possible to have fulfilled four teacher School with all the four or five classes therein. In some areas probably smaller units with one teacher will have to be run. In larger settlements, primary Schools with the full complement of scholars may be organised.

Training of Teachers.—It will be wrong to wait for training of all teachers before starting of Schools. The main thing will be to equip the teachers with a working knowledge of the language and culture of the area where he is to work and also socio-historical approach to teaching. There should be a limited number of well trained pedagogues whose job it will be to go round to the Schools and help by short stays of a few days in each place, during which demonstration lessons should be given both in the class and in the outdoor activity.

Adult Education.—Adult education should also be integrated with culture as noted earlier. But the words and contents should be taken from adult activities and interests. Special adult literacy text books should be drawn up for reasons stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

Central and Regional Committee.—Tribal education should be subject to planning and supervision by a central body of genuine specialists who have done field work and have experience of educational methods and practices. There should also be similar State Committees.

**Shri Chowkhamoon Gohain, Member of the House of the People
(Assam)**

I think all of us know that real problem of the tribal areas is education, and I think it is a very important factor in the life of the tribal people. Some people say that literary education should not be introduced in the tribal areas. I strongly feel that this is wholly a wrong opinion, because we have to educate our children how to read and write.

Now, coming to the areas I represent in the House, the hills comprise six districts, viz., Balipara, Subansiri, Abor Hills, Mishmi Hills, Tirap Frontier and Naga tribal areas. All of them have got their own dialects different from each other; and as they are not educated in their own dialects, they have to learn Assamese first. This has presented them with various difficulties in spreading education in the tribal areas.

Now I come to the method of education which is being imparted by means of Roman script in certain areas. My personal opinion is that children should be taught Hindi in Devanagari instead of Roman script in these tribal areas. It is no doubt a fact that the Government have given little time and attention to spare for the education in the hills. It is also a fact that the tribal people are very poor to send their boys and girls to schools. So the Government must set apart large sums of money for their stipends, free clothing, expenses on books, etc. For their lodging and boarding, permanent school buildings and hostels should be constructed in place of the temporary ones. In order to encourage them to have education, a strong propaganda machinery should be organised immediately, and sent to each village.

श्री काका साहब कालेलकर मंत्री कौंसिल आफ स्टेट्स (मध्य प्रदेश)

आदिम जातियों के अनेक सवालों में सब से महत्वपूर्ण सवाल शिक्षा का है। प्रश्न पूछा गया है कि इन्हें कौन सी भाषा में और कौन सी लिपि में शिक्षा दी जाय। पहले लिपि का सवाल देख लें। आदिम जातियों की भाषाओं के लिए कोई खास लिपि नहीं है। मिशनरियों ने इन के लिए रोमन लिपि चलायी। मेरा अभिप्राय है कि जिस प्रदेश में ये लोग रहते हैं, उस प्रदेश की प्रधान लिपि और नागरी लिपि, दोनों इन्हें सिखायी जायें। इन की भाषाओं के लिये अगर हम नागरी लिपि दे दें, तो उनके लिए बड़ा लाभ होगा। नागरी लिपि भी इन की जन्म भाषा के माफत ही प्रथम सिखायी जाय।

इनकी भाषायें चाहे जितनी छोटी हों, अवि-कसित हों, ये भाषायें इन के लिये माता के स्थान पर हैं। इसलिये प्राथमिक शिक्षा इन्हें इनकी जन्म भाषा में ही देनी चाहिये। आगे जाते इन की भाषा में धीरे-धीरे प्रादेशिक भाषा के शब्द हम डालते जायें और स्वभाषा के विकास के तौर पर ये लोग

प्रादेशिक भाषा सीख जायें। प्रादेशिक भाषा के बिना इन का जीवन क्रम कठिन होगा। जिस तरह छोटी नदी बड़ी नदी को जाकर मिलती है, उसी तरह इनकी बोलियां प्रादेशिक भाषा में धीरे-धीरे मिल जायें। यहां तक के इन के कुछ अच्छे शब्द भी प्रादेशिक भाषा में हम प्रसन्नतापूर्वक लें।

बच्चों को प्रथम मौखिक ही सिखाना चाहिये। भाषा का कुछ ज्ञान होने के बाद लिपि का परिचय कराना चाहिये।

गांधी जी कहते थे कि बच्चों को पहले ड्राइंग याने आलेखन सिखाया जाय। ड्राइंग के जरिये उंगलियां तैयार होने के बाद लिपि सिखायी जाय। संथाल बच्चे को पहले उस की संथाली भाषा सिखानी चाहिए। भाषा के साथ साथ बंगला या नागरी लिपि सीखनी चाहिए। मातृभाषा के द्वारा लिपि का सीखना आसान होता है। मातृभाषा और प्रादेशिक भाषा सीखने के बाद राष्ट्र भाषा की बारी आती है।

लोग कहते हैं कि इन बनवासी लोगों को सिखाने वाले शिक्षकों को ट्रायबल लैंग्वेज का Working knowledge काम चलाऊ ज्ञान होना चाहिये। मैं उन के साथ सहमत नहीं हूँ। जिन के पास बच्चों की जन्मभाषा का सिर्फ वकींग नालेज होता है, काम चलाऊ ज्ञान होता है, उनकी शिक्षा शक्ति मर जाती है। इन आदिम जातियों की भाषा का शब्द भंडार बहुत बड़ा नहीं होता है। इन का जीवन क्रम भी बिल्कुल सादा और संकुचित होता है। इन की भाषा सीखना शिक्षकों के लिए कठिन काम नहीं है। शिक्षकों को चाहिए कि उन की भाषाओं की रग रग तक पहचानें। इन की भाषा में नये शब्द बनाने की शक्ति भी शिक्षक में होनी चाहिये। तभी हम इन के हृदय तक पहुंच सकेंगे और इन का विश्वास संपादन करेंगे। अगर इन लोगों के प्रति हमारे दिल में प्रेम रहा, तो इन की भाषा हम अच्छी तरह से सीख सकेंगे और भाषा के द्वारा ही हम उन के साथ घुल मिल सकेंगे। भाषा में शब्द अगर कम हैं, तो नये बना कर देने चाहिये। उस के बाद प्रादेशिक भाषा के और राष्ट्रभाषा के शब्द लेने चाहिएं।

सामान्य व्यवहार के लिए कम से कम पांच हजार शब्द और अधिक से अधिक बारह हजार शब्द चाहिएं।

प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के और राष्ट्र भाषा के शब्द कोष देखने के बाद ही आप से कहता हूँ कि हमें पांच हजार ऐसे शब्द मिल सकते हैं जो हमारी सब भाषाओं में समान हैं। कम से कम पांच सौ क्रियाएं ऐसी हैं जो ठोड़े थोड़े हेरफार के साथ हिन्दुस्तान की सब भाषाओं में पायी जाती हैं। दक्षिण की चार द्रविड़ भाषाओं में भी समान क्रियायें बहुत पायी जाती हैं। इस तरह भाषाओं के स्वरूप का अध्ययन करने से शिक्षा का सवाल आसान होगा।

मेरा दृढ़ अभिप्रायः है कि इन आदिम जाति लोगों का जीवन क्रम देखते इन के लिए सब से अच्छी शिक्षा प्रणाली "बेसिक एज्युकेशन" की है। क्योंकि यह नयी तालीम या बुनियादी तालीम समस्त जीवन के लिये और जीवन के जरिये बच्चों को शिक्षा देती है। सेवाग्राम वर्षा, वेड़छी आदि स्थानों

पर जो प्रयोग हुए हैं, उन से यह बात सिद्ध हुई है कि जिन के पुरखाओं को हजारों वर्षों से कोई तालीम नहीं मिली थी, ऐसे बच्चे देखते देखते उत्तम शिक्षा पा सकते हैं। चित्रकला, संगीत, साहित्य, कविता आदि नये क्षेत्रों में भी ये बच्चे मौलिक रचनायें करने लगते हैं। और उद्योग में प्रगति करने से इन का आत्मविश्वास बढ़ता है। औद्योगिक प्रवृत्ति के जरिये सब ज्ञान प्राप्त करने से इन की जिज्ञासा भी तेज होती है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि रूढ़िवादी बन कर हम अगर इन्हें रिवाजी शिक्षा देंगे तो इन का द्रोह करेंगे। इन के लिये बेसिक शिक्षा ही सब से अच्छी है।

आदिम जाति के लोगों को मैं भूमि जन कहना अधिक पसन्द करता हूँ। हरिजन, स्त्री जन और भूमि जन तीनों के प्रति आज तक हम ने जो उपेक्षा की उस का हमें प्रायश्चित्त करना है। इस उपेक्षा के कारण हमारा सारा समाज कमजोर हुआ है और उसके फल हम भुगत रहे हैं।

अब इन लोगों को कौन सा धर्म सिखाया जाय ? मिशनरियों ने इन में से थोड़े लोगों को अपना ईसाई धर्म सिखाया। मैं तो किसी भी धर्म से द्वेष नहीं करता। मैं मानता हूँ कि सब धर्म सच्चे हैं, सब धर्म अच्छे हैं, सब धर्म मेरे और मैं सब धर्मों का हूँ।

हमारा राज धर्म के बारे में किसी का पक्षपात नहीं करता। हम भी अपने भूमि-जनों को सब धर्मों के प्रधान सिद्धांतों का और स्वरूपों का ज्ञान दें और बतावें कि उदारता की दृष्टि रही तो धर्म धर्म के बीच झगड़े का कोई कारण नहीं है।

अकसर पाया गया है कि ये भूमि जन अपने आस पास के समाज से हिन्दू धर्म के संस्कार लेते हैं। यह स्वाभाविक है। लेकिन हिन्दू धर्म में जो दोष हैं, जो संकुचितता है, जो उच्च नीच भाव है, इन की दीक्षा इन भूमि जनों को क्यों कर मिले ? प्रार्थना समाज, ब्रह्मो समाज, राम कृष्ण मिशन, भागवत धर्म, महात्मा गांधी जी की प्रवृत्तियां इत्यादि जो नव संस्करण के प्रयत्न देश में हुए हैं, इन्हीं के संस्कार भूमि-जन लड़के लड़कियों को सिखने चाहिये।

आज हमारे देश में धर्म एक ऐसी विचित्र वस्तु हो गई है कि उस के बिना हम जी नहीं सकते और धर्म की अनेक रूढ़ियों को देखते वह बड़ी खतरनाक हैं। मैं तो कहूंगा कि spiritual Secularism धार्मिकतायुक्त तटस्थता ऐसी कोई चीज हो सकती है तो वही हमारी शिक्षा की बुनियाद होनी चाहिए। और बाद में सब धर्मों का एक कुटुंब बना कर उस के प्रति श्रद्धा बढ़ानी चाहिए।

इन के सामाजिक जीवन का भी एक बड़ा सवाल है। हम सफेदपोश लोग श्रमजीवन से डरते हैं और श्रमजीवी लोगों को शिक्षा के संस्कार नहीं मिलते हैं। हम सफेदपोश लोग अपने को बुद्धिजीवी कहते हैं। मैं तो शब्दजीवी या कलमजीवी कहूंगा। हमें किसान मजदूर और भूमि जनों के पास से श्रम जीवन सीखना चाहिए। तभी हमारे द्वारा होने वाला सामाजिक अन्याय और अत्याचार मिट जायेगा।

आज भूमि जनों में स्त्री और पुरुष दोनों की एक सी हालत है। स्त्रियां पुरुषों के जितनी ही आजाद हैं। अगर भूमि जन लड़कों को ही शिक्षा मिली और लड़कियां रह गयीं तो उन के समाज में वे सब दोष आयेंगे जो सफेदपोश समाज में हैं। इस वास्ते स्त्री व पुरुष दोनों को एक सी शिक्षा देनी चाहिए। अगर बच्चों के लिए आश्रम हैं तो लड़कियों के लिए भी आश्रम होने चाहिए। मैं मानता हूं कि आदिम जाति के बच्चों के लिए शुरु से सह शिक्षणका सिलसिला ही जारी करना चाहिये।

हमारे देश में अनेक भाषायें, अनेक जातियां और अनेक धर्म हैं। इन सब की सेवा करने के लिये किसी केन्द्रीय प्रधान स्थान पर एक विराट स्कूल आफ लैंग्वेजस एण्ड कलचर कि भाषा और संस्कृति महाविद्यालय की स्थापना होनी चाहिए।

अंग्रेजों के दिनों में आदिम जातियों के दो प्रधान विभाग माने जाते थे। सारे देश की आदिम जातियां अलग और आसाम की आदिम जातियां अलग।

आसाम के सवाल कुछ भिन्न हैं जरूर। उस की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये। भूचाल, नदियों की बाढ़ आदि के कारण वहां के सवाल कुछ जटिल हो गये हैं। सरहद का प्रवेश होने से भी उस तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना जरूरी है। जहां रास्ते बनाना मुश्किल है, वहां हवाई जहाज का उपयोग करना चाहिए। और इन सब जातियों को सब तरह से अपनाना चाहिए।

भूमि जनों के जीवन क्रम को देखते उन के लिए Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies (विविधहेतु सहकारी मंडली) Co-operative Farming (सहकारी खेती) आदि नये ढंग ज्यादा अनुकूल होंगे। आज कल के जीवन संग्राम में ये लोग पिछड़ जायें यह बिल्कुल काम का नहीं है।

हम इन के संगीत, नृत्य कला आदि सांस्कृतिक बातों की कद्र करने की सोचते हैं। इस तरह इन्हें म्यूजियम के नमूने बनाकर रखें यह काम का नहीं। इन की जो बातें हमें अच्छी लगती हैं, वह सब हम अपने जीवन में दाखिल क्यों न करें? इन की भाषाओं के अच्छे अच्छे शब्द भी हम लें। इन के रहन सहन में जो बातें अच्छी होंगी, वे सब हम अपनावें। तब इन्हें विश्वास होगा कि हम सब एक हैं। ऐसा न हो कि इन में से जो लोग शिक्षा पाते हैं वे अपनी अपनी जाति से अलग ही हो जायें। जब तक अंग्रेजों का राज्य था, तब तक हम लोगों के प्रति अविश्वास दिखाने की नीति इन के नेताओं के लिये मुफीद थी। वह बात अब धीरे धीरे निकल जायेगी।

अन्तिम एक ही बात करनी है। आदिम जातियां सारे भारत भर में बिखरी हुई हैं। इन में काफ़ी विविधता है। इन की सेवा के लिए, इन के उद्धार के लिए अनेक ढंग से प्रयत्न होने चाहिए। इन की शिक्षा के लिए जगह जगह आश्रम खोले जायें। जिस से इन्हें स्वाभाविक नेता मिल सके और यह सब जातियां भारत जैसे विशाल संस्कार सम्पन्न और समर्थ राष्ट्र के उत्तम घटक बन जायें।

Shri C. Misra, Director and Secretary, Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, Government of Orissa.

The Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, Government of Orissa, besides assisting Tribal and Scheduled caste boys with stipends to prosecute studies in the Secondary and High Schools, have started a number of special institutions mostly for the tribal children. There are 30 Residential (Ashram) schools which are contemplated to teach up to the M.E. standard while training the students in crafts like agriculture, carpentry, weaving, smithy etc. There are 500 Day-Schools (Sevashrams) in tribal areas which teach up to the L.P. standard. Here also the teachers and the students raise kitchen gardens, keep poultry, rear bees and get preliminary training in mat making, basket making and other handicrafts. The Residential schools are exclusively for tribals. But the Harijan and other backward class students are admitted into the Day schools.

Originally the Ashram schools emphasised on training in crafts and gave comparatively less attention to general education. The idea was to train the students to earn their living by practising one or other village industry and get just sufficient education to be able to take an intelligent interest in their environment and discharge their responsibility as citizens of the State. The students in some institutions have already gained professional skill in the crafts taught and it could be said with confidence that after completing the course they would be able to earn a decent living and serve as pioneers of a new way of life in their villages.

Generally the Adibasi of the hills did not understand the value of general education well enough to be persuaded to send his boy for a six year course at the Ashram school. The boys also would not stay on. The teachers of the

Ashram schools have reduced truancy considerably by their dealings with the students by alternating work with play and by having regular music and dance programmes which the average Adibasi boy loves so much.

The aim of all these institutions is to make the curriculum conform to the Basic principle as far as possible. The pure Basic method of imparting education through crafts is not possible at present because there are not many teachers qualified to co-ordinate training in crafts with general education. The next best has been attempted in working a programme of education parallelly with a programme of training in crafts. Emphasis is given on production for it is felt that training in crafts to have a lasting effect in moulding the future career of the students must be productive from the very beginning.

Another difficulty felt is the lack of teachers conversant with the dialects of the tribals. Almost all the tribals of Orissa can understand and speak Oriya, the State language. But in order that they can gain the confidence of the students, it is necessary for the teachers to understand the local tribal dialects. At the time of joining, the teachers are ignorant of the tribal dialects. But in order that they may continue in their jobs they are required to get a passing knowledge of the local tribal dialect, within a year of their service. This has worked well. Most of the teachers even without a knowledge of the dialect have endeared the students to themselves by actively participating in all aspects of work.

In the case of the Day-Schools, the tribal boy finds it all the more difficult to continue in school because of the chronic poverty of his parents. The

average boy is required to help his parents in the fields as soon as he is 8 or 9 years old. Few parents can afford to give their children outfits for school. The Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, therefore, gives each student two sets of garments every year besides books and slates. The idea of giving them mid-day meals as an encouragement to regular attendance is a nice one, but it will be too costly. The very cost will work as a deterrent to the speedy progress of education in tribal areas. Each Sevashram is required to raise a good kitchen garden, and keep poultry. The practice is to give the boys occasional gifts of fruits, flowers and eggs. This has to a great extent succeeded in interesting the parents in the education of their children.

As a rule, the Education Department expects non-official enthusiasts to take the initiative in starting educational institutions which the Education Department recognise and assist with grants-in-aid. In tribal areas, the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department takes the place of these non-official enthusiasts. The idea is to start the school, iron out the initial difficulties and then transfer it to the Education Department. It may not be possible to transfer the Residential schools in this way because the Residential schools combine in their programme activities

of many Departments—Education, Industries, Agriculture, Veterinary etc.

The education programme of the Ashram schools is two fold—education and economic uplift. The Ashram schools have begun introducing better ways of cultivation, better and new seeds and new industries into Adibasi areas. Working on these trades in the very midst of the tribals, has partly succeeded in interesting the tribals in them. Even before the students pass out to follow these trades in their villages, example at the Ashram schools is likely to have succeeded in creating an urge for them among the villagers. This year small machinery like power pumps, rice haulers and oil ghanies have been introduced in some schools. These are sure to have considerable effect in the process of acculturation.

In Orissa the first priority was given to the programme of education and then economic uplift and health. On the question of communications he gave his personal opinion that the opening up of communications before the Adibasis were able to withstand the impact which communications bring, may lead to exploitation of the hill-men. In Orissa what was being attempted at present was to have village roads connecting villages with main roads that exist. Building other main roads should wait till better times.

Shri S. R. Bhise, Secretary, Adivasi Seva Mandal, Bombay.

There are nearly 30 lakhs of adivasis in the Bombay State. They belong to different tribes and are found particularly in North and South Gujrat, and the hilly regions of Satpura and Sahyadri mountains. There are nearly ten different organisations nearly all inspired by the late Thakkur Bapa, trying to serve the Aborigines in different parts of the province. I don't think a careful and scientific study of the traits, their totems and taboos, their

likes and dislikes, their growth or decay, has been made in our province; and I would request Scientists gathered here to take it up as early as possible so as to give Government a correct picture of the state of things.

I don't agree with the view that attempts should be made for the preservation of the traits and characteristics of the Adivasi life. I regard that as an un-natural process. I am convinc-

ed that it is through a process of assimilation and not preservation and segregation that the Adivasis will be led to the path of progress. The Adivasi should not be regarded as quite separate from the other communities, but he should be asked and taught to remember that he is a citizen of India, and as such he has his responsibilities and duties along with the rights, privileges and concessions he can enjoy. All our schemes for the all-round development and sublimation of the Adivasi life must be planned with this perspective in view. The Adivasi cannot live alone, he has to lead his life in a co-operative spirit with the life of the non-Adivasis.

Thus whether it is education, or social uplift, or economic freedom, the Adivasi problem should be a part of an integrated national plan of all-round development.

And when we begin to think of the type of education which should be compulsory among the Adivasis, we can't think of any other plan than the scheme of education popularly known as Wardha Plan. Under that plan we insist upon making education self-supporting, and relating it integrally with the life of the community. Let us be perfectly sure of this fact that unless we teach the Adivasi child, as of course all other children for that matter, to be self-reliant, to be able to produce his own food, and other necessary articles of life, all our schemes will be total failures. The education of the Adivasi should be a multi-purpose activity, utilising all the material and human resources to the fullest advantage.

And further, we should not be satisfied with the schemes of education only for children; but we should also include in the scheme all the community, the

child, the mother, the young and the old. I may tell you just for information that we in Thana District of the Bombay State have been carrying on this project of community education very enthusiastically and with great promise.

There are, evidently difficulties in the path of implementing these ideas: they are, mainly—finance, supply of teachers, and the scattered population. The experiments we have been trying in Thana District of the State of Bombay are worthy of careful consideration. There we appealed to the spirit of service and devotion of the primary teachers, and they very splendidly responded to our call and showed their willingness to work in the Adivasi areas for a specified period. This was a sort of voluntary conscription. Then they were put under a short term course during which period they were given a clear grasp of the problems that they were called upon to face and the solutions to them. Thus they were properly equipped mentally and intellectually for the work.

The question of finance for the school-building was solved by adopting a cheap type of cottages, and by setting aside all departmental formalities in respect of constructing the cottages. Thus a school-building which would have ordinarily cost about Rs. 10,000 was constructed only with Rs. 1,500 on an average.

So in brief, the tribal welfare should be regarded as a part of a wider national programme, that education should be the foundation of all welfare plans, that the education to be given to the Adivasis should be a community project, and the Wardhan type, and that the difficulties in the path of fulfilling the programme should be properly appreciated, and met.

Rev. T. Whyte, Inspector of Schools, Ranchi, Bihar.

In Chota Nagpur. I am the Inspector of about 600 Primary and 30 Middle Schools for boys and Girls. Besides these, though I am not directly connected with them, there are 10 Catholic High Schools for boys and girls and two Catholic Colleges one for boys and one for girls, 8 weaving and 4 tailoring schools, one carpentry school and one agricultural school. under the combined patronage of the Bihar Government, Shri Aryanayakam and the Catholic Mission. In these primary and middle schools we have 24,000 children. In the high schools there are another 6,000. In these Primary and Middle schools, although they are not called basic schools, we have for the past 40 years followed the basic system, namely we teach the boys not only the ordinary curriculum, but they are taught (both boys & girls) agriculture, gardening, weaving, tailoring and everything else to prepare them for life. We have also got a co-operative Bank for the aboriginals and many grain golas, to help them in time of stress and to save them from the clutches of the money-lenders. As regards help from the Government, I do not wish to make any criticism,

but you will agree with me that the sum which we receive and which amounts to Rs. 2/- per month per teacher does not help us very much. I make a plea that with so much work that we are doing, the non-official bodies, viz., the Adim Jati Sewa Mandal, S.P.G. Mission, the German and the Catholic Missions may receive adequate and prorated grants according to the number of Institutions they manage and the efficiency of their work. We are having this conference here for the uplift of the Tribals. The Catholic Mission has been working for the past 80 years for them and I think if we have more substantial help, we could do much more for their uplift. There have been many a criticism against the Tribals, but we all agree, who have been working among them and as the Hon'ble Prime Minister said that they are very truthful, honest and diligent and make fine citizens if they are given the chance. I appeal that the Tribals should get their fair share in the different Government and non-official services and in this way to raise them, so that they too may take their rightful place among the citizens of India.

Shri Aryanayakam, Secretary Hindustani Talimi Sangh Sevagram, Educationist, Wardha, Madhya Pradesh.

We have heard the President's speech, the Prime Minister's and the Home Minister's. They have gone very thoroughly into the fundamental problems involved in this very difficult problem of handling the tribal question. I have little more to add. Fortunately for me, most of the people who have sent in papers have agreed that the system of education suited for the tribal areas and for the backward classes is the Basic Education. In addition to that, the Government of India also have agreed and given the direction to all the States that during the course of the next 10 years the

system of education, known as primary education should be replaced by Basic Education. Now there is a very big question in the minds of those who have been trying to introduce education in the so-called backward and tribal areas, that has to be faced. I have some experience of these people, in Orissa, in Assam and in Madras. They ask the question: "You have one system of education for the rich and you are thrusting this Basic Education based on manual labour on us in order to perpetuate our slavery to manual labour and to keep us as hewers of wood and drawers of water?" It is a

very legitimate question. There is no sign of the rich man's child doing any manual work from primary to the University. They are followed by servants, the rooms are cleaned by servants, the food is cooked by servants, everything is done for them by servants. When you come to Basic Education, it is a question of self-help, self-reliance and self-confidence. If you think it is such a good education, "why don't you extend it to the rich?" As I was reading today's paper, Mr. Bevan, whose book on Declaration of Faith has received such wide publicity and which is coming out in series in the "Hindustan Times", there he says the essentials of the satisfactory health service. In the place of health service, I will put education service. England has produced a satisfactory educational service and the time has come to put in a satisfactory health service. The essence of a satisfactory health service is that both rich and poor are treated alike; that poverty is not a disability and wealth is not an advantage. When we think in terms of bringing education to Adivasis we must think in terms of their primary needs. The people whom we are trying to educate, should be allowed to live in their natural surroundings. The moment they come into contact with civilization they want all the paraphernalia of the educated class. I visited the Reservations of the Red Indians. They are the Adivasis of America and Canada. They are put in Reservations and educated to become American citizens. They come in contact with civilized life, and are dying out, they are a dying race. We should have an education that is good for any child, a good education that is good for the tribal areas, backward classes, for the rich and the poor alike. As milk is good for a growing child, we must have good education for everybody, and not split it into compartments and say this is for the tribal people and the backward classes, and this is for the rich or the middle classes. We must treat it from a human point

of view. That is the approach of Nai Talim of Gandhiji's Basic Education. Here is the physical vigour and moral strength in which, if anywhere, lies our real hope. Can we complacently stand and watch this vigour being snapped, by the encroaching, insidious influence of commercial greed? The pure culture of the tribes is an unself-conscious culture, and balance it is the fruit of a healthy but unreasoned tradition, it is defenceless against the purposeful cunning of the exploiter. If we care that our heritage of simple integrity shall be preserved, we must begin now to help the primitive peoples to grow into an active consciousness of the worth and beauty of their own traditions; they must not only follow, but understand with their full intelligence, their own ways of life; they must choose them of their own free will because they see them to be good.

We have tried to bring the Santhal children to school. I have asked the parents to send their children, but they say "what is the use of this education for us; this is meant for rich people. We are working class people." They cannot really make any improvement in their economic condition through the sort of education that is imparted. To this day we have not had a Santhal boy—there are few now—at Shantiniketan.

Nai Talim does not begin or end with the years which children spend in school. It is a living force through the whole span of life, spurring the man or woman to newer and newer discoveries in the infinite world in which he is set. Therefore it concerns itself with the mother even before the birth of the child and with the home into which it is destined to be born. It concerns itself with youth, and the initiation of youth into the responsible adult life of society, with marriage and parenthood, with the economic position of the village, with its feasts and festivals, its music and legends, its sorrows and its amusements. It is concerned that all

of these natural things should draw out, that is to say should educate, the full latent possibilities of the men and women who come under its influence. To use a beautiful phrase from the Bible, it is concerned that all should grow "into a perfect man, into the fullness of the stature of the glory of God"—as He can reveal his glory in the loveliness of human life.

I see in this Conference a great future as the experience of these people has a contribution to make and we have a great deal to learn from them. How we are going to implement this programme. We want an organisation to achieve it. Many of our friends have a great deal of experience of non-Governmental agencies and great deal of educational work has been carried out through these agencies. But practically all the resources of the country, large share of the best brains of the country, are in the hands of the Government. Government and non-Governmental institutions have to pool their resources together and formulate a sound policy. Non-Government institutions may run model centres, with freedom from Government interference receiving financial help necessary. But the vast national programme has to be worked through Government agencies. I think there has been response on the part of Government agencies to welcome non-Government help where it is available. The non-Government people may have, in many ways, to stoop to conquer. This co-operation is essential and we should welcome it.

Then comes the question of teachers. I suggest that at least Rs. 40 a month

should be the basic minimum salary for a teacher. As regards the proposals for the training of teachers, I welcome them. In the initial stages non-Government agencies should be asked to train teachers for these Adivasi areas. We as non-government workers should be prepared to take Government help and train teachers for Adivasis, but the recognition of the schools will be by the people of the regional area and not by the Government.

Now we must have a Central Advisory Board for this type of Education, a Central Advisory Board composed of members from all the States, government and non-government. That is for the department to arrange. That should be a standing Board, scheduled to meet at least once a year, to go into the details of working and guiding this Adivasi problem.

Then comes the question of this Conference. It is very good that this Conference has been called, and at the initial stage it was perhaps necessary that the Conference should be convened in the Capital so that the President, all the Ministers and Members of Parliament could take part in it. We agree. But the next Conference should be in an Adivasi area. Today I do not think we have created any enthusiasm among the Adivasis by meeting in the Capital. They have not seen us. States should be requested to invite the conference in an Adivasis area. Now take Santiniketan. This is a Central University. All around there are Santals living in villages. Now this Central University can invite the Conference.

Shri K. G. Salyidain, Joint Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education, Government of India:

I want to place before you some of the general considerations about the type of education and the method of approach to be adopted in dealing with

the education of these people. I think it would be well to start from a basic and fundamental principle which applies not only to the Adivasis but to

all groups and communities. That principle is, that whenever you have got to provide a system or type of education that would be really effective, you must base that education on the genius of the group or the community, on their needs, on their activities and on their environment. Whether we are dealing with the more advanced urban life or rural life or life in the jungles or the hills, if we lose sight of this principle, the entire educational superstructure that we are going to build is likely to be out of touch with reality. Therefore, while I agree as I think Mr. David Roy has said in one of his papers that we should try to build up and bring out the special characteristics of the genius and culture of these people, we have also to recognize at the same time that we should not be content *merely* with bringing out what their native culture and their native characteristics are. That is good as a starting point but not as defining our destination. We have also got to try and build our educational system in such a way that we would be able to introduce into their life something of the dynamic and progressive outlook which forms part of the essential life of today. In this changing world no group can stay out. Now, when we are trying to build up the economy of India on a more dynamic and progressive basis, while it will certainly guard a part of their special culture and their special qualities, we have got to be careful not to idealise and romanticize it too much. It is true as our Prime Minister said, that they have certain social, cultural and moral characteristics which are superior to those of the people in the cities and the villages in the rest of the country. But there are also various handicaps, difficulties and defects from which they suffer and our educational system has to be geared to the eradication of some of these evils. So, in the light of this observation we have got to take both these things into account.

We have got to conserve and preserve whatever is valuable in the special type of culture that they have built and we have got to help them so that the limitations in which their life is spent would be greatly reduced. With that also is connected the question which some of you have been discussing no doubt, *viz.*, whether these people should be assimilated in the general culture and civilization of the country, or, as the Prime Minister emphasized yesterday, they should be allowed to continue in their own environments and it should be ultimately left to them to choose whether or not they would become assimilated. If I might venture to say so, it is clear that, in due course of time, perhaps out of their own volition, they should approximate more closely to the general pattern of culture and civilization of this country. But this approach has got to be controlled. It has to be through the development of the right type of educational and cultural institutions. I should like to quote one small instance. I saw in Australia the operation of both kinds of approaches. In Australia proper there are aborigines who, without any special social and educational control or preparation have been allowed, as it were, to come too close to the urban and civilised life of the Australian people and one finds that in that approach they have even lost whatever they had of value in their own culture! You find them in rags, you find them reduced to the state of beggary, you find them suffering from all the evils that come from living on the fringes of civilization without in any way being able to imbibe its essential characteristics. Their condition is really far more pitiable. Their condition is far more pitiable than that of the aboriginal classes living in the jungles and the desert. On the other hand in New Zealand the approach has been intelligently planned and organised. They have come much nearer to civilization and

while preserving some of the essential characteristics of their group life they have been able to forge bonds. Now, subject to these general considerations, there are one or two points connected specially with the educational problem to which I would like to draw the attention of this Conference.

In the first place, I would like to say that in the case of the people of this group, the approach to "social education" as we are now beginning to call it, is even more important than the approach through the education of the children. While there is not the slightest doubt that our ultimate object is to try to introduce for them, as in the rest of the country, a system of compulsory universal education, the introduction of this system is likely to meet with much opposition if we do not plan out carefully a programme of social education, in the more comprehensive sense, for the education of the adults. Workers who have been closely connected with the programme of activities for the amelioration of the condition of these classes have pointed out that, even where these schools exist, the children are not forthcoming for them, because the parents of these children do not realise what the value or the importance of these schools is for their own future. Now, that is partly the result of the somewhat wrong type of education which has been tried in their case. But, over and above that, is the further factor that no attempt has been made on a large scale, so far, successfully to introduce this new type of social education amongst these people. In this concept of the social education, with which I am sure most of you must be familiar, the element of literacy is, even less important in their case than it is in the case of the population of the rest of the country. The approach that we have got to adopt there, is to try and study what their immediate needs and problems and deprivations are. Then

we have to try and win over their confidence and active participation by approaching their educational problem from a particular point of view, i.e., through the improvement of their health, through the organisation of their recreational activities in which they are interested, through giving them some elementary principles of civics and citizenship, through trying to improve their simple crafts and eradicating their physical and social diseases. Thus you will be able to improve the over-all quality of their life. Now, if that social approach to education is adopted, it will greatly help in solving the problem of the education of the children also. The "community approach" must be applied increasingly for the educational programme that we are going to build up for these people. In some of the areas, for example, in Bombay great deal of interest has been quickened because of this approach. In this social education prominence has to be given firstly to the improvement of their economic condition, even though it may be to a very limited extent. Secondly, we must fight against those social forces which are trying to hold them back, whether they are external, in the form of exploitation by "drink merchants" etc. or internal due to bad social customs. If this social education can be made an integral part of the larger programme of social reconstruction, we will find that the solution of the whole problem would become easier.

Let us now take the question of the education of the children. Here, again, I would like to reiterate the emphasis that has been placed on the adoption of what is known as the basic approach to education. This is not the place to analyse and dilate upon what this basic educational system should be. But the essential idea that sound education can only be imparted through work is something which applies even

more emphatically in the case of these people than elsewhere. Their whole life is a life of struggle against physical forces; it is a life of hard work. Every one of them have to put in hard labour for their scanty living. Now, if your schools are going to be bookish and academic, which isolate the children from the formative activities of their daily life, we will be creating a great gulf between education in schools and the life as it is being lived outside. Education and work should go hand in hand, for the "education of the worker is the door to the education of man." This is the principle which must permeate the education of all these scheduled castes and tribal areas. Even for people living in advanced and civilised countries, in the education of small children, attempts have been made to build up the entire syllabus round what are known as the basic needs of life, i.e., food, clothing and shelter. They take up these as the three basic points in which every child as a child and as a human being is interested, and try to build up the curricula and syllabus on that basis. In the case of Adivasis I would plead very strongly for a *simplification* of their syllabus. There may be something to be said for the kind of over-crowding of the syllabus that we are providing not only in the ordinary schools but in Basic Schools, although there is a great deal of criticism against it. Now, if we are dealing with these people whose life is simple and closer to nature, there is far less justification for having this kind of syllabus. In their case you must teach them a few things and teach them well and in such a way that they will become an integral part of their life. If you can do that, then you will be able to place their education on a much sounder basis and it will be possible for them to see how their education has made them to understand better the environment in which they are living. It is something which has added to their

efficiency, and they will be able to use it in their daily lives.

If this is to be done, it becomes essential that, at the educational level also, we should try and develop local leadership, that is, we should try to get hold of promising young men from those very areas and give them scholarships, and facilities by way of books, clothing, shoes, etc. and train them as teachers. Even in richer countries these amenities are provided for the poorer classes.

If you want education to spread among these people, then no direct expenditure of any kind should be involved so far as either children or parents are concerned. Indirectly, they might be able to contribute something for the support of say, teachers. There is much to be said for the local community being as helpful as possible. But for the education of these children all the expenditure that has to be directly incurred, whether it is on their tuition, board or lodging, must come either from the State or from the agencies that are working for them. Then you must select some of the more promising and intelligent lads and provide for them not only primary but secondary education. And after they have received this education they should assume leadership not only in schools, but in the community centres and social education centres. They alone will be able to understand the problems of their people intelligently and apply it to their own lives.

Unfortunately I was not present in the deliberations of this Conference yesterday when the language problem was discussed so I don't know what your conclusions about this matter are. But I would suggest that at the primary stage education must be provided in the dialects of these people. If there are different dialects, there is no reason for shying away from that

Tribal Economy

Shri N. Dutt Mazumdar, Minister for Aborigines and Backward Classes, West Bengal

To me the question of tribal welfare is not a mere humanitarian question for the uplift of the people who are down-trodden and left backward, but it is, in essence, a vital problem of India's national reconstruction and the question of our national consolidation and existence. In approaching this problem, the question of psychology and outlook is of the utmost importance.

It is a new spirit, I feel, with which those who are called Adivasis or Tribals, their problem, their history, have to be approached. A lot of the ancient heritage of India still lies buried in the unknown history of the Adivasis, the children of the soil and a part and parcel of India, who remained neglected hitherto. Whenever the spirit of the frontier people, the vital sentinels of this country, have been found to have already broken down, there have been foreign invasions and aggressions from outside. And whenever those people living in the frontier regions, in the neglected corners of the country, have breathed the same fervour of patriotism, have shared the same patriotic passion for the whole country, India has remained an invulnerable force. It is from that angle that I look at the problem of the Adivasis and the question of tribal welfare, as essentially a national question of reconstruction and consolidation. A nation, like an iron chain, is just as strong or as weak as its weakest links. This applies to India with her neglected tribal populace with all the greater force.

West Bengal, unfortunately has had the opportunity to pay attention to the problem of tribal welfare and the welfare of the backward classes, at least a decade after the sister States elsewhere in India, because other States

had a Congress Ministry 10 years before Bengal had one. Then again we had a heap of problems after the partition.—riots and carnage, refugee problem and misery of a whole people.

There are 7 scheduled tribes in West Bengal whose number would be about 12 lakhs and other categories of backwards classes would run to about 40 lakhs. We have to realise that West Bengal is now placed as a frontier Province, its northern boundaries, inhabited by the hill people and the various tribes, are almost contiguous to Tibet and all the complications and complexities of political life tend to find their way towards India and complicate issues even more.

Coming to the immediate problems of the so-called tribals and aboriginals, I have felt and found that they are not different from the problems of the average Indian villager, who is in distress, who goes without food, medicine, roads, drinking water and so on. What he needs is the fulfilment of all these primary needs. The Bharat Mahajati Mandali, with which I happen to be associated, has been doing its bit in the service of the tribal people in West Bengal. They have opened up a Training Institute in which they teach them tribal and bratachari music and dancing, along with the useful arts and crafts for their economic uplift. Through such training we must give them food, clothing, shelter, education and health, the five pillars of security. After training, the tribal workers must go and work as ambassadors of a new enlightenment among their people. We must give them useful training in agriculture, with a modern outlook and proper education, open up their intellect and technical skill, so that they can make their life richer and happier.

श्री एम० जी० उयके, मैम्बर, होस आफ दी पीपल (मध्य प्रदेश)

मैं पहले आदिम जाति की आर्थिक परिस्थिति का ही विषय लेता हूँ। उसके सम्बन्ध में दूसरे सज्जनों ने अपने अपने सुझाव दिये हैं, मैं भी संक्षेप में अपने सुझावों को आपके समाने पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ। लेकिन समय थोड़ा होने से मैंने जो रचनात्मक कार्य किया है उसको बताता हूँ।

हमारे राज्य में बैहर एक पहाड़ी तहसील है। मन्ना के भाई इतनी शराब पीते थे कि उन से बाजार में दुकानदार तिगुना और चौगुना मुनाफा ऐंठ लेते थे। मैंने उन के बीच जा कर रचनात्मक कार्य शुरू किया। आदिम जाति छोटी छोटी बातों में बिटाल मानते थे और पंचायती ज़ुर्माना करते थे तथा उस रकम की शराब इत्यादि पीते थे। तीन चार गांव घूम कर मैंने उन्हें समझाया पंचायती ज़ुर्माने को शराब इत्यादि पीने खाने में खर्च करना ठीक नहीं है। ज़ुर्माने का पैसा अच्छे अच्छे कार्यों में खर्च करना चाहिए। वे सब राज़ी हो गये और इस तरह रकम इकट्ठी कर के चालीस प्राइमरी स्कूल शुरू किये गये।

दूसरी सलाह जो मैंने दी वह थी कि उन के यहाँ बहुत से लोग भिक्षा मांगने आया करते थे और धर्म के नाम पर आदिम जाति से बहुत सा गल्ला पैसा मांग कर ले जाते थे। मैंने उन से कहा कि इस तरह भिक्षा देने में कोई भी धर्म नहीं है। इस तरह फालतू लोगों को पैसा न देवें। ऐसे धर्म के नाम पर दिये जाने

बाले अनाज और पसों को गांव गांव पंचायतों में जमा करो और जिस के पास बीज या जोतने का बैल नहीं है उन को इस जमा से सहायता करो। इस सलाह से उन्होंने पहिले ही साल सतरह हजार रुपये और तीन हजार खड़ी गल्ला जमा किये।

तो भाइयों इस तरह करने से आदिम जाति की आर्थिक हालत सुधरेगी और अपने आप शिक्षण लेने को समर्थ होंगे।

अब सरकार ने दस करोड़ रुपये पांच साल के लिए आदिम जाति की उन्नति करने के लिए मंजूर किये हैं। इस रकम का सदुपयोग होगा तो आदिम जाति दस साल में सुधार के संभ्य समाजों के बराबर होगी और दुरोपयोग हुआ तो आदिम जाति जैसी की बैसी ही रहेगी और दस साल में आदिम जाति को संभ्य समाजों के बराबर बनाने का भारत संविधान का दावा कागज में ही छपा रहेगा।

तो आदिम जाति के हितैषी भाइयो, आप हथारों यहां जमा हुए हो। हर आदिम जाति हितैषी संस्था को सरकारी सहायता मिलेगी और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप के द्वारा आदिम जाति का उत्थान हो कर भारत संविधान का दावा पूरा होगा। किन्तु आदिम जाति के उत्थान से और धर्म शिक्षण से कोई सम्बन्ध न रहे।

Dr. J. D. N. Versluys, Social Science Officer, UNESCO, Delhi.

It is with a feeling of great hesitation that I have accepted the kind invitation of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to make a few remarks at this meeting. I do not know much about Indian tribes. What I do know is derived from my own experience of certain tribes in Indonesia, and this together with what I have been able to read and hear about tribal life in India has given me the feeling that there are a great

many similarities between them. It might be useful, I think, to give you just one or two instances of the experiences I had in Indonesia.

Now my first impression is that it would be very useful, not to say urgent, to investigate the tribal situation as such. My limited experience in Indonesia has taught me that even in a very small area the individual differences among the tribes are sometimes

so considerable that it is necessary to treat them wholly individually. Now as the work about to be done for the Indian tribal peoples will be of such enormous importance, we should, I think first of all, make sure that no money is wasted. The grants to be given to the States represent a large amount of money, yet that amount is, in fact, not much more than one rupee per head of the tribal people. This means that we have to economise if the money is really to be used in the best possible way. Therefore, research is urgently necessary so that we know what we are doing and to ensure that if anything is really undertaken, it will be possible to carry it through. So I suppose that a small group of social anthropologists, tribal administrators who know their area, and some rural economists would get together and draw up a set of questions which would cover the whole field of tribal life as far as administration is concerned. A thorough study of tribal people would take many years, but for the purposes of administration, we could have a limited number of questions asked. These questions would have to be put in a scientific way and, therefore, I am sure that a group such as I have just mentioned would be able to choose suitable questions and compose a good questionnaire. This questionnaire could be sent to the local authorities who would be able to make a report based on the questions asked. Apart from that it would be necessary to send to as many tribal areas as possible young social anthropologists to help the local administrators, to answer the questions in the right way. We need to have a survey of what their actual requirements are. We need to know the attitude of the various tribes, what is their family structure, what possibilities of economic development there may be, I am sure that it would be much easier then to decide in which way further development should take place.

Now a few remarks concerning economics. First of all I should like to say a few words about shifting cultivation. Perhaps I may cite very briefly an experience we had in Timor a few years ago where an attempt was made to get a group of Timorese who used to cultivate the hillside to move down into the plain, a plain which was not inhabited by any other people. There was little difficulty in getting there, yet the troubles connected with that attempt were very great indeed. I may add that the Government tried practically everything in order to carry the projects out satisfactorily, but it was found that one of the main troubles was that the hoe cultivation differed greatly from the agriculture of the plain. The normal hoe agriculture of the Timorese would not do in the plains where the soil is covered by a very hard grass mat. As these people had no ploughs, it was impossible for them to open up the land. Then the Government came to their help with tractors and other mechanical appliances. That essential work was done for them but the cultivation as such which used to be the work of the people themselves was suddenly transformed and came into quite a different category. It immediately came into the sphere of westernised work; it was, in fact, taken out of their hands and given to engineers. It had to be handed over to westernised people and they did not know the tribal people's way of life. This did in fact facilitate the work as such, but on the other hand it greatly impeded the success of the project. The people had been persuaded by their own Raja to come down and do this work and had been told that their ultimate success would be of great advantage to them. But they could not feel that it was theirs, could not feel that they were working for themselves: they thought they were working for the Government or outside people who were not themselves. Such a feeling is

one of the most harmful. Reforms should be made in such a way that the people are really convinced that it is their work, their own work. If that is not possible, then our enterprise is bound to fail. Now the only solution, if it is really necessary to change habits of cultivation, should be first of all to organise pilot projects through which we may find out what the real difficulties are. It is not merely the transition from shifting cultivation to permanent agriculture that is involved, it is the change from one way of life to another. We should not compel or persuade people to make such a change in their lives unless we are really convinced that it is absolutely necessary. I may add that according to many agriculturists shifting cultivation is not a bad system in itself; it becomes a bad system only when the population is too dense and the period allowed for the restoration of shrubs and bushes too short to replenish old soil which has been exhausted by use for too many years.

It is certainly true that in many parts of India there is very real danger of soil erosion and defertilization of the soil and in that case it is urgent to try and change the methods of agriculture. But where there is still scope for shifting cultivation, without endangering the hydrological situation then I am of the opinion that it would be much better to leave the people alone, for the time being, and let them keep their habits and customs. Then it would be better to try and tackle the whole situation from a different point of view and through the education of the children, inculcate the idea that shifting cultivation is dangerous. In many instances, this would prepare them, as it were, for a change that will ultimately have to be made.

I find we are rather behind our scheduled time, but I should like to mention a second thing which has been

discussed in many of the papers and that is the system of creating co-operatives in order to facilitate the trade of the tribal people with the non-tribals. I am sure that if it were possible to establish co-operatives in a satisfactory way, this would be excellent, but I do not feel sure that this is really feasible. Again, I may perhaps refer to experiences I myself had when I was in Timor a few years ago. Some educated Timorese wanted to establish co-operatives. This was done in a very curious way according to our ideas but in a very normal way according to the Timorese. It was at a meeting of approximately 70 or 80 heads of joint families that it was decided to create a co-operative. Now, these 70 or 80 heads of family groups stood for about 4000 people. That was not the normal democratic way, as we know it. It disregarded the individual's right of vote, but it was a very normal, and in fact the only way, in which the Timorese decided their affairs. From this small instance you see that the life of the Timorese people has not yet reached that stage of individualism which is really necessary before you can assume that co-operatives will work. Co-operatives are only possible when a group of individuals are convinced that their individual efforts are not enough and that they should combine. But if you have not reached the stage where you feel that you have quite clear individual opinions, where you have a sense of individual responsibility, and if the whole attitude of your community is such that your life is controlled by the heads of the joint families, then co-operatives cannot work, because they are not real co-operatives. They are just a different word for collective farming or collective selling which is quite a different thing. So as soon as you see that a co-operative, a so-called co-operative, is created among such a community, then the only result will be that either the co-operative will

have to be run by some sort of Government official, and that is usually the best solution, or it is run by a very small group of individuals perhaps who are usually not disinterested. The idea of a co-operative is to give people an opportunity of consulting one another, of discussing common problems and each giving his individual advice. This feature was lacking in Timor. The organiser of the co-operative just mentioned, an educated idealistic young man, was unfortunately killed in an accident, and this meant the end of the co-operative as well. It had no real life of its own. This does not mean, of course, that there is no co-operation in the sense of mutual aid among these people. On the contrary it is one of the main features of their social pattern. But we should be careful not to confuse this with a co-operative which is a form of co-operation alien to the pre-individualistic mind. I thought that it would perhaps be useful to mention this experience as a sort of warning, for according to my ideas it is not easy to establish co-operatives unless the mentality of the community as a whole has reached a certain stage of individualism.

There is one more point to which I should like to refer, namely, the question of roads. Roads have been mentioned in some papers and the Prime Minister yesterday laid great emphasis on the construction of roads as the real key to the accomplishment of economic and cultural contacts with the other groups of the country. Of course this is true and I am sure that roads have in many cases contributed to the improvements which were mentioned by the Prime Minister. But as has been remarked here already, the roads facilitate dangerous contact with middlemen, money-lenders and other people who are keen not on the welfare of the tribal people but rather on their own. Now, that is one part of the

problem, but I should like to stress another as well and that is: who is going to make these roads? I do not know what the situation is here, but I know that in Timor and Sumba it was very difficult to find people willing to work for wages and make roads. According to them, it was not work which was done by free people. They did not like it. They did not see much value in the small amount of money the Government was able to set apart for this work. It may be that the situation is different here, but I think that in trying to build roads, it may be useful to keep in mind that sometimes the wages you pay will not be sufficient to induce these people to do for so small an amount of money a work which they really do not like.

Then finally, if I may be allowed, a more general remark about the question of interference in general. What gives us the right to interfere in the lives of other people who happen to have a different way of life from ours? Well, I think, we can assume such a right only when their way of life is dangerous either to themselves or to their neighbours. Such a case might arise, for instance, if their economic well being were threatened or if their health was being threatened, and so on. But on the other hand I think that we should be careful not to take it too easily for granted that we ought not to interfere, because these people are happy as they are. Usually they are not as happy as we think. It is very dangerous to be sentimental about the tribal people and to romanticise their lives. It has been said before by Mr Saiyidain, but I should like to stress this from what I have found myself in my experience in Indonesia. We know that the spleen index of some tribes is often 95 per cent. We know that their infant mortality is about 40 per cent. We know that the percentage of people suffering

from yaws is between 40 and 50 per cent and so on. I am quite in agreement if it is said that we should be careful and should not interfere with cultural activities, but the usual practice is that economic necessity interferes with their lives much sooner than we usually think. The situation should be carefully studied long before the circumstances arise which would

necessitate Government interference.

That is really all I wanted to say. I may perhaps stress that my remarks were made only in my personal capacity and do not necessarily give the views of UNESCO whose Department of Social Sciences I have the honour to represent.

मौलाना अबुल कलाम आजाद, शिक्षा मंत्री भारत सरकार

कल में कामों में इतना डूबा हुआ था कि वक्त न निकाल सका, लेकिन मैं ने इरादा कर लिया था कि आज मैं थोड़ा सा वक्त निकालूंगा और आप बहनों और भाइयों के साथ यहां आ कर बैठूंगा। मैं ने आज जो तकरीरें हुईं, वो सुनीं। कल हमारे प्रेजीडेंट ने और प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने पूरी तफसील के साथ आप को बताया कि हम इस बारे में जो भी काम करना चाहें, जो भी कदम उठाना चाहें, जो भी प्रोग्राम बनायें, उन सब के अन्दर बेसिक पोलिसी क्या होनी चाहिए। मुझे यह देख कर खुशी हुई कि जिन भाइयों ने यहां इस बहस में हिस्सा लिया है उन्होंने इसी स्प्रिट से अपनी तकरीरें की हैं। हमें हमेशा यह सामने रखना चाहिये कि हम आदिवासियों के लिए जो कुछ करना चाहते हैं, उस के अन्दर हमारी स्वाहिश क्या है, हम क्या चाहते हैं, हम उन्हें उठायें या बदलें? अगर हम उन को बदलना चाहेंगे तो उन के दिल हमारे साथ नहीं आयेंगे और जो कोशिश हम उन की भलाई के लिए करना चाहते हैं वह कामयाब नहीं होगी। हमें जो कुछ करना चाहिये यह समझ कर करना चाहिये कि हम उन की जिन्दगियों को उन के मजहब को, उन के कल्चर को, उन की जिन्दगी के

हर तरह के ढंगों को बदलना नहीं चाहते। हम सिर्फ यह चाहते हैं कि वह अपने ढंग पर रहते हुए अपनी जिन्दगी के दर्जे को ऊंचा कर सकें, उन में तालीम फैले, उन की गरीबी दूर हो और वो अच्छे से अच्छे हिन्दुस्तानी बन सकें। साथ ही उन के अन्दर यह मजबूत भाव पैदा हो कि हम अपनी चाल डाल में अलग रहते हुए भी हिन्दुस्तानी कौमियत का एक ऐसा टुकड़ा हैं जो हमेशा हिन्दुस्तानी रहेगा और अपने को पूरी तरह से हिन्दुस्तानी कौम समझेगा।

मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप की यह कान्फेन्स आप के द्वारा ऐसे नतीजे पर पहुंचेगी और ऐसी सिफारिशें तैयार करेगी कि उसकी वजह से एक नया दौर पैदा होगा और आइन्दा हम आप की अच्छी तरह से खिदमत कर सकेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान के समाज ने जो सख्त गलती की है, गलती ही नहीं एक बहुत बड़ा जुर्म किया है कि इन भाइयों की तरफ से हमारी आंखें बन्द रही हैं। मुझे उम्मीद है कि इस कान्फेन्स ने एक नया दौर शुरू किया है और आइन्दा हम देखेंगे कि थोड़े ही दिन के अन्दर यह हालत बदल जायेगी। यह चन्द शब्द मैं कहना चाहता था। अब इजाजत लूंगा। आप अपनी कार्यवाही जारी रखें।

Shri R. S. Malayappan, Special Agency Development Officer, Kakinada.

The Scheduled Areas in Andhra of Madras State are called the Agency Tracts as they are administered by the District Collectors as Agents to the Governor or the Government. They are about 6,500 square miles in extent and form part of 4 Districts. The

population of these tracts is about 5 lakhs of which about 3 lakhs will be tribals and the remaining non-tribals. I think that the economic condition of the tribals in the past must have been very sound. This has been revealed by the fact that they were able to rise in

rebellion against the British Government in what were called *fituris* (i.e., rebellion) now and then and to hold themselves against the Government forces for a number of years, the latest being the one led by Seetharamaraju in the early twenties of this century and one of his lieutenants, Shri Mullu Dhora, Member of Parliament is in our midst today. During the last three or four decades, however, there has been considerable deterioration in the tribal economy in many parts of the Agency Tracts. Especially in the areas easily accessible there is complete economic breakdown and everywhere there is misery. One of the main reasons has been, I think, their contact with undesirable immigrants from outside the tribal areas, who have unscrupulously exploited them by appropriating their lands and their produce, etc. In other areas where the communication has not been fully developed, the tribal economy is fairly intact. I can therefore say that the development of communication should go side by side with economic development and not ahead of it.

In addition to the Agency Tracts of Andhra, the two groups of islands off the coasts of Malabar and South Kanara Districts—the Laccadive (including Minicoy) and the Aimindivi Islands have been treated as Scheduled Areas. The inhabitants of these islands (about 20,000) are Muslims whose socio-economic condition is generally low. Outside these two scheduled areas the scheduled tribes numbering about 3·00 lakhs are inhabiting hilly regions of a number of other districts. Their economic condition is also poor.

I would like to say a few words about the various activities of the Madras State in regard to the tribal wel-

fare and the administration of the Agency Tracts. As soon as the Congress assumed power in 1946, the Government appointed a Committee to enquire into the material conditions of the aboriginal tribes in the Madras Province including the Agency Tracts and to suggest ways and means for their uplift, of which Shri V. Raghavayya was the President and Dr. A. Aiyappan, the Secretary, both of whom are present here. On receipt of the Committee's report the Heads of Departments were asked to draw up a three year plan. The schemes so drawn up were too costly to be implemented within a period of three years and had therefore to be dropped and a ten year plan formulated. For this purpose, a Special Agency Development Officer of the grade of a Collector and a team of technical experts (*viz.*, an Engineer, a Forest Officer, and Agricultural Officer, a Public Health Officer and a Geologist) were appointed about the middle of 1950. This team of experts surveyed the entire Agency Tracts for 9 months and drew up a plan which is under the active consideration of the Government. On the ameliorative side the duration of the plan will be 10 years while on the development side, as much progress as possible should be achieved in implementing it during the ten years, but development work would have to go on till all the approved schemes have been completed.

On the ameliorative side, the Government are already incurring over Rs. 3·00 lakhs on antimalarial measure benefitting 1·25 lakh of people in the Agency Tracts. There are over 400 elementary schools and 22 medical institutions working in the area. In addition to 8 Agricultural Demonstration Units, an Agricultural Research Station costing Government to the tune of a lakh of rupees every year is working in the tribal area and bringing home to the tribals the improved methods of Agriculture. To render veterinary as

sistance in the area there are five minor Veterinary Dispensaries besides two Veterinary hospitals, and to improve the cattle wealth the Government are making free distribution of cattle for breeding purposes. At present there are 19 Government Boarding Houses and subsidised Hostels established all over the Agency Tracts where over 600 Scheduled Tribes 'and Scheduled Castes' children are being fed, clothed and educated, free of any payment. This alone costs Government over a lakh of rupees. Under Communication, besides village roads and bridal paths on which large amounts are being spent every year, pucca metalled roads including ghat portions, upto a length of about 60 miles are under construction at a very heavy cost. Another 60 miles road through a hilly and jungly area is under investigation.

I shall say a few words regarding the various methods by which the economic condition of the tribals can be improved.

The first thing to be done is to see that there is no further alienation of tribal land in favour of non-tribals. The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act (Madras Act I of 1917) which prohibits such alienations without the permission of the District Collectors has not materially helped them. There are several loop-holes in the Act on account of which large extents of tribal land have already passed into the hands of the plains people. The Madras Government are considering the question of tightening up the provisions of the Act with a view to see that at least in future the tribal lands do not pass on to immigrants from the plains. This Act with all the loop-holes removed will be a very beneficial measure to protect the lands of the tribes in the Scheduled Area and it is desirable to introduce an Act like this in other States where no such enactment exists.

Secondly, all the available Government waste lands in each village in the Scheduled Areas should be reserved for assignment to tribals and Scheduled Castes people during the next ten years and only after their needs are satisfied, the excess lands can be assigned to others.

Mere assignment of land will not do. Most of the tribals do not own bulls to till the land nor do they have easy credit facilities to meet the agricultural expenses. That is why they are resorting to 'podu' or shifting cultivation. If, therefore, they are given good lands and also *takkavi* loans by Government or other easy credit facilities, they will certainly give up the 'podu' and settle down to permanent cultivation. The Government's loans rules should be liberalised so as to enable the grant of loans for all agricultural and domestic purposes and even for repayment of old debts. After all, their requirements are very small and the maximum that a tribal family may require will not exceed Rs. 200/-. They are honest and will certainly repay the loans. There will be no fear of loss to Government.

The best way of improving the economic condition of the tribes is to form multipurpose Co-operative Societies with three fold objects, viz., (i) to provide them easy credit facilities (ii) to market their forest and agricultural produce and (iii) to sell them their daily needs at fair prices. In my opinion, if these three functions are successfully carried out, their economy will considerably be improved. There are no educated people among the tribals to manage the Co-operative Societies nor have they any large capital for their working expenses. So, in the initial stages, the Government should help the Societies with advances towards the reserve fund, guarantee to Central Banks for advancing sufficient moneys to the societies and by providing the stuff required for working the societies.

free of payment. In the course of a few years the societies will stand on their own legs and repay the advances to Government. In tribal matters the Government must follow a liberal policy. Practically, there will be no risk to Government. Even if there is a risk of a few thousands of rupees, the Government should not mind it. In due course these societies can get huge profits which can be utilised for carrying out other ameliorative measures.

The Madras Government are considering the question of bringing money-lending in the Scheduled Areas under a licensing system by which all undesirable money-lenders can be eliminated. If Cooperative Societies take over the work of providing credit facilities, private money-lending can even be prohibited.

Another way of improving their tribal economy is to entrust the working of the forest coupes in the tribal areas to Labour Contract Co-operative Societies formed of scheduled tribes on the basis of average lease amounts of the previous years. This policy is being followed by the Bombay State very liberally. If the other State Governments follow suit, I think, the tribal economy will improve to a very great extent.

As the main occupation of the tribes is Agriculture, it is necessary to wean them from their pernicious 'podu' habit by settling them in Co-operative Land Colonies wherever large extents of plain lands are available. If irrigation facilities are also provided in such colonies, the tribals will certainly give up 'podu' and take to permanent cultivation. A number of such schemes are under the consideration of the Madras Government.

In their attempts to uplift the tribals, the Government should give the

highest priority to irrigation schemes which benefit them. All existing irrigation sources in the Agency Tracts which are in a bad State of repairs should be put into a proper order while at the same time steps should be taken to explore the possibilities of developing new irrigation sources. Myself and the team of experts referred to above covered the entire Agency Tracts and submitted to the Government a list of possible irrigation schemes (including improvements to existing sources) expected to cost, on a very rough estimate, more than 5 crores of rupees.

There are good facilities for starting a number of cottage industries which will improve the economic condition of the tribals. They are spinning and weaving, sericulture, palm gur and biscuit manufacture, etc. Such cottage industries may be introduced as part-time jobs. The Madras Government are now training the tribals in cottage industries like carpentry, smithy, masonry, weaving, tailoring, etc., at the rate of 20 per year by giving them stipends. After training they will be started on these industries with subsidies or loans for initial capital expenditure.

The last item is the forest labour. In Madras the Scheduled Tribes have to do certain type of work for the Forest Department. I think it is more like a compulsory labour, worse than slavery. The earlier it is stopped, the better. When there is cultivation in their own fields, they are called away for forest work and, sometimes, to workspots 10 or 12 miles away from their houses. The Forest Department must have permanent gangs of coolies for their work. The wages paid are also quite inadequate.



A section of the audience in the Conference Hall listening to the inauguration speech by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Shri D. N. Wandrekar, Deputy Minister for Backward Classes, Government of Bombay

The conference will certainly help in broadening the outlook of all those who have come together in the Conference. The speeches so far delivered have helped the delegates in understanding the special problem of the different States. They have also got an idea of the work being carried on in these different States under varying conditions.

The problem common to the Adivasis all over the country is their extreme poverty and their extreme ignorance. How is this problem of poverty and ignorance to be tackled? The main profession of these Adivasis is agriculture however crudely it may be practised. It is clear they are not making any decent living out of agriculture. Very few possess their own lands. Those who own lands, have not got an area sufficient for a decent living. Most of them are landless. A few cultivate the lands of others as tenants, while a big majority is of landless labourers. Hence everywhere there is hunger for land which is not restricted to Adivasis alone. Does there exist in the country land enough to satisfy their hunger and thus solve the problem of their poverty? If there is no sufficient land, is it possible that the Adivasis and as a matter of fact even the non-Adivasi cultivators may be trained to raise the productivity of whatever land they cultivate?

The other profession which most of the Adivasis follow is labour in the working of the forests and gathering minor forest produce. It will be found that hardly 10 per cent of the Adivasi population is absorbed in the forest industry which is supplementary to agriculture. The Bombay Government has lately initiated a policy under which the forests are worked by the forest labourers' co-operatives. Under this

scheme the middleman contractor is gradually eliminated and the profits going to his pockets will be earned by the forest labourers. This means that the economic condition of about 10 per cent of the Adivasi population will slowly improve. Under this scheme of the forest labourers' co-operatives no additional employment is provided. The rest of the 90 per cent are practically without employment during a large part of the year. The problem of unemployment and underemployment is more acute amongst the forest dwellers than amongst the other classes. Unless this problem is tackled on a national basis and on a nationwide scale, there is no way out of their poverty. The conference ought mainly to concentrate on this problem.

The Planning Commission has put before the nation a plan to tackle the problem of un-employment and under-employment which is met with all over the country. The question is, will the remedy suggested by the Planning Commission reach the huts of the Adivasis in the far off jungles and hills?

The Planning Commission has no doubt provided an amount of about 8 crores for being spent in the next five years for the advancement of the Adivasis. It hardly works out to Rs. 1.6 crores per year for an Adivasi population of nearly 2½ crores. It works out to twelve annas per Adivasi per year. The Constitution provides that within ten years the Adivasis should come to the level of the advanced classes. Will this objective be achieved with such meagre resources as 1.6 crores per year? I, therefore, urge that the Government of India must be ready to spend many times this amount and persuade the Planning Commission into changing their figure to at least twenty five crores.

Khaja Abdul Gafoor, B.Sc., H.C.S., Director, Social Service, Government of Hyderabad

Tribal economy is, as we know, more complicated than the rural economy of India. Of course the main cause and the main draw-back of our economy is the general poverty and the general poverty is admitted to be mostly due to the poor quality of the pursuits, professions and trades that are followed in general. This is more so in the case of tribals who live an isolated and segregated life with the least contact with the world at large. The characteristics of one tribe differ from the other and also from one region to the other. It also differs from the tribal to the ruralized tribal and from the ruralized tribal to the assimilated tribal. Their economy is unstable, their pursuits are uneconomic and unyielding with no scope of improvement from within. We cannot, therefore, formulate any hard and fast rules and draw up formula to be adopted everywhere. Well, broadly speaking, the tribal economy can be classified into: (a) agriculture, which of course comprises of the primitive modes of agriculture and shifting cultivation, (b) then we have the ordinary labour, (c) animal husbandry, (d) wild game and hunting and few other minor pursuits.

While planning the tribal economy, we have to keep in mind that it should suit the particular characteristics of the tribe. We have had similar experiments in Hyderabad and I shall very briefly explain as to what has been done.

An anthropological survey of each tribe was conducted by experts and scientists and then knowing that a particular tribe is only capable of doing agriculture and the other is not and that it can take up labour or any other mode of profession, we devised means and methods accordingly for their uplift. For instance the Gonds, who have a natural aptitude for agriculture were

given land and loans and settled on land. I find here that shifting cultivation, practised by the most backward of the tribals is also a problem which needs thorough discussion. The reason for stopping it is obvious. It is a great loss to the forest wealth of the nation and also results in poor yield. In our State we have devised an effective solution to this problem. We have notified small areas in blocks and restricted the shifting cultivation to these particular areas so that while following their own mode of cultivation and carrying out their agriculture in their own style, the tribals do not disturb adjoining blocks of forest and do not damage the forest itself. The ultimate plan is to settle them in land and inculcate in them the spirit of ownership and lead them to better cultivation. Similarly for those who could not take up to anything else but only wanted to stick on to their profession of working on wages in forest areas for forest utilization work, Co-operative Societies on labour contract basis have been formed and the initial share capital advanced by Government as a loan. The tribals have thus been saved of the exploitations at the hands of the middle men and they are earning profits after having repaid the loans and they have also paid their share capital out of the profits.

For those tribals who are good at animal husbandry, buffaloes and cows have been given under hire-purchase system.

For such of the tribals who were content with the roots and tubers and other minor forest produce, forest reserves have been notified wherein they can enjoy the forest produce; for the surplus Co-operative Stores have been opened where they can sell their collections on fixed rates.

Through the special tribal education system, which we have evolved, all out

efforts are made to improve tribal economy by imparting instruction in handicrafts and other avocations. The tribals are not educated for clerical jobs or any other government posts, but they are trained for their future professions. Special attention is paid to save them from getting wrong notions of life. Agricultural operations and demonstration, instruction in handicrafts, elementary knowledge of Forest and Revenue Laws, local geography, form a part of the education.

Since I have to be brief on other points due to lack of time, I shall very summarily explain the policy of tribal rehabilitation. Rehabilitation of the tribals at various centres in Hyderabad is a unique experiment in India, based on the regrouping of tribal villages and settling all tribals at particular centres without disturbing their economy or culture. It was felt that due to their living in far and scattered areas in small groups and hamlets it was not possible for us to extend any ameliorative programme which we were very anxious to do. We were also handicapped by several other factors such as the lack of communication and the ex-

treme callousness of the tribals in availing of the facilities. It is also a well-known fact that more advanced communities were driving them into far interior parts and the tribals were losing all interest in life as they were perpetually exploited. It was deemed essential to bring them to certain places, after careful selection, as their future rehabilitation centre. Care was taken that they were not taken away from natural environments of their choice. Their habitations were located in forests to enable them to avail of the advantages of forests. As soon as suitable sites were selected, we tried to group such villages as were situated within a radius of 3 to 4 miles, so that their agricultural and other pursuits were not disturbed. New centres were so planned that ample ground for backyard gardens, fair-weather roads and drinking water facilities were provided for. Hutting material was supplied to them free of cost. Community halls for their leisure hour activities were provided so that they may be kept away from bad habits of drinking. This experiment to rehabilitate has not disturbed the tribal economy in the least, but has, in fact, improved.

Rev. Dr. E. De. Meulder, Catholic Ashram, Hazaribagh, Bihar.

The Aborigines, hidden in their villages and forests, are yet the most ancient of Indian aristocracy and form India's most ancient village republics. The Aborigines are the most ancient sons and daughters of Mother India. It is mostly non-official organisations that for the last 75 years have provided them with schools, colleges, hostels, hospitals and cooperatives of various sorts. They were called Christian Missions. They could not give them lands for these belonged to the foreign sponsored permanent settlement of rajas and zamindars or to the "Laissez Faire" "liberal" Zamindari Regime fully inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis whose fatal signature meant the death of the ancient village republics.

Among the various problems of the Aborigines old and new, mentioned already by the honourable speakers, none, in my humble opinion, is more important than the agrarian problem of the Aborigines. Tribal India is full of proofs that Aborigines stand or fall with their lands. It is not the missionary but it is the loot of the lands that has denationalized and isolated the Aborigines and that has chased them into uneconomic holdings in far away forest areas. Land must be restored to the Aborigines on economic holdings worthy of a human standard of living; it must be found if we honestly want the Aborigines to survive.

In a country of chronic famines bonafide cultivators are an asset to the State and to the nation. They should be given the tools to survive and to help copiously in feeding others. At this critical moment in India's history when the mildewed framework of the Zamindari system is coming down with a crash, I plead that the 18 lakhs of waste lands in Bihar State for instance, be permanently settled with these trained Aboriginal tillers of the soil. They alone can make something out of these lands. Suppression of the Zamindari system, even if honestly complet-

ed and realized, has no meaning without peasant proprietorship. These peasant proprietors should be organized into cooperatives, not bullied from above, but freely organised from below, into an all-State and all-India Cooperative Peasant League. If the Aboriginal family units be given a plot of land, say ten acres, and if they are given the opportunity and the guarantee, without too much further delay, of occupying and of cultivating that land, I can vouch that there will be no finer citizens in our great country than the Aboriginals of Mother India.

श्री पी० जी० वानीकर आनरेरी प्रविंशियल आर्गनाइजर बैकवर्ड ऐरिआज वेलफेअर स्कीम (मध्य प्रदेश)

छै वर्ष पहले मध्य प्रदेश में एक सीनियर डिविजनल फारेस्ट आफिसर्स की कान्फेंस हुई थी। मैं ने उस कान्फेंस में एक सवाल पेश किया था कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में जितने फारेस्ट कान्फेक्टर्स हैं उन को कुल मुनाफा कितना मिलता होगा इस का मुझे कुछ अन्दाज दीजिये। उस वक्त मुझे कहा गया था कि करीब ३ करोड़ रुपये का मुनाफा शायद मिलता होगा। मैं ने उसी वक्त सोचा कि यदि इन तीन करोड़ रुपयों में से कम से कम एक करोड़ भी आदिवासियों की कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज खोल कर आदिवासियों को मिल सके तो कितना अच्छा होगा। उन को पूरी मजदूरी पाये हुये मुनाफे में से केवल ५० लाख ही वे अपनी उन्नति के कार्य में खर्च कर सकें तो आज हमारी सरकार जो कुछ उन के लिये खर्च करती है उस से दुगना खर्च वे कर सकेंगे और अपने पैरों पर खड़े रह सकेंगे।

किन्तु यह कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज का प्रोग्राम जब हम ने शुरू किया तो मालूम हुआ कि आदिवासियों में सच्चे, प्रमाणिक, चरित्रशील, सेवाभावी कार्यकर्ता जब तक काम करने के लिये नहीं मिलेंगे तब तक कोई भी कार्य सफल नहीं हो सकेगा। कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के बारे में भी वही हुआ। जितने सरकार की ओर से मैनेजर नियुक्त किये गये उन में से ७५ प्रति शत केवल अपना ही काम

करना जानते थे। वे आदिवासियों को भोसा देना ही जानते थे। केवल स्वार्थी थे। जंगल में रहना पसंद नहीं करते थे और मौका मिलते ही दूसरे शहर की जगह पर नौकरी पर चले जाते थे।

अब दूसरा चित्र यह है। हमारे प्रान्त में अबुज माडिया करके एक भाग है। वे लोग इंटीरियर में रहते हैं। उन में नरबलि की प्रथा प्रचलित है, ऐसा समझा जाता है। हमारे कार्यकर्ता लोग भी वहां जाने से डरते थे। उन के साथ सोशल कान्फेक्ट्स करने के लिये जब हम पहली बार गये तो पूरी पूरी तैयारी कर के गये। साथ में मुंगामाला, आरसी, कंचा इत्यादि उन के आभूषण, कुछ कपड़े के गट्टे, और नमक के ६ बोरे इत्यादि सब सामान ले कर हमारी सिनेमा वैन में भर कर ले गये। साथ उन की भाषा जानने वाला इन्टरप्रीटर भी था। वहां पहुंचे तो वह कुछ हम से डर रहे से मालूम पड़ते थे किन्तु जब हम ने नमक बांटना शुरू किया तो वे खूब खुश हुए क्योंकि उन को नमक लेने के लिए कोसों दूर जाना पड़ता था। शाम को जब हम ने कपड़े, मुंगामाला, आरसी, कंचा इत्यादि चीजें बांटी और रात को सिनेमा के चार छे चित्रपट जंगल जीवन के, और अन्य आदिवासियों के जीवन पर बतालये तो वे अत्यन्त खुश हुए। बाद में उन्होंने अपना नाच भी हमें बतलाया। बाद में खाने पीने से निपट कर हम सो गये। दूसरे दिन जब हम उठे

तो उन में से कई लोग उन के मुखिया के साथ हमारे पास आये और कहने लगे कि साहब आप अब जल्दी से जल्दी वापिस चले जायें। हम ने पूछा यह क्यों भला ? उन्होंने कहा हम को ऐसा मालूम हुआ है कि आप लोग हम को जंगल काट कर, जला कर दाहना की जो खेती हम कर रहे हैं उसको मना करके आप कुछ अलग ढंग की खेती हम से करवाना चाहते हो। हम ने कहा हम ने तो कोई ऐसी बात तुम को कही नहीं थी। बाद में मालूम हुआ कि शायद हमारे इंटरप्रिटर ने यह बात उन को रात के समय बतलाई होगी। मैं ने उन को आश्वासन दिया कि ऐसी कोई बात नहीं होने वाली है और जो भी कुछ करेंगे वह तुम्हारी ही सलाह से होगा और तुम्हारी भलाई के लिए ही होगा। उन्होंने कहा कि यह बात मंजूर है लेकिन आप इस वक्त यहां न रहें। हम लोग वापिस चले आये। जब दोबारा गये तो हम अपने मिनिस्टर के साथ गये। उन को कपड़े बांटे। उन के साथ बातचीत की। सोचा कि उन की दो ही जरूरियातें हैं। एक नमक और दूसरा कपड़ा। यहां मस्टीपर्वज कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी चल नहीं सकती। यहां स्कूल चल नहीं सकता। कोई पढ़ा लिखा हुआ आदमी यहां आना और रहना नहीं चाहता। फिर क्या करें ? फिर यह तय हुआ कि कम से कम ५००० रुपये की रकम इन के वास्ते अलग रखी जाये। यह डिप्टी कमिश्नर के जरिये इन में नमक और कपड़े के लिये रखी जाये और उसकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी उन के मुखिया को दी जाये। आज तीन साल से बिना नुकसान या लाभ वह दुकान चल रही है। वह माडिया लोग इतने प्रमाणिक हैं कि पेटी में पैसे रुपये डालते हैं और मास भर के नमक या धोती का टुकड़ा ले जाते हैं और जब पेटी भरी जाती है तब उस का मुखिया तहसील आफिस में पेटी खाली कर के उस रकम के बदले में फिर से नमक और कपड़ा ले जाता है। वहां न है रजिस्टर, न हिसाब या न हिसाब लिखने वाला मैनेजर और न दफ्तर। यह है दूसरा चित्र जो प्रमाणिक किन्तु बिना लिखे पढ़े हुए माडिया अबूज माडिया आदिवासी अपनी दुकान चला रहे हैं।

यह भी एक प्रश्न है कि क्या ये आदिवासी लिखनी पढ़ना सीखने के बाद और हमारे सम्पर्क में आने के बाद भी इतने प्रमाणिक और सच्चे रह सकेंगे या नहीं ?

इस पर से एक बात महसूस होती है कि कार्य-कर्ताओं के लिए हर एक प्रदेश में ट्रेनिंग सेन्टर्स खोले जाने चाहियें जहां आदिवासियों के बीच में रह कर किस तरह सेवा की जाय इसी की सभी प्रकार की अच्छी तालीम दी जाये और उन में से चरित्रशील, सेवाभावी, सच्चे प्रमाणिक कार्य-कर्ताओं को चुन चुन कर आदिवासी क्षेत्र में कार्य करने के लिये भेजा जाये। फिर वह कार्य चाहे शिक्षक का हो कोआपरेटिव सोसायटी के मैनेजर का हो या अन्य कोई प्रकार का हो।

दूसरी बात आपके सामने यह रखना चाहता हूं कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में सुरगुजा, रायगढ़ जिले में कोरवा, पंडो, भुइहार जाति के आदिवासी लोग हैं जो कि हमेशा शिफ्टिंग कल्टिवेशन यानी जिस को दाहया पोट्टु जूम कहते हैं वैसी जंगल काटकर जला कर खेती करते हैं। उन लोगों को स्थायी खेती करने के लिये पुनर्वासन की योजना हाथ ली गई है और आज तक करीब करीब १२०० कुटुम्बों को जमीन, बैल, बीज, हल, नांगर इत्यादि साधन दिये गये हैं जिस में करीब करीब २,०५,००० रुपये तक का खर्च हो चुका है। वैसे और भी हजारों आदिवासी बसते हैं जिन के लिए भी धीरे धीरे यह योजना लागू की जायेगी। यदि यह हमारा प्रयोग सफल हुआ तो जंगल की रक्षा होने के साथ ही साथ यह आदिवासी स्थायी और सुधरी हुई ढंग की खेती कर के अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधार सकेंगे। उन को तब मालूम होगा कि वह जमीन और जंगल सभी उन्हीं के होते हुए उन में से कैसे लाभ उठाना और अपना आर्थिक जीवन उच्च स्तर पर ले जाना है।

अन्त में यहां इतना ही कहना ठीक होगा कि यह सभी योजनायें तभी अमल में आ सकती हैं या सफल हो सकती हैं जब हमें केन्द्र में से ज्यादा से ज्यादा आर्थिक मदद मिलती रहेगी।

**Shri B. H. Mehta, Adviser on Social Programmes Planning Commission,
New Delhi.**

Whilst it is desirable to deal with a few problems of the tribals in an intensive manner, I shall try to speak on some of the major issues of tribal welfare which require very great attention.

The tribals were originally hunters. They were driven to cultivate land by successive conquerors; and placed as they were in a handicapped position, they were driven to occupy the forest and almost barren areas. Even from very early days they had learnt the art of shifting cultivation, and as the population was small, and vast lands were available for cultivation, they were able to continue their economic activities for bare survival. The land problem has now become very important from the point of view of tribal welfare. Unless there is a national land policy entirely in favour of the cultivator, they can hardly be assimilated into a progressive agricultural economy.

The tribals were perhaps our first craftsmen. Hunting could satisfy their physical hunger, but the material to make other necessities of life, however simple the life was, had to be found in the physical environment. Nature was abundant, and raw materials were gathered and used, till skills developed to produce articles of high craftsmanship. Lack of opportunity and encouragement have destroyed the crafts, and even their quality has deteriorated to some extent. The revival of crafts, craftsmen and craftsmanship should be vital programme for the economic and cultural regeneration of the tribals. The natural resources of any area should be carefully studied, and crafts should be developed to suit the region and the community. Whilst the tribals possess the requisite skills, in order to develop their craftsmanship, it is necessary to develop, design and improve

the tools and implements they have been using historically for the last several centuries. Local crafts, in the first instance, should help the people to achieve a degree of self-sufficiency in their own life so that they do not become dependent and fritter away their meagre resources in buying ordinary articles of daily use found in the neighbouring towns.

Not only they should produce for themselves, but they should be helped to produce for the entire national market; and knowing the high skills that some of them possess, it is even possible to develop foreign markets for the sale of particular types of articles.

The most suitable agency for marketing goods in tribal areas are the co-operatives. Co-operation should help them in every aspect of their economic life, so that it becomes useful to them as consumers, distributors, and producers.

To deal with the many problems of a tribe, there is a need for a scientific approach so that well thought out social objectives could be determined by the social scientist. Social Science has not developed adequately in this country to contribute to the various aspects of tribal life. The Social Anthropologist, psychologist and economist have each studied their problems academically, probably visiting them at times, but always studying them with the basis of knowledge they had obtained from theoretical books, and study of conditions in other parts of the world. Each type of social scientist has worked in his own field exclusively, and the scientists find themselves separated both regionally and intellectually. There is therefore an urgent need for the social scientists to come together, cooperate with one another and assist the development of the

sciences. They must especially co-operate in the field for the purpose of experimentation and research. The social scientists should meet more frequently, and workers and scientists should maintain close contact when they work in the tribal areas.

The administrator in the tribal areas, especially during the British days had preferred to keep away from the people and their problems. They were interested only in the maintenance of law and order, and they carried out orders received from above. This should no longer be the case if the tribal areas are to be developed, and the administrator must fulfil the role of leadership. He must meet the people, guide and advise them, and understand their problems.

As a result of the inspiration that Gandhiji gave to workers, and the efforts of other pioneers, substantial social work of the right type has been organised to deal with tribal problems in several areas. They work with zeal for the real interest and benefit of the tribal population. As more effective efforts are being organised, the problem of training arises. It is desirable that those who work in tribal areas should be adequately trained to understand the problems, and to know the methods and techniques to deal with these problems. It is naturally difficult to produce field workers for tribal areas from amongst the educated sections. They are unwilling to face hardships and difficulties involved in such work. Trained leadership is unwilling to live in conditions which are different from those prevailing in the community to which they belong. Though a few trained workers with ideals could be available to work in tribal areas, a very large number of workers are required to deal with such a large population. It therefore becomes necessary to depend upon the services of untrained workers for almost all welfare acti-

vities at the community level. There is a great advantage in encouraging the community worker in the tribal area to take some training, because he already possesses the will to serve; he is interested in the people and is associated with their problems.

It is to earnestly hoped that all workers who are at present working in tribal areas will seek the advantage of obtaining at least a minimum of training in order to understand problems in the right perspective, develop clear objectives, and organise systematic and efficient programmes instead of remaining satisfied with mediocre achievements which remain unevaluated, prohibiting progress.

However important the problem of leadership may be, all work has finally to be done together with the community and the people in tribal areas. Theoretically, an emphasis has always been given to the need of associating the people with all activities of the State as well as private agencies. In actual practice it is found easier to issue orders to the people and instruct them to carry out programmes. Even in the printed programme of the Conference the word 'uplift' is used, and this necessarily suggests a notion that an uplift leadership has to rouse up the people who are supposed to be downtrodden and incapable of working for their own welfare. The word 'uplift' should be entirely removed from the dictionary of a social worker. The tribal population is very much 'uplifted'. The tribals live in a natural environment, and the functions of life are carried out with sincerity and earnestness which is rarely found amongst the more sophisticated communities. The tribal communities are perhaps the only population in India who are accustomed to deal with their problems in a direct and forthright manner. With very little education to aid them, and

the minimum of guidance from external leadership, for centuries they have been able to deal with problems with a reasonable degree of success.

Tribal communities, in spite of disease and handicaps of the physical environment are healthy—physically, emotionally and socially. Though their lives are governed by tradition, those who have lived with tribals have found that tradition does not have such a hold on them that their minds are not open to progress, experimentation and new endeavour.

Let us hope the termination of this Conference will witness a real co-operation between the social scientist, the administrator, the social worker, and the people; and an intensive development of programmes takes place to solve the many and difficult problems that confront twenty million of the tribal population. As the Government has now shown the requisite interest, private agencies have already created their foundations, it will not be difficult to develop the right leadership and resources to achieve substantial results in the very near future.

G r a n t s - i n - A i d
for
W e l f a r e S c h e m e s

Shri B. Chatterjee, Executive Secretary, Indian Conference of Social work, Bombay.

As you may be aware, sometime ago the Indian Conference of Social Work published a Memorandum setting forth various a plan of action for the welfare of the tribal people. We have about 20,000,000 tribals spread all over the country. Most of you will agree that even though all social workers may not have the missionary zeal of Thakkar Bapa, we would require about 20,000 people to carry on the work effectively, so that we can show some results within the next ten years. It is therefore necessary that we utilize the services of trained leadership rather than await the discovery of missionaries.

In the field of social welfare, community organisation has been recognised as one of the basic techniques in social work, in improving the socio-economic conditions of under-developed people, of handicapped groups and individuals. The emphasis so far has been that if we tackle the education of this tribal people, we would be able to solve many of their problems and we would be able to approach the problem on a sounder basis. But so far as I am concerned, Sir, I believe that in order to help in their field we must have some powerful stimulant to captivate the tribal people. And in that, I do not believe, there is any other lever than the economic through which we can secure their sympathy. The objectives of community welfare should be to provide a healthy environment and adequate housing with proper all-round educational facilities, to achieve effective organisation of effective economic life of the community and to make these people conscious of their civic responsibilities and eager to lead a social life which is not only beneficial to their locality, but which promotes an eagerness and awareness of national affairs. But unfortunately, community centres, as known in social terminology are confin-

ed to recreation and welfare needs. Our need in tribal areas is economic improvement and education, besides recreation and other health services. So we have to adopt a new type of tribal welfare centres. I have adopted this plan on the example of the community centres organised by the Hyderabad State Government.

In dealing with tribal communities, we must keep in mind that these isolated people are in different stages of development and have their own individual, cultural and economic background. So no rough and ready development programme can be given for their betterment. We have to examine their problems and have new data about their needs and problems before we are able to formulate a welfare programme for these areas.

In determining the location of a Model Community Centre, care should be taken that the area is not specially handicapped, so that while we are reproducing these Centres elsewhere we may not have to start on any false premises. Besides, it should be in their cultural milew and have a plentiful supply of water. The climate should also be suitable to the needs of the tribals and the workers. While planning a Community Centre, existing ways of living of the tribals should be disturbed as little as possible. In the early stages it may be possible to utilize tribals labour for building their own houses and the Community Centre. This could be done cheaply with the co-operation of the Government Forest Department, if for instance, timber or other building material is supplied cheap and the tribals put in their labour. During this period free meals might have to be provided, as they will be unable to follow their normal economic pursuits. Or the Government may give them just enough money

to cover their food, expenses so that they may not have to depend on charity or dole for their living. In the matter of economic development, the following aspects should receive prior consideration:—

- (a) Development and utilization for forest resources.
- (b) Allotment and settlement on land.
- (c) Agricultural extension work.
- (d) Animal husbandry and cattle breeding, vaterinary facilities.
- (e) Development of cottage industries and handicrafts.
- (f) Debt conciliation.
- (g) Co-operative organisation.

Education, Health and Welfare and Economic development programmes should all work simultaneously but I would specially emphasise the economic programmes. Under Health and Welfare are: Dispensaries and mobile dispensaries, Maternity and child welfare, Hospitalisation, Environmental hygiene, Physical fitness programme Woman and Child Welfare and Youth Welfare and leadership.

While discussing the problem of economic development, we must be sure in our minds as to what would be the status of the forests in tribal areas. For example, it has been accepted as a principle of progressive land tenure that the land belongs to the tiller of the soil. Similarly the forest ought to belong to the tribals. as most of the tribal people live in the forests.

We must assure the tribal people that the forest where they live belongs to them in cooperative ownership with the State. They should be taught to take care of the forests to utilize its products, to develop it and to supply personnel for the various services re-

quired there. Very few outside people would go and work there. Many of our forest officers who are in close contact with the tribals, should be given an insight into tribal needs so that, they are met with understanding and sympathy. As regards the allotment of land, it should be made on the basis of economic holdings. It has already been said that the land given to tribals should be non-transferable so that it may not pass into the hands of money-lenders and contractors. Wherever there are Community Centres, the trade of money-lenders and contractors should not be allowed. The whole organisation should be on a co-operative basis and with the help of the administration. We can also have Young Farmers clubs to train young tribals to adopt modern ways of agriculture. We may also train young tribals in animal husbandry, poultry farming and cattle breeding. We must also develop cottage industries and handicrafts, the tribals are very skilful people if only their talents are properly recognised. Cottage industries can be developed on a cooperative basis. The most important point, as I have already said, is the elimination of middlemen who exploit the ignorance of the tribals. In this connection we may have co-operative societies. All credit activities should be carried out by these cooperative societies.

So far as the education of tribals is concerned, we must make sure that their education is in their own way of life and not a super-imposition of foreign literature. We must only attempt to make them more skilful which will bring greater economic and social improvement. As regards teachers, I would suggest that stipends be given to talented tribal youth to get training in the Community Centres to become teachers of various kinds and welfare workers at a smaller level to begin with.

The tribal folk suffer from serious shortages of health and welfare services. The incidence of disease in these areas is quite high. A comprehensive health survey of the regions where these Community Centres are going to function should be made and the causes of ill-health determined so as to tackle their problems on a preventive level. The Centre must have a small dispensary and a mobile dispensary for the neighbouring villages. Ambulance service to remove serious cases to the nearest hospital would also be necessary.

Ultimately we should be able to develop leadership from among the tribal youth. It should be our objective to train young tribals in the affairs of Panchayat work. Most tribals already have Panchayat organisations, they should be given more powers in regard to civil and criminal jurisdiction to avoid resort to the courts. Panchayats may be given some power to levy fines, say, upto Rs. 50/-.

A great deal of success of the Panchayat scheme will depend on the personnel employed. As I have already said, it will be impossible to depend entirely on missionary works of one kind or another to deal with 20 million of backward people. This work should be taken up at a professional level and workers should be trained. So when we tackle this job, we must be prepared to train our own leaders. In selecting the personnel, a Code of required aptitu-

des and qualifications may be drawn up. Workers should have comparatively longer tenures in these areas. I would suggest that a sum of Rs. 5-00 lakhs be set aside for training workers.

The Government of India's grant-in-aid to the States for programmes on Tribal welfare should be used as an incentive to a more progressive and comprehensive approach to the problem of welfare of the tribal people. According to a rough estimate the recurring cost of a model community centre which I have described will work out to about Rs. 60,000 per annum and the initial non-recurring cost being about Rs. 1,40,000. My suggestion therefore would be that 50 per cent of the grant should be utilized in organising these community centres, training workers, etc., while the other half of the grant should be made available to the States for financing specific schemes for the development of communications or other isolated welfare schemes in areas not covered by the community centre on the condition that the State Government matches the Central grant with an equal amount. Very little is being done in terms of their *pro rata* expenditure per head. I also suggest for your consideration that the Central grant must conform to certain standards—standards in terms of performance, supervision, allocation, priorities, etc. We should approach this problem in a more scientific manner so that whatever money is available is put to the best possible use.

Shri J. Prasad, Secretary, Welfare Department, Bihar.

I will give a brief review of the work which is being done in our State for the welfare of Adivasis. Their population is nearly forty-two lakhs in our State. They are scattered throughout the State but they preponderate in the five districts namely, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Manbhum and Singhbhum of Chotanagpur Division

and in Santal Parganas district of Bhagalpur Division.

Our work can be divided into three main heads, Economic, Social and Educational. On the Economic side, we have started about two hundred and twenty-nine graingolas. Each grain-gola generally starts with a capital of

six hundred maunds of paddy. Loans of paddy for seed purposes and in times of emergency, even for consumption are given to the Adivasis at a cheap rate of interest. This has saved them from the exploitation of greedy Mahajans who used to charge very high rate of interest and from whose clutches it was difficult for an Adivasi to get out if he once went under their clutches. The idea is to start one graingola for every twenty villages. The graingola is the centre of welfare work.

A short account of the set up of the Welfare Department in this connection will not be out of place. The Department consists of a Secretary, an Under Secretary, a Registrar and necessary assistants in the Secretariat. So far the field staff is concerned, the Deputy Commissioner in each district has been entrusted with the execution of the programme of welfare. He is assisted by a District Aboriginal Welfare Officer who is of a gazetted rank and is either a Deputy Collector or Sub-Deputy Collector. Under him there are Thana Welfare Officers and each Thana Welfare Officer is generally incharge of a graingola which caters the needs of generally twenty villages. Most of the Thana Welfare Officers have received special training in matter relating to Aboriginal uplift. They advance paddy loans from graingolas, start schools, creat desire for education, send children to Schools, suggest sites for and inspect execution of irrigation works, bring local needs and grievances to the notice of proper authorities and generally assist, advice and guide them in necessary ways.

Minor Irrigation Works.—Government have erected Ahars, Bandh and such other minor irrigation schemes to protect their crops from draught or insufficient rain falls. This work originally used to be executed through this Department but now it is executed

through the Revenue Department of our Government.

Tasar and Eri Seed Supply Stations: Two stations have been started, one at Chaibasa, and the other at Ranchi for distribution of Tasar and Eri seed respectively at a cost of Rs. 20,136/-. A new Tasar Seed Supply Station at Amrapara (Santal Parganas) for distribution of disease-free Tasar eggs to Tasar Silk Worm rearers has been sanctioned at a cost of Rs. 45,000 non-recurring and Rs. 24,524/- recurring a year.

Khadi Works.—The Adivasis generally depend on agriculture. To provide them with a subsidiary occupation Government have sanctioned a scheme for popularising hand spinning and production of Khadi through the agency of the Bihar Khadi Samity. The Adivasis have been trained in the art of spinning and weaving. Further a sum of Rs. 500 was placed with each Thana Welfare Officer some years ago for purchase and distribution of cotton and Charkhas among Adivasis. Some of the Adivasis have taken advantage of this scheme and taken to spinning on Charkhas as a subsidiary occupation.

Reclamation of Kharias.—The Kharias in the district of Manbhum are wandering tribes with shifting cultivation and criminal propensities. We have taken steps for settling ten families of them in the first instance. Each family has been given 5½ bighas of land for cultivation and financial assistance for house building, purchase of ploughs, upkeep of poultry etc. Further such schemes are under consideration.

We are also taking steps to form co-operative societies for taking settlement of forest coupes by the Adivasis on co-operative basis.

Social.—We have taken steps to preserve and advance Adivasis languages. We have constituted five cultu-

ral Boards for Santals, Mundas, Oraon, Ho and Kharia for the purpose and we advance money to the members of the Boards for collection of folk songs etc. Two dictionaries—one in Mundari and the other in Oraon language have been compiled for publication at Government cost. The Balkand Ramayan has been translated into Santali and are being distributed free. Five hundred copies of Santal songs written by Sri Ludin Soren have been purchased by Government for free distribution. Government have also started a Kirtan Party for inculcating the best culture traits among the aboriginals. Subsidies have been granted for printing and publishing Oraon Bhasa and grammar and Kurukh Naigas.

Educational.—We award stipends to Adivasi students to the value of nearly three lacs. We also run hostels either in our own buildings or hired buildings. We run over fifty hostels of which forty are in hired buildings.

The Education Department have sanctioned special recurring grants over Rs. 50,000/- (Rupees fifty thousand) for starting special Schools for Aborigines in Bhagalpur and Chotanagpur Divisions.

Government have also sanctioned exemption from payment of admission fee in College—reduced fees in Schools to all Adivasi students.

We also give petty grants to deserving Adivasi students for purchase of books, to libraries etc. run for the benefit of Adivasis.

A special scheme of Adivasi Welfare prepared by late Srijut A. V. Thakkar popularly known as Thakkar Bapa is executed through Adimjati Seva Mandal in Chota Nagpur Division and through Paharia Seva Mandal in Santal Parganas. Cent per cent. cost is

met by Government. A sum of Rs. three and a half lakhs is spent for the purpose. Under this scheme they have started Schools, Hostels where certain percentage of deserving Adivasi students get free food. Over thousand Schools and Hostels are running under them. The Adimjati Seva Mandal and the Santal Pahariya Seva Mandal are also given separate grants-in-aid from time to time for doing work for the general welfare of Adivasis.

Government have sanctioned nearly three lakhs for construction of village road and hill paths in the Adivasi areas in Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas.

I think education should be given to Adivasis through the Basic system of education with some modifications suited to their needs, so that they may be educated according to their own needs and in their own environments.

So far the question of the improvement of their economy is concerned, I think the most essential thing to improve their economy is to protect them from exploitation. If this is done a good deal of the problem will be solved.

As regards the grants-in-aid from the centre to States for welfare of Adivasis the grants should be more liberal and should not go to the revenues of the States but should be given for expenditure in addition to the amount provided in the States budget so that more schemes for welfare of Adivasis can be executed. Unless the grant be on a liberal scale States with deficit budgets would not be able to do as much as they desire for the welfare of the Adivasis. These grants may be spent through official and tried non-official agencies.

Shri Rup Nath Barhma, Minister for Medical and Public Health, Assam.

As regards the primary education it has been agreed by all the representatives and the experts that the medium instruction should be in their own mother tongue.

In the matter of tribal economy, one cannot entertain the idea of economic uplift of these people if measures are not taken to give them protection in regard to land. The plains tribal people in Assam who are being ousted by the outsiders and more advanced people from their lands and that for their protection the State Government had to create certain blocks and belts. In the Constitution there is a proviso to the articles relating to the fundamental rights by virtue of which it has been now made possible for the State Government to adopt certain special measures to give protection to these tribal people in regard to land. These unsophisticated simple tribal people cannot stand the approach of the more advanced people.

Assam is surrounded on all sides by hills inhabited by different tribal people. It is a frontier State surrounded by foreign powers like Pakistan, Burma Tibet. Assam's case, therefore, deserves special consideration. The hill areas were so long isolated under the British regime and we had no access to them. Fortunately after the independence it has been possible for us now to come in contact with the people in the hills. As citizens of free India we have now got the responsibility to see that the people living in this hill areas get proper opportunities to grow up along with other citizens of India.

The tribal population in Assam is not negligible. It forms a major portion of the total population of Assam. These tribal people in Assam have their ancient heritage, tradition and culture. They have got their own societies quite

distinct from the other societies. They are expert weavers and spinners. They rear silk worms and are very skilful in cottage industries. The tribal people are good agriculturists and the spirit of co-operation is marvelously prevalent in them. The tribal people in the plains portion of Assam, particularly the Bodo-Kachari people living in the Sub-mountain areas along the Bhutan hills, have got a very high knowledge of public works department. They have their own system of irrigation. They place dams over the small streams, cut canals to distribute water to their paddy fields. Crops never fail in their areas. The plains tribal areas are surplus areas in paddy and other crops. But unfortunately these tribal areas remain cut off from the rest of the country for want of roads and communication. These tribal people are self-supporting and hard working. If proper opportunities and facilities are given to them for communication, education and medical help there is no doubt that these people will grow up rapidly along with other more advanced people.

We should not confine our activities to the education of primary standard alone and that to have men at the top from those people we must give them proper facilities to receive higher education also, and for this some of the aided high schools in the tribal areas should be taken over by the Government.

The tribal people in the plains portion of Assam have not yet received any grants-in-aid which they are entitled to get under Article 275 of the Constitution of India. I, therefore make an earnest appeal to the officer in charge of the Development of the tribes to take this fact into due consideration and allot more grants for the plains tribal people of Assam at the time of distribution of grants-in-aid.

**Shri R. V. Subrahmanian, Secretary, Tribal Areas and Development
Department, Assam.**

Broadly speaking the tribal people of Assam fall under three categories. Firstly, the tribal people who inhabit the hilly areas along the Indo-Tibetan frontier who are the direct charge of the Government of India and who are administered by the President through the Governor of Assam. The second category of tribes are those who inhabit the hilly districts of Assam which are six in number; and the third category are the plains tribal people who are found scattered in pockets in certain backward areas of Assam.

Here, I am concerned in the few remarks that I shall be making, only with the tribal people who inhabit the areas which come directly under the administrative purview of the Government of Assam. The tribal people who inhabit the hills of Assam and come directly under the administrative purview of Assam are the Garos, Khasis, Mizos, Nagas, Mikirs, Dimasa Kacharis and Kukis. The policy in regard to these areas during the former British regime will give us an idea of the background of the problem facing us in these areas. The policy followed by the British Government should be described as a closed-door policy which resulted in the isolation of the people of these areas. They are very brave, proud, sensitive and freedom-loving. I have had occasion to see for myself some of the admirable qualities in these people which deserve emulation by the people in the rest of India. I would only cite some of their qualities to prove this proposition. Their sense of discipline, their sense of self-help in all constructive cooperative endeavours, their love of freedom and their love of democracy are simply marvellous. Unfortunately, however, the feeling of isolation which grew up in these people as a result of the deliberate policy of the British Government has also left in them a certain feeling of suspicion towards

the acts and intentions of the people from outside.

The problems that face Government in these areas at the moment are briefly speaking, lack of communications, lack of educational and medical facilities, lack of drinking water and lack of everything that may generally be termed as the amenities of a modern existence. These areas are hopelessly deficit in food. And as the essential requirements of any community are food and clothing, these items have got to be supplied to the people of these areas from outside. The absolute lack of communications, therefore, comes as a very severe handicap to us. Even in normally hilly areas, we have this problem. But since the partition of the country, the difficulties have further been accentuated. We have Pakistan bordering on three out of the six districts. The economy of the border areas of these three districts—namely the Garo Hills, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the Lushai Hills—in the days before partition was vitally linked with the plains of East Bengal. That is to say, the produce of these areas used to find ready markets in the *hats* of East Bengal and the essential requirements of these people like rice, fish and other food articles also used to be obtained from the East Bengal *hats*. But after partition these markets have been closed for the produce of our border people and the food supplies to these areas from across the border have also stopped. This means that against the law of nature and against geography we have got to find alternative markets for the produce of our border areas. The main thing, therefore, rather the key to the solution of the economic problem of these areas, lies in the development of communications, because it is only with proper communications that we can divert the produce of these border people to other

markets, and thereby provide them with the necessary earning capacity by which they can buy all their essential wherewithal. Communications are also needed to supply them with essential articles like food and clothing which they need. Even when there are surplus and deficit pockets in the same district, it is impossible to meet the needs of the deficit pockets from the surplus pockets without proper communications, as transport across hilly terrain is most difficult.

The other things which these tribals require are educational facilities, medical facilities and good drinking water facilities. Here again ultimately the problem boils down to one of communications. For even if you have to put up a school, it is necessary to carry all the building materials required to the site where the school building is proposed, which can only be done if you have the communications. You cannot procure materials from long distances through human porters in the prevailing conditions of today. The British Government could manage this by a system of impressment of the Tribal villagers as porters to carry loads. But after the advent of independence, with the growth of democratic ideas, and in the background of the spirit of the provisions in our Constitution it will be wrong and anachronistic to resort to impressment of porters in the Tribal Areas to meet our essential day to day requirements. So, even in the matter of establishing schools, constructing hospitals and dispensaries we have to first think of communications. Not that I minimise the importance of educational and medical facilities. But if things are to improve materially, a proper system of communications has got to be first developed in these areas.

I shall only site one instance to show the urgency for the development of communications in these areas. After

Partition, the whole of one Sub-Division in the Lushai Hills District—the South Lushai Hills sub-division with its headquarters at Lungleh—has been completely isolated from the rest of India, and to connect this sub-division with the outside world there is no road which can take in motor transport. Even now we are supplying most of the essential requirements of the people of this sub-division through porters. That is we engage porters to carry the essential supplies required in this Sub-Division for long distances by marching through the rather difficult, mountainous country. The cost of portage from the nearest roadhead where we can make available the supplies, to Lungleh comes to Rs. 45/- per maund and this will give a sort of index of how much the cost of the essential commodities will be in the Lungleh Sub-Division. To mitigate the hardships of the people of this Sub-Division to some extent, the Assam Government have introduced a system of subsidising the cost of transport of limited quantities of the essential requirements—about 20 maunds of sugar, 350 maunds of salt, about 70 tins of kerosene oil and a few other items. For a population of over 60,000 people in a sub-division the quantities of essential requirements subsidised are too meagre. They are totally inadequate. So in the absence of proper communications, this problem of supplying the essential requirements to Lungleh Sub-division will continue to be a headache. Recently we have started the air-dropping of essential supplies to this Sub-division as an experimental measure. The cost will be much less than with porters but air transport and air-dropping have their limitations. There again we have got the difficulties of weather, lack of suitable aerodromes and so on and so forth.

The Government of Assam has drawn up a Five Year Plan of Development for these Tribal Areas and the emphasis

in this Plan has been on communications. Out of a total outlay of about Rs. 2½ crores on this Plan, we have earmarked a sum of about Rs. 1½ crores for the development of communications. The development of education, medical facilities and drinking water supply, and improvement of agricultural methods, cottage industries and establishment of cooperative institutions come next in the order of priorities. In the field of education we are taking over as many Schools as possible, granting a large number of scholarships to deserving Tribal boys and girls, training up Tribal students in professional colleges, like Medical College, Agricultural College and so on. Another great difficulty in some of these areas, apart from communications, is that even if we are to establish institutions like hospitals and dispensaries, there is a lack of doctors willing to serve in these interior areas of the hills, because people from the plains areas do not find living in those areas congenial. We have had several instances where we have opened hospitals and had to leave them empty because of lack of doctors willing to go there. This trouble is sure to continue till such time as the minimum amenities of life are made available in these areas and the only speedy solution is to train up the tribal students themselves so that they will come forward and take up these professions in the interior tribal areas. Much has been said about the educational problems of these people and I do not like to touch on that because the subject has already been very fully discussed.

I have stated that the isolationist policy of the former regime has left a lot of suspicion in the minds of these tribal people. So at the time when the future form of administration for these areas was being settled by the Constituent Assembly and when the members

of the Advisory Committee for the Tribal Areas set up by the Constituent Assembly toured the Tribal Areas of Assam in order to ascertain the wishes of the people as to what they would like their future form of Government to be, they were almost unanimously told by the representatives of the tribal people who met them that, while they were very anxious to remain an integral part of the Indian body politic, they would like to be vested with the maximum measure of autonomy in the management of their day-to-day affairs. The Constituent Assembly wisely recognised that there was much force in this demand of the tribal people and while framing the provisions for the administration of the Tribal Areas, vested in the Tribal people a considerable measure of autonomy in the management of their day-to-day affairs. These powers of local autonomy are to be exercised by the tribal people through their own elected representatives in their District Councils. These Councils are entrusted with a very wide range of powers, as for instance, all matters concerning the utilization, use, occupation and allocation of land and management of forests. The earlier speakers have stressed on the great value which the Tribal people attach to their land. Recognising this, the Constitution provides that all powers in regard to the utilisation, use and occupation of land in the Tribal Areas must vest with the people. The Tribal people through their District Councils are also given large powers in the matter of administration of justice in these areas, settlement of disputes, establishment and maintenance of village communications, primary education, opening of dispensaries, succession of Chiefs and Headmen, inheritance of property, civic administration of villages and towns and so on and so forth. That is to say, all matters concerning the day-to-day affairs of the Tribal people are to be dealt with by the District Councils.

I have referred to the Five Year Development programme, which we have chalked out for the development of these areas. The Government of India have been sanctioning grants-in-aid from year to year for the development of the hill tribal areas. A suggestion which the Government of Assam would like to make in this connection is this. At the very start the development schemes take some time to gather momentum. The schemes have got to be planned, they have got to be approved by the Government of India, we have then got to scrutinise the schemes from the administrative and financial angles and some time necessarily lapses before these schemes are put into operation. The only period we have to do construction work in these areas is from the beginning of October to the middle of May. The working season in the Tribal Areas is thus limited to about 5½ to 6 months. If every year we have to obtain sanction for the various development schemes including those approved the previous year and wait four or five months after the budget is passed for the communication of grants, there is inevitably some measure of uncertainty even about the future of the schemes which are already in progress. So a suggestion is made that a sort of Development Fund should be constituted for the development of the Tribal Areas to which the grants-in-aid which are made available by the Government of India from year to year could be credited and to which expenditure on the development schemes could be debited from year to year, so that the schemes once sanctioned could continue without interruption, despite the coming to a close of the financial year

in question. In that case the grants-in-aid once sanctioned for a scheme would not lapse, and there would be no need to surrender funds at the close of the financial year. I am only making a suggestion in regard to this matter, because this would obviate the rather uncertain position which prevails at the end of each financial year as regards the fate of the development schemes which are started that year.

In regard to the autonomous Districts of Assam, I have now broadly touched the various aspects of the problem that faces us. As regards the Plains Tribal Areas, the Medical Minister from Assam who spoke before me has just referred to their main problems. Unlike the hill areas, these areas are not deficit in food and some of their other essential requirements. What we need in the Plains Tribal Areas are communications and provision of marketing facilities for their produce. Here again the main need is communications, and next to communications, we require educational, medical and drinking water facilities to be developed. The Government of India have allotted a grant-in-aid this year for this purpose, though last year we could not make much progress with the Centre. We shall be able to do more and more in these areas if liberal grants-in-aid are allotted for the purpose by the Government of India. This does not mean that the State Government are not doing whatever is possible for the development of these areas out of their own resources. We are doing substantial work for the development of these areas with the available resources at our disposal.

Shri Tarlok Singh, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

I am very grateful for this opportunity of saying a few words about the approach which we have so far made in the 5-year Plan to this whole ques-

tion of development programmes for tribal areas and the tribal population. Last year when the Planning Commission consulted various State Govern-

ments, there was not the opportunity of going into very great detail about individual schemes and programmes because the problem was one of fitting the programmes as a whole into the resources which at that time were reckoned as being available. Since then we have had the opportunity of obtaining some further details. We feel now that we are at the beginning of these programmes and a conference such as this will enable both the Central Government and the State Governments to adapt their programme to such considerations and priorities as might emerge here. From that point of view we welcome very greatly this particular opportunity. The resources which are at present provided for the development of the tribal population amount roughly to about 8 crores on the budget of the various State Governments, about 3 crores provided by the Central Government for the frontier agencies and such sums as are made available by way of grants-in-aid under the Constitution through the Ministry of Home Affairs. At this stage it is to be recognised that much of the planning in this field is of a preliminary character, being in the nature of laying the foundations. We are not sure whether the programmes which have been drawn up at present meet all the criteria which have to be applied; for instance, it may be that some of the programmes are not yet based on sufficiently complete information about the problem which has to be tackled. Also it may be that at this stage there is not sufficient coordination between the development programme of a State as a whole and that part of the programme which is relevant particularly to the tribal population. So there is a problem of coordination within the State. Then there is also the problem of coordination between whatever resources a State is able to find and whatever resources the Centre is able to find from different sources. At this stage it is

natural that these programmes should be of a somewhat rudimentary character dealing with elementary requirements, such as roads or water supply, but we feel that as we go along it will be necessary, in the light of further knowledge, to recast and develop these programmes further. The distribution of the expenditure between different activities varies a great deal between various States. To some extent that is to be expected, because the problem also differs a great deal in different parts, sometimes of the same State; different elements of the tribal population are, for instance, at different stage of development. Some of the questions which occur to us and on which perhaps those who have worked closely on this problem and who are present at this conference can throw special light, are these: First, do these development programmes, by and large, make an adequate approach to the problem of poverty as it may be found in different tribal groups. The economic problem is there in some form or other. Second, since work among the tribal population has to be conceived and organised on a somewhat long-term basis and much of this work is still rather in its infancy, there is the question whether official cadres are being trained and built up, whether in each State there is a programme for ensuring that people who will devote the bulk of their careers to working among the tribal population are being trained or not. Third, to what extent do these programmes provide opportunity for the growth of tribal leadership and tribal institutions, integrating them with whatever the official machinery can provide. Fourth, to what extent are young men from the tribes able, as a result of these programmes, to find fuller opportunities both for working among their people and also for themselves through gaining the ability to undertake higher responsibilities compared to those that they might be now undertaking. And fifth, to what extent

do these programmes provide for assistance and encouragement to suitable non-official agencies which may belong to other parts of the country who bring in trained workers, who dedicate themselves to working among the different sections of the tribal population. These are some of the questions about the various programmes which have begun, in one way or another, to present

themselves. I mention them so that during the course of the discussion it might be possible for some of you gentlemen to throw light on these aspects. After all the grants-in-aid which are provided for by the Constitution, are but one element in the total resources which are going or can be made to go into the development of these areas.

Shri N. M. Wadiva, Vanwasi Sewa Mandal, Mandla, Madhya Pradesh.

It is a well-known fact that the aborigines are hard hit, their economic level is low and compulsion is sure to affect their economic system. It is only by way of persuasion that the primary education can be spread among the aborigines. Of course the scheme for night schools, which is being worked in Madhya Pradesh, is practicable. One benefit that arose from that is that the guardians have decided to send their children to schools and are demanding schools where there is none in the area. The summary of the Planning Commission, which has been given to us, shows that 138 lakhs of rupees are allotted to our province and about 750 primary schools are being opened within 5 years. Now if you just calculate it, that province which is divided into 92 tehsils, hardly 8 schools are being opened within the period of 5 years in one tehsil with a population of 4 lakhs. Such paltry and

inadequate aid from the Centre is not sufficient to bring the aborigines to the level of other citizens. I would suggest that other sources should be tapped and other methods should be adopted to see that adequate financial aid is given for the uplift of aborigines in that area. Our tribal people in the province are mainly the residents of forest area and their occupation is agriculture. The agricultural progress is not so developed as in plains. The shifting cultivation is still prevalent in some of the areas. In the area from which I come shifting cultivation is prevalent because there is abundance of forests in that area and there is lack of implements, seeds, etc. These factors also lead the aborigines to fall back on shifting cultivation. Efforts should be made to give them land for a longer period or permanently and they should be settled in plains.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Member of the House of the People, (Madras).

I regret to say that the provision for the Scheduled Areas with which I am connected and which contain a population of over 5,00,000 Adivasis, is extremely meagre. Actually this important area is not at all listed in paragraph 4 of the development programme of the Planning Commission, according to the papers circulated to the conference.

Again, Annexures 1 and 2 of the Planning Commission's note contain a provision of Rs. 87,000, spread over a period of 5 years for opening Co-operative Stores for Hill Tribes in the Kolli Hills and Polavaram and East Godavari Agencies. For one thing, the Visakhapatnam Agency is completely neglected in this scheme, and for another, less than Rs. 16,000 a year for this vast

area looks utterly unequal to the task. The Madras Government is planning to spend Rs. 4 lakhs a year for this entire area and a similar contribution is expected from the Centre. Compared to other areas, even this combined financial assistance to the Adivasis of my area would be considered by all reasonable-minded people to be grossly inadequate. I want immediate augmentation of the Grants-in-aid by the Centre, so that the Madras Government also would be induced to increase its quota.

I would like to address myself to two major issues: (1) The Tribal areas are unable to get access to consumer goods in quantities and at prices which are equitable; and (2) the Tribal people are unable to get a proper price for their forest produce which is subject to monopoly buying all round. I consider that if these two aspects of the question are tackled adequately, then the problem of rehabilitation of the Tribal areas would have been tackled. I also consider, and I say this without any fear of contradiction, that the proposed capital expenditure programmes for communications etc., in the Tribal areas can wait until these simple first steps are taken.

I have seen the rapid decline of the Tribal people as a result of the invasion of our money economy. These

children of the Hills, who are masters of their homes and who own lands, have today become subject to wage slump. I have seen thousands and thousands of acres of fertile land on either side of the Godavari river now turned over to the cultivation of tabacco by the invasion of plainmen. This impoverishment of the Tribal people, with its consequent degradation, must be stopped forthwith. The existing laws in Madras are not sufficient to cope with this distressing situation. The Tribal people are ground down between the millstone of the Excise and Forest authorities, who are their natural enemies. We have to see that this will not continue to happen in free India.

I believe senior officers under the Constitution put in charge of Tribal administration are under the control of the State Governments and I know that they are subject to frequent transfers. I want, at any rate as far as the senior-most officers are concerned, a cadre to be built up by the Centre, which should consist of officers who are willing to dedicate their lives to the cause of Tribal people, even for the whole of the coming decade, so that there would be unity of approach and efficiency of administration, besides work with a missionary zeal.

Shri Rishang Keishing, Member of the House of the People, (Manipur).

This great country of the Republic of India is the home-land of over thirty-five crores of people belonging to different communities and tribes of different language, religion, culture, tradition, custom, manner and stock. The most distinguishable, colourful and backward among the population are the tribal people. Majority of the tribal people are the aboriginal or most ancient people of this country. The population of this people is said to be about thirty millions, but there is a

strong controversy over this figure, because there are several tribal groups in different parts of the country which are not classified as tribes upto now and there are also tribes or groups of people (tribal people) particularly in the plains who now feel ashamed or refuse to call themselves as tribes or tribal people and trying to ultimately identify themselves with the general population of the plains. Therefore, the real population of the tribes including that of the vacillating groups, will

come round about thirty five millions. The dirty slums of the plains the mountainous regions and jungles of the country are the abodes of these people. Almost cent percent of them are agriculturist by profession. Those of them who live on the mountainous regions carry on terrace and "jhum" cultivations.

The grouping of the tribes particularly that of Manipur and Assam was done under the British regime and it was done in most arbitrary and careless manner without consulting the people and without proper investigation. There have been a lot of confusions and disputes over the question of the inclusion of certain section of tribe to another tribe. In Manipur for example, certain section of the tribe of Naga and Mizo have been included in the tribe of Kuki and that of Kuki in the tribe of Mizo. Then, there are again certain districts which have been wrongly named. The present district of Lushai Hills has been named after the name of a sub-tribe called 'Lushai' with which the Britishers first came into contact. The parent tribe of many sub-tribes of which 'Lushai' is one is called 'MIZO.' In almost all the important hill towns and places, one will find many of the controlling the entire economy of the people. They have been ruthlessly exploiting the ignorant and simple tribal people. Then there are the Government officers from the plains who before the tribal people, regards themselves as superhuman beings. They do not try to keep in touch with the people as it is thought something below their dignity. The people also dare not speak and frankly discuss their problems with the officers as the former think in terms of inferior complexity while the latter think in terms of superior complexity. The police and C.I.D. also show a very unfriendly attitude towards them and very often they are subjected to harrassment and terrorism of the said

guardians of law and order. If one looks the past history of the tribes, one will find series of humiliating treatment meted out by the plain people. Consequently, the tribal people have very low opinion and impression of the plain people and their minds are often clouded with doubt, fear, suspicion and distrust. The Government is now trying to find out a way as how to approach and attend their problems. Whosoever wants to work among these people whether Government or public organisations or individuals must shed the idea of superior complexity. They must come down to the level of the people, live, eat, work and play with them, help them and guide them in their struggle for progress. They are men of action and therefore, one must prove by action one's sincerity and enthusiasm to help them.

The tribal people can be roughly classified as the Plains Tribe and the Hill Tribe. People of both groups particularly that of the latter are agriculturist by profession, and they generally suffer from grinding poverty. The plains tribes particularly have been suffering from chronic shortage of cultivable lands. The Government therefore, has to provide them lands and this can be well carried out by abolishing the Zamindari system without compensation, reclaiming the waste and fallow lands and distribute in such a manner that the tribal people get the top priority opportunity and are also given substantial portion of lands. It will be the first step to ensure the progress of the tribes of the plains. Barring the question of lands, the rest of the problems of the tribes of both plains and hills are the same.

The hill tribes are not generally so much in short of lands i.e., land problem is not so acute. Their great problem is proper utilisation of lands. Their main occupation is agriculture and rice is the staple food. Certain

areas are self sufficient and certain areas are not in food-stuffs. They have practically no source of income. For want of proper communications 95 per cent of the tribal areas have no links with the rests of the country and the result is even essential goods cannot be brought inside and outside the said areas. The people are sturdy and hard working people. If their potential energies are utilised in a proper manner and economically, they will not only produce sufficient food and goods for their own consumption but for export outside the tribal areas which will be the main source of their income. Under the present existing circumstances, they work only for family consumption and the rest of the time is idly wasted. The progress of the tribal people will not be possible without economical progress; and it will be largely dependent on good roads. Therefore, to keep the tribal people on sound economical footing, good communication which will link the rests of the country, is indispensable. One must also see that the uneconomic customs prevalent among the tribes are forthwith removed. Educational, medical facilities and raising the low standard of living are all to a great degree dependent on the improvement of the economic position of the people; nevertheless they are matters which require the serious and immediate attention of the Government.

In order to meet the need of the people for their progress, the Government must have a policy and schemes or plans. The following suggestions may be adopted by the Government for speedy uplift of the tribes.

(1) A substantial portion of the lands acquired from the abolition of the Zamindari system and the reclamation of the waste and fallow lands must be available to the tribal

people particularly, the tribal people of the plains.

- (2) The lands of the tribal people particularly the hill tribes must be well protected so that their life and progress may not be interfered by the unscrupulous men of the plains.
- (3) All the undemocratic, uneconomic and reactionary customs must be immediately abolished by order or legislation.
- (4) The tribal areas must be linked with the rest of the country in the shortest span of time by a net-work of roads and other communications. In order to carry out this proposition effectively, atleast 50 per cent of the grant from the Government of India must be spent for it and voluntary labour which is in abundance may be mobilised. The Government of India must sanction more funds towards this work.
- (5) Compulsory primary education must be at once introduced throughout the tribal areas. Middle English in High Schools may be started in every important hill centres and stations. More scholarships for higher education including for foreign education must be forthwith set apart.
- (6) Establishment of atleast one well-furnished and well-equipped hospital and a good number of dispensaries in each Sub-division should be the immediate target of the Government.
- (7) Cottage industries should be made compulsory in each

village and the Government should give all the necessary financial and material helps.

- (8) Agricultural and technical schools may also be started in certain important hill centres or places.
- (9) Adequate facilities for service and appointments in both the

state and union service must be made available.

- (10) Co-operative societies will find an honourable place in the development of the backward tribal people; therefore, to start with, the Government must give loans liberally and on easy term to the tribal people.

श्री गजानन नायक, पाम-गुड़ ऐडवाइजर, भारत सरकार

जहां जहां आदिवासी बस्तियां हैं वहां तार के पेड़ काफी तादाद में मौजूद हैं। यह भी आप लोग जानते हैं कि आदिवासियों की पुराने जमाने से ताड़ के पेड़ों से ताड़ी बनाने की आदत है। उन्हें इस बुरी आदत से छुड़ाने के लिये इन ताड़ों के मीठे रस से गुड़ बनाने की तालीम आदिवासियों को दी जाये। हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि आदिवासी वस्त्र और वस्त्र के बारे में भी स्वावलम्बी बनें। जहां आदिवासी रहते हैं वहां गन्ने की काश्त करना मुश्किल है लेकिन अगर गुड़ ताड़ों से बनाया जाये, तो इस से काफी गुड़ पैदा हो सकता है। इस की

तालीम भी दी जाये तो उन्हें काफी फायदा हो सकता है। यह सुझाव नहीं है। इस पर अमल करने के लिए कोशिश भी की गई है। राजस्थान, मध्य भारत और बम्बई के राज्यों में ताड़ गुड़ बनाने की तालीम भी दी जाती है और वहां आदिवासी लोग और उन के छोटे छोटे बच्चे भी इस काम में लगे हुए हैं। और जो एक समस्या हमारे सामने है कि आदिवासियों के बच्चे स्कूल में नहीं आते हैं तो वहां भी ताड़ से गुड़ बनाने की तालीम शुरू करने से वह आकर्षित हो जायेंगे।

Shri T. C. Das, Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University.

We are ignorant about tribal life and tribal culture. Knowledge about tribal life and culture should be collected in a planned manner by social anthropologists. It should then be disseminated through our schools and colleges to the people at large. Text books on tribal life and culture should be prescribed for study in Secondary Schools and Intermediate colleges. This would create a sympathetic atmosphere in the mind of the mass of our people and help in liquidating the disruptive forces now at work in different Tribal areas.

Tribal Economy

There is a strong opinion against the practice of Shifting Cultivation of the tribal people both from official and non-official sources. It leads to denudation and consequent erosion and disscission of vast stretches of hill sides. So it has been proposed to stop this method of cultivation without delay and bring down the people who practise it to the plains at the foot of the hills and settle them there in colonies, and provide them with sufficient permanently cultivable land. I have

grave doubts about the success of such an ambitious scheme. Moreover culture is an integrated whole and the sudden abolition of a very important component of it will surely lead to grave maladjustments in different departments of life, leading to untold miseries. I think this can be avoided if shifting cultivation is put under some sort of control and the people induced to plant useful trees in the denuded fields from the very first year of clearance. Moreover if these tribes are taught the value of fruit-cultivation they will themselves take to it. In the Kumaon hills and in some parts of Assam Hills extensive orchards exist on the hill sides. In Assam oranges and pineapples are extensively grown by the Khasis on the hill slopes without any injury to the conservation of soil. This practice may be extended to other parts of the country and if successful will relieve us from the necessity of settling a large population on the already congested plains, to the detriment of the interest of both the parties. Improvement of communications will, however, be necessary for transport of the produce to the market but that is also necessary for other purposes as well.

We have already heard about various types of Co-operative Societies organised for the benefit of tribal people e.g., Co-operative Credit Societies, Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies, Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies and so on. In all of them the capital is money but I should like to suggest a form of Co-operative in which labour should be the capital of the Society and not money. For building roads and school-houses, for digging wells and making dams and for any other community-benefit work, every able-bodied villager may be induced to contribute his bodily labour for a number of days in the month or year. With this capital much may be achieved in tribal areas. Tribal people

are healthy and sturdy. They are not afraid of physical labour and they will gladly offer this labour for the community welfare. As a matter of fact they have this system among themselves. It is not a day-dream. A private social worker has achieved all these things in a number of villages in the Ranchi District.

Community Welfare Centres

I fully agree with Shri B. Chatterjee about the importance of organising community Welfare Centres. These should be made pivot of the whole welfare work. There should also be Training Centres for teachers and workers.

Tribal Survey and Research Department

It may be assumed that each of the Social Workers engaged in tribal welfare work knows his own area thoroughly well. But at present there is no means of disseminating his experiences to co-workers in other areas. By publication of Journals and holding of periodical Conferences this may be partially satisfied. But mere local experience is not sufficient to tackle the knotty problems of tribal uplift. We require for this purpose a well organised batch of trained anthropologists, able to carry out detailed and comprehensive survey of tribal life in the light of the different problems that confront the State as well as non-official Social Service Organisations. Each State with a sufficient tribal population should maintain a Department of Tribal Survey and Research with a part of the Grant-in-aid received from the Centre under Article 275 of the Constitution. This Department should be entrusted with the work of collecting data necessary for welfare work in addition to scientific study of the people. It also should organise central and local museums with the idea of educating the mass in an objective manner.

Protection of Tribal Culture

Many of us have spoken about the beauty of certain elements of tribal culture such as their arts and crafts, their dances and music and so on. They have strongly advocated for their protection. On the other hand, there is a tendency among the educated tribals to suppress some of these traits such as dancing. Mere verbal appreciation will not go a long way to stem this rising tide. It is by assimilation of some of these elements in our own culture we may effectively insure against their disappearance. The great Bratachari Movement initiated by Late G. S. Dutt is a right move in this direction. If we keep in our drawing rooms objects of tribal art then only they will survive. We should give more tangible shape to our verbal appreciation.

Mutual Visits

The tribals live in isolation on the hills and in the forests. They rarely come in contact with the better part of the advanced people. This should be remedied. Leaders of the advanced people should occasionally visit the home of the tribals and see with their own eyes how they live and what

problems face them. In the same way tribal leaders also should be taken to urban centres and shown our achievements in science and industry. This will lead to mutual appreciation.

Grants-in-Aid

There are nearly twenty million tribals in India unevenly distributed over different parts of the country. Last year the Central Government spent about twenty million rupees for their welfare. In the current financial year the amount may be little more. The different States received different sums as grants-in-aid from this money. There may be weighty reasons for such differential treatment but they are not apparent. West Bengal received two lakhs of rupees last year, which is a very small sum for its fourteen lakhs of tribal population. The State Government, saddled as it is with a huge refugee population, can spare little from its own coffers for this purpose. Like Assam, on its northern border disruptive forces are steadily working. These two points should be taken into consideration when deciding the amount of grant-in-aid to this State for the current financial year.

Shri G. R. Raddi, Deputy Secretary, Local-self Government, and Public Health Department, Bombay

I wish to give you, before I turn to the question of grants-in-aid, a brief resume or an overall picture of what is being done in Bombay State for the backward classes and in particular for the scheduled tribes. We have been in this field for more than 20 years and possibly we have gained more experience about the amelioration work than the States which have started their activities only recently. It will, therefore, in my opinion, be both informative and interesting for you to know what has been done, what is being done, and what we intend to do in the future, in Bombay State.

The population of backward classes in the Bombay State is nearly one crore of people. Roughly it comes to nearly 30 per cent of the total population of the State. This will give you an idea of the magnitude of the problem which we have to tackle. Among these backward classes, the scheduled tribes form nearly 34 lakhs, i.e. nearly 10 per cent of the total State population and nearly one-third of the total backward class population. As a result of the merger which was effected two or three years ago, we have had eight districts added to the State area and most of these districts are backward

areas. The result is that we find that our problems have increased after the merger than what they were before.

Turning to the expenditure side, I might say that we are spending every year nearly Rs. 50 lakhs on various ameliorative schemes for the backward classes. In addition, in the district of Dangs, which has come to the Bombay Government recently, and which is entirely populated by scheduled tribes and is thus one of the most backward areas, we are spending over Rs. 20 lakhs per year over and above Rs. 50 lakhs which are provided in the General Budget for the amelioration of the backward classes.

You also know that prohibition has been imposed in Bombay State since the last two years and as a result of that Government have lost a revenue which could roughly be calculated at Rs. 15 crores on a very conservative basis. A major portion of this revenue used to come from what we call the backward classes. As a result of prohibition, I can say we have put back at least Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 crores into the pockets of these people. These people, as you all know, were squandering practically all their earnings on drink. No ameliorative activity, no activity for the uplift of the backward classes could have yielded commensurate results unless the drink evil was taken away from these people. (This we have done)

In addition to the expenditure that we incur, there are various forms of revenue which we have foregone in favour of the backward classes. One of the important in this connection is that we give waste land by preference to backward class people either free or at a very nominal price. We are also encouraging the formation of forest labour Co-operative Societies of the backward people especially scheduled tribes. Forest coupes and by-products are given to these Societies

at a negotiated price. Loss in revenue to Government on these items will easily exceed Rs. 25 lakhs per year. All told, I would not be wrong if I say that our total expenditure plus the revenue which we forego in favour of the backward classes amounts to one crore of rupees per year. All this, I am sure will convince you that the Bombay State is making earnest efforts for the amelioration and for the uplift of the backward classes.

You would naturally like to know in what items of expenditure all this money is being spent. Well, there are three main types of activities or three main items of expenditure on which this money is being spent. They are: first, education, second, economic rehabilitation of backward classes and third, propaganda. On education we spend about 30 lakhs of rupees per year for the backward classes only. Education from the lowest level to the highest has been made free for the backward classes. In addition to that we are running all over the State nearly 200 hostels where the scheduled tribes and other backward classes are being lodged and fed and sent to schools without any charge on the inmates. These hostels are run by voluntary agencies and Government gives grant-in-aid at the rate of roughly, 75 per cent of their total expenditure. Some hostels are also run by the District School Boards. In addition, scholarships are granted for courses in technical and craft education in all the institutions, majority of which reserve seats for backward classes. The total number of backward classes who are taking advantage of these educational facilities is rising year by year. It is not only rising, but rising by leaps and bounds. We feel gratified and you would be happy to hear that nearly 7 lakhs of people in the Bombay State from the backward classes are availing themselves of these educational facilities.

Turning to the question of economic rehabilitation we have 3 or 4 major schemes in operation. One of these is to supply these people with waste-land wherever possible. Government have directed that all waste lands in the State should be given to backward classes and scheduled tribes by preference either free or at a nominal price. Only last year we have given nearly 70,000 acres of land to these people for cultivation and we have provided nearly 3 lakhs of rupees in the form of Tagai to supply them with the wherewithal with which to carry on their agricultural operations and to secure seeds, implements, bullocks and other necessities required for carrying on agricultural operations. In the field of economic rehabilitation the first item is thus land, so that these people should be settled on agriculture. The second item is the formation of co-operative societies by backward classes in the forest areas with a view to eliminate the middleman, viz. the Contractor. Just as it is agreed that the tiller of the soil should have the profits of his labour, so also we think that profits from forest exploitation should go not to any third party but to those who live in the forests. We have so far formed 100 Co-operative Societies and most of them are doing well. Within the next 15 years we hope to form more societies so that at least half of the total forest area will be exploited by these people themselves.

Next in the field of economic rehabilitation comes the housing scheme. The backward class people have been staying in huts which were nothing short of hovels. Government have, therefore, encouraged the formation of Co-operative Housing Societies for the backward classes and have agreed to bear 75 per cent of the total expenditure required by way of interest free loans, the remaining 25 per cent being borne by the individual members of the Society in the form of share capital.

Housing sites are also given to these Societies free of cost. We have more than 200 Housing Co-operative Societies for the backward classes in this State and Government have advanced nearly 11 lakhs of rupees by way of interest free loans to these Societies. Many Housing Societies have completed their work and houses of a standard plan have come into existence as a result of this.

Another item in the field of economic rehabilitation is the provision of Government service to the qualified backward classes. Government have laid down certain percentages by way of reservations in different categories of services for the backward classes. The percentage varies from 25 to 12 and Government every year reviews and sees that in respect of all the new appointments these percentages are strictly adhered to and that people from backward classes get their reasonable share in the services.

The third item of expenditure is propaganda. Various voluntary agencies have been recognised for this purpose and Government sanctions suitable grants-in-aid on the expenditure incurred by such agencies on propagandists appointed by them. These propagandists tour throughout the areas allocated to them and carry on a vigorous propaganda in favour of prohibition, better farming, and various other ameliorative measures adopted by the State. Nearly a lakh of rupees per year are paid by the Government as grants-in-aid to Voluntary Agencies. Turning to the grant-in-aid, there is one point which I would like to make clear. In the Bombay State we have adopted a policy which I regard as progressive one of treating all backward classes as a whole and extending all our schemes more or less on regional basis open to all backward classes. Under the Constitution the provision of the special fund, from which grants-in-aid are made to State Governments,

is meant for Scheduled Tribes only, and a difficulty therefore arises in the cases of a State like Bombay where all backward classes are treated as a whole, and no separate schemes have been formed exclusively for the benefit of any one section of the backward classes.

The grants-in-aid should be based on a fifty-fifty basis; that is to say, the State Government should bear 50 per cent if the expenditure on all schemes of amelioration of the Scheduled Tribes and the Central Government should bear the other 50 per cent. This is suggested because the grants-in-aid cannot be utilised fully to cover the total expenditure on any schemes operated by the State Government.

A fair basis for the allocation of grants-in-aid should, in my opinion, have some correlation with the population of the scheduled tribes in a particular State. The quantum of the problem can only be assessed in fair way on this basis. However, in some States it is possible that the resources are not adequate to meet even 50 per

cent of the expenditure on schemes as suggested above. In such cases, the Central Government may make an exception and allocate a higher percentage.

There is always recurring and non-recurring expenditure on all amelioration schemes. As a rule, the grants-in-aid should be mainly utilised for non-recurring expenditure, so that the State Government can carry on the recurring expenditure even in years when the Central Government may not be in a position to provide adequate grants-in-aid.

Regarding the agencies to which these grants-in-aid should be made, I am of opinion that the basis should be from the Central Government to the State Government. There are many voluntary agencies who should get help from the Central Government in the form of grants-in-aid for the various activities they are conducting. In the interest of uniformity and fair play, it is necessary that they should seek these grants-in-aid, through the State Government and not direct.

Shri Aaron Alley, B.L. (Advocate), M.L.A., Assam.

The tribals of Assam, unlike other tribals in India, came from the East. Assam is comprised of (1) Tribal area Part A—now known as the six Autonomous Districts covering an area of about 28000 square miles. In the most important Autonomous District (U.K.J. Hills) the 25 Khasi States are included. (2) The North East Frontier Agency (Tribal area—Part B) has an area of about 35000 square miles and (3) The six plains Districts have a total area of about 26000 square miles. Vast areas of these Plains Districts are occupied by Plains Tribals. You will thus see that Assam is not only a Frontier State but also a Tribal State.

The 5 year programme which has been made do not at all satisfy our people as our problems are not solved by it. The roads to be taken up according to that programme in the U.K.J. Hills will serve only a very small portion of our hills. How long shall we wait for to Government to actually tackle our distressing conditions. Many of our people do not get grains to eat and are living this year on jack fruits only. When the jack fruit season will be over the problem is how will they live.

Within a few weeks District Councils will be functioning in the Autonomous

districts of Assam; but these Councils will be struggling hard on account of finance. The most important thing which the Government of India ought to do is to allot many lakhs of rupees for the grow-more-food campaign in this district to be utilised through the District Councils. These are tracts of lands inside the district of U-K-J Hills which can be cultivated and which can feed the whole district and even make this district a surplus area. Now we have to get grains from outside Assam through the Assam Government and when the Assam Government get some rice and wheat products our people do not get enough to live and even if a scanty amount of these products reach the border areas, the cost is prohibitive for the people who are under the strain of financial distress.

I must bring to the notice of this Conference that Khasi people who were under the 25 Khasi States feel that they have suffered untold misery by the Partition. During the old regime of the British they never had such an experience. They had their own produce which they used to send to East Bengal and they used to get their rice, fish and cloth through East Bengal. Now they are suffering.

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Our Khasi States people used to feel that they were independent during the British days as the Britishers never interfered with their rights on land and with their domestic institutions. They only acted like peace-makers and supervise over the administration of the Khasi States. The rulers or Native Chiefs were only rulers over their cases, but they never had any authority on land which belong to the people. The feeling of our people is that that happy state has been altered altogether by the Independence of India which has meant to them a kind of disturbance and there is also a fear that the culture of the majority com-

munity in India will gradually swallow them up. This danger they apprehend all the time. They feel that their social customs are better than those of the majority community. The hill people have these social customs (1) Women are free to work outside and inside the house to cultivate, to trade and move about freely among men in market places etc. Another culture which will despise this freedom is considered to be strange (2) Men and women work together to support the family inside the house or outside. Any other culture different from that is not appreciated by them. (3) Our people do not despise any kind of work. Labour is a dignity to them. They make no difference between one work and another. This is a splendid trait which must be adopted by the members of the majority community. The Congress Party with its principle is trying to create this attitude in the minds of India, but the actual practice will take many years. (4) Our people are democratic—all hills institutions are democratic in their social customs—especially in our Khasi-Jaintia Hills. They have no caste distinction. Even a ruler will work together with the common people. There is no feeling of high or low. That State in Society will have to be practised by the majority community before there can be a happy association between the tribes of the hills of Assam with the majority community of the plains of Assam. The actual practice which differentiate people by means of food or religion, which makes the higher caste want to impose its wish upon others will have to be abolished in practice as well as in thought. (5) The hills have their own distinct languages which are not Sanskritice—and the fact that they are brought into our administration of Assam should not make leaders of the majority community in Assam and India feel that a certain language should be forced upon them. Our hills people have to learn

Hindi, Assamese and also English. They cannot give up English as it is an International language which will enable them to get access into the treasury of Science and the whole world. They must learn Hindi, but nothing yet has been done by the Government to teach Hindi. Our hills people have to learn Assamese also to make them to get into proper contact with the majority community in the plains of Assam. It will take several years in order to start such schools in our hills. Think of the difficulties which our young students have to meet by learning so many languages. This is one of the greatest problem from the standpoint of education. The Central Government should give special grants to the District Councils for the development of education and study of languages in the hills. To talk of integration without a common language which can be understood by the common people is only a theory which will only mean that a larger community will have all the advantages and the smaller communities will remain oppressed. The high expression of Equality of opportunity and freedom of movement in India in our Constitution will only mean that the small people or tribes will have practically nothing and the majority community will get everything. The Congress Party in India do not want to have any one community feel that he is overworked and oppressed. So in the Constitution provisions have been put in to raise up the backward communities which are the weak links in the chain of the formation of the Indian Nation. Money should be spent for this purpose. The Government of India should spend many crores of rupees to bring about the happy relationship by education between the tribes of the hills and the plains of Assam. Immediately schools should be started in every village in the hills with teachers of languages. Do not waste time. Other forces are working for disintegration and separation. I con-

sider that this is the first duty of the Government of India to keep the hills of Assam feel satisfied within the Indian Constitution. The happening in one of our hill districts i.e. the Naga Hills is well-known to all in the Conference. In my opinion it is wrong to consider that the Nagas culture is inspired by Communist influence from outside. I do not believe they are; but as I am a hillman I can understand their mentality. They have been brought up from time immemorial with an idea of Independence. They have their own language and social customs which are different from our brothers in the plains. They consider that if they are brought within the Indian Constitution they will be swallowed up by the majority community and they will become slaves to them. Their feeling is not unnatural if you place yourself in their place. If you feel their feelings you may be made to sympathise with them. Though I consider that their attitude is wrong and that the powers given to the District Councils in the Sixth Schedule will enable them to keep their own to some extent, yet I need tell this Conference that the feelings of the Nagas is shared by many of our hills people. These feelings can be changed by actually doing quick work of education, road improvements and grow more food campaign. This will require crores of rupees, but it will be the only right course for the Government to follow, otherwise the hills of Assam cannot be kept satisfied by promises nor ruled by force of arms. They are on the gateway of other nations. I want Government that they should do this first of all. The interior of India may wait a little but the frontier India, the Eastern frontier especially must not be overlooked. The U.K.J. Hills, the Garo Hills, the Lushai Hills are in the frontier of Pakistan and Burma and the Naga Hills are on the border of Burma. China will come through the Assam frontiers.

I must mention another important point about the hills of Assam which are now called Autonomous Districts and that is this—The U.K.J. Hills, the Lushai Hills and the Garo Hills have been having some progress in education etc. simply on account of the Christian missionaries. The people of these hills and the other hills respect Christian Missions which have brought light to them. I trust Government will keep this in mind and prevent any tendency which is heard now and then in Assam and elsewhere to discourage the spread of Education by Christian Missions.

Lastly, Sir, I must urge the Government of India to help the District Councils of Assam to develop their districts by money to be given to them for education, for roads, hospitals and dispensaries and for growing more food. Our District Council in the U.K.J. Hills will need many lakhs for this purpose this year. These hills have minerals and forest which can produce money. These will have to be developed and money should be provided for the purpose to the District Councils.

Miss Atia Sultana, Tata Institute, Bombay.

I think one fundamental aspect of the tribal welfare which the members who have spoken in this Conference have not stressed, is that the tribal communities live in the forests. Just as the people of the plains feel that the plains belong to them, so also the people of the forests feel in my opinion, rightly that the forests belong to them. Unless this fundamental factor is recognised, and the tribes are made the owners of the forests, no tribal economy will be a success. As the land belongs to the tillers of the land, so also the forests belong to the dwellers of the forests. Recognition and implementation of this basic factor is the only solution for the economic problems of the tribes in our country.

This will not only eliminate the middle agents, but it will be economically helpful both to the Government and the tribes. If this principle is ac-

cepted, it is sound not only economically, but also politically and psychologically.

As regards education, any programme of education for the tribes should aim only at rehabilitating them in their own areas and in their own way based on a community model rather than bringing them on the lines of an unhealthy city life.

There is a general misunderstanding that the tribal people are uncultured. It is very necessary to educate the people of the plains that the tribal people also are cultured and as intelligent as the people of the plains. So, the education programme should include educating the people of the plains as regards the culture and way of life of the tribes so that they too may derive benefit from the culture of the tribes.

CONCLUDING SPEECHES

गृह मंत्री डा० कैलाशनाथ काटजू

मुझे इस बात का बड़ा अफसोस है कि मैं बराबर कान्फरेन्स में आ नहीं सका। कल ही मुझे अवसर मिला तो दो घंटे बैठ कर जो यहां भाषण हुए वे मैं ने सुने। जो कार्यवाही उस के बाद हुई उसका हाल भी रिपोर्ट देख कर, सुन कर, मालूम हुआ। जिन बहिनों की मैं ने आप से चर्चा की थी, जो मुझे जालपायीगिरी के सबडिविजन अलीपुर द्वार जो भूटान और अपने भारत की पहाड़ियों के बीच में है मिली थीं वे बहिनें बिल्कुल अशिक्षित हैं। और अपनी रीति से रहती हैं। मैं ने उन से पूछा कि आप को क्या कठिनाई है, आपकी क्या सेवा की जाय। उन्होंने इस बात के लिये पहले कुछ तय्यारी नहीं की थी। मैं तो अचानक ही उनके बीच में चला गया था। और अचानक ही उन से बातचीत की। मुझे खूब याद है कि वहां उस समय ३० या ४० बहिनें थीं। पहले तो वे कुछ शरमाईं, लज्जाईं और फिर कुछ हंसनें लगीं। उन में से एक ने आगे आ कर कहा—“हमारे पास है क्या? हमें क्या नहीं चाहिये, हमें सभी कुछ चाहिये।” तो मैं ने कहा कि मैं यह तो जानता हूं कि तुम्हारी सभी तरह की सेवा करनी है, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ मुख्य मुख्य बातें मुझे बता दीजिये। तो उस बहिन ने सब से पहली बात यह बताई कि: “हमें स्कूल चाहियें”। मैं ने उनसे कहा कि यहां से कोई दो ढाई मील पर स्कूल है और तुम्हारे लड़के उसमें पढ़ते हैं। तब उसने तुरन्त उत्तर दिया कि वह तो लड़कों का है और वहां छोटे बच्चे नहीं जा सकते हैं, हमारी लड़कियां नहीं जा सकती हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे लड़के और लड़कियां पढ़ें। इसलिये हमें स्कूल चाहियें। यह हुई एक बात।

मैं ने कहा दूसरी चीज क्या चाहिये। तब उसने कहा कि चिकित्सा का इन्तजाम चाहिये, डाक्टर चाहियें, नर्सिंग चाहियें। तब मैं ने जरा हंसते हुए कहा—क्योंकि वह बड़ी तन्दुरुस्त थी, मैदानी इलाक़े की औरतों की तरह न थी, क्योंकि वे बड़ी अच्छी हवा में रहती हैं—“तुम्हारे बच्चे

स्वस्थ और सुन्दर हैं तुम लोग स्वस्थ हो तुम्हें नर्सिंग की क्या जरूरत है”। तब उसने कहा:—“जब आपको नर्सिंग की जरूरत है तो हम को भी जरूरत है, इसलिये हमको नर्सिंग चाहियें।”

तीसरी बात उसने बताई “हमें पीने के पानी की सुविधा चाहियें”।

चौथी बात कही:—“हमें रास्ते चाहियें”।

कहने का मतलब यह कि वह निचोड़ वह खुलासा जो उस औरत ने मुझे बहुत पहले बता दिया था जिसकी आयु ३५ के लगभग थी और ६-७ बच्चे थे लेकिन थी बिल्कुल अशिक्षित, वही सब आप लोगों ने कहा या दोहराया। मुझे आशा है कि उस सब का नोट लिया जा रहा है। जिससे कि हमारी और भी जानकारी बढ़ेगी। श्री राष्ट्रपति, प्रधान मंत्री और अपने जो भाई उस क्षेत्र में काम करते हैं, जिन्होंने अपने विचार रखे हैं उसके आधार पर मुझे आशा है कि यहां केन्द्रीय सरकार के कमिश्नर साहब बैठे हुए हैं, उन को पूरी सहायता मिलेगी। जो पालसी पलैन बनाने का काम है यह तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का काम है। जो सूबे की सरकार है उसका काम है। ऐसा करने में उन्हें भी बड़ी सहूलियत रहेगी।

मैं सिर्फ दो चार बातों की आपसे चर्चा करना चाहता हूं। जो आदिवासी भाई बिहार से आये हैं, वे जानते हैं। मैं ने भी सुना और आंख से देखा है, बंगाल में भी गया और उड़ीसा में भी गया, और जो मिशन वाले काम करते हैं वह सब देखा। इस में सन्देह नहीं कि मिशन वालों ने १०० या १५० वर्ष से इस बारे में बहुत काम किया है। बहुत से लोगों का विचार है कि यह लोग अंग्रेजी सरकार के साथ साथ आये और अंगरेजी हुकूमत के बल पर काम करते रहे। इसमें सन्देह नहीं, बहुत कुछ सत्य है, परन्तु मैं आप से बताऊंगा कि जो मिशन हैं वे सब अंगरेजी ही नहीं हैं वहां अमेरिका के मिशन भी मैं ने देखे हैं, डैनमार्क मिशन

भी, इटालियन मिशन, और फ्रेंच मिशन भी मैं ने देखे हैं यानी उन लोगों के भी मिशन देख जिनका अंगरेज सरकार से कोई वास्ता नहीं। बिहार में मैं एक कान्वेंट में गया, वह लड़कियों का कान्वेंट था। उन्होंने एक मानपत्र पढ़ा और उस मानपत्र में यह कहा कि हम यहां पर २५ या ३० साल से काम कर रहे हैं और आप पहले गवर्नर हैं जो हमारे बीच में आये हैं। तो मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ, बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ कि यह क्या बात है, क्योंकि मैं जानता था कि उधर गवर्नर महोदय हर साल या दूसरे साल आते थे, अतः यह क्या बात ! तब उस समय जो डिप्टी कमिश्नर साहब मेरे साथ थे उन्होंने कहा कि यह फ्रांसीसी कान्वेंट था, इसलिये गवर्नरज दिलचस्पी नहीं लेते थे। यह सत्य है कि वे अंगरेजी मिशन नहीं थे और उन्होंने हमारे आदिवासी भाइयों में बहुत काम किया, लेकिन यह बात जरूर थी कि उन सब की रसाईं वहां तक पूरी थी और हमारे लोग अंगरेजी पदाधिकारियों जैसे कलेक्टरों, मैजिस्ट्रेटों के पास जाने से डरते थे। और इटालियन मिशनरी, बैलजियम मिशनरी, डच मिशनरी अमरीकन मिशनरी के लिये बड़ी सुविधा थी। वे तुरन्त अफसरों के पास पहुंच जाते थे और जो कठिनाई होती थी कह देते थे, और इस तरह अपना काम निकाल लेते थे। मगर इसके पीछे जो बात है जिसको हम सब को सीखना है वह है—सेवाभाव और काम करने की रीति। मुझे एक बड़ा सन्देह है कि अगर हम उस रीति और उतनी संलग्नता से काम नहीं करेंगे तो हमें सफलता को पाना कठिन ही जायगा। मैं साफ साफ कहता हूँ कि यह भाईचारे का मामला है, इसमें भाई का प्यार चाहिये।

बहुत से मिशन जो आये वे कौन लोग आये ? ज्यादातर बेचारे मिशनरी जिन्होंने अपना जन्म इस काम में लगा दिया है वे अपने देवता ईसा मसीह के धर्म का प्रचार करने के लिये आये। मैं ने स्वयं अपना मॅट्रीकुलेशन, एफ०ए०, बी०ए० की परीक्षायें मिशन कालेज में पढ़ीं। वह अमेरिकन मिशन था। उसको रुपया अमेरिका से आता था। मिशन में जो लोग आते थे वह इस वास्ते आते थे,

इस ख्याल से आते थे कि अपने धर्म का प्रचार करें और उस के लिये उन्हें बड़े कष्ट और कठिनाइयों का जीवन भी बिताना पड़ता था। मैं ने आसाम में, बंगाल में, उड़ीसा में उन की हालत को देखा है।

हमारे देश में आदिवासी जो हैं और यह जो शीड्यूल्ड कास्ट कहते हैं, वे सब हमारे भाई हैं। हमारे मांस और खून हैं, भारत के रहने वाले हैं। हम लोग तो इन के बीच में गये नहीं, परन्तु यह लोग हज़ारों मील से आए जिन दिनों में हवाई जहाज नहीं थे, जिन दिनों तार भी नहीं थे। मैं ने ऐसे मिशनों को देखा है जिन्होंने सौ सौ मील रेलगाड़ी से भी दूर जा कर संस्थायें बनाई और वहां बीस बीस वर्ष से आदिवासियों के बीच में रहे वे १०-१०, २०-२०, ३०-३० वर्ष तक वापस नहीं गये। लाखों आदिवासियों का, हमारे भारत निवासियों का, नवयुवकों का और लड़कों का हमारे लेजिस्लेचर में आना बड़ी अच्छी बात है। पार्लियामेंटरी काम भी करना चाहिये लेकिन यह काम भी करना है। मैं ने मिशनरियों को देखा है। आदिवासी भाई बहनों के लिए सब कुछ निछावर कर दिया है। रुपये की कमी नहीं है। लाखों करोड़ों रुपया इटली से, अमेरिका से और डेनमार्क से लाते थे और उन्होंने ला कर यहां पर खर्च किया। तो सब से पहले हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि क्या वह स्प्रिट हमारे में है ? अगर वह स्प्रिट नहीं है तो इस बात की बड़ी कठिनाई है। मैं ने एक संस्था देखी थी—राम कृष्ण संस्था। मैं शिलांग गया था और फिर चिरा-पूँजी गया। वहां राम कृष्ण मिशन के अन्दर दो भाइयों ने अपना घर बना लिया। सब को वह अपना परिवार मानते थे। राम कृष्ण मिशन से और आप से मैं यह विनती करूंगा कि इस तरफ जो क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले हैं उनको बहुत कुछ देना है। यह बड़ा कठिन कार्य है, इस में कोई शक नहीं। मैं देहली में रहता हूँ और आप कह सकते हैं कि लेक्चरबाजी में कुछ नहीं। जिस रीति से और जिस भावना से क्रिश्चियन मिशनरीज ने जिन्होंने अपना नाम और अपना सब कुछ मिटा दिया है और जो आदिवासियों के प्रेम से भारत के प्रेम

से और भारत का उद्धार करने के लिय सब को एकता के सूत्र में गांठना चाहते हैं उनकी निंदा करना बिल्कुल बेकार है। इन मिशनरीज ने आपको पढ़ाया, लिखाया। आसाम के अन्दर बहुत से आदिवासी भाई मिशन वालों को मानते हैं। आप ही सुन लीजिये कि गांधी जी के आने के पहले कोई चर्चा नहीं करता था। किसी ने रोका तो नहीं। हमने कुछ नहीं किया। हम पड़े रहे। इस तरफ मैं बिहार के भाइयों की तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम को उठना है। यह नहीं कि हमको ग्रांट दीजिये। पहले आदमी मिले, स्त्री पुरुष दोनों। स्त्री पुरुष दोनों वहाँ जाकर रहें और काम करें। स्पया हम देंगे। दूसरा १५-२० वर्ष से हमारा यह विचार है कि इस काम में उन को सहायता देंगे—नान आफिशियल संस्थाओं को जितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा हो सके। जो गैर सरकारी ह वह तेजी से अपना काम करें। राम कृष्ण मिशन है। भारतीय सेवा संघ है। वह तो इस में लगी हुई हैं। लेकिन मैं इस बात को साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हम पोलिटिकल काम से अलग रहना चाहते हैं और हम यह नहीं चाहते कि उनकी संस्था के बजाय यह कांग्रेस द्वारा चलेगी या किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी द्वारा चलेगी। मुझे कहना यह है कि आप संस्था बनायें और इस में पहला नियम यह हो कि इस संस्था का काम इन्डियन भाइयों की सेवा करना और चलाना हो, सब के लिए दरवाजा खुला हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह काम नान आफिशियल संस्थाओं द्वारा चलाया जाये। थोड़ी बहुत जो हमारे में गलत फ़र्मी है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी इसको चलाना चाहती है तो मैं कहता हूँ कि यह हमारा विचार नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं कि जो काम करने वाले आये उनका हम स्वागत करते हैं।

दूसरी भी एक चर्चा हुई थी कि जो डिस्पेन्सरीज खुलती हैं, शिफाखाने खुलते हैं, उसके अन्दर, कल एक बिहार के रहने वाले भाई ने चर्चा की थी, डाक्टर लोग नहीं जाते और वह वहाँ जाना पसन्द नहीं करते। उसके कारण बहुत हैं। आप भी डाक्टर

हैं और मैं भी डा० हूँ। मगर मुझे उत्साह नहीं है इस वास्ते कि ४० मील तो चले गये, पर मेरे बच्चे हैं उन की शिक्षा कैसे हो, उन की तालीम कैसे हो। जीवन चर्चा जो है वह बड़ी कठिन मालूम होती है। और यह जो समस्या है वह आदिवासियों के हलकों के अन्दर ही नहीं बल्कि हमारे जो रुल एरिया! उन में भी समस्या महान है। शहरों में डाक्टर लोगों से कहो कि आप जा कर गांव में प्रैक्टिस करो ताकि लोगों को इमदाद मिले तो वह जाते नहीं। उसका कारण यह है कि हम शहर में अपनी डाक्टरी करें और डाक्टरी भी हमारी चले या न चले हमें इतनी तो सहूलियत होगी कि अपने बाल-बच्चों को कालेज और स्कूल में दाखिल कर सकेंगे। शहर के अन्दर रहते हैं तो १० डाक्टरों से बातचीत होती है। गांव में चले गये तो कोई बात चीत करने वाला नहीं है। उस में आप देख लीजिये कि पादरी जो आते हैं उन में बहुत से डाक्टर होते हैं। वह डाक्टरी भी करते हैं और अपना प्रचार भी करते हैं। कोई डाक्टर हमें ऐसा मिले कि "मैंने एम० बी० बी० एस० पास कर लिया है लेकिन डाक्टरी नहीं करूंगा बल्कि सेवा करूंगा"। उन डाक्टरों को वहाँ जाने के लिए उनके बच्चों की शिक्षा का इन्तजाम नागपुर में करें या जबलपुर में करें। उन डाक्टरों से कहा जाये कि अगर तुम्हारे बच्चे कालेज में पढ़ने जायेंगे तो उन को स्कालरशिप दी जायगी। इस तरह कुछ न कुछ प्रबन्ध करना पड़ेगा।

दूसरे शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में प्रारम्भिक स्कूल बहुत थोड़े हैं। अशिक्षित से शिक्षित होना बहुत अच्छा है। शिक्षितों में भी शिक्षित होना एक चीज और ज्ञानी होना दूसरी चीज, जैसे अंग्रेजी में लिटरसी एक चीज और नालेज दूसरी चीज। हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में ऐसे बहुत राजे महाराजे हुए हैं जिन्होंने बहुत नाम पैदा किया है लेकिन वे लिख पढ़ नहीं सकते थे। अकबर के बारे में कहा जाता है कि वह शिक्षित नहीं था लेकिन ज्ञानी और व्यवहार का जानने वाला बहुत था। वह बड़ा राजनीतिज्ञ था जिस से कि उसने इतना बड़ा राज्य हासिल किया। अगर हम चार दर्जे

की शिक्षा के अन्दर उन्हें ए. बी. सी. सिखला दें और प्राइमरी तक पढ़ा कर खत्म कर दें और वे थोड़ा पढ़ने लिखने के योग्य हो जायें तो यह काफी नहीं है। हमें कुछ ऐसी शिक्षा देनी चाहिये जिससे कि वे अपना कुछ रोजगार भी कर सकें व अपना कुछ प्रबन्ध भी कर सकें। इसलिये मैं आप का ध्यान इस ओर अवश्य दिलाऊंगा कि प्राइमरी स्कूल पर ही नहीं खत्म करना चाहिये। और न चार क्लास बच्चों को पढ़ा कर छोड़ दें। क्योंकि अगर चार क्लास के बाद उस को छोड़ देंगे तो फिर वे भूल जायेंगे। वे जितना सीखे हैं वह भी भूल जायेंगे। अंग्रेजी में कहावत है कि “They will relapse into illiteracy again” इसलिये आप थोड़ा आगे चलिये, उनके गांव में कुछ वाचनालय कुछ लायब्रेरी या कुछ पुस्तकालय हों अथवा कोई ट्रेनिंग सेंटर हो, वोकेशनल सेंटर, उद्योग शाला खोलिये, जिस से वे कुछ बढ़ई गिरी सीखें, लुहार का काम सीखें—खेती का काम सीखें। इस तरह उनको और भी शिक्षा दी जाये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि योग्य बनाया जाये और ऊंची शिक्षा के लिए उन्हें विदेश भी भेजा जाये। मुझे पूरी आशा है कि वे अपने काम में इतने चतुर हैं कि यदि उन्हें सिखाया जाये तो वे अच्छे इंजीनियर अच्छे, मैकेनिक, अच्छे अलैक्ट्रिशियन, आदि बन सकते हैं इसके लिए उन्हें उचित स्कालरशिप देना बहुत जरूरी है। तीसरी बात मझे आप से यह कहनी है कि जो योजनायें अलग अलग प्रान्तों से आई हैं उनमें मल्टी परपज कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज का बहुत जोर है। बहुत से भाइयों ने कहा और सत्य है कि आदिवासियों और हरिजनों में कोआपरेटिव वे आफ्र लिविंग, सहयोग से मिलजुल कर रहना, उनके जीवन का अंश है। गांव में कुआं है तो उस कुएं में सोमवार को कुछ लोग पानी भरेंगे मंगलवार को चार दूसरे खीचेंगे और बुधवार को अन्य दूसरे खीचेंगे। सब चीजें मिली बटी हैं। कम्युनिटी लाइफ यौरूप या पश्चिमी देशों से नहीं आई हिंदुस्तान में हमारे यहां वर्षों से चली आ रही है। और विलेजरिपब्लिक, प्रजातंत्र सदा हमारे यहां रहा। बड़ी बढ़िया किताबें इस पर लिखी हुई हैं जिन में हमारे गांवों में खासकर आदिवासियों में कोपरेशन करना लिखा हुआ है।

इसके लिये अब हमें सहायता देना और उन के साथ सहयोग करना चाहिये। मल्टीपरपस सोसाइटीज अब एक बड़ी फैसनेबुल सी हो गयी है। जहां भी जाइये वहां ही कोपरेटिव मल्टीपरपज सोसाइटी का नाम देखने में आता है। मेरी भी इस में १५, २० वर्ष से दिलचस्पी है १५ वर्ष पहले जब ऐसी सोसाइटियां बनीं तब मैं भी उस में शामिल था। मल्टीपरपस सोसाइटी का काम असल में वह नहीं है जो कर रही है या किया जा रहा है। वह उद्देश्य नहीं है जिस के लिये खोली गई थीं। क्रेडिट सोसाइटीज भी इसका एक अंग है। महाजन सूद ज्यादा लेते थे और इन सोसाइटियों के द्वारा सस्ता रुपया मिल जायगा। महाजन लेते थे दो रुपया सैंकड़ा, तीन रुपया सैंकड़ा तो सोसाइटी के द्वारा १२ आना सैंकड़ा मिल जायगा। तो ऐसे सोसाइटी का एक काम रुपया दिलवाना था। मल्टीपरपस के माने हैं बहुत से काम। एक बार मैंने ऐसे ही आदमियों से पूछा कि आप मल्टीपरपस सोसाइटी के द्वारा क्या क्या काम करना चाहते हैं। तो उन्होंने बताया कि हम सोसाइटी के द्वारा मिट्टी का तेल बेचते हैं। मैं ने नोट कर लिया कि मिट्टी का तेल बेचते हैं। मैंने कहा कि दूसरा आपका काम क्या है। कहने लगे कि दूसरा काम यह कि शक्कर बेचते हैं। गुड़ बेचते हैं। मैंने पूछा तीसरा काम क्या है। उन्होंने कहा हम नमक बेचते हैं। चौथा काम आपका क्या है। कहने लगे कि कपड़ा बेचते हैं। जितनी आज कन्ट्रोल की चीजें हैं, उन्होंने उनके ही नाम अलग अलग गिना दिये और कहने लगे कि यह हमारी मल्टीपरपस सोसाइटी है। यह तो महज बहाना है। इस तरह की सोसाइटीज बना कर इन चीजों को बेचना इस कोपरेटिव तहरीक, कोपरेटिव योजना को बदनाम करना है। मल्टीपरपस योजना का जो चित्र मेरे सामने है और जिस पर मैं चाहता हूँ आप सब लोग विचार करें, वह यह है कि मान लो हम सब यहां जो बैठे हैं २००-३०० आदमी जिनके पास ५०० एकड़ जमीन है मिलकर एक सोसाइटी बनायें। हम सब ५०० एकड़ में खेती का काम करेंगे। सोसाइटी का एक काम होगा अच्छे बीज देना, एक सीड स्टोर बीज भंडार का खोलना, जिसे कि जब खेती में बीज

बोने का काम हो तो हमें अच्छे बीज दे। दूसरे गांव के अन्दर कुओं की, नालियों की, तालाबों की देखभाल और सफाई करना। आबपासी का काम या सामान देना। सोसाइटी के पास हल रहेंगे, बैल रहेंगे, मतलब यह कि खेती के काम की सारी चीजें मुहैया की जायें। तीसरा काम किसानों को उनके अनाजों का पूरा दाम मिले, ऐसा कोई प्रबन्ध करना। पहले किसानों को पूरा दाम नहीं मिलता था अब तो कन्ट्रोल के जमाने में रस दूसरा आ गया है। पहले दाम कम मिलता था। आदिवासियों को तो उन से भी कम मिलता था। महाजन १०० की चीज का ६० या ७० रुपया ही देता था। इसलिये उन की जो फसलें आयें उस की विक्री का इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। वे मंडी में जायें तो उनको उपर्युक्त दाम मिलें। चौथा काम है कि गाय बैलों की देखभाल। अच्छे सांड चाहियें। दूध धी के मिलने का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। पांचवा काम यह कि गांव में जो अपाहज या अशक्त हों उनका प्रबन्ध करें। छटा यह कि नमक मुहैया करें जिसके लिये ३०-३० ४०-४० मील जाना पड़ता है। सोसाइटी गांव वालों के लिये नमक का स्टॉक रखे। इस तरह मलटीपरपस सोसाइटी के ये तरह तरह के एम्स होने चाहियें। आजकल की जो मलटीपरपस सोसाइटीज हैं वे दरअसल कुछ भी नहीं हैं। केवल सरकार के ऊपर जोर डालकर लाइसेंस और रुपया ले लेते हैं। २० रुपये की चीज को २५ रुपया कन्ट्रोल पर बेचकर अपना मुनाफा क्लेते रहते हैं। आप जान गये होंगे कि मेरी योजना क्या है और आप को क्या करना चाहिये।

अब मैं कम्प्यूनीकेशनज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। इसमें तो कोई मतभेद ही नहीं है कि कम्प्यूनीकेशनज होने चाहिये मैदान में भी और पहाड़ पर भी। लेकिन कठगता है रुपया। मैदान की सड़क बने तो एक लाख पर काम बन जाये लेकिन पहाड़ की सड़क पर लाखों रुपये लग जाते हैं। पहले ५० हजार रुपये लगते थे तो अब लगेंगे २ लाख रुपये, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से भी ज्यादा।

कल एक भाई ने कहा था कि आप सड़क बनाइये, आदिवासी लोग आपकी मदद करेंगे बड़ी खुशी की बात है। ऐसी सड़क बने तो उसको गवर्नमेंट ५०-५० पर मदद कर दे। ५० रुपये तो सरकार की सहायता और ५० रुपये गांव वालों की। या तो नकद रूप में या मजदूरी के रूप में। यह मुझे देखकर बड़ी खुशी है कि प्रांतीय गवर्नमेंट चाहती है कि इस कम्प्यूनीकेशन में जो सुविधा हो उस में बढ़ना चाहिये। इस में कोई मतभेद नहीं। मैं तो यहां तक करने को तैयार हूँ कि अगर गांव वाले हमको कहें कि हमें १००० रु० दो तो हम २००० रुपये देने को तैयार हूँ। तो हम पी० डबल्यू० डी० को नहीं देंगे। हम गांव वालों को ही देंगे। गांव वाले थोड़ी देर में इस को बना देंगे। अब मैं यह समझने लगा हूँ कि जिन्दगी बिल्कुल बेकार है, चल ही नहीं सकते, जब तक हम को सड़क नहीं मिलती। उसके साथ यह है कि अगर ऐसी सड़क हमको नहीं मिले कि जिस पर मोटर जा सके तो वह कम्प्यूनीकेशन ही नहीं। १०० वर्ष पहले लोग आते जाते थे। टटू चलते थे और इस प्रकार की सड़कें थीं परन्तु मैं यह कहता हूँ कि अगर मोटर रोड ही न बने तो आप किसी और रोड से टटू चलने का प्रबन्ध कर दें। कल कुछ भाइयों ने कहा कि फलां गांवों में मोटर जा ही नहीं सकती। अगर मोटर नहीं जा सकती तो कम्प्यूनीकेशन नहीं है हम को इस भावना से बचना है। हम चाहते हैं कि पुराने रोड और कम्प्यूनीकेशन और पगडंडियों को बढ़ायें। उसको चौड़ा करें ताकि उस के ऊपर टटू जा सकें गवर्नमेंट इस का पूरा पूरा प्रबन्ध करेगी।

मैडिकल फैसिलिटीज के बारे में एक प्रांत ने तो लिखा है। दूसरे किसी प्रांत से नहीं आया है। मैडिकल चेस्ट में चाहता हूँ, कि उसकी तरफ ध्यान ज्यादा से ज्यादा दिया जाये। मैडिकल चेस्ट मैं ने गोपी जी के नेतृत्व में बहुत कुछ किया। एक बास्केट में दस पन्द्रह दवाइयां डालीं। किसी पढ़े लिखे आदमी को दीं।

बाकी मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है और ज्यादा कह चुका हूँ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप लोगों ने कष्ट उठाया। उसके लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता

हूँ। मुझे आशा है कि आप लोगों के विचारों से देश को लाभ होगा।

मैं इतना कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री ऐल० एम० श्रीकान्त

माननीय मंत्री श्री काटजू साहब ने आपके समक्ष जो कुछ कहा है उसमें सभी कुछ आ गया है। तब भी जो कुछ थोड़ा सा रह गया है वह मैं आपको बतलाता हूँ।

आज हम सब से पहली बार इस सम्मेलन को परिषद का रूप दे रहे हैं। यह पहली परिषद है जिसमें संसद् के आदिवासी प्रतिनिधि जिन की संख्या २६ है, उपस्थित हैं। भारतीय आंदम जाति सेवक संघ से संबंधित समग्र भारत की ३० आदिवासी संस्थाओं के प्रतिनिधि भी यहां पर विराजमान हैं। उनमें से कई तो ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जो २०, २५ वर्षों से आदिवासियों की सेवा में लगे हुए हैं। आदिवासियों के विषय में विशेष रूप से अभ्यास करने वाले नृशास्त्र निपुण anthropologist विद्वान उपस्थित हैं और प्रत्येक प्रांत से आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग के मंत्री तथा उसके सरकारी कर्मचारी भी आये हुए हैं। इस प्रकार हम सब एक व्यास पीठ पर एकत्र होकर आदिवासियों के कल्याण तथा उन्नति के लिये विचार विनिमय कर रहे हैं और राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू, तथा गृह मंत्री श्री काटजू साहब ने इस समस्या को हल करने के लिये जो मार्ग प्रदर्शन किया है उस पर चलने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। स्वर्गीय ठक्कर बापा ने जो योजना बनाई है उसको हमें निभाना ही है।

सम्मेलन में आये हुए सब महानुभावों को मैं हार्दिक धन्यवाद देता हूँ। इस परिषद से आपके आये हुए निबन्धों से तथा प्रवचनों और सुझावों से मेरे विभाग को बहुत ही लाभ हुआ है। इसके लिये मैं आपका आभारी हूँ। मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि अनुसूचित क्षेत्र तथा अनुसूचित जातियों के कल्याण के लिये जो भी योजनाएँ बनेंगी और सहायता के लिये

केन्द्रीय सरकार को भेजी जायेंगी, उनके लिये यह सम्मेलन बहुत ही लाभप्रद सिद्ध होगा।

हम ने निबन्ध तो बहुत से विषयों पर मंगाये थे परन्तु यहां पर मुख्यतः तीन ही विषयों पर चर्चा हुई है जो इस प्रकार हैं :

१. आदिवासियों की शिक्षा।
२. आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति का सुधार।
३. केन्द्रीय सरकार से प्रांतों को दी जान वाली सहायता।

पहले विषय पर ८, दूसरे पर ६ तथा तीसरे पर १० निबन्ध हमारे पास आये हैं परन्तु ये उस कोटि के नहीं हैं जैसी कि हम ने आशा की थी। परन्तु परिषद में भाषण करने वालों की संख्या तो काफी है।

समय कम होने के कारण हम इस परिषद में कोई प्रस्ताव तो नहीं रखना चाहते किंतु इन तीनों विषयों पर जो कुछ भी वार्तालाप यहां हुआ है तथा निबन्ध पढ़ने से सारांश निकला है उस पर साधारणतः परिषद का कैसा विचार रहा है वह मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ।

(१) शिक्षा के संबंध में हम ने यह निश्चय किया है कि हम को बुनियादी शिक्षा को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये। यदि उस के लिये योग्य शिक्षक उपलब्ध न हों तो औद्योगिक शिक्षण से प्रारम्भ करना चाहिये। आदिवासियों की जो भाषायें और बोलियां हैं उनको कायम रखना है और जन्हीं के द्वारा उनको प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा देनी चाहिये। हमारी दृष्टि यह होनी चाहिये कि हम को उनकी भाषाओं को निभाना ही नहीं है प्रत्युत उनका विकास भी करना है। उनके गीत तथा लोक गाथाओं आदि का संग्रह करना चाहिये और उनको पुस्तकों के रूप

में छपवाना चाहिये। ये पुस्तकें स्थानीय लिपि में ही हों और यदि हो सके तो देवनागरी लिपि में। यह लिपि भी उनको धीरे धीरे सिखलानी चाहिये।

प्राथमिक शिक्षा आदिवासियों के लिये अनिवार्य नहीं होनी चाहिये। हां, उनको समझा कर शिक्षा देना तो आवश्यक है परन्तु उस से उन के कार्यों में बाधा उपस्थित न हो।

(२) आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति की समस्या को हल करने के लिए भूमिगत कृषि shifting cultivation को बन्द करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये और जहां पर यह होती है वहां के लोगों को समझा कर और उनको कृषि योग्य भूमि देकर इस प्रथा को बन्द करना आवश्यक है। इस प्रथा से देश की बहुत ही हानि हो रही है। अपने स्वार्थ के लिये आदिवासियों का कोई अन्य व्यक्ति शोषण न कर सके उसके लिये उन की सहकारी समितियां बनानी चाहियें जिन में सरकार अपनी आर्थिक तथा प्राबन्धिक सहायता दे। जो सहकारी संस्थाएँ आज कल चल रही हैं उन में वृद्धि करना आवश्यक है। कुछ समय के पश्चात् इन समितियों का संचालन भार भी आदिवासियों को ही दे देना चाहिये। यद्यपि आज आदिवासी इस भार को सहन करने के योग्य नहीं है तो भी इस प्रथा का आरम्भ होना तो आवश्यक है ही। उनकी भूमि जिस पर वह रहते हैं और कृषि करते हैं, छीनी न जावे। सरकारी ऊसर भूमि वेस्ट लैंड पर उनका प्रथम अधिकार रक्खा जावे क्योंकि प्रारम्भ में उन के पास से भूमि छीन कर ही उन को जंगलों में भगा दिया गया था। उन के हस्त तथा ग्रामोद्योगों का, जिन में बहुत ही कला भरी हुई है, विकास करने के लिए पूर्ण प्रयत्न किया जाना आवश्यक है।

(३) केन्द्रीय सहायता के संबंध में जो शिकायत आई है उस पर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यद्यपि आदिवासी कार्य के लिए योजनाएँ भेजने के लिये परिपत्र भेजा गया था तब भी फरवरी के अन्त तक

वह दिल्ली नहीं पहुंची और विशेष दुख की बात तो यह है कि १९५१-५२ की दी हुई सहायता का हिसाब भी अभी तक दिल्ली नहीं आया है। आप समझ सकते हैं कि आगामी वर्षों की सहायता मंजूर करने के लिये हमारे समक्ष कितनी कठिनाइयां हैं। प्रत्येक प्रांत को चाहिये कि वह आदिवासी कल्याण कार्य को महत्व का स्थान दें क्योंकि बहुत वर्षों तक हमारे तथा सरकार ने उनकी उपेक्षा की है। उस का प्रायश्चित्त करने का समय अब आ गया है। हम चाहते हैं कि विधान में दिये हुए १० वर्षों के अन्दर ही हम इस समस्या का हल कर लें। इस के लिये आप सब का सहयोग वांछनीय है। सब से पहले जो ईसाई पादरी ने जंगलों और डुंगरों में जा कर आदिवासियों के बीच में बैठकर काम किया है और जो कार्य किया है उन को मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ। देश के भिन्न भिन्न स्थानों पर मिशनरियों के समान जो सेवक यह कार्य कर रहे हैं उन की मैं प्रशंसा करता हूँ। उनको और उन की संस्थाओं को आर्थिक चिंता से मुक्त करने के लिये प्रत्येक प्रांतीय सरकार को चाहिये कि वह उन को ८० प्रतिशत सहायता दें और शेष का २० प्रतिशत वह गांधी स्मारक निधि से ले लेंगे। इस प्रकार सेवकों का तथा सामाजिक संस्थाओं का कार्य भली भांति चलता रहेगा। बिहार सरकार तो इस कार्य के लिए १०० प्रतिशत सहायता देती है। इस प्रकार के कार्य को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिये हम ने एक परिपत्र प्रत्येक प्रांत को भेजा है और माननीय मंत्रों श्री काटज साहब ने तो इस पर बहुत ही भार दिया है।

Planning Commission योजना आयोग की ओर से जो पत्र परिषद में वितरण किया गया है और जिस पर श्री त्रिलोक सिंह जी ने भाषण दिया है उस विषय में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप सब मुझ से सहमत हों तो जो धन राशि उन्होंने आदिवासी कार्य के लिये निर्धारित की है वह बहुत कम है। प्रत्येक प्रांत को चाहिये कि उसको बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करे और मुझे भी लिखकर भेजे ताकि मैं योजना आयोग से इस वृद्धि के संबंध में लिखा पढ़ी कर सकूँ और उन्हें यह सूचना दे सकूँ।

इस परिषद की कार्यवाही और इस में हुए महत्व के भाषण व निबन्ध तथा सुझावों को पुस्तकाकार छपवाने का हम विचार कर रहे हैं जिस से भविष्य के लिये मार्ग दर्शन हो सके। इस के पश्चात् १२ से

१ बजे तक में प्रांतीय आदिवासी कल्याण विभागों के आये हुए अधिकारियों से कुछ चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ, वे कृपा करके यहीं ठहर जायें। जय हिंद।

Shri L. M. Shrikant

Though the Minister for Home, Dr. Katju, has referred to many points in his speech, I will however say a few words regarding some of them left out by him.

This is the first Conference of its kind where the Scheduled Tribe Members of Parliament, numbering about 27, representatives of 30 non-official Associations working for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and affiliated to the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Missionaries and Anthropologists doing research work among Scheduled Tribes have gathered together here. Ministers holding portfolios of Adivasi Welfare in the States and officials connected with this department have also graced the occasion. This Conference has thus become a forum and a common platform for thrashing out the problems for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas. Sufficient guidance has been given to us by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his inaugural speech and also by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the Home Minister, Dr. Katju, for the right approach to the various problems connected with the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas. I am thankful to all for taking the trouble of coming down to Delhi in this hot season for attending the Conference. My department is especially thankful for the Papers sent and the speeches and suggestions made at this Conference as they are going to be very useful both for the Central Government and the State Government in formulating various schemes to be submitted for grant-in-aid under Article 275 of the Constitution.

The papers that were called for to be read and discussed at the Conference were on the following three subjects:—

- (i) Education for Adivasis,
- (ii) Betterment of the economic condition of the Adivasis, and
- (iii) various schemes for grant-in-aid submitted by the State Governments to the Central Government.

The number of Papers received on the three subjects are 8, 6 and 10 respectively but I am sorry to say that they have not come up to the mark. We had, however, a large number of speakers coming forward to speak on these subjects. It was hardly possible to discuss and pass resolutions on the various subjects for want of time. I, therefore, want to place before you very briefly the summary of the sense of this Conference on the three subjects mentioned above as a result of the discussion that took place and the ideas that were suggested in the Papers submitted to the Conference.

1. In connection with the Education of Tribals, the consensus of opinion at the Conference was that Basic Education should be encouraged but for want of teachers the primary education should necessarily have an industrial bias and should also have manual labour as one of its curriculum. The dialects of the Adivasis should not only be retained but encouraged and books should be printed preferably in the tribal dialect and in regional script. Where there is no regional script, it should be in

Devnagiri script. This would give a good fillip to the development of the Tribal dialect and the script. We should also try to collect folk lore and folk songs and set up a Cultural Centre at which Tribal Culture can be studied. Primary education should not be made compulsory as the Scheduled Tribes can be persuaded to send their children to school, the school hours and curriculum need not be an hindrance in their daily life.

2. With regard to the economic betterment of the Scheduled Tribes, shifting cultivation should be discouraged by propaganda and persuasion. As a practical step, waste lands should be given to the Scheduled Tribes so that they can become good agriculturists in course of time and give up shifting cultivation which is ruinous to the country. In order to stop the exploitation of the Scheduled Tribes by middlemen, Co-operative Societies should be started among them though they may be managed by Government officials or paid Secretaries, the Government bearing the cost of the management for some period. Forest Co-operative Labour Societies stand a good chance of success in the forest areas and will benefit the Tribal people a good deal.

Handicrafts for which the Scheduled Tribes have a natural liking should be developed and Home Industries akin to such Handicrafts should be introduced. The Scheduled Tribes should be protected against eviction and dis-possession of land which they are cultivating.

3. With regarding to the sanctions of grant-in-aid by the Central Government for the various schemes submitted by the State Governments, complaints have been received that the sanctions of the Central Government are sent out too late. It must be pointed out that the States do not send in their schemes before the stipulated time i.e., before the end of February and, therefore, the whole thing gets

delayed. Secondly, no accounts have so far been received from the State till now by the Centre for the amounts spent on the various schemes during the last year. These are the difficulties of the Central Government for despatching the final sanctions late. I would request every State to give the top-most priority to the welfare schemes for the Scheduled Tribes while framing the annual budgets because the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas have been neglected for the past many generations and we should make amends for the indifference so far shown by us, because we want to solve this problem within ten years' time as provided in the Constitution. Let us hope that with all the parties co-operating the target may be reached. I may take this opportunity for giving my word of praise to the Christian missionaries who have done social work in the cause of the Scheduled Tribes by living with them in the jungles and out of way places. Similarly, the social workers of other non-official agencies have started work with the same zeal of missionaries. I suggest that in order to make these social workers free from any anxiety for running their institutions, the State Government should give grants to the extent of 80 per cent of the expenditure, the remaining 20 per cent being borne by grants from Gandhi Samarak Nidhi because it is very difficult now-a-days to collect donations. This is the only way to encourage non-official agencies doing social work. To cite an example, Bihar Government is giving cent per cent grant for such work for certain activities. We have also sent out a circular to this effect to all the State Governments and the Home Minister, Dr. Katju, is very much in favour of non-official agencies doing this work.

You have gone through the note of Shri Tarlok Singh of the Planning Commission which has been circulated amongst you and also listened to the

speech made by him while explaining the position. I would only say this much and I hope, you will agree, that the amount which the Planning Commission has provided in their First Outline Plan falls short of the requirement. Every State should make all possible efforts to revise this figure and send it on to the Planning Commission in time. If they send me in writing their revised figures with the schemes, I shall try to impress upon the Planning Commission to revise the total figure mentioned by the Planning Commission for the welfare of the

Scheduled Tribes.

It is proposed to publish in a brochure all the speeches delivered at the Conference so that it may serve as a guide for future work.

After thanking you all once more I dissolve this Conference. Jai Hind.

(I would request the officers of the different States who are here to stay on for some time as I would like to address them and also discuss with them some of the important points.)

List of Delegates

LIST OF DELEGATES**I. Scheduled Tribe Members of Parliament.**

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| 1. Shri Sitanath Brohmo-Chaudhuri Assam. | 13. Shri M. G. Uikey, Madhya Pradesh. |
| 2. Shri J. N. Hazarika, Assam. | 14. Shri Gam Malludora, Madras. |
| 3. Shri Chowkhamoon, Gohain, Assam. | 15. Shri T. Sanganna, Orissa. |
| 4. Shri P. J. Soren, Bihar. | 16. Shri Giridhari Bhoi, Orissa. |
| 5. Shri Lal Hembrom, Bihar. | 17. Shri Ram Chandra Majhi, Orissa. |
| 6. Shri Chaitan Majhi, Bihar. | 18. Shri Bharat Lal Tudu, West Bengal. |
| 7. Shri K. R. Deogam, Bihar. | 19. Shri Birendranath Katham, West Bengal. |
| 8. Shri Jaipal Singh, Bihar. | 20. Shri Bheekha Bhai, Rajasthan. |
| 9. Shri Jayantrao Ganpat Natawad- kar, Bombay. | 21. Shri Rishang Keishing, Manipur. |
| 10. Shri Bahadurbhai K. Patel, Bombay. | 22. Shri Randaman Singh, Vindhya Pradesh. |
| 11. Shri A. S. Nandkar, Bombay. | 23. Shrimati Angelina Tiga, Bihar. |
| 12. Shri Rupaji Bhavji Parmar, Bombay. | 24. Shri Sunder Mohun Hemrom, Orissa. |

II. Non-Scheduled Tribe Members of Parliament

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| 1. Shri A. Ibrahim, Bihar. | 16. Shri Bhakta Darshan, Uttar Pradesh. |
| 2. Shri S. N. Sinha, Bihar. | 17. Dr. M. M. Das, West Bengal. |
| 3. Shri Ramraj Jagware, Bihar. | 18. Dr. Susilranjan Chatterjee, West Bengal. |
| 4. Shri N. S. Kajrolkar, Bombay. | 19. Shri S. K. Dutt, West Bengal. |
| 5. Shri Muldas B. Vaishya, Bombay. | 20. Shri Sivamurthi Swami, Hydera- bad. |
| 6. Shri L. S. Bhatkar, Madhya Pradesh. | 21. Shri Amar Singh Sabji Damar, Madhya Bharat. |
| 7. Seth Govind Das, Madhya Pradesh. | 22. Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta, Rajasthan. |
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7. Miss Atiya Sultana, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Andheri, Bombay.
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12. Shri Yasiyan, Member Congress Committee, Madhya Pradesh.
13. Shri Gopal Prasad, Berar, Madhya Pradesh.
14. Dr. Amar Morey, President, Adivasi Shikshan Prasarak Mandal, Madhya Pradesh.
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16. Shri Krishna Kumar, Journalist, Punjab.
17. Shri T. N. Madan, Government Research Scholar, Uttar Pradesh.
18. Shri T. C. Das, Bharat Mahajati Mandali, Calcutta, West Bengal.
19. Shri K. P. Chattopadhyay, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, West Bengal.
20. Shrimati Sarama Dutt-Muzumdar, Secretary, Women's Section, Bharat Mahajati Mandali, West Bengal.
21. Shri Nalinikanto Mookerjee, Representative, Hindu Mission, Calcutta, West Bengal.
22. Shri B. K. Basumatari, Secretary, North Bengal Scheduled Tribes, West Bengal.

23. Shri Bimal Kumar, Secretary of Tribal Union, West Bengal.
24. Shri Gopal Hari Varma, Bansware Zila Sevak Sangh, Partapur, Rajasthan.
25. Shri Kaloo Ram, Inspector, Banswara Zila Sevak Sangh, Partapur, Rajasthan.
26. Shri Gauri Shanker Upadhyaya, Secretary, Rajasthan Seva Sangh, Dungarpur, Rajasthan.
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28. Shri Ram Ratan, Research Student, Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, Delhi.
29. Mrs. Elizabeth Russel, 19 Robert Road, New Delhi.
30. Dr. Dorothy Spencer, Anthropologist, American Embassy, New Delhi.
31. Shri Indera Paul Singh, Anthropologist, Delhi University Delhi.
32. Shri Brind Bihari Verma, Research Student, Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, Delhi.
33. Miss D. Moses, Principal, Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi.
34. Shri J. S. Mathur, Lecturer, Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi.
35. Shri S. C. Dixit, Journalist, Delhi.
36. Shri C. Govind, Student of Social Services, Delhi.
37. Shri P. C. Biswas, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, Delhi.
38. Mrs. Freda Mookerjee, Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, Delhi.
39. Mrs. Margaret Snyder, World Health Organisation, Delhi.
40. Dr. J. D. N. Versluys, Social Service Officer, UNESCO, Delhi.
41. Shri Dharm Vir, Mahadev Desai Library, Kingsway, Delhi.
42. Shri R. C. Tyagi, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi.
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44. Shri Sachindra Lal Singh, c/o Chief Commissioner, Tripura.
45. Shri A. B. Lal, Social Worker, Gonds, Vindhya Pradesh.
46. Mrs. J. C. Penney, Hotel Imperial, White Plains, New York.
47. Shri B. Chatterjee, Indian Conference of Social Work, Bombay.

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 - (ii) Shri R. C. Das.
 - (iii) Shri K. M. Krishna.
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 - (ii) Shri Vishnu Vaman Paudekar.
6. *Dang Seva Mandal, Nasik, Bombay.*

- Swaraj Ashram, Vedohhi, Bombay.*
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8. *Vanwasi Seva Mandal, Mandla, Madhya Pradesh*
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- (i) Shri Rawaba.
10. *Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Erode, Madras.*
- (i) Shri M. A. Easwaran.
11. *Bharat Mahajati Mandal, Calcutta, West Bengal.*
- (i) Shri Gopinath Sen.
12. *Vanwasi Seva Mandal, Ratlam, Madhya Bharat.*
- (i) Shri Devi Singh.

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2. Shri Puran Dadel, S.P.G. Mission, Ranchi, Bihar.
3. Rev. T. Whyte, Inspector of Catholic Schools, Chota Nagpur, Bihar.
4. Bishop John Richardson, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Port Blair.

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2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education.

VIII. Ministers of the State Governments.

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2. Shri Shankar Deo, Minister for Social Services and Harijan Uplift, Hyderabad (Deccan).
3. Shri Mahendra Kumar Manana, Minister for Social Services, Vindhya Pradesh.
4. Shri Niharendu Datt Mazumdar, Special Minister for Aborigines and Backward Classes, West Bengal.
5. Shri D. N. Wandrekar, Deputy Minister for Backward Classes, Bombay.
6. Shri Umrao Singh, Deputy Minister, Bhopal.

IX. Central Government Officials.

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2. Shri Tarlok Singh, Planning Commission, New Delhi.
3. Shri K. Mitra, Planning Commission, New Delhi.
4. Dr. B. H. Mehta, Planning Commission, New Delhi.
5. Shri Gajanan Naik, Palm Gur Adviser, Government of India, New Delhi.
6. Dr. B. S. Guha, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
7. Shri B. K. Bhandary, (Regional) Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Shillong, Assam.

X. State Government Officials.

1. Shri R. V. Subrahmanian, Secretary for Tribal Affairs to Government of Assam.
 2. Shri Sapraunaga, Parliamentary Secretary, Assam.
 3. Shri Jamuna Prasad, Secretary, Welfare Department, Bihar.
 4. Shri G. L. Verma, Planning Officer, Bihar.
 5. Shri G. R. Raddi, Director, Backward Classes Welfare, Bombay.
 6. Shri G. C. Mukhtyar, Director, Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh.
 7. Shri P. G. Vanikar, Honorary Provincial Organiser, Madhya Pradesh.
 8. Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
 9. Shri R. S. Malayappan, Special Agency Development Officer, Madras.
 10. Shri Chinta Mani Misra, Director of Tribal and Rural Welfare and Secretary to Government, Orissa.
 11. Shri Ambalal Vyas, Honorary Provincial Organiser, Tribal Welfare Department, Orissa.
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 13. Shri K. C. Barman, Administrator for Aborigines and Backward Classes, West Bengal.
 14. Shri P. M. Mukherjee, Special Officer for Aborigines and Backward Classes, West Bengal.
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 16. Shri Surendernath Dube, Tribal Welfare Commissioner, Madhya Bharat.
 17. Shri B. L. Tambe, Backward Classes Officer and Deputy Development Commissioner, Madhya Bharat.
 18. Shri Surendra Singh, Deputy Secretary to Government, Administration Department, Rajasthan.
 19. Shri P. C. Dave, Director of Backward Classes Welfare, Rajasthan.
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 21. Shri D. N. Sharma, Professor, Government College, Ajmer.
 22. Shri U. J. Kunveda, Backward Classes Officer, Kutch.
 23. Shri E. P. Moon, Chief Commissioner, Manipur.
 24. Shri R. Ghosh, Distt. Magistrate and Collector, Tripura.
 25. Shri Fatehbir Bahadur, Officer on Special Duty, Vindhya Pradesh.
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Papers

received in connection



A BHIL GIRL

with the
Scheduled
Tribes &
Scheduled
Areas
Conference
held at
New Delhi
in June
1952

With the Compliments
of
Shri L. M. Shrikant
Commissioner
for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes

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FOREWORD

IN view of the importance and urgency of the problems of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas and the sumptuous grants made by the Central Government to the various States for the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes and the development of the Scheduled Areas, a conference was held in the Central Hall of Parliament House on the 7th, 8th and 9th June, 1952, with the following two objects in view:—

- (a) to suggest a right approach to a number of problems concerning the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas in various States in India; and
- (b) to make constructive suggestions on the general lines for the practical working of the welfare schemes in the light of experience gained through the working of various schemes of development of various States and non-official institutions interested in the tribal welfare.

The Chief Secretaries of the various State Governments were requested to detail delegates for the conference. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi, was also requested to send their representatives to attend this conference. In addition to the Members of Parliament, well known Anthropologists, Social Workers, Missionaries and others interested in the Tribal welfare work, also attended the conference. The invitees were also requested to submit papers on various subjects connected with the tribal welfare in order to help in the drawing up of the agenda of the conference. On receipt of papers which were altogether 41 in number, it was, however, found that some of these were not up to the mark, and therefore it was decided that the conference should

discuss problems concerning the following three subjects only:—

- (i) Education of Tribals (No. of papers received—10);
- (ii) Tribal economy (No. of papers received—6);
- (iii) Grants-in-aid given to State Governments under Article 275 of the Constitution (No. of papers received—11).

2. The task of the conference was made easy on account of the previous circulation of the Memorandum on Tribal Welfare adopted by the Tribal Committee of the Indian Conference of Social Work at its meeting held in Calcutta on the 29th and 30th December, 1951, of which I happened to be the Chairman. The conference was the first of its type where social workers of various institutions connected with tribal welfare work, the tribal representatives in Parliament and State Legislatures and well-known Anthropologists met at a common platform to discuss various problems connected with the tribal welfare. The conference also made it possible for the Officers-in-charge of the Tribal Welfare in the various States to meet together for the first time for exchange of views with the Central Government regarding the grants given to the States from Centre for the welfare schemes. As the conference was held in the Central Hall of the Parliament House, Members of Parliament, specially the Tribal representatives, showed a very keen interest in the conference and took an active part in its proceedings by delivering speeches. They desired to have a bigger conference to which all the Scheduled Tribe Members of the various Legislatures in the different States should be invited. I, however, feel that if we are to come to grips with the problems of

the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas, a quiet and cooler atmosphere is absolutely necessary for the conference with a limited number of people really interested in the subjects, and who have given sufficient time and thought to them, to partake in it.

3. The conference was inaugurated by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and addressed by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the Minister for Home Affairs, Dr. K. N. Katju, who was also the Chairman of the conference. For want of time, it had not been possible to pass resolutions in the conference. The addresses of the President, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Home Affairs and also the various speeches that were delivered at the conference have, however, been printed in a separate 'Brochure' for general information. In this 'Brochure' are included some of the papers which were received on the three subjects discussed in the conference. It has not been possible to print all the papers received

as it would have made the 'Brochure' bulky. For the same reason, some of the papers printed in the 'Brochure' have been abbreviated in order to include only such matter as had a direct bearing on the subjects discussed. I hope that the publication of these 'Brochures' will indicate the lines on which the various problems concerning the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas are to be tackled. It is also hoped that in future more time will be given by all concerned to the study of these problems.

L. M. SHRIKANT,

Commissioner

for

Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes.

New Delhi,

the 15th January, 1953.

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**Problem of
Education and Dialects**

**Shri K. P. Chattopadhyay, Head of the Department of
Anthropology, University of Calcutta**

THERE are something like 25 million people of tribal origin in the Indian Union, and a substantial portion of them have remained at a primitive level of economy. Others have partly adopted somewhat more advanced means of production from their neighbours and also changed their economy to some extent. A small proportion of tribal folk again, have practically reached the level of material culture of our ordinary peasantry. In this note the problem of education of the two first groups will be mainly discussed.

Social anthropologists in general agree that assimilation by the tribal folk of the better elements of the culture of neighbouring advanced people should be encouraged while helping to retain the good elements in the tribal culture. Since adults are more likely to be strongly conditioned socially and therefore less likely to be changed, introduction of new concepts, habits and technical processes can be more easily accomplished among children and adolescents. This training of the young comes under the head of education. It may therefore be said that the best means of acculturation is through education.

Before however imposing any system of education on tribal folk it is essential to examine the characteristics of educational systems as found among tribes. Such systems are integrated with the rest of their culture. In any contract of people, adoption of new elements, adoption of elements to fit the new culture setting is rendered much easier, if the process of change is sought to be made from what is familiar to the less familiar. This is in

consonance with the accepted psychological principles that form the basis of all education methods. Hence a careful survey of the system of education prevalent among any tribe is necessary before trying "to educate" the members of it.

In simpler societies the links between different stages in the life of an individual are fairly visible. In the industrial age with its different social strata often not clearly separated and older ideas persisting in the new conditions the final aim of education became obscured to some extent. If we overlook this basic feature of tribal education and impose on tribes the methods and contents suited to a different type of culture straightaway, we shall, as noted before face a good deal of wastage in effort.

Education among tribal folk is imparted in childhood, largely by parents and elders. From adolescence, formal organised bodies did this work until recently in Assam, Chotanagpore and Madhya Pradesh. As examples, we may mention the Mohsup of Abors, the Nokpante of Garos, the Terang or Maro of Mikirs, the Morung of Nagas the Zawlbuk of Lushais, the Gitij Ora of Birors, the Jonkh Erpa of Oraons and the Ghotul of Gonds. In practically every case there was a ceremony of admission. There was also, generally, gradation into novices, moderately experienced, and leading groups. In some areas the gradation was not formal or well organised. In others it was well developed. In these latter, generally each grade was spread over

three years. The training was given to beginners and also the middle grade, by more experienced members of higher grades. The leading group often had formal office bearers with some division of supervision work.

The content of education or training imparted was intimately linked with the life of the community. It should be remembered in this connection that community feeling is quite strong in tribal villages and is expressed through their social, economic and religious activities. A tribal child learns a good deal of adult activities by imitating the grown ups, especially parents and elder brothers.

In the better organised institution for adolescents, the participation in adult activities of the community is well marked. The youthful members even in the last generation in some areas formed a kind of co-operative group who worked for the entire village and also to maintain their organisation. Among Oraons the novices serve as fags and servants in the group and to the unskilled work, gradually picking up more skilled work. At marriage and festivals in a village, they all render service according to their capacity and thereby gain experience and knowledge. Again, if an old man or a widow needs help to thatch the house or cultivate the land, this is done by the organised group in return for payment usually in kind. Here again the juniors learn these jobs, the seniors guiding them and also themselves gaining in experience. Planned hunting, house repair, cultivation weeding, reaping, threshing, setting up temporary sheds for festivals, making cups and plates for guests, and dancing and singing, all come under such training and practice activities. They serve also to emphasise the strong community feeling that binds the villagers together.

There is no formal examination, in our sense, at any stage. But a certain

standard of skill has to be attained in all these simple processes, and with a little effort can be attained. Here there is no problem of learning less abstract and more abstract subjects which are suited to different individuals. The regard of the community of adolescents, and of the community in the village, serves to keep the standard of attainment at a fair level. Discipline within limits was also well maintained.

This linking of education at every stage to later life activities is recognised by all educationists of standing as extremely valuable for the students. It can be ensured in educational institutions only if the training i.e. education of the children and adolescents is centred round major occupational activities of adult life. I have shown elsewhere that this is a general principle which is essential even for education in societies with a complex culture.

Since all the tribal people excepting a few isolated and small groups are acquainted with agriculture or practice it and among most of the tribes this form of food production takes the first place not only in economic life but cultural activity in general, we may centre the education of tribal folk round this occupation. There is however a wrong approach to it, through plough cultivation, which is unsuitable for young children and is to be avoided. Also unless those who take up consideration of the educative value of an occupation like this are acquainted with the culture of simpler folk at first hand, they are likely to say that it offers little scope for training of young children or of co-ordinating study of other subjects like history, social studies and geography.

Syllabus

Since the cultural life of the adults of the community of which the children will be in School and cultures similar

to theirs will figure largely in the content of education, it is obvious that textbooks for children and those meant to help teachers will have to be written anew, incorporating in them the necessary information and details on subjects, processes and functions that will enter in the learning and teaching activity of the School. Reference to parallel traits of culture and later to somewhat different traits, needed for acculturation will gradually come in higher grades, closely following the syllabus laid down. It will be seen from the syllabus (not printed here) that the work done by the children will be reproductions in a miniature of slightly modified way, of the activities of adult life in those areas, and will have added to it elements of culture of more advanced people to help acculturation.

Contents of Text-Books

At the present moment many textbooks taught in tribal Schools deal either with (a) culture contents of more advanced neighbours mainly or (b) partly with tribal culture with distorted views of culture of neighbours. The first defect will be observed in textbooks approved by the Education Departments of Governments of many States. The second fault will be found in some of the text books written by Christian Missionaries. They disparage the culture of neighbouring Indians, in the interest of their evangelic work. A reference to the syllabus will make it clear what kind of text books will be required. The economic and social structure of tribe should be carefully studied and traditions, songs, dances,—details of ritual as well as games—should be collected. The text books should incorporate the relevant details of their culture and the activities of children in School illustrate many aspects of the same.

Medium of instruction

It is hardly necessary to marshal reasons to prove that children can

learn far better through the language spoken at home than a foreign language even if they attain a certain amount of working knowledge of the latter. There is no reason why tribal children should be treated as if they form an exception to the rule. Nevertheless, through ignorance, official indifference, and also through political reasons, this elementary rule of pedagogy is being violated in many States. A tribal welfare worker must oppose such narrow short-sighted and harmful attitudes and activities of the persons concerned. They must insist that education of tribal folk should be through the language of the tribe and not the regional State language. The teacher, if he happens to be a non-tribal, must acquire a working knowledge of the same. Employment of non-tribal teachers is unavoidable until education has become fairly widespread among tribal folk themselves.

Script

In order that literacy may be immediately beneficial by giving access to the literature and publication of advanced neighbours, the script should be of the regional State language. Where however a tribe is scattered in several States, they should be consulted and an alphabet designed best to meet their needs, without multiplying writing symbols. Only those sounds which occur in their language should be represented each by one symbol. Also the same phoneme should have the the same symbol everywhere. Also no letter in such alphabets should have more than one significance.

Methods of teaching

Since new text books will be written it will be worth while to avoid some of the mistakes made in text books meant for beginners in our ordinary schools. The words used in such books are usually selected by the author of those texts for syllabic and spelling drill from among terms considered

suitable by him. Since children have already a fair vocabulary, in all societies, by the time they come to Schools, the proper course would be to collect their actual conversation at about School age or a little earlier. The words that occur frequently can then be selected for the primers for lowest grades. The writer of the present paper collected such vocabularies for Bengalee children of age three or thereabout and published in 1933, a Primer on the basis of such words. It made learning very easy for its readers, as were here meeting words and concepts already familiar to them.

A second point to be noted is about syllabic drill and spelling drill. This is often fatiguing and leads to loss of interest of the child. In the Primer referred to above, the method of teaching a couple of letters then a syllabic and then a whole word, accompanied by a picture was used, with success. Numerous experiments conducted in Schools and private homes showed that this method (vocabulary of children plus this approach) cut down the period of learning to read and write by half. While collection of vocabularies of children to place the list of words to be used on a scientific basis of similar terms has not yet been carried out, the syllabic and whole word method has been found to be useful in tribal areas in Africa.

Acculturation

Reference has already been made to the need of addition of culture traits of advanced people through Schools. The syllabus will indicate the lines on the same. Since the greatest need of tribals is improvement of their material condition, and since economic forces are extremely potent in causing cultural changes, this part of acculturation will be most important. We may ensure through Schools that wherever archaic and primitive tools are employed instead of more efficient modern tools,

there should be a progress from the former to the latter demonstrating the advantage gained thereby. The same steps may be adopted with regard to archaic processes of production and their replacement by modern and more useful methods. It has of course to be ensured that the results are demonstrated to be more satisfactory. For this purpose, the School will have to take the help of community centres that will have to be organised in a few larger settlements, to integrate educational, health as well as economic welfare activities.

Care should be taken in dealing with the economic life of tribes to encourage socialised forms of production and distribution which are still prevalent or were so until recently among many tribes. Thus the Hos, Santals and other tribes of Chotanagpore used to allot, when dividing the products of organised hunting expeditions, a special share for those families in the villages who could not send men due to sickness or death or adults. The present writer found this community welfare spirit expressed through organisation of grain golas in certain Santal areas. Through modern education and contact with welfare workers these Santals had realised the value of adopting this device from others and applied their community way of life to its working.

Type of Schools

Since the density of population in most tribal areas is low, it will not be possible to have fullfledged four teacher Schools with all the four or five classes, therein. Little children in forest or wilder areas may not be able to go more than a mile in most areas. Possibly even over this distance their elders will have to help them reach the school. If the density is of the order of three hundred per square mile, we shall have in a circle of radius one mile on an average $\frac{22}{7} \times 300$ i.e. 943 or say 950 people. Children of age 6 to 11

will number about 114 in this area. If even two thirds of this number can be brought to School in the beginning, we can have a two teacher School organised. In some areas probably smaller units with one teacher will have to be run. In larger settlements primary schools with the full complement of scholars may be organised. Since the proportion of literacy is extremely low in most tribal areas, difficulties caused by four classes under two teachers will not crop up in the smaller Schools. By the time literacy has made some progress compulsory attendance should be introduced. This will enable the smaller units to run Schools with three classes, or at least with two classes quite full. Every third School should be a larger institution with some hostel arrangement for the children of the higher classes coming from a distance, after completing their study in lower classes in the smaller institutions.

Training of Teachers

It will be wrong to wait for training of all teachers before starting of Schools. The main thing will be to equip the teachers with a working knowledge of the language and culture of the area where he is to work and also the socio-historical approach to teaching. Persons who have passed the Matriculation or School Final examination ought to be able to pick up such ideas in a short course of say three months intensive training. But this should not be considered as the end of the necessary equipment. There should be a limited number of well trained pedagogues whose job it will be to go round to the Schools and help by short stays of a few days in each place, during which demonstration

lessons should be given both in the class and in the outdoor activity. Improving the equipment of teachers while they were actually at work in Schools is the only solution of the problem of training teachers without holding up expansion of Schools. The present writer organised in 1936 and successfully carried out this job of training teachers while they were at work in the Corporation Schools in Calcutta during his tenure of office as Education Officer of the city of Calcutta.

It should be evident that community centres to which reference has been made earlier will furnish the best places for the intensive courses envisaged. Refresher courses should also be regularly arranged there each year during the long vacation (of which there will be one at least in all Schools).

Adult Education

Adult education should also be integrated with culture as noted earlier. But the words and contents should be taken from adult activities and interests. The different methods of teaching need not be discussed here, as there is not much difference of opinion in these respects. Special adult literacy text books should however be drawn up for reasons stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

Central and Regional Committees

Tribal education should be subject to planning and supervision by a Central body of genuine specialists who have done field work and have experience of educational methods and practices.

Shri K. A. Gafoor, Director of Social Services, Hyderabad

THE greatest problem that faces the administrator charged with the education of the tribals is one of language, as a majority of them speak none but their own tribal dialect. These dialects have neither script nor literature although they are rich in folk-lore, legends, mythologies and stories.

Education is the development of body, mind and spirit of each individual with his specific nature, the relation of the different studies to the growth of the individual, the nature of human freedom and the need for social changes.

In a well-planned system opportunities have to be provided at every level to the pupils for the exercise of their reflective powers, artistic abilities and practical work. The true educator should understand the psychological make-up, the *Svabhava* of the pupils and adapt his teaching to the mind of the pupil. The process of education becomes dull and boring if we are unable to interest the live minds of the students. What they learn unwillingly becomes dead knowledge which is worse than ignorance. Learning is actually an activity of thought and not a stuffing of mind with facts.

The purpose of humanities is to enable man to understand his inner aspirations and ideals. The study of the language and the literature of one's mother-tongue has to occupy the first place in general education, as the language incarnates the genius of the people which has fashioned it. Every word, every phrase conveys some idea of men and women as they ploughed their fields, tended their homes, built their villages or sailed their boats.

It is not that the tribals are completely divorced from any system of education. They have had their simple, yet effective, and in some cases very well-defined educational institutions through which they transmitted their culture, customs, social heritage and

traditions, knowledge and technique of their religious beliefs and economic pursuits, medicinal herbs, etc., from one individual or group to another individual or group. They have verbal instructions through myths, stories, proverbs and folk-lore that stress the dignity of their culture and impress the virtue of their toil and labour. They have their seasonal festivals, dramas and dances, that playfully depict the significance, method and techniques of their social life and economic organization. They learn by observation and by imitating the elders in their games and festivals. They have their village dormitories,—the ghotul or morung—which by far are the most important educational institutions of the tribals where youths develop *spirit-de-corps*, learn social duties, develop their arts and crafts, practice the intricacies of tribal dances and songs, study the management of house, family and a class, and above all know the intricacies of sex life, etc. Thus by puberty each boy and girl gets a rigorous education on all the important matters of their life and labour that equip them for a happy growth in and harmonious adjustment to their culture-pattern.

Though these educational institutions have greatly served the tribals to continue their culture and keep their fund of knowledge preserved from generation to generation but the absence of literacy and education, as we visualize it, has greatly isolated these tribals from the outside world and though they were well-equipped to face life in their secluded pockets of territory, they were hardly in a position to keep face with the growing civilization with which they have started coming in a closer contact in recent years. This newer situation has started undermining the age-old educational institutions of the tribals and slowly degenerating the continuance of their culture while at the same time no other opportunity of learning were forthcoming.

The method of education so far applied in most of these cases is rather defective in as much as it tends to defective inasmuch as it tends to heritage and make them despise even the healthy customs of their own group. Education imparted in a different language and that too by unsympathetic teachers is bound to disinterest the tribal students and it is quite natural, therefore, to find out very little response and progress in tribal education. An education that does not equip him for a better understanding of his environment and greater application of his talents improve his economic condition and conserve the good in aboriginal culture is going to have absolutely no meaning in plan for the betterment of the tribals.

The problem of *medium of instructions* has caused great controversy among educationists and evolved more contradictory views as it is so wrapped up in sentiment. The difficulty of the problem is inherent in the size of India and the character of her population and it is more complicated in the case of tribals who need an altogether different treatment and a special method of education.

Tribal Dialects:

Tribal dialects, some of which are rapidly disappearing, are of the utmost importance to our knowledge of pre-Aryan India and are not only the principal means of expressing culture, but a cultural manifestation of the first order. Professor Emeneau had successful investigations among the Kotas and Todas but no other professional anthropologist has seriously taken up the study of the unwritten Dravidian languages, not even the Anthropological Department of the Government of India. The only mention that can be made here is of the very creditable efforts of amateur linguists such as the officers of the Social Service Department of Hyderabad and certain Missionaries to whom

we owe grammar and word lists of otherwise unrecorded Dravidian dialects. Some research is, however, being carried on in Paris, Oxford and California but even these research scholars are hampered by the inadequacy of the recorded material while in India invaluable evidence remains unrecorded owing to the lack of trained observers

Tribal dialects are rich in folk-lore, historical epics, myths, legends, poems and stories. Traditional Bards and Story-tellers supply with inexhaustible material for reading matter if collected. This will also have an additional appeal to the tribals as they will feel that their heritage is capable of giving expression to traditional culture values and an affirmation and recognition of the very core of their own culture. Hence any education system that may be adopted for the tribals must have the tribal dialect as the medium of instruction and the folk-lore mythology, legends and poems should be fully and freely utilised to serve as the reading matter.

No Script

Still greater difficulty that has to be faced is the large number of dialects and the absence of any script. No doubt all the dialects are influenced by the regional languages and the script of the respective language can conveniently serve as a script for the dialect but Hindi script being the most convenient form of script can easily be a better choice. It shall easily be read in all parts of India regardless of the barriers of particular regions. Additional advantage of this script is the facility to the tribals in learning Hindi and other languages by providing an easy ladder of progression. While adopting this script care should, however, be taken to exclude all combined letters, unnecessary in a language with no traditional orthography.

The first step in this direction should be to compose charts for adults to help

the adult to acquire a working knowledge of written characters. Next step, after the adult has matured these, is to supply reading matter sufficiently easy to encourage him in the belief that he can read. The recording and transcription of such "Tribal Literature" is, no doubt, a laborious task and requires a great deal of skill in adopting a consistent spelling and avoiding of grammatical mistakes. The books should be designed so as to be fascinating, entertaining and stimulating reading matter for the new literates. They should also be so brought up as to catch the imagination of the tribals.

After having decided on the adoption of the tribal dialect, reducing it into writing by giving it the Hindi Script and after bringing up suitable reading charts and reading matter it is evident that it will be easy to attract the tribals to take up to education.

Section of Subjects

It shall, however, be essential to select the subjects very carefully. To adopt the ordinary primary or basic education system and to include all the subjects commonly taught will be a folly. Education for the tribals should include such subjects as will help to improve their economy, inculcate self-assurance and rouse consciousness of their civic rights. Most elementary arithmetic, history of their ancestors and of the struggle for freedom, geography of their own region and instruction in health and hygiene and better methods of agriculture or handicrafts is all that needs be taught. In no case should the education create a discontentment among the tribals about their environment and it should not divorce them from village life and the ways of their own Community. It should neither be a thin veneer of acquired knowledge and skills nor should it tear them away from the natural surroundings not yet polluted by the vices of the urban life.

Education in Arts and Crafts

The programme of tribal education should have a greater stress on teaching, reorienting and improving the art and craft, which are an expression of their own culture and a focal point of their tradition so as to make them more productive and secure economically. Almost all the tribes in India, unless they have been fully degenerated, have some kind of arts still preserved through generations in which they have a special interest and a particular efficiency. Better methods, newer techniques, greater encouragement and incentives in these arts and crafts are sure to result in finer finish, greater output and a growing market for their goods, that will ultimately lift them from their present economic morass. The Nagas, as for example, have been specially good in weaving and dyeing; they artistically colour their costumes and any encouragement to utilise this genius of theirs will be met with fullest co-operation and success. Similarly, the Gonds have a special interest in artistic carpentry as can be seen in the pillars and posts that they erect in their houses, in their small products like combs and tobacco pouch etc. If these Gonds are encouraged to apply their carving skill on a broader basis and productive lines, they will not only be able to improve their economic condition but also will enrich the Indian art and craft with their novel representations and beautiful designs. Likewise are the Murias of Bastar with a skill in making colourful and artistic bead necklaces. But so far this art is confined merely for their personal decoration and adornment and not for marketing. We see bead-necklaces of lesser beauty and inferior artistic combination having a thriving market in our towns and a little encouragement and help in introducing these products outside are sure to be a success. Newer designs and varying objects can easily be adapted by these tribals having a

deft hand that expresses itself very well in the creation of artistic things.

These arts and crafts of the tribals remained confined, un-noticed, unutilized and even ignored due to the chief difficulties of poverty, lesser production, discouragement and non-availability of a good market. Hence along with the provision of teaching and improving the tribal art, it would equally be the responsibility of the welfare agency to arrange for the marketing of these produce and to do the necessary business-publicity for it. This can be easily attended to through Co-operative Marketing Organization.

Dance and Music

In spite of all its privations, difficulties and struggle for existence the aboriginal society lives a happy and contented life saturated with joy and optimism. They retain this rhythm and colourfulness, romance and beauty through their dances and poetry, through their simple and yet effective expression of their culture in seasonal festivities and social gatherings. These songs and dances that are so vital in their life and culture should not be discouraged or ignored in their programme of education, one of the aims of which is to conserve and develop whatever is good in their culture and whatever adds to the sum total of their happiness and joy.

The teaching of folk-songs, stories, myths and riddles must, therefore, be made compulsory, with a view to keep them in harmony with their original life.

The aboriginal games that are at the same time recreative and instructive, the tribal dances that have a music and fascination of their own, that not only are good for purposes of physical exercise and recreation but also are necessary to keep them in tune with their life-pattern, may be organized as a part of curricula for tribal education.

Teachers' Training

To teach the tribals, ignorant of any language but their own tribal dialect, through the medium of any other language is likely to prove abortive. It is, therefore, necessary at the first stage to select a few intelligent tribals and train them at certain centres specially established for the training of teachers. Experience shows that it is quite practical to train such young boys who have had a little education to train them up in a short course of time as they possess receptive minds and react very expeditiously and satisfactorily to the imparting of such training. Tribals, well-acquainted with their own culture-values, while teaching or learning in their own dialect all about themselves, will show keenness and desire that cannot possibly be witnessed in other advanced communities.

Such *Training Centres* should, however, be situated in the heart of tribal country, so that they are not moved out of their atmosphere and baffled with new fangled ideas. As soon as these tribals are sufficiently trained not only to read and write but also to take charge of a village-school, they should be sent out to teach in the villages.

A Successful Experiment

Perhaps the Department of Social Service, Government of Hyderabad, was the first to take up the question of tribal education on a most scientific line and make a successful beginning in the education of Gonds and Koyas a decade ago, which, with the passage of time, has now been farther strengthened and systematized to suit their requirements and needs and to better equip them in their struggle for existence.

The successful experiment of aboriginal education in Hyderabad is a story of great achievement not only of applied anthropology but also of a

vigorous and novel attempt of transcribing the spoken language into letters. It is a story of hard work of several years in a field not previously attempted elsewhere in India, a work that required bold experimentation and laborious field study and greatest care in its application, a scientific and sympathetic approach to the problem and a very clear and well-defined programme.

Choice of Scripts

The Gondi, in Hyderabad, like any other tribal dialect throughout India, had never been reduced to writing and whatever word-lists or grammars existed they were in Roman Script, obviously meant for foreign students and not for the purpose of tribal education. The question of the *choice of script*, then, was the first question that had to be agreed upon before any headway could be made in this direction. As a Dravidian language, it was easier to adequately write it in Telugu character but this being rather a very complicated script and difficult to master, specially by the tribals newly initiated into education, it had to be set aside. Roman Script, on the other hand, though easy to learn, was not employed on the argument that it was not used in official documents and hence would be useless for farther education. The choice lay thus between the Persian Script of the official Urdu and the Nagri Script of Marathi, the most prominent language in the tribal area of Adilabad and the one, most in use for the keeping of village-records. Persian Script is not only far more difficult than Nagri, but owing to the dearth of vowels is rather ill-suited to phonetical transcription; hence the choice fell on Nagri, whose characters can render nearly all the sounds occurring in Gondi. By excluding all combined letters, unnecessary in a language with no traditional orthography, the Nagri was further simplified, and 32 letters proved sufficient for

a clear and unequivocal transliteration of every Gondi text. Once the script was agreed upon the question of creation of Gondi literature and training of Gond-teachers were yet the two most important hurdles to go through before the success or failure of this bold experiment could be adjudged.

Gondi Literature

There had been extensive anthropological researches made in the Gond culture; the rich myths and historical epics and folk-songs that have been preserved through the centuries by the Pradhans, their hereditary bards, had been collected in sufficient numbers to serve as raw-material for the Gondi books, both for school children and for adults, books which could appeal to the newly literate whose horizon was still bounded by the limits of his own culture.

Reading Charts for Adults

The Reading Charts were prepared on Laubach's method. Helped by simple pictures the adult student is taught by these charts to read a number of key-words, containing consonants in their various vowel combinations. The first line of this chart comprised the words "Kakar" (Crow), "Kis" (fire), "Kurs" (antelope), "Kera" (Jungle), and "Kor" (fowl), demonstrating the letter "K" in all its forms. After six such lines follow short sentences with a bearing on the picture page, repeating the key-word in various contexts. In three such charts, each with a picture-page and 16 text pages, are introduced all the letters of the alphabets, and as the sentences increase gradually in length, the student becomes familiar with the written form of more and more words, completing the third chart the student has crossed the first bridge to literacy. The more familiar the text is to the student, the more encouraging it is to him; reading a familiar prayer or song and substituting from memory

rather than deciphering the more difficult words gives the newly literate the feeling of competence and achievement, and stimulates him as well as others to further efforts. So in the "First Reader for Adults" short well-known songs, familiar greeting and prayer, and riddles and short episodes from myths, epics and poems of unfading interest to Gonds were incorporated.

So also great care was taken in writing the Gondi Primer and First Reader so as to adapt it to Child mentality and to make it instructive without being boring.

Teachers' Training School

A Teachers' Training Centre was established at Marlavai, a village deep into tribal territory, in the year 1943. It started with a nucleus of five young Gonds, who had at least some idea of reading and writing. They were offered a monthly retaining fee for the duration of their training. Initially they were taught Gondi in Nagri characters, which when mastered, it was very easy for them to switch over to Marathi in Nagri Script. Besides they were taught simple arithmetic and instructions were given in revenue matters, the keeping of village records, and writing of applications etc. Compulsory practical work in the school garden and knowledge of better methods of farming were stressed in the curricula.

We felt too, that book-knowledge alone cannot rebuild the Gond's self-respect, undermined as it is by the contempt that other castes shower on the ways of life of the aboriginals; we had to make them feel that their customs, their language and their religion were just as good and worth developing as those of other communities. We had to inspire them in the dignity of Gond ritual and the beauty of Gond poetry,

music and dance. Consequently, the teacher-candidates were not only encouraged to join in the village and clan festivals but tribal dancing and songs were made obligatory in the school curricula itself.

To plant the schools firmly in the soil of Gond culture, we introduced a school-opening rite, modelled on the ritual that accompanies such ceremonies as the erecting of a flag in commemoration of an important event. At the opening of every school this ceremony is performed when the villages come together to invoke the blessings of the gods on the new enterprise.

The teacher-candidates, so trained in the Teachers' Training School, Marlavai, have now opened about 100 schools throughout the Gond territory of Adilabad, and those trained at the Koya Centres have opened another 40 schools in the District of Warangal. These Training Centres are passing out on an average about 40 trained teachers every two years who after successfully completing their course organize tribal schools in the interior villages. Thus the Scheme for tribal education is making a satisfactory progress and before long it is hoped to bring educational facilities to all the villages in the tribal belts of Adilabad and Warangal. At present about 3,000 Gond and Koya children are studying in the various schools organized by the Social Service Department in the above two districts, with an average of 30 pupils per school.

The experience gained in the tribal education scheme of Hyderabad shows that the aboriginal children are quite intelligent and given opportunity and proper encouragement they show extraordinary receptive power, creative genius and good memory which when harnessed systematically is bound to result in a success.

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Shri N. V. Bapat, Vanwasi Sewa Mandal, Mandla, Madhya Pradesh

HOW pleasing it is to find that the Tribals of India have after all come to be regarded as citizens of India who have equal share and opportunities in shaping the destiny of this vast nation! For centuries they have led a life of seclusion utterly ignorant of the revolutionary changes in the history of India. Empires rose and fell but the Bhil, the Baiga, the Maria, the Korku continued unconcernedly his chase after a bird or a beast, his fruit and root collection, his explores in the forests. At times his peaceful abode was disturbed by the agents of the ruling race, who would utilise his services for forced labour in the forest for some time and then vanish for long periods.

Before the advent of the British rule he was the monarch of all he surveyed: he had his own kingdoms and could follow his own ways of life with full freedom. But the Britishers would not leave him to himself. The hundred and fifty years of British rule kept them in seclusion and segregation to lead a life of baneful ignorance and slavery. Their freedom was gone, even the mightiest of the forest Tribal chief could be used for forced labour by the petty forest guard. The sturdy and brave forestman was humbled down to serve as a beast of burden under the British bayonet.

Freedom from foreign rule has been more blissful to the Tribal than to any one else in India. He will not only regain his freedom of action but will also have the opportunity to mix in a spirit of equality with his prosperous brothers of the plains. He will no more be exploited and tortured. Rising to his full stature he will make his best contribution to the prosperity of Bharat with his instinctive knowledge of forestry and agriculture and other natural sciences.

All this is possible only if the right type of education is imparted to him.

The problem of educating the Tribal is intricate since they reside in remote and difficult parts of the country, their population is rare. They speak different tongues, they have no common script. Yet the problem is in a way easy enough since it touches only the primary stage.

The Tribal population of India is nearly 25 million and has spread over the whole country minus the plains and the busy towns. The Tribal areas may be easily divided into three classes —(1) The remote hilly and forested areas inhabited by 80 per cent. of the Tribal communities, (2) The semi-cultivated table lands and the slopes as well as the plains close to the hills inhabited by more than 50 per cent. of Tribal population and (3) Rural areas in which the Tribals mostly live the same life as lead by other communities.

Out of these the first two classes of tracts require special attention as they are inhabited by people far too backward to understand the full implication of self-Government and common weal irrespective of class and clan.

Having been cut off from vehicular communication for centuries the residents of these areas have not kept pace with the march of progress. They have conserved their age long civilisation untarnished by foreign contact. They have grown their own local culture based on local environment. Their segregation and isolation have provided a good opportunity of study for the Anthropologist; they have set a specific problem for the politician and a hard task for the social worker. The educationist who combines in himself the anthropologist, the politician and the social worker has to incorporate these people in the pattern of Indian society

in such a way that they preserve all the good points that maintain the health of the whole body and wipe off that is dead and stinking.

Shri Thakkar Bapa, the saintly social worker who was moved to tears decades back to see the miserable condition of the suffering humanity of the remote interiors of India strove to remove their suffering in his own way. He struck at the root of the evils which were to his mind illiteracy and ignorance, by starting Primary Schools for boys and girls, Middle schools and hostels for them; starting Multipurpose co-operative societies to improve their economic condition; organising free distribution of medicines; sinking wells for drinking water and building approach roads. This fivefold welfare scheme of Thakkar Bapa was much appreciated by different states on attainment of freedom. A special department of Tribal welfare was formed to give immediate effect extensively as well as intensively to the Scheme.

The scheme has had its longest trial in the Bhil country of Bombay state with the result that the last elections have returned many an educated Bhil to the State and Central Legislatures. Bhil graduates are occupying responsible positions in different walks of life and enjoying happy domestic life in the company of enlightened partners having been completely absorbed in the general Indian society. If things continue as they have, similar results will be obtained in other states also.

But the question of questions remains unsolved. Are we having the right approach to the problem? Is the education that we impart going to achieve our desired goal? Are we not uprooting the Tribal from his Native Land and devolving out of the hefty, healthy, honest hillman a delicate polished physical wreck completely divorced from his natural self?

The modern system of education laying all stress on mere literacy and the study of a foreign language has already caused a colossal national loss by converting our patriotic, industrious, robust generations to talkative Babus qualified only to act as clerks and agents to foreign firms. It is high time to overhaul the whole system since it cannot fit in with the free and self-reliant life that our nation is expected to lead. Should we not at least save these who are still uncontaminated by the detrimental system?

How the stay-at-home literary type of the present Primary education is making a detestable picture in the Tribal areas will be quite clear if a surprise visit is paid to a Primary school.

- (a) The Tribal children speak a different tongue at home. The medium of instruction is the regional language. The teacher and the taught understand each other with difficulty for the educated teacher does not belong to the locality. The children become parrots the language attainment is nil.
- (b) The school is more or less a fold where children inheriting open outdoor habits of life are made to sit for hours under the terror of the teacher. The result is drugery. Children want to remain absent and hunt about in the forest. The average attendance is hardly more than 40 per cent.
- (c) The parents find that their children develop habits of nothing doing. His cattle is to be tended, his fields are to be guarded, his babies are to be looked after. Who will earn for the family if the head of the family and the house-wife were to look after these petty affairs? Does the

education of his children make his condition better? No. He ceases to take interest in the school unless compelled by the cursed Panchayat laws.

- (d) The children love to sing and dance, to swim in the pools, to climb the trees and the hills, play various games after the fashion of birds. The new school introduces games and exercises strange to him, his native games have no place in the curriculum meant primarily for the urban boys.

The net result is a horrible wastage. If four per cent. of the children admitted to the school pass the 4th class at the end of 4 years it is classed as an average school. The lapse into illiteracy is another story.

If it was criminal to keep millions of the Tribals away from school it is more criminal to keep them inside the unplanned Primary school and mar his future altogether by making him a misfit in his society.

The need of the hour is therefore:—

- (1) to frame a scheme of education for the Tribal areas based on some basic craft correlated with other occupations of Tribal life;
- (2) to appoint a personnel trained for the purpose at a special Normal school for at least a year. They must be capable of sustaining in the bad climatic conditions of the area and thoroughly acquainted

with the dialects and the customs of the community;

- (3) to establish workshops at different centres specialising in some forest industries that would turn out finished products and bring more money to the resident
- (4) to establish cultural centres to encourage the folklore, folk-songs and the Tribal Art, preserving what is good in them and educating the masses through them;
- (5) to devise ways and means to revive the Tribal Panchayats and inspire them to start their own co-operatives to conduct various welfare activities and settle their disputes; and
- (6) last but not the least to absolve them from all foreign domination like that of the Christian Missionary and the Patronising so called social worker. No distinction be made between community and community residing in the Tribal area.

In short an active scheme of social education hand in hand with a scheme of Basic education for at least seven years in the Tribal dialect for the first two years followed by the regional language, followed by apprenticeship in workshops and co-operatives engaged in local trades and industries yielding equal opportunities to boys and girls, will go a long way to keep the Tribal attached to his own native land and preserve his natural gifts of body, mind and heart.

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**Shri S. C. Daolagupu, Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner,
United Districts of Mikir and North Cachar Hills**

THE Scheduled Tribes of Assam range from the head-hunting Nagas to the lethargic Mikirs, occupying the hills and valleys, covering more than two-thirds the area of the state,

who for want of education, are still under the influence of their age-old superstitious beliefs, are under perpetual poverty and are suffering from deadly diseases. Most of them occupy

the most strategic border positions serving as sentinals of India. To leave them at this stage would not only be injustice done to them but may also endanger the border security of the country. Distrust for people other than its own tribesmen is a common trait of tribal nature and this has been found most vocal with the Nagas in their demand for independence. To improve their condition and to arrest such tendency of disintegration, education is essentially necessary; for it is only through education that we can learn each other's culture and bring about better mutual understanding. Of all the problems concerning the Scheduled Tribes of Assam, therefore, the problem of education is the greatest; because for want of education among them, no scheme for their improvement, social or economic, can be executed with the amount of success desired. Thanks to the persistent efforts of missionaries there has been considerable spread of education among the Hill Tribes of Lushai Hills and United Khasi and Jainta Hills; but taking the Scheduled Tribes as a whole, including both Hills and plains tribes, this is quite a negligible figure and a vast majority of the Scheduled Tribes of the state still remain in the darkness of ignorance. Education, therefore, deserves the most serious consideration of all who are sincerely interested in the welfare of these backward people.

Education among the Scheduled Tribes at once brings in the question of dialect; for there are as many dialects as there are tribes and sub-tribes in the state which are so different from one another that the case of certain tribes, such as Nagas, no common dialect can be adopted even for one tribe, and hence the difficulties for common medium of instruction arises. This dialect is not, however, a peculiar problem of the tribal people alone. The same is the case with language problem of India and will be solved

in course of time in the same way as the Indian language problem has been solved.

Present condition

Statistics as to the average percentage of literacy among all the scheduled tribes of the state is not readily available, but it will not be wrong to say that the percentage of literacy among them will vary from 13 per cent. in the Lushai Hills to Zero per cent. among some tribes in the North East Frontier area and the average percentage may perhaps be put at anything between Zero and five. With this ignorance among them, together with all the superstitions and backwardness at its trial, they have up-to-date remained mere anthropological specimens in their sacred sanctuaries of inaccessible hills and plains.

Causes of Backwardness

The main causes of their backwardness may be attributed to (1) geographical position, (2) their nomadic habit and (3) poverty. The high hills, where most of them inhabit, serve as natural barriers. This geographical position coupled with the policy of segregation pursued by the British Administration, kept them aloof from the rest of the world and deprived them of the opportunity to benefit themselves by contact with the more advanced people of the plains. Secondly, the practice of jhumming, or shifting cultivation, which is the mainstay of their livelihood, compels them to be nomadic in habit, inasmuch as they have to roam about from place to place in search of virgin lands to avoid operation of the law of diminishing returns in the old place. This also prevents them from forming large villages, as jhumming requires an extensive area. Thirdly, the staggering poverty, under which they live, stands in the way of betterment of their condition. Nomadic as they are, they have no immoveable property and no attachment or incentive, to improve land

Lack of communication, absence of ready market for selling their produce and the dishonesty of merchants and money-lenders are the other contributory factors to their poverty.

Remedies

To find out the right approach to the all-round development of these backward people it is not enough to know the causes of their backwardness; but its remedies should also be found out if the problem is to be successfully tackled. The first thing that may be suggested is to make them live in large and permanent villages so that schools, hospitals, wells, roads etc. can be set up with benefit. Secondly, the communication must be improved by building roads. Thirdly, the method of their cultivation must be changed. Permanent wet rice cultivation and terrace cultivation should be introduced wherever possible; and where these are not practicable, jhuming should be substituted by horticulture, dairy farming and cottage industries, all of which have immense possibilities in the hills. This requires financial help from the Government as they are proverbially poor and liberal grants under Article 275 of the Constitution should be given with this end in view.

Lack of Schools

As already indicated above it is difficult to set up schools in the villages which are of small sizes and shifting nature; but giving due allowance to this factor, the number of schools as it exists now is too small to be able to serve the area and the need of its people. For example, the Mikir Hills has an area of nearly 5,000 sq. miles with a population of nearly 2 lakhs of tribal people, whereas the number of schools that it has is only 94 L.P. Schools, 10 M. E. Schools and not a single High School. In this particular sub-division it has been found at places that there is no school within the radius of 16 to 20 miles. One can easily

imagine, therefore, how children from such distances will be able to attend the school at a place which has no road and no hostel to accommodate them. In these hills it is very difficult for the children to attend schools, situated two to three miles away for want of road and on account of wild animals such as tigers, bears and elephants which abound in these places. Most of these schools are maintained by either Government or School Boards. Unlike in other hills it has no mission schools worth mentioning and has practically no venture schools. Although the schools are situated so far apart, there is no provision for hostels for the boys to live in. The school buildings themselves are all in tottering conditions for want of repairs and proper maintenance.

Teachers and the Taught

If the condition of the school buildings is deplorable, the positions of the teachers and the taught are more pitiable. In the whole of the Mikir Hills, there are—approximately only 2,000 students giving a maximum average of only 20 per school. No local man is available to become a teacher and no qualified teacher from outside would go into the interior to lead a life of Robinson Crusoe; and the result is that only untrained and unqualified teachers are recruited to hold the charge of "Tribal Education". These unqualified teachers can neither find interest in their work nor create interest in the boys and girls they are expected to teach. So the number of boys and girls in schools tends to decrease rather than increase. Another reason for the small number of students is the poverty of the parents. The number of students are found to increase during the winter; but as soon as rains set in and the cultivation season commences there is always a sharp drop in the roll strength of the schools for obvious reason that the parents withdraw their wards to

help them in cultivation or in some domestic work. Thus a vicious circle goes on and there is no real education imparted.

Inspecting Staff

One of the chief reasons why the conditions of the schools in these areas have come to such a miserable state of affairs is the lack of proper supervision. The Inspecting staff provided at present is too inadequate in comparison with the largeness of areas and difficult touring in the interior. It has been found that some of the schools have never been inspected since their inception. No wonder, therefore, that the teachers would have the licence to do what they like. Instances are not rare where the school has been closed for months together for absence of the teacher who all the while was drawing his pay alright.

Medium of Instruction

With the exception of Khasi, Lushai and Garo which languages have been recognised by the University, the medium of instruction in all the tribal schools of the State is either Assamese, Bengali or English in certain mission Schools. Every Scheduled tribe has its own dialect which is more or less from Mongolian Stock; but the children have to be taught through the medium of the language which is from altogether a different stock, namely Sanskrit. No wonder, therefore, that the number of failure in examination is so great among the tribal students.

Primary Education

Schedule VI of the Constitution provides for the development of the Scheduled Tribes according to their own genius. Recognising the importance of the mother tongue, it has further invested the District Councils of the Autonomous Districts with the power to prescribe the languages to be taught in the Primary Schools. It goes without saying, therefore, that these District Councils will prescribe their

own dialects in the Primary schools of their respective areas in the interest of promoting their mother tongues. To do so at this stage will be doing a real justice to the beginners which has so long been denied to them. Thus, it is thought most desirable to have the medium of instructions through the dialect of each particular tribe at least at the primary stage of education.

Question of Script

Majority of the Scheduled tribes, as stated above, have no recognised languages of their own. Some of them may have a few books written but the script is not the same in all cases. They are found to use the script of the major language which has influence over a particular area. Thus the Kacharis of Cachar and North Cachar Hills are found to write in Bengali while the Boro Kacharis of Assam Valley use the Assamese script. In the hills where there is missionary influence Roman script is used. Thus there is no uniformity of script as well. The difficulty arising out of this is that a student will have to learn as many as three scripts viz. Assamese for regional language, Debonagri for Hindi, the *lingua franca* of India, and the Roman script if that dialect is written in Roman, which is rather too difficult a task for an average student. As English is going to be replaced by Hindi in fifteen years' time the scheduled tribes who have no literature of their own as yet will be well advised to adopt Assamese script, as in that case a student will have the advantage of learning Assamese in the same script in which he has learnt his own language and will have to learn only one additional script Debonagri for Hindi.

Secondary Education

At this stage the Regional language, as well as, the *lingua franca* should be introduced gradually and brought upto the standards prescribed by the University for the Secondary Education of the State. The question as to from which

class or classes each of these languages should be given a start should carefully be examined by the educational authorities in consultation with the leading tribal people. It is perhaps, necessary to give more stress to the mother tongue upto class VI and from class VII onwards the prescribed syllabus of the university should be followed with one paper in the vernacular language of the respective tribe, if, of course, that language is recognised by the University. This suggestion is made in the same line as it is now in practice with regard to the Khasi, Lushai, and Garo languages which have been recognised by the University and are taught in schools and colleges. And if this can be done for all the tribes much of the tragedies of the tribal students in examinations will surely be averted.

Training of Teachers

To give a right type of education, specially to the beginners, not only qualified teachers are required but trained teachers are essentially necessary; which, unfortunately, is not the case at present. Government should, therefore, arrange training schools for teachers at least one in each of the Autonomous Districts and at places where other scheduled tribes are found in majority. The training schools should be directly under the control of the State Government for more efficiency and better administration.

Recruitment of Teachers

Due to language difficulty and unfavourable circumstances of the tribal villages it will be hard to get teachers from non-tribal people of the plains but due to paucity of educated persons among the tribal people themselves it will be equally hard to recruit right type of teachers from the local people. Those who might have been qualified for teachership will not go in for the post of L.P. teacher as it exists now. It is, therefore, necessary to make the post more lucrative by raising the scale of

pay and giving other facilities so as to attract both outsiders and the local educated people.

Compulsory Primary Education

The need for education is no where greater than in the Autonomous Districts where the scheduled tribes have been given the greatest amount of democracy in the shape of District and Regional Councils, and the success of these bodies depends upon spread of education amongst the scheduled tribes concerned. These councils are composed of the representatives who are elected by the tribal people of the respective areas on the basis of adult franchise. In order, therefore, to enable each voter to exercise his franchise in a right manner, education must be pushed in among the scheduled tribes as quickly as possible and to do this the first step should be to make the primary education compulsory among the scheduled tribes. As this subject is under the purview of the District Councils the Government should induce the District Councils to give effect to it immediately. Hill Districts being deficit areas funds for this purpose should be liberally provided out of the grants under Article 275. An extra tax like local rate of the plains should also be levied not only to provide fund but also to make the people realise the importance of education. It is only then will education be appreciated by the people.

Mass literacy and Propaganda

In view of the fact that about 90 to 95 per cent. of the tribal people are illiterate, mass literacy should be vigorously introduced by opening night schools and carrying on intensive propaganda among the people. Public meetings should be held in which the importance of the education should be explained by both officials and public leaders. Magic lantern slides and instructive cinema films should be shown to impress upon the people the importance of education. Public libraries

should be organised to provide books for their study.

System of Education.

The present system of education which merely turns out clerks and creates the problem of unemployment among the educated people should be done away with and replaced by such type of education which provides wider scope of avocation for the educated persons.

In other words, education should produce more workers rather than seekers of jobs. Too much of general education among the tribal people will be of no real benefit to them for, being backward and in a very small minority, they will not be able to stand competition and find employment in services both of state and Union Governments. Attempt should, therefore, be made to give education to their children at the right age and to direct them at the right stages to various vocational trainings in accordance with their natural inclinations. It is only then will the tragedies in examinations, the loss of

money that the parents have to suffer and above all, the national loss of labour, be avoided. India wants better workers and here is a chance to try for it from practically a clean slate. The Basic Education, as profounded by Mahatma Gandhi, seems to have a fair chance of success taking into consideration the existence of various arts, crafts and other cottage industries inherent among the tribal people, and should be given a trial. Above all, however, to impart real education among these people, who under the pressures of age-old ignorance, lethargy poverty and diseases have come to a state of mental morbidity, the spirit and zeal of a missionary is essentially required. It is only the foreign missionaries who did some substantial work in this line in the past and it now calls for the sacrifice of the social workers and the indigenous missionaries. The Bharatiya Adim Jatiya Seva Sangha, which is already working among lepers and Kala-azar stricken tribal people of Assam has given a right lead in the line and is further expected to do immense good to these people.

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THERE is to be seen all around a tendency to over emphasize the role of education, meaning literacy thereby, in tribal rehabilitation. This is the result of a wrong interpretation of the term education. Education wrongly understood as ability to read and write, has been given the top place in many plans drawn up in our country plans like A. V. Thakar's Five-Year Plan for C.P. and Berar. It must be clearly understood that education means 'bringing up of the young' or systematic instruction." And it

need hardly be said that no human group, however primitive, is without its own modes and techniques of education. The usefulness of giving top priority to literacy everywhere, therefore, appears to be doubtful. Literacy is extremely necessary for such tribes which have had long contacts with urban or other 'civilized' groups and which are in the midst of literate people. This holds good of most of the tribal people inhabiting the Plains of the central belt. For such tribes as the Nagas, for instance, mass literacy is a thing for the future. By educating

them, the American Missionaries have made the Nagas distrust and disbelieve their own traditions and the past. The hold of these on the Nagas in general is, however, strong as yet. The consequence has been that this educated minority is mentally strafed and emotionally torn between two loyalties. So then, it is better to leave them alone. Literacy will have to be given a lower priority in an all-India tribal rehabilitation scheme than Socio-economic uplift, medicinal and hygienic facilities and improved transport and communications.

Once the tribes are economically rehabilitated, the problem of literacy will assume importance. Even at present, as has been already pointed out, all those tribes which are not extremely depressed and are in continuous contact with literate people, must be immediately given the benefits of literacy. It is obvious that the tribal people, now heavily indebted to money lenders, would not have been so impoverished and exploited if they had an elementary knowledge of the 3 R's. Besides, education through literacy is the best means of scientific propoganda. It is unrivalled both in its appeal and results.

But we have got to be very cautious. Our aim is to rehabilitate the tribes; and it is quite probable that if due care is not taken we may only succeed in uprooting such people from their Socio-cultural milieu as are made literate. Things taught and the methods of teaching must vary from place to place, and tribe to tribe. Centrally approved and uniform text-books are the best way to make of these simple people exiles at home. The usefulness of science and knowledge and literacy are to be suggested by sincere work by social workers first and Government officials next. No direct attacks on tribal customs and practices are to be allowed. The pupil is to be taught self-esteem first and foremost. He has to be so educated as to make him put facts above myths and science above

religion. It has been found that planners often demolish slums in order to move people into better houses; but the better houses are built later and the slums demolished first. This actual happening amongst the working classes supplies an apt and useful analogy. Before we seek to demolish the poor 'habitations' of customs, traditions, beliefs and practices of the tribal people, we must build better 'houses' of Knowledge and Enlightenment for them. When that is done we can rest assured that they will themselves give up the old 'habitations' that we want them to leave. Education has to work indirectly.

In order to make literacy digestible, three things are essential; local teachers, local methods of instruction and local dialects. Outsiders can never have that sympathy nor that insight which only a local man can possess. But so long as qualified teachers from the local tribal areas are not available, outsiders will have to be sent in. It has been found that generally the least qualified and the least efficient are assigned to these areas, considering the needs (of these areas) to be simple. This is tragic beyond description. At the primary stage, and that too in a tribal and backward area, the best brains are required. One would, to use the hyperbole, like the appointment of top educationists and psychologists to do this work. When students have had a firm and sound foundation they may be entrusted to less efficient hands. By then they will have learnt to stand on their own legs and think for themselves.

The importance of using local methods lies in the easy comprehension and assimilation of things taught, made possible by familiarity with these methods.

The question of dialects is a very important one; and that is why there should be no two opinions about it. In all such areas and tribes where a dialect is in existence, it must be used at

the primary stage. There are many tribes, which have had local dialects in past, but have given them up for some other language. If the process of assimilating this new language has proceeded far and well, then it should be developed. In case it is undeveloped and the local dialect is not wholly dead attempts should be made to revive it.

Closely connected with the problem of dialects is the problem of script to

be used. Wherever a local script is in existence it may be used, but it would be much better to adopt the Nagri script universally in tribal India. At the secondary stage, Hindi, written of course in Nagri script, will have to be taught. Without that the benefits of literacy and education will be lost as the taught will not be able to meet the outsider on an equal and mutually understandable level.

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श्री रविन्द्र नाथ पटनायक नवजीवन मण्डल, बोनेयगढ़, उड़ीसा

हमारे भारत संघ में अनेक प्रकार की जाति और अनेक प्रकार के भाषा भाषी बसते हैं। जिन में हमारे पहाड़ी किसान भाइयों की संख्या करीब अढ़ाई करोड़ है। उन की शिक्षा कौसी हो यह सोचने से पहले हमें यह उचित होगा कि हम उन की सामाजिक और आर्थिक परिस्थिति पर दृष्टि डालें।

उन के सामाजिक जीवन में बहुत सी विशेषतायें हैं जिन में निम्न चार प्रधान हैं :—

१. स्वतंत्र-प्रियता और सहकारी वृत्ति
२. कला प्रियता ३. सरलता और प्रेम ४. स्त्री सम्मान ।

स्वतंत्र-प्रियता और सहकारी वृत्ति हमारे पिछले इतिहास देखने से मालूम होगा कि हमारे पहाड़ी भाइयों में आसाम के खासियों के नकलों आंदोलन (१७७४ से शुरू हो कर १८३३ तक चला), संतालों का खखार आंदोलन, भुया और जुआंगों के स्वाधीन आंदोलन और कंधों की क्रान्ति प्रसिद्ध है। इन सब आंदोलनों की मौलिकता यह थी कि वे स्वाधीन रहना चाहते थे। संताल आन्दोलन का नारा था "काली ज़मीन के शासक काले आदमी हो सकते हैं सफ़ेद आदमी यहाँ नहीं रह सकते हैं"। भुया और जुआंग लोगों ने अपने नेता धरपीधर को ही राजा मान लिया और

क्योंकि (जो पहले एक स्टेट था अब उड़ीसा प्रदेश का ज़िला है) के दीवानों को पकड़ कर गढ़ पर अपना दावा डाल दिया। आखिर ब्रिटिश फौज के दबाव से सब चुप रहे और उन का स्वाधीन प्रेम कुछ दब सा गया।

आप सारे भारत में दूढ़ेंगे तो एक भी पहाड़ी किसान भोख मांगते हुए नहीं मिलेगा। यह श्रम पर जीना पसन्द करते हैं। मांगते कभी नहीं। जुआंग, कोल या कोंद कोई किसी के घर में बरतन मलने के लिए नौकरी करने के लिये तैयार नहीं होते। इस से यह न समझना चाहिये कि ये लोग नौकरी नहीं करते हैं। यह लोग अपने जात या रिश्तेदारों के घर में रहते हैं। जिससे वे स्वावलम्बन के लिए कुछ पूंजी बना लेते हैं जिस से वे भविष्य जीवन में स्वाधीन रहते हैं।

इन लोगों में स्वतंत्रता की चेतना इतनी भरी हुई है कि इन की परिवारिक अर्थनीति भी स्वाधीनता के आधार पर खड़ी है। इन के परिवार के सब लोग हिन्दू परिवार जैसे ही अपने मुखिया या निर्वाहकर्ता पर निर्भर नहीं करते हैं। ये लोग परिवार ज़मीन पर खेती में श्रम करते हैं, मजदूरी नहीं लेते हैं। जब अनाज पकता है उस समय जो श्रम करते हैं, उस के लिए कुछ अंशिक मजदूरी लेते हैं। वह पूंजी हर एक की व्यक्तिगत पूंजी मानी जाती है। यह धन को फणड़ी

धन बोलते हैं। यह प्रया संताल और सिंह भूमि के ही परिवार में दीख पड़ती है।

पहाड़ी किसानों के हर एक काम, त्यौहार, सब में सहकारी वृत्ति दीख पड़ती है। घर बनाना, खेती काम, अनाज इकट्ठा करना इत्यादि कामों में एक दूसरे को हमेशा सहायता करते हैं। जितना जितना ये लोग तथा कथित सभ्य समाज के नज़दीक पहुंचते हैं ये प्रवृत्ति उन में नष्ट हो जाती है। जुआंगों में ये प्रवृत्ति आज भी स्पष्ट रूप से दीख पड़ती है। जुआंगों के गांवों में एक घर रहता है जो कोठ-घर या मंडघर नाम से परिचित रहता है। यह घर सहकारी प्रवृत्तियों का केन्द्र है। सब ज़मीन गांव का रहता है उस से भाग कर के वे जोतते हैं। यह लोग कर परिवार या जमीन के हिसाब से नहीं देते हैं बल्कि सामूहिक रूप से गांव के नाम से देते हैं।

हमारी भारतीय संस्कृति में "ग्राम राज्य" का ज्यादा प्रभाव था। ब्रिटिश हकूमत ने उस को नष्ट कर दिया जिस से हम परालंबन की ओर चले और हमेशा शहर की ओर हमारी दृष्टि रही। परन्तु पहाड़ी किसानों में आज भी यह मौजूद है। सिंह भूमि का सब से बड़ा कोल्हान का शासन इस तरीके से चल रहा है। गांव का शासन कर्ता "मुंडा" नाम से बोला जाता है और ग्राम समूह के नेता को "माणकी" बोलते हैं। इस शासन को ब्रिटिश सरकार ने भी बाध्य हो कर मान्यता दी थी। उस किस्म का शासन सारा पहाड़ी किसानों में चालू है। यह लोग बहुत बड़े बड़े मामलों का फैसला कर देते हैं और कड़ा दंड भी दे देते हैं। जुआंगों में व्यभिचार नहीं के बराबर आज के दिन भी है क्योंकि व्यभिचार के लिये ये लोग बड़े बड़े बीभत्स दंड विधान करते हैं। यह सब ग्राम राज्य की विशेषता और महत्व है।

पहाड़ी किसानों में श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा आज भी है। सबण हिन्दू लोग जैसे ये लोग अपनी बहिनों के लिए घर नहीं डूँडते हैं। वे उन्हें इस बारे में स्वाधीनता

दिये हैं। उच्च शिक्षित लोग एक आलसी और शासक (जो आफिस में बैठता है और लोगों को ठग कर पैसा कमाता है) ही पसन्द करते हैं और अच्छा पात्र समझते हैं। परन्तु पहाड़ी किसान इस से घृणा करता है, पत्थर से लड़ने वाला श्रमिक को ही हमेशा ज्यादा मान देता है। बहिर्न श्रम करने वाले को ही पसन्द करती हैं, इस से वे हमेशा स्वावलंबी बने रहते हैं जिस से स्वतंत्रता उन की प्राकृतिक इच्छा रहती है।

कलाप्रियता

पहाड़ी किसानों को जो इतने अभाव और असुविधा के बीच में सदानदित रखता है, वह उन के कलाप्रियता का गुण है। जिस से वे दुनिया के सारे दुःख भूल जाते हैं। हर पहाड़ी किसान अपना खेती काम खत्म करने के बाद एक पर्व मनाता है जिस में खूब नाचता कूदता और गाता बजाता है जिस से वे श्रम जनित कलांति दूर करने में समर्थ रहता है।

यह नृत्य कला या शृंगला विहीन है, यह कहना हमारे लिये अनुचित ही होगा। पहाड़ी किसानों में मीलों के गौरी नृत्य (जो कि कलाकार उदयशंकर द्वारा प्रचार किया गया) "हो" या "मुंडा बोंका" छानृत्य (जो कि सरायीकेला और मयूरभंज राज परिवार के जरिये पश्चिम देशों में खूब प्रचार किया गया और लोकप्रिय रहा) आसाम पहाड़ी किसानों का मणिपुर नृत्य प्रसिद्ध है। संताल के लोग नृत्य को आज उड़ीसा के बहुत सारे शिक्षा अनुष्ठान (संस्था) अपनाकर उस का प्रचार शुरू कर रहे हैं। गुजरात का गर्भा नाच जो आज गुजरात भर में गूंजता है वह भी यह पहाड़ी किसानों से आया है।

भुंया और जुआंगों का चांगु नृत्य बहुत प्रसिद्ध और ललित है। उन के नाचों में बहुत प्रकार हैं। परन्तु इस में परस इतने कम हैं कि उन भेदों को जानना सहज साध्य नहीं है। कोल्हों का शादी के अवसर पर नृत्य बहुत चमत्कार और कला से

पूर्ण है। जैसे मणिपुर नृत्य पूज्य गुरुदेव रविन्द्र नाथ टैगोर जनता के सामने लाये तब उस का महत्त्व बढ़ गया। वैसे यह आंदी (शादी) नृत्य जब किसी अच्छे कलाकर के जरिये लोगों के सामने आयेगा तब उस के महत्त्व का पता हमें लगेगा। नहीं तो बन के फूल की तरह बन में ही नष्ट हो जायेगा।

उन की कला में रुचि है। इस का दूसरा नमूना इन की घर की बनावट से हमें मालूम पड़ेगा। उड़ीसा के कोंद, सोरा आदि और गुजरात के चोघरा रानी परब आदि के घर बनाने की प्रणाली करीब करीब एक है। परन्तु कोंद और शोराओं के घर कलापूर्ण और सुसज्जित हैं। उन घरों में सिर्फ आलोक और हवा की व्यवस्था करने से वह आदर्श घर बन सकता है। फिर भी अब की जो घर बनाने की साधारण प्रणाली है उस से उन के घर कई गुना बेहतर हैं। जिस के कारण सर्वोदय समाज के दूसरे वार्षिक सम्मेलन के अवसर पर अंगुल में उन के गृह के नमूने प्रदर्शित किये गये थे। उन के घरों की यह विशेषता है कि हर एक परिवार में करघा डालने की गुंजायश रहती है।

सिंह भूमि के "हो" और उड़ीसा के कोल संतालों का घर बहुत सुन्दर और सुसज्जित और सुचित्रित रहता है, उन के घर के सामने हमारे सीमेंट के घर तुच्छ मालूम पड़ते हैं। उन का घर इतना सुन्दर रहता है कि इन के दीवारों के कौने और बारंडों के किनारे-में शरीर कट जाने का भय रहता है। प्रकृति माता ने अपने पुत्रों के लिये बहुत किस्म के रंग रखे हैं जिस को वह ढूँढ़ ढूँढ़ के लाते हैं और व्यवहार करते हैं। उन के घर बनाने के लिये उन को चूना और बानिश मंगवाना नहीं पड़ता।

इन के समाज में जिन घरों में कुमारी लड़की रहती है उन का घर बहुत सुन्दर और सफाई से पूर्ण रहता है। क्यों कि वे यदि बैसे नहीं करेंगी तो यह समझा जायेगा कि यह लड़की आलसी और अच्छी गृहणी नहीं बनने वाली है। इस लिए लड़कियां घर बनाने के लिये पोतने वाली मिट्टी

से लेकर रंग मिट्टी लाने के लिये मीलों तक शौक से जाती हैं और अपने समय में घर की सजावट करती रहती हैं।

हम स्वास्थ्य के बारे में बहुत कुछ बोलते हैं परन्तु हमारे पहाड़ी किसान लोग वास्तव में उस को अमल में लाते हैं। साधारणतयः मध्यवर्ती परिवारों में दो दफा झाड़ू दिया जाता है, सुबह और शाम। परन्तु जब इन लोगों को कचरा दीख पड़ता है तब झाड़ू लगा देते हैं। जिस के कारण उन के घर में सौ की तादाद में मुर्गी पालन होते हुए भी उन के घर साफ सजावट रहता है। उन में पानी की सफाई सब से ज्यादा है। ये लोग कभी भी पानी में हाथ नहीं डालते। हमेशा प्रकृति का दिया हुआ लौकी के पात्र में पानी निकालने की व्यवस्था रख लेते हैं। पानी में थूक और कुल्ले डालना पाप समझते हैं। यहां तक कि पानी की स्वच्छता के लिये पानी से शौच न हो कर पत्ते का व्यवहार करते हैं। मील लोग तो पत्थर (हूंटाल) से शौच का व्यवहार करते हैं। इन में यह जो मौलिक सफाई है यह कला का एक अंग है।

सरलता और प्रेम

सरलता उन का एक मौलिक गुण है। इन में कपट कभी नहीं रहता है। उन की भाषा में कहा जाय तो "हमारा शरीर खुल्ला (नंगा) है और हृदय भी खुला है, आप लोग जो ज्यादा कपड़ा व्यवहार करते हैं आप का हृदय उतना ही अस्पष्ट है"। उन लोगों के गांव में कभी किसी के घर में ताला नहीं लगता। थोड़ी सी बात उन को जंचने से या होने से वह दूसरों पर भी अपने जैसे ही विश्वास बैठा लेते हैं। जिस से आफिसर और व्यवसायदार लोग उन से कुछ घाँसिक सम्बन्ध बांध कर उन के घन मन सब कुछ लूटते हैं। पहाड़ी किसान लोग बहुत उप्र होते हैं इसलिये ये लोग बहुधा खून कर डालते हैं। परन्तु खून करने वाले को ढूँढ़ने के लिये पुलिस को कभी पहाड़ी गांव में नहीं जाना पड़ता है। ये लोग अपने आप हथियार पकड़ कर खून किया हुआ आदमी का सिर खुद पकड़ कर घाना

या कचहरी ले जाता है। कौद जाति में ऐसा चलन रहता है कि शादी के बाद लड़का लड़की से पूछता है "शादी से पहले तुम्हारे साथ और किसी ने तो "चांदनी रात" नहीं बिताई है?" लड़की शरम से दब तो जाती है ही परन्तु पिछले इतिहास को ह्याल कर के सरलता और सचाई से अपने प्रेमिक का नाम बताती है। जिस के पास घर के ग्राम पंच और वर क्षतिपूर्ति लाने के लिये एक कुल्हाड़ी पकड़ कर जाते हैं। जब ये लोग उस प्रेमिक के गांव में पहुंचते हैं तो उस गांव वाले आपस में बात चीत करते हैं कि हमारे गांव में कौन कुत्ता है जिस के घर ये लोग अग्ये हैं। परन्तु वर पक्ष वाले कुछ नहीं बोल कर उस प्रेमिक के घर के एक खंभे में कुल्हाड़ी की चोट लगाते हैं जिस से वह आदमी समझ जाता है और क्षतिपूर्ति स्वरूप कुछ चावल और एक बकरा देता है। यदि प्रेमिक नवजवान न हो कर एक ग्रहस्थी होता है तो उस की क्षतिपूर्ति का परिमाण ज्यादा रहता है। कहीं कहीं पर ऐसे आदमी को जो कि तथा कथित शिक्षित और मुसस्कृत लोगों के सम्पर्क में आये हैं ये लोग सिर्फ कुल्हाड़ी की चोट लगाना कबूल नहीं करते हैं। उन के लिए आखिर दोनों गांव वाले बैठते हैं और लड़की को बुलाते हैं। लड़की सब कहानी बताती है। कभी कभी प्रेमिक के रखे हुए कपड़े को भी प्रमाण के तौर पर दिखाती है जिस से उस के प्रेमिक को क्षतिपूर्ति दुगुनी देनी पड़ती है। इस से उन में कितनी सरलता और सचाई है यह स्पष्ट दीख पड़ता है।

इस प्रकृति की संतान का दिल प्रेम से भरा हुआ रहता है। ये अपने अतिथि की सेवा करने के लिए हमेशा तैयार रहते हैं कभी भी यह अपने अतिथियों को भूखा रहने नहीं देते। इन में साधारण तथा तीक्ष्ण किस्म की शादी की प्रथा चालू है जैसे प्रेम किवाह, जबरी किवाह, किंववा किवाह। उन में सब से ज्यादा ये लोग प्रेम किवाह को महत्व देते हैं। साधारणतः उच्च शिक्षितों में प्रेम का आधार लड़की को खुश करने में ही है परन्तु इन का प्रेम आदान प्रदान में ही आगे बढ़ता है।

स्त्री सम्मान

हमारे भद्र समाज में जैसे नारा है *ladies first*, ऐसे ही उन में प्रथा है वे लोग लड़कियों से छिड़ते हैं, प्रेम करते हैं, किसी बात के पहले लड़की से सम्मति ले लेते हैं जिस के लिये वे बहुत सावधानी और भद्रता से लड़की के साथ बर्ताव करते हैं। अब हमारे में जैसे गुंडा मनोवृत्ति की पैदायश हुई है उन के समाज में आज तक उस का चिन्ह तक नहीं है। परन्तु उन के समाज में जो तथाकथित अक्षर ज्ञान पाकर पंडित बनते हैं वे उन की बहनों को तंग कर देते हैं। एक दफा एक पहाड़ी किसानों में एम० एल० ए० बनने के लिये एक उच्च शिक्षित जो कि पहाड़ी किसान था मेरी अनुपस्थिति में उस गांव में उस का निर्वासन प्रचार करने के लिये गया था। रात हो जाने के कारण उस गांव के पहाड़ी किसान के घर में ठहर गया। उस आदमी के घर में उस की दो बहिनें थीं जिन को उस ने रात भर सोने नहीं दिया। आखिर उन बहनों को दूसरे के घर में सोने के लिये जाना पड़ा। अब यह भद्र युवक एक एम० एल० ए० है इसलिये हमेशा डर रहता है। उन के समाज में स्त्री को जितनी स्वाधीन और सहघर्मी बनने की सुविधा है शायद यह शिक्षा उस को नष्ट कर देगी। पहाड़ी किसान की स्त्री उस को सामाजिक परिवारिक तथा अर्थनीतिक सब काम में सहायता देती है। इसी लिये मध्यवर्ती जैसे समाज में स्त्रियों के लिए बंधन नहीं है।

उन की अपने हुंय की पुरानी शिक्षा संस्थायें

यह सुन कर हमें हंसी आ सकती है जिन को हम बिल्कुल पिछड़े हुए मानते हैं उन में क्या कोई शिक्षा संस्थायें हो सकती हैं। परन्तु यह सत्य है उन में कुछ शिक्षा संस्थायें हैं जिस के कारण आज कल की सभ्यता से दूर रह कर भी वे अपनी संस्कृति और अपनी सामाजिक व्यवस्था को आज तक बचा सके हैं। उन की जो शिक्षा संस्थायें हमारी नजर में आती हैं उन को हम तीन भागों में विभक्त कर सकते हैं। जैसे वार्षिक उत्सवों के जरिये शिक्षा, कार्य के जारये शिक्षा, और जानी मुजा, देहूरी, इत्यादि

विशेषज्ञों से शिक्षा। इन शिक्षाओं में अक्षर ज्ञान नहीं होने से अब के भारतीय संस्कृति के साथ अपना पग नहीं रख सके। ब्रिटिश शासन भी उन को वर्तमान की शिक्षा और समाज से दूर रखना चाहता था।

वार्षिक उत्सवों के जरिये शिक्षा

पहाड़ी किसानों ने नाच गाना भाषा, शिकार और कुछ सामाजिक प्रक्रियायें सीखने के लिये कुछ त्यौहार तय कर रखे हैं जैसे कि कोल और संताल लोगों के क्रमानुसार ८ और ६ त्यौहार साल भर में मनाते हैं जिस के जरिये गाना नाच, ताल, सीखने में बहुत सहूलियत रहती है। जिस नाच के जरिये हर एक बच्चा अपनी क्लोरावस्था तक उन की सामाजिक प्रक्रियाओं का एक अंग बन जाता है। मध्य प्रदेश के गोंडों में अक्षतृतीया के दिन उन के बच्चे छोटे छोटे हल और कुछ बीज पकाड़ कर सब के घर में जाते हैं और गाना गा कर सब परिवारों से कुछ मांगते हैं। इस से लड़कों को पता लग जाता है कि आगे जा कर उन को एक किसान बनना है। "भुयों" में माघ महीने में एक पर्व होता है जिस के लिए गांव की लड़कियां और लड़कों को आस पास के गांव से कुछ अनाज मांग कर लाना पड़ता है। उस समय उन के साथ बूढ़ी मातायें रहती हैं जो कि उन्हें दूसरे दूसरे गांवों को ले जाती हैं। इस से लड़कियों और लड़कों को आस पास के गांवों से परिचित होने का मौका मिलता है और प्रवास जीवन का अनुभव भी होता है। कौलों में ठीक इस समय यात्रा नामक त्यौहार मनाया जाता है जिस में तीर मारने की स्पर्धा करना प्रधान है।

कार्य के जरिये शिक्षा

यह सिद्धान्त पूज्य बापू नयी तालीम के रूप में हमारे सामने लाये परन्तु पहाड़ी किसान अपनी भविष्य संतानों को अनेक बरसों से इसी ढंग की शिक्षा दे रहा है। परन्तु उस के पास वह दृष्टि न होने के कारण उस परम्परा में जड़ता आ गयी है।

माता या पिता कन्या और पुत्र को घर की रसोई या खेती के बारे में कभी हमारे जैसी पद्धति से नहीं सिखाते। वह उन को एक दम रसोई या खेती के काम में डाल कर उन के पास रह कर अपना काम करते रहते हैं जहां भूल चूक हो जाती है वहां उन को बता देते हैं। लड़की और लड़का उन के जरिये से उपयुक्त ग्रहणी और उपयुक्त अच्छा किसान बन जाता है।

जानी-भुआ, देहूरी या किसी विशेषज्ञ द्वारा शिक्षा

पहाड़ी किसानों में कुछ कला या विशेष उद्योग सीखने में उद्योग "कोठघर, मंडघर", "भेंडियाघर" या "घांगड़ी घर" आज कल के जैसे मदरसों का काम करता है। जानी भुआ, देहूरीयों को पहाड़ी किसान अपने पुरोहित और गृह वैध के रूप में मानते हैं। इसी लिये ये लोग इतिहासक बनऔषधियों से काफी परिचित हैं। कोई कोई लोग अच्छे सुनार और लोहार का काम भी जानते हैं। इसी लिये कभी कभी कुछ उत्साही नौजवान ऊपर लिखित गांव के सर्वसाधारण घर में इकट्ठे हो कर उस से उस की खूबियां सीखते हैं। संथाल समाज में कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो कि गांव गांव में घूम कर लोक कथाओं का प्रचार करते हैं जिस के जरिये संथालों का इतिहास और देव देवियों का ज्ञान उन के आगे आने वाले नौजवानों को पता लगता रहता है।

कांघ में युवक और युवतियों के लिए जो भेंडिया घर रहते हैं उस में एक बूढ़ और बूढ़ी के जरिये उन को धर्म बातायें और ज्ञान विज्ञान की शिक्षा मिलती रहती है। यह शिक्षा लोक कथायों के रूप में वह बूढ़ा बूढ़ी इन के धामन रखती है।

वर्तमान चलने वाली शिक्षा का तुलनात्मक विचार

जब १९४६ में करीब करीब सब प्रान्तों में कांग्रेस ने अपनी सरकार बनायी उस समय सब प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने पहाड़ी किसानों की उन्नति के लिये सोच विचार करना शुरु किया और पूज्य ठक्कर बापा से सलाह मांगी। इस से पहले ब्रिटिश

सरकार ने पहाड़ी-किसानों के अंचल को सुरक्षित अंचल बना कर मिशनरियों के सिवाय और दूसरों को नहीं छोड़ते थे। ठक्कर बापा ने पश्चिम भारत और मध्य प्रदेश के पहाड़ी किसानों के लिये दो योजनाएँ बना कर सरकार को दीं। उड़ीसा-सरकार ने १९३५ में कांग्रेस सरकार के वक्त ठक्कर बापा के नेतृत्व में एक कमेटी बनायी थी। जिस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पहुंचने के पहले कांग्रेस निर्देश के अनुसार १९३९ में मंत्रित्व से इस्तीफा दे दिया था। उस वक्त इस रिपोर्ट का विचार नहीं हो सका। १९४९ में नई सरकार ने उस पर सोचा और संघठन विभाग के नीचे पहाड़ी किसानों की उन्नति के लिये एक विभाग खोला जिस के लिये एक स्वतन्त्र मंत्री बनाये गये। उस समय श्री लक्ष्मीकान्त जी को सलाह देने के लिये बुलाया गया था। उन्होंने ने सारा उड़ीसा घूम कर सलाह दी थी।

इन सब योजनाओं पर विचार करने से मुख्यतः तीन बातें उन में जान पड़ती हैं, १ शिक्षा, २ आर्थिक उन्नति, ३ स्वास्थ्य, स्वास्थ्य पर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया गया है। उन की सामाजिक व्यवस्था के साथ यह योजना नहीं बैठती है। क्योंकि इन योजनाओं में ऐसा ही मान लिया गया है कि हम शिक्षित हैं और पहाड़ी किसान लोग शिक्षित हो जाने से हमारे साथ मिल जायेंगे। परन्तु यह कुछ अति भावुकता जैसी बात है। पहाड़ी किसानों में बहुत अच्छे गुण हैं। जो कि अब चलने वाली शिक्षा पद्धति के जरिये उन में से नष्ट हो जाते हैं। इस शिक्षा पद्धति में दो बड़े दोष हैं : कार्य कर्ता की दृष्टि के अभाव और पद्धति में दोष और योजना में दया की भावना।

शिक्षा के लिये करीब करीब सब प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने बहुत संस्थायें निकालीं। अनेक मुफ्त छात्रावास निकाले। अनेकों को वृत्ति दे कर उन को शिक्षा दिलाई। परन्तु यह सब तथाकथित शिक्षित लोग उन के अच्छे अच्छे रीति रिवाजों से घृणा करने लगे और अपने को साधारण पहाड़ी किसानों से अच्छा समझने लगे। दूसरी तरफ मध्यकी सभाज में अपने को छोटे समझ कर हमेशा दबे रहे जिस के

कारण यह शिक्षित पहाड़ी किसान लोग न घर के रहे न घाट के। इस से एक तीसरे समाज की सृष्टि होने जैसे मालूम हुई। इस का कारण यह है कि यह पहाड़ी किसान लोग जिस संस्था में पड़े उस संस्था को चलाने वालों में पहाड़ी किसानों की संस्कृति के लिये श्रद्धा नहीं थी जिस के कारण वे पहाड़ी किसानों में रहते हुए भी उन से घृणा करते थे। ये साधारणतया सरकार की ओर से चलने वाली करीब करीब सब संचालकों का मानस है।

एक दफा मुझे एक आश्रमी स्कूल के प्रधान शिक्षक को मिलने का अवसर मिला। उन की संस्था में सरकार करीब तीस हजार रुपया खर्च कर चुकी थी परन्तु संस्था की अवस्था और लड़कों की अवस्था कुछ अच्छी नहीं दीख पड़ती थी। जब मैं ने उन से कारण पूछा तब उन्होंने ने बताया "मैं क्या करूं ये तो शिक्षा का महत्व नहीं समझते, जंगली लोग हैं। कंद और फूल दूढ़ने के लिये अपने लड़कों को जंगल में भेजते हैं। मैं क्या करूं।" यदि इस शिक्षक की दृष्टि साफ होती तो उस को दिखाई पड़ता कि उन में जो गरीबी है उन को दूर करने से यह संस्था चल सकती है। तब यह संस्था में चुप नहीं बैठ सकता था परन्तु उन की आर्थिक अवस्था बदलने के लिये जरूर कोशिश करता। यह तो आम अवस्था है।

अब हम उड़ीसा के संस्था के संचालकों के बारे में सोचें तो यह चित्र और भी स्पष्ट हो जायेगा। उड़ीसा में शिक्षा विभाग को दो भाग में विभक्त किया गया। १ साधारण शिक्षा, २ नयी तालीम। परन्तु उड़ीसा के टी० आर० एन० डिपार्टमेंट ने यह दोनों शिक्षाओं में किसी को भी पसन्द न होने के कारण पहाड़ी किसानों के लिये एक तीसरी संस्था निकाली गई है।

इन में दो विभाग हैं—१ आश्रमी स्कूल, २ सेवाश्रम। आश्रमी स्कूल, सेवाश्रमों में दिन में पढ़ने वाले लड़कों को स्लेट पेनसिल दे कर पढ़ाया जाता है। आश्रमी स्कूलों में लड़कों को खाना

पहचना सब दे कर पढ़ाया जाता है। इस में लड़कों को खादी, सुनारी का काम, लोहारी का काम और खेती सिखाई जाती है। इस का पाठ्यक्रम चार साल का है। पहाड़ी और ग्राम मंगल विभाग का कहना है कि इस संस्था में लड़कों को (मिडल) मध्यम तक शिक्षा मिलेगी परन्तु इस के आगे इस शिक्षा के लिये कोई मान्यता नहीं है। इसी लिये इस में इतनी सुविधा होते हुए भी लड़कों की कमी दीखती है।

सब से बड़े दोष इस पद्धति में है कि लड़कों में शिक्षा के लिए लालच पैदा नहीं किया जाता है बल्कि रुपये के लिये होता है। क्योञ्चर के सूबे कादी में एक आश्रम स्कूल है और उस के सिवाय सेवाश्रम, रात्रि विद्यालय भी है। परन्तु किसी में एक भी लड़का नहीं आता बल्कि उन के माता पिता अपने अपने गांव में छोटी छोटी पाठशालाओं के शिक्षकों को पैसा दे कर अपने लड़कों को पढ़वाते हैं। कारण यह है कि यहां के आदिवासी भुंया जुआंग लोग समझत हैं कि हम तो पीडु (हर साल जंगल एक एक विभाग जला कर उस में खेती करना) खेती करते हैं। शायद उस को ही बन्द करने के लिये सरकार हम को खिला पिला कर पढ़वाती है, एक दफा एक भुंया ने क्योञ्चर के प्रचार विभाग के कार्यकर्ता से पूछा था कि बाबू हम तो गरीब है, १५ रुपये महीना दे कर मेरे लड़के को आप ने पढ़वाया अब तो वह स्कूल से आ गया है अब उस को कितना रुपया मिलेगा। यह सब प्रश्न इस लिये उठता है कि उन को ठीक तरह से सब चीख नहीं समझाई जाती।

यह तो सरकारी तंत्र का दोष रहा है परन्तु हम सब जो सुधारक रूप में इन के भीतर जाते हैं तो हम सब यह समझते हैं कि हम सब बहुत शिक्षित हैं और उन को सब कुछ सिखायेंगे। यह भावना हमारे लिये बहुत खतरनाक होती है। जिस के कारण हम उन में जो खूबी है, उस को पहचान नहीं सकते हैं। उन में जो दोष हैं वह हमारे सामने आते हैं जिस के कारण हम उन को घृणा करते करते उन से दूर हो जाते हैं। पहाड़ी किसानों में अनेक

जिस्म की बोलियां होती हैं जैसे गोंडों की गोंडी और भीलों की भीली है। उड़ीसा में इस प्रकार की ४३ बोलियां हैं। हम जिन पहाड़ी किसानों के साथ रहते हैं उन की भाषा न सीखने से उन के न की बात नहीं जान सकते हैं। इस विषय में क्रिश्चियन मिशनरी हम से बहुत आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। ये जिस प्रदेश में जाते हैं पहले उस प्रदेश की भाषा सीख लेते हैं। हम समाज सुधारकों में एक बड़ा दोष है कि हम अपनी चिन्ताधारा पहाड़ी किसानों पर हमेशा लाद देते हैं। इस का एक अच्छा स्वरूप गुजरात के बेडछी आश्रम के काम से ले सकते हैं। इस आश्रम में करीब तीस साल से रानी परजों के अन्दर (जो कि पहले कभी परज कहलाये जाते थे) सुधार का काम लिया है। इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है। आश्रम के कारण इन रानी परजों में काफी परिवर्तन आया है जो कि आज भी स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ता है। परन्तु कुछ रूढ़िवादियों ने रानी परजों के आनंद और खाद्य में परिवर्तन ला कर उन के जीवन मान में कुछ कमजोरी लायी है। जैसे चैतन्य के वैष्णव धर्म प्रचार करने के कारण उड़ीसा और बंगालियों में अति प्रेम के कारण कुछ शिथिलता आ गई है इस से ही हमारे प्रचार कभी उन में शिथिलता और कमजोरी न लावे, इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिये।

यह हम को मानना होगा भारत में क्रिश्चियन मिशनरियों ने हमारे पहाड़ी किसान भाइयों में बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। आज पहाड़ी किसानों में जितने शिक्षित हैं वह उन की ही देन है ऐसा ही मानना पड़ेगा परन्तु इन्होंने पहाड़ी किसानों में सभ्यता के नाम पर जो पोशाक की सफाई दे दी जिस के कारण आज क्रिश्चियन पहाड़ी किसानों में बहुत व्यभिचार आ गया है उस से उन को बचाने के लिए हर एक समाज सुधारक को सोचना चाहिये।

पहाड़ी किसानों के अपने निजी चाल चलन और वर्तमान शिक्षा सुधारकों के जरिये चलने वाली संस्थाओं की अवस्था देखते हैं तब हमारे सामने

प्रश्न आता है कि आगे के लिये क्या किया जाय। इस प्रश्न के उत्तर के लिये हमारे सामने दो किस्म की चिन्ता धारणें दीख पड़ती हैं एक कुछ मानव शास्त्रियों का विचार है कि उन में जो अच्छे गुण हैं उन को स्थायी रखने के लिये उन को इस तथाकथित सभ्यता से दूर रखा जाय और मानव शास्त्र के भविष्यत पीढ़ी के लिए अध्ययन की सुविधा से इस के लिये भी उन में कुछ परिवर्तन होना ठीक नहीं होगा। जब ये लोग यह बात बोलते हैं तो भूल जाते हैं कि करीब करीब २॥ करोड़ आदिमियों को अजायब घर के जीव बना कर हमारी सभ्यता कितने दिन तक टिक सकती है। ऐतिहासिक नियम भी बताता है यदि हम इन की अवस्था में परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे तो यह खुद अपनी अवस्था परिवर्तित करेंगे, भले ही इस परिवर्तन के लिए रूस विप्लव जैसे रक्त विप्लव का दर्शन करना पड़े।

दूसरी विचारधारा जो कि ज्यादातर बुध्दार्थों की है कि हमें तो उन की आर्थिक सामाजिक दशा परिवर्तन करना ही है परन्तु अब तक जैसे चला उस में हम ने उन में जो गुण हैं उन की ओर ध्यान बहुत कम दिया है अब तो परिवर्तन के लिये जो शिक्षा पद्धति होगी वह बहुत सावधानी से बनानी पड़ेगी जिस के द्वारा उन में उन का जो अच्छा गुण है वह विद्यमान रहे और अब की सम्यता में जो भलाई शिक्षा पद्धति में है उस को वे सीखें। इस ढंग से सोचने वाला पहाड़ी किसानों की संस्कृति के अच्छे ज्ञाता फादर एल्वीन ने अपने "Loss of Nerves" में उन्होंने ने अपना विचार रखा। परन्तु आखिर कौसी शिक्षा हो उस के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। "गांधी जी की बुनियादी तालीम पहाड़ी किसानों के लायक है" वैसे बहुत दबी जवान से कह कर यह राजनैतिक दल की शिक्षा है इसी लिये यह अयोग्य है कह कर आगे बढ़ा। पूज्य ठक्कर बापा ने अपनी बनाई हुई करीब करीब सब योजनाओं में बुनियादी तालीम का जिक्र किया है और कहा है कि जब तक उस का असली रूप नहीं बनता है तब तक उद्योग युक्त साधारण शिक्षा पहाड़ी किसानों को देने की सिफारिश की।

पहाड़ी किसानों की शिक्षा कैसे हो उस के बारे में जबलपुर कालेज के प्रोफेसर नायक ने एक लेख में बहुत अच्छी तरह से बताया है उस में उन्होंने ने शिक्षा प्रणाली की तीन कसौटी बनायीं।

- I. To conserve and develop whatever is good in aboriginal religion and Institution.
- II. So to equip the aboriginals that he will be able not only to defend himself against those elements of civilization that threaten to destroy or degrade him but also to take his place in this rapidly changing world and make it his contribution to it.
- III. To improve his economic condition.

इन तीन कसौटियों में वर्तमान की साधारण शिक्षा और उड़ीसा के आश्रम और सेवाश्रम की शिक्षा किसी को भी ठीक नहीं जंचती है यदि कोई अंचली है तो वह बुनियादी तालीम है जिस को बापू ने सब भाइयों के लिये बताया।

बुनियादी तालीम ही क्यों ?

बुनियादी तालीम में जो बुनियादी तत्व है उस को हम तीन बातों में रख सकते हैं :—१. प्रेम.
२. उद्योग ३. समवाय (co-relation)।

प्रेम के जरिये हम उन के अन्दर जो अच्छे अच्छे भाव हैं उस को बढ़ावा देते हुए हमारे बीच में जो अच्छे संस्कार हैं उस को हम उन में डाल सकते हैं। उद्योग जो कि अनुपादक तथा जीवन निर्वाह करने के योग्य हो उस को बढ़ावा दे कर उन में जो स्वावलंबन प्रवृत्ति है उस को आगे बढ़ाना जिस के जरिये उन में अपनी संस्कृति के लिए सम्मान और श्रद्धा रहेगी। समवाय जो कि बुद्धि और काम, शाला और समाज, विद्यार्थी और शिक्षकों में हमेशा रहने से पहाड़ी किसानों में जो हीन प्रवृत्तियां हैं वह नष्ट हो जायेंगी।

पूज्य बापू जब बुनियादी तालीम की बात कहते थे तब उन के सामने सिर्फ बच्चों के लिये विद्यालय नहीं था। वह तो बोलते थे “बच्चे मां की गोद में आने से ले कर फिर भूमी माता की गोद में जाने तक ही बुनियादी तालीम जारी रहेगी।” पहाड़ी किसानों में बुनियादी तालीम अब भी जारी है क्योंकि वे किताबों से शिक्षा न ले कर कर्म और समाज के पदार्थ पाठ में ही सीखते हैं। यह शिक्षा और उन का समाज एक ही मौलिकता पर खड़ा है। वह श्रम है। हमें लंबी बनना है परन्तु ये लोग जिनमें स्वावलंबन की वृत्ति है और कहा जाय तो बिल्कुल साफ दिमाग वाले (clear state) हैं इन के लिये कोई दूसरी किस्म की शिक्षा सोचना अनुचित नहीं बल्कि पाप होगा। अब जो शिक्षा चल रही है साधारण के लिए अलग और पहाड़ी किसानों के लिए अलग यह शिक्षा पद्धति हमें हमेशा दो विभागों में विभक्त कर देती है परन्तु पूज्य बापू की बुनियादी तालीम ऐसी एक माता है जो कि हमारे अक्षर ज्ञान और उन के अनुभव ज्ञान और श्रम शक्ति को मिला देगी।

बुनियादी तालीम के कुछ पहलू.—बुनियादी तालीम को जब हम जीवन की शिक्षा मान लेते हैं तो यह उचित होगा कि उस के सब पहलुओं पर विचार करें। अब तक इस को छः विभागों में विभक्त किया गया है यथा : १. शिशु घर. २. पूर्व बुनियादी शाला. ३. बुनियादी तालीम ४. अन्तर बुनियादी तालीम ५. उच्च शिक्षा ६. प्रौढ़ शिक्षा। जब हम पहाड़ी किसानों में नयी तालीम की बात सोचते हैं तब हमें यह ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि हर एक गांव में विशेष कर पहाड़ी किसानों के गांव में कभी एक एक केन्द्र नहीं हो सकेगा क्योंकि ये लोग बहुत छोटे छोटे मुहल्ले बना कर अपने जमीन के नजदीक ही बसते हैं। पहाड़ी किसानों में हमेशा एक गुटबन्दी या दलवाद रहा है। क्योंकि उन में हर एक दल की अपनी अपनी भाषा और चाल चलन अलग होता है। इसलिये अलग अलग गुट के लोग एक एक निर्दिष्ट प्रदेश में बसते हैं जैसे उड़ीसा के जुआंग भुंया कोल्ह मौर,

अपने अपने निर्दिष्ट प्रदेश में रहते हैं। हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि कम से कम शिशुघर पूर्व बुनियादी तालीम और प्रौढ़ शिक्षा या चार किस्म के नई तालीम केन्द्र हर एक गुठ में होने चाहियें।

शिशुघर.—बच्चे पैदा होने के बाद समस्त भारत के गांवों में उन का ठीक ढंग से पालन नहीं किया जाता है। उस के दो कारण हैं एक तो गरीबी दूसरा अज्ञानता। भारत में करीब ३५ प्रति शत लड़की और लड़के अपने छोटे भाई बहिनों की देख भाल करने के कारण अपने बचपन में पढ़ नहीं सकते। यदि यह छोटे भाई बहिन को छोड़ कर शाला में आयें तो उन की मातायें मजदूरी करने नहीं जा सकतीं इस लिये आस पास के दो तीन गांव अर्थात् करीब षेड़ सौ परिवारों में एक शिशुघर होना चाहिये। जहां गांव के सब शिशुओं को पौष्टिक आहार और एक से वातावरण में पढ़ने की सहूलियत होगी जिस के जरिये भविष्य में मंत्री भाव बढ़ेगा। इस घर के जरिये माताओं को अरोग्यता के बारे में भी शिक्षा दी जा सकती है। इसलिये यह अच्छा होगा कि शिशुघर के साथ मातृ, मंगल केन्द्र हो या शिशु घर चलाने वाली बहन दोनों संस्थाओं को चलाने की योग्यता रखें।

पूर्व बुनियादी शाला.—शिशुघर में शिशु के जन्म से तीन साल तक देख भाल करने की व्यवस्था रहेगी। इस के बाद तीन साल से सात साल तक की शिक्षा पूर्व बुनियादी शाला में होगी। इस में बच्चों को दुनिया के व्यवहारिक ज्ञान से परिचित करा कर भविष्य में आने वाले संसार की अनुमति दी जायेगी। इस शाला के जरिये उन के बौद्धिक और शारीरिक विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया जायेगा। इसी लिये इस शाला में नाश्ता देने का बन्दोबस्त रहेगा। हरेक शिशुघर के पास एक पूर्व बुनियादी शाला रहना अच्छा है।

बुनियादी शाला.—यहां का पाठ्यक्रम सात साल का होगा। यहां बच्चों को सात साल से चौदह साल तक पढ़ाया जायेगा। यहां तक कि

शिक्षा सब के लिए अनिवार्य होनी चाहिये सब गांवों में ऐसी शाला हो जाए तो बेहतर है। परन्तु यह शाला सब गांवों में नहीं चल सकती इसी लिये इस ७ साल के शिक्षा क्रम को दो भागों में विभक्त कर दें। यथा: कनिष्ठ नयी तालीम और बलिष्ठ नई तालीम हैं। कनिष्ठ नयी तालीम की शिक्षा की अवधि तीन साल और बलिष्ठ शिक्षा पद्धति के कार्यक्रम की अवधि ४ साल की रहेगी। इसी लिये प्रत्येक तीन सौ परिवारों में एक कनिष्ठ नई तालीम शाला और हजार परिवारों में एक बलिष्ठ नई तालीमशाला रहेगी। इन शालाओं का पाठ्य-क्रम नयी तालीम मंथ के द्वारा निर्धारित पाठ्यक्रम ही होगा।

प्रौढ़ शिक्षा केंद्र—यह एक गुट के लिए एक चलती फिरती संस्था होनी चाहिये जिस के पास एक मैजिक लालटन रहेगा और खेती बाड़ी, स्वास्थ्य, वर्तमान के सामन के कुछ Slides रहेंगे जिस के जरिये यह संस्था सारे गुट को नागरिकता और धंधों के विज्ञान से परिचित करायेगी। इस के सिवाय शिशुघर से ले कर बलिष्ठ नयी तालीम तक चलाने वाले सब शिक्षकों को प्रौढ़ शिक्षा चलाना होगा।

बुनियादी तालीम की विशेषता—इस शिक्षा में कई विशेषतायें हैं उस में सब से बड़ी स्वावलंबन है। गांधी जी उस पर बहुत जोर देते थे क्योंकि अब भारत में जो शिक्षा चल रही है वह सरकार के आबकारी विभाग पर चरती है। दूसरी भाषा में कहें तो यह कहा जा सकता है लड़के को पढ़ाना हो तो पिता को शराबी होना चाहिये। कई बार गांधी जी ने इस पर लेख लिखे हैं। हरिजन सेवक के १८ सितम्बर ३३ अंक में महादेव भाई देसाई ने स्वावलंबन के बारे में गांधी जी ने एक भाई के साथ जो चर्चा की थी उस का सारांश लिखते हुए लिखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान के गांव की आवश्यकता देखते हुए अगर हमें शिक्षा को अनिवार्य बनाना है तो हमें अवश्य ही अपनी ग्राम शिक्षा को स्वावलंबी बनाना चाहिये। यह बात पहाड़ी किसानों के लिये बहुत मुद्दे की चीज है।

हमें इस की ओर उन का ध्यान खींच कर उन की बुनियादी शाला को स्वावलंबी बनाना चाहिये जिस से वह शराब से बच सकें। साधारण शिक्षा बच्चों को एक पंगु कर देती है परन्तु बुनियादी तालीम चौदह साल के बच्चे को स्वावलंबी बना कर राष्ट्र को दे देती है। इस के बारे में गांधी जी से एक सज्जन ने पूछा था कि स्वावलंबन क्यों? गांधी जी ने इस का उत्तर देते हुए कहा था कि "सात वर्ष का शिक्षा क्रम समाप्त करने के बाद बच्चों को एक कमाई इकाई की तरफ दृष्टि डालनी चाहिये। अभी भी गरीब आदमियों के बच्चे अपने माता पिता को सहारा देते हैं। यह स्वयं एक शिक्षा है। आप की शिक्षा का महत्व है कि आप शिक्षा भी देते हैं। साथ साथ बेकारी की जड़ काट देते हैं।" यह बुनियादी लक्षण पहाड़ी किसानों में अभी भी है।

इस शिक्षा में दूसरी विशेषता यह है कि समवाय है। पूज्य बापू ने अनुभव कर लिया था कि आज कल की शिक्षा एकांगी और पंगु है। उन को अच्छी तरह से मालूम था आज के शिक्षक के साथ छात्र का सम्बन्ध शाला के साथ समाज का सम्बन्ध नहीं सा है। इसी लिये उन्होंने ने जोर दिया था। उन को यह भी जान पड़ा था कि श्रम और बुद्धि के समवाय न होने से जीवन का विकास असम्भव सा है। इसलिये उन्होंने ने गीता की वाणी "योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्" को नयी तालीम में समवाय के सूत्र पर डाल दिया। नयी तालीम में छात्र और शिक्षक के सम्बन्ध, समाज और शाला के सम्बन्ध, कर्म और बुद्धि के सम्बन्ध अटूट हैं। बुनियादी तालीम के विद्यार्थी आत्मा और स्वास्थ्य दोनों में विकसित होते हैं। साधारण शिक्षा के विद्यार्थी दोनों ओर से घिरे हुए होते हैं। पहाड़ी किसानों में श्रम है इसलिये स्वास्थ्य है ही। बुनियादी तालीम ही उन के स्वास्थ्य, बुद्धि और आत्मा का विकास कर सकती है।

शिक्षा का माध्यम—पहाड़ी किसानों के लिए यह एक बड़ा भारी प्रश्न है क्योंकि उन के हर एक गुट के लिये अलग अलग बोली रहती है।

परन्तु किसी को भी लिपि नहीं आती। अब आदिवासी महा सभा की ओर से एक सांथाली लिपि बनाई गई है जो कि कुछ शिक्षित संथालों तक ही सीमित है। ठीक इसी प्रकार मिशनरियों ने, रोमन लिपि में उन बोलियों को लिपिबद्ध किया है जिस के जरिये कुछ अंग्रेजी जानने वाले लोग उन की बोली सीख सकते हैं।

इन का माध्यम क्या हो इस के विषय में दो विचारधारायें हैं। एक है राष्ट्र लिपि उन की लिपि हो, दूसरा है प्रान्तीय लिपि उन की लिपि हो। राष्ट्र लिपि उन की लिपि होने से यह प्रान्तों में एक अलग गुट बन जायेंगे और प्रान्तीय भाषा में चलने वाली प्रान्तीय सरकार की सब सूचनाओं से दूर रह जायेंगे। इस लिये यह उचित होगा जिन के पड़ोस में वह रहते हैं जिस बोली के जरिये वे अपने गांव और अपने बाजार में कारोबार करते हैं उस पड़ोसी लिपि को सीखना उन के लिए तो आसान तो होगा ही परन्तु सिखाने वाले को इस मर्यादा को अच्छी तरह समझ लेना चाहिये।

गांधी जी हमेशा शिक्षा का माध्यम मातृ भाषा हो इस पर जोर देते थे। पिछले दिनों में काका कालेलकर ने सेवाग्राम में एक दीक्षांत भाषण में "शिक्षा में मातृ भाषा का स्थान" पर शिक्षार्थियों की दृष्टि आकर्षित करते हुए एक सिंधी लड़के का उदाहरण दिया जो उन के पास मिलने आया था। उन्होंने ने बताया "जब तक मैं उस बच्चे को हिन्दी में पूछता था तब तक वह मेरी तरफ मुंह नहीं फिराता था। परन्तु जब मैं सिंधी में बोला तब वह हंसते हुए मेरे पास आया" यह एक ध्यान देने वाली बात है। ठीक पहाड़ी किसानों में भी यही अवस्था है। इसलिये कनिष्ठ बुनियादी शाला की पढ़ाई प्रान्तीय लिपि और गुट की बोली से होनी चाहिये। बलिष्ठ बुनियादी शाला में प्रान्तीय भाषा का पूरा अध्ययन और हिन्दी की जानकारी होना जरूरी है। अब तक पहाड़ी किसानों में जो शिक्षा हुई है उन का माध्यम न होने से हमेशा वे दबे हुए मालूम पड़ते हैं।

शिक्षक कैसा होना चाहिये—सब शिक्षाओं में शिक्षक का स्थान बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। परन्तु नयी तालीम में शिक्षक कुंजी जैसा है। क्योंकि इस शिक्षा में शिक्षक को लड़कों का हृदय पहचान कर उन की मांग जान कर उन को सिखाना पड़ता है। अन्य शिक्षाओं में कोर्स दिया जाता है। नयी तालीम के शिक्षक को हमेशा विकासशील ही रहना चाहिये। नयी तालीम में शिक्षक का काम लोटे जैसा है। जैसे हम कुएं में से पानी निकाल कर पीते हैं ऐसे ही ज्ञान रूपी कुएं में से शिक्षक रूपक लोटे को ज्ञानरूपी पानी ले कर लड़कों की ज्ञान पिपासा मिटानी पड़ती है। पहाड़ी किसानों में नई तालीम चलाने वाले शिक्षक को हमेशा छात्र की वृत्ति में रहना चाहिये और उद्योग में कर्मठ होना चाहिये जिस के पहिले कर्मठ पहाड़ी किसानों में उस का प्रभाव पड़े। उस को पहाड़ी किसानों की बोली जरूर आनी ही चाहिये।

शिक्षक के लिये ये जो बातें कही गईं ये तो आम संस्थाओं के लिए हैं परन्तु उस की नई तालीम शिक्षक एक आदर्श वृत्त मानने वाला और जीवन में उस को पालने की श्रद्धा रखने वाला होना चाहिये। ऐसे शिक्षक बहुत कम मिलेंगे। परन्तु उन के जरिये चलाई गई नयी तालीम ही सच्ची नई तालीम होगी। सरकार को ऐसे शिक्षक ढूँढ कर उन को संस्था चलाने की सहूलियत दे कर उन को संस्था चलाने में सहायता करनी चाहिये। बम्बई सरकार ने गांधी जी के देहान्त के बाद गांधी जी की विचारधाराओं को लोगों में अमल करने के लिए "सर्वोदय योजना" नाम की एक योजना निकाली। इस योजना के केन्द्र हर एक जिले में हैं और यहां एक एक योजना चलती है। इस योजना की विशेषता यही है कि कार्यकर्ता स्थानिक की परिस्थितियों के अनुसार योजना बनाना है और सरकार उस की जरूरत के अनुसार रुपया दे देती है। इस योजना के रुपये का हिसाब जांच करने के लिए सरकार ने अपने सहकारी विभाग के कर्मचारियों को सौंपा है। कार्यकर्ताओं को स्वाधीनता देने से यह दीख

पड़ता है कि मुम्बई (Bombay) राज्य सरकार के पिछड़े हुए जातियों की उन्नति विभाग से इस का काम कुछ आगे बढ़ा हुआ है। इसी लिये पहाड़ी किसानों में सरकार की ओर से चलने वाली संस्थाओं के मार्ग प्रदर्शन कराने के लिये सरकार को हर एक प्रान्त में जो गैर सरकारी संस्थायें हैं उन को पूरी पूरी मदद देनी चाहिये।

जब हमारी सरकार ने यह निश्चित किया है कि हम १० साल में अपने पहाड़ी किसानों को सुसभ्य और सुसंस्कृत करवा कर अपने जैसा पूरा पूरा नागरिक अधिकार को अमल करने वाला बना देंगे तब इस के लिये बापू जी की बुनियादी तालीम ही एक मात्र उपाय है। इस के साथ साथ हमें यह भी

ख्याल रखना उचित होगा कि सिर्फ भावना और हृष्या से हम अपने पहाड़ी किसानों को अपना नहीं सकेंगे। उस के लिए उन की संस्कृति में जो अच्छी अच्छी प्रवृत्तियां हैं उन को हमें अपनाना होगा और उन में जो बुरी प्रवृत्तियां हैं उन को हटाने के लिये उन से घृणा न कर के उन के पास जा कर उन को अपना कर छुड़ाना होगा। इस सब के लिये हमें दिलेर समग्र दृष्टि वाले कार्यकर्त्ताओं की जरूरत है। यदि हम बापू जी के बनाये हुए बुनियादी तालीम के जरिये उन को अपना नहीं सके तब उन में जो संघटन, जो श्रम शक्ति है वह बुद्धि विहीन हो कर कभी कभी खराब रास्ते में जा कर हम सबों के लिये हानिकारक सिद्ध होगा।

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Tribal Economy

Shri R. S. Malayappan, Special Agency Development Officer, Kakinada, Madras

OF all the subjects proposed for discussion at the forthcoming conference of social workers, anthropologists, etc., tribal economy is the most important one. The present economic condition of the majority of the tribals in the scheduled Areas of the Madras State (Commonly known as Agency Tracts) which is mainly responsible for their present ignorance and illiteracy is so appalling that without first effecting some improvement in their economy we cannot expect ready response from them to any other ameliorative and developmental schemes that we may be starting for their benefit. I am strongly of opinion that top-most priority should be given to their economic development in any ameliorative and developmental measures that may be taken by the Government. There is no untouchability or other serious social disability attached to them as in the case of the Harijans in the plains and hence when once their economic condition is improved, all other ills will disappear.

I propose to deal with the tribal economic under three heads *viz.* (1) Tribal Economy in the past (2) the present Economic Condition and (3) Future plan for their economic rehabilitation.

Tribal economy in the past

The economic condition of the tribals in the past should have been very sound as has been stated by the various anthropologists. There were plenty of rainfall and good soil for cultivation. Whatever was produced remained within the tribal areas as there was no proper communication to the plains and consequently there was no exploitation worth mentioning by the plains sowcars or money lenders and there was plenty of food of different varieties for them. Their sound economy was evidenced by the fact that they were

able to rise in rebellion against the British Government in what were called fituries now and then, and to hold themselves against the Government forces for a number of years, the latest being the one led by Seetharamaraju in Gudem Agency in the early twenties of this century.

Present Economic condition of Tribes

During the last three or four decades there has been considerable deterioration in the tribal economy in many parts of the Agency tracts of the Madras State. The increase of population on the adjoining plains had made many a plainsman immigrate into the tribal area for trade, money-lending and other purposes, which had been facilitated by the opening up of roads connecting the Agency with the plains and even among the backward tribes there had arisen a set of petty traders like Valmikies who used to purchase surplus produce in the interior agency and sell them in the plains shandies and carry on trade from the plains to the interior agency. This was the beginning of the economic deterioration among the tribals though some of them had benefitted socially by this contact. The collectiveness in production and distribution that had once existed among them had gradually given way to individualism in all matters except in the social sphere where the caste-elders for their own selfish ends perpetuate their old traditions of caste panchayats to try social offenders, village festivals, games and dances. In this connection I may strike a note of warning that rapid road development in the tribal areas and throwing them open to all plainsmen without discrimination and without an improvement of the tribal economy will be a suicidal policy from the point of view of the tribal welfare.

The main cause for this economic deterioration is the heavy loss of land

which the tribes have sustained. The tribes whose main occupation is agriculture require small sums for the purchase of bullocks, implements, seeds, etc. They have to discharge certain social obligations which involve expenditure—marriage, death ceremony, communal feasts, purification ceremonies and caste tribals, etc. To meet all these exigencies the tribesman runs after debt which the plains sowcars or money lenders are ready to oblige at exorbitant rates of interest. By lending small sums the sowcars get the tribal lands alienated to them by some means or other. In this way in most areas all the best tribals lands have already passed into the hands of the plainsmen.

Large extents of the Agency tracts are still under what is called Muttadari system of administration. By this system, a number of villages are grouped into a 'Mutta' being kept in and watch and ward duty. Lands are not surveyed and the ryots are only tillers of the soil. They do not have absolute title over these lands. The Muttadar is the 'Defacto' ruler of the concerned Mutta and he wields utmost influence over the mass of the cultivators. The best available land is owned by him and the ryots have to till his land free with his yoke and cattle. The ryot has only occupancy and usufructuary rights over the land. In some areas the muttadars lease out lands to ryots once a year or once in three years. Such uncertainty of tenure does not encourage the hillmen to improve the lands.

As the land tenure is uncertain and there is restriction on the land transfers, the sowcars generally advance moneys or grains to the Hillmen on the security of the produce of their land or minor forest produce which they collect from the forests and recover at the next harvest at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times or double the quantities which they had lent. A major share of their produce or the minor forest produce collections they

have to measure out to these sowcars for past debts. What they are left with is not sufficient even for a few months in the year and besides resorting to eating unwholesome foods like wild roots, mango kernels, bamboo shoots, tamarind seeds, sago pith, etc., they cannot but go to the same sowcars for fresh advances of grains. In this way the vicious circle is going on.

In some areas with higher altitudes the hillmen raise very valuable commercial crops like ginger, turmeric and Pipalli (a root medicinal crop) with the result that their economic condition is slightly better than that of their brethren elsewhere.

Their economic condition can be improved, if improved methods of cultivation are introduced and Co-operative Marketing facilities provided for getting fair prices for their commercial crops and the forest produces collected by them.

The drink habit among the tribes is also another factor which is responsible for their poor economic condition. During toddy season i.e., for 3 or 4 months they will never think of hunting etc. Even women and children are not free from this evil. My considered opinion is that unless prohibition is introduced in the tribal areas it would be difficult or it would take a long time, to improve their economic and social condition. This measure however is to be introduced slowly and after much propaganda.

The clothing of the bulk of the scheduled tribes is miserable. Their scanty clothing which most often borders on indecency easily shows themselves off as hill tribes uninfluenced by the modern civilisation. The men throughout the agency except a few wear only lungotis (cowpenam) as their under-wear which they do not generally clean or wash. The women of the

Konda Reddies, Savaras and the Samanthus on the hills are almost half naked except while coming down to shandies when they put on some rags round their waists and shoulders. Adequate clothing is one of the primary wants of the hillmen. The plains merchants supply cloth (usually handloom) on credit, of course, without any security, in October or November and screw up exorbitant prices in kind at the time of next harvest. It is very rare to see mill cloth being sold anywhere in the Agency. My suggestion to get rid of this cloth famine and indecency among the tribals is to get large quantities of standard cloth of thick course cheap variety including dhoties and sarees with coloured borders manufactured by some mills and dump them on the tribal area until they become accustomed to wear adequate and decent clothing.

The hillmen live in groups of huts constructed separately for each tribe. In some parts hill tribes like the savaras construct their hutments in rows contiguous with each other with common walls, common roof and common frontage like the Barracks. If one enters into a hut of an average hillman, one can find nothing but a few mud pots, one or two seers of foodgrains like ragi or cholam which he had purchased or exchanged for his tamarind on the previous weekly shandy, one pot full of ragi gruel which his wife had already prepared for the whole day's food of the whole family. He cannot find any second set of clothes to the family except the rags on the person of the members of the family. Such a simple and careless folk are nowhere to be found on the plains.

Future Plan for the Economic Rehabilitation of the Tribes

(A) Prevention of Land alienation, etc.

The first thing to be done is to see that there is no further alienation of tribal land in favour of non-tribals.

The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act; (Madras Act I of 1947) which was intended to protect the tribal land from being alienated to non-tribals, had not materially helped the tribals. Its provisions should be tightened with a view to prevent any kind of land alienation in favour of non-tribals without the permission of the Government.

All the available Government lands in the Tribal Areas fit for cultivation should be resumed for assignment to the tribals during the next ten years and only after their needs are satisfied, the excess lands can be assigned to others.

(B) Prevention of Exploitation of Tribals by Plains Merchants, Contractors and Money-Lenders

Each State may enact a regulation under Para. 5 (2) of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India, bringing money lending either by plainmen or tribals under a licensing system, and fixing the maximum rate of interest chargeable on any debt at 6½ per cent. per annum. It is also necessary to make any violation of the regulation or the conditions of the licence a criminal offence as in the case of civil supplies control orders. By this system all undesirable persons can be kept out of the tribal areas.

The Government's Loans Rules should be liberalised so as to enable the grant of Government Loans for all agricultural and domestic purposes, such as marriage, funeral, etc., and for payment of old debts, upto a maximum of Rs. 500 in each case. There should be special officers for disbursing these loans. Their duties will be to visit every tribal village, enquire into the needs of the tribes, scale down their old debts in accordance with the Agriculturists Relief Act, grant loans for the various purposes mentioned above after summary enquiries and disburse them on the spot.

In most cases, loans will have to be granted on personal and collateral securities only. As all tribals are in general honest and truthful, there will be no fear of loss to Government.

A network of multipurpose co-operative societies, composed purely of tribals, should be started at different centres in the Agency, preferably in all shandy places with sub-depots at other places, whose functions will be:—

- (i) to market all the minor forest produce collected by the hillmen and their surplus grains and commercial crops.
- (ii) to sell them their daily needs which are not many—salt, dry fish, kerosene oil, cloth, etc., and foodgrains occasionally, and
- (iii) to provide easy credit facilities in lieu of or in addition to what the Government are going to do in this direction under the Loans Rules.

The tribals are mostly employed by the forest contractors for cutting and transporting timber, bamboos, etc., to the nearest road side or river side. They do hard labour but the contractors enjoy all the profits. It is therefore necessary that all forest coupes in the tribal areas should be worked through Co-operative Societies formed of hillmen, starting with bamboo coupes first and going to fuel and timber coupes later on—on the basis of the lease amounts for the previous 3 or 5 years or for negotiated rates of lease amounts.

There should be a standing order to the Forest Officers that all forest coupes in the tribal areas should be given only to the hill tribes societies wherever they exist and are willing to take up the work and that special orders of the Government should be obtained for any deviation to this general rule.

(C) Co-operative Land Colonies

It may, I think, be difficult to re-introduce the collective farming and

distribution which once existed among the tribes. The alternative is to form co-operative land colonies for them. Otherwise the hillmen may sell away the land or lease it out to the plainsmen clandestinely as is now happening in some parts of the Agency tracts. The financial assistance which may be given by the Government like subsidies and loans, etc., can be better given through co-operative Societies than by direct dealings with the colonists.

As the main occupation of the tribals is agriculture it should be our first aim to wean them from their pernicious "podu" cultivation and settle them in co-operative land colonies wherever large extents of plain lands are available. In every colony there should be an agricultural farm to actually demonstrate to the hillmen the improved methods of cultivation. In the matter of selection of settlers to colonies first preference should be given to the scheduled tribes and other indigenous castes of the Agency, especially those who are landless or "podu" cultivators. It is of prime importance to provide irrigation facilities to the colony lands wherever possible. To provide sufficient incentive to the settlers, besides meeting the initial reclamation charges and the cost of antimalarial operations, which it is quite essential to start well in advance to get the area rid of the malaria, concessions in the form of free grants of interest free advances towards share capital, purchase of seeds, agricultural implements and bulls, will have to be made.

(D) Improvement to existing irrigation sources and provision of new facilities wherever there are possibilities

In their attempts to uplift the tribals the Government should give the highest priority to irrigation schemes which benefit them. All the existing irrigation sources in the Agency tracts—whether Zamindari, Government or

Muttadari—which are in bad state of repairs should be put into proper order while at the same time steps should be taken to explore the possibilities of developing new irrigation sources in the tribal areas.

(E) *Development of Agriculture*

As the agriculture is their main occupation and as the tribes are following primitive methods, upto date methods of agriculture should be demonstrated to them by opening more agricultural demonstration units and pilot farms and by training a large number of hillmen owning lands at Government costs in Government Agricultural Farms for one Agricultural Season and making them run model farms on their own lands with Government subsidies for agricultural implements and seeds etc., and free advice from the departmental officers.

(F) *Cattle Breeding as a Source of Income*

There are excellent places in the Agency tracts where the hillmen can take to cattle breeding as a source of income. In these places green grass is available almost throughout the year. As however, their present cattle are of a stunted growth the Government should first improve the breed by supplying stud bulls in large numbers in selected localities and provide the tribals with additional facilities of finances and marketing through co-operative societies and technical advice through the departmental officers as regards preservation and protection of their cattle from wild beasts and diseases.

(G) *Cottage Industries which can add to the family income*

There are ample possibilities for the tribals to develop in due course with Government help one or more of the

following as cottage industries to add to their family income viz., (i) Spinning and weaving Khadi and Wool for their own consumption, (ii) Palm gur and Biscuit manufacture, (iii) Honey extraction through beehives, (iv) Sericulture (Mulberry cultivation and Tasser Silk Industry), (v) Beedi manufacture (Beedi leaves available), (vi) Match manufacture (Required wood available), (vii) Fibre and Coir making, (viii) Iron smelting, (ix) Poultry, (x) Piggery, (xi) Bamboo mat and basket making, (xii) Soap manufacture, and (xiii) Sheep rearing (woolly varieties of Mandya, Bellary and Nilgiri sheep).

The Government must train batches of people in the above cottage industries and after training start them on these industries with subsidies and loans for initial capital expenses.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have to say that I have listed out some of the methods in Chapter IV above by which a sound tribal economy can be realised. We require, for this purpose, large funds and a special administrative set up with officers and social workers gifted with special qualifications required for the work. In my opinion persuasion and propaganda alone will not do if we want to effect real improvement in the economic condition of the tribals in the quickest time possible. Some mild and wholesome pressure will be necessary for this as in any other good reforms. So far as the Madras State is concerned I am not aware of any efficient non-official organisation to undertake any of the schemes intended for the benefit of the tribals. The whole work should, I think, be done under the Government's control and it will take a considerable number of years to show substantial results as tribals are very slow to new ideas.

Shri P. G. Vanikar, Honorary State Organiser, Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh

THE economic condition of the tribals is very backward and call for an immediate attention and sustained efforts to give them proper relief and also to direct them in such a manner so that they may be economically better off. I will here in this paper put up before you certain suggestions for the betterment of the economic conditions of the tribal people.

To my mind the tribes in Madhya Pradesh can be broadly divided into 4 groups, namely:—

- (i) extremely primitive tribes living in original forest habitat.
- (ii) tribal communities who have adopted agriculture and other occupations but are still closely connected with forests.
- (iii) tribes who have migrated to semi-urban or rural areas where they are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations.
- (iv) totally assimilated tribals living in urban or semi-urban areas.

The economic problem of each group of these tribes is distinct from the other. It is, therefore, necessary to study the economic problems facing each of these tribal groups separately.

(I) Extremely primitive tribes living in original forest habitat

These tribals live in practically isolated hill abodes having virtually self-sufficient primitive economy of their own. They practice shifting cultivation and are fruitgatherers and root-diggers. The main problem of their economy is to induce them to change their ancient system of shifting cultivation and to bring them to settled plough cultivation.

Generally, the tribals select a piece of land in the forest or slope of the hills and then they fell the trees and burn them on the ground. The ashes are spread on this clearing and the seeds are either planted with the help of a digging stick or broadcast in the furrows prepared by a shouldered hoe. Moreover shifting cultivation is a symptom of a certain stage of cultural and economic development of a tribal community. Once this stage is passed it persists among them due to sheer habit and tradition and not as a necessity. It thus becomes an anachronism and has to be replaced by settled cultivation on a planned basis.

There are mainly two reasons for attempting to stop the practice of shifting cultivation, the first is to prevent the ultimate destruction of the national wealth-forests, and second is to raise the standard of living of the aboriginals and thus usher them into a new era of freedom, peace and progress.

To achieve this a long range plan spread over approximately 15 years is necessary. The plan of economic emancipation of these tribes can be spread over in three five-year programmes.

Preliminary stage or period of conditioning

(First Five-Year Plan)

During this period there will be no prohibition of shifting cultivation or segregation anywhere. This will be the period of conditioning in which nation-building activities should be started by the different departments among the tribal localities. During this period there will be an intensive propaganda by the Government against the practice of shifting cultivation. In selected centres the Agriculture Department will start demonstration farms, distribute seeds and other implements

such as plough etc., required for settled cultivation. Suitable land will have to be made available for those tribals who want to take up plough cultivation. Fair price shops on no-profit-no-loss basis where the articles which are necessities of daily life such as salt, cloth, food, gur, oil, iron etc., can be purchased at cheaper rates, primary schools, medical dispensaries and a well planned educational propaganda regarding sanitary habits and hygienic living should also be started. In this way all the efforts during the period should be directed towards creating suitable psychological and material conditions for introducing stable cultivation among these primitive people.

Limited shifting cultivation

(Second Five-Year Plan)

During these five years, certain areas would be set apart in the aboriginal forest tracts for the practice of shifting cultivation. Such areas should be adequate for the maintenance of all those tribals who wish to follow the practice. During this period community centres should be organised wherein co-operative farming should be introduced. To induce the cultivators to adopt the stable cultivation as permanent occupation, he should be promised ultimate ownership right in the new land.

Complete prohibition

(Third Five-Year Plan)

The third stage will be of the complete prohibition in which the areas marked out for shifting cultivation will be progressively reduced with a view to completely eliminating the practice and substitute it with stable cultivation.

In Madhya Pradesh a pilot project has been started on these lines. In Surguja district 2700 families of Bhuiyars, Pandos and Korwas who were shifting cultivators, are being rehabilitated on land and given every facility required for stable cultivation. They

are given taccavi grants in kind such as bullocks, ploughs, seeds, manures etc. These families have shown a marvellous degree of adaptability and have devoted admirably to the new occupation of stable cultivation.

(II) *Tribal communities who have adopted agriculture and other occupations but are still closely connected with forests*

The tribals belonging to this category live in such rural areas as are near forests. Their major economic activities are still conducted in and round about the forests. They are generally employed by the forest contractors as forest labourers on low wages to fell coupes and to work on charcoal ovens. They also collect jungle produce such as honey, chironji, medicinal roots, gum etc., and sell them to outsiders for a very paltry amount.

At present the forest contracts are leased to the private contractors who exploit the forest and forest dwellers as well. If these forest contracts are given to the forest labourers co-operative societies composed of tribals alone, then this exploitation of forest dwellers could be stopped. This movement of forest co-operative societies has made progress to some extent in the Bombay State. It has elevated the dignity of the aboriginals who used to be treated as mere slaves and serfs.

The jungle coupe itself should become a welfare centre providing amenities like fair price shops where articles of daily need can be purchased, primary school for the children, drinking water, medicine supply, recreational, social and cultural activities. The main aim of these co-operative societies should be that aboriginals should be encouraged to improve their living standard by self-help and by community efforts.

In Madhya Pradesh under the Tribal Welfare Scheme provision is made to organise Multipurpose Co-operative Societies. At present these societies are catering for the daily needs of the

tribals through fair price shops where such articles as sugar, salt, iron, cloth, foodgrains etc., are available. It is contemplated that as the tribals become conversant with the good results of the co-operative societies, these societies in the future will take up the work of Forest labourers co-operative societies as indicated above.

Economic prosperity depends to a great extent on proper communications. It should, therefore, be borne in mind that if tribal economy is to be organised and built up on sound basis, provision for roads should be included in the economic uplift programme as an important plank of the welfare activity. The Forest and Public Works Department should chalk out a comprehensive plan for taking up this work and it should be given priority over other construction programmes.

The tribals have some very useful cottage industries to supplement their income. These industries mainly depend upon the raw material available in the forest such as bamboos, fibres etc. In order to raise the economic level of the tribals a systematic plan should be designed to organise these industries. These cottage industries should be organised through co-operative societies which will arrange the supply of raw material and also organise the sale of the finished articles. The State Government through its Cottage Industries Department may undertake to help training programme by organising peripatetic demonstration parties which will tour these areas and give instructions to the artisans engaged in crafts.

(III) Tribes who have migrated to semi-urban or rural areas where they are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations

The tribals of this category consists of mainly agricultural tribal communities who have migrated from their ancestral abode and have been their ancestral abode and have been settled in the rural areas or semi-urban areas.

Their economic problems are the problems of the ordinary agriculturists with this important difference that they being simple, honest and truthful, fall an easy prey to the selfish malguzars and unscrupulous sahu-kars.

In order to give safety from exploitation to these aboriginals it is necessary to chalk out a comprehensive legislative programme which should include land alienation acts, debt relief measures, controlling money-lending business, outlawing bond service and forced labour. Together with these negative measures an extensive programme of positive help should be given to the Adivasi cultivators such as long term and short term taccavi loans to purchase seeds and fertilisers and other agricultural implements such as ploughs, bullocks etc. Veterinary help should also be given.

It is among this category of aboriginals that a strong co-operative movement can be organised in all its facets. Particularly co-operative credit societies and multipurpose co-operative societies can be organised in such a manner so that the middlemen and malguzar can be completely eliminated.

Besides agricultural and co-operative organisation, advanced cottage industries such as weaving, carpentry, bee-keeping, poultry, piggery, sheep-rearing can profitably be organised. For this, central and regional craft institutes should be set up which will take up teaching the aboriginals in other suitable village industries.

(IV) Totally assimilated tribals living in urban or semi-urban areas

The tribals belonging to the last category are more or less assimilated in the advanced social structure. Though they are not connected with tribal economy in this stage still they are smarting under economic backwardness, like other backward classes. They can indirectly be helped by giving them proper educational facilities such as free-ships, free supply of books and other

study material, free hostels, scholarships for higher studies, reservation in services and special representation in political institution such as Local-self Government, Panchayats, Janapada Sabhas, etc. The object is to create such conditions in which these assimilated tribals will forge ahead with the help of Government on the one side and advanced citizens on the other.

As a matter of fact the problem of education has a close connection with the economic amelioration of the tribal people and no schemes in this direction will be of any substantial use unless they are synchronised with a well planned educational programme for the tribal children. Under the Tribal Welfare Scheme, Madhya Pradesh, a comprehensive programme of tribal education is envisaged. It includes opening of primary schools, middle schools, hostels and scholarships.

Incidentally, health problem which has a close relation with the economic efficiency of the people also requires a detailed study. Preventive and curative measures such as malaria control, quinine supply, systematic campaigns against yaws and venereal diseases, medical supply by means of travelling dispensaries and indigenous medicines, potable water supply and above all educative propaganda to teach sanitary habits and hygienic way of living should be intensively and extensively undertaken. If a well planned health programme is implemented it will not only enhance the capacity to earn and work but it will also break the vicious circle of the superstition and thus pave the way for new ideas which will in

turn create the urge to progress among aboriginals.

There are certain socio-religious customs and ceremonials such as marriages, deaths, festivals on which occasion the tribals generally defy all restrictions on drinking with the result, they waste a good deal of hard earned money. If they do not possess sufficient money they go to the money-lender who is awaiting this opportunity. Though Government cannot take any active step in this sphere, enlightened tribal leaders, representative, tribal legislators and tribal organisations should start a persistent propaganda against such wasteful and detrimental practices.

From the above it will be clear that tribal economy has a complexity of problems and difficulties.

It is a challenge—a challenge not only to the aboriginals who have been put on the path of complete freedom and independence according to the Constitution but it is a challenge also to the administrators and the so-called advanced citizens who are enjoined to bring these neglected "Sons of the soils" on the level of civilisation. This challenge can only be answered when there is a new awakening and a consciousness of responsibility and a will to work and sacrifice on the part of all concerned. Once these requirements are fulfilled all other difficulties and problems will be surmounted. I am sure that our efforts if done in this spirit will certainly bear the fruits and the tribal economy will be restored on a sound footing as an integrated part of the national economy.

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**Shri B. K. Bhandary, (Regional) Assistant Commissioner for
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Assam, West
Bengal, Tripura and Manipur (Shillong)**

TRIBAL Economy in Assam is still the primitive economy of the land.

The various tribes of the hills and valleys of this corner of India live on the land and are attached to it, almost

just like their fore-fathers centuries ago. Even in the modern times life moves but very slowly among these children of the soil. The State and other agencies, specially the Missionaries have taken some of the modern amenities and education to a few sections among them. The educated, like most others elsewhere are practically lost to the community, as they shift themselves to the services or to the urban areas. This process is continuous and steady. The result is that the tribes on the whole, continue to be in the same state as they were, with of course some exceptions here and there due to special circumstances.

Main Divisions of the Tribal People

Apart from the various Racial, Cultural and linguistic groups among the large Tribal population of Assam, the following form the three main natural divisions, in respect of their habitats and progress through the centuries.

- (1) Tribal people of the plains.
- (2) Tribal people of the Autonomous Hill Districts.
- (3) Tribal people of the North East Frontier and other un-administered areas.

Economy of the Tribal People of the Plains

Their economic condition is more or less the same as that of our ordinary peasantry. The remote sub-mountains or riverine areas in which they mostly live, are formidable barriers against their economic advancement. Their lands are very fertile. They are as good if not better than the other agriculturists, at least in respect of growing paddy, jute and mustard crops. The Kacharis and their closely allied groups and the Miris of upper Assam form the bulk of this category of tribal people. They are hardy. Their women-folk are very industrious and are the main-stay of the families.

Though they live in some of the most inaccessible and malarious regions they manage to keep better health and efficiency in matter of hard labour in the fields in sun and rain, than other sections of the so-called advanced people. They usually live on plenty of fresh hand-pounded rice, meat, fish and rather little quantities of vegetables. Milk or its products are seldom used. Cooking being simple, the food retains practically all the nutritive and protective ingredients. Rice-beer is their main drink.

Some educated and otherwise influential families own large areas of fertile lands and they are generally well off. Their children take to education and the present leadership of the plains tribal people comes from these sections. The number of landless families is considerable and is perhaps growing. The richer and cleverer people among their own fold as well as the ubiquitous middle-men manage to knock out the best portion of their annual earnings. Markets for their products, which are mainly paddy, jute and mustard are controlled by the middle-men. They never get proper prices. This accounts for the wide-spread poverty that prevails among the tribal people of the plains.

The solution of these problems lies in opening up these areas which are admittedly surplus in point of paddy by good roads and the elimination of the middle-men by establishing multi-purpose co-operative societies and the stoppage of land alienation by suitable legislative measures. Introduction of cottage industries and improved methods of cultivation and cattle breeding for which their habitats have special advantages, will greatly enhance the economic condition of these people. There seems to be wide scope for drainage and embankment schemes which can greatly augment production of food crops.

Economy of the Tribal people of the Autonomous Hill Districts

There are at present five autonomous districts viz:—

- (1) United Khasi & Jaintia Hills district.
- (2) United Mikir & North Cachar Hills District.
- (3) The Naga Hills District.
- (4) The Lushai Hills District.
- (5) The Garo Hills District.

These Hill Districts are in different stages of development. Some enjoy good climatic conditions which induced their early development both for purposes of administration as well as Missionary enterprise soon after the British occupation of this part of the country, while others are still in their primitive state.

(1) United Khasi and Jaintia Hills District

The Capital of Assam—Shillong—is located in these Hills. Some areas in this district enjoy cool and salubrious climatic conditions. There are some very good roads maintained across these hills. Some of the best educational, medical, cultural and industrial institutions are located here. Considerable number of tourists visit Shillong and its neighbouring sites of importance and interest. There is a good cantonment. All these factors have to some extent helped the economic condition of the local people who live in or near-about the town areas or along the highways. But the interior villages are still undeveloped, unhealthy and poor. Rice does not grow well in these cool hills. Orange, pineapples, bananas grow well in most localities. But since the partition and the subsequent tariff and exchange barriers created between India and Pakistan, the natural traderroutes were blocked and immense difficulties were caused to the poor people living on the southern slopes of the hills and

other bordering areas. Great scarcity of rice was felt and there was no market for their own production of oranges and pineapples. The opening of a small landing strip in a remote corner and the air-lifting of orange to Calcutta relieved the situation at some critical times. Thus the economic condition of these hills is very much unsettled at present. Forest products such as timber, lac, honey etc., are till some of the undeveloped small-scale industries of this areas. Numerous hill-streams and water-falls may be harnessed for the production of electric power which may be utilised for the industrial and economic advancement of the inhabitants.

(2) United Mikir and North Cachar Hills District.

The Mikir people are a very meek and mild type. They were and perhaps even now are very much addicted to opium. Their hills are low jungly and generally unhealthy. Cultivable lands are limited and scattered. Hills and their slopes are not very fertile too. Jumming causes continuous deterioration of the land due to surface-soil erosion and wide-spread de-forestation. There are practically no roads worth the name.

Cotton, til and lac are the main products of these areas. Middle-men have caused perhaps the worst havoc here to the indigenous people. Timber and cane are valuable forest yields. The contractors and financiers reap the benefits while the Mikirs hardly get even fair wages for their hard labours in the extraction of these forest wealth.

Coal, lime-stone and some other minerals of commercial value are said to be found in these areas. Perhaps their extraction and utilisation will lead to the prosperity of these very humble and extremely poor people. Development of Cottage industries and multipurpose Co-operative societies are the only hopeful solutions.

(3) *The Naga Hills District*

Is a problem district now, from the political point of view. It occupies a strategically important position. Foreign contacts and influences have created the most un-Indian and anti-national feelings and sentiments here. In some respects this district enjoys a balanced economy though it is essentially primitive. Rice is said to grow fairly in abundance in many areas. Wild-game and fish are also plentiful. Salt, yarn and cloth are the only commodities which they need from outside. But among the Nagas there are still large numbers, specially in the un-administered areas who are happy to live with little or no clothes at all. The economic, political or other development of this territory seems to be one of the most formidable problems facing the country. A fairly educated, highly ambitious and clever leadership of a handful of people in the midst of an ignorant and emotional mass of primitive tribes can easily create complicated situations.

(4) *The Lushai Hills District*

Thanks to the Missionaries these hills have the reputation of having one of the highest percentages of literacy in the country. Though healthy, these regions are mostly barren and full of jungles. There are hardly any roads. Cotton, oranges, and pine-apples are some of the main products, which now have little market, thanks to Pakistan. Proper facilities to market these commodities will enhance the precarious economy of this intelligent, labourious and highly pleasing and colourful tribal people.

(5) *Garo Hills District*

Next to the Mikirs the Garos are the most meek and mild of our Hill people. The partition has very seriously affected their already precarious economy. Cotton, oranges, pine-apples and valuable timber which are the main products of these hills, have a very much restricted market now. As such their economic condition has been very much upset and there seems to be much acute and wide-spread hardship.

Large deposits of coal and lime-stone are said to exist over wide areas of this district. The exploitation of this wealth may lead to a better standard of living to these poor and in many respects un-impressive people.

Economy of the Tribal people of N.E.F.A. and Un-administered areas

Precious little is known about these people by the general public of our country. Most of them live in the extremely remote rugged hills and their life and economy is still essentially primitive. Their future is entirely in the hands of the North Eastern Frontier Agency which is a direct and important concern of the Union Government.

Conclusions

From several points of view the tribal people of Assam are a very interesting and promising section of our population. The economic development of their areas and the utilisation of the human material will greatly enhance the wealth of the country. More and better roads, extension of Public Health and Education Services, development of mineral resources and cottage industries, better farming methods etc., are the main needs of the hour.

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Rev. R. A. Kurian, Church of India, Mandla, Madhya Pradesh

THE economy of the tribes in the Mandla District cannot be a vast subject as the life out here is extremely

simple—simple in the sense that the tribesman has to deal with very few items of economy.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the tribesman, though being a forest dweller, his life is closely linked with forest products. Agriculture as done by the aboriginal tribes is in a rather primitive stage. If he gets anything at all out of the soil, it is due more to the bounty of Mother Earth than to the farmer's own genius or efforts. His work on the land is rather of a routine type than a planned effort at cultivation. Few have learnt the fact that the crops feed on the vitality of the soil which has to be replenished—manuring the land does not seem to exercise their minds to any great extent. The writer does some touring on fact during the rains and has to pass through village streets with a thick mixture of cow-dung and rain water. One sighs within oneself, "If only this mixture could be thrown into the field". Usually villages are situated on a higher elevation than the fields and many tell themselves that all the cow-dung they throw away finds its way into the fields. But they do not take into account the fact that the rain water which flows down the mound carries with it not only the cow-dung but all sorts of other seeds which make the fields luxuriant with weeds! So the villager needs systematic and the practical lessons on making compost and manuring his fields. In spite of tons of firewood they can get in the forests, they still make cow-dung cakes for the sake of immediate return in the shape of money, however small.

Seldom indeed does one find in a hilly district like Mandla wide stretches of flat land fit for paddy cultivation, from the point of view of capacity to hold water. In order to overcome their problems the tribesman puts up high bunds round his fields which lose in area thereby. Co-operation will be tremendous benefit here, in levelling up a reasonably extensive area of land, and converting small scale into large scale farming, and intensive into extensive farming. As noted already, intensive farming is a failure here due to lack

of proper manuring of land. The implements used are still very primitive. Because of the weed problem, deep ploughing is still necessary, but the home-made plough-shares do not go deep. If the plough-shares are fitted for deep ploughing, the poor weak bulls possessed by the Tribesman cannot pull the plough! So the whole thing ends in a vicious circle from which he cannot save himself without outside assistance.

The tribal area round about here is devoid of irrigation facilities. The river water cannot be used as much as in plainer regions because the river (Narbadah) flows deep down and cannot be of any irrigational value unless dams are constructed and canals dug. This is not impossible in the upper regions where the river or its tributaries are not too wide or deep for constructing dams. In the absence of dams and irrigation canals, it is not difficult to have tanks dug for storing rain water or the water from a stream, from which the fields can have a regular supply of water, which is essential for paddy cultivation. As it is, the tribesman gets very meagre returns from his cultivation.

During the cold weather, wheat and other winter crops are grown, but the tribesman lives more on rice and maize, and sells his winter crops in order to find cash to buy his scanty clothes and to pay his money lenders. Due to lack of communications however, he often has to sell his produce locally at a price lower than his produce may fetch in a market place.

Another means of livelihood for the tribesman is the sale of forest produce. He cuts firewood, bamboo or thatching grass and brings it to the nearest town to sell, or gets his wages for cutting them for forest contractors. Collecting and selling honey brings him some income. The Forest Department also

makes use of him in many ways as cutting timber, making and repairing forest roads, and collecting wax, honey gum *et cetera*.

Domestic animals play an important part in tribal economy. The tribesman has buffaloes, cows and bulls. Merchants from town go to him to collect ghee. Those who live near towns come in selling milk. He does not seem to specialise in any other milk products. Few have proper animals fit for agriculture, with the result that cows also are used in ploughing, which is rather unfortunate indeed. As the cow is weak as a result of giving birth to calves and yielding milk, and as it lacks the natural build and strength of the bull, it should be protected from work as draught animal.

Lack of proper animals is a great handicap for many a tribesman who may be a potential farmer. Often one borrows animals for the season at considerable cost. Some have bullock-carts in which they bring firewood into towns for sale. The same animals are used for ploughing also, with the result that the life of the animals is shortened. The tribesman also needs more help by way of veterinary service. Speaking for the Mandla District, one veterinary surgeon for the whole district is altogether inadequate. Till circumstances improve, the veterinary surgeon should tour the district and give talks to the villagers on the common diseases that may affect their animals and how they can prevent or cure them. When epidemics come, the tribesman is at a loss to know what to do to save his animals, and one can imagine the effect of such epidemics on people who depend on their animals for their very existence. The best way, in our opinion, to secure this aid for the tribesman is through a system of co-operation between the staffs of the Government agricultural and veterinary services in the district.

More than his animals, the man himself needs attention. One has to understand the tribesman's circumstances of life, before doing anything by way of tribal uplift. The man himself is oppressed by ignorance, immorality and disease, each of which reinforces the evils of the other and contributes to the tribesman's misery.

The tribesman is ignorant and this subjects him to great handicaps. He has to depend upon others who know better than himself, with the result that he is subject to exploitation on all sides. Lawyers, clerks in Government offices and other petty officers—thank goodness by no means all of them in the categories mentioned—take full advantage for themselves of the ignorance of the tribesman. This position will improve only gradually, as it will take a number of years for education to spread in these areas; because this in its turn will depend upon the means of communication. The good that adult education does cannot be very appreciable, there being no system of follow up work. In this state of ignorance, the tribesman is unable to improve his economic status by adopting improved methods to his agriculture or other trades of his.

The tribesman's low standard of moral is another severe drawback on his economy. The unit of any society is the family, and the poor tribesman is rather weak at this point. His marriage is only a very loose tie, and his family life is rather insecure. It is quite common to see men and women giving up the ones to whom they are married and choosing new partners, who, in their turn, are just as temporary as their predecessors. Children are not born into what can be called secure homes and the whole life under a roof is so unstable that there can be no consistent efforts at improving one's economic status. When a woman leaves her husband and goes away, the poor man not only loses a wife, but an earning member. The man goes to court

or tries to get redress at the hands of his panchayat. These litigations cost him money. The other man to whom the woman has gone has also to spend a lot of money, considering his standard, paying compensation to the previous husband of the woman, only to lose her to a third man after a time! All these things upset the economic equilibrium of the family, which has its wider effects on the tribe as a whole. With no good examples in their parents, children grow up into adults with no moral background. The way one's mind works at his leisure affects his capacity for and turn out of work. The poor man lacks that concentration he sorely needs for putting his mind to anything constructive. The result is that his economic condition finds no progress in spite of the help and sympathy he may get from the Government or other philanthropic agencies.

Disease is a serious problem which a tribesman has to fight all his life. To start with, the rate of infant mortality is very high in tribal areas, going up to 4 to 5 per cent. After this hurdle, his environments are his worst enemies—the forest, the grass and the marsh—all helping mosquitoes to thrive. Malaria is endemic here and the marshy condition of the area during the rains cause influenza and pneumonia, and his water gives him his typhoid and cholera. In addition to these diseases, and other epidemics like plague, there are the venereal diseases either inherited or acquired. The misery of the tribesman is that his short life is lived in a state of depleted health. Some people tend to be merciless in their condemnation of the jungle dweller as lazy and indolent. But the cause of his lack of industry is not in his unwillingness to work, but in his lack of energy due to disease.

So far as the Mandla District is concerned, very little is done for the tribes by way of medical aid. It is hard to obtain Quinine. Out of about a dozen

doctors not less than ten live in the district town of Mandla or the railway town of Nainpur. Medical aid for the villages is incredibly inadequate. For some years the Public Health Department had a medical van with a doctor and a compounder for service in rural areas, but unfortunately that unit also has been called out of existence. The unfortunate fact is that disease affects the economic condition of the tribes. While ill they cannot work at all and while not ill they are still too weak to work well. So instead of sufficiency, poverty has been the birthright of the tribesman. There is a crying need, therefore, for rural dispensaries. Attempts have been made by the Provincial Government to open such dispensaries in the interior of the district, and there are at least two such now. The rural medical unit with a doctor and a compounder with some knowledge of nursing, equipped with a van is as vitally necessary, if not more than the social education van which the Education department has. For the production of food and other essential articles man-power is necessary, and medical aid is essential in the tribal areas in order to maintain this man-power. A sick man cannot be an economical asset. The main difficulty is to find doctors who will take up residence in out of the way places and serve the poor.

If lack of family planning is a tremendous problem throughout the country, it is particularly marked among the scheduled castes and tribes. Early marriage and unbridled expression to the sexual instinct are the causes of this trouble. One often finds men under 35 being fathers of half a dozen children. They do know something of contraceptives but this knowledge is more commonly brought into use before marriage than after marriage! The result is that the tribesman has so many children that he is rendered incapable of supporting his large family. As soon as the children are

able to do some work, they are employed here and there as cowherds or field watchers, so much so, when they come of age they face an adverse economic system in a state of unpreparedness. As the father needs income to support his unwieldy family, he does not take advantage of educational facilities for his children even where they exist. More often than not, the youngsters are employed in some household just for the sake of food. As man power is needed, even small scale farmers who have not enough working hands in their own houses, welcome these young lads to work for food and clothing. A man who has a girl to give away in marriage almost always demands that his would-be son-in-law should work in his field for a period for the hand of his daughter, and sometimes even asks for labour after marriage. On the other hand, a girl's people know that at her marriage they lose a working hand, and often cleverly manage that she goes through the form of marriage, collect all the income from the boy's side, go with him into her new home; but return to her father's house after a few days under some flimsy pretext! So we see that the problem of too many to feed and that of the need for man-power act and react against each other.

Something must be done therefore to see that the tribesman is helped to keep his family within manageable limits. From what has already been said above, it is clear that it is no use trying to achieve this object by moral self-control on the part of the tribesman! Family planning clinics are necessary for the purpose. Here, the personnel of the clinics should be carefully chosen. The tribesman is a shy being and he cannot be expected to take any one into confidence easily. The Deputy Commissioners will be able to select people whom the tribesman will trust and confide in. Men must deal with men and women with women. The latest census figures will be of immense use

in finding out as to who probably require help on this line.

Apart from family control clinics, rural recreation centres should be started which would provide young men (and women wherever possible) with healthy recreation. Their present recreation of keeping awake to the beat of drum and dancing, not infrequently followed by eloping with another man's wife, deprives them of the sleep they need after and before a hard day's work. And also the elopements cause serious economic problems to the families. The recreation centres may be attached to schools. If these men can be sufficiently tired after a hard game of foot-ball or volley-ball, or preferably native games like 'kabadi' and 'attia pattia', it will help them to go to sleep when they go to bed, and so keep down birth rate as well.

The practice of early marriage is a menacing factor that contributes to the economic misery of the tribes. Social workers should teach the men to remain unmarried as long as they are dependent on their parents, and get married only when one is fit to support oneself and the wife. The Child Marriage Restraint Act also should be more strictly enforced. If the rate of birth can be kept under reasonable limits, there is every possibility of the tribesman's standard of living improving. It is Society's duty to see that the tribes are brought up to an economic stability.

When the poor tribesman finds himself loaded with the responsibility of supporting more children than he can afford to, when he has to pay compensation for the girl whom his son has stolen from her lawful husband and brought home, when he has to get his son married, or when he has to buy a bull for ploughing along with a cow that he has—when he feels the need for money for anything—he goes and borrows it from money-lenders, some of whom unfortunately are unscrupulous. To his unending misery, after paying

several instalments for which no receipts are given, he still owes more than what he borrowed. Another criminal trick of the money-lender of this type is that, taking advantage of the state of need of the debtor and his ignorance, he takes a written receipt for a sum much larger than the actual sum lent. To make a long story short, except a careful few, the tribesman lives in a state of chronic indebtedness, which is all that he has to bequeath to his descendents.

There are two angles to this situation. Firstly there is the side of the debtor. He has to be helped to produce or earn more, and taught to be thrifty. He must be encouraged to take advantage of the small savings scheme. This must also be done by people whom the tribesman trusts to be interested in him and not in the scheme itself. Rural co-operation can be of great blessing here and the schemes already started by the Government must be developed and extended. It must be mentioned with gratitude that the Madhya Pradesh Government do their best to help poor ryots with loans of cash or seed. Then there is the side of the money-lender, who, in the extreme need of the debtor, secures a receipt for Rs. 100, having paid actually only Rs. 40. He gives no receipts for the instalments of repayment received either in cash or in kind. The existing system of legal procedure cannot help the poor debtor, whose last drop of blood is sucked out by these money lending parasites. The court decrees its judgments after seeing or hearing the data presented before it. The debtor has signed a receipt for Rs. 100, with which the creditor proves his case. The debtor cannot establish his having repaid any amount, because the creditor does not issue receipts. The magistrate cannot judge the case in any other way than by a decision that catches the wretched debtor by the throat and thrusts him into the avaricious jaws of the creditor. The debtor has no courage to go to law against the

creditor. The poor man will have to be helped here by the Government by securing the use of the C.I.D. to track and bring these social offenders to the book.

Any treatment of tribal economy will be incomplete without a reference to the Government Forest Department. The tribesman lives in the forest areas or in areas surrounded by Government forests. It must be mentioned with satisfaction that the Forest Department does something to help the forest dwellers by running schools for them and settling in a few places selected as Forest Villages. But still there are difficulties. The tribes need protection from wild animals. The Department often gives one the impression that they are more concerned with protecting wild animals from the tribes than the tribes from the ravages of wild beasts! This may not be true, but one would certainly wish that the Department took the role of protectors in relation to these tribes. They, living in jungles, need timber, bamboo and grass to build their huts. It will be a very good thing to encourage them to make their own bricks. He needs timber for rafters, and under existing forest rules the poor tribesman has no alternative but to steal the timber that he needs. License must be issued to cut timber—honestly—under the direction of the Forest Guards who in turn are instructed by the Foresters and Rangers. The Government can earn a little more on forests if such licenses are issued for the timber which is stolen now. In the absence of a system which will enable the tribesman to get his wood by honest means, there can be no justification for prosecuting those who cut timber to build their huts with.

The Tribesman's economic condition is a mess of problems over which he has no control, and he needs outside help to overcome them. The degree of possible outside help will depend upon the state of the means of communication.

Above all it is essential that we, social workers, should not deal with tribal problems in a spirit of condescension, but in an attitude of respect to the personality of the tribesman, based on

the truth that as human beings created by God, the poor wretched tribesman is our brother, and we have our duty towards him to be discharged in the light of the same truth.

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Shri Gajanan Naik, Palm Gur Adviser to the Government of India

THE life of the Adivasis is closely associated with the palms in most of the States. Palm trees are found in abundance in the areas inhabited by the Adivasis in the States like Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, etc. The Adivasis generally know the art of tapping of palms either Date, Palmyra or Sago, whichever kind is found in their localities, though a little improvement in their crude methods may be necessary. But, unfortunately, they ferment the juice of the palms thus obtained, in getting an intoxicant drink—Toddy. However, in certain areas, they are also known for making a rational use of the palm juice. For example, in Madhya Bharat, the Adivasis invariably use only the Neera obtained from Date-palms as beverage, though there are no restrictions on its being used as toddy. Thus, the first requisite, viz., raw material is luxuriant in the Adivasi area in many States. Secondly, the technique of procuring the raw materials is also fairly known to the Adivasis. The other requirement of fuel for boiling the juice, is available almost free to the Adivasis, as their abodes are in the midst of forests. It would be also of interest to note that conditions in the Adivasi area are not generally favourable for sugar-cane cultivation. So, gur and sugar has to be imported from over long distances and as such, the rates of gur and sugar remain very abnormal, though the quality is quite inferior. The supply of satisfactory quality of gur or sugar at reasonable rates is an unknown factor in the life of the Adivasis. The Adivasis are,

therefore, compelled to accept any inferior quality gur catered by the local petty merchants, as in the case of any other consumable commodity not produced by themselves. It would thus be in the interest of the Adivasis to learn the technique of Palm Gur and produce the same primarily for home consumption.

An Adivasi can become self-sufficient by tapping a couple of palms daily during spare time, to produce about two maunds of gur during the season, as the villagers in Malabar do. They can also have Neera, which is nutritious but not intoxicant drink. At the same time, those getting proficiency in the gur technique may, as well become full-pledged producers and get useful employment for about 8 months during the year. An Adivasi palm gur producer may be able to earn about Rs. 300 during the season, if all necessary facilities are rendered to him. Actual experience has already indicated that the Adivasis are very apt in adopting the Palm Gur Industry. The Adivasis in Saurashtra have shown remarkable progress in the Palm Gur manufacture. The Palm Gur Development Scheme implemented in the Adivasi areas of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat has shown commendable progress. In Madras, Palm Gur Co-operative Societies have been organised amongst the Adivasis. In Bombay also, the Adivasis are taking to the industry increasingly.

Palm Gur is of considerable advantage to the Adivasis. Firstly, it provides a nutritious and hygienically clean

article of everyday-diet. Secondly, the industry will enthuse the Adivasis to take up a paying occupation. Thirdly, the industry will serve as a very benevolent media for instilling a badly needed social reform of Prohibition amongst the Adivasis, as they would cultivate the habit of converting the fresh palm juice into gur, sugar, candy, etc., instead of making an intoxicant drink out of it. In the Madras state alone in spite of the introduction of complete Prohibition, the Adivasis are, as a special case, permitted to tap for toddy about twenty thousand palms. If the juice from these palms is utilised for gur manufacture, about 20,000

maunds of gur would be produced, which would satisfy the home-needs of about 20,000 families or which would fetch three lakh rupees to the Adivasis, if sold in the market, besides having them from all the ill-effects of the toddy drink.

Considering the various benefits accruing from the propagation of the Palm Gur Industry amongst the Adivasis, it would be certainly advisable to include Palm Gur as one of the major items in the programme adopted by the Government and social service institutes for the welfare of the Adivasis.

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श्री एम० जी० उयेके, मम्बर आफ् दी हाउस आफ् दी पीपल, मध्यप्रदेश

आदिम जाति की दशा सिर्फ़ क्रायदे बनाने से नहीं सुधर सकती है। इन क्रायदों को अमल में लाने के लिये एक एजन्सी होनी आवश्यक है ताकि यह क्रायदे क्रायदों की किताबों में ही छपे न रह सकें। यह सिद्ध करने के लिये कई सबूत दिये जा सकते हैं :

(१) भारत संविधान तथा राज्य सरकार ने बिगार पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया है, किन्तु कई प्रकार से बिगार ली जा रही है।

(क) मुकदमों के लिये कचहरी आने वाले भोले आदिम जातियों से पंखे खिचवाये जाते हैं। कचहरियों के सरकारी सामान जैसे पेटियाँ, रिक्काडें, तम्बू इत्यादि यहां वहां रखवाये जाते हैं।

(ख) शराब के मामलों में जिन की गिरफ्तारियां की जाती हैं, उन्हीं के सिर पर शराब निकालने का सामान रख कर कचहरी में लाया जाता है।

(ग) पटवारी लोग रसीद किताबें ले कर या गिरदावरी के लिये इन्हें अपने घर पर बुलाते हैं, और अपने घर का या खेत का या जंगल से लकड़ी लाने का काम लेते हैं।

इन सारे कामों के लिये कोई मजदूरी नहीं दी जाती। ऐसे बेगार को उच्च आफिसर आसानी से रोक सकते हैं, किन्तु इस प्रकार की बेगार बहुधा उच्च आफिसरों की जानकारी में ही होती है।

(घ) फ़ोर्स लेबर बनाम बेगार फ़ारेस्ट व्हिलेज में रहने वाले नागरिकों के लिये हर एक घर से एक आदमी जंगल महकमे के काम करने का नियम है। इस के लिये सरकार से बारह आने रोज़ मजूरी मुकर्रर भी है। किन्तु नागरिक की बिमारी के कारण या फ़सल के समय या घर के धार्मिक कार्यों के कारण जंगल के काम पर जाना असंभव हो जाता है। ऐसी हालत में जंगल महकमे के आफिसरों को कुछ देकर खुश न किया गया तो वह आफिसर रिपोर्ट कर के गांव से निकाल देता है। बहुत से काम जो एक या दो दिन के होते हैं उन की हाजरी नहीं लगाई जाती। महीने भर काम करने पर भी पेमेन्ट के दिन हाजिर न रहने पर भी कहीं कहीं महीने भर की मजूरी हड़प कर दी जाती है। इन सब बातों को रोकने के लिये प्रति घर से एक आदमी जंगल

के काम पर जाने के कायदे में परिवर्तन करने की शरूत है ।

(२) साहूकारी के सम्बन्ध में बहुत से कायदे बनाये गये हैं, किन्तु इन कायदों से भोली आदिम जाति का कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ है । इन के साथ साहूकारी करने में कई तरीके काम में लाये जाते हैं । जैसे :

(क) जेवर रहन रखते समय ही मुद्दत देन से ब्याज काटा जाता है तथा जेवर छुड़ाने समय भी ब्याज सहित रकम वसूल की जाती है । इस में धोखे बाज़ियां भी होती हैं । कभी कभी जेवर ही हड़प कर लेते हैं या फिर नकली जेवर बना कर वापिस करते हैं ।

(ख) उधारी दुकान से किराना सामान या रुपड़ा उधार देते हैं । यह उधारी खेत के उत्पन्न का या घरेलू मजूरी काम करने वाले आदिमी का अंदाजा करके देते हैं ।

(ग) वर्षा के पहिले मई माह में नमक तंबाकू गुड़ इत्यादि उधार देते समय बजार भाव से कम (नमक का भाव दस सेर हो तो आठ सेर) देते हैं । और इस भाव से जो रकम होगी, उस रकम के बदले में बारिश के बाद पहिले जो फसल आयेगी, उस फसल का उस समय जो भाव होगा, उस से दूना या डेवड़ा लिया जाता है ।

(घ) पेशगी जिन्होंने सामान उधारी न लिये, तो उनकी फसल देख कर गांव गांव घर घर जाकर पेशगी देते हैं । कहीं कहीं जबरदस्ती घर में रकम फेंक आते हैं और फसल आने पर दुगनी और तिगुनी दर से पूरे फसल को नाप लेते हैं कमी हुई तो गरीब बाजार से ले कर पूरा करते हैं । जैसा सरसों का भाव रुपया पायली है तो दो पायली के हिसाब से नाप लेंगे । कमी हुई तो गरीब एक पायली के भाव से खरीद कर दो पायली के हिसाब से रकम पूरी करेगा । मजूरी पर पेशगी जैसे हर्रा चुनाई का भाव दस कुड़ो होगा तो पेशगी में पंदरह या बीस कुड़ो के हिसाब से बिक जाता है । इसी प्रकार प्रायः जंगल के सब कामों पर पेशगी वसूल की जाती है ।

(ङ) नौकरी पत्र लिखा कर दिये ५० रुपये के लिये तीन तीन पुस्त नौकरी करने पर भी सकड़ों का बकाया होने के कई उदाहरण हर गांव में देखने में आ रहे हैं । सरकारी जांच द्वारा भी प्रकाश में आये हैं । इन के जीवन में शादी ही एक मात्र ऐसा विषय है, जो आनंद का तथा सब से अधिक खर्च का भी है । हर प्रकार की धोखेबाजी में फंसन से इन के पास पैसे नहीं रहते हैं और विशेषतः शादी के लिये यह लोग कर्ज—नौकरी करते हैं या घर जवाई बैठते हैं । अशिक्षित भोले होने से हिसाब नहीं रख सकते हैं । इस कारण नौकरी पत्र और घर जवाई दोनों परिस्थितियां इन्हें राह का भिखारी बना देती हैं । नौकरी पत्र की जांच कर के नौकरी पत्र की पद्धति बंद करनी चाहिये । शादी और घर जवाई की प्रथा में सुधार और कम खर्चा इनकी खुद की पंचायतें प्रचार द्वारा कर सकती है । साहूकारी से बचाने के लिये इस तरह की लेन देन कर्तई बंद करनी चाहिये तथा जरूरी के समय पर तकावी देना और अधिक से अधिक सोसायटी दुकानों खोलनी चाहिये ।

(३) कास्तकारी तथा जमाबंदी के कई हक इनको किसी कायदे के नहीं प्रतीत होते हैं । जैसे :

(क) कास्तकार की मृत्यु पर उसके पुत्रों को अपने नाम लिखाने के लिये पटवारियों को बड़ी बड़ी रकम देनी पड़ती है, नहीं तो वर्षों नाम नहीं लिखे जाते और कई उलझनें पैदा की जाती हैं । कभी कभी पूरे जमीन से हाथ धोना पड़ता है ।

(ख) भाई भाई के अलग अलग होने में भी ऐसा ही किया जाता है ।

(ग) खेत के खरीद की रजिस्ट्री होकर कई साल बीतने पर भी पटवारी के कागजों में नाम दर्ज नहीं होते ।

(घ) खेतों में से रास्तों के बारे में भी पटवारी आपस में झगड़े निर्माण करते हैं और गांवों में अशान्ति तथा मुकद्दमेबाजी से गरीबों को परेशान होना पड़ता है ।

(इ) खेतों के झगड़ों पर कास्तकारों का हक होते हुए भी "लाख" लगाने में, 'हरा' चुनने में, "तैदुपते" तोड़ने में इत्यादि में ठेकेदारों से मिलकर कई पटवारी लोग कई उलझनों पैदा करते हैं।

(च) पीड़ी जाल कास्त की जमीन में बड़े जंगल, बिला लगान, या दूसरे कास्तकार की जमीन निकाली जाती है।

(छ) खेत की गिरदावली इन को घर में बुला कर की जाती है। खेत से पैदावारी के बाँच के लिये काट के लाई हुयी फसल आनावारी लिखने के बाद, गलाया हुवा गल्ला रख लिया जाता है।

(४) अप्रैल सन् १९४२ में लिगल एसिसटेन्स एक्ट सी० पी० गजट में प्रकाशित हुआ, तब से आज तक इस कायदे का लाभ किसी को भी नहीं दिया गया। न यह कायदा किसी को मालूम ही है। मुकद्दमे की पैरवी न कर सकने और खर्चा न सह सकने के कारण चतुरों के हर फसादों को चुपचाप जीवन भर सहते रहते हैं, इस कारण यह कायदा बहुत ही महत्व का है। इस की जवाबदारी अदालत पर लादी जाय।

(५) कर्ज समझौता बोर्ड—इन के मामले ५० रुपये कर्ज से भी लेने की सहूलियत दी थी। किन्तु इस कायदे की माहिती किसी को भी नहीं दी गई इस लिये हजारों पर कर्ज होते हुए भी चार पाँच ही कर्जदार इस कायदा का लाभ उठा सके।

(६) १९३८, ३९ में जंगल के खाने के फल, कंदफूल, पत्ती तथा जलाऊ लकड़ी के सारे बोझों के माफ़ी की सहूलियत दी गई थी। किन्तु इस कायदे की जानकारी न होने से जंगल महकमे वालों ने इस जीवन के सहारे सहूलियत का भी लाभ नहीं लेने दिया। जंगल में यह चीजें बरबाद होती रहती हैं। इस का उपयोग जंगल में रह कर जंगल का हर प्रकार का काम करने वाले इन जंगलियों को यह चीजें माफ़ रहना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

(७) सन् १९३९ में छोटे शिकार का शिकारी लायसेंस माफ़ किया गया था। यह कायदा भी अभी तक किसी को नहीं मालूम है, न पुलिस या जंगल वालों ने इस का लाभ लेने दिया। शिकार आदिवासियों के जीवन का एक अंग है। इसकी माफ़ी रहना बहुत जरूरी है।

(८) हर तंबाखू खाने वाला या पीने वाला अपने उपयोग के लिये दस सेर तंबाखू अपनी बाड़ी या खेत में पैदा करने का कायदे से अधिकारी है, किन्तु पुलिस और आबकारी वाले इन भोलों के बाड़ीयों से तंबाखू के पीधे उखाड़ कर फिकवा देते हैं और रकम ऐंठते हैं। इस कारण लोगों ने कम खर्च की चोंगी और चिलम चोंगी और चिलम पीना छोड़ कर महंगे की बीड़ी पीने को लाचार हो गये हैं।

(९) परीक्षा और ट्यूशन फी माफ़ होते हुए भी कई हेडमास्टर, प्रिन्सिपल और विश्वविद्यालय के अधिकारियों को इस का ज्ञान न होने से अधिकांश विद्यार्थी फी की माफ़ी से वंचित रखे जाते हैं और जिनको इस माफ़ी की माहिती है, उन के उजर करने पर भी वसूल की हुई फीस वापस नहीं की जाती। इस से सैकड़ों गरीब बालकों को शिक्षण ही छोड़ देना पड़ता है।

शिक्षण एक मात्र उन्नति का साधन है और फीस सिर्फ़ सरकारी स्कूलों में ही माफ़ रहती है उस में भी ऊपरी अड़चनें हैं। इसलिये इस महत्व के विषय पर खास ध्यान दे कर सरकारी स्कूल कालेजों के साथ साथ प्रायवेट स्कूल एवं कालेजों में भी परीक्षा एवं ट्यूशन फीस माफ़ होना और उसकी जवाबदारी हेडमास्टर एवं प्रिन्सिपलों पर रखना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

(१०) तोल नाप और भावों में आदि जाति क्षेत्रों में अंधाधुंद लूट होती है। अभी कुछ ही दिनों की बात है कि मंडले सरखे जिले के स्थान में जहां लाखों बोरों की और हजारों पीपों की खरीद होती है वहां के तोल बीस बीस तोले बजन में अधिक निकले हैं जिस के जुर्मनि हो चुके हैं।

जब मंडले सरिखे जिले के स्थान के गंज में यह हाल है तो देहात के गंज और बाज रों और गांवों में खरीददारी का क्या होगा ? और इन भोलों का प्रति वर्ष इस तरीके से कितना नुकसान होता होमा इस का अंदाजा करना भी कठिन है । इस लिये इन लाखों की घोखेबाजी को रोकने के लिये आदिम जाती संरक्षण कायदे से लौह, नोप और भावों का कन्ट्रोल करना जरूरी है । अत्यधिक खरीदी और बिक्री की चीजों के भावों की साप्ताहिक जानकारी हर गांवों में मुनादियों द्वारा देना बहुत लाभदायक है ।

११) सरकारी नौकरियां.—मिडिल स्कूल और हाई स्कूल पास किये हुए सेंकड़ों विद्यार्थी बेकार पड़े हैं और इधर उधर नौकरी के लिये मारे मारे फिर रहे हैं किन्तु सिफारिस और सहायता के अभाव में बहुत ही कम बालकों को सरकारी नौकरियां मिल पाती हैं । बहुत से नौकरी देने वाले अधिकारी लोगों की मनोवृत्तियां देखने में आती हैं कि "इन्हें सरकारी नौकरी न करते हुए अपने देहातों में खेती का ही काम करना चाहिये " कई अधिकारी तो यहां तक अपने विचार जाहिर करते हैं कि इन लोगों को मामूली तीसरी कक्षा तक मजदूरी कर के साथ साथ शिक्षण देना ही बस है । ऐसी परिस्थिति में हर महकमें के आला से अदना नौकरी तक जनसंख्या के अनुपात में संरक्षित स्थान होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है । इस के लिये हर जिले में इन के शिक्षण की योग्यता दर्शाने वाली फेरिस्त इन के पतों के साथ हर जिले के आफिसों में होनी चाहिये और जिस योग्यता की नौकरी खाली हो उस योग्यता के विद्यार्थियों को इस की इतला जिला आफिस से दी जाने चाहिये । इसी प्रकार उच्च शिक्षण प्राप्त विद्यार्थियों की फेरिस्त राज्य सरकार तथा संघ सरकार के भी सूचिवालियों में रहे और उन की योग्यता के अनुसार नौकरियों के लिये उन्हें भी सूचना देना चाहिये । नौकरी के लिये योग्यता की परीक्षा इन्हीं के बीच होनी चाहिये ।

(१२) आदिम जाति क्षेत्रों में हर मौसम में आवागमन की सड़कें, खुले मौसम में आवागमन की सड़कें, या मामूली बैलगाडी के रास्ते और रेल मार्ग नहीं के बराबर या बहुत ही कम हैं । जब तक हर प्रकार के आवागमन के मार्ग इन के विभागों में नहीं बानाये जाते हैं तब तक आर्थिक उत्भाव होना असंभव है ।

(१३) डाक घर आदिम जाति विभागों में बहुत ही कम या नहीं के बराबर हैं । इस के अभाव में उन्हें देश का या दुनिया का समाचार नहीं मिलता । इस से जीवन के किसी भी उन्नति के मार्ग की तरफ इन का आकर्षण नहीं होता है । बौद्धिक उन्नति नहीं होती है । इस लिये इन विभागों में डाक घर बनाने बहुत जरूरी हैं ।

(१४) बहुमुखी सहकारी समितियां.—इन लोगों का इस योजना की तरफ अच्छा आकर्षण हो रहा था किन्तु कई जगह इन की मुद्दत रकम भी गायब होने से यह लोग हतोत्साहित हो गये हैं । जहां की रकमें गायब हो गई हैं ऐसे समितियों की उच्च अधिकारियों द्वारा जांच होना और रकम हड़प करने वालों को सजा देनी चाहिये । ताकि इन लोगों के मन में सहकारी समितियों से अधिक से अधिक लाभ उठाने का भाव पैदा हो और फिर से यह लोग अधिकाधिक सोसायटियां खोलने के लिये प्रवृत्त हो सकें । इन क्षेत्रों में सोसायटी के दुकानों पर जहां तक हो सके इन्हीं में से मंनेजर होना चाहिये तथा उन्हें कानूनी या हिस्टरब रखने में उच्च अधिकारियों से पूरी पूरी सहायता मिलती रहनी चाहिये । तथा लगातार देख रेख भी रहना चाहिये ताकि रकम का दुरुपयोग न हो सके । सोसायटी की दुकान ही एक ऐसी युक्ती है जो उन्हें साहूकार, व्यापारी तथा कई दीगरों के फरेबियों से बचा सकती है ।

(१५) मुकद्दमे मामले.—मुकद्दमे मामले इन के लिये एक फांसी की सजा है । इन के देहातों से कोर्ट बहुत दूर होते हैं, जहां से आना जाना साधनहीन है । बर्षा के दिनों में तो इन के आचरणों

का अंदाजा ही लगाना ठीक होगा। ऐसे हालत में अदालतों का रवैया यह है कि साधारण मामले भी साल साल दो दो साल चलाते हैं। कई पुलिस मामले में तो यह देखा गया है कि अदालत में मामला पेश करने के पहिले ही तीन तीन चार चार पेशियां भुगताने लगाते हैं। कई मामलों में कचहरी के बाबू या चपरासी ही झूठी पेशियां दे देते हैं। ऐसी परेशानियों से बचने के लिये कई पुलिस या आबकारी मामलों में बेगुनाह गुनाह कबूल कर लेते हैं, या ले देकर छुटकारा पाते हैं। इस मामले मुकद्दमें बाजी की परेशानी को देखते हुए नव्वे फीसदी मामले तो गांवों में ही नुकसान सह कर तय कर लेते हैं और जो थोड़े कचहरी तक आने का साहस करते हैं वह कचहरी की मुसीबतों से लाचार होकर झुठे मामलों के सामने भी झुक जाते हैं। ऐसी मुकद्दमे बाजी से इन की रक्षा "लीगल एसिस्टेंस" से और अधिक दिनों तक चलाये जाने वाले मुकद्दमे बाजी के रवियों को रोकने से ही हो सकती है।

(१६) छोड़ चिट्ठी.—इन लोगों के कुछ उपजातियों में छोड़ चिट्ठी की जातीय रीत है। किन्तु छोड़ चिट्ठी को व्यभिचार में लिया जाता है और भारतीय दण्ड विधान की धारा ४२७ तथा ५०० भी लागू की जाती है और इन के पंचायत फैसलों का कोई विचार नहीं किया जाता है। किन्तु यह न धारा ४२७ का या धारा ५०० का ही मामला है, बल्कि यह उन के जाति पंचायत का साधारण मामला है। इन दोनों मामलों के खर्चों से बचने के लिये अदालतों को ऐसे मामले जाति पंचायतों को वापिस करने चाहिये। या उनके फैसले का विचार कर के ही अपना फैसला दे देना चाहिये।

(१७) जाति पंचायत.—इन की जाति पंचायत इन के आपसी छोटे २ मामले और हर प्रकार का जाति सुधार तथा आपसी बंधु भावना रखने के लिये बहुत ही जरूरी है, किन्तु हाल में देखने में आया है कि कहीं २ सरकारी अधिकारियों से और कहीं कहीं अन्य लोगों से पंचायतों को हतोत्साहित और परेशान किया जाता है। सब से अधिक विचार

की बात तो यह है कि इन का उत्थान करने का जो महकमा सरकार ने शुरू किया है, उसी महकमे के कर्मचारी इन पंचायत पद्धति को बन्द करने में एड़ी चोटी का पसीना एक करते हैं। ऐसी रुकावट को सरकार को कायदा बनाकर रोकनी चाहिये और आदिम जाति पंचायत पद्धति को सरकार से हर प्रकार की सहायता मिलनी चाहिये। अगर इनका वास्तविक उत्थान करना है तो इन के जाति पंचायतों को साम्प्रदायिकता का रूप देना, वास्तविकता के ऊपर परदा डालने के समान है। इन लोगों में इमानदारी, सच्चाई और भोलापन अधिक है यही एक इन का बड़ा दोष है जिस के कारण ये लोग हर प्रकार से लूटे तथा दबाये जाते हैं। किसी भी जाति के लूटे या दबाये जाने वालों को अपनी बचत करना लूटने वाले और दबाने वालों की नज़र में दोष है। वर्तमान समय में इस देश में सांप्रदायिकता हानिकारक है और इसी लिये गुनाह भी है। पर फा अनुचित फायदा ले कर लूटे और दबाये जाने वालों के बचाव प्रयत्नों को साम्प्रदायिकताके रूप में रेंगते हैं। यह लोग तो दुनिया के साधारण बातों को नहीं समझ सकते हैं तो साम्प्रदायिकता को क्या समझेंगे। इन्हें साम्प्रदायिकता का दोष लगाना बिल्कुल निराधार तथा स्वार्थी है। इन के पंचायत नियमों से जितने जल्दी इन की आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा बौद्धिक परिस्थिति सुधर सकेगी उतनी जल्दी दूसरे किसी भी योजना से नहीं सुधर सकती है, यह मेरा खुद का अनुभव है।

जिसका एक नमूना बालाघाट जिले के जंगली और पहाड़ी तहसील बेहर के लाखों आदिम जातियों को जिस पंचायति नियमों के अनुसार सुधारने का प्रयत्न किया था वह नीचे संक्षिप्त में इस प्रकार है :

पंचायति नियमों के दो माह के प्रचार से वहां के लोगों ने यहां तक शराब पीना कम कर दिया है कि उन तहसील के शराब के ठेकों के निलाम की बोली पर दो दिन तक कोई बोली न बोल सका। पांच दस रुपये के खर्च में शादियां करना शुरू कर दिया। इसी प्रकार दूसरे सामाजिक और धार्मिक

।मों में कम खर्च कर के ढोंगी लोगों को दान देना बन्द कर के इत्यादि प्रकार से संगठित रूप से पंचायती बचत की । पहिले ही साल तहसील के सेंकड़ों गांवों ने मिल कर साढ़े तीन हजार खड़ी गल्ला और १७,००० रुपये पंचायत बैंको में जमा किये । इस बचत से अपनी अड़चनें दूर कर के कर्ज लेने से बचे, नौकर नामे से बचे, छोटे २ व्यापार शुरू किये, तथा तहसील में ४२ प्राथमरी और एक मिडल स्कूल शुरू किया । जिस में १,७५० बालक बालिकायें शिक्षण लेने लगी थीं । यदि ऐसे अच्छे कार्य को ऊपर लिखे अनुसार न रोका जाता तो आज तक लाखों लोगों की सर्वांग संदूर उन्नति हो जाती, पर आज वहां क्या है ? बहुत से लोगों ने फिर शराब पीना शुरू कर दिया है, शादी के खर्च बढ़ने लगे, बचत का नाश होने लगा, कर्जदारी और नौकर नामे बढ़ने लगे । ४२ स्कूलों से कुछ स्कूल आदिम जाति सुधार विभागों ने लिया बहू तो चल रहे हैं किन्तु शेष ३७ स्कूल कुछ स्वार्थी लोगों ने बनवासी सेवा समिति स्थापित कर के इन लोगों से ७ रुपये से ले कर १०० रुपयों तक हजारों चंदे में जमा कर के चलाना शुरू किया । राज्य सरकार से ४,००० का वार्षिक अनुदान भी मिलने लगा । किन्तु तीन माह मास्टरो को पगार दे कर इस समिति ने मास्टरो को पगार देना बन्द कर दिया । धीरे धीरे सब स्कूल बन्द हो गये । लोगों ने मास्टरो को पगार दे कर स्कूल चलाना चाहा, किन्तु वहां के डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गेनाइजर ने मास्टरो को पगार देने वालों को गिरफ्तार करने का आक बताया । आज सारे स्कूल बंद हैं । मास्टर, जनता और बालक रो रहे हैं ।

अगर ऐसा न होता, वहां के लोगों द्वारा शुरू किये हुए अच्छे कार्य को सरकार द्वारा सहायता मिलती तो वह अच्छा कार्य आज लगभग प्रान्त भर में कई लाख आदिम जातियों में फैल जाता और आदिम जाति योजनाएं शतप्रतिशत सफल होतीं और भारत संविधान का दस साल में आदिम जाति का उत्थान करने का दावा भी बहुत कुछ सफल हो जाता इस अच्छे कार्य को मिटाने की सारी जवाबदारी

सरकार की है । अगर आज भी सरकार का सहयोग मिले, तो यह लोग इसी ऊपरी योजना से स्वयं बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं ।

(१८) शराब.—हाथ से निकाली जाने वाली (पुतेरे की) शराब बन्द कर के सप्लाय योजना की शराब भाव बढ़ाकर शुरू करनी चाहिये । जहां जहां पुतेरे की शराब शुरू है, वहां के लोगों की हालत खराब है । बजार के दिन शराब की दुकानें बन्द रखी जायें । किसी किसी भागों में शराब बंदी योजना भी लागू की जाये । साथ साथ सरकारी कर्मचारी सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता और जाति पंचायतों से शराब बंदी के बारे में शांतिमय किन्तु लगातार प्रचार होता रहे ।

(१९) जंगल के ठेके.—(क) जंगली पैदावार जैसे हरी, तेंदुपता, लाख, माद, शहद इत्यादि के ठेके तहसील या जिलेवार एक ही आदमी को दिये जाने की प्रथा इन्हें हानिकारक है । यह प्रथा दुलाई, नाप तोल, मजदूरी और चीजों के भाव कम लेने को लाचार करते हैं । इन के विभागों में जंगल के काम ही उपजीविका के मुख्य साधन हैं । इस लिये इन्हें किसी भी हालत में यह काम करना ही पड़ता है । इसलिये इस प्रकार के ठेके देने की रीति बदलनी चाहिये । इस काम का पूरा पूरा लाभ उन्हें ही मिलने के लिये कुछ कम कीमत में छोटे छोटे ठेके इन्हें ही देने चाहियें ।

(ख) इस प्रकार की ठेकेदारी से दूसरी कई कठिनाइयां भी उत्पन्न होती हैं । जैसे ऊपरी जंगली पैदावार जो कास्तकारों के खेतों में होती है । वह उसी ठेकेदार को बंचनी पड़ती है । कहीं कहीं तो ठेकेदार लोग कास्तकारों को खुद के मगड़ों की उपज लेने ही नहीं देते । कहीं कहीं इस में झूठे चोरी और फौजदारी के मामले भी चलाये जाते हैं । लाख या गाद उसी ठेकेदार को बंचने बाजार में ले जाना होता तो रेंजर से परमिट लेना पड़ता है । दो चार सेर लाख या गाद जिस कास्तकार के खेत से निकली हो उसे २०, २५ मील दूर रेंजर के दफ्तर जाना आना तथा रेंजर दफ्तर में न रहा तो वापिस

लौटना कितना खर्च और कष्ट का काम है। अगर रेंजर दफ्तर में है तो कहां गरीब किसान और कहां रेंजर ? अंदाज से लिये हुए परमिट से कहीं थोड़ा सा अधिक माल मिला तो जंगल वालों से चोरी के मुकद्दमे का "धाक" जैसा लूटना चाहे लूट लेता है। इसलिये अपने खेतों की जंगली उपज किसी को भी बेचने का अधिकार होना चाहिये। इस से अधिक भाव भी मिलेगा और अड़चनों भी नहीं होंगी।

(२०) फारेस्ट व्हिजेज.—फारेस्ट व्हिजेज के नागरिकों को जमीन का मौरूसी हक मिलना चाहिये। जंगलों में जितनी जमीन कास्त के लायक हो, वो इन्हें मुफ्त दी जाय तथा पांच साल की किस्तों से बीज और बेलों की तकावी दी जाय।

(२१) चाय के खेतों में काम करने के लिए फली आसाम ले जाना.—चाय के खेतों में काम करने के लिये "जोड़ी" ले जाने की प्रथा शुरू की गई है। इस काम के लिये देहातों में जिघर उघर पुरुष और स्त्री सरदार भोले नौजवान स्त्री पुरुषों को प्रलीभन दिखा कर किसी की औरत, किसी की बहन, किसी की बेटा और किसी का बेटा, किसी का भाई, इन्हें बहका कर गांव से भगाते हैं। बीच जंगल में लारियां खड़ी कर के इन्हें बैठा कर अपने डिपो में ले जाते हैं। वहां इन्हें कपड़े, रुपये, बर्तन दे कर इन से मैजिस्ट्रेट के सामने "स्व इच्छा से काम करने जाना" लिखा के आसाम ले जाते हैं। इघर उन के घर वाले भोले गरीब कुछ भी रोक थाम करने में लाचार चुप रहते हैं। इस तरह दो घरों का संसार बिगड़ता है। कुछ वर्षों बाद यह जोड़ी वापिस आती है और वहां अनैतिकता का प्रचार कर के कई भोलों के संसार बिगड़ते रहते हैं। इसलिये इस अनैतिकता फैलाने वाली कुली भर्ती को कायदे की शक्ति से रोकना चाहिये। जो खुद खुशी से जाना चाहते हों, उसकी प्रथम स्वइच्छा उस के घर वालों के समक्ष गांव के पटेल या पुलिस थाने में ही होनी चाहिये।

(२२) जमीन तबदीली का कायदा.—भोले देहातियों को कई वर्गों की धोखे बाजी से बचाने के

लिये सन् १९१६ में जमीन तबदीली की लिखा पढ़ी जिला साहब की इजाजत से रजिस्ट्री करना अनिवार्य किया गया था और ऐसी रजिस्ट्री के सिवाय जमीन तबदीली नाजायज ठहराई गई थी फिर भी ऐसी लिखा पढ़ी न कर के ही हजारों एकड़ जमीन हर वर्ष इन के हाथ से निकलती जा रही है।

इसी प्रकार का संरक्षण का कोई कायदा फारेस्ट व्हिजेज के नागरिकों के लिये नहीं बनाया गया हालांकि यह बहुत ही पिछड़े हुए हैं और उन्हें संरक्षण और बचाव की बहुत ही जरूरत है। कई मामले ऐसे देखे गये हैं कि जिस में निराधार कायदों के आधार पर ही फारेस्ट व्हिजेज के नागरिकों को निकाल दिया गया है। इसी लिये इन की भी कायदे से रक्षा करना आवश्यक है।

(२३) उत्तराधिकार (Inheritance).—उत्तराधिकारी के लिये कायदा बनाना आवश्यक है। उत्तराधिकारी के मामले रीति रिवाज के अनुसार हो रहे हैं। किन्तु रीति रिवाज की सबूती देना बहुत ही कठिन कार्य है। और इस सम्बन्ध में खर्च की हुई रकम एक भारी व्यर्थ का नुकसान है। इसलिये सरकार को एक जांच कमेटी मुकर्रर करना चाहिये और इस के रिपोर्ट के आधार पर उत्तराधिकारी के कायदे बनाना चाहिये। ऐसे कायदे के अभाव में उत्तराधिकार के मामलों का फैसला एक अंधेर गर्दा है और भोले गरीबों का सर्वनाश है।

(२४) न्याय पंचायत.—इन के विभागों में कई न्याय पंचायतों से गैर कायदे फैसले दिये जाते हैं। न्याय पंचायत के गैर कायदे फैसले की अपील करना भी एक बड़े खर्च का काम है, जो इनकी हस्ती के बाहर की बात है। इसलिये इन के विभागों में तब ही न्याय पंचायतें स्थापित की जायें, जब इन में से कुछ मेम्बर शिक्षित मिल सकें। इसके सिवाय इन की अपील छोटी अदालतों में भी होनी चाहिये।

(२५) उद्योग घन्घे.—इन के विभागों में सन् बकुल और मोवा पवई (घास) इत्यादि के रस्से तथा सन, बकुल बांस इत्यादि की चटाइयां

बनाना सिखाना चाहिये। इन की बाड़ी में टमाटर, भट्टा, मिरची, केला, कुठहर, पपीते, सरीखे उपयोगी फलों के लगाने के बीज दिये जायें। सरसों करड़, रमतिल्ला, गुली इत्यादि का तेल निकालना सिखाया जाना चाहिये। खाद बनाना तथा उस का उपयोग सिखाना चाहिये। मुर्गी, सुब्बर, बकरी, गाय, भैंस के अच्छे नस्ल के बीजार दिये जायें तथा अच्छे ढंग से पालना सिखाया जाय। इन सब की खरीद और बिक्री की व्यवस्था सहकारी समितियों द्वारा की जाय।

(२६) नोट.—नोटों की चलन के सम्बन्ध में इन के विभागों में यह देखा गया है कि नोटों के बदले रुपये लेने के लिये अपनी पैदावार कम भाव में बेच देते हैं। इस का कारण इन के पास पेटियाँ नहीं होती हैं और घर भी बिल्कुल कच्चे होते हैं। इस लिये यह अपनी रकम अकसर जमीन में गाड़ कर रखते हैं। नोटों को गाड़ कर रखने से पानी से भीगने का दूसरे चूहों से कतरे जाने का और दीमक से खाये जाने का भय लगा रहता है। इससे बचने के लिये ही नुकसान सहकर भी नोटों के बदले रुपये लेना पसंद करते हैं। इस बदलावट में इन के उपज की कीमत चार चार छे छे माह तक जाती है और कभी कभी पूरी रकम हड़प भी की जाती है। इसलिये इन के विभागों में रुपयों की चलन होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

(२७) कन्ट्रोल चीजों का लायसेंस.—पिछले दिनों में इस सम्बन्ध में इनके लिये कोई खास बात की हुई नहीं देखी गयी। अगर सरकार को इनका वास्तविक उद्धार करना ही है तो इन में से कुछ लोगों को कन्ट्रोल की चीजों का लायसेंस बिक्रेता मुकर्रर करती जिससे इन को व्यापार का काफी ज्ञान होता और जागृति भी होती। अभी भी कन्ट्रोल चीजों के डीलर का लायसेंस दिया जाना

चाहिये। इससे जो अनुभव होगा, उस अनुभव से इन की आर्थिक परिस्थिति सुधारने का एक नया क्षेत्र निकल जायेगा।

(२८) प्रकाशन.—(क) प्राथमरी या माध्यमिक स्कूलों में व्यवहारिक ज्ञान तथा समाज शास्त्र का पढ़ाया जाना अति आवश्यक है। नागरिकता के प्राथमिक अधिकार सम्बन्धी पाठ्य पुस्तक अवश्य होनी चाहिये। दुर्भाग्य से अपने अधिकारों की प्राथमिक जानकारी से भी ये अनभिज्ञ हैं। इस लिये जितने भी कायदे इनके उत्थान के सम्बन्ध में बने होंगे या आगे बनाये जायेंगे उन सब को एक पुस्तक के रूप में छात्राकर इन्हें पढ़ाया जाय। जिस से इन्हें इन के अधिकार, संरक्षण, हक इत्यादि का ज्ञान होकर अपना बचाव तथा उत्थान करते रहें।

(ख) इस के सिवाय जो भी कायदे इन की सहूलियत, रक्षा तथा उन्नति के लिये आज तक बने हैं या बनाये जायेंगे उसकी पूरी पूरी जानकारी हर गांव में मुनादियों द्वारा, पोस्टरों को चिपकाकर, बी० ए० डब्लू के कर्मचारियों द्वारा तथा आदिम जाति के समाचार पत्रों द्वारा करना चाहिये।

अंत में इन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ सुझाव और धोखे-बाजी के सबूत दिये जा सकते हैं। इन को दूर करने के लिये एक ही इलाज सर्वोत्तम है, वह है इन के उत्थान के सम्बन्ध में जो भी कुछ किया जाय उस की उपयोगिता की देखभाल के लिये एक अलग एजेन्सी स्थापित की जाय। अभी तक जो कुछ हो रहा है, उस से यह एजेन्सी दूसरे प्रकार की रहे और जहां तक हो सके वह एजेन्सी इन्हीं में से बनाई जाय, जो इन में समरस हो कर काम कर सके। अभी तक के कामों से यह अनुभव हुआ है कि जो दूसरे इस काम पर मुकर्रर हुए हैं उन में से अधिकांश अपने ही स्वार्थ के लिये परिस्थिति निर्माण करने की कोशिश करते रहते हैं।

**Grants-in-Aid
for
Welfare Schemes**

Shri G. C. Mukhtyar, Director of Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh

THE total population of tribal people in India is about 20 million. Of these, about 2.5 million live in Madhya Pradesh. The total population of Madhya Pradesh is about 2.11 crores and so the tribal people constitute an important section of the community. Under the Indian Constitution, scheduled tribes and scheduled areas for Madhya Pradesh have been defined by two separate orders of the President of the Indian Union. In the past the problems of the scheduled tribes and scheduled areas did not receive as much attention as was required, looking to the immensity of the problem. The Constitution has laid down a period of 10 years for making sustained endeavour for improving the economic and social conditions of these people and for raising the level of administration of the areas in which they reside, to that obtaining in advanced areas. Funds available, or as can be raised for the economic and social development of the country, with the Central and State Governments, are limited and so it is necessary to have a well-conceived plan for improving the economic and social conditions of the tribals with a view to achieving the goal, without any wastage of funds, within the period prescribed under the Constitution, as far as possible.

The proviso to Article 275(1) of the Indian Constitution lays down the purpose and conditions on which grants-in-aid shall be paid out of the consolidated fund of India. The purpose as laid down therein is promoting the welfare of the scheduled tribes in a State or raising the level of administration of the scheduled areas therein to that of the rest of the areas of that State. The condition imposed on payment of these grants under the above Article is that the schemes undertaken by the State Government for the welfare of the scheduled tribes or for raising the level of administration of the scheduled

areas should have the approval of the Government of India. While dealing with the directive principles of State policies under Article 46 of the Constitution, it has been laid down that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. As can be seen from these provisions, the objective of any scheme of a State for the welfare of tribal people should be to improve the economic and social conditions of scheduled tribes and in scheduled areas, with special reference to the spread of education amongst them in order to make them alive to their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a modern welfare State.

In this paper an attempt is made to indicate briefly the salient features of the scheme of Tribal Welfare which is in operation in Madhya Pradesh from about 1948. This scheme is based on the one drawn up by Shri A. V. Thakkar, the famous social reformer, who devoted his life in promoting the welfare of tribal people. It incorporates a well-integrated programme of activities for the economic and social development of the tribal people. Madhya Pradesh has also been receiving grant from the Government of India on the basis of this scheme.

The scheme of Tribal Welfare embraces the following categories of work.—

- (1) Education.
- (2) Economic activities.
- (3) Medical relief and water supply.
- (4) Communications.
- (5) Social, moral and cultural uplift.
- (6) Propaganda and Publicity.

The above activities have been briefly dealt with separately hereafter.

(1) Education

Primary and middle schools have been started under the scheme of tribal welfare and education is imparted upto the VII class. In the primary stage upto fourth class, boys are provided with books and slates free of cost. Mid-day refreshments are also provided to them. Education of girls is encouraged by giving them, in addition, free dresses in both primary and middle stages. Hostels have been provided in middle schools i.e. from fifth to seventh standard and stipends to students are given so as to enable them to reside in the hostels. The scheme provides for the imparting of instructions in agriculture in primary as well as middle stages. Similarly, handicrafts have to be taught in middle schools. Arrangements are being made shortly for teaching of agriculture and for introducing useful handicrafts in middle schools. About 29,000 students are taking education in 252 schools. The number of girls taking education is 4,506. A keen desire is in evidence on the part of people in some areas to take advantage of these educational facilities. For drawing up a curriculum suited to the needs of tribal boys and girls and for making arrangements for preparing text-books in tribal dialects, the Madhya Pradesh State Government have recently set up a sub-committee.

In addition to the efforts made by the State Government for spreading education amongst these people, grants are also given by Government to social service institutions in the State which undertake to run schools for tribal boys and girls. The problem being vast, special efforts are being made to encourage social service institutions to take increasing part in these activities.

It is proposed to treat each centre of education where a middle school is

established to serve as a centre round which all developmental activities, economic and, otherwise, should be organised.

(2) Economic

As a first step towards improving the economic condition of the tribal people, it is necessary to stop their exploitation and to introduce co-operative methods of working in as many aspects of their economic life as possible. Begar has to be stopped. Small contracts for collection of forest produce have to be given to co-operative societies of tribal people. Co-operative societies have also to be established for settling on land such of them as have been practising, shifting cultivation. Such societies have also to be established for taking up subsidiary occupations such as cutting wood, manufacture of charcoal, manufacture of articles from bamboos, cottage industries such as making ropes, weaving grass mats, etc.

In Madhya Pradesh, so far multi-purpose co-operative societies have been started for undertaking distribution of agricultural requisites and consumer goods and for undertaking some of the activities described above. In practice, they have undertaken, to begin with, distribution of consumer goods with a view to gain the confidence of the people before proceeding to take up other activities. Even for running small activities, Government provide them with small working capital and give grants for managerial expenses in the initial stages. An experiment is also being made for settling about 2,700 families of scheduled tribes on land. This will become a co-operative colony in due course of time. In view of the appalling poverty which prevails amongst these people, it will be necessary for the State to make available to co-operative organisations, in the initial stages, capital required for taking up contracts or purchase of equipment and also to give grants for meeting a part

of managerial cost. When these institutions get firmly rooted, they will work as autonomous self-supporting units. The State will also have to provide for their supervision so long as sufficient number of social service institutions do not come forward to undertake such work or so long as these co-operative units are not able to develop their own supervising unions.

(3) *Medical Relief and Works*

Tribal people have a deep rooted prejudice against the use of modern medicines as they have the superstition that all ailments are due to Divine Wrath. As a result, diseases such as malaria, yaws, scabies, etc. are rampant amongst them. Again facilities for pure drinking water are absent in several parts of scheduled areas and the tribal people therefore drink water even from stagnant pools.

In order to gain their confidence and make them ready for the use of medicines under the scheme of Tribal Welfare, Herbo-mineral and Homœopathic medicines have been introduced. The administration of these medicines is being looked after by the staff of the Tribal Welfare Department. Experience shows that tribal people have begun to like these medicines.

For providing greater medical facilities, dispensaries will have to be established at important centres in scheduled areas by the Public Health Department. These dispensaries can work in addition to the present arrangement.

The Vanvasi Sewa Mandal, originally founded by Shri A. V. Thakkar, with headquarters at Mandla, is the only social service institution which owns a mobile dispensary. For running this dispensary it has got special funds provided to it but this can legitimately form one of the activities which can usefully be undertaken by this and other social service institutions and which can be entitled to a share of grant by the State.

For providing pure drinking water, a systematic programme of digging wells is being carried on under the scheme of Tribal Welfare.

(4) *Communications*

Want of proper and adequate communications in scheduled areas is partly responsible for keeping the scheduled areas secluded from the rest of the country. It is also one of the factors which is responsible for their extremely undeveloped state. An extensive road programme to open out these areas will have to be undertaken by the State in the Public Works Department. So far as the Tribal Welfare Department is concerned, it undertakes the construction of village or approach roads, either singly or in co-operation with the Forest Department.

(5) *Social, Moral and Cultural Uplift*

The scheme of Tribal Welfare makes an effort to preserve the good features of the culture of these people and to see that virtues amongst them are not destroyed by any activity that is introduced. Arrangements are made in different parts of scheduled areas for having folk dances, folk songs, Bhajans, dialogues, tournaments for children and adults, competition in archery and wood-cutting, etc. It is proposed to increase these activities with a view to develop a broad national outlook amongst these people, which is the essence of any scheme of social education.

(6) *Propaganda and Publicity*

Propaganda and publicity are necessary for popularising the welfare measures amongst the tribal people with a view to secure their co-operation and to create enthusiasm amongst them for striving for their own welfare. For carrying on extensive propaganda under the scheme of Tribal Welfare, 7 vans

have been allotted to the Tribal Welfare Department, equipped with generators, 16 mm cinema projectors, public address system, gramophones, radios, etc. These vans move from place to place and exhibit films which appeal to the tribal people. This system of propaganda has proved successful in attracting tribal people and making them ready for receiving new ideas and new measures, being introduced for their welfare.

The percentage of literate tribals being very low, publicity is done mostly through propaganda vans. For the literate section, pamphlets and posters are also prepared from time to time.

All the above activities are at present being carried on by a separate department of Government known as the Tribal Welfare Department. In Madhya Pradesh, scheduled areas have been divided into 10 zones and each zone has approximately an area of 3,600 sq. miles with an average population of 2-56 lakhs. Each zone is in charge of a District Organiser assisted by three Circle Organisers. The work of these District Organisers is supervised by two Divisional Officers at the divisional level. The executive charge of the scheme is at present with an honorary officer who has got considerable experience of social welfare work and who was associated with such work in Panchmahals of Gujrat under the guidance and supervision of Shri A. V. Thakkar and some other parts of Bombay State. The administrative and financial matters are at present

looked after by the Director of Tribal Welfare assisted by two gazetted officers. For advising Government on matters relating to tribal welfare, a Tribal Advisory Council has been established.

Besides this department, other development departments of Government also make efforts for the development of the tribal people. Measures are also taken for raising the level of administration in these areas to that of advanced areas by departments concerned.

In a Welfare State, the welfare work has to be done both by the State and the people organised into social service institutions. As the funds of the State are limited by the taxable capacity of the people, more and more of welfare work will have to be undertaken by the social service institutions. In order to encourage social service institutions in this direction, it will be a desirable policy to give them grants to an increasing extent from year to year but subject to the condition that in the stipulated period they stand on their own legs.

The period prescribed for developing the economic and social conditions of scheduled tribes and scheduled areas is limited and so perhaps are the funds available with the Central and State Governments. Whatever funds are, therefore, available have to be utilised in the best manner possible and it is hoped that this paper will indicate the lines on which such funds can best be utilised.

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**Shri P. M. Mukherjee, Special Officer for Aborigines and Backward classes,
West Bengal**

UNDER article 275 (1) of the Constitution, the Government of India is pledged to give grants to States for the development of Scheduled Tribes.

A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs was placed at the disposal of the West Bengal Government for this purpose in the year 1951-52.

Preliminaries

The following initial difficulties then arose. The grant being of a novel nature, the Finance Department did not know where to locate it in their budget and not a small amount of correspondence passed between that Department and the Accountant General, West Bengal. The Finance Department suggested that pending a reference to the Auditor and Comptroller General of India the grant might be placed under the head "State Suspense". The Accountant General, West Bengal, replied that no such reference was necessary and raised a number of points with regard to proper auditing. The issue of orders by the Accountant General on the disbursing officers was for a long time withheld.

As this grant is likely to be an annual feature, it is suggested that a uniform rule might be laid down by the Centre in consultation with the audit authorities for application throughout the States.

In the writer's opinion the simplest procedure would be as follows:—

As soon as the allotment from the Centre is received it would be entered on the State budget under a suitable heading to be determined by the Auditor General. The State Government would then place the entire amount at the disposal of the Tribal Welfare Department or where no such full-fledged Department exists, to the particular Department which administers tribal affairs (e.g. the Land and Land Revenue Department in West Bengal). That Department would again, in its turn, allocate to different disbursing officers or Departments (where necessary) or individuals or institutions—the requisite sums.

Agency

The agency employed so far has been the over-worked District Officer. He is of course assisted by Special Officers in the districts of Midnapore, Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum, West Dinajpur and Malda. The Deputy Commissioners of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, Hooghly and Murshidabad have no such Special Officers to assist them. One of the reasons that weigh with Government for placing the money at the hands of the District Officers is that in the eyes of the tribals the District Officer is their 'Ma' 'Bap'—the visible emblem of Government on the spot. The District Officers, also on their part, frequently complain that in the absence of adequate funds in their own hands they cannot in spite of their best intentions do anything tangible for the betterment of these people. As the administration of the Tribal people is closely associated with the question of law and order it is perhaps desirable that the District Officers should have the fullest control over the formulation and execution of all such schemes. The District Officer will thereby be able to gain in a greater measure the confidence of these people and his wishes will be respected by them in an increasing manner. Where, of course, the schemes are of a technical nature, the District Officer should have the liberty of drafting technical assistance from the Departments. Again, where the magnitude of the work justifies such a course the District Officer may be empowered to appoint technical hands temporarily out of the grants placed at his disposal.

Another agency that commends itself to the writer is a group of selected philanthropic organisations working among the Scheduled Tribes. It is well-known that there are several such organisations with a background of noble service rendered. Some of them work in silence and do not clamour for help—although help is really needed

and proves highly useful. The question of audit, however, comes in and in one instance the writer was told point blank that the institution would rather forego such grants than submit to audit rules which were unnecessarily elaborate and positively irritating. The honesty of that institution was beyond dispute but the vexatious audit rules made it shy of such a grant. It may, therefore, be considered whether in case of such Institutions of outstanding honesty, the usual audit rules cannot be relaxed. The Institutions will of course be required to submit schemes for prior approval and to allow inspection by officials of the Tribal Welfare Department.

In view of the last-minute rush that arises every year with regard to the submission of the schemes, it is suggested that the Tribal Department should always have ready in its hands a set of schemes arranged in order of priority and that there should be sustained activity in this Department all the year round. The schemes will in the first instance be submitted by the District Officer after consultation with technical heads. The District Officer might well have a Tribes Welfare Committee in the District formed by Tribal M.L.As., Non-Tribal M.L.As. interested in Tribal Welfare, Missionaries, Social Workers, and Tribal Officers where they happen to exist. At the state level, the schemes will be examined by the different departmental Secretaries and heads of Directorates who will jointly make the final selection.

This procedure will minimise all delay and last-minute Telegrams and Radiograms.

Type of Schemes

Now we come to the question of the type of schemes on which the grants may be spent.

Raising of Economic Level

In 1951-52 the West Bengal Government spent the sum of Rs. 2 lakhs on schools, hostels, irrigation, water-supply, grain-banks and welfare centres. The different district officers lay stress on different aspects of tribal life. One District Officer thinks that the question of water supply may be given the top-most priority while another is of opinion that education should be taken up first, leaving others to follow in its wake. The most important thing, however, is the raising of the economic level of these people and this should be the first concern of administrative officers. This can best be done by giving these people training in the production of better crops, particularly cash crops, teaching them profitable arts and industries and giving them loans to start trades and lastly providing land to the landless.

Anthropological Research

Expenditure of a part of the grant on anthropological research should be also aimed at. This subject, in view of its enormous possibilities, can help the administrator more than anything else. Take for example, the case of witch-craft. This subject has attracted the combined attention of administrators, missionaries and educational workers but it shows no signs of abating rather it is on the increase. The oppression on people goes on and the witch-diviners ply their trade merrily on and make their pile. It is here, where the Administrator has failed, that the anthropologist may come in and tender his advice for a proper solution of the problem.

Rehabilitation of Refugees

Another item, of useful work is the rehabilitation of refugee personnel in tribal areas. The Tribes will have before them a visible example of a

higher standard of living and a better culture pattern. If all the States co-operate in this matter, the situation arising out of the exodus from Pakistan might be eased, even though to a

limited extent. Part of the Rehabilitation grant sanctioned by the Centre may be diverted to this head and spent through the Tribal Welfare Department.

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Shri B. Chatterjee, Executive Secretary, Indian Conference of Social Work, Calcutta

THE Constitution of India lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." (Section 4.)

The object of this paper is to suggest the outline of a scheme for a Model Community Centre as suggested by the Tribal Welfare Committee of the Indian Conference of Social Work in its memorandum published recently.

At the outset we must define the word "Community" since even these so-called isolated tribal people live a community life. Community implies natural, spontaneous kind of human relations based on direct acquaintance, common standards and mutual understanding for meeting common human and social needs.

In the field of social welfare, community organisation has been recognised as one of the basic techniques in social work. It has been defined as the process of bringing more effective adjustment between welfare needs and resources in a geographic area or a community. Dr. Mehta in his paper on "Approaches to Community Planning" has stated that the objectives of community welfare should be to provide a healthy environment and adequate housing with proper all-round educational facilities, to achieve effective

organisation of effective economic life of the community, and to make the people civic conscious and eager to lead a social life which is not only beneficial to their locality, but which promotes an eagerness and awareness of national affairs.

In dealing with the tribal communities, we must keep in mind that these isolated people are in different stages of development and have their own individual, cultural and economic background. All efforts at social welfare should therefore be based on a scientific study of socio-economic conditions and needs of the people in the region, so as to avoid all possibility of a class of cultures which can upset the harmony of their social life. The purpose of the Community Centres should be to narrow the gulf between the advanced and under-privileged population through the provision of special protections, privileges, incentives and a system of education—all these should be adapted to the existing tribal culture, but in such a way so as to facilitate total assimilation over a period of time, and to pave the way for the creation of a community which can take active civic participation, on an equal footing with the other existing communities in India. They too should be made aware of their potentialities and the possibilities of a better life through the instrumentality of a comprehensive community centre. The Model Centre, while catering to the diverse economic educational, health and welfare needs of the tribal people,

will promote a democratic community life based on co-operation, democracy, social action and self-reliance.

Location of the Site for the Model Community Centre

The choice of location and site of a Model Community Centre is a very important consideration. The idea being to choose such a site which is located deep in tribal territory well within their own milieu and yet easily accessible in order to facilitate contact and communication with the outside world.

Among other things which should be given special consideration in choosing a site are: a healthy climate, good and constant source of water supply, irrigation facilities, availability of cultivable land, nearness to forest resources and an aesthetic and beautiful environment; so that the development of a Model Colony round the Centre can be facilitated. It is necessary that the area should have average conditions—i.e., neither specially gifted nor specially handicapped. While planning the Model Colony, we have to consider the structure of the dwellings; some change can be incorporated in the existing design of their huts with a view to providing better ventilation and greater accommodation. Among other things which can help to improve living conditions are: the introduction of suitably situated cattle sheds and compost pits, the separation of drinking water wells and irrigation wells, the construction of local public buildings like school, dispensary, stores, offices and the community hall or Panchayat Ghar.

In the construction of these tribal settlements, the Government will have to incur practically no expenditure for with the co-operation of the Forest Department the necessary supplies of timber, bamboos, etc. can be made available to the tribals who can themselves erect their new dwellings. During this

period they will, however, have to be provided with free meals, as they will be unable to attend to their normal economic pursuits. Also some provision will have to be made for the construction of semi-permanent buildings such as the offices, dispensary, school, etc. The construction of wells can be taken up departmentally with the tribals providing the necessary labour force.

An Outline of the Programme

As the needs of the tribal people are very varied, a comprehensive socio-economic survey of the specific region should be undertaken and a suitable programme evolved. Therefore at best only a broad outline of the possible welfare activities of a Model Centre can be started.

A. Economic Development

- (a) Development and utilization of forest resources
- (b) Allotment and settlement on land
- (c) Agricultural extension work
- (d) Animal husbandry and cattle-breeding, veterinary facilities
- (e) Development of cottage industries and handicrafts
- (f) Debt Conciliation
- (g) Co-operative organization

B. Education

- (a) Basic Education for Children
- (b) Social Education for adults
- (c) Tribal teacher training section

C. Health and Welfare

- (a) Dispensaries
- (b) Maternity and child welfare
- (c) Hospitalization Ambulance service
- (d) Environmental hygiene
- (e) Physical fitness programme
- (f) Woman and Child Welfare
- (g) Youth Welfare and leadership—Training—Boys' Clubs,

Girls' Clubs—Scouting and Girl Guiding, Camp, Hiking, Tramping, Folk Dance, Music, Painting, etc.

D. Panchayat and Local Administration

A. Economic Development

The economic development of the tribals is closely linked up with the surrounding forests. Therefore one of the essential pre-requisites of a sound social welfare programme is the re-orientation of the Government's forest policy. Just as it has been an accepted principle of progressive land tenure, that the land belongs to the tiller of the soil, similarly the forest ought to belong to the tribals. The Government would also encourage the tribal people themselves, to shoulder the responsibility of conserving, utilizing and developing the surrounding forests and the resources thereof, under the aegis of the Community Centre or the local forest department.

The allotment of land should be made, keeping in view the nature and fertility of soil and in order to protect their rights, land should be made non-transferable. Practical assistance to the new farmers should be given by an Agriculture Extension Service with Model Demonstration Farm. This department should also organize a young farmer's club to train and interest young tribals to better farming. Another responsibility of this department will be the education of the tribals in animal husbandry and poultry farming, besides providing for veterinary aid, general cattle protection and development of animal life.

The tribals should be employed in gainful occupations by the encouragement of Cottage Industries and Handicrafts which are suited to the particular skill of the tribals and the environment, e.g. bamboo craft, bee-keeping, soap-making and gur-making.

The elimination of the middlemen will mark a major stepping stone towards the welfare of the tribals. The middlemen, such as the money-lenders, exploit the ignorance of the tribal folks in all possible ways and so keep them in perpetual subjugation and in fetters of debt. The direct contact of the tribals with the co-operative societies or with welfare workers will ensure fair and beneficial treatment for them. The local co-operative societies should enlighten the tribal people regarding the debt conciliation acts and help enforce them.

Other co-operative organizations should be organized and encouraged in the Model Community Centre, viz., Co-operative Credit Society, Purchase and Sale Department, Forest Utilization Society, Agricultural Farms, Grain Banks, and Cooperative Multi-purpose credit under fair terms, to obtain raw materials and sell off the finished product with ease and to get the general benefits of co-operative farming. Each member of the Co-operative Farm should be allowed about one or two acres of land for his private use and garden cultivation.

B. Education

In the Education of the tribals the objects should not be to clamp down ideas and values of a different world. An organized policy is desirable which professes to develop and encourage all that is healthy and desirable in the local traditions and social life, besides providing the tribals with a suitable vocation. The existing Basic Method of teaching is a good system to follow. The instruction should be in the tribal language and the regional language as a second language. Where there is no organized script the spoken language of the tribals should be reduced to writing preferably in Devnagiri script or in the script of the regional language. The children should be encouraged to learn tribal dances and games, and garden cultivation (which can also

be a financial help to them). The weekly holiday should correspond with local market days, and during important festivals the schools should be closed. Books, stationery and mid-day meals should be provided free. Books pertaining to tribal mythology and traditions should be printed departmentally.

It is not only the children who are in need of education, but there should also be a scheme of Social Education for the adults. Such classes can be held at night and should include not only knowledge of the 3 R's but general lectures on important forest excise and revenue laws, general health and hygiene, citizenship-training, parent education etc. Young and energetic tribals can be selected as teachers and paid a special allowance of Rs. 20 or so, during the period of study. These tribal teachers will be in a better position to impart knowledge as they enjoy the confidence of the local populace.

C. Health and Welfare Services

The tribal folk suffer from a entire lack of a serious shortage of health and welfare services. The Community Centre should provide a nucleus round which a complete Health Unit can be built up. The emergency cases should be taken to the nearest General Hospital in a specially maintained Ambulance Unit. For local cases and routine vaccinations, there should be a dispensary which should if possible, try to provide a few beds. A welfare section, chiefly for women, child and youth welfare should also be set up—this can also take care of the recreational and physical fitness of all. A Model Canteen will do much to inculcate better methods of cooking from nutrition, health and hygiene point of view. But for all welfare administration, we must keep in mind the fact that the tribals themselves must feel responsible for the administrative organization so as to make the scheme a success. A bureaucratic organization

which cannot sympathize or understand the tribals and their way of life cannot possibly achieve desired results.

D. Panchayat and Local Administration

For the better facilitation of administration a Tribal Panchayat may be constituted, by Government order, with minor criminal and civil jurisdiction together with the power to enforce certain social duties. All cases should be decided in the open panchayat and fines imposed should not exceed Rs. 50. The Panchayat can minister problems which are peculiar to local conditions, e.g. the tribals should not generally be prevented from netting jungle animals and birds; the money lenders and other middlemen should not be allowed to function within the jurisdiction of the Community Centre.

A great deal of the success of the scheme depends on the type of personnel employed for the administration of these community centres. The Social Service Officer, who should have a post-graduate training in Social Work ought to be made entirely responsible for the general administration of the Community Centre—all others being subordinate to him and under his direct supervision. Trained and experienced people should as far as possible be recruited for the various sectional heads e.g. Health Inspector, Co-operative Organizer, Collective Farm Manager, etc. The staff members should undergo a short term orientation course in tribes and tribal welfare in the area concerned, so that they will be the better prepared to view the special conditions sympathetically and have a clearer grasp of the prevalent problems.

In time to come the special organizations which have been set up to look after the economic development, the education and health of the tribals should be absorbed in the respective Government Departments, for by then it is hoped that the tribals will have

settled in a way of life which does not clash with the cultures of those with whom they come in contact; in fact the tribal community should prove an added asset as one of the civic communities of this country. They will have learnt to accept the existence and respect the rights of the neighbouring

communities, thus being able to fit into the general administration of the country. Only the welfare and recreational departments which are generally accepted as integral part of a community centre need remain as a unit supported, as far as possible by the local community.

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Shri David Roy, Shillong (Assam)

IT is a problem but a very interesting and educating problem when man meets man and one tries to study the other. This approach in the social contact of man and man as fellow beings each needing the society of the other helps in building up the Union where several tribes, races and tongues come together to form a system of Government each to pursue the ideal of loving and serving one another.

This is the object behind the Constitution of India, and this is definitely stated by the Constitution in the declaration that where aid is necessary to bring up Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas to the level of administration as is found in the rest of the States of India as a whole, assistance must be rendered as grants-in-aid from State Revenues of the Central Government (Article 275 of the Constitution of India).

Objects for grants-in-aid

As to how the grants-in-aid from the Central Government are to be utilised—by what agency and for what schemes, there is special mention by the Constitution itself in its Directive Principles of State Policy of objects most needed for attention as indicated in Articles 46, 47, 48 and 49, (a) the special care of the educational interests and (b) the economic interests of the weaker sections, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes; special stress is also laid on the need of (c) raising the level of nutrition and

(d) the standard of living and (e) improvement of public health; and (f) the organisation of agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines, as well as (g) preserving and improving the breeds of cows and other milk and draught cattle, and (h) the protection of monuments, places or objects of artistic or historic interest. All these have been declared as obligatory subjects for the State to care, have regard, and to organise and to protect. These matters cover almost all the objects on which the grants-in-aid when carefully planned could be utilised for the benefit of the Tribal and Scheduled Areas.

The most animated discussion can take place even on the methods to be pursued in bringing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes into full grown membership of the Citizenship of the Union which in the language of the Constitution the level of administration of the Scheduled and the Tribal Areas to that of the rest of the Union, and the promotion of the welfare of these Areas. But by the Constitution very little scope is left for such controversy as the wide subjects as set forth in Articles 46, 47, 48 and 49 will more than cover the field in the attainment to the object of Section 275.

Education

In Article 46 there is the first most essential work in the Scheme, but as

we know the word Education is the most used term which conveys to ordinary people nothing more than a place called a School where the art of reading, writing and accounting is taught and the place where the old is forgotten and the new is to be developed. This aspect in our system must be carefully avoided especially in our venture in these backward fields.

Anthropologists and ethnologists may be said to be good as advisers in the system of Education in these areas as by their interest in the investigation of the culture of those Areas and Tribes are probably the best fitted to discover by patient efforts the complex secrets in the life of the primitive race or people, and much good may be derived from their advice and lead. Thus stress may be laid on the authority and use of that advice by virtue of Governmental sanction which accompanies such advice, but this has to be carefully measured and guarded when bestowed upon such advice as there is always the other side to be weighed of the secret which lies behind a certain practice or habit in the primitive life which has to be understood and not to be neglected by reason of our ignorance of the fundamental idea behind primitive sanctions and prohibitions. Therefore sole dependence on system of Education based on expert or experimental authority however good in other spheres is apt to be faulty in our venture in tribal areas.

They have maintained the secret of isolation and the fear is always that the shocks of contact with the outside world might damage the good that is in them. In a word the Education System in these areas is to bring out the native urge in the character of the Tribes themselves, so that by their own strivings as well as by thoughtful help and guidance in our system of Education they can be helped to extricate their culture and their life from the effects of the numerous shocks which are apt

to happen in their projection from the tribal habitat into the world outside their own surroundings or when into their areas other forms of cultures and ideas come into play. This urge and effect must be brought out in their character prompted from their own intellectual spring and this must be helped under the foster care of the system of Education which must be carefully thought out for the Tribes.

To put it more clearly in the absence of an intellectual guide or to be more precise without a deep intellectual principle permeating the life of a people there can be no cementing factor to co-ordinate the activities of a people. This can be readily explained as a people has its national traits and character and these must progress in a process of evolution to survive the shocks of changes which come with the passage of time. This is the psychological approach to the number of problems concerning the Scheduled Tribes, the Tribal Areas and the Scheduled Areas in the various States.

Thus the Government grants-in-aid in applying to Education must be to aim at a system of Education which brings out the native traits in the character and cultures of these Tribes.

With regard to the agency for such a scheme, the Education Staff, the Anthropologists and Ethnologists, the Tribal Staff of trained and experienced tribals, the Government Staff from the Government services and lay people with broad outlook will be the *Education Board* of these areas. The object in view is to get Tribal talent to enunciate the fundamental principles of their Tribal culture, and the other members to help in the formulation of constructive plans to help the areas. These Education Boards for Tribals can bring out text-books, readers containing tales of history and folklore with chapters on the geography of their areas. The Boards will also help to

suggest special lines of study to help the Tribes in the promotion and development of the resources of their areas. Further the Tribal Staff trained as I have indicated will eventually be leaders to help in the development of the administration of the areas, and they will act as advisers in methods of approach to Tribal questions.

Economic Interests

The next subject is the economic interests of the Areas and Tribes. The upset in the economic side of tribal life when forced by circumstances to progressive ideas and habits of a wider social contact in their emergence from a secluded state to a life of activities where others must also come in has been the cause of anxiety in the administration of primitive areas. In their own primitive state their system of economy is never much above the famine line, a slight flaw is enough to upset their economic life. It is for this that tribals adopt a life of living in Communities and clinging to their Phratries and Fraternities, such as a clan amongst Khasis, a Khel amongst Nagas and so on. Therefore the framers of the Constitution have carefully added a special injunction that the State shall protect these Tribes from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article 46).

But these areas cannot for all times to come to be kept as reserves and there is the resent in the limitation of their freedom of action while unrestricted freedom again is bound to react when local resources, finance and local talent come into conflict with outside influences and activities.

A long view of the whole Scheme in the economic plans of the Tribals is in the recognition that the final destiny of the Tribal people can be shaped by the young generation of the Tribes. Special attention should therefore be given to their training for citizenship. This does not mean that older people

should be neglected but that the young people form the most hopeful field of service, the young people should be given ample scope to inspire hope, and fields must be opened for them to improve the economic conditions of their Tribes than the mere hand to mouth mode of life now in their villages.

Much stress has been laid on the teaching of simple crafts, carpentry, masonry, weavings, spinning, the making of mats, baskets and in their sale. A lot of urging is also made on the need to take to growing more food. The furore of wild desires is the bias which stands now in the economic ideas of backward areas. With new needs and the rise in the cost of living cash is the thing that matters.

This is no time to think in terms of simple crafts, if we must help them from forms of exploitation. They can best be protected by giving them all the help to be trained technicians, electricians, agriculturists, foresters, botanists, geologists and in the several sciences to develop the resources of their areas. As best as we can employment must be found for these trained men in works of private and State run industries. They must be encouraged to form into bodies to run a trade as Co-operative Societies and even as Companies to manage a big work, and opportunities must be found for them to open out and work the national resources of their areas.

The failure in the working of Co-operative Societies may be in the poverty and ignorance of those people who are supposed to co-operate. A tribal grabs at the quickest opportunity to get ready cash to sustain himself from the evening of one market day to the other. The secret of the success of such Societies is in the means to get ready cash quickly into the hands of the Tribal for the sustenance of his family and for the quick turn over of his produce, and ultimately but as

quickly as it could be done to get them trained to the scientific process of working the forces and resources which are so rich in some of the Tribal and Scheduled Areas.

Grants may be set aside and scholarships given for training in the branches of knowledge I have indicated and the people guided if they need help to form into bodies to work out their resources.

Nutrition, Standard of Living and Health

As soon as there is in the hands of the people the means to earn enough and to spare in the fields of gain, there is hope to infuse into them the necessity to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living. But as first steps to the moral of clean living and clean feeding, the presence of travelling dispensaries and nurses and doctors is very necessary who are to tour out in the areas where people must be taught how with simple materials available in the villages clean houses could be erected, and the villages kept clean by each house having a dug-out for night soil, and a hole for the collection of the refuse of houses which will also be useful manure for their gardens.

These doctors can distribute medicines for simple maladies, fever, eye-sores and the like as well as vaccinate people for small-pox. More often these travelling dispensaries can visit market places. The use of milk and the milking of their cows is a very essential step in the uplift of the Tribal Areas as this habit is not with most of the tribals and the doctors and nurses can train them in that habit. Grants for these travelling dispensaries and medicines will be very beneficial to these areas.

Organisation of Agriculture on economic and scientific lines

The careful selection of areas and of intelligent and trusted tribals trained in the scientific process as students in the agricultural schools and colleges

would be fit objects for grants-in-aid to enable these trained tribals to start farms and cultivation and for the general cultivators to learn and copy into their fields and farms. The model farms run by Government staff often prove too expensive as the initial cost of working and the recurring expenditure is a concern of the Government while an individual would run the business economically with a view to profit.

Animal Husbandry

Assistance to sell their produce by forming trade markets and the means of transport to these markets, and the introduction of breeding bulls which will produce a breed not too different from their own so to feed them on the produce of their fields will go a great way to helping these simple people. With the expansion of cultivation there will be the need to construct paths, and the people must be trained to use pack animals to carry their produce to the markets. These will all need grants-in-aid which could be usefully allotted with a plan drawn up by the District Officials.

System of Central and Co-ordinating Department

All these systems are ultimately processes of Education in the economic interests of the people. Hence what seems necessary is a Central and Co-ordinating Department to look after the working and development of these Areas. This Special Department for the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should have as its agents the Service of a small number of Officers. This small band of officers could be enlisted from the experienced officers of the Government and from outsiders who have shown zeal and aptitude in such a venture. They will form a band of officers of that Co-ordinating Department which will act as adviser to the State Government and the Central Government. These Officers will tour

constantly and their great qualification will be their tact in their dealings with the Tribes and their methods of study of the areas and their needs. They will work in conjunction with the District and State Officials and Departments and their scope is purely of an advisory nature through the Head of their Co-ordinating Department with a view to help in the consolidation of the ideas of Education and projects of economic interests, and evolution of schemes for the development of the areas individually and jointly for all these Tribals to get to the level of the system of administration in consonance with the rest of India.

Protection of Monuments, places of objects of artistic and historic interests

Lastly, I think it is high time that steps are taken to protect monuments,

places and objects of artistic and historic interest from being spoiled, disfigured, destroyed, removed, disposed or exported. In the Khasi Hills we find the home of the Megalithic culture with monoliths, dolmens, cairns, resting places of stone by the way side. These are found all over these hills. Much is still preserved by the religious sentiments of the owners who are still extant and who could claim the ownership of the stones, the rest which belong to previous generations have become unprotected with the consequent loss of the sense of an act of sacrilege in their destruction or removal. This is only an instance of what might happen in the Khasi Hills. Their loss is a loss in the culture which is not possible to regain even as proof if required of a certain culture which in writing the history of the areas it may need in future to record.

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INDIA is the home of 178,73 lakhs of Scheduled Tribes according to an estimate prepared by the Census Commissioner in 1950. These people are found concentrated in four blocks, viz. (a) Assam Hills, (b) Chota Nagpur and Orissa Hinterland, (c) Chattisgarh and the districts of Chhindwara, Mandla, Drug and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, and (d) the districts of East and West Khandesh, Nasik, Surat, Broach and Panchmahal, Thana and Colaba in Bombay. Generally speaking these tribal blocks differ in race, language and culture. These Scheduled Tribes do not have the same type of food economy. They may be divided into four classes on this basis, namely (1) the foodgatherers, (2) the pastoralists, (3) the shifting cultivators and (4) the permanent agriculturists. The foodgatherers live by hunting, fishing and gathering of leaves, fruits, flowers and

roots. Consequently they are nomadic. The Birhors of Ranchi District are such a people. The pastoralists live mainly on the products of their domestic animals such as buffaloes, cows, etc. They are also nomadic in their habits but not to the same extent as the foodgatherers. Such a tribe is the Toda of Nilgiri Hills. The shifting-cultivators are generally the residents of hill-slopes, particular patches of which they cultivate for three or four years at a stretch and then abandon for ten to twenty years to recuperate their fertility. These people also change their village-sites when there is dearth of sufficient suitable land. The Nagas of Naga Hills form a good example of such people. The last group is that of the permanent agriculturists who are permanently settled and carry on cultivation with the plough. Numerically the last group forms the largest section

of the tribals in India. Each of these four groups has its own characteristic problems which will require a particular type of approach, suitable to it alone. The same method will not serve all the four groups in the same manner. In the present article we shall attempt to chalk out a scheme for the welfare of the permanently settled plough-cultivators.

Scientific Knowledge—The Basis of Work

Intimate knowledge of tribal life is necessary to implement the programme of tribal welfare. The stock of our knowledge about the tribal peoples of India is very limited. We have about two scores of books on tribal ethnography. Many of these books, written at a time when the subject itself had not attained its present methodological efficiency, are not serviceable to the applied anthropologists. Most of these books do not deal with the economic condition of the tribes in proper detail. As a result, the informations available from this source are of little value to the State or Social worker. We require a particular type of information and a particular type of knowledge. We shall have to arrange for investigation and collection of data to meet our needs. This is a scientific age and we should harness the Science of Man to guide us in our endeavour. Therefore, every State with a tribal population of one lakh or more, should have a Department of Tribal Survey and Research. Its functions should be:

- (1) to collect data on any particular problem of tribal life on being requisitioned by the Tribal Welfare Department. Private Agencies also may be allowed to take the help of this Department on being approached through proper authority,
- (2) to carry on systematic scientific investigation of individual

tribes according to a planned programme,

- (3) to prepare photographic and cinematographic records of tribal life in different stages of culture-change brought about by initiation of our programme.
- (4) to record tribal music on Recording Machines,
- (5) to collect specimens depicting tribal life for a Museum to be organised under the Scheme for Tribal Welfare,
- (6) to take charge of all publications relating to tribal life and culture,
- (7) to advise Government about the protection of tribal culture and schemes of welfare work,
- (8) to advise Government on all legislations about the tribal peoples.

There should be a Central Museum and a number of local Museums under this Department. Peripatetic shows of certain classes of specimens at Village Welfare Centres are expected to serve the purpose of Museums to a great extent.

The staff of this Department should consist of a Director, a Deputy Director, a Curator and a few Assistant Curators, a number of Field investigators, a few Technical Assistants and some clerks and peons.

Village Welfare Centre—The Pivot of All Welfare Work

Armed with this knowledge of tribal life and problems supplied by the Tribal Survey and Research Department, the State Government should launch the programme of welfare work. Our aim in this respect should be to raise the general level of the Scheduled Tribes in the spheres of their education.

health and economic condition. From the very beginning work should start in the village where the tribals live. Our pivotal organisations in this scheme of Welfare Work therefore should be the Village Welfare Centres. Through them, mainly, welfare programme in education, health and sanitation and economic uplift is to be effected.

The whole tribal area is to be divided into a number of blocks each having a tribal population of approximately 5,000 persons or 10 villages. On the nodal point of these villages the Village Welfare Centre is to be established so that there may be maximum advantage of communications with the area to be served. All Governmental facilities to tribal peoples are to be distributed through these centres and all informations for tribal welfare are to be collected with the help of these centres. In fact they are to work as *liaison* offices between the various Government Departments and the rural tribals.

Functions of Village Welfare Centres

(1) Education

These Village Welfare Centres are to begin a three-pronged attack on three fronts namely, education, health and economic condition. As ignorance is rightly held to be the root cause of all evils in socio-economic life we should begin our attack first on this front, and sustain and support it by opening the other fronts. At present there should be two types of educational institutions in tribal areas namely (a) Primary Schools and (b) Schools with vocational bias. Each village or unit of 500 persons should have a Primary School teaching up to Class IV including Infant Class (Five years' Course). Each group of ten villages or 5,000 persons should have a School with vocational bias. It will teach up to Class VIII (Four years' Course). On the theoretical side it will have the same

subjects and curriculum as in ordinary Secondary Schools. But its practical wing will be more important and more stress, therefore, should be put on it. Agriculture, livestock farming (e.g. dairy, poultry, apiary, fishery, etc.) and spinning will form the compulsory part of this practical training. But the boys will also be required to learn one and not more than two of the following arts and crafts, namely, weaving, carpentry, smithy, tailoring, etc. The teaching should be more practical than theoretical. The boys are to learn by 'doing' and not merely by 'seeing and hearing'. The Schools with vocational bias are to form a part and parcel of the Village Welfare Centres.

Primary education should be made compulsory within a specific period of time. About 25 per cent of the successful boys of Primary Schools may be expected to come to the Schools with vocational bias. As far as possible these Schools should be residential. There should be attached hostels with kitchen gardens and land for growing cereals. The boarders should produce their own necessities in these farms as far as possible. The Government may subsidise according to its purse. There should not be any hostel attached to the Primary Schools.

Most of the successful students of the Schools with vocational bias will go over to agriculture or industry.

Those who wish may pass the Matriculation Examination and go in for higher education. They are to read in ordinary schools and colleges-technical, professional or general. They should be given scholarships, if found fit, for pursuing such courses. A number of seats should be reserved for them in technical and professional schools and colleges. Accommodation in hostels for such institutions also should be reserved for them.

The opening of hostels for tribal children is a move in the right direction. But caution should be exercised

on two points. In the first instance children of tender years should not be taken away from their homes and parents. The harmful effects of such separation is known to every educationist and need not be reiterated here. The present practice of keeping boys of even primary classes in hostels should be abandoned without delay. Where it is unavoidable, they should be forced to go to their homes whenever there is any holiday or vacation. The writer had lived in some of these hostels in Chota Nagpur during vacations when he found, on each occasion, a large number of boys remaining in the hostel though the schools were closed. On enquiry it transpired that the boys did not like to return to their homes on account of the different atmosphere which prevailed there. They had lost their regard for their own ways of life. The food, the accommodation, the conversations and the general atmosphere did not appeal to their newly acquired tastes. They showed signs of brewing discontent against their own culture and a fascination for whatever was done by their advanced brethren. This will certainly lead to inhibition and inferiority complex.

The other defect of keeping tribal children in hostels, meant only for them, is the growth of a separatist tendency from early years. For ages the tribals have lived in isolation and have avoided contact with the advanced, out of fear of losing their own ways of life. Economic and political forces have brought the groups nearer to-day. Avoidance is no longer possible but free contact is also not always desirable. What we should do is to allow contact but regulate it according to scientific directions. The aboriginal hostels may give us a good opportunity for bringing about this regulated contact. If in each of these Aboriginal Hostels at least 25 per cent of the seats be reserved for advanced children and if in the hostels attached to High Schools,

Colleges, Technical Institutions and professional Training Centres the same or a suitable percentage of seats be reserved for tribal trainees, there will be free contact between the children of both the communities in these hostels. They will learn to understand each other and to value the traits of each other's culture. Healthy friendship will result from this contact in the formative period and continue throughout life. Thus, the separatist tendency, which the purely tribal hostels are sure to originate, will disappear from the minds of our future generations and gradually they would think themselves equal partners of a great State for whose well being they are to fight shoulder to shoulder.

The Primary Schools, the Schools with vocational bias and the Village Welfare Centres will require trained teachers and social workers to run them successfully. For this purpose there should be a Training Centre for each half a million of tribals. The minimum qualification for entrants to these Training Centres should be, at present, Matriculation. As far as possible the trainees should be recruited from amongst the tribals themselves. A few young men with higher academic qualification and having a natural sympathy for the tribals may be taken in even from amongst the advanced community to form a higher cadre which will be entrusted with the work of organisation and training of teachers and workers. Students of social anthropology should be given preference in recruitment of personnel for this higher cadre.

The course of training in Training Centres should be for two years at least. There should be both theoretical and practical training in the following subjects—

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| (1) Agriculture, | (2) Dairy |
| (3) Poultry, | (4) Apiary. |
| (5) Fishery, | (6) Spinning. |

(7) Hygiene and sanitation, (8) Physical culture, (9) Socio-economic surveying, (10) Use of Camera. Cine-camera Wire or Tape Recorder, Projectors etc.. (11) Preservation of museum specimens, (12) Weaving, (13) Carpentry, (14) Clay-modelling, (15) Toy-making, (16) Wood-turning, (17) Leather-work, (18) Tailoring, (19) Knitting and embroidery (for women only), (20) Smithy, (21) Lacquer-work, (22) Basketry and cane-work, (23) Industrial designing, (24) Accountancy and Book-keeping etc.

Besides these. courses of lectures on the following topics should be arranged with the help of specialists for widening the outlook of the trainees and infusing into them the spirit of service to humanity. They are:—

- (1) Cultural History of India, (2) Geography, (3) Primitive tribes throughout the world, (4) Tribal life in India (with special emphasis on the State for which the trainee is being recruited), (5) Political constitution and Administrative and Judicial machinery of India in brief and of the particular State in details, (6) Primitive and child psychology, (7) Achievements of Modern Science. (8) Facilities provided by Government Departments and other private agencies for tribal uplift, (9) Cooperative organisation, (10) Lives of great social workers, (11) Tribal languages and literature of India, (12) Tribal art and folklore, etc.

Teachers of primary schools and schools with vocational bias are to be recruited from the successful trainees of Training Centres. Village Welfare

Centres should also recruit their workers from this source.

(2) *Economic Welfare*

The economic life of the tribals, who pursue settled cultivation, is tied up with the economic life of the country as a whole. In spite of this there are local conditions which affect adversely their economy and thereby cause great hardship. These may be removed through local efforts and towards this direction the Tribal Welfare Department should direct its activities.

The Village Welfare Centre is expected to play the most vital role in this local economic welfare programme. It is to discharge its functions in this sphere by organising—

- (i) a Model Agricultural and Live-stock Farm
- (ii) a Handicraft Centre
- (iii) a Seed and Manure distribution centre
- (iv) an Agricultural pest control centre
- (v) a Liaison office between villagers and various Government Departments concerned with public welfare
- (vi) a Cooperative Store.

A very important part of the Economic Welfare Programme is development of communications. Villages are, in the first instance to be connected with the Village Welfare Centre and the latter with the nearest administrative headquarter or railway or steamer station. Movements of goods produced in the villages or imported into them, depend on such roads which play a very important part in the economic development of a country or region.

To facilitate agriculture, minor irrigation schemes should be undertaken

In consultation with the Village Welfare Centres and in collaboration with them. Another field where Village Welfare Centres may play an important role is promotion of cooperation among villagers in all possible spheres of tribal life. This is already in existence among tribal groups in different parts of the country. Cooperative groups are organised by them for mutual help in most of the agricultural operations. This tendency is to be encouraged by organising (1) Multipurpose Cooperative Societies, (2) Cooperative Societies for sale of agricultural and industrial products of the tribals and for supplying them raw materials and daily necessities of life, (3) Cooperative credit Societies, etc. Among forest-dwellers, Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies may be organised, as in Bombay, for lumbering and transportation of timber. Similar Cooperative Societies may also be formed for transport and sale of milk and milk-products of the pastoral tribes.

(3) Health Welfare

The Village Welfare Centre should organise health welfare by—

- (1) distribution of medicines or establishment of hospitals or dispensaries,
- (2) maintaining peripatetic distributors of patent drugs of well known efficacy for common diseases,
- (3) maintaining health squads for cleaning the villages or removing insanitary conditions or applying D.D.T. and other insecticides,
- (4) supplying good drinking water,
- (5) maintaining midwives,
- (6) propaganda lectures on health and sanitation.

Besides work under these three main heads, namely (1) Education, (2) Economic Welfare and (3) Health Welfare, the Village Welfare Centre should also undertake organisation of clubs and recreation centres for healthy entertainment of the old and young. Dances, songs and dramatic performances would naturally form the major activities in this line. Listening of radio programmes may also form a part of it.

Village Panchayats also should be organised by the Village Welfare Centres in each village to mobilise public opinion, to decide disputes among villagers and to discriminate the ideas and ideals of the Welfare Centre.

(4) Administration of the Model Scheme

The running of these Model Schemes should be shared between the Government and the local public. Actual administration of its day to day business will be the responsibility of paid staff. But the direction should come from a local body organised for the purpose so that those who are most vitally interested in the scheme may have its guidance in their hands. This will attract local help and cooperation without which such a scheme cannot expect success. But at the same time finance, supervision and inspection should be in the hands of the Government which will provide technical guidance and official assistance.

Conclusion

India has launched upon the biggest experiment ever made of civilizing twenty millions of tribal peoples. It is a stupendous task having the potentiality of doing the greatest good or the greatest disservice to humanity. In every department of life of the modern world science has made its contribution. In the present endeavour also science

should be brought to play its legitimate part. No amount of good will or experience can replace scientific knowledge. This has been demonstrated in various parts of the U.S.S.R. which also had been saddled with a large number of backward tribal population. The means and methods adopted there may help us in formulating our scheme. In

Africa too experiments have been made in this line. We should profit by the experience of others and of science in general. Social anthropologists have studied these tribal populations in different parts of the world and in India too. We should properly utilise their knowledge and experience to the fullest extent.

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