



सत्यमेव जयते

REPORT

OF THE

SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES
COMMISSION

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Volume I

1960-61

FD.138
5,500



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1961

**PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE MANAGER GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
SIMLA FOR THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS CIVIL LINES DELHI**

No. 35/36/60-TC

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES COMMISSION

SOUTH-EAST WING, RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN

New Delhi-4, the October, 1961

From

SHRI U. N. DHEBAR,
Chairman,
Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission,
New Delhi.

To

THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA,
New Delhi.

Sir,

You were pleased to appoint this Commission on 28th April, 1960, under Article 339 of the Constitution and assigned to it the task of investigating and reporting on the problems of the Scheduled Tribes. We are happy to submit today a unanimous Report embodying our recommendations based upon our investigations and study. The Report has grown in volume although we would have liked to keep it to a reasonable size. We thought, however, that such problems are examined only once in a decade and so we have taken the liberty of a little more detailed examination than was perhaps expected of us.

2. In the course of our tours some other problems which do not form part of our terms of reference, came to our notice and we think that they should be brought to your notice and that of the Union Government. We do not claim to have studied these problems in detail nor do we have any readymade solutions to offer. However, in fairness to those who brought these problems to our notice, we feel that they should be passed on to the authorities competent to take cognizance and dispose of them.

3. One of the most important problems that came to our notice was the anomaly that existed in the preparation of the list of the Scheduled Tribes. The old State of Hyderabad did not recognise Yenadis, the Yerukulas and Sugalis as Scheduled Tribes, whereas the old Andhra State recognised them as such and with abundant justification. The Yenadis and Yerukulas belong to that category of tribals who have emerged from the hills but not yet taken roots in the plains. They are more or less wandering without a place for rest and without occupation. Similar is the case of Gaddis who are found in the Himachal Pradesh and the adjoining Punjab Hills. In Himachal Pradesh they are recognised as Scheduled Tribes but in the Punjab they are treated as Scheduled Tribes only in the Scheduled Areas where they do not live. We would request you to see that this anomaly is removed in the interest of rendering human justice to these people.

4. There is another class of tribals who, though belonging to the same category, has been excluded because of the territorial test that they remain outside particular areas. We can say with some personal knowledge that this distinction while valid in law is without much justification in point of fact. But more than that, we have in our mind

the case of "left-out" tribes in the Madhya Pradesh areas and in the Nagpur Division of Maharashtra. We have compared the conditions of these tribals and we would like to recommend that their case should be specially examined.

5. We understand that the Union Government have been considering the question of nomadic tribes and the de-notified tribes. Their problems are peculiar and do need special examination even if they are not included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

6. Similar is the question of immigrant labour which is tribal in origin and is recognised as belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, but which loses the right given to it by the Constitution on its emigrating elsewhere. In our opinion assistance is needed in order to enable it to maintain contacts with its home and, more especially, maintain its way of life.

7. In the case of U.P., in our opinion the Jaunsaris or Jaunsar Bawars of Dehra Dun and Uttar Kashi districts present a hard case. They are, in every sense of the term, tribals. Similar is the position of Gonds, Cheros and other tribals in the District of Mirzapur in U.P. All these have been excluded from the list of Scheduled Tribes and, consequently, they have been deprived of the benefit of the Fifth Schedule. They belonged, before the adoption of the Constitution, to the Partially Excluded Areas and some of them to the wholly Excluded Areas.

8. Amongst the tribals also we have been able to notice four different layers. At one stage we were thinking of preparing a list. For lack of adequate data, however, we dropped the idea. We feel that at the base of these four layers is the class of tribals which is in an extremely underdeveloped stage and at the topmost level amongst the tribals is a layer that can very well afford to forgo any further help. We feel that this lowest layer needs the utmost consideration at the hands of the Government. We would recommend that it should be made the special concern of the State Governments and special responsibility should be laid upon the chief executive officers concerned with the task of implementing policies for protection as well as development to see that this is done. We feel strongly that the Deputy Commissioners and the Community Development authorities should see that this non-vocal section is specifically looked after. It will be necessary for the purpose to find out in each area the tribes that are in that stage. For illustrative purposes, we are enclosing a list of tribes in that stage in the States.

9. Once again, on behalf of the members of the Commission and myself I would like to thank you for giving us this opportunity. It has proved instructive and educative to us. The knowledge and experience of the last seventeen months will be helpful to us in understanding the problems of our great country better. The Report has been delayed and we hope we shall be excused for it. We would like to record our thanks to the Government of India who have done everything in their power to make our work smooth.

Yours faithfully,

U. N. DHEBAR
Chairman

List of Tribes in various States which are in an extremely under-developed stage.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Lingadhari Koya
Chenchu
Yenadi

ASSAM

Mikir
Abor

BIHAR

Birhor
Asur
Korwa
Kharia
Sauria Paharia

KERALA

Kadar
Irular
Paniyan
Kattunayakan
Vishavan

MADHYA PRADESH

Pahadi Korwa
Baiga in Baigachuk
Abuj Madia (Bastar)
Birhor
Sehariya
Binjhar

MADRAS

Kadar
Irular
Paniyan
Malayali

MAHARASHTRA

Katkari
Hill Gond (Chanda District)

MYSORE

Kadu-Kuruba
Jenu Kuruba
Koraga
Irular

ORISSA

Birhor
Bonodo Proraja
Juang
Kotia-Khond
Hill Bhuiya of Bhuiya Pirh
Lanjia Saora
Koya
Paidi Bhuiya of Bonai

RAJASTHAN

Sehria

WEST BENGAL

Asur
Birhor
Sauria Paharia
Toto
Rabha
Lepcha

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

Jarawa
Onge
Sentinelese
Shom Pen



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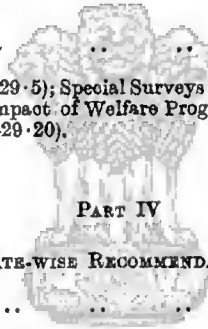
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- II Questionnaire issued by the Commission.
- III List of the Ministries of the Union Government, State Governments, Union Administrations, Institutions and Individuals who have replied to the Questionnaire.
- IV List of Officials, Institutions and Individuals who gave evidence before the Commission.
- V List of Scheduled Areas as specified in the Scheduled Areas (Part A) States Order 1950 (c.o.9) and the Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Order, 1960 (c.o. 26).
- VI A broad outline of the scheme and the institutional set-up to carry out multiple sources of employment programme.
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- VIII A list of laws passed by various States, to protect the rights of tribals on land.
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- XII Laws in force to control money-lending, debt redemption and abolition of debt bondage.
- XIII Statement indicating activities of some of the non-official voluntary agencies.
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INTRODUCTORY

Article 339 of the Constitution provides that:

“The President may at any time and shall at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution by order appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States.

The order may define the composition, powers and procedure of the Commission and may contain such incidental or ancillary provisions as the President may consider necessary or desirable.”

2. In pursuance of the provisions of this Article this Commission was appointed by the President under the designation, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, on the 28th April, 1960, by his order published in the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs notification No. 11/6/59-SCT.IV, dated the 28th April, 1960, (Appendix I). The terms of reference of the Commission and the procedure to be followed by it were laid down in this order as under:—

“The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission shall report on:—

- (a) the administration of the Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution, and, in particular, as to
 - (i) the functioning of the Tribes Advisory Councils;
 - (ii) the laws applicable to the Scheduled Areas and the exercise by the Governors concerned of powers under paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule; and
 - (iii) the principles to be followed in declaring any territory to be, or to form part of, a Scheduled Area, or directing that any territory shall cease to be, or cease to form part of, a Scheduled Area;
- (b) the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States and, in particular, whether the development plans in relation to matters connected with the welfare of Scheduled Tribes require any alteration in respect of objectives, priorities or details of working; and
- (c) any other matter connected with the administration of Scheduled Areas or the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States which may hereafter be specifically referred to the Commission for investigation and report.

“The Commission may—

- (a) obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose from the Central Government, the State Governments and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance in their work;
- (b) appoint such and so many sub-committees from amongst their members as the Commission may think fit for the purpose of exercising such powers and performing such duties as may be delegated to them by the Commission;
- (c) visit or depute any sub-committee to visit such parts of India as a Commission may consider necessary or expedient;
- (d) hold their sittings or the sittings of any sub-committee at such times and such places as may be determined by or under the authority of the Chairman;
- (e) act notwithstanding the temporary absence of any member of the Commission or the existence of any vacancy among the members; and
- (f) regulate their own procedure in so far as no provision is made in this Order in that behalf

“The Commission shall consider the evidence obtained by them and make their report to the President as soon as may be practicable, but not later than the 31st day of December, 1960”

3. Thereafter it was decided that the Commission should also enquire into the development plans connected with the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territories and in Assam—vide Home Minister's D.O. letter dated the 7th June, 1960, to the Chairman.

4. The Commission was required to submit its Report by the 31st December, 1960. It was recognised that the period was too short to enable the Commission to complete its work and the term of the Commission was accordingly extended.

5. The Commission was set up with the following members:—

1. Shri U. N. Dhebar—Chairman.
2. Shri D. Basumatari, M. P.—Member.
3. Shri H. C. Heda, M. P.—Member.
4. Shri Jaipal Singh, M.P.—Member.
5. Shri T. Sanganna, M. P.—Member.
6. Shri Manikyalal Verma, M.P.—Member.
7. Shri Narayan Rao M. Wadiwa, M.P.—Member.
8. Shri Subodh Hansda, M. P.—Member.
9. Shri D. J. Naik—Member.
10. Shri Dharam Dev Shastri—Member.
11. Dr. Verrier Elwin—Member.

Plan of Work—

6. *Meetings held*—The first meeting of the Commission was held on the 25th May, 1960. At this meeting it was decided that the work of the Commission should be done by three Sub-Committees. Accordingly, three Sub-Committees were constituted as follows:—

Sub-Committee 1.

To study the working of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule and administration of the Scheduled Areas including development of those areas.

Members:

Shri H. C. Heda.

Shri D. Basumatari.

Dr. Verrier Elwin.

Shri Narayan Rao M. Wadiwa.

Shri Jaipal Singh.

Shri T. Sanganna.

Shri Subodh Hansda.

Convener:

Shri H. C. Heda.

Sub-Committee 2.

To study the welfare programme for Scheduled Tribes in all the States including Union Territories.

Members:

Shri Dharamdev Shastri.

Shri Narayan Rao M. Wadiwa.

Dr. Verrier Elwin*.

Shri D. J. Naik.

Shri T. Sanganna.

Shri Subodh Hansda.

Shri Manjkyalal Verma.

*Only in respect of Union Territories and Assam.

Convener:

Shri Dharamdev Shastri.

Sub-Committee 3.

To study the institutional frame-work of the agencies engaged in welfare work including the question of training, emoluments of personnel comprising the machinery or the institutions.

Members—

Shri D. J. Naik.

Shri Jaipal Singh.

Shri Narayan Rao M. Wadiwa.

Shri D. Basumatari.

Shri H. C. Heda.

Shri Manikyalal Verma.

Shri Dharamdev Shastri.

Convener—

Shri D. J. Naik.

The meetings of the Commission were held at regular intervals upto the 14th of October 1961, when we signed our Report. Altogether 64 meetings were held. At these meetings the Commission discussed the reports of the Sub-Committees, progress of work and also recorded the evidence of important non-officials and officials. In the initial stages Sub-Committees held discussions, collected material and submitted some reports.

Except one meeting at Patna and another at Hyderabad when the Commission was on tour the meetings were held at New Delhi.

7. *Questionnaire*—For eliciting information on the terms of reference of the Commission and for helping the Commission in reaching conclusions on the matters referred to it, a general opinion questionnaire was issued on the 5th July, 1960. This Questionnaire was circulated to all State Governments, all Members of Parliament, all Members of the State Legislatures belonging to Scheduled Tribes, important non-official organisations and institutions and individuals engaged in activities connected with the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. Copy of the Questionnaire as well as lists of the State Governments, institutions and individuals who replied to the Questionnaire are given in Appendices II and III.

8. *Tours*—In order to supplement the information obtained by the general opinion questionnaire the Commission undertook on the spot study of the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the schemes launched both in the Central and State sectors for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes living both in the Scheduled Areas and outside.

During the course of its tours, the Commission visited the following States/Union Territories:—

Sl. No.	State/Union Territory	Dates of visit
1.	Himachal Pradesh	27th June to 9th July 1960
2.	Punjab	3rd to 23rd August 1960
3.	Andhra Pradesh	16th to 29th September 1960
4.	Rajasthan	8th to 16th October 1960
5.	Bihar	5th to 16th November 1960
6.	Madhya Pradesh	23rd November to 7th December 1960
7.	Maharashtra	19th to 21st December 1960
8.	Assam	10th to 22nd January 1961
9.	N.E.F.A.	23rd to 28th January 1961
10.	Orissa	1st to 12th February 1961
11.	Gujarat	21st to 26th February 1961
12.	Manipur	28th to 30th March 1961
13.	Nagaland	30th March to 1st April 1961
14.	Mysore	8th to 9th April 1961
15.	Madras	10th to 11th April 1961
16.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	8th to 14th April 1961
17.	Kerala	11th to 15th April 1961
18.	West Bengal	23rd to 30th April 1961

9. *Discussions with State Governments*—The procedure adopted by the Commission, during these visits to the States, was to have preliminary discussions with the officials and Ministers of the State Governments, then visit the areas and on the final day hold discussions with the State Governments in the light of the Commission's observations of the work done in the Scheduled Areas and for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. At these discussions, the Commission enquired of the State Governments the position and problems of Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas.

10. *Interviews*—During the tour of the States the Commission met the Chief Ministers, the Ministers in charge of Tribal Welfare work, the Chief Secretaries to the State Governments, the Development Commissioners and other Heads of Departments and also the District Officers. At the places visited by the Commission, it met and recorded the evidence of non-officials as well as representatives of non-official agencies. Above all, the Commission contacted the leaders of the tribal communities in the area and also met the tribals in groups. A list of the persons who gave evidence before the Commission is given in Appendix IV to this Report. We had thus an opportunity for free and full discussions with the officials and non-officials in different parts of the country about the problems connected with the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the administration of Scheduled

We are grateful to the State Governments as well as to the District officials who were very helpful in placing all the material and information before the Commission. We are also grateful to the representatives of the tribal communities, non-officials, individuals and institutions who rendered valuable assistance in the Commission's task.

11. *Interim proposals*—We were given to understand that the Third Plan would be finalised early in March of this year and that we should give an indication of the schemes together with financial details for which provisions would be required in the Plan. Accordingly we submitted to the President on the 19th February, 1961 our interim proposals in respect of the States we had visited.

12. *Pattern of Report*—Our terms of reference require us to review the policy pursued in regard to the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas during the last ten years, the schemes drawn up and implemented both by the Union and State Governments in regard to welfare of Scheduled Tribes, the achievements during that period and to suggest the policy, objectives and priorities for the development of Scheduled Areas and welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the next ten years. Accordingly we have drawn up our Report in four parts.

The first part gives a description of the tribes, their socio-economic conditions, the administration of Scheduled Areas, the use of regulatory powers by the Governor, functioning of the Tribes Advisory Councils and our observations. It also deals with the principles of grants-in-aid given to the States under Article 275 of the Constitution as well as the manner and method in which these grants are utilised.

The second part deals with our assessment of the schemes undertaken for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the First and Second Plans, the approach to the tribal problems in regard to land, forests, agriculture, indebtedness, education, the achievements of the Community Development programme in the Scheduled Areas and the impact of industrialisation on tribal life.

In the third part we have reviewed the existing machinery of the Union Government for the administration of the programme for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes including the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the administrative machinery at the State and District level and suggested modifications wherever necessary. We have indicated the need and importance of training and evaluation programme for speeding up the pace of development, the role of non-official agencies working for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes, the need for applied research in regard to policies and programmes drawn up for welfare of the tribals: the representation of the tribals in services has also been discussed.

The fourth part contains our specific recommendations in respect of each State and Union Territory. In the case of States for which we had submitted interim proposals, the interim proposals have been incorporated in the respective chapters. Additional recommendations and suggestions in respect of those States have been included in the form of supplementary notes.

13. *Secretariat*—The office of the Commission was located in Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi. This arrangement enabled us to have easy access to the Ministries of the Union Government and the Planning Commission. The Ministry of Home Affairs sanctioned the following staff for the Commission:

<i>Name of post</i>	<i>No. of posts</i>
GAZETTED	
1. Secretary	1
2. Officer on Special Duty	1
3. Research Officers	4
4. Private Secretary to Chairman	1
NON-GAZETTED	
5. Reporters	6
6. Investigators	4
7. Hindi Assistants	2
8. Stenographers	6
9. Lower Division Clerks	7
10. Daftry	1
11. Staff Car Driver	1

In addition, the Ministry transferred to the Commission the following posts:—

<i>Name of post</i>	<i>No. of posts</i>
GAZETTED	
1. Under Secretary (designated as Administrative Officer)	1
2. Section Officers	2
NON-GAZETTED	
3. Assistants	5
4. Lower Division Clerks	3
5. Gestetner Operator	1
6. Daftry	1
7. Peons	8

Shri S. Narayanswamy, Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, held charge as Secretary to the Commission.

14. *Acknowledgments*—A very high proportion of the witnesses—tribals and non-tribals—who gave evidence before the Commission, had taken great pains to think out and express elaborately on the various issues arising out of the Questionnaire. The Commission was fortunate in receiving exhaustive memoranda on various aspects of the tribal problems from the State Governments and other non-official organisations and individuals engaged in welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. The Commission is grateful to all these authorities, institutions and individuals for their valuable assistance.

The State Governments had to make elaborate arrangements for the Commission's tour of the States. Despite the strain which these tours placed on the States and the Administrations of Union Territories, the arrangements made were uniformly satisfactory and we wish to thank the State Governments as also the Administrations of Union Territories for their generous hospitality during our visits to the States.

We wish to place on record our appreciation of the assistance received from the Secretariat of the Commission and all members of the staff. Because of the heavy pressure of work every member of the staff was called upon to work under great strain. They performed their duties cheerfully and efficiently and thus made our task easier. We would like to mention particularly the great effort put in by our Secretary, Shri S. Narayanswamy, Shri O. K. Moorthy, the Officer on Special Duty, Shri D. D. Gothi, the Administrative Officer and Sarvaswari A. C. Sen and V. B. Mandlikar, the Research Officers.

We cannot close this introductory part without an expression of our grief on the death of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant. We had the good fortune to commence this work with his good wishes. While he was alive he continued to take keen interest in the work and was of great assistance to us in the discharge of our responsibilities. It was a coincidence that we could submit to him our interim proposals on the 19th February, 1961, just thirty-six hours before his fatal illness. In his death the tribals of India have lost a sincere well-wisher and a devoted servant. As we look at the hard work that he had put in their cause ever since he assumed the office of Home Minister, we feel how immensely he was attached to the cause of development of the tribals of India.



सत्यमेव जयते

PART I

Tribes and Constitutional Arrangements

Chapters 1 to 9

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1961

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE MANAGER GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
SIMLA FOR THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS' CIVIL LINES DELHI

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

The Tribes

The term 'Tribe' is nowhere defined in the Constitution and in fact there is no satisfactory definition anywhere. To the ordinary man the word suggests simple folk living in hills and forests; to people who are a little better informed, it signifies colourful folk famous for their dance and song; to an administrator it means a group of citizens who are the special responsibility of the President of India; to an anthropologist it indicates a special field for study of a social phenomenon. In their own way all these impressions are correct.

1.2. No standard term has been accepted to denominate the people who are classified as of tribal origin. Even the Constitution has not defined them clearly except by declaring that the Scheduled Tribes are "the tribes or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities" which the President may specify by public notification (Article 342). As these groups are presumed to form the oldest ethnological sector of the population, the term 'Adivasi' ('Adi'=original and 'Vasi'=inhabitant) has become current among certain people. In classifying them, different and sometimes contradictory criteria tend to be used by administrators, anthropologists or social workers, who may take as a basis for their designation, the colour of the skin, language, customs or living conditions or other considerations that they consider necessary. The International Labour Organisation has classified such people as "indigenous".

1.3. The more important thing, however, is what his own society signifies to a member of the Scheduled Tribes. As Toynbee observes:

"Primitive societies, as we know them by direct observation may be likened to a people lying torpid upon a ledge on a mountain side with a precipice below and a precipice above; civilisation may be likened to companions of these sleepers who have just risen to their feet and have started to climb up the face of the cliff above...At first sight we may be inclined to draw an absolute distinction between the two groups, acclaiming the climbers as athletes and dismissing the recumbent figures as paralytics; but on second thought we shall find it more prudent to suspend judgment.

After all the recumbent figures cannot be paralytics in reality; for they cannot have been born on the ledge and no human muscles except their own can have hoisted them to this halting place up the face of the precipice below".¹

1.4. Toynbee goes on to observe that there is an alternative rhythm of 'static and dynamic'—of 'movement and pause and movement'. Those of us who had the privilege of working on this Commission would like to agree with this view of tribal society. The tribal people as children of Mother Nature are subject to the same laws which govern her other children. After a period of movement—may be centuries ago—followed a period of pause. That pause is once more giving way to movement. The rhythmic process of nature is again at work among the tribal people.

New Awakening

1.5. After a deep slumber the tribals awoke to the desire for progress even during the British regime, despite enforced isolation and paucity of resources. Luckily for them they had the blessings of Gandhiji and an indefatigable servant in 'Thakkar Bapa'. But the problems were many. Freedom removed one major hurdle in their way. Everyone who has had something to do with the tribal problem can bear witness to the burning desire of these unspoiled children of Mother India for advance and progress consistent with their notion of culture and civilised existence. The problem in relation to the majority of tribals is not, therefore, any lack of desire to march forward.

Social Outlook

1.6. The problem is not one of carving out an exclusive destiny for tribal society also. Exclusiveness as we understand it, which means a parochial political outlook, is not a tribal weakness. Tribal society, as the 'Gramdan' movement in Koraput and elsewhere has shown, does not think in terms of exclusiveness in that sense. Its corporate life is still strong and holds out hope for a co-operative way of life. It has a much wider and broader outlook on life than the individualistic or exclusivist. It is, therefore, only a question of widening its consciousness.

Poverty

1.7. Similarly the problem is not one of securing for the tribals material prosperity by any means. Poverty and indigence are both abundant in the tribal areas. But there is something in the tribal philosophy which has kept these people free from unseemly greed for material possessions. Such greed does not fit in with their philosophy. Tribal society does yearn for improved standards of living but its approach to the question is normal and rational.

Culture

1.8. The problem is not one of improving the culture of the tribals to act as an incentive for their development too. Tribal existence by and large is saturated with culture. Tribal culture has a personality of its own. It pervades every aspect of the tribal peoples' life and activities. That culture still draws fresh inspiration and vigour from them and enriches them in turn.

Struggle for life

1.9. The problem is also not one of tribals wanting to escape from the struggle of life—the struggle that is a normal feature of every growing society. The very existence of the tribals has depended, during these centuries of their forest and mountain existence,

upon the principles of challenge and response. Rigours of climate have not driven them from their home-lands nor obliged them to abandon their way of life.

Belief

1.10. The problem again is not one of rigid or obstinate adherence to beliefs even after they have been exposed or faith in them has been lost. None can accuse the tribals of this weakness. They are indeed very open and frank about their beliefs and will act upon them so long as their conviction lasts.

1.11. Here then is a section of the community—simple, trusting, tough and hardy, quite convinced about the wholesomeness of its way of life and yet willing to change when faith and reason convince it that a change is necessary.

Tribal Loyalties

1.12. It was the 15th August—the Independence Day last year. The place was Spiti in the Punjab State. Spiti is reached from the Kulu Valley and Manali, by crossing the two passes of Rohtang (13,500') and Kunzum (15,500'). It can only be reached on foot and on mules. The journey takes a week and two days over heights varying from 10,000 to 15,000 ft. The track skirts round the banks of the rivers Chandra, Bhaga and Spiti. The population of Spiti Sub-Division is 4,700. The Punjab Government had deputed a Minister to participate in the Independence Day celebrations. High officers of the State, including the Chief Secretary, formed the Minister's party. There was hardly a village from Khoksar to Pin and Corrick which had not sent its men, women and children to join the celebrations. The strength of the crowd at the time of celebrations exceeded 2,500. In that far distant place of perpetual snows and strong winds, when the tricolour was unfurled by the Minister and when the Army and Police patrols gave their salute, a cry of 'Jai Hind'—'Victory to Mother India'—rose from those throats, which are not wont to utter a word they do not mean and for which they are not prepared to lay down their lives. It was the privilege of the Commission to witness this glorious spectacle of unquestionable loyalty and earnest devotion of our brothers and sisters cut away from us for so many years and yet a part of ourselves.

1.13. We had a similar experience at Along in NEFA. It was a perfect Himalayan winter. Some 2,000 people—men, women and children—gave an ovation as the Tricolour was hoisted on the Republic Day with the same enthusiasm as the people of Spiti did on the 15th August. With a tribal his plighted word is of greater value than his life.

1.14. Equally moving is the story of the tribal community of Tana Bhagats in Bihar. The Tana Bhagats were among the first non-violent satyagrahis, who rose against British power and sacrificed everything. They never thought of yielding. The story of their faith in the weapon of satyagraha, their heroism in face of ruthless repression in that dark corner of the imperialist preserve, and their incomparable endurance has few parallels in the annals of non-violent non-cooperation.

1.15. Thus, so far as change and the sacrifice involved in the change are concerned, none who has moved among them can doubt their capacity to accept willingly the burdens involved in change once they are convinced of its value.

1.16. The problem, therefore, that faces the Government and Indian society in the tribal regions is not one of a refusal to change or refusal to throw in their lot with the rest of the country. Whether it is love of liberty, loyalty and devotion to the country or the change in the social and economic set-up, the tribals will not be found wanting.

The Non-tribals

1.17. A. S. Neill, an authority on the problems of children, began by writing a book entitled *The Problem Child*, but as his studies proceeded he found that justice to the child required that he should write two other books *The Problem Parent* and *Problem Society*. Similarly, along with *The Problem Tribes* we have today *The Problem Society* and *The Problem Administration*. The tribal problem cannot be studied in isolation and we should simultaneously examine the attitude of non-tribals towards the tribals and the approach of Government to their problems. Thus we find that the tribal and the non-tribal problems are both parts of the same phenomenon, whether the non-tribal is a Government official, politician, landlord, money-lender, forest contractor, administrator, anthropologist or social worker.

1.18. The non-tribals have to make an effort to understand the tribal people. If they do so, they will find not altogether irrational answers to some of the riddles of tribal life. For instance, non-tribals accustomed to the idea of monogamy or polygamy may criticise some of the tribals on the score of polyandry. It is scarcely realised by us that behind the irrational-seeming social custom there is an economic reason. The regions where this custom prevails have very little of cultivable land. The Kinnaurs and the people of Jaunsar-Bawar, Lahaulis, Spitians and Todas who practise it have to keep down the population and the number of families. We may think that the reason is inadequate. But we have to recognise that they have not been prompted by any prejudice against womanhood. Woman is nowhere so free as in these parts of India, whether it is a question of marriage or divorce or freedom of movement and occupation.

1.19. Similar is the question of shifting cultivation which is decried as a wasteful method. Here again the terrain and not tribal cussedness has to be blamed for its practice. The inclines of the mountain sides leave the people no other choice. It is hard to imagine the slope of the terrace for cultivation. Those who actually see the terrain find it difficult to castigate the tribals for their wasteful methods. Some tribals say that they prefer to cultivate on the difficult hill-slopes because this is the only kind of land which they can be sure the others will not try to take away from them.

Need for Sympathetic Understanding

1.20. Then there is the problem that the tribals belong to varying and widely different stages of development. In fact they may be divided into four categories—those that are living in the

remotest corners and for that reason are almost in a primitive stage; those in the 'jhuming' cultivation stage; those who have taken to regular agriculture; and those who have already been assimilated. The differences in physical environment also call for separate treatment.

1.21. The Commission had the benefit of a number of studies and surveys that preceded its work, as well as personal observations and voluminous other material. Ours is a statutory Commission and we are called upon to deal with broad principles and policies as well as details. The net result of our study can be summed up in a couple of sentences. Before anyone can successfully tackle the problem, he has to possess the sensitiveness to understand the tribal people in the context of their urges and aspirations together with the rationale behind them.

1.22. We stand at the threshold of a new era. The tribal people are prepared to make an entry into that era with other members of the family. The only thing that they expect is that the changes should not destroy the harmony of their life, and the contacts should not result in suppressing their distinctive personality.

Integration and Development

1.23. Apart from this basic approach there is the problem of integration and development. The most difficult part of integration is emotional integration and that of developmental activity is its psychological aspect. Despite a lack of clarity about the basic approach, the difficulties of distances, both physical and mental and the inadequacy of resources, it can be said that an impact has been produced upon the tribal mind. Side by side with dissatisfaction one can easily perceive satisfaction. Side by side with difficulties and strains one can observe improvement.

1.24. There are other aspects of this problem. They can be summed up as 'protective' aspects and 'developmental' aspects. The protective aspect relates to the protection of the right of the tribal in land and forests and the right to be safeguarded from usurious or exploitative elements. The developmental aspect relates to positive welfare schemes. None can minimise the magnitude of what remains to be done in the field of protection and development if this problem has to be solved before perversions enter or are injected. If the Report emphasizes this aspect it is not to underrate what has been achieved. The element of time poses a challenge.

1.25. The Constitution deliberately laid emphasis on both these aspects. The State Governments have still to translate that emphasis in both the fields. The deficiencies in places are glaring. The deficiency in the non-Scheduled areas is even more noticeable. Protection in those areas was not possible to the extent that it was in the Scheduled Areas. But the development has also lagged. The problems of the plains tribals and the hill tribals differ. Broadly speaking, the plains tribals have not received much attention.

1.26. Behind all this there is lack of a proper, adequate and suitable institutional framework to which time and again the attention of the Government was drawn in the reports of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, the Study Team on Social Welfare

and Welfare of Backward Classes of the Committee on Plan Projects, the Committee to evaluate the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks and by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In far-flung areas, where the integration and the development of lakhs of people has to be secured, properly equipped personnel with a proper approach is a *sine qua non*.

Conclusion

1.27. Here then is a glimpse of the problems that face the country in relation to the tribals in their broader context. Our objective is advancement and integration of tribals. That is the objective before every growing society. But it is the special characteristic of Indian society that it has aimed at advancement without disturbing the essential harmony and at integration without imposition. Indian society is, therefore, a great living human institution which has realised that diversity is not inimical to unity. On the contrary, its variety enriches its unity. The problem of problems is not to disturb the harmony of tribal life and simultaneously work for its advance; not to impose anything upon the tribals and simultaneously work for their integration as members and part of the Indian family. That is the mission assigned by the Father of the Nation and that is the purpose for which the Prime Minister is working so hard and has epitomised in his wise words that 'we should help the tribal people to develop along the lines of their own tradition and genius', not learning to despise their past but building upon it.²



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CHAPTER 2

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

Population

The largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world except perhaps Africa, is in India. According to the 1951 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes was 19,147,054, which was 5.30 per cent of the total. After the Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, this rose to 22,511,854, or 6.23 per cent. The increase of 34 lakhs was due to the addition of certain groups after it was realised that these had been omitted from the earlier list.

2.2. The largest concentrations of Scheduled Tribes are in the States of Madhya Pradesh (48.44 lakhs), Bihar (38.80 lakhs), Orissa (30.09 lakhs), Gujarat (20.92 lakhs), Rajasthan (17.74 lakhs), Assam (17.61 lakhs), Maharashtra (16.50 lakhs), West Bengal (15.66 lakhs) and Andhra Pradesh (11.49 lakhs).

The Scheduled Areas, which have an extent of approximately a hundred thousand sq. miles, by no means accommodate all the Scheduled Tribes in India, no more, in fact, than one third of the total. There are also non-tribals in the Scheduled Areas, the percentage of tribal to total population ranging from 35, as in Andhra Pradesh, to 90, as in the Jhabua District of Madhya Pradesh.

Principal Tribes

2.3. Tribe-wise enumeration was not done in the 1951 Census, but the 1941 Census gave the largest tribal groups as follows:—

TABLE 1

Tribe	Number	States where chiefly found
1	2	3
Gond ..	32,01,004	Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa.
Santal ..	27,32,266	Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal.
Bhil ..	23,30,270	Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.
Oron ..	11,22,926	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal.
Khond ..	7,44,904	Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa.
Munda ..	7,06,869	Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal.
Boro Kacharis ..	5,94,979	Assam, West Bengal, Tripura.

Geographical Distribution

2.4. The tribal population falls naturally into three main groups—

- (i) those scattered over South-Western India, in the hills and the converging lines of the Ghats;
- (ii) those occupying the Central belt of the older hills and plateaus along the dividing line between Peninsular India and the Indo-Gangetic plain; and
- (iii) those living in the Northern and North-Eastern zone in the mountain valleys and Eastern Frontiers of India.

Original Home of the Tribes

2.5. There have been several theories about the original home of the tribes, but none seems to establish clearly why they migrated from the plains to the hills or from the hills to the plains. One of the reasons in recent times appears to be the impact of political and administrative changes and economic factors resulting in the loss of land. The growth of population and the pressure on land led to a two-way process, the non-tribal people entering the areas inhabited by the tribes and the tribal people migrating to other areas.

Fusion of Cultures

2.6. India is a small world in itself, into which there has been a continuous inflow of people from neighbouring and even distant countries. The result has been a constant and often enriching process of interaction and fusion of cultures. Generally, this has happened without violence, but instances have not been infrequent when stronger groups of immigrants—stronger physically, numerically, organisationally or tactically—have tried to impose their will by force or intrigue on the weaker groups, compelling the latter either to surrender to complete absorption or to escape to inaccessible areas. In this process of inter action, the culture of the ruling class has inevitably had an effect on that of the ruled but reverse also happened. Sometimes the dominant group consisted of those immigrants whom we now call tribals. They sustained their dominance for a time, but later were compelled to yield to more powerful forces. Some who resisted absorption elected to return to the forests and join the other indigenous groups who had previously retired or were living there from ancient times. Those that stayed on and those that retired have both contributed to the cultural destiny of India, the one by associating itself in its general development by directly participating in it and the other by preserving in the secrets of the wilderness some of the finest facets of India's culture.

2.7. Life in the hills, in spite of its attendant disabilities, has made the tribals hardy, self-reliant and vigilant. By and large, the tribes inhabiting the hills, such as the Nagas, Khasis, Abors and others, have resisted the intrusion of outsiders and thus developed a great sense of independence.

Description of Selected Tribes

2.8. In the following paragraphs we have attempted to give brief sketches of individual tribes inhabiting different parts of the country. It would be an interesting task to study and write on all the tribes, but we leave it to the social scientist to undertake that fascinating

venture. Here we can only describe very briefly a few typical tribes and certain aspects of their culture and economy which in many cases are also true of other tribes. For example, the Gonds, whose kingdom in the historical past embraced a vast area, had a culture which was not very different from that of the large numbers of people who inhabited their kingdom. The people now described tribals belong to different levels of social and material development and the survey will give a glimpse of the vast cultural panorama of tribal India.

2.9. *The Gonds*—The Gonds are the largest tribal group in India with (according to the 1941 Census) a population of 32 lakhs, of whom 25 lakhs are found in Madhya Pradesh. They are also found in the States of Maharashtra, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. There are many sections of the Gonds, such as Marias, Murias, Bhatras, while the Raj Gonds are considered to belong to their highest class. The Pradhans are their hereditary bards and are responsible for the preservation of the epics, folklore, myths and legends that have been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.

2.10. The majority of the Gonds have become settled agriculturists, though a few still practise shifting cultivation. Khatis or blacksmiths, Wojaris or Otaris, a caste of brass founders, Agarias or iron workers, Ojhas or soothsayers, Solahas or carpenters, Koila Bhutis or dancers, living in the Gond villages, have sprung from the Gond stock with an admixture of other tribes.

2.11. The Gonds are sub-divided into exogamous septs and the clan system remains only in the form of a survival, prohibiting marriage between agnates. Many of the septs are named after animals and plants as a result of some incident which occurred to an ancestor or priest. The Gonds do not marry in their own sept nor in one which worships the same number of gods in localities where the septs are classified according to the number of gods worshipped.

2.12. Gondwana, the kingdom of the Gonds, was once spread over a large area now consisting of the districts of Chhindwara, Mandla, Chanda, Adilabad and Warangal. The Deogarh dynasty in Chhindwara and the Kherla dynasty in Warangal were well-known and enjoyed for a considerable period during the Moghul regime independent ruling status until they were overthrown by the rise of the Maratha power. Even now a great fair is held every year in Keslapur in Adilabad where thousands of Gond families meet and a Gond Darbar is conducted. The Gond kings are reported to have constructed a large number of tanks for irrigation purposes. The rulers allowed to the builders of the tanks freedom from land revenue for the lands to be irrigated to encourage them to build more.

2.13. The Marias of Bastar are an extremely interesting and attractive people. They fall into two divisions distinguished by details of culture and tradition—the Hill Marias of the Abujhmar mountains and the Bison-Horn Marias living to the south of the Indravati river. The community life of these people is very well organised through their traditional panchayats and the village headmen called Majhis. The Marias are talented dancers and are open-minded, cheerful and hospitable. The interesting institution of the Ghotul—the bachelors'

dormitory—is very well developed amongst the Murias, who are allied to them¹.

2.14. *The Santals*—The Santals have a total population (according to the 1941 Census) of 27,32,266 distributed in the States of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Their classic home, however, is the Santal Parganas in Bihar, though they are also spread over the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Singhbhum, Bhagalpur, Dhanbad, Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Midnapore. The Rajmahal Hills, consisting of a succession of undulating plateaus, valleys and ravines with an altitude varying from 500 to 800 feet above the sea level has been the main scene of Santal activity. A fairly large number of Santals are working as plantation labour in Assam.

2.15. There have been several theories regarding the origin of the Santals. They have been claimed as the original inhabitants of India, prior to the Aryans and Dravidians.

2.16. The Santals are a hard-working tribe of agriculturists. The oppression of the Mahajans and the corruption of the Amlas so enraged them that they rebelled in 1855, and revealed extraordinary courage in fighting oppression.

2.17. The Santals are an artistic people. They build beautiful houses and decorate them exceedingly well and used to carve remarkable palanquins, flutes and fiddles.

2.18. To-day vast changes are underway in their villages. Large-scale industrial projects have led to a gradual dispossession of their land. A fairly large number have accepted the situation and have become workers in these projects, but not all have been employed or actually rehabilitated.

2.19. The wrath of the Santals against misdemeanour and violation of their social code of conduct is illustrated in the institution called "Bitlaha". The panchayat of elders, when it finds a serious offence committed against a Santal man or woman, imposes a fine and warns the offender and members of his or her family to refrain from such conduct. If the behaviour of the family continues to be irregular, a Bitlaha is declared. The message is sent from village to village and, on an appointed day, thousands of Santals congregate to punish the inmates of the house if they have not already escaped. The house is demolished and sometimes the offenders are beaten.

2.20. *The Bhils*—The Bhils constitute one of the largest tribal groups in India and are very widely distributed in the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The word "Bhil" appears to be derived from the Dravidian word "Bheel" meaning arrow. The term also signifies their vigour and alacrity, for, as the current proverb goes, 'his arrows fly straight'. The Bhils are, in fact, excellent bowmen. Ekalavya of the Mahabharata, who mastered archery by practising it before the idol of Dronacharya, when this great sage refused to teach him, was a Bhil. The story of this devoted pupil, who later cut off the thumb of his right hand to give it as a present to Dronacharya and still practised archery with his left hand, is well known.

2.21. In the historical past, the Bhils played a notable part as active members in various military campaigns in Rajputana where, till recently, the Mewar Bhil Corps was in existence. Many of the Bhils served not only in the Armed Forces but also in the State constabulary and as village chaukidars.

2.22. The main source of livelihood for the Bhils is agriculture. It was only during the latter part of the last century that they settled down to cultivation, for previously many of them were nomadic. Before that they used to subsist on wild fruit, berries and other forest produce as well as animals taken in the hunt. Even now a few are in the food-gathering stage. A large number of Bhils, who have no lands, have migrated to nearby towns and have swelled the ranks of landless labour. Economic destitution has led some of them to work under a system of bonded labour by which not only they but the members of their families are pledged to render service to redeem their debts.

2.23. Though weaving of cloth is almost unknown among the Bhils and most of their clothes are bought ready-made from the bazars, they are meticulous about their dress, and particularly the women are fond of decorating themselves with silver ear-rings and finger-rings, and brass ornaments. They tattoo their bodies with all manner of designs such as the moon, the stars, birds and flowers.

2.24. Holi is a very important festival. Like most tribals, the Bhils are fond of liquor, for which they distil the carollae of the *Bassia latifolia*, and some of them take opium. Contact with the urban areas has now made tea with jaggery popular. Their main diet consists of maize, millets and pulses. The 'Kodra', before it is served, undergoes a very elaborate process. Meat, eggs, fish and fowl are also eaten but on very rare occasions by the well-to-do.

2.25. The family is the unit of society, and the father has absolute authority over the household. Everything in the family of domestic or social importance is done under his direction. The mother is equally important in guiding household activities.

2.26. For the conduct of their religious ceremonies they do not invite the Brahmin, whose place is taken by the Punjaro or Rawal, who is also a medicineman.

2.27. The tribal panchayat, consisting of all the village elders, discusses and decides not only such private problems as a Bhil's love affair with a married woman, but also matters of public importance, for example, an outbreak of cattle disease, or the ensuing visit of a government dignitary.

2.28. *The Oraons*—The Oraons are widely dispersed throughout the States of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Like their great neighbours, the Mundas, they are good agriculturists, and it is probable that they were the first to introduce plough-cultivation on the Chhota Nagpur plateau. They grow food crops as well as cotton, and are also good artisans.

2.29. The social organisation of the Oraons is based on a totemic clan division. For example, a man of the Kujur clan cannot eat date fruit nor can he sit under the shade of a date tree. A woman of this clan, even in the absence of blood relationship, stands in the position

of a sister to a Kujur man and so they cannot marry. The senior most member of the family that originally settled in a place is the religious chief who derives his authority from his monopoly right of propitiating the disturbed spirits and the deities of hill and forest.

2.30. The 'Dhumkuria', the bachelors' dormitory, is a well-known institution in some Oraon villages. Here the boys learn tribal folklore and participate in the various activities of the community under the direction of office-bearers elected by the villagers. The annual hunts, gatherings and dances connected with harvesting, marriages and other social ceremonies, are all celebrated by the community after discussion in the Dhumkuria.²

2.31. A large number of Oraons have been converted to Christianity. Even after conversion they observe the totemic clan divisions, but the institution of the dormitory is gradually dying out among the Christian Oraons, though attempts have been made to revive it.

2.32. *The Khonds*—The 1941 Census returned 7,44,904 Khonds. In Orissa they are the largest tribe, living mostly in the southern districts. They are also found in the Visakhapatnam Agency in Andhra Pradesh and the south-eastern part of Madhya Pradesh. The majority of the Khonds grow turmeric and have mastered the production of this commercial crop. On the hill slopes many of them cultivate on terraces. The Kuttia and Dangaria Khonds are relatively underdeveloped, still practising shifting cultivation and migrating from place to place in a cycle of three to five years.

2.33. The Khonds practised human sacrifice a hundred years ago but this was stopped by 1857. Instead, buffaloes are now offered to propitiate the spirits. The traditional tribal organisation is fairly strong. There is a chief for every 10 to 12 villages called the Mutta, whose jurisdiction covers several exogamous families with different totems such as the elephant, tiger, bamboo, and so on. This tribe also has the bachelors' dormitory, though it is gradually dying out.

2.34. *The Nagas*—Among the Indo-Mongoloid tribes in India, the Nagas are one of the most fascinating and colourful. It is possible that the Nagas are to be included among the Kiratas referred to in Hindu tradition and mythology. The respect in which the Kiratas were traditionally held is shown in the Mahabharata which describes Shiva as taking the form of a Kirata, with Parvati by his side in the guise of a Kirata woman, to meet the great warrior Arjuna.

2.35. Several explanations of the derivation of the word "Naga", such as hillman, warrior, a man connected with snakes, have been offered. But the most appropriate is traced to the word "nok", meaning people. It is a common practice among the tribal people to describe themselves simply as human beings. They look on themselves as *people*, free of communal or caste associations.³

2.36. The Nagas, whose total population is estimated at 3.70 lakhs, consist of a number of groups among which are the Konyaks, Aos, Semas, Chakhesangs, Angamis, Lhotas and Sangtams. Their social organisation presents a varied pattern ranging from near dictatorship to extreme democracy. Among the Semas and Changs there is hereditary chieftainship. Konyak chiefs, who are powerful, are regarded as sacred and their word is law. The Aos have an organisation

on which the elders of the main family groups in the village are represented, whereas the Angamis, Lhotas and Rengmas are entirely democratic in character.

2.37. Naga villages are large and are generally built on ridges commanding a view of an entire range of hills and the plains below. The practice of head-hunting, for which the Nagas are known, has virtually ended. This practice appears to have been earlier based on the belief that the head-hunter would imbibe the energy and strength of his victim. Social status and personal valour during the days of head-hunting used to be evaluated in terms of the number of heads a man had hunted.

2.38. The Naga villages have the 'Morung' or dormitory for the young unmarried men which serves the purpose of a guest-house, recreation club, centre for social education and ceremonial purposes.

2.39. The Nagas are good agriculturists. Some of the finest terraces for rice-cultivation may be seen in the Naga hills. They are a healthy and virile race and have a fine artistic sense. They make their own agricultural implements as well as weapons of war, and the women are excellent weavers.

2.40. A large number of Nagas have been converted to Christianity and this has naturally influenced their way of life considerably. The impact of welfare work and post-Independence administrative changes have also had their effect and today the Nagas in some parts are a rapidly progressing people.

2.41. *The Saoras*—The Saoras are a large tribe inhabiting the Andhra Pradesh Agency area and the districts of Koraput and Ganjam in Orissa. They are believed to be the descendants of the Sabaras referred to in the Aitareya Brahmana, Ramayana and Mahabharata. According to the Korni copper plate, Kamarnava, the founder of the Kalinga-Ganga dynasty, defeated and killed at Dantaruva Sabaraditya, the ruler of Srikakulam. Sabaraditya, as the name itself suggests, must have been a Saora.

2.42. The Saoras have ancient associations with Hindu tradition through Sabari which is a household word in India. Valmiki's Ramayana describes how Rama and Lakshmana, in the course of their search for Sita, met the aged ascetic Sabari who offered fruits to them and showed them her hermitage. Dr. Elwin, commenting on this reference in the Ramayana, says:—

"It is most significant to find, even so long ago, an attitude towards them (the tribes) which has come to fruition in modern times. And in the figure of Sabari there is a symbol of the contribution that the tribes can and will make to the life of India".⁴

2.43. There are several social divisions among the Saoras, such as Lemba Lanjia, Jadu, Mane, Raika, Sarda, Kindal, Arsi, Juari, Kancher and Kurumba. In addition to their own language, some Saoras speak Telugu and some Oriya. There are also certain occupational groups among them who are magicians, brass-workers, basket-makers and collectors of forest produce. The Kanchers of Bandkhimidi are good archers and the Kurumbas practise shifting cultivation. There are also potters, blacksmiths and bell-metal workers.

2.44. The Lanjia Saoras living in Parlakemidi Sub-Division of Ganjam and Pottasingi in Gunpur Taluk in Koraput, which are extremely inaccessible areas, are free and independent, but grossly exploited by the Doms and Panos who live in close association with them. They have one of the most elaborate religious systems in India which gives a high place to women who act as priestesses.

2.45. The Saoras have well-established villages built on the slopes commanding an excellent view of the hills and the plains below. They usually cultivate on terraces and, wherever flat land is available, grow subsidiary crops on them as well as in clearings on the hill-sides. Their favourite drink is fresh or fermented palm juice.

2.46. *The Koyas*—The Koyas inhabit the Andhra Agency area and the Districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar and Warangal of the Telangana region. As one travels on the Godavari from Bhadrachalam down south to Rajahmundry, one sees, on either side of the river, the Koya huts beautifully decorated with artistic designs, Koyas also live in the southern parts of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

2.47. Until the Bhadrachalam Taluk was handed over to the British by the Nizam in 1860, the local Zamindar maintained a troop of Rohillas. He paid them no wages, but for remuneration allowed them to loot the Koya country without check. The Taluk was divided into ten Samutus, each consisting of 25 villages. Each village had to supply for a month, without pay or allowance, a hundred Koyas to carry loads and a hundred Madigas (untouchables) to look after Rohillas' horses.⁶

2.48. The Koyas are divided into five classes depending on the economic, social and religious functions they perform. In addition to their tribal deities, they also worship Hindu gods and goddesses.

2.49. Social organisation among the Koyas is extremely democratic and is controlled by the Kula panchayats. Succession to the office of village head is by election in an assembly of elders. Normally, when a chief dies, his heir is elected in his place. Should he be a minor or incompetent, the elders elect a regent to officiate for him. An appeal lies from the verdict of the chief to the Samutu which consists of the elders of a group of ten or twelve villages presided over by a Chairman who is called Samutu Dora. The meetings of the Koya panchayat are conducted in an orderly and dignified manner. Fines are used by the entire community for certain common purposes. Anyone who refuses to pay the fine is socially boycotted.

2.50. The Koyas subsist on shifting cultivation and forest labour. They make baskets with bamboos and weave mats with fibre. The Nizam's Government started some useful schemes for their benefit in the Warangal and Khammam districts. A good number of them have been rehabilitated in land colonisation schemes also.

2.51. The incidence of yaws is very high among these people. The Koya hamlets suffer from an acute shortage of drinking water. During certain lean months of the year, there is great scarcity of food and the people have to manage with tubers, tamarind seeds and palm juice.

2.52. The Koyas are a courageous people and took a prominent part in several revolts against official tyranny.

2.53. *The Mahadev and Malhar Kolis*—The Mahadev Kolis, who number nearly 2 lakhs, are widely scattered in the Maharashtra Districts of Nasik, Poona, Thana and Kolaba. The Koli kingdom was originally founded in North Konkan and included the Jawhar State now forming part of Thana district. They look upon Valmiki as their ancestor. They are divided into a number of groups who follow different occupations and are at different stages of social and economic development. Their principal occupations are fishing, agriculture, cattle-breeding, trading in milk and milk products, and poultry-keeping. Some of them work also as forest and as construction labour. The tribal panchayats have a good hold on them.

2.54. *The Birhors*—The Birhors are scattered all over the Chhota Nagpur plateau and are also found in Chhattisgarh, Orissa and West Bengal. Their main concentration, however, is in Ranchi and Hazaribagh Districts. Though numerically a small group, their population according to the 1941 Census being only 2,755, they are one of the oldest nomadic tribes still in the food gathering and hunting stage, the very word Birhor mean "forest-man". One group, the Uthlus, still wander about while another, the Jaghis, have recently taken to a settled life. They live in small settlements generally in the outskirts of villages or in the midst of thick jungles and usually do not own any land.

2.55. The Birhors are expert at catching monkeys, birds and other animals. They are also good rope-makers, and this is their principal occupation. They make very strong ropes out of fibre and tree bark. They barter ropes, birds and monkeys for food grains. Their migration from forest to forest depends on the availability of bark, animals and birds.

2.56. The Birhors speak a dialect of Mundari and Sadri mixed with Santali words. They live in leafy huts of a conical shape known as Kumbas, which are constructed with great skill so as to avoid any percolation of water during the rainy season. The Naya is the head of the settlement and is believed to have supernatural powers which avert misfortunes to the tribe. He is, therefore, not only respected but implicitly obeyed.

2.57. Their food supply not only comes from the monkeys, rabbits, squirrels and birds they catch, but also from edible roots and berries in the jungle. Sometimes they have very little to eat and consequently suffer from malnutrition. Their precarious existence has led them constantly to invoke the tribal gods and spirits to protect them.

2.58. *The Kurichias*—The Kurichias migrated from the plains of Malabar and have been colonised in Wynad. They number about 15,000. They played a notable part in the rebellion of Pazhassie Raja during the 19th century.⁶

2.59. They are an agricultural tribe practising both dry and wet cultivation.

2.60. They are characterised by an extreme orthodoxy rare amongst the tribal people. They hold a high social position among the Wynad tribes and feel polluted by the approach of other tribesmen such as Paniyans. Their orthodoxy has been a great handicap to their development. A Kurichia goes so far as to burn his hut if a non-Kurichia even touches it. He dreads imprisonment, for in jail he

may have to eat food cooked by other people. His orthodoxy has also stood in the way of sending his children to school for the fear that non-Kurichias will touch them. When mid-day meals were introduced, the Kurichias at first did not permit their children to accept them.

2.61. Kurichia social organisation provides for a division of their territory into several *nads*, each *nad* controlled by a Council of elders presided over by a headman. Ex-communication of members of the tribe who break the social taboos has resulted in the conversion of such non-conformists to Christianity.

2.62. *The Kinnars*—The Kinnaras, also known as Kanawris and Kanauras, inhabit the newly-formed border district of Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh. Their land is spread out on either side of the river Sutlej beyond Maniote Dhar on the left and Tekholing Dhar on the right. The district has an area of about 2,000 sq. miles with a population of 35,000. Most of the area remains snow-bound for several months in the year, and lack of communications has practically cut off the inhabitants from the rest of the country. The three main valleys in the district—Sutlej, Hangrang and Sangla, are interspersed by Himalayan ranges and difficult passes.

2.63. The Kinnars are mentioned in Hindu mythology as a celestial tribe famous for their dances and music with which they entertained the heavenly gods. They are a fair and handsome people, with a distinctive style of dress.

2.64. Their social organisation, the practice of polyandry, their Lamaistic religion and their language clearly distinguish them from the rest of the people inhabiting the Himalayan region.

2.65. The economy of the Kinnars is based on terrace cultivation, horticulture and goat and sheep breeding. Their principal cottage industry is spinning and weaving in wool but this has had a setback on account of the developments across the border in Tibet.

2.66. *The Lahaulis*—The tribes of Gaddi, Swangla and Bhot have been scheduled in the recently demarcated border District of Lahaul and Spiti, which was formerly in Kangra District, Punjab. The district has common borders with Tibet and Ladakh and is cut off from the rest of the State by high mountains perpetually under snow. The great height of the fringing ranges and extremely cold weather have made these areas inaccessible to outsiders. The gateway to Lahaul is the Rohtang at a height of 13,500 ft. There are about 12,000 Lahaulis. They are a healthy and robust people.

2.67. The Bhot or Bodh community includes a number of groups—Thakurs, Kanets, Lohars and Henzi—of which the Kanets are numerically the largest. The Lohars are the artisans and serfs of Thakurs. The Henzi are professional dancers and musicians. The Thakurs are at the top of the hierarchy representing the vestiges of feudalism. The Swanglas are an important community in lower Lahaul in the Pattan valley. They are a farming community owning considerable extent of arable land. The predominant religion of the area is Buddhism.

2.68. *Kuth*, a medicinal plant and a cash crop, is the mainstay of Lahaulian economy. Barley, wheat and potatoes are the major food crops. The Lahaulis are excellent traders. They trade with Ladakh and Western Tibet, the main commodity for trade being *pashmina*.

They used to bring wool from Tibet and sell it in Kulu at a good profit, but the recent disturbances in Tibet have adversely affected their economy.

2.69. Polyandry, based on economic factors, such as the necessity to check fragmentation of unproductive land-holdings, is prevalent in upper Lahaul.

2.70. *The Spitians*—The Spiti valley, with an area of 2,155 sq. miles, consists of high ranges rising to altitudes of 11,000 ft. to 23,000 ft. above sea level. The Kunzam Pass at a height of 16,000 ft. is its gateway. The 1961 census has provisionally estimated its population at 5,324.

2.71. The Spitians are sturdier than the Lahaulians. They are divided into Chazangs (Rajputs), Hosis and Lohars. The Chazangs form the bulk of the population and are mostly cultivating tenants. The main crops are barley, buckwheat and peas. Agriculture is supplemented by animal husbandry and trade. The yak plays an important role in Spitian economy, the male of the species being used for ploughing and the female for milk and butter. The Spitians also breed a good stock of horse.

2.72. There are a number of monasteries in Spiti and Buddhism is the predominant religion. The law of primogeniture governs the inheritance of property. The younger brothers either serve the eldest brother by remaining celibate throughout their lives or become Lamas and join a monastery.

Social Organisation

2.73. The isolation and conservative outlook of most of the hill tribes have helped to retain the shape and strength of their social organisation.

2.74. Among the Santals, the Manji has both civil and moral authority in the village; he supervises the farming arrangements and distribution of land for cultivation. He also has religious functions, and officiates as the master of ceremonies at births and marriages and takes care of the morals of the younger people. Among the Mundas, the village headman is the most influential person guiding the panchayat. The Hos have a system whereby the headman has a sort of federal jurisdiction over a group of villages. The Muttadars in the Agency areas in Andhra Pradesh are intermediaries between Government and people. They have been entrusted with the collection of land revenue and also help the administration in the maintenance of law and order.

2.75. There is, however, one aspect of village organisation and leadership different from that in the rest of India. The tribal tradition is generally contrary to the elective principle. Yet they are not undemocratic, for the entire village abides by the decision of the body of elders and helps them to arrive at it. The existence of dormitories, such as the Ghotul, Dhumkuria and Morung, has contributed to the growth of youth leadership and community development. These institutions have inculcated a sense of discipline and co-operative endeavour among their members, and social education through the narration of stories about the traditional tribal heroes the posing and solution of riddles, and religious rites, has been one of their principal functions.

Health, Food Habits and Drink

2.76. No comprehensive scientific study of the effect of diet on the health and body-growth of the tribes has been made. But the few *ad hoc* studies that we have, give an idea of a notable lack of proteins, minerals and vitamins and an excess of carbohydrates resulting in a variety of deficiency diseases.

2.77. There is no uniformity in the diet taken by different tribes. In addition to the millets they have other crops, mostly coarse grains, though rice is now being widely introduced. In many places the food supply is not adequate for a whole year, and then the people have to subsist on roots, tubers, various fruits and berries, edible flowers, leaves and honey during the lean months. An additional source of food supply comes from wild game and fish, and most tribes keep a variety of domestic animals. The social and religious ceremonies connected with hunting are elaborate. There are a number of taboos on the killing of certain animals which vary from tribe to tribe. Few tribes are vegetarian.

2.78. Beer made of rice or millets is an important ingredient in the diet of some tribes, and is consumed generally by both sexes. It has a social and religious significance as it is taken during dances, village meetings and on ceremonial occasions. With the entry of outsiders into the tribal areas, distilled liquor has become increasingly common and has started taking the place of the traditional rice-beer.

Status of Women in Tribal Society

2.79. The cultural level of a human group has sometimes been evaluated in terms of the status given to its women. In tribal society woman is not a drudge or a beast of burden, but exercises a firm hand in family matters. It is difficult to generalise on so large a subject but the tribal woman undoubtedly enjoys a considerable measure of equality with the tribal man.

2.80. W. V. Grigson, writing on the Marias of Bastar, says that the Maria woman has great freedom both in her marital life and in the choice of her husband. She is fairly free to leave her husband if he ill-treats her. The woman who has a taste for ornaments and beads, quite natural in itself, is given full scope by the husband who recognises her right to spend her earnings on their purchase. Grigson feels that an average Maria woman is far freer than a Hindu woman.⁷

2.81. Dr. J. H. Hutton, writing on the position of Sema Naga women, says that socially they enjoy a high position. Though marriages are arranged on the basis of convenience, a girl is never married against her will, and in the husband's home the wife occupies a high position and her children are treated kindly.⁸

2.82. The Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh divide even the household duties, which are generally assigned to women elsewhere, equitably between the sexes, and the man often undertakes tasks which belong to the domain of women. Baron Von Furer-Haimendorf says, "Husband and wife are, for all practical purposes, partners with equal rights and their property is jointly owned." The Lambada and Banjara women of Andhra Pradesh are well-known not only as equal

partners in the family adventure but also as bread-winners contributing to the household budget. Among the patrilocal Tharus, women's status is proverbially high. The property is owned both by men and women and the latter spend their income if they wish without consulting their husbands. Women keep poultry, they fish; make baskets and sell the products of their labour. Among the Khasis, the husband goes to live with his wife in her mother's house. Through this matriarchal arrangement, the husband's authority is greatly curtailed. He is a co-earner and a partner. The women's initiative is thus foremost in the affairs of the family.

2.83. Among the Hos, the problem of a high bride-price and the inability of the average Ho to afford it actually improves the status of the wife who is so difficult to get. E. T. Dalton says that it is not uncommon to see tribal husbands so subjected to the influence of their wives that they may be regarded as henpecked.¹¹ The Bhotias and the polyandrous tribes in Lahaul and Kinnaur valleys treat their women with respect and understanding. The women are hardy, resolute and capable of undertaking strenuous duties. They not only are good housewives but also enjoy in equal measure the rights and privileges that their men have.

2.84. The woman thus holds an important position in tribal life. She, however, does not usually enjoy any political influence. She does not sit in the village Councils or panchayats. Nor is her voice heard in taking decisions affecting public life.

Conclusion

2.85. In this chapter we have made a brief study of some of the most important of India's tribes which will suggest, at least to those who do not know them, what kind of people they are and how they vary from one another. This variety has made the task of dealing with the tribal problem at once fascinating and difficult, for it is seldom possible to lay down general rules or suggestions that will apply everywhere. Some of the tribal people are well-to-do, indeed, some of the great Chiefs would be counted prosperous on any standard. Others are very poor. Sentimentalists tell us that they are all truthful and honest. In actual fact, while they do generally maintain a very high ethical standard, they are like everybody else in the world: some of them are good and some are bad. Many are very simple but others are shrewd and calculating. Many, probably most of them, but not all, work very hard and co-operate with one another to a degree little known in our modern individualistic and acquisitive society.

2.86. Tribal religion varies as much as tribal social custom or tribal law. Some of the tribals are Buddhists and have been so for centuries. Some have become Christians in comparatively recent times. Others worship Hindu gods and follow a simplified form of the Hindu religion. Yet again, others still follow the faith of their ancestors. These latter generally believe in one Supreme Being with a number of subordinate deities and in a great number of spirits of Nature, of river, hill and forest, ghosts and other unseen spirits who affect human life at every point. Many of these are regarded as malevolent and have to be appeased by ceremonies, festivals and

sacrifices; others are kindly and helpful. In most tribes there are traditional priests and even priestesses who act on behalf of the village community. Tribal religion is by no means to be dismissed as a superstition. It has given to millions strength in adversity, joy when things go well, relief from anxiety and consolation in the hour of death.

2.87. Tribal dress also varies greatly. In Assam many educated tribals adopt European fashions. Elsewhere the educated people may use Western dress or the traditional attire of India. Those tribes which have preserved the tradition of weaving often have artistic and colourful shawls, blouses and skirts for women and coats and loin-clothes for men. Formerly many of the tribes went about with little on, at least in the privacy of their own villages. To-day very few do this and nearly all of them have clothes which they can wear when strangers visit them or when they go to the markets or the towns. The poorest among them are ragged and dirty and unhappily, this is so most commonly among those who have migrated to the urban areas. But most of them have something better which they can wear at festivals. Ornamentation varies from beautiful hand-made necklaces of cane, grass or beads, decorated bamboo combs to brass and silver ornaments from the bazars.

2.88. This variety is one of the reasons why research is so important, for what may be perfectly good for one area may be less suitable for another.

2.89. It is difficult in the dry pages of an official report to convey to the reader the zest for life expressed in tribal poetry and dancing, the instinct for colour and pattern shown in tribal textiles, the courage with which the tribal people face and overcome the harshness of Nature, the cruelty of unmedicated disease, the shame and anxiety of exploitation. Above all things, the tribal people are intensely lovable and have fascinated most of those who have had anything to do with them. To ask our best men and women, therefore, to go into the mountains and hills to serve them does not require them to sacrifice anything but the most superficial comforts. Those who have adventured into tribal territory in the right spirit—the spirit of humanity, reverence and affection—have always had a great reward.

2.90. The general tendency of writers about the tribes has, perhaps naturally, been to stress their exotic character and those aspects of their life which distinguish them from others. Yet the more they are studied the clearer it becomes that their central problems are those of all mankind. Peasants throughout the world suffer from loss of land, from the exactions of moneylenders and from lack of modern techniques in agriculture and industries. The great human problems of life, love and death are common to us all. This should never be forgotten, for the very fact that so much special attention and so many special provisions are made for the tribal people may suggest that theirs is a special kind of humanity or that they think and feel altogether differently from the rest of us. This is not, of course, the intention. The special treatment suggested for the tribes is simply because, owing to their long neglect and isolation, they have fallen behind in the march of progress.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONDITION OF THE TRIBES PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE

Limitations of the Survey

A study of the social and economic conditions of the tribal people before Independence has its difficulties, for the areas they inhabited were inaccessible, making it difficult to establish contacts with them. However, the few officers, anthropologists, welfare workers and missionaries who maintained constant touch with them have left valuable accounts which depict the conditions under which they used to live. We will, therefore, in this Chapter present a brief account of conditions obtaining in tribal areas prior to independence and discuss the policy that governed the tribal affairs.

British Policy of Isolation

3.2. In Chapter 2 we had occasion to give some description of the Indian tribes, and this has given us an insight into their isolated life and struggle for existence. The tribal people living in their remote hills and forests for many centuries led a life of their own, generally uninfluenced by the main currents of developments outside. It was with the entry of the missionaries into these areas that the officers of the Administration started paying some attention to them. But this contact was only superficial and prompted them to come to some equally superficial conclusions, the foremost of which was to isolate these people from the rest of their countrymen and separate the tribal areas from the purview of the normal administration. The people in the plains were either too subdued or too ignorant to mind what happened. If the Administration contributed to the difficulties of the tribal people by its policy of isolation, the people of the plains added to the problem by their conscious and unconscious neglect.

Effects of British Rule on the Tribals

3.3. Dr. J. H. Hutton, a distinguished member of the I.C.S., who made a deep study of the problems of the tribal people, wrote as follows on the effects of British rule on them:—

“Far from being of immediate benefit to the primitive tribes, the establishment of British Rule in India did most of them much more harm than good...It may be said that the early days of British Administration did very great detriment to the economic position of tribes through ignorance and neglect of their rights and customs...many changes have been caused incidentally by the penetration of the tribal country, the opening up of communications, the protection of forests and the establishment of schools, to say nothing of the openings given in this way to Christian Missions. Many of the results of these changes have caused acute discomfort to the tribes.”¹

Commenting on this, Professor G. S. Ghurye says that “the acuteness of discomfort was very often so great that it led to apathy, indifference, moral deterioration and even a decline in population”.²

Isolation Leading to Exploitation

3.4. The British policy of isolating the tribes resulted in exploitation. The technique was simple. Zamindars, landlords, money-lenders and contractors exploited the tribals to the maximum. These contacts with non-tribals were none too welcome to the tribes; they added to the strain of fighting a lonesome battle against ruthless nature, soil erosion, denudation of hills and erratic rivers.

3.5. The programme of conservation and preservation of forests resulted in a progressive encroachment on the rights enjoyed by the tribals for centuries past in respect of the use of fuel and timber, exploitation of minor forest produce and hunting. The impact of this was felt by the tribals who could not take kindly to this policy of intrusion which shook their last foothold of sustenance. The British could not control the zamindars and jagirdars in the management of their private forests which in turn intensified the suspicion in the tribal mind. The coming in of the contractor, who carried away the profits of forest produce, resulted in sordid exploitation. It was not unnatural that these incursions into tribal rights over forests resulted in sporadic retaliations which eventually led to a dislocation of the tribal economy and consequent frustration in the tribal mind. Yet in the name of safeguarding them from the possible consequences of incursions of non-tribals, they were cut off from the main currents of India's social and economic life. What the tribal people needed was not isolation but planned contact on the basis of a positive policy of economic progress.

Early Policy in Chhota Nagpur

3.6. One of the early attempts made by the British to deal with the tribal areas was when they entered Chhota Nagpur in Bihar about the middle of the eighteenth century. Their entry was resented and there was a series of disturbances in 1789, 1801, 1807 and 1808 which had to be put down with the help of the armed forces. Lands were granted to retired soldiers at the foot of the hills, thus making a ring-fence of loyal military men to encircle the tribals. A system of paying pensions, which then amounted to Rs. 15,000, continued for about a century.

3.7. In 1831-32 followed the great Kol insurrection which was the result of discontent amongst the tribal people against the settlement of their land with Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, who had come from other parts of India and taken service under the Raja of Chhota Nagpur and other zamindars. Other forms of oppression falling heavily on tribal cultivators were arbitrary enhancement of rents, forcible extraction of "begar", and forcible dispossession of their Khuntkatti lands. The suppression of riots was followed by a number of agrarian reforms to prevent tribal land from passing into the hands of non-tribals. The most important administrative reform was Regulation XIII of 1833, as a result of which Chhota Nagpur was declared a non-regulated area, as it was considered that the Regulations which were intended for the more advanced districts of Bengal and Bihar were not suited to it. These reforms and administrative steps, however, more or less remained on paper as the tribals were totally uninformed about them and even if they knew they were too isolated to take any advantage of them.

Santal Rebellions

3.8. The Indian Mutiny of 1857 was preceded by the Santal Rebellion in 1855 which was excited by the oppression of the money-lenders and rapacious landlords. The rebellion was put down mercilessly by the British. The following passage from Thompson and Garratt's *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* is significant :—

“Inside India the Santal rebellion, 1855, at the time was taken as a portent, and aroused much of the alarm and savagery of repression which were to blaze out less than two years later. The Santals, aborigines who in a state of nature live by the chase, a people of extreme simplicity and loveableness, were suffering from Hindu infiltration.

“This meant change of habits and a whole train of perplexities. Their lands became alienated, they were entangled in debts to people far cleverer than themselves. They were under foolish local officials who would not help them. The facile reply that the Santals should appeal to the civil courts, or prove their charges of oppression before the criminal courts, was the answer of the father who should offer his son a stone when he asked for bread.

“No one dreamed of insurrection by a race of gentle and harmless with courts of justice ever open to them.

“Then, without warning, a Santal inundation swept over the outlying regions of Bengal, reaching to within a hundred miles of Calcutta, cleaving open skulls of European and Indian alike, pouring out poisoned arrows, burning huts and bungalows. All ended, however, as it was bound to end, in massacre and executions.”

3.9. In 1869 and 1870, there was unrest in Dhanbad between the Zamindar of Tundi and Santals on the question of enhancement of rent and forest rights. But the matter was settled by the intervention of Colonel Dalton, an exceptional official with a great understanding of the tribes.

Sardari Agitation of 1887

3.10. This was followed by the Sardari Agitation of 1887 against compulsory labour, periodical contributions, illegal enhancement of rent by landlords. In 1890, the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Stewart Balley held a conference in Ranchi which resulted in measures intended to stop the agrarian discontent. The position, however, did not improve.

3.11. Simultaneously, there were large scale conversions to Christianity, as many of the tribals believed that by becoming Christians they would be protected from their landlords by the missionaries. At the same time, such mass conversion created a sense of nervousness among those who were not converted who thought that the British Government would protect the Christians but would leave their non-Christian brethren at the mercy of their landlords.

The Birsa Movement

3.12. In 1895, Mundas again revolted under the leadership of Birsa Munda. He exercised extraordinary influence over the Mundas

and Oraons through his new religion which was a mixture of Hinduism and Christianity. The Birsa Movement was directed both against the Hindu landlords and money-lenders and the Christian missionaries. After the revolt was put down, it was decided to prepare a complete record of rights to give protection against exploitation by non-tribals. The inception of settlement and survey operations in Ranchi District was thus a direct outcome of the Birsa Movement.

Fituris in the Andhra Agency

3.13. In the Agency areas of Andhra Pradesh there were 'Fituris' by the Koyas. The last of these revolts against the oppression of petty officials, was led by Alluri Sitaram Raju, the accredited leader of the Koyas. It synchronised with the non-cooperation movement of the Congress. The resistance of the Koyas took the form of violent guerilla warfare to meet intensive attacks by the armed forces. The Koya resisters were mercilessly put down and Alluri Sitaram Raju was shot. As a result of this movement, the forest rules were relaxed and forced labour restrained. This insurrection was preceded by the uprisings in 1803, 1862 and 1879. The 1862 revolt was against the Muttadars who formed a chain of intermediary rent collectors appointed by the British. Reporting on the Muttadari system in 1951, a Madras civilian, Shri R. S. Malayappan said, "The Muttadars, or at least some of them, are still enforcing *vetti* or forced labour and appropriating to themselves the best lands in any village. So long as they exist, they will not allow the tribals to come up."³

Other Revolts due to Land Alienation

3.14. Exploitation of tribals was the cause of many other disturbances, such as the Rampa Rebellion in East Godavari, the Bastar rising of 1911 and the civil disobedience by the Kond Maliahs of Orissa and by the Tana Bhagats in 1920. In comparatively recent times also, in the Adilabad District of Hyderabad, many Gonds and Kolams rebelled in 1941 as a result of the alienation of land and forest reservation rules.

Land and Forest, the Twin Needs of the Tribals

3.15. All students of tribal economy agree that the two things of greatest significance to the tribals are land and forest. As the Rev. W. J. Culshaw writes:—

"The most powerful motive in Santal life is possession of the land which they till...No motive is so strong in a tribal people as the preservation of the life of the tribe and its mores...and a Santal's land not only provides economic security, but is a powerful link with his ancestors; and this applies to newly-entered no less than the old, for they will not take possession till the spirits approve. The land is a part of his spiritual as well as his economic heritage."⁴

The forests constitute an equally important source of livelihood. The tribals once roamed the forest areas at will and were the sole beneficiaries of the forest produce.

Basis of British Policy

3.16. A study of the efforts made by the British Government to meet these two primary requirements reveals that as they proceeded from a policy of isolation and *status quo*, the tribals had to remain

at the mercy of petty officials and usurers and nothing positive by way of rehabilitation and development was achieved. The whole basis of the British administration in India was to support its supporters. These vested interests were shrewd enough to benefit from every act and omission of the British rulers.

State of Agriculture in Tribal Areas

3.17. It is necessary to say a word or two on the state of agriculture in the tribal areas. Small land-holdings continuously encroached upon all sides, poor quality of the soil and in many cases primitive methods of cultivation were responsible for low agricultural yields which were not adequate to sustain the people throughout the year. They had, therefore, to supplement this insufficient food supply by consuming locally available fruits, roots, wild vegetables and berries. The tribal people raised only food crops for domestic and local consumption. Cash crops, as a rule, did not find a place in their economy. Agricultural production was usually supplemented by animal husbandry, rearing of pigs and poultry farming.

3.18. In Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Madhya Pradesh, shifting cultivation was widely practised. The area cultivated was established by old tradition and agreement among the various families who maintained the integrity of their boundaries which were marked off by streams, hills or trees. In parts of Assam, the hills for 'jhuming' cultivation were selected annually by the council of village elders in consultation with the priests as jhuming was a co-operative enterprise. The various agricultural operations involved, such as clearing the forest, burning the trees, sowing or dibbling the seed, weeding, fencing and reaping, were done by everybody at the same time and were preceded by appropriate religious ceremonies.

Animal Husbandry

3.19. In addition to these agricultural pursuits, some tribal groups followed a pastoral economy, a classic example being the Todas of Nilgiris. Their entire way of life was built on buffaloes and their milk products which were exchanged by them with their neighbours for other necessities of life. The Bhutias of north Uttar Pradesh and parts of West Bengal followed a mixed agricultural and pastoral economy. Traditionally, they were graziers, stock-breeders, agriculturists and traders. The Gujjars and Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab reared goats, sheep and buffaloes and were entirely dependent on them and their products for their livelihood. They were obliged to lead a nomadic life on account of the persistent need for finding new pasture lands and fodder for their herds. By virtue of their nomadic habits, both men and animals suffered on account of the indifference, neglect and sometimes opposition of the government functionaries.

Handicrafts

3.20. The tribal people in many parts of the country have always distinguished themselves as good craftsmen. The Nagas, the Khonds, the Mishmis, the Abors, the Khamptis, the Kacharis and the Mompas of NEFA were among those known for their skill in handlooms and handicrafts. The Korwas and the Agarias were well known as iron smelters though their techniques were not up-to-date.

The Tharus of Uttar Pradesh manufactured utensils, baskets, musical instruments, ropes, mats and even weapons. Some of the tribes of South India made excellent bamboo articles. The Urali Kurumbas of Kerala made a living from the earthen pots which they bartered for foodgrains. The Betta Kurubas of Mysore excelled in bamboo and cane work. The Kotas, neighbours of the Todas of Nilgiris, have for generations been the artisan tribes *par excellence*. They are herdsmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, rope and umbrella makers, all combined into one. They are also known to be good jewellers. The Gadaba women attained great proficiency in weaving bark-fibre cloth on their loin-loom, and they dyed them with various vegetable dyes.

3.21. The handloom fabrics produced by the tribals of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura, have always been acclaimed as of a very high quality. In the villages, every home had its loom. In Kameng the Mompas made carpets, mats and saddle-bags, and attained a high degree of artistic beauty and technical skill. In Siang and parts of Lohit, the Adis manufactured serviceable cotton blankets and wove their own clothes.

3.22. Wood-carving was another art practised by the tribals for a long time. The Baigas and Gonds of Madhya Pradesh used to do excellent carving on wooden doors. The Murias of Bastar carved the pillars of their dormitories and made wooden masks for their dancers. The Santals, Garos and Nagas also used to do excellent wood-carving.

3.23. No other class of people suffered as a result of the policy of callous disregard towards cottage and village industries and arts and crafts in the days of the British power as much as the tribals. They were denied the requisite incentives; an atmosphere was created which made them feel that their arts were good for nothing. The restrictions imposed by the forest authorities, which denied them the raw materials for their arts and crafts, greatly contributed to the decline of the industry and is still a major obstacle to its development.

Other Sources of Employment

3.24. A socio-economic survey of tribal labour in the Tata Iron and Steel Company refers to the migration of Kol families for work in plantations. It is reported that the Kols were preferred to other labourers on account of their larger output of work at a lower wage. In a family of four or five persons, two stayed behind at home to enable the rest to migrate. Between 1840 and 1870, the overseas migration of these labourers reached the figure of 55,000. The demand for tribal labour probably arose from the disappearance of Negro slave labour for plantation work in the European farms overseas. When the British Parliament in 1834 abolished trade in slave labour from its colonies, there was fear that work—and profits—would come to an end and India was tapped as an alternative source of labour. The tribal people of Chhota Nagpur were sent mainly to Mauritius. The available records show that the journey from India was miserable beyond description leading to the death on an average of 15 persons a day. Referring to this emigration, Sir Grierson in 1882 reported: "The Province of Bihar has contributed

nearly one half of the Calcutta emigration; the North Western Provinces and Oudh come next; for the number of Central India is very small, and Western Bengal stands third. It may be said generally that the easiest recruiting grounds in the Bengal Presidency were Bihar and Chhota Nagpur—the so-called 'Junglies' or Hill Coolies, probably for the most part Oraon Kols—the natives of India, as Colonel Dalton calls them, being much sought after".⁵

3.25. In Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, an important source of large-scale employment for the tribal people was the coal, iron and manganese mines and ancillary industries. The Santals have always been considered good pick-miners and coal-cutters. It was estimated that in the manganese mines of Madhya Pradesh about 50 per cent of the labour force was tribal. The iron and steel industries in Bihar also provided employment to Santals and Hos. The bulk of unskilled labour attached to the Tata Iron and Steel Company was provided by the tribal people. The advent of industrialisation in the tribal areas established a kind of "tribal urban continuum".

3.26. The tea plantations in Assam and Bengal resulted in the migration of a large number of tribal families from the States of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. Several hundred tribal families of Kerala and Madras found employment in the coffee, tea and rubber plantations in the south.

3.27. Working conditions for the tribals employed in the tea gardens were, in the initial stages, extremely hard. As a result of their employment in industries and plantations, their economic condition improved to some extent; this small gain was offset by addiction and extravagance. It also resulted in a rapid process of de-tribalisation.

Markets and Money Economy

3.28. The introduction of a money economy in the tribal areas has been of comparatively recent origin, for marketing as an institution was formerly very rare in most of the tribal areas. There was a weekly market or seasonal fair which enabled the tribal to barter his produce for his requirements. Gradually, money-lending by non-tribal people crept in and soon assumed formidable proportions. Writing in 1895 on the conditions of the Warlis, Thakurs and Kolis, Mr. J. P. Orr stated that, "The necessity of some policy or other in this direction arises from the notorious fact that by various means, the least iniquitous of which is cajolery, Brahmans, Parsees, Prabhus and Marwadis are getting hold of all land in Dahanu and rack-renting the resident cultivators... The Mahalkari of Umbergoan assures me that not 10 per cent of the Warlis and Kolis, whom he knew as holding large estates two decades back, can claim a single acre as their own today and on local inquiry I find the statement entirely corroborated".⁶ Similar conditions prevailed in varying degrees throughout other tribal areas.

Bonded Labour

3.29. Money-lending gave birth to the obnoxious system of slavery, known variously as Sagri, Gothi, Hali, Vetti etc., mostly in the central and southern zones. The misery of the Gothi knew no bounds. The service rendered was usually counted only towards the interest

and he was merely given some food and clothing. In many cases the descendants of the Gothis had to serve the descendants of the creditors in lieu of the family debt, thus keeping the system of serfdom perpetually in existence. There was also a system of transferring the Gothi to another person who paid the outstanding debt.

Diseases, Traditional Medicinemen, Drinking-Water Supply

3.30. The monographs left by administrators and anthropologists suggest that the tribal people generally led a healthy life though some of them, of course, suffered from manifold diseases like malaria, yaws, scabies, leprosy, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and black-water fever. The incidence of malaria was high in almost all the tribal areas, particularly in the Hill Districts of Assam, Keonjhar and Ganjam Districts of Orissa, eastern districts of West Bengal, Ranchi, Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh and Singhbhum districts of Bihar, Bastar, Mandla, Chhindwara and Betul districts of Madhya Pradesh, throughout the Agency Areas of Andhra Pradesh and Wynad and the Nilgiris in the south. Yaws was prevalent in a virulent form in Andhra Agency and in Orissa. Endemic goitre was common in NEFA, eastern Assam and in the lower belt of the Himalayan ranges. It is stated by many authorities that the spread of venereal diseases and tuberculosis in the tribal areas was the result of outsiders entering them.

3.31. The tribal people depended for the prevention and cure of their diseases on their traditional priests and medicinemen. They also used herbal remedies. Except for a few sporadic efforts by the Government and Christian missionaries, no organised endeavour seems to have been made before Independence to provide medical services in tribal areas.

3.32. Supply of drinking-water has always been a serious problem in the difficult terrain of the tribal areas. This has been one of the reasons for the spread of intestinal diseases.

Consumption of Liquor

3.33. On the consumption of liquor, the observations of Mr. D. Symington in 1938, on the tribals in the Bombay Presidency, were as follows:—

“The Bhils and other aboriginal and hill tribes do themselves untold damage by their addiction to drink. Births, marriages, deaths, panchayat meetings, the presence of guests, festivals, etc., are all taken advantage of as excuses for drunkenness. The women and children are encouraged to drink too. I do not consider the position in this respect to be hopeless. I have everywhere found a dawning idea of the serious losses which the habit causes them and a desire, albeit perhaps a faint one to be cured of this evil...Hitherto it has been accepted as axiomatic that the aboriginal cannot be made amenable to prohibition (a) because of his “religious” belief in the efficacy and necessity of liquor for all his ceremonies, and (b) because of his many facilities for illicit distillation. The former contention is losing its force, but the latter is at present true.”

The excise policy of the British administration in making the sale of liquor a monopoly and a source of revenue to the State had devastating effects on the tribal people.

Education

3.34. The Census figures of 1931 disclosed that among the tribals the literacy percentage was as low as 0.7. Some details are given below^a:—

TABLE 2

Province	Tribals	Tribals literate	Percentage
1	2	3	4
Assam	9,92,390	14,094	1.4
Bengal	5,28,037	3,874	0.7
Bihar and Orissa	20,48,809	11,834	0.5
Central Provinces	13,51,615	6,769	0.5

3.35. As far as literacy was concerned, the condition of the tribal people was worse than that of the Scheduled Castes. The late Shri A. V. Thakkar observed in 1941:—

“Educational grants to aboriginal areas have been meagre and inadequate hitherto. Middle school, higher school and college education among the Adivasis is, of course, negligible, if not altogether zero. We can find a few aborigines who have received or are now receiving University education among the Khasis of Assam and the Mundas and Oraons of Chhota Nagpur. At present many Christian Mission Organisations and a few non-Christian Indian Bodies are conducting schools for aborigines with Government aid in most cases. Their work, commendable as it is, appears to be only a drop in the ocean.”^b

3.36. Missionary activity had already begun to undermine their traditional tribal institutions such as the dormitories in the areas the missions operated. This was bound to lead to a vacuum resulting in general frustration. Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., in his book *The Rengma Nagas* said that by preventing the converted Nagas from attending the dormitories, the Baptist missionaries made them run the risk of cultural disintegration. He felt that in the absence of provision for extensive or intensive training at home, other types of training only helped in creating tensions between parent and child.

Communications

3.37. The policy of isolating the tribals adopted by the British Government was largely effected by their deliberate efforts in not developing communications in the tribal areas which remained cut off from the main currents of Indian civilization. The few roads that were constructed were for security purposes and to enable contractors to exploit the forest produce.

Administration of Justice

3.38. On the question of the administration of justice in the tribal areas, it is pertinent to quote the remarks of the late Shri S. C. Roy:

"The British system of law and administration has further tended to impair the social solidarity of these tribes and has weakened the authority of the social heads or Panchayats and the respect they formerly commanded. Until recently, when Government orders validating tribal customary law regarding succession and inheritance were promulgated, the courts often disregarded the customs against inheritance by daughters and applied to them the Succession Act quite inconsistently with the fundamental social structure and ideas of kinship of the tribes. Until recently when rules against alienation of ancestral lands were promulgated by Government, the ancient tribal custom against such alienation was utterly disregarded."*

Representation in Legislatures

3.39. The tribal people were not adequately represented in the legislatures and on local bodies. There were only 24 tribal representatives in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies under the Government of India Act, 1935, against a total of 1,535 members. In the Central Provinces and Berar, where the tribals numbered as much as 20 per cent. of the population, only one seat was reserved for them in the Legislative Assembly. Madras and Bombay also had only one seat apiece. In Bihar there were seven. In the Central Assembly, out of a total number of 250 seats, 105 were general, 82 were for Mohammedans and 19 were reserved for the Scheduled Castes. There was no provision for a seat for the tribal people.

Conclusion

3.40. This review of the conditions of the tribals before Independence goes to show that the policy of isolation and drift meant nothing more than a maintenance of *status quo*. It resulted in reducing the tribals to a state of penury in most part of India. They were at the lowest level of literacy except in certain parts. Their lands were heavily encumbered and a good portion had already passed into the hands of non-tribals. Their rights in forest were definitely encroached upon. Outside elements introduced for the purposes of government and forest work continued to exploit them. On many an occasion the tribals rose in revolt and on many an occasion reforms were ordered but all these proved futile.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

For the first time in the administration of the tribal people, the Constitution placed the responsibility for their welfare on the popular Governments through the President and Governors. The result was far-reaching and momentous.

Reason for Change in Policy

4.2. The former policy, as we have seen, provided for a sort of protection achieved largely through isolation, and even before Independence many protests were raised against it. After the formation of popular Ministries in 1937, Committees were appointed in the Provinces of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay and Madras to enquire into the conditions of the tribals. Even though the popular Ministries had only a limited responsibility for the Partially Excluded Areas, there were already signs of a positive policy of reconstruction and development. The Second World War, and the consequent resignation of the popular Ministries, however, postponed the adoption of any new policy for tribal welfare until Independence.

4.3. Despite their isolation and their comparatively poor economic condition, many of the tribal people were already showing a keen desire to move forward and develop economically, politically and socially. There were several reasons. The welfare of the Scheduled Tribes had engaged the attention of national leaders. It was one of the points in the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress. Gandhiji himself emphasised the need to **develop the tribes** living in inaccessible places so as to ensure their integration with the rest of the country.

4.4. Although the public remained ignorant or misinformed about the tribal people, the ground was prepared for the new attitude and policies of recent years. Shri A. V. Thakkar and some workers of the Servants of India Society did pioneer work among the tribes. The name of Shri Sarat Chandra Roy will long be remembered in Chhota Nagpur as a champion of tribal rights. Christian missionaries in certain parts, especially in Assam and Bihar, did much to rouse the tribal people themselves to a greater desire for progress. A few eminent British officials, such as the late Sir W. V. Grigson and Dr. J. H. Hutton, made important suggestions for the welfare of the tribes and worked for their welfare for many years. A number of Indian anthropologists even at this stage drew attention to the needs of the tribes; on a more popular level translations of their songs and stories revealed that they had a rich vein of poetry and these gradually paved the way to a proper appreciation of tribal culture.

4.5. It was, however, only with the attainment of Independence that India, which was gradually becoming conscious of the existence of her tribes, became fully conscious of her responsibilities towards them. Indeed one of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly was

to appoint what was known as the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam) Sub-Committee with Shri A. V. Thakkar as its Chairman.

Proposals of the Sub-Committee

4.6. The Sub-Committee submitted its report in two stages. It was not unanimous but the differences among the members were not fundamental. It was mainly concerned with the framing of safeguards in the Constitution. We shall confine ourselves in this chapter to an examination of its proposals and how they fared before the Constituent Assembly.

4.7. The most important recommendation, which was accepted by the Constituent Assembly, was the principle that the new democratic State had a responsibility for the welfare of the tribal people and the development of the tribal areas, however remote and inaccessible they might be. The tribal problem thereby became an integral part of the development of the Indian people as a whole.

4.8. Other recommendations of the Sub-Committee were:—

“Both exclusion and partial exclusion have not yielded much tangible result in taking the aboriginal areas towards removal of that condition or towards economic and educational betterment. Representation of partially excluded areas in the legislature and in local bodies has been weak and ineffective and is likely to continue to be so for some time to come. Education shows definite signs of being sought after more and more but the poor economic conditions of the aboriginal and the difficulty of finding suitable teachers present problems which must be overcome before illiteracy can be properly tackled. The great need of the aboriginal is protection from expropriation from his agricultural land and virtual serfdom under the money-lender”.

4.9. The Sub-Committee also sounded a note of caution:—

“The tribes themselves are for the most part extremely simple people who can be and are exploited with ease by plains folk resulting in the passage of land formerly cultivated by them to money-lenders and other erstwhile non-agriculturists...the tribes have their own customs and way of life with institutions like tribal and village panchayats or councils which are very effective in the smoothing village administration. The sudden disruption of tribal customs and ways by exposure to the impact of a more complicated and sophisticated manner of life is capable of doing great harm. Considering past experience and the strong temptation to take advantage of tribals simplicity and weaknesses it is essential to provide statutory safeguards for the protection of the land which is the mainstay of the aboriginal's economic life and for his customs and institutions, which, apart from being his own, contain elements of value”.

Plains Tribals

4.10. A novel emphasis stressed by the Sub-Committee was in regard to the tribals living in the plains, outside the “excluded” and

"partially excluded" areas and interspersed with the rest of the population. They had previously been greatly neglected, failing even to attract the attention of academic anthropologists. The Sub-Committee urged that any scheme, which confined attention to the tribals living in Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas would be inadequate and that all tribals wherever they were found should be brought within the contemplated constitutional arrangements. This was a significant change from the policy hitherto pursued and focussed the attention of government on the necessity of viewing the tribal problem as a whole:—

"The total population of all the tribes excluding Assam" declared the Sub-Committee, "is about 13½ millions of which approximately 8 millions inhabit the partially excluded areas. With the exception of certain small tribes like the Bonda Porja and the Kutia Kondh of Orissa, all the remaining tribes have experienced varying degrees of sophistication and come into contact with people of the plains and advanced tracts. Although the tribals living in the non-excluded areas are often hard to distinguish from the plains people among whom they live, they are generally in a backward condition which is sometimes worse than the condition of the scheduled castes. It is not possible therefore to leave them out of consideration on the ground that only the tribes in the partially excluded areas need attention. All the tribes of provinces other than Assam, whether living in the plains or in the partially excluded tracts, should, as one whole be treated as a minority".

The Sub-Committee, however, realised that it would not be possible, for geographical and other reasons, to give the same protection to the tribal people living in the plains as could be given to those in the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

Constitutional Formula

4.11. Speaking in the Constituent Assembly about the new approach to the tribal problem, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel remarked:—

"I would like to make one thing clear—is it the intention of people who defend the cause of the tribals to keep the tribals permanently in their present State? I do not think it is in their interest to do so. I think it would be our endeavour to bring the tribal people to the level of Mr. Jaipal Singh".¹

4.12. The task that confronted the framers of the Constitution was thus to devise a suitable formula which would protect the economic interests of the tribals, safeguard their way of life, and ensure their development so that they might take their legitimate place in the general life of the country.

4.13. The final formula differed in two or three major respects from the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee, and we will discuss it in the Chapters on the Scheduled Areas and the Tribes Advisory Councils. By and large, however, the provisions in the Constitution were based on the formula suggested by the Sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly in its recommendations.

4.14. Let us now examine some of the provisions of the Constitution which embody this new policy with its message of hope

for millions of our citizens hitherto neglected. The generous heart of a new and resurgent India was expressed in the moving words of Article 46 of the Constitution :—

“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”.

Other Articles empower the President to make arrangements for the implementation of the high ideals of Article 46. Article 244, empowers him to declare any area, where there is a substantial population of tribal people, as a Scheduled Area under the Fifth Schedule or in Assam as a Tribal Area under the Sixth Schedule. The Commission's terms of reference do not include any examination of the working of the Sixth Schedule and we shall, therefore, confine our observations to the Fifth Schedule. Under this Schedule, which will be discussed in detail in the next Chapter, the executive power of a State extends to the Scheduled Areas but the Governor is vested with the authority to modify State and Central laws and to make Regulations for their peace and good government. In all States having Scheduled Areas a Tribes Advisory Council has to be set up. The Governor has to submit periodical reports to the President. Paragraph 3, Part A of the Fifth Schedule also provides that “the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to the State as to the administration of the said areas”.

4.15. Article 339 lays down that “The executive power of the Union extends to the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State”.

4.16. Article 275 of the Constitution provides for assistance to the States for the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution. It reads:—

“There shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of a State such capital and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of that State”.

4.17. Articles 330, 332 and 334 provide for reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and the State Legislatures for a certain period. Article 335 provides for reservation in the services.

4.18. Articles 15, 16, and 19 make it possible while legislating on any matter to take into consideration the special conditions of the tribals in the matter of enforcing the provisions relating to the equality of all citizens. The object is to safeguard their interests and their way of life.

4.19. There is a provision that a separate Minister should hold the portfolio of Scheduled Tribes in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

Conclusion

4.20. The formula evolved in the Constitution to deal with the tribal problem was the first attempt to bring this great and vital community within the fold of the vast Indian family, with adequate safeguards for smooth integration. The popular governments were made responsible for this task. The Constitution arranged for the provision of resources and provided the required institutional apparatus. We feel that so far as the basic frame-work of the Constitution is concerned it cannot be considered inadequate. Some of the safeguards for the tribals in the Constitution were originally only for ten years. In fixing this period the Constitution had envisaged an effective follow-up programme which would have obviated the need for their continuance. This hope has not materialised and the period has been extended but we are of the opinion that this has not been due to any deficiency in the Constitution itself. It is the result of deficiency in performance which we shall discuss in the pages that follow.



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CHAPTER 5

THE SCHEDULED AREAS

The Scheduled Areas and their Population

The President has issued two orders—the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950 and the Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Order, 1950, declaring certain tribal areas as scheduled in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan. A list of these areas is appended (Appendix V). The extent, total population, Scheduled Tribes population and percentage of the latter to the total population of the Scheduled Areas are as follows:—

TABLE 3

State	Area in square miles	Total population	Scheduled Tribes population	Percentage of col. 4 to 3
1	2	3	4	5
Andhra Pradesh	11,342	8,20,384	7,67,000	93.0
Bihar	15,611	58,65,675	24,57,993	41.9
Madhya Pradesh	25,652	28,12,168	16,86,464	59.9
Maharashtra	9,380	13,46,113	7,33,948	54.5
Gujarat	6,917	15,76,086	9,93,653	63.0
Orissa	22,014	32,29,049	15,22,527	47.0
Punjab	4,700	11,423	2,661	23.2
Rajasthan	4,077	7,31,986	4,45,394	60.0

These areas extend over 99,693 sq. miles and cover a tribal population of 86 lakhs (1951 Census).

Administration of Under-developed Areas before 1919

5.2. As we have seen, the Constitution, under the Fifth Schedule, envisages a special type of administration for under-developed areas with a preponderance of Scheduled Tribes. This idea was not, of course, a new one, but originated with the British Administration when it came in contact with the tribals in the latter half of the 18th Century. When the Paharias of the Raj Mahal Hills revolted against the landlords, Augustus Cleveland was deputed to handle the situation and he laid the foundations of the policy embodied in Regulation 1 of 1796. As time went on, the idea that distinct and special arrangements were necessary for the isolated tribal regions gained general acceptance. The findings of anthropological research

seemed to support it, and administrators were influenced by such incidents as the Kol disturbances of 1831, the Santal rebellion of 1855 and other sporadic outbursts among the tribal people.

5.3. At first the tribal areas were administered according to special laws, which among other things usually prescribed simple and elastic forms of judicial and administrative procedure, such as, the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Act of 1839. Later all these areas were declared "Scheduled Districts" and their administration was conducted in accordance with the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874. This Act provided for the appointment of officers to administer civil and criminal justice; to superintend the settlement and collection of public revenues and all matters relating to rent, and otherwise to conduct the administration within the Scheduled Districts. It also provided for the extension, by notification to the Scheduled Districts, of laws in force in any part of British India, with such special restrictions and modifications as were deemed fit. Thus wide powers of legislation by simple executive order were vested in the Executive.

Administration under the Government of India Act, 1919

5.4. The Government of India Act, 1919, continued the administration of these areas separately from the rest of the Provinces. They were removed from the purview of the legislatures but the limits of exclusion differed in their extent and degree. Thus arose the two categories "Wholly Excluded Areas" and "Areas of Modified Exclusion".

5.5. In the latter category there was no uniformity of treatment. For instance, some of the areas were given representation in the State Legislature; the Legislatures could vote the necessary expenditure for them; questions could be asked about their administration; and the Ministers in some cases exercised authority over them in respect of transferred subjects.

The Indian Statutory Commission

5.6. With the growth of the freedom movement there was increasing anxiety on the part of the British administration to isolate the tribes from political contagion. The Indian Statutory Commission (Simon Commission) suggested that on financial and constitutional grounds the responsibility for these tracts should be entrusted to the Centre. Their reasons were :—

- (i) The inhabitants of these areas were not politically advanced. They required security of land tenure, protection from economic subjugation by their neighbours, freedom in the pursuit of their traditional methods of livelihood and the reasonable exercise of their ancestral customs.
- (ii) The duty of the administration to educate these people to manage their own affairs could not be left to the efforts of missionary societies or individual officials.
- (iii) Co-ordination of activity and adequate funds were principally required. The Provincial Governments would not be in a position to spare the funds required from their revenues.

The Commission also suggested that these tracts be classified into two categories, "Excluded" and "Partially Excluded" Areas.

5.7. The Government of India examined these recommendations and came to the conclusion¹ :—

- (i) that there was need to keep large areas outside the scope of the Legislatures,
- (ii) that there might be some areas which could be retained under the sole administrative control of the Governor and others, especially those where the jurisdiction of Ministers and of the Provincial Legislature had already been admitted, in respect of which the Government would require no more than general power to control the application of Central and Provincial enactments, and
- (iii) that the link between the Provinces and these areas should be maintained without interposing Central responsibility for their administration.

Administration of Excluded and Partially-Excluded Areas under the Government of India Act, 1935

5.8. Government's decisions on the recommendations of the Simon Commission were embodied in Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935. These Sections provided for the declaration by an Order in Council of "Excluded Areas" and "Partially Excluded Areas". No Act of the Federal Legislature or the Provincial Legislature would apply to these areas except on the direction of the Governor, who was empowered to make such exceptions and modifications as he considered necessary. It also enabled the Governor to make regulations for the peace and good government of the areas, but such regulations required the assent of the Governor-General. Reservation of seats for tribals was made in the local Legislatures of Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Central Provinces, Assam and Orissa.

5.9. In drawing up the scheme of exclusion under Section 91 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Secretary of State indicated that the areas to be placed in the category of "Excluded Areas" must be based upon strict necessity and be as limited as possible in scope consistently with the needs of the tribal population². In regard to areas to be classified as "Partially-Excluded" there should be no hesitation to include in the category any area containing a preponderance of tribals which was of sufficient size to make possible the application of special legislation and special administrative treatment. Keeping these principles in view, the Government of India recommended that the frontier and border regions in Assam, the Laccadive and Minicoy Islands, the Lahaul and Spiti areas in the Punjab should be declared "Excluded Areas" and extensive tribal tracts in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa "Partially-Excluded Areas".

Administration of Under-developed Areas under the Constitution

5.10. With Independence there was a considerable awakening of the public conscience about the welfare of the tribal people and this

was reflected in the Constitution in the provisions made for the protection and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes. The most important of these provisions as we have mentioned in the previous chapter is Article 244 which provides for the administration of "Scheduled Areas" in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution and (in Assam) "Tribal Areas" under the Sixth Schedule.

Powers of Governors

5.11. The Scheduled Areas are administered as part of the States in which they are situated, but the Governor is given powers (a) to modify Central and State laws in their application to them; and (b) to frame regulations for their peace and good government and in particular, for the protection of the rights of tribals in land, the allotment of waste land and their protection from money-lenders. In the framing of these regulations, the Governor is required to consult the Tribes Advisory Council in the State. The Governor is further required to submit to the President of India an annual Report or a Report at such intervals as may be required by the Union Government regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in his State. Thus, in the Constitution ample provision exists to protect the rights of the tribals in land, to protect them against exploitation by money-lenders and to preserve their social and cultural life.

Administration under the Fifth Schedule

5.12. The scheme of administration of Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule visualises a division of responsibility between the State Governments and the Union Government. The State Government is charged with the duty of screening legislation unsuitable for extension to the tribal areas, of framing regulations for their peace and good government with particular reference to the protection of tribal land, allotment of waste land and protection from exploitation by money-lenders. It has also to implement special schemes for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes living within its boundaries as well as schemes for their general development. The Union Government's responsibility extends to providing guidance in regard to the administration of the Scheduled Areas and of additional funds required to raise the level of administration and the standard of life of the tribal communities. The Union Government has power also to give directions to the State Governments regarding the implementation of particular schemes, laying down priorities in their implementation and in regard to the general administration of the tribal areas.

5.13. The Scheduled Areas have been constituted with two clear and straightforward objectives. One is to assist the tribals in enjoying their existing rights unhindered or unobstructed by others through summary processes. The second is to develop the Scheduled Areas and promote the economic, educational and social progress of the Scheduled Tribes. In this scheme protection of their rights and interests comes first.

(a) *Land*—The rights to be protected relate to land held by the tribals as individual owners or as groups, land held for religious purposes by individuals but on behalf of the community, prohibition against alienation of land to non-tribals except on certain conditions, protection of the rights of tribals in the context of land

reforms, procedure for land acquisition and principles for settling compensation and mode of payment of such compensation and the question of rehabilitation of the tribals whose lands are acquired or purchased by Government.

(b) *Indebtedness*—This in a way is a right to protection against exploitation. It includes regulation of money-lending and prescription of a reasonable rate of interest; periodical examination of account books; conciliation and scaling down of all the debts; provision for automatic liquidation of usufructuary mortgages; provision of suitable machinery to afford legal assistance to the tribals; restrictions on the purchase of lands from debtors; prohibition of debt bondage, cancellation of certain types of debts and release of land; provision of remedies, penalties and procedures.

(c) *Allotment of lands*—It includes provision for suitable machinery for allotment of vacant land; fixation of priorities in the allotment of land; and provision of funds and technical guidance to the allottees to utilise the land properly.

5.14. In the appropriate chapters we shall have occasion to point out wherever there has been failure to give the tribals adequate protection in regard to these matters. It is obvious that no body intended this. It is equally obvious that this has led to hardship and loss. In our opinion, the major reason for the failure is a failure to appreciate the scope of the Fifth Schedule.

Programmes for the Development of the Scheduled Areas

5.15. On the developmental side, planning has proved a great boon. It has indeed transformed the entire situation. Without it there could never have been that detailed thinking about the physical needs of the tribal people that we have seen in the last ten years.

5.16. The most important development activities undertaken so far in the Scheduled Areas are in the fields of education, health and community development, and we consider these in detail in later chapters.

5.17. Our general assessment is that tribal parents are beginning to accept the education of their children as a normal obligation. While the demand for education is increasing generally, girls' education, however, is still very unsatisfactory. The other developmental activities in regard to economic progress, medical and public health are carried on through the agency of the Tribal Welfare Departments and the regular departments of the State Governments. The Governor's Reports give some idea of the schemes undertaken in each year and the physical and financial targets achieved.

5.18. The most significant development and one that augurs well for the tribals is the scheme of Tribal Development Blocks, formerly known as Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, initiated in the Second Five Year Plan. These are intended to concentrate on all-round development. There are 35 such special Blocks functioning in the Scheduled Areas and 8 in tribal areas that are not scheduled, in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. The Committee on Special Multipurpose

Tribal Blocks, which examined the working of the Blocks, has concluded that in spite of many shortcomings, perhaps inseparable from all pioneer ventures, the scheme has been successful and should be extended with certain modifications.

Progress in Development

5.19. There has been as much vagueness about the approach, priorities and method of implementation in development activities as about the law-making powers of the Governors. This has left loopholes in implementation which have affected the qualitative and quantitative aspects of development and have not yielded the results anticipated.

Some Basic Defects

5.20. The basic defect in the Schedule is that the Governor's functions are insufficiently defined. The Constituent Assembly Subcommittee had expected that an Instrument of Instructions would be issued to the Governors. The term "Instrument of Instructions" had, however, on account of its pre-Independence associations, an unfortunate reputation, and did not find favour with the Constituent Assembly. But there was undoubtedly a need to supplement the provisions of the Constitution by further directions. That need is present even to-day. Without something of the kind, it will not be possible for the State Governments to realise the scope of their law-making and rule-making powers and their importance for the general development programme. *The State Governments may still be advised to utilise to the full the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule within a given period. The legislation that may thus be promoted should take into account the harm caused in the interim period and also to what extent it is possible to remedy it. The Union Government should state a time-limit and pursue the matter with the State Governments so that the necessary legislation is completed within the given period.*

5.21. One more defect in the Schedule is that figures of developmental expenditure are maintained district-wise and unless the Scheduled Area is itself a district it is impossible to obtain separate figures for it. It is, therefore, difficult to give a picture of the physical and financial targets achieved in the Scheduled Areas in each State. *We suggest that all State Governments be required to maintain figures of development expenditure separately for the Scheduled Areas, giving physical and financial targets achieved. This will provide some test as to the pace and the direction of progress.*

Responsibility of the Union Government

5.22. The Union Government's responsibility for the administration of the Scheduled Areas extends not only to the provision of funds for their development but also to guiding the State Governments and giving directions to them. This is provided for in Article 339(2) and para 3 of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. The Union Government have, so far, had no occasion to issue any directive to the State Governments. They have relied on persuasion and the good sense of the State Governments to adopt a uniform policy for the development of the Scheduled Areas. Moreover, periodical conferences are held with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs to review the progress in regard to their programmes,

to consider difficulties in implementation and decide upon the need for any modification of the schemes or their priority. In this way, the Union Government consider that they are able to guide the State Governments in the administration of the Scheduled Areas without having recourse to the issue of directives.

Conclusion

5.23. In the preceding paragraphs we have considered the administration of the Scheduled Areas both from the protective and developmental points of view. But consideration of this question would be incomplete without some reference to the adequacy of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule to fulfil the objects of the Constitution and the relative advantage that has accrued to the tribal people in the Scheduled Areas as a result. Despite the deficiencies that have been observed in the functioning of the Tribes Advisory Councils and the utilisation of the protective powers which we shall consider in subsequent Chapters, these Areas by and large present a fairly hopeful picture. Such has been the effect of this on the tribals outside them that there has been an all-round demand for the extension of the Fifth Schedule. Nothing could have roused the tribal from his indifference and ask for this change if the work done by the Government had been of a superficial character. In the midst of post-Independence and post-War problems of an urgent political, social and economic character, the State Governments have done a little everywhere in the Scheduled Areas and this has had its natural reaction. This is not to say that there is no deficiency in what has been done, that the approach has always been sound or the resulting benefit uniformly substantial. Elsewhere we have assessed critically the performance of the governments both at the Centre and in the States and have tried to be frank and candid. It would be unfair, however, to give an impression that they have been negligent, lethargic or indifferent.

5.24. We attribute the psychological impact on the tribals in the Scheduled Areas to two factors—

- (a) For the first time, educated officers in the various Departments went to the tribal areas. While some of them may not have behaved well, the others did put up with inconveniences and difficulties and have performed their functions, even though sometimes grudgingly. It was a new experience for the tribals to meet people who would render them service without exploiting them.
- (b) The second factor was the opening up of the areas. Just as this made it easy for the non-tribal to pry into their isolated villages and sometimes abuse their hospitality, it made it possible for the tribals to go more often to the non-tribal centres and be influenced by the life and the activities of the people there.

The two other activities that were instrumental in accelerating the progress were the Popular Elections and Community Development. They were the off-shoots of our Constitution and the planned approach.

5.25. It has been possible to break partly the dividing wall between the Scheduled and the non-Scheduled Areas, between the

tribals living inside the Scheduled Areas and the rest of the population outside it, through the developmental activities undertaken by Government. But a great deal has still to be done. The provisions of the Schedule have certain vagueness and have not been followed up adequately. The solution would seem to lie in working the Constitution in a manner calculated to secure its original objectives. In subsequent chapters we shall have occasion to consider how this can be achieved. But we have no doubt in our mind that the stage has not yet been reached when the scheme of special administration for the Scheduled Areas can be dispensed with altogether or unconditionally.



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CHAPTER 6

GOVERNOR'S POWERS UNDER THE FIFTH SCHEDULE

The Fifth Schedule to the Constitution gives certain powers and lays certain duties on the Governor of every State that has Scheduled Areas, except that the Governor of Assam has been empowered separately with regard to the Tribal Areas by the Sixth Schedule. Part B, para 5 of the Fifth Schedule runs as follows—

“(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Governor may by public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State or shall apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify in the notification and any direction given under this sub-paragraph may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

“(2) The Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a State which is for the time being a Scheduled Area.

“In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such regulations may—

- “(a) prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
- (b) regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
- (c) regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

“(3) In making any such regulation as is referred to in sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph, the Governor may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question.

“(4) All regulations made under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the President and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect.

“(5) No regulation shall be made under this paragraph unless the Governor making the regulation has, in the case where there is a Tribes Advisory Council for the State, consulted such Council.”

6.2. Part A, para 3 further lays down that “The Governor of each State having Scheduled Areas therein shall annually, or whenever so required by the President, make a report to the President regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in that State and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to the State as to the administration of the said areas”.

Governor's Reports

6.3. The submission of the report by the Governor is intended to enable the Union Government to decide how it can best discharge its responsibilities to the tribes. The report cannot be and is not an end in itself. It is only the medium on which further action is to be based.

6.4. This view is further strengthened by the opinion expressed by the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly at the very beginning. In its Interim Report, paragraph 19, it said:

“In connection with financial safeguards the view was expressed that the formulation of a plan of improvement affords sufficient guarantee for the expenditure of funds. We are of the view that in the provisions corresponding to the Instrument of Instructions the Governor should be required to see that a suitable scheme of development is drawn up and implemented as far as possible”.¹

6.5. The following table shows the regularity in the submission of these Reports.

TABLE 4

Table showing the Date of Submission of Governor's Reports

State	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
Andhra Pradesh	4-9-53*	18-11-55	18-11-55	
Bihar	..	9-1-52	7-10-53	25-8-54	5-9-55	
Gujarat ‡	
Maharashtra	..	††	††	1955	12-4-56†	
Madhya Pradesh	..	22-11-53	24-2-53	15-12-53	19-8-55	15-12-55
Madras	6-3-54	..	28-4-55†	14-7-55
Orissa	15-3-52	20-3-53	26-6-54	23-11-55
Punjab	3-4-54	..	
Rajasthan	29-2-56	

*Hyderabad only.

†Bombay State.

‡Madhya Bharat only.

§ The Gujarat State was formed on 1-5-60. No Governor's Report for 1960 has so far been submitted.

||Report regarding Laccadive and Amindivi Islands only.

††Not available.

TABLE 4—contd.

Table showing the date of submission of Governor's Reports

State	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1	7	8	9	10	11	12
Andhra Pradesh ..	29-6-56 31-7-56*	8-7-57	1-9-59	1-9-60	6-6-61	..
Bihar ..	24-5-57	6-8-58	21-6-60	25-1-61†	..	..
Gujarat‡	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maharashtra ..	1957	29-11-58	17-10-59	10-12-60	..	..
Madhya Pradesh ..	7-1-57	6-10-58	18-7-59	19-3-60†	..	..
Madras ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Orissa ..	14-12-56	20-1-58	24-1-59	24-1-60	23-1-61‡	..
Punjab ..	30-4-56	12-8-57	14-11-58	23-10-59	..	31-10-60
Rajasthan ..	20-12-56	4-4-59	20-2-59	12-6-59	24-9-60	..

6.6. It will be seen from the above table that the reports have been submitted by the Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan Governments fairly regularly till 1957-58. Thereafter there has been some delay in the submission of these reports. The report for 1959 has not yet been submitted by Bihar and Madhya Pradesh Governments while Andhra Pradesh and Orissa submitted it only in 1961.

Preparation of the Reports

6.7. We have observed that no instructions have been issued by the Union Government about the form and content of these reports with the result that the State Governments have come to look upon them as departmental reports prepared mostly in a mechanical way as a routine chore. As a result their main purpose, of course, is not fulfilled.

6.8. Actually the preparation of the reports gives an invaluable opportunity to the State Governments to assess the progress made for the development of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, for which they can have plenty of material available. There are, in the first instance, reports from the field staff and the periodical reports of the Deputy Commissioners which can throw a good deal of light on the progress of work and the difficulties.

* Hyderabad only.

† For 1958-59.

‡ For 1959-60.

§ The Gujarat State was formed on 1-5-60. No. Governor's Report for 1960 has so far been submitted.

Secondly, there are the debates in the Legislatures on the voting of grants which bring out the non-official point of view. Thirdly, there are discussions in the Tribes Advisory Councils. Fourthly, there are the remarks of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Finally, there may be representations from non-official organisations. A proper use of all this material should be made so as to secure a co-ordinated picture for presentation to the President.

6.9. We have seen some of the reports and are thus in a position to say that while efforts have been made by some State Governments to supply the available information, there is considerable scope for improving their quality. *The preparation of the report should not be left to the Tribal Welfare Directorate. The Directorate may not be unsympathetic but it may take sometimes only a departmental view. The Secretariat itself should take the responsibility of a critical examination of the data received from the Director and the staff in the field so that it may satisfy itself that the problem has been viewed in a proper perspective. Again, the Secretariat can check up the deficiencies brought to notice by the M.L.As., members of the Tribes Advisory Council, non-official organisations and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and can also modify or confirm suggestions made by the Directorate. The report will then reflect to some extent the actual conditions in the tribal areas and will provide in fact a review of the reactions of a cross-section of the people living or working among them. The State Governments as well as the President will thus have a carefully prepared document, based on a comprehensive study of all the problems, which can be of real use to the Union Government.*

6.10. *We suggest that this can better be handled by the Chief Secretary who may have a small section to assist him, for a couple of months in a year. After the report is prepared it should invariably go to the Council of Ministers and only then be forwarded to the Governor and through him to the President.*

6.11. It has been suggested that the report should be discussed in the Tribes Advisory Council. If this is done, the officials who prepare it may find it embarrassing to be frank and candid in their analysis and the report may suffer in objectivity. It is important that the President should be given a full and timely review of conditions in the tribal areas by those who are responsible for their management and through whom the Union Government has to discharge its responsibility. *We suggest, however, that the Tribes Advisory Council should be invited to make suggestions for inclusion in the report on any matter of importance.*

The Tribes Advisory Councils

6.12. Another function that the Governor is expected to discharge under the Fifth Schedule is in relation to the appointment of the Tribes Advisory Council. We will discuss this question in Chapter 7.

Laws in the Scheduled Areas

6.13. In the matter of laws applicable to the Scheduled Areas, the Governor has been given powers to make regulations for their peace

and good government. He has also the power to direct that State and Central laws shall not apply to the Scheduled Areas or shall only apply with modifications. Let us first examine the application of Central and State laws.

6.14. There is no special machinery in the States to consider the possible effect on the tribes of legislation proposed for consideration by Parliament or the State Legislatures. The Bihar, Gujarat and Maharashtra Governments have stated that no specific machinery has been set up, as no need for it has yet been felt. The Madhya Pradesh Government have stated that the normal department concerned with each subject and the Tribal Welfare Department examine such legislation from the point of view of the tribals. The Orissa Government, which formerly held the same view, has now come to the conclusion that a legal wing attached to the Tribal Welfare Department would be helpful. These replies seem to indicate that whatever the reasons, the constitutional responsibility for scrutinising legislation has not been sufficiently realised and consequently not been fulfilled.

6.15. The past ten years have witnessed phenomenal social and economic changes. In the context of Parliamentary democracy many of these have had to be brought about through the Legislatures and necessarily there has been legislative activity on an extremely large scale. The application of these laws directly to the Scheduled Areas without any machinery to look into their possible consequences on the tribals is in our opinion a sad omission. The Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee, as we shall see in chapter 7, was clear that no legislation should be undertaken without prior consultation and in some cases without the prior approval of the Tribes Advisory Councils¹. In actual fact, they have been very sparingly consulted.

6.16. *We would, therefore, suggest that some of the important legislative measures which vitally affect the Scheduled Tribes in the social and economic fields should be scrutinised without delay. This can be done through the legal department of the State or a special section may be created for the purpose. This is specially necessary in connection with legislation on such matters as land tenure, land allocation, land transfers, land acquisition, village management, village panchayats and on money-lending.*

Adequacy of the State Laws

6.17. The State Governments have, in their replies as well as in the evidence tendered before the Commission, stated that the laws in force in the Scheduled Areas, whether passed before or after the coming into force of the Constitution, are adequate to protect the rights of the Scheduled Tribes. This claim is not wholly justified as we shall see in the report.

Laws Relating to Rights in Land

6.18. *Andhra Pradesh*—The following regulations are in force in the Scheduled Areas in Andhra Pradesh:—

- (i) The Scheduled Areas Estate (Reduction of Rent Amendment) Regulation, 1951.
- (ii) Madras Scheduled Areas Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryatwari) Regulation, 1951.

(iii) Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959 (I of 1959).

The first two Regulations are of a protective character—one giving protection against rack-renting and the other against transfers. The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917, prohibiting the tribals from transferring their land to non-tribals except under certain conditions, was in force till 1959, but was not altogether effective, for, in the interior, vast areas changed hands during this period. The problem was to prevent their passing permanently out of the hands of the tribals. The Act of 1917 was replaced by the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959 but it is too early to judge its effectiveness. The first reaction, however, has been good for it indicates Government's awareness of the problem.

6.19. The Governor had already issued Agency Rules defining the civil, criminal and judicial powers of the various authorities in administering the Scheduled Areas in the Andhra region and these vest some kind of control in the local officers.

6.20. In the Telangana region the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950, and the Special Laoni Rules were intended to protect the Scheduled Tribes. Government itself feels that these are inadequate and is considering the extension of the Andhra laws to the Telangana region.

6.21. We feel that in Andhra Pradesh there has been a genuine effort to employ the special powers vested in the Governor under the Fifth Schedule to assist the tribals.

6.22. *Bihar*—The Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act was enacted as far back as in 1908 to protect the tribals' rights in land by prohibiting alienation to non-tribals. We propose to deal with this question in the chapter on Land as it has a wider significance. We will say at the moment that this law requires immediate reconsideration if any real relief is to be given to the tribals.

6.23. *Madhya Pradesh*—In Madhya Pradesh a Regulation was issued in 1954 called the Madhya Bharat Scheduled Areas (Allotment and Transfer of Land) Regulation, 1954, preventing transfer of lands by tribals to non-tribals. The Central Provinces Land Alienation Act, 1916, is still in force in the Mahakoshal region. The Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code, 1959, contains provisions imposing restrictions on the transfer of land, voluntary and involuntary, by Scheduled Tribes to members of the non-tribal communities.

6.24. *Maharashtra*—In Maharashtra, the Bombay Regulation No. II of 1954 to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code in its application to the Mewassi Estates was framed by the Governor in the pre-reorganised Bombay State in 1954: this applies both to Maharashtra and Gujarat. No other regulation has been issued for the Scheduled Areas in Maharashtra State to control the transfer of land to non-tribals. There are two other laws in force in the Maharashtra region of the old Bombay State. These are the Bombay Land Revenue Code and the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Land Reforms Act. The Bombay Land Revenue Code provides that government's grants of land to agriculturists shall not be alienated except with the previous sanction of the Collector and, this provision has been extended to

the Scheduled Areas by a notification. It is claimed that they give sufficient protection against the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals. It is not, however, clear whether this is really so. The notification applying Section 73A of the Bombay Land Revenue Code seems to cover only grants made after its issue. There is no provision in law protecting tribals holding land under grants made before this. There appears to be a lacuna in the law concerning the lands held under the old grants in so far as they remain unprotected in the Maharashtra region of the former Bombay State.

6.25. In relation to tribal tenants, beginning with the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Land Reforms Act, 1948, there has been a series of tenancy laws in the Bombay State but they do not contain any special provision for protecting the interests of the Scheduled Tribes as such.

6.26. In the Vidarbha region, there are two regulations—the Protection of Interests of Trees Regulation and the Protection of Transfer of Land Regulation. The protection afforded by both these laws, as we shall see in the chapter on Land, has proved inadequate.

6.27. *Gujarat*—Gujarat stands on the same footing as Maharashtra. The provisions of the Fifth Schedule have not been considered in relation to the lands held by the tribals.

6.28. *Orissa*—The Governor of Orissa issued a regulation in 1956, called the Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (Scheduled Tribes) Regulation, to check the transfer of immovable properties in the Scheduled Areas by Scheduled Tribes. In addition to this Regulation, there is the Orissa Tenancy Relief Act, 1955.

6.29. *Rajasthan*—In Rajasthan provision has been made in the Tenancy Act, 1955, to ensure that the lands of the Scheduled Tribes are not transferred to non-tribals.

6.30. *Punjab*—The Punjab Government has not found it necessary to issue any legislation since the Rohtang and Kunzum Passes afford sufficient protection to the tribals. Geography is sometimes a better protector than a Government.

Laws Relating to Allotment of Land

6.31. In Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, there has been no legislation regarding the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes. In Madhya Pradesh (Mahakoshal), Maharashtra and Orissa, executive instructions have been issued to fix certain priorities. In the Madhya Bharat region of Madhya Pradesh, the Madhya Bharat Scheduled Areas (Allotment and Transfer of Land) Regulation was enacted in 1954. Before it was implemented, however, came integration with Madhya Pradesh. The executive orders passed by the erstwhile Bombay Government contain a pilot scheme for the distribution of land which has been working with some satisfaction.

6.32. As in the case of transfer of land, the position in regard to the allotment of cultivable waste in the Scheduled Areas to the tribals is in a state of flux. *We recommend that early steps should be taken by the Government of India to evolve, in consultation with the States concerned, a definite and consistent policy in relation to allotment of land.*

Legislation to Control Money-lending

6.33. *Andhra Pradesh*—In the Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh, the following regulations to control money-lending are in force:—

- (i) The Madras Agricultural Debt Relief (Partially Excluded Areas Amendment) Regulation, 1944.
- (ii) The Agency Debt Bondage Regulation, 1946.
- (iii) The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Region Scheduled Areas) Money-lenders Regulation, 1960.
- (iv) The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Areas Scheduled Tribes) Debt Relief Regulation, 1960.

The regulation for the abolition of bonded labour has not been altogether effective, for the system of 'Vetti' (debt bondage) still prevails in some parts of the Agency tracts. The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Region Scheduled Areas) Money-lenders Regulation, 1960, controls the business of money-lending in the Scheduled Areas in the Andhra region and the Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Areas Scheduled Tribes) Debt Relief Regulation provides for scaling down of debts contracted by the tribals and the application of the principle of damdupat. The Regulations are yet to be implemented in the sense that Rules have not yet been framed and it is thus too early to judge about their effectiveness.

6.34. *Bihar*—In Bihar, the Bihar Money-lenders Act prohibits exorbitant rates of interest and insists on the compulsory registration of money-lenders. There is hardly any machinery, however, to implement its provisions. One major defect in it is that only those money-lenders whose business involves loans of more than Rs. 500 require registration.

6.35. *Madhya Pradesh*—In Madhya Pradesh, while there is no special Regulation regulating money-lending to tribals, there are three laws—Madhya Pradesh Money-lenders Act, Madhya Pradesh Usurious Loans Act and Madhya Pradesh Protection of Debtors Act, which are general in character. There is none specifically for the tribes.

6.36. *Maharashtra*—In Maharashtra and Gujarat, the Bombay State Money-lending Act, which is also of a general character, makes it obligatory upon money-lenders to secure licences and observe certain conditions.

6.37. *Orissa*—In Orissa, there are two Acts of the Legislature and one Regulation, the Orissa Land Improvement Loans Act, the Orissa Agriculturists Loans Act and the Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1945. As we shall see in the chapter on Indebtedness, Gothi or debt-bondage still prevails.

6.38. *Rajasthan*—In Rajasthan, there is a general law against usurious money-lending, but no special laws either for registration of money-lenders or for protection of the tribals against them. The State Government has recently issued an Ordinance for protection of the tribals from bonded labour or Sagri, as many instances of this are still found.

6.39. In the preceding paragraphs we have examined at length the use of the Governor's powers and the regulations and laws in force in the Scheduled Areas for the protection of the tribes. These constitute the hard core of the protective provisions in the Fifth Schedule. It is obvious that the powers of the Governor to make regulations have been exercised very sparingly. In the opinion of the Commission the objective of the Schedule has been to some extent frustrated. The second fact that has emerged from our enquiry is the inadequacy of the laws in force in the Scheduled Areas. The loopholes in the laws permit the non-tribals to circumvent them to the detriment of the tribals. There is also no machinery at the State level to scrutinise the Union and State Legislations and ascertain whether they would be suitable for extension to the Scheduled Areas. Then, even the special laws and regulations have been very imperfectly implemented. Lastly, at the district level, the staff is quite inadequate for the proper administration of the protective regulations. The cumulative effect of all these deficiencies has been that the interests of the tribals have suffered. The regulatory powers of the Governor have to all intents and purposes remained goodwill provisions.

Recommendations

6.40. In these circumstances, we have to recommend:—

- (1) *At the State level a section should be created in the Legal Department to undertake a study of the Central and State laws relating to (i) social matters, (ii) rights in land including tenancy laws, (iii) allotment of land and setting apart land for village purposes, (iv) private money-lending and village management including establishment of village panchayats, and to suggest modifications to protect the rights of the tribals in regard to these matters. This should be undertaken without any further loss of time.*
- (2) *A survey should be undertaken in each State with a view to ascertain to what extent the interests of the tribals have suffered and require restoration or retrospective legislative assistance.*
- (3) *The Union Government should take up with the State Governments the necessity of having a definite and consistent policy of protection in relation to subjects mentioned in the Fifth Schedule.*

CHAPTER 7

TRIBES ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Fifth Schedule, Part B, paragraph 4 provides for the setting up of Tribes Advisory Councils in certain States:—

“Tribes Advisory Council—(1) There shall be established in each State having Scheduled Areas therein and, if the President so directs, also in any State having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas therein, a Tribes Advisory Council consisting of not more than twenty members of whom, as nearly as may be, three-fourths shall be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State:

“Provided that if the number of representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State is less than the number of seats in the Tribes Advisory Council to be filled by such representatives, the remaining seats shall be filled by other members of those tribes.

“(2) It shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the Governor.

“(3) The Governor may make rules prescribing or regulating, as the case may be,—

(a) the number of members of the Council, the mode of their appointment and the appointment of the Chairman of the Council and of the officers and servants thereof;

(b) the conduct of its meetings and its procedure in general; and

(c) all other incidental matters.”

7.2. Before the Constitution was promulgated there were Advisory Committees attached to some of the then Provincial Governments to assist them in the administration of the tribal areas, but they played a very minor role and indeed were hardly noticed. Under the Constitution, however, the entire situation has changed and the Tribes Advisory Councils can and should be of great importance.

Formation of Advisory Councils

7.3. The following table gives the dates of the formation of these Councils in the different States:—

TABLE 5

State	Date of notification	Date of formation
1	2	3
Andhra Pradesh	1-5-1954	1-5-1954
Bihar	14-8-1951	26-3-1953

TABLE 5—contd.

State						Date of notification	Date of formation
1						2	3
Bombay*	..	..	..	..	..	30-8-1952	5-3-1953
Gujarat	..	..	..	..	..	19-8-1960	8-11-1960
Hyderabad†	..	..	..	..	..	1953	1953
Madhya Bharat‡	..	..	..	..	..	1952	1952
Madhya Pradesh	..	..	..	..	..	4-12-1950	4-12-1950
Madras	..	..	..	..	..	1951	1951
Maharashtra	..	..	..	..	..	29-8-1960	14-11-1960
Orissa	..	..	..	..	..	24-6-1950	24-6-1950
Punjab	..	..	..	..	..	26-6-1952	1952
Rajasthan	..	..	..	..	..	12-9-1952	1952
West Bengal	..	..	..	..	..	25-8-1953	25-8-1953

7.4. Tribal representatives have complained to the Commission very seriously of the administrative complacency which led to such delay in the constitution and formation of the Councils. Had the Tribes Advisory Councils been formed immediately after the Constitution came into force and had they taken up the question of legislative protection in paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule, perhaps the tribals would have been saved from much of the exploitation that has continued from pre-Independence days.

Composition of the Councils

7.5. The Tribes Advisory Councils were to consist of not more than 20 members, of whom, as nearly as might be, three-fourths were to be Scheduled Tribes' representatives in the Legislative Assemblies. The Governors were required to make rules prescribing the mode of appointment. In Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Chief Ministers have

* The State was bifurcated on 1-4-60.

† Started functioning in Hyderabad but it was constituted for Andhra Pradesh in 1954 after the formation of the State.

‡ The State was merged as a result of Reorganisation of States in 1956.

been the Chairmen of these bodies. The presence of the Chief Minister as the Chairman gives the tribal representatives added confidence. This is not to say that the Chief Minister should be in charge of the tribal portfolio, though as in the Punjab, this may have a certain advantage. *We feel that this practice has proved helpful, and would recommend that the Chairman of a Tribes Advisory Council should be a person who has influence beyond the immediate department concerned, for it is expected to deal with problems that concern all the Departments.*

7.6. In West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, apart from the Chief Minister and/or Minister in charge of Tribal Welfare, the officials, sometimes two sometimes three, are members of the Council. *This has undoubtedly some advantage. But since the maximum number of non-tribals that can be appointed is five, we think the representation of officials should be limited to one at the most so as to leave scope for the nomination of other non-officials. It would be sufficient, in our opinion, if the Chief Secretary is a member. He, as the coordinating medium of the entire administration, will be able to guide and control other Departmental heads or Secretaries.*

7.7. Some of the State Governments, especially Madhya Pradesh and Punjab, have not nominated representatives of the non-official organisations. The case of the Punjab Government is that there is no such organisation working in their area, while the Madhya Pradesh Government says that they do not consider it necessary, since some of the tribal members who have been nominated are already associated with them.

7.8. The Maharashtra and Gujarat Rules provide for nomination from amongst persons who have special knowledge and experience. The great experiment of the Forest Labour Cooperatives has been the result. Similarly, Rajasthan also nominates non-officials and non-tribals who have such experience.

7.9. *We feel that apart from other reasons it is desirable to have on the Council persons who are non-tribals working in the field. This will provide a common forum for discussion and be a source of encouragement to them.*

7.10. *As regards representation of tribal legislators, there is need for caution in the States where there is a large tribal population as in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. These Governments should try to ensure that all shades of opinion are given representation.*

7.11. There was a complaint about this in Bihar. It was suggested by the Jharkhand members of the Tribes Advisory Council (this party had a majority from the tribal areas in the last elections) that the State Government had preferred semi-literates to literates. On enquiry we found that the State Government felt that it had to be cautious lest it upset the bulk of the tribals by giving disproportionate representation to the well-educated. But it is obvious that this is a matter requiring caution.

Frequency of Meetings

7.12. In most of the States the rules provide for a meeting twice a year, but this has not been followed with sufficient regularity. We give below a table that speaks for itself:—

TABLE 6

State	No. of meetings prescribed in a year	Number of meetings held									
		1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Andhra Pradesh	4	..	..	1*	3*	2*	1	..	3	4	3
Bihar	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	1	2	2
Gujarat .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Madhya Pradesh	2	1	2†	5†	..	5†	4†	@	2	2	2
Madras	2	1	1	1	7†	2	1	..	2	2	2
Maharashtra	2	..	..	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
Orissa	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Punjab	1†	..	..	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2
Rajasthan	4	..	..	1	2	4	1	..	2	1	1
West Bengal	2	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	2	3

Subjects for Discussion

7.13. Under para 4 of the Fifth Schedule the Governor has been empowered to determine the procedure for the conduct of the meetings of the Council. It appears, however, that little or no effort has been made to brief the Governors about the purpose of these Councils. Part of the difficulty has arisen from the wording of para 4(2) of the Schedule. It reads:—

“It shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the Governor”.

7.14. The State Governments appear to have placed a very restricted and literal meaning on this sub-paragraph and have confined the functions of the Tribes Advisory Councils to the questions referred to them. In Orissa, the Rules of Business provide that no business not included in the list of business for the day shall be transacted at any meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council without the permission of the Chairman. If this is the meaning of the paragraph we would recommend a modification in the Constitution. But we do not think so. The government is responsible for referring all

* Includes figures for Hyderabad Region.

† Includes figures for Madhya Bharat Region.

‡ As often as necessary but not less than once a year.

@ Not available.

questions for which the Schedule was enacted, pertaining to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and the development of the Scheduled Areas, to the Tribes Advisory Council. In our opinion there is nothing in this paragraph or elsewhere that militates against our view that it can be given the fullest scope through conventions and rules, to carry out the intention behind the Constitutional provisions.

7.15. A new pattern of administration and new laws and rules are being introduced, and for a society that was formerly used to no administration or a very simple administration, there should be simple rules and equally simple procedures. The consequences of applying complicated rules and procedures to the tribals have sometimes been just the opposite of what was intended by government. For instance, as a result of the application of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Manual to the tribal areas in Madhya Pradesh and old Bombay State, in case of accidental deaths the tribals are sometimes required to carry the dead bodies over long distances, sometimes 20 to 40 miles, for post-mortem.

7.16. The Tribes Advisory Council was intended to be a channel of discussion about the stages in which the laws and rules generally obtaining should be applied to the tribal areas. In Bihar, for instance, the Acts which contain special safeguards for the tribals about land tenure, debt redemption and restraints on money-lending were put on the Statute Book before the commencement of the Constitution. But lands continue to be transferred, debts continue to mount and money-lending continues to spread. In Andhra Pradesh, the Tribes Advisory Council was not specifically consulted before general legislation affecting land, land tenure, allotment and distribution of land, debt redemption and control of money-lending was undertaken. It has been pointed out that the representatives of the Legislature coming from the Scheduled Areas have a sufficient opportunity to comment on such matters when they come before the Legislature for discussion. If this was considered adequate, there was no need for a Tribes Advisory Council or other safeguards at all.

7.17. In Madhya Pradesh, a Debt Relief Regulation, a Dowry Regulation and Legal Aid Rules were placed before the Tribes Advisory Council. Regarding Legislation affecting tribal interests in land, forest, etc., the State Government did not consider it necessary since the Members, being M.L.As., come into the picture whenever such legislation is introduced in the State Legislature.

7.18. In Punjab, the Council has been consulted on questions concerning debt-redemption, the control of money-lending and the grant of Nowtor (Government waste land). No legislation relating to tribal rights in forests, lands, forest produce and management has so far come up for consideration before the legislature. The question of consulting the Tribes Advisory Council, therefore, has not arisen.

7.19. In the former State of Bombay, the Council was not consulted before legislations affecting land tenure, allotment or distribution of land, debt redemption, check on money-lending and others affecting tribal interests were undertaken.

7.20. In Rajasthan, while the question of land tenure and dowry had been discussed in the Tribes Advisory Council, there had not been any discussion on land reforms, debt redemption, money-lending

or forests. In West Bengal too, there was no consultation before legislation affecting land tenure, allotment or distribution of land, debt-redemption and money-lending was considered.

7.21. This state of affairs cannot be regarded as satisfactory. There are exceptions, one of the most outstanding being the Punjab. The Tribes Advisory Council there was formed in 1952, and at first fared no better than in other States. But after its reconstitution in 1958, new life has come into the Council, and the records of its meetings today are heartening. The Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary both make it a point to attend. The meetings are held at least once a year in the heart of the tribal area.

7.22. The instances of Punjab and a couple of other States, however, remain exceptions. It is not, therefore, surprising that a number of responsible persons engaged in tribal welfare work have doubted the adequacy of the present machinery. The Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Home Affairs—Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes—came to the conclusion that these Councils should be on a par with Statutory Boards like the Khadi Commission if they were to be of any use. The Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes and the Committee on Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks commented over the indifference with which the Tribes Advisory Councils are taken.

7.23. No one can argue that the quality of the personnel in the Tribes Advisory Councils is not good. If encouraged, this element can make a contribution of value. A joint effort by all the three sides, the policy-makers, the administration and the workers both tribal and non-tribal, will in our opinion yield very good results. The Councils happen to be the only platform where and through which all the three elements can operate together. We cannot over-emphasise the need to make them efficient instruments of common weal and purpose.

Recommendations

7.24. We recommend, therefore, that:

- (i) *The rules for the composition of the Councils should be changed in the case of those States which include a number of officials and where there is only notional representation for non-official agencies.*
- (ii) *The Rules of Business should be amended so as to define properly the functions of the Councils. These should include a provision to enable the members to indicate and bring up any matter concerning the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes or development of the Scheduled Areas for consideration.*
- (iii) *In almost all the States, Tribes Advisory Councils have been given an opportunity to discuss the draft Third Five Year Plan. Annual discussion on the progress of the Plan will be helpful in generating interest of the tribals in a planned approach, besides making them more and more development-conscious. Simultaneously, it will enable them to understand their responsibility in making the plan a success.*

- (iv) *There is need for consultation with regard to legislation. There may be some laws which do not warrant any detailed discussion. At the same time there will certainly be others which, under the Fifth Schedule, do warrant such a discussion.*
- (v) *There should be a periodical review of the work done in the Tribal Development Blocks and in other fields of developmental activity. Members of the Tribes Advisory Council should be given facilities to go round the State and visit important projects.*
- (vi) *The Council should have a staff of its own with a Secretary who can do the follow-up work.*
- (vii) *There should, in all the States and Union Territories, whether they have Scheduled Areas or not, be Tribes Advisory Councils to advise on the protection and development of the Scheduled Tribes.*



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CHAPTER 8

CRITERIA FOR SCHEDULED AREAS

Our terms of reference require us to report on the principles to be followed in declaring any territory to be or to form part of a Scheduled Area or in directing that any territory shall cease to be, or cease to form part of a Scheduled Area.

Factors Considered in Government of India Act, 1935

8.2. The first occasion when criteria for declaring any territory as a Scheduled Area could have been evolved was when the Government of India formed the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas under the Government of India Act, 1935. But on that occasion the Secretary of State for India dealt with the political necessity for limiting the number of Wholly Excluded Areas rather than with the criteria on which they should be constituted.

“Having regard”, he said, “to the limitations consequent upon total exclusion upon the powers of the legislatures and of the Ministers responsible to them, the areas to be placed in that category must be based upon strict necessity and must be as limited as possible in scope consistently with the needs of the aboriginal population”.

On the administration of the areas to be classified under the Bill as “Partially Excluded Areas” he felt that—

“the powers conferred upon the Governors were not such as to necessitate any hesitation to the inclusion in that category of any area containing a preponderance of aborigines or very backward people which is of sufficient size to make possible the application to it of special legislation and to be susceptible without inconvenience to special administrative treatment”.

Factors Considered by the Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee

8.3. The Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly which considered the future administration of the “Excluded” and “Partially Excluded” Areas also did not attempt to evolve any criteria or principles. On the other hand, their recommendations were based on their personal observations in the field. The factors that seem to have weighed most with the Committee were—

- (1) preponderance of tribal population;
- (2) the stage of advancement and degree of assimilation; and
- (3) to a slightly lesser extent the susceptibility of these areas to special administrative treatment.

State Governments' Views

8.4. In its Questionnaire the Commission invited the State Governments and Union Territories to consider whether, for declaring an area a Scheduled Area, all or any of the following factors should invariably be present:—

- (i) strict necessity;
- (ii) preponderance of tribal population;

- (iii) reasonableness of the size;
- (iv) susceptibility of the area to special administrative treatment;
- (v) compactness;
- (vi) inaccessibility;
- (vii) exclusiveness and distinctive way of life of the tribal population;
- (viii) marked disparity in economic standards in relation to the people of the surrounding area;
- (ix) disparity in the level of education; and
- (x) relative development of the area vis-a-vis the rest of the State.

Recipients of the Questionnaire were also asked to suggest other factors which should be taken into consideration.

8.5. The State Governments were not unanimous in their views. The Governments of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal and the Administrations of Manipur and Tripura thought that the criteria suggested in the Questionnaire were reasonable. The Government of Andhra Pradesh emphasised the need for a preponderance of tribals as a first and necessary condition. The Gujarat and Madras Governments and Himachal Pradesh Administration emphasised compactness and reasonableness of size as invariably necessary. Maharashtra also emphasised these two aspects, but added that other factors should be treated as subsidiary. The Government of Mysore laid emphasis on strict necessity, as in their opinion preponderance of tribal population was by itself not sufficient. The Orissa Government emphasised that population should be the guiding factor and under-development, compactness and reasonable size, the main criteria, while inaccessibility of areas, exclusiveness and distinctive way of life, marked disparity in the economic standard and education should be regarded as factors next in importance. The Gujarat Government considered that the inaccessibility of the area and an exclusive or distinctive way of life need not be treated as essential. The Himachal Pradesh Administration desired that economic standards should not be compared with neighbouring areas but with average areas.

8.6. No State Government, except the Madhya Pradesh Government, suggested any additional criteria. They suggested that in addition there should be:—

- (i) a primitive way of life; and
- (ii) the practice of shifting cultivation.

8.7. The State Governments were not definite regarding the percentage of tribal concentration in an administrative unit or its size to render it eligible for declaring a Scheduled Area. At one extreme the Bihar and Rajasthan Governments suggested that the unit for consideration should be the Community Development Block with a concentration of 50 to 60 per cent of Scheduled Tribes, while States like Orissa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Himachal Pradesh Administration suggested that a revenue tehsil with 30 to 40 per cent

of tribal concentration might be accepted. The Madhya Pradesh Government on the other hand do not appear to be clear on this point and seem to be of the view that the unit of Scheduled Area may be a district, a tehsil or a revenue inspector's circle with about 50 per cent tribal population. The Government of Rajasthan suggested that in special cases a Block with an even lower percentage might be considered.

Basis for Criteria

8.8. We have given our greatest consideration to the views of the State Governments. This in our opinion is not an easy matter to decide. We would, however, like to suggest that the criteria for determining a Scheduled Area should clearly be related to the objectives of the Fifth Schedule. These, as we have seen, are—

- (i) to ensure protection to the Scheduled Tribes; and
- (ii) to raise the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas.

In determining the criteria, those factors which promote this aim of the Schedule should invariably be present; others may or may not be.

Concentration of Population

8.9. *The most important factor in our opinion is the concentration of tribal population. This is particularly necessary when intensive efforts for protection and large-scale development are contemplated. Obviously, such efforts will be partly wasted and the tribals will benefit only to a small extent if they are not there in sufficient numbers.*

As regards the proportion, the Central Advisory Board on Tribal Welfare suggested that the concentration of tribals should be at least 50 per cent.² The State Governments are not very categorical and their views vary. We are of opinion that the percentage of tribal concentration in any area proposed for declaration as a Scheduled Area should not be less than fifty per cent.

Compactness of the Area

8.10. *For the same reason the compactness of the area is, in our opinion, an important consideration since scheduling involves special administration. The area should, therefore, be compact and of sufficient size to be administratively manageable. In the existing Scheduled Areas there is wide divergence, and the size suggested by the State Governments, varies from a district to a revenue inspector's circle. A suggestion has also been made that Scheduled Areas should be formed with the Community Development Blocks as the basic unit, since for administrative and revenue purposes they will be the units of administration in future.*

We feel that if a District or Sub-Division is taken as a unit, very few tribal areas will qualify. If one examines the existing Scheduled Areas, one will observe that some of them are no more than isolated villages. The suggestion of the Block as a unit is attractive but the process of change over is likely to take some time. Tehsils in India

do not conform to any standard. In our opinion therefore, a sub-tehsil should be the unit. Wherever there is a Tribal Development Block the size of the sub-tehsil should correspond with it. Elsewhere sub-tehsils should be formed which could conveniently be converted later into Tribal Development Blocks.

Undeveloped Nature of the Areas

8.11. The framers of the Constitution had in view the undeveloped nature of these areas since provision has been made for grants to the State Governments for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas. Backwardness of an area or its under-development is the total effect produced by the interplay of various factors. However, it is possible to apply certain objective tests to assess the degree of under-development, e.g., the extent of cultivated and un-cultivated land against the total land available, extent of irrigation, the mileage of roads in the area, the percentage of literacy and the number of dispensaries. The extent of under-development is difficult to measure but generally speaking it can be said that all those areas which are below the level of development that existed 10 years before in the State should be considered undeveloped.

Disparity in Economic Standards

8.12. Finally, there should be marked disparity in the economic standard of the tribals living in the areas compared to the people in the surrounding areas. It is difficult to describe the disparity in economic standards, but an objective test can be applied as, for example, the pattern and productivity of agriculture and receptivity to its modern techniques, size of the holdings, the per capita income, quantum of under-employment as well as absence of markets and marketing facilities and scope for subsidiary occupations. We are of the opinion that areas where shifting cultivation is still in vogue or the size of holdings is less than 5 acres per capita and the per capita incomes are lower than half of the all-India incomes and the quantum of under-employment is severe that the people do not get work for more than 200 days in a year, should be reckoned as fulfilling this factor in the criteria.

8.13. It is our opinion, therefore, that all these four factors—

- (1) preponderance of tribals in the population,
- (2) compact and reasonable size,
- (3) under-developed nature of the area, and
- (4) marked disparity in economic standards of the people,

must invariably be present before any area can be considered eligible for declaration as a Scheduled Area. Other factors such as the primitive or distinctive way of life or the practice of shifting cultivation seem to relate to the condition of the people and not to the area and would either be covered by the criteria stated above or can at best be only subsidiary factors.

Union Territories

8.14. In regard to the application of these criteria to the Union Territories, it has been argued before us that these are directly under the Centre and the Parliament and there is no need to apply the provisions of the Fifth Schedule to their tribal areas. It is true that the President has the power under the Constitution to apply any law in force in any State by a simple notification to the Union Territories or any part thereof. We, however, feel that this provision is not adequate. Conditions are rarely common to all parts of the country and laws intended for one area cannot be always suitable for another area. The President may not for that reason consider it advisable to apply a law passed by other States in the same form elsewhere. Many other difficulties are likely to crop up. *We have observed during our tour that these tribal areas suffer from the same handicaps as the areas now declared as Scheduled Areas. It would be, in our opinion, not in keeping with the spirit of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the protection and development of Scheduled Tribes to deny them the benefits and facilities accruing from the Fifth Schedule. We are, therefore, of the view that for the purpose of scheduling areas, no distinction should be drawn between the States and the Union Territories.*

Application of the Criteria to the present Scheduled Areas

8.15. While it is easy to define the conditions theoretically, their practical application for—

- (i) redefining the boundaries of existing Scheduled Areas, or
- (ii) deciding new areas to be scheduled, or
- (iii) de-scheduling the existing Scheduled Areas

will present enormous difficulties.

8.16. For instance, if we try to apply these criteria to the existing Scheduled Areas, we find that in Bihar many of them would not qualify. In the Scheduled Areas of Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas the concentration of tribals is less than 40 per cent. The economic standard of the tribal people in Singhbhum is only slightly lower than that of the rest of the population. We would not, however, advise Government to deschedule these areas for reasons we will give presently.

Criteria for Descheduling areas

8.17. We had specifically asked the States whether they would like to revise the existing boundaries of the Scheduled Areas. Many State Governments, particularly Bihar and Andhra Pradesh, stated that they would not like to alter them. No State Government has come forward with a proposal to deschedule any or part of any existing area, and we appreciate their reluctance. No area can be descheduled unless the Government, after examination of all available data, is satisfied that it fulfils a certain standard and has developed economically and educationally and in point of health, communications and services to the limit when it can no longer remain Scheduled. Again such areas are few and far between and the amount of trouble and agony involved is not likely to be commensurate with the resultant advantages.

Claims for additional Scheduled Areas

8.18. Some of the State Governments suggested the scheduling of certain additional areas. The additional areas in each State suggested by the State Governments for declaration as Scheduled Areas and the tribal population involved are given below:—

TABLE 7

State	Area in sq. miles	Total population	Tribal population	Percentage of tribal population to total population
1	2	3	4	5
Gujarat	2,833	9,18,991	5,62,493	61.2
Kerala	1,064	1,76,129	1,12,000	63.5
Madhya Pradesh	14,840	..	18,00,621	..
Maharashtra	10,124	11,57,722	6,78,517	58.6
Orissa	7,100	8,93,053	3,75,395	42.9
Punjab	112	5,514	..	..
Rajasthan	9,804	14,58,594	8,63,748	59.0
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,036	14,691*	†	..
Himachal Pradesh	4,228	87,866	83,866	95.0
Manipur	7,686	2,46,148*	†	..

In Assam even the plain tribals have urged for scheduling of their areas. Assam is already faced with perplexities in the Hill Districts and Cachar.

8.19. Some of the areas suggested by the States and Union Territories for scheduling consist of tracts inhabited by very underdeveloped tribes, on whom the State Governments have not been able to spend much from their general development programmes. Their demand for additional Scheduled Areas has been made in the hope that they would obtain additional allocations for their development. There is justification in the arguments of the States that with the powers given to the State Governments under the Fifth Schedule and the additional funds that would be provided by the Centre it would be possible to accelerate the development of these areas and the progress of the Scheduled Tribes.

8.20. Most of these areas, therefore will require to be declared as Scheduled Areas if we go by the criteria. This will of course entail undertaking of surveys on a vast scale and collection and examination of data to ascertain whether they fulfil the requirements laid down above. This will consume an enormous amount of labour and time, divert the attention of the people, their representatives and

* 1961 Census figures.

† Not available.

local administration and the work of development will be seriously interrupted.

8.21. This question of including additional areas in the list of Scheduled Areas has therefore received our most serious consideration. The problem is far from easy. On the one side the protective powers provided by the Schedule have been inadequately utilised. There is a general impression that if an area is scheduled it will get a great deal more money, though this is not correct. On the other hand, the process of scheduling of additional areas will create the difficulties to which we have already referred.

In the following paragraphs, therefore, we are suggesting an alternative scheme which will give the tribal people all the advantages that they would otherwise have under the Fifth Schedule. If this plan is not acceptable to Government, then, and only then, will it be necessary to schedule new areas on the basis of the criteria we have suggested.

Alternative Programme

8.22. Much water has flown under the bridge since the Constitution came into force. Two most significant innovations, the acceptance of the principle of planned progress and the adoption by Parliament of the goal of a Socialist Society, have taken place since the Constitution was framed. The country as a whole, including the tribal people, are looking forward to fundamental changes in the social and economic set-up. In our opinion there are other provisions in the Constitution and the new economic approach which can be employed to give the tribals the necessary protection and opportunities for development in a more positive manner and on a much wider scale than the Fifth Schedule has so far been able to accomplish. This will also avoid loss of time on the scrutiny of claims for scheduling, examination of data, application of criteria and diversion of public attention from the essential task of speedy development in the tribal areas. We would like to suggest an alternative approach.

8.23. It is the aim of the Fifth Schedule to guard the interests of the tribals in land, to give them protection against exploitation by money-lenders and to protect their way of life.

(1) Protection of rights in land includes consideration of the question, of land grants, land tenure, land reforms, tenancy rights, allotment of land and acquisition of land together with preparation of record of rights and undertaking of survey and settlement.

(2) Protection of rights in forests includes consideration of the question of grant of land for horticulture and cultivation; the right of grazing; right to participate in the work of protection, conservation, regeneration, and afforestation and all other activities relating to forests; right to exploit major and minor forest produce and share in the processing of such produce.

(3) Protection from exploitation by money-lenders includes consideration of the question of—

- (a) freedom from bonded labour in any form;
- (b) scaling down of past debts;
- (c) arrangements for alternative credit.

(4) Protection of their way of life includes their religious beliefs, customs, etc.

8.24. In our opinion it is possible to give this protection in two ways—

- (i) In relation to tribals in Scheduled Areas through the regulatory powers of the Governors; and
- (ii) in relation to all tribals, whether living in the Scheduled or non-Scheduled Areas under general legislation.

We consider that the protection to the tribals in regard to their land, their way of life and exploitation by money-lenders should be embodied in the general legislation of the States applicable both to Scheduled and non-Scheduled Areas. This will result in extending the benefit of protection to all tribals. Such general legislation is permissible, in our opinion, under the Constitution. This step will remove the feeling that it is only in the Scheduled Areas that the tribals can get protection or that before a tribal can receive protection, the area in which he lives should be declared a Scheduled Area. In our opinion it will also accelerate the process of integration and will ultimately facilitate the process of descheduling. It will tend to soft pedal the present sometimes rather exaggerated tendency to claim special and exclusive treatment for special interests too.

8.25. The general legislation which we have in view may take some time to be put through the State Legislatures. Pending that, we recommend that the provisions of Para 5(2) of the Fifth Schedule be utilised for the promulgation of necessary regulations by the Governors within a definite time limit for the Scheduled Areas. These regulations should be issued, in our opinion, by the end of 1962 at the latest. As soon as the general laws contemplated above come into force these regulations can be rescinded.

8.26. We also deem it necessary that a time schedule should be prepared in consultation with each State for the implementation of the Governor's regulations as well as for the enactment of general legislation. This should not present any difficulty since the administrative machinery required for implementing the Governor's regulations as well as the general legislation relating to land grants, land tenure, land reforms, tenancy rights, allotment of land and preparation of record of rights and money-lending legislation would be the same. We feel that these laws and regulations should be implemented within ten years. Similarly, conciliation machinery for scaling down debts, disposal of claims and the settling of accounts should be set up immediately and the work completed within ten years. The record of rights will give the necessary stability to the holders of land, while the scaling down of debts will reduce the possibility of exploitation.

We further recommend that, pending the passing of laws and the issue of regulations, tribal land should be regarded as on inalienable tenure and the registration authorities should be directed not to register transfers of land by tribals to non-tribals. We consider the suggestion feasible, for the States already have the necessary powers under their Land Revenue Codes.

8.27. It is only very recently that the State Governments have started taking active interest in the problem of development and it would not be in the interest of the tribals that the new momentum

should be slowed down and their new consciousness of development needs misdirected by fresh controversy over the inclusion or exclusion of tribal areas from the list of Scheduled Areas or over the criteria that should be adopted. We are at the same time clear that there is need for protection for some time to come and we have no doubt that if an effort is made the provisions deemed necessary for the protection of the Scheduled Tribes can be made part of the nation's laws and implemented within ten years. But if the Union Government or the State Governments cannot undertake the responsibility of putting through the legislation in time, there will be no alternative but to schedule additional areas despite the complications involved.

8.28. The second object of the Fifth Schedule is to develop the Scheduled Areas and the Scheduled Tribes. The Union Government have taken a decision that all the Scheduled Areas and the areas with large concentrations of tribals will be brought under the scheme of Tribal Development Blocks. The Scheduled Areas, of course, have certain distinct features and advantages which the Tribal Development Blocks cannot provide. In the larger interest of the nation, however, we hope that the tribals will accept the Tribal Development Blocks as a partial substitute for Scheduled Areas and utilise them to secure speedy development. We would, therefore, suggest—

(A) All tribal areas, including the existing Scheduled Areas should be so grouped under the Tribal Development Blocks that the bulk of the tribal population is brought under the intensive development scheme.

(B) In these Blocks the Government should concentrate on the following four activities:—

- (i) Economic development,
- (ii) Education,
- (iii) Health and
- (iv) Communications.

Other activities can be undertaken, but precedence in the matter of time and expenditure should be given to these.

(C) The Tribal Development Blocks should have specific targets, the broad objective being that at the end of the Fourth Plan the tribals living in, and the areas covered by them should at least attain the stage to which the neighbouring people and areas had reached at the beginning of the Fourth Plan in the four directions above. If the leeway is more than five years, it will be difficult to catch up with the progress in subsequent Plans.

(D) The accomplishment of this objective in ten years will justify the de-scheduling of the areas, wherever the targets have been reached. Upon the fulfilment of the targets in all the Tribal Development Blocks and the passing and implementation of the necessary protective legislation, the Fifth Schedule can be abrogated.

8.29. In a way our recommendations in paras 8.22—8.28 constitute a package programme which is intended to fulfil the object of the Fifth Schedule. Its advantage lies in a definite line of action, which has to be put through in a specified period of time, with specific targets and specific goals. It does not seek to bypass the issue of criteria. Its purpose is rather to save time, energy and money and employ them instead in fulfilling the obligations which constitute the essence of the Fifth Schedule and which luckily are a part of our Plan objectives.

8.30. We are aware that in making this proposal, we have rendered ourselves liable to the charge that we have gone beyond the scope of the enquiry entrusted to us. If we had felt that the provisions of the Fifth Schedule had been properly utilised or if we had no other alternative proposal to give, we would not have taken this responsibility. It is our considered opinion, however, that a cut and dried plan of protection and development will find greater favour with the tribals than the vague provisions of the Fifth Schedule.

8.31. At the risk of being criticised for repeating ourselves, we would emphasise again that the alternative suggested by us is the out-course then will be for the Government to undertake the responsibility. It has also behind it a desire to make the Legislatures and the Governments responsible for protection. There is the contingency, however, that the Government may find it difficult to accept our alternative programme. It may also be that Governments may not be in a position to provide the machinery for implementation on the scale required to carry it out within ten years. It may also be that constitutional difficulties may arise. Should this be so, the only other course then will be for the Government to undertake the responsibility for declaring those areas in the States and the Union Territories which fulfil the criteria as Scheduled Areas.

Recommendations

8.32. *Our recommendations, therefore, are:—*

(a) *The following four factors:—*

- (i) *preponderance of tribal population, as mentioned in paragraph 8.9;*
- (ii) *compactness and reasonable size of the area as mentioned in paragraph 8.10;*
- (iii) *under-developed nature of the area as mentioned in paragraph 8.11; and*
- (iv) *marked disparity in economic standard of the people as mentioned in paragraph 8.12;*

should invariably be present before any area can be considered eligible for declaration as a Scheduled Area.

(b) *In regard to the criteria for de-scheduling, no area can be de-scheduled unless after examination of the relevant data Government are satisfied that in point of economic development, education, health, communications and other services it has reached a stage where it can no longer remain a Scheduled Area. In our view no Scheduled Area has yet reached the stage where de-scheduling can be considered.*

(c) *No distinction should be drawn between the States and the Union Territories in regard to the declaration of Scheduled Areas.*

(d) *In view of the changes that have taken place since the inception of the Constitution, we feel that it is no longer necessary to pursue the question whether a tribal area should be declared scheduled or a Scheduled Area should be descheduled. The Fifth Schedule was conceived as a temporary expedient and its objectives can be achieved by our alternative approach, which is simply that Government should undertake a plan which would protect the Scheduled Tribes*

and ensure development of the tribal areas within a stated period. The State Governments should undertake general legislation applicable throughout the Scheduled and non-Scheduled Areas for protection of the rights of tribals in land and forests and protection from exploitation by money-lenders and this legislation should be implemented within a period of ten years. Pending enactment of such general legislation the regulatory powers of the Governor under paragraph 5(2) of the Fifth Schedule may be utilised for the promulgation of corresponding regulations for the Scheduled Areas. Simultaneously all tribal areas should be grouped under Tribal Development Blocks so that the bulk of the tribal population is brought under intensive development schemes. The blocks should concentrate on the following four activities—economic development, education, health and communications and should have specific targets. With the fulfilment of the targets in all Tribal Development Blocks and the passing and implementation of protective legislation, the objects of the Fifth Schedule would have been achieved and it could conveniently be abrogated.

(e) If Government are unable to accept this programme, there is no alternative to declaring those areas, which after enquiry satisfy the criteria suggested by us, as Scheduled Areas despite the complications involved.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 9

ARTICLE 275 OF THE CONSTITUTION AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATES

Article 275 of the Constitution reads as follows:—

“(1) Such sums as Parliament may by law provide shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund of India in each year as grants-in-aid of the revenues of such States as Parliament may determine to be in need of assistance, and different sums may be fixed for different States:

“Provided that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of a State such capital and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State:

“Provided further that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of the State of Assam sums, capital and recurring, equivalent to—

- (a) the average excess of expenditure over the revenues during the two years immediately preceding the commencement of this Constitution in respect of the administration of the tribal areas specified in Part A of the table appended to paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule; and
- (b) the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by that State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of raising the level of administration of the said areas to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State.

“(2) Until provision is made by Parliament under clause (1), the powers conferred on Parliament under that clause shall be exercisable by the President by order and any order made by the President under this clause shall have effect subject to any provision so made by Parliament;

“Provided that after a Finance Commission has been constituted no order shall be made under this clause by the President except after considering the recommendations of the Finance Commission.”

Similar Provisions in Other Countries

9.2. *The United Kingdom*—Provisions for special grants by a Central Government to State or Local Governments are also found in

the Constitutions of other countries. By the Local Self-Government Act, 1929, the Central Government in the United Kingdom adopted a plan to aid local authorities by making special financial grants for education, roads, housing and employment, rural water supply and for other items. Inspection by officers of the Central Departments is an important condition for giving grants. The Local Government Act, 1948, gives effective power of control to the Central Ministry in the United Kingdom to reduce the grant if they are satisfied that the local authority concerned has failed to achieve or maintain a reasonable standard of efficiency and progress in the discharge of its functions and if its expenditure has been excessive or unreasonable. In the United Kingdom, more than half of the expenditure by local authorities is met from such grants-in-aid.

9.3. *United States of America*—In the United States of America, the Federal Government has power to make grants to the States under the 'general welfare clause' of the Constitution, and in fact it does make liberal grants to them in aid of agriculture, vocational education, child and maternity welfare, old-age assistance, unemployment relief and other purposes of national importance, though these subjects are actually within the sphere of their administration.

The Federal Government adopts the following devices in supervising the expenditure of these grants:—

- (i) advance approval of State Plans and budgets;
- (ii) federal inspection of the work done;
- (iii) federal audit;
- (iv) submission of records and reports to the Federal Government;
- (v) withdrawal of federal grants; and
- (vi) prohibiting utilisation of a grant for purposes other than that for which it was sanctioned.

9.4. *Canada*—In Canada, the Dominion Government is empowered to make grants at its discretion to Provincial Governments for various social welfare purposes such as old-age pensions or relief of the poor. It reduces the volume of subsidies to the Provinces if it is satisfied that they have not properly utilised the funds.

9.5. *Australia*—In Australia, the Constitution empowers Parliament to render financial assistance to States for specific purpose such as drought relief, unemployment relief, construction of roads etc.

Scope of Article 275

9.6. Article 275(1) gives power to Parliament to make such grants as it may deem necessary to any State which is in need of such assistance. This means that discrimination in the matter of making grants in favour of any State is not unconstitutional. Through these grants, the Union Government are in a position to correct inter-State financial disparities as may be conducive to an all-round development of the country and to exercise control and power of co-ordination in relation to the State welfare schemes on a national scale. In addition to the

general power of making grants, this Article provides funds for schemes of development for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas, as well as for the development of the Tribal Areas in the State of Assam.

Factors That Govern Grants-in-Aid to States

9.7. The programme of giving grants-in-aid to States envisaged under Article 275 is based on the following considerations:—

- (1) Though the subject for which grants are given is primarily a State responsibility, the State Governments are often short of funds and unless the Union help them, the tribal programmes may not be fully implemented.
- (2) The Union Government have an equal concern to ensure that welfare services and development activities are maintained at a certain standard throughout the country.
- (3) The Union Government have, further, an added advantage in being able to co-ordinate welfare activities in the States and to improve the quality of the performance through their technical advice.
- (4) Through a programme of matching grants, the State Governments can be persuaded to earmark a portion of their own revenues for welfare work.

Implications of Making Special Financial Provisions

9.8. It is necessary to examine fully the implications of making special financial provisions to implement welfare schemes intended for one section of the community. In some of the States, however, the tribal people and the tribal areas have had to be largely satisfied with welfare programmes provided by the special provision, because the State Governments have not pursued normal development activities for them. It is not always understood that these special provisions are intended to supplement and not to supplant the general welfare programmes which are directed to the entire community, of which the Scheduled Tribes are only a part.

Union Government's Concern

9.9. In other words, the supplementary provisions for the Scheduled Tribes have tended to supplant as distinguished from supplementing their normal share of development. We quote a pertinent passage from the Second Plan:—

“In the administration of development programmes care has to be taken to ensure that schemes are so formulated that the weaker sections of the population are aided in the largest measure. While this is an aspect to be followed as closely as possible, only in some fields of development it is possible to show separately what proportion of the outlay is incurred for the direct benefit of disadvantaged sections. The special provisions made in favour of backward classes

should be so utilised as to enable them to derive the maximum advantage from general development provisions and to make up as speedily as possible for retarded progress in the past.”

9.10. In September, 1959, the Ministry of Home Affairs sent a letter to all the State Governments reiterating this policy and requesting them to bear this important principle in mind while drafting proposals for the Third Plan:—

“Many of the schemes in this sector are executed through other development departments, the department in charge of backward classes, welfare doing mostly co-ordination work. It is the accepted policy even in the Second Plan that these other development departments such as Education, Health, Industries, etc. should formulate their schemes in such a manner that ‘these weaker sections of the population are aided in the largest possible measure’. It appears that this aspect of the policy decision is not being observed as closely as was intended in the Plan. The Central Working Group for Backward Classes is anxious that the specific role of the various development departments and the department in charge of welfare of backward classes in this matter should be more precisely stated and it should be ensured that in the Third Plan ‘maximum advantage is given to the backward classes from the general development programmes.’ Wherever possible, the proportion of outlay incurred for the direct benefit of these disadvantaged sections of the society may be shown separately so as to ensure a close watch being kept from this point of view. In the special sector for the welfare of backward classes, funds and schemes will have to be provided to supplement the efforts of the other development departments.”

9.11. The Planning Commission has also sent a communication to the concerned Ministries of the Government of India asking them to ensure adequate provision for the welfare schemes of the tribal people from their normal programmes. We understand that the Ministry of Home Affairs has also been following up this matter by periodical conferences with the heads of departments in the concerned Ministries and by participating in their meetings at the time of finalising their annual programmes of development. In addition, the representatives of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Planning Commission discuss with the State Governments at the time of the annual plan discussions the progress achieved in the past year and the changes necessary for the future. This gives ample opportunity for the representatives of the States and the Ministry of Home Affairs to exchange views.

Instructions of the Andhra Pradesh Government

9.12. The Andhra Pradesh Government has issued instructions recently to all heads of departments that three per cent of the total provision of each department should be earmarked for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes during the Third Five Year Plan period. This is a positive decision by the State Government to ensure the

allocation of a certain portion of the provision in the general Plan for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes. We would like to commend the Andhra Pradesh example to other State Governments.

Amount of Grants Disbursed Under Article 275

9.13. The table below gives the total amount of grants-in-aid given to the States under Article 275 since the commencement of the Constitution for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and administration of the Scheduled Areas.

TABLE 8

Year	State Sector Schemes	Centrally sponsored schemes	Total (Col. 2 & 3)
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1950-51	54,00,000	..	54,00,000
1951-52	1,59,75,000	..	1,59,75,000
1952-53	1,99,71,000	..	1,99,71,000
1953-54	2,62,73,000	..	2,62,73,000
1954-55	3,76,72,000	..	3,76,72,000
1955-56*	5,13,74,000	..	5,13,74,000
1956-57*	2,22,37,800	1,61,89,000	3,39,26,800
1957-58*	2,61,01,600	2,02,85,000	4,63,86,600
1958-59*	2,54,92,000	2,88,67,000	5,43,59,000
1959-60*	3,64,70,100	4,56,24,000	8,20,94,100
1960-61†	3,53,67,300	8,47,63,000	12,01,30,300
Grand Total (1950-61)	30,23,33,800	19,12,28,000	49,35,61,800

*Grant-in-aid actually utilised by the State Government.

†Grant-in-aid released to the State Governments.

It will be noticed from this table, that beginning with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 54 lakhs in 1950-51, the provision went up to Rs. 160 lakhs in the first year of the First Plan, and to Rs. 1,200 lakhs in 1960-61, the last year of the Second Plan. The ceiling fixed for 1960-61 for Scheduled Tribes under the Central Sector was Rs. 847 lakhs and under the State Sector Rs. 354 lakhs.

First Plan

9.14. The rise in tempo during the first three years of the First Plan was gradual, but in the fourth and fifth years was much steeper, going up to Rs. 513 lakhs in 1955-56. In the last year of the First Plan, the tempo achieved in the progress of tribal welfare was considerable, for both the Union Government and the State Governments were anxious to utilise the money available to the maximum extent possible.

Second Plan

9.15. During 1956-57, the tempo again came down, the amount of grants-in-aid utilised being only Rs. 339 lakhs compared to Rs. 513 lakhs in the previous year. This shortfall can be attributed to the re-organisation of the States and the intervention of general election which diverted everyone's attention. In the two subsequent years, that is, in the second and third years of the Second Plan, the figures went up to Rs. 463 lakhs and Rs. 543 lakhs respectively and the pace was steady. During the fourth and fifth years of the Plan, a larger share of the grants-in-aid was utilised by the States with a view to keeping up and increasing, wherever possible, the tempo of progress achieved. In the last year of the Second Plan, as was the case during the corresponding year of the First Plan, both the States and the Centre were anxious to utilise the remaining outlay for the Second Plan and consequently stepped up their speed of implementation.

Criteria for Determining the Size of Grants

9.16. It will be seen that there has been a progressive increase in the grants to the States from year to year during the First and Second Plan periods. The following appear to have been the considerations for determining the allocation of funds to the State Governments:—

- (i) Population of the Scheduled Tribes in each State and the extent of the Scheduled Areas;
- (ii) Level of development reached by the State in welfare activity for the Scheduled Tribes and in raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas at the beginning of each Plan period; and
- (iii) Willingness on the part of the State Governments to contribute 50 per cent. from their general revenues specifically for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

9.17. During the Third Plan period, however, there appears to have been a change in emphasis, for only the population in the States

has been taken into consideration. This is evident from the following table:—

TABLE 9

State/Union Territory	Population of Scheduled Tribes	Provision during Second Five Year Plan (Central & State Sectors)	Provision for Third Five Year Plan (Central & State Sectors) recommended by Working Group.
1	2	3	4
<i>States</i>			
		(Rs. in lakhs)	(Rs. in lakhs)
Andhra Pradesh	11,49,919	3,06·51	341·00
Assam	17,61,434	1,327·00	550·00
Bihar	33,30,097	516·97	928·00
Bombay	37,43,408	372·71	811·00
Kerala	1,34,757	67·74	40·00
Madhya Pradesh	48,44,128	906·97	1,775·00
Madras	1,36,376	47·80	33·00
Mysore	80,402	50·91	30·00
Orissa	33,09,530	604·75	825·00
Punjab	2,661	111·07	114·00
Rajasthan	17,74,278	260·52	409·00
Uttar Pradesh .. .. .	..	..	..
West Bengal	15,66,868	207·17	250·00
Total ..	2,20,83,908	4,780·12	5,506·00
<i>Union Territories</i>			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	30,971	1·00	6·50
Himachal Pradesh	27,928	38·22	49·50
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	13,486	..	..
Manipur	1,94,239	116·25	125·00
Tripura	1,92,293	120·60	135·27
Total ..	4,58,917	276·07	316·27
Grand Total ..	2,25,42,825	5,056·19	5,822·27

9.18. The criterion of population is an easy one. But the main purpose of the Article is to tackle the problem of underdevelopment. We, therefore, recommend that in allocating funds under Article 275, the following criteria may be invariably followed:—

- (a) Population;
- (b) Level of development reached by the State in welfare activity for the Scheduled Tribes and in raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas at the beginning of each Plan period; and
- (c) Financial position of the State along with its willingness to contribute its quota.

Special Position of the Border States

9.19. In addition to the three factors enumerated in para 9.16 and the population criterion, the following matters should also be taken into consideration. Due to a change in the international atmosphere and the emergence of an aggressive neighbour, the border States in the north and north-eastern regions have had to suffer a serious dislocation of their economy and trade. The tribal people here used to get such essential articles as wool and salt from across the border. But this arrangement has now been shattered. We recommend, therefore, that this be taken into consideration in deciding the outlay for tribal welfare in all such areas.

Financial Position of the States

9.20. A very important consideration in determining the quantum of central assistance to the States is the financial position of the latter which is influenced by several factors—political, economic and administrative. The entire financial resources of a State are channelised for the planned development activities of a competing nature and in this process, the priority to be given to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes is usually forgotten. In order to qualify themselves for certain schemes which are to be implemented uniformly in all the States, and to fall in line with the national policy, the State Governments, notwithstanding their weak resources, accept broadly the pattern laid down by the Planning Commission. But in this process, on account of their limited internal financial resources, schemes for tribal welfare generally and perhaps, inevitably have to suffer a “cut”.

Shortfall in the Expenditure

9.21. The table below gives the Second Plan provision under Tribal Welfare in the State Sector and the actual expenditure during the various years will reveal that as against Rs. 29.43 crores which is the Plan outlay for the five year period, Rs. 10.62 crores is the actual expenditure in the State Sector during the first three years. On the basis of 3/5ths of the total outlay, it should have been Rs. 17.65 crores. Though there may be other reasons for this shortfall, the principal one appears to be the disinclination of the States to earmark sufficient funds for Tribal Welfare. This is further evidenced by a statewise scrutiny of the expenditure figures. The total allocation for the Second Plan in the State Sector for Bihar is Rs. 280 lakhs for Tribal Welfare, whereas the actual expenditure was only Rs. 87.84 lakhs for the first three years. Likewise, the total allocation for Tribal Welfare for

Madhya Pradesh was Rs. 499.47 lakhs whereas the expenditure for the first three years was only Rs. 92.08 lakhs. Even in the final year of the Second Plan, against a total provision of Rs. 36.50 crores for all the schemes in the annual plan, the provision for Tribal Welfare was only Rs. 0.49 crores. Rajasthan's allocation for the Second Plan was Rs. 142.98 lakhs while their expenditure for the first three years was only Rs. 30.73 lakhs.

TABLE 10

(Rupees in lakhs)

State/Union Territory	Second Plan provision	Actual expenditure during first three years (58.57 to 58.59)	Anticipated expenditure during last 2 years (59.60 & 60.61)	Total anticipated expenditure during the Plan period	Short-fall
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>States</i>					
Andhra Pradesh	200.51	111.98	98.02	210.00	..
Assam	902.50	355.22	491.31	846.53	55.97
Bihar	280.85	87.84	122.67	210.51	70.34
Bombay	167.46	63.76	103.70	167.46	..
Kerala	36.80	14.42	24.50	38.92	..
Madhya Pradesh	499.47	92.08	101.03	193.11	306.36
Madras	31.68	10.19	19.22	29.41	2.27
Mysore	36.01	9.23	16.41	25.64	10.37
Orissa	318.28	140.82	144.61	285.43	32.82
Punjab	21.62	6.86	15.34	22.20	..
Rajasthan	142.98	30.73	80.54	111.27	31.71
Uttar Pradesh .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
West Bengal	141.04	51.74	60.46	112.20	28.84
Total	2,779.17	974.87	1,277.81	2,252.68	526.49
<i>Union Territories</i>					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1.00	..	..	..	..
Himachal Pradesh	23.22	7.67	15.44	23.11	0.11
Manipur	66.25	40.05	36.73	76.78	..
Tripura	73.60	39.79	33.22	73.01	0.59
Total	164.07	87.51	86.38	173.89	..
Grand Total	2,943.24	1,062.28	1,364.19	2,426.57	516.67

Views of the State Governments

9.22. The Union Government in the Ministry of Home Affairs finance welfare schemes for Scheduled Tribes under Article 275 both through the Centrally-sponsored programmes and schemes included in the State Sector. In the following paragraphs we give the views of the State Governments in answer to our Questionnaire on this subject.

9.23. *Andhra Pradesh*—The Government of Andhra Pradesh is of the view that a larger percentage of assistance should be made available. It suggests that 75 per cent of the expenditure might be fixed as the percentage of assistance by the Union Government and that all schemes be treated as Centrally-sponsored. In that case, the State argues, it might be possible for it to undertake a larger number of schemes for the benefit of the Scheduled Areas.

9.24. *Assam*—The Government of Assam says that there is a tendency to reduce the annual Plan outlay under the Article 275 programme much below the ceiling shown in the yearly phasings of the Five Year Plan. For this reason, full utilisation of the grants received from the Union Government can never be achieved. The solution that it suggests is to take out the Article 275 development programme from the States' annual Plan while determining the Central share of contribution to finance it.

9.25. *Maharashtra and Gujarat*—The Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat have developed and explained their case on similar lines. They have pointed out that under the Article 275 programme, assistance is not given by the Centre to the States on the expenditure incurred for giving loans to the tribals or for meeting administrative charges. They suggest that assistance should be given on loan expenditure, as in quite a large number of cases, particularly in schemes relating to economic development, assistance has to be given on a loan-cum-subsidy basis. They also consider that the Union Government should meet expenditure on administration in the Scheduled Areas. The Government of Maharashtra has also represented that the Plan provision for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes during the Third Plan works out at Rs. 4/- per head per year. This, according to them, is inadequate and will not enable the State Government to undertake the measures envisaged under the Constitution. Expenditure on this would be substantial and would mostly be of a non-recurring type, for example, on roads, school buildings, hostels, dispensaries, construction of staff quarters and so on. It would be beyond the means of the State Government to provide the funds required for such capital expenditure. It, therefore, feels that the Union Government should provide much larger funds for the purpose and liberalise the rate of Central assistance.

9.26. *Madhya Pradesh*—The Government of Madhya Pradesh states as follows:—

“At present schemes of welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas are being undertaken under the Centrally-sponsored programme outside the Second Plan for which Central aid is received on 100 per cent basis

and under the Second Plan of the State under which 50 per cent Central aid is received. The size of the Centrally-sponsored programme for the Second Plan period is fixed at Rs. 424.25 lakhs. The total amount has been allocated to the State by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India over the Plan period. However, in the case of the State Plan, the total five year provision which was fixed at Rs. 499.47 lakhs was not fully allocated due to the system of annual planning which takes into consideration the finances of the State and priorities fixed at the national level by the Planning Commission. In order of priorities, 'welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and development of Scheduled Areas' ranks rather low. The total of the annual allocation against the State Plan schemes thus amounted only to Rs. 299.79 lakhs or 60 per cent of the Plan provision. It is felt that all the schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and development of Scheduled Areas for which grants-in-aid are made by the Union Government under Article 275(1) of the Constitution, should be classified as 'Centrally-sponsored' outside the Five Year Plan, so that they are eligible for 100 per cent grant-in-aid and the annual plan ceilings are not imposed on consideration of the resources of the State."

9.27. *Orissa*—The Government of Orissa has stated that when grants are made from the Consolidated Fund of India, the Ministry of Home Affairs takes into account the resources that the State has to supplement them. The financially weaker States, therefore, should receive larger grants so that conditions in the Scheduled Areas can be improved quickly and the slow progress in the past made up. The State Government feel that the Ministry of Home Affairs may have to give greater freedom to them in the matter of utilisation of these funds, keeping, however, the overall control and supervision to ensure that the special funds are utilised for the special purposes.

9.28. *Punjab*—The Government of Punjab has stated that allocations under Article 275 should not follow the population percentage rigidly and that it should be liberal so as to keep up and raise the tempo of development. They are also of the opinion that because of the short working season, there should be greater elasticity regarding diversion of funds from one scheme to another.

9.29. The Governments of Bihar, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Rajasthan and West Bengal have no comments to offer.

Need for Machinery to Watch Progress

9.30. *We have considered the views expressed by the State Governments and in the following paragraphs we give below our suggestions for effective utilisation of the allocations under Article 275.*

I. *At the time when this financial provision was made in the Constitution, the vast development activity that was to be undertaken throughout the country specially in the tribal areas, was not contemplated. The Article thus does not contain sufficient safeguards for the proper expenditure of the funds given to the States, as provided in the Constitutions of the United States, United Kingdom,*

Canada, etc. Beyond allocating funds to the States, the Union Government have no adequate machinery for ensuring that the funds given have been properly spent and for the purposes intended. We recommend that the proposed Department to be set up at the Centre in the Ministry of Home Affairs should contain an Accounts Cell exclusively for the purpose of maintaining accounts of the funds disbursed to the State Governments, Union Territories and non-official organisations.

Funds for Welfare of Tribals to be Non-lapsable

II. As these funds are specially intended to bring the tribal areas to the level of that of the surrounding areas, the large amounts that invariably lapse at the end of each financial year should be available for re-allotment for the same purpose. The machinery at the Centre to ensure such re-allocation is totally inadequate, and to solve this problem the following alternatives are suggested:—

- (a) A procedure may be devised by which the grants sanctioned during a particular year are available for expenditure even in the succeeding year, thus giving the administration 12 months to implement the schemes in full.
- (b) A non-lapsable Tribal Welfare Fund may be created on the lines of the Central Road Reserve Fund.
- (c) The financial year may be changed from April—March to July—June.

Need for Separate Budget Entry

III. As no separate entry is made in the budget head under 'Welfare of Scheduled Tribes', there is no proper follow-up of the expenditure. By making a separate entry in the budget and accounts it becomes easier to obtain figures of provision, expenditure and balance left for purposes of re-allotment in subsequent years. It would also be easy for subordinate officers in the districts to render accounts at short notice for periodical reports. This will further help supervising officers to obtain the necessary figures.

Further Discretion to States to Change the Heads of Scheme not Necessary

IV. We consider that adequate discretion has already been given to the States to change items from one head of schemes to another and from one scheme to another in the same group. Further devolution of this discretion may lead to the shape of the original schemes and its priorities being disturbed. The existing procedure of reviewing fully the actual working of the schemes at the time of the discussions on the annual plans and changing them further if necessary at that time is satisfactory and gives sufficient opportunity to the States to effect the required modifications. These comments do not of course relate to the Tribal Development Blocks.

Procedure for Avoiding Delay by the State Finance Departments

V. Certain States have made representations about the delays in receiving sanctions for schemes included in the annual plan. The procedure now followed by the Ministry of Home Affairs appears to meet the requirements of the situation. At present, on the basis of the ceilings fixed at the annual plan discussions, towards October or

November of the previous year, funds are released in nine equal instalments, beginning from the 1st of April, directly by the Ministry of Finance of the Union Government to the States concerned. The State Governments thus should not experience any difficulty regarding funds, as they are made available regularly in monthly instalments. The last three instalments are released on the basis of the figures of estimated expenditure for the period. There is no doubt that this procedure evolved in 1957 is a great improvement over the previous one of releasing the funds during the financial year after the necessary scrutiny. However, the delay appears to lie with the State Governments whose Finance Departments are reported to scrutinise the schemes further, even after approval is given by the Union Government on the basis of their inclusion in the annual plans. In our opinion, this further scrutiny by the State Finance Departments either has to be eliminated or has to be made quickly to avoid a disturbance in the smooth continuance of schemes already taken up. *We would suggest to the State Governments that they should devise a suitable procedure which would obviate reference to their Finance Departments of cases where the increase in the outlay does not exceed a certain margin.*

Progress Reports

VI. The progress reports of actual expenditure of grants made by the Union Government are either received very late, sometimes even two or three years after the expenditure has been incurred, or are received with incomplete details or are not received at all. *We recommend that the six-monthly despatch of progress reports by the State Governments within three months after the lapse of the six-monthly report period, should be made a condition for the grant of funds under this Article.*

No need to make Grants Under Article 275 Outside the Plan

VII. Certain State Governments have represented that grants under Article 275 of the Constitution should be outside the scope of the Plan. Such a procedure would have some relevance only in regard to expenditure which was not envisaged either in the Five Year Plans or in the annual plan discussions. We have already referred to the circular issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs that grants under Article 275 are only supplementary to the general Plan. The grants are designed for development. They are a routine feature of our Plans. We are not justified in keeping them out of the Plan expenditure.

Grant of Loans to States for Welfare Work

VIII. A question has been raised by some State Governments on the need for providing expenditure on loan items under Article 275 of the Constitution. Many of the schemes under economic development are in the nature of loans for agricultural purposes, setting up industries, rehabilitation in a trade or even construction of houses. But Article 275 does not envisage loans to the State Governments for this purpose. Instead of outright grants and subsidies which might well deprive the tribal people of their self-reliance and might ultimately tend to pauperise them, there is no reason why loans should not be given in such cases to be recovered in convenient instalments. This also results in States and the Centre being required to give grants

and subsidies in a large proportion. We would, therefore, recommend that the Union Government or the Reserve Bank give loans to the State Governments to enable them to give loans to the tribal people.

Administrative Costs

IX. It has been represented to us that the expenditure on administrative costs is not to be borne out of the funds made available under this Article. An increase in the schemes of development undoubtedly involves a lot of expenditure on the machinery to implement them. The State Governments find it very hard to meet this increase in the cost of administration from their own funds and unless it is met by the Centre, the schemes will either not be properly implemented for shortage of staff or not implemented at all. We would recommend that all expenditure on the employment of additional staff both in the field and at the headquarters and on their training should be met out of the funds given to the States under this Article. The Article clearly says that the grants are also for "raising the level of administration".

Need for Separating Tribal Welfare from Social Welfare

X. In view of the constitutional obligation in regard to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, we consider it advisable to keep the programme for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes separate from the general programme of social welfare and give a higher priority to these schemes at the time of annual plan discussions.

Tendency to Lower Outlay in the State Sector to be Discouraged

XI. We have observed that some States have a tendency to fix a lower outlay on tribal welfare schemes in the annual plan of the State sector as this involves a 50 per cent contribution from their own funds. There is another tendency to shift some of the schemes already in the State sector to the Centrally-sponsored programmes which qualify for 100 per cent Central assistance. We have already given in table 9—the outlay in the State and Central sectors of the Second Plan. As the responsibility for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas is primarily that of the State Governments, we feel that there is need for a change in their attitude. They should come forward more enthusiastically and liberally to shoulder the responsibility.

Need for a Clear Distinction Between State and Central-Sponsored Schemes

XII. As the Centrally-sponsored programmes include certain schemes which are, in the opinion of the Union Government, necessary for catering to the disabilities of the tribal people, we would urge that the line of demarcation between Central and State schemes should be clearly laid down. We would, therefore, recommend that schemes of higher priority such as economic development, health, drinking-water supply, training of personnel, research and evaluation should be included under the Central sector, whereas schemes for education, housing etc. will come under the State sector.

PART II

Review of the Progress and Recommendations

Chapters 10 to 22

यत्प्रमेव जयते



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CHAPTER 10

ASSESSMENT

But for the Five Year Plans, we cannot imagine how it would have been possible for us to write this chapter. There would have been no data available whatsoever. Nobody would have even thought of an integrated picture with specific schemes, adequate finance and time limits for their performance. An all-India assessment would have been even more hazardous. But, as it is, in this chapter we can attempt an over-all assessment of what is happening in the tribal areas. This is because of the Planned approach.

10.2. We began this Report with a reference to the new pulsating life that is stirring the tribal people. We are no longer dealing with a sleeping-slumbering community. This was the natural impact of freedom on the people's consciousness following freedom in every part of the country. Freedom, like the first rays of the rising sun, has a magical effect. Like those rays it brings life to the creation all round. It can be said to the credit of the Government and the people of India that they were not slow to take advantage of this new opportunity in the tribal areas. The noble work of emancipation thus commenced almost simultaneously with the dawn of India's freedom. On the 1st April 1951, was launched the First Plan. On the 2nd of October 1952 was launched the Community Development scheme. On the 2nd October, 1959, was launched the Panchayati Raj movement. These were all intended to take the benefits of a new life to the last citizen residing in the farthest corner of the country. With the Plan came other changes; the strings of the country's economy were picked up and properly arranged and the task of providing the wherewithals of living and equality of opportunity was accepted as the responsibility of the Government. Community Development was to provide the institutional set up. The Panchayati Raj was intended to provide, in this gigantic task, the backing of the people through a new local leadership. These small beginnings are gaining momentum. As they gain strength and speed they are disclosing their latent potential in tackling the vast problem of human emancipation.

10.3. The First Plan for India was of the order of Rs. 2,356 crores, out of which a lump sum provision of Rs. 39 crores was made for the schemes for Backward Classes as under:—

	(Rupees in crores)
(i) For States' Plan	20.00
(ii) For grants-in-aid to the State Governments by the Union Government in the Ministry of Home Affairs—	
(a) For Scheduled Tribes and Development of Scheduled/Tribal Areas under Article 275(1) of the Constitution	15.00
(b) For Backward Classes (including Scheduled Castes, Ex-criminal Tribes and Other Backward Classes)	4.00
	<hr/>
	39.00

Against this Plan provision of Rs. 39.00 crores, an expenditure of Rs. 25.98 crores was incurred by the State Governments on the Backward Classes during the First Plan. This included an expenditure of Rs. 17.36 crores on the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

10.4. The table given below shows scheme-wise expenditure incurred during the First Plan period for the Scheduled Tribes:—

TABLE 11

Serial No.	Name of the Scheme	Expenditure incurred (Figures in Rupees)
1	2	3
1.	Education	5,10,33,518
2.	Agriculture	2,65,98,852
3.	Cottage Industry	47,43,183
4.	Medical & Public Health	1,53,52,601
5.	Housing	48,91,024
6.	Communications	4,07,99,551
7.	Cooperation	49,75,564
8.	Rehabilitation	4,57,021
9.	Forest	57,89,432
10.	Veterinary	11,53,451
11.	Publicity	6,62,157
12.	Community Centres	7,17,748
13.	Aid to Voluntary Agencies	18,62,118
14.	Administration	54,57,676
15.	Intensive Development Blocks .. .. .	..
16.	Miscellaneous	91,70,688
	Total	17,36,64,584

Achievements of the First Plan

10.5. We may cast a rapid glance over the achievement of the First Plan. About 4,000 schools were established, including a thousand Ashram and Sevashram schools; 4,50,000 school children received State assistance; a few received instruction in their own mother tongue through text books based on the life of their own tribe; about 8,500 tribal students received scholarships for higher education. About 2,400 miles of roads, bridle paths and hill paths, were constructed. The tribal labour in the forest was organised under 653 cooperatives to take up the responsibility of exploitation of major forest coupes. About 50 farms were opened to initiate new methods of cultivation. 8,000 families were settled in colonies. 350 grain banks were organised; 310 multipurpose cooperatives were set up. 800 tribals were taught weaving, sericulture and food preservation; 750 families were given

assistance to settle in small trades; 110 cottage industry centres were established. 3,200 medical units, 25 malaria control centres, 26 maternity and child welfare centres were established. Some arrangement was made for drinking water facilities.

A start was also made in fundamental work; Tribal Research Institutes were opened in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. A Tribal Bureau was started in Orissa.

Assessment

10.6. The claim that this effort was anything in the nature of an attack upon the problem would be wrong. To discard it as a trifle would be equally wrong. The effort has to be considered in the light of the possibilities then before the country, in the light of the limitations of the institutional arrangements both at the official and non-official levels and the burden that such a set up could carry. This was a beginning which can justifiably be regarded as fairly good, and symbolic of what was to come.

10.7. Those who have studied the problem of planning for the tribes have lately been suggesting some priorities and percentages. It was too early then to expect such a thing. The State Governments had to make a beginning on the basis of the data then available, through the machinery that then existed and rely upon the ideas then current about the tribal welfare programmes.

10.8. Table 11 reveals that education, economic development, and communications received almost equal priority with expenditure ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 lakhs; medical facilities came next and administration thereafter.

Second Plan

10.9. In 1956, the Second Plan was initiated. The table below shows the relative increase over the expenditure in the First Plan.⁴

TABLE 12

	Expenditure in First Plan (Rs. in crores)	Allotment in Second Plan (Rs. in crores)
All Backward Classes	39.00	91.00
Scheduled Tribes	17.36	48.33 (includes 2 crores for Assam centrally spon- sored schemes).
DETAILED PRIORITIES		
<i>Economic uplift</i>	4.32	16.86
Agriculture	2.65	2.23
Cottage Industries	0.47	2.38
Cooperative	0.50	1.40
Rehabilitation	0.05	3.36
Forest	0.58	1.06
Community centres	0.07	0.01
Intensive Development Block .. .. .	..	6.42
	<u>4.32</u>	<u>16.86</u>

TABLE 12—contd.

	First Plan (Rs. in crores)	Second Plan (Rs. in crores)
<i>Education</i>	5.10	8.82
<i>Communications</i>	4.07	8.79
<i>Medical</i>	1.54	5.00
<i>Housing</i>	0.49	2.26
<i>Veterinary</i>	0.12	0.48
<i>Administration</i>	0.54	2.03
<i>Aid to Voluntary Agencies</i>	0.19	0.45
<i>Publicity</i>	0.07	0.07
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	0.92	1.57
Total	17.36	46.33
		(excluding 2 crores for Assam centrally sponsored schemes)

Financial Efforts

10.10. The above table also reveals a significant change in the approach to the schemes. Expenditure on economic development shoots up to 275 per cent, and on education and communications rises by 75 and 100 per cent respectively.

10.11. The original provision of Rs. 48.33 crores included Rs. 2.00 crores allotted by the Centre under Centrally Sponsored programmes in Assam. Rs. 16.67 crores was for Centrally Sponsored scheme in general and Rs. 29.66 crores was for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the State Sector. We give in table 13 the State-wise revised allocation for twelve States and the comparative additional per capita allocation in the Second Plan period⁵. Including Union Territories, the revised allocation was of the order of Rs. 50.56 crores. The leap from the First Plan expenditure to the Second Plan provision was of the order of 1:2.5. At the same time it is necessary to study the relative economic benefits likely to result from the Plan allocation.

TABLE 13
Table showing the Statewise additional allocation and the comparative additional per capita provision and expenditure for the tribals in the Second Five Year Plan

State	Total Plan Provision for the State (1)	Additional provision for Tribal welfare in the State Sector (Revised) (2)	Column (3) as percentage of column (2)	Percentage of Scheduled Tribes population to total population in the State (4)	Plan outlay for welfare of Scheduled Tribes in State Sector (5)	Plan outlay in the Central Sector (6)	Total of columns (6) and (7) (in lakhs)	Population of Scheduled Tribes (second order) (7)	Per capita provision (8)	Anticipated Expenditure under State Sector for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes (in lakhs) (9)	Anticipated Expenditure under Centrally Sponsored Programme for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes (in lakhs) (10)	Total of columns (11) and (12) (in lakhs) (13)	Per capita Expenditure (14)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Andhra Pradesh ..	(in lakhs) 17,476.36	(in lakhs) 200.51	1.2	3.68	(in lakhs) 200.51	(in lakhs) 106.00	(in lakhs) 306.51	(in lakhs) 11.49	26	(in lakhs) 210.00	(in lakhs) 112.21	(in lakhs) 322.21	28
Assam ..	5,793.69	902.50	15.5	19.48	902.50	424.50	1,327.00	17.61	75	846.53	*230.38	1,076.91	61
Bihar ..	19,021.99	280.85	1.5	10.00	280.85	236.12	516.97	38.80	13	210.51	204.99	415.50	10
Bombay ..	35,023.93	167.46	0.47	7.76	167.46	205.25	372.71	37.43	10	167.46	186.61	354.07	9
Kerala ..	8,700.00	36.80	0.42	0.99	36.80	30.94	67.74	1.24	50	38.92	18.83	57.75	43
Madhya Pradesh ..	19,089.27	499.47	2.6	18.83	499.47	407.50	906.97	48.44	18	193.11	372.64	565.75	12
Madras ..	15,226.54	31.68	0.21	0.45	31.68	16.12	47.80	1.36	35	29.41	17.03	46.44	34
Mysore ..	14,513.00	36.01	0.24	0.41	36.01	14.90	50.91	0.80	63	25.64	16.55	42.19	52
Orissa ..	9,997.01	318.25	3.2	20.65	318.25	286.50	604.75	30.09	20	285.43	289.31	584.74	19
Punjab ..	16,267.66	21.62	0.13	0.02	21.62	89.45	111.07	0.026	4,271	22.20	50.77	72.97	2,806
Rajasthan ..	10,627.26	142.98	1.2	11.11	142.98	117.54	260.52	17.74	14	111.27	107.63	218.90	12
West Bengal ..	15,766.90	141.04	0.9	5.95	141.04	66.13	207.17	15.66	13	112.20	60.47	172.67	11

*Including Rs. 28.63 lakhs on road schemes credited to Central Roads Fund (Special) Reserve during 1956-57 and including the anticipated expenditure on border relief programme during 1959-60 and 1960-61.

10.12. If we study the figures in the table 13, we shall be able to find out comparatively the quantum of financial effort that was required to be made and which was ultimately made in the Second Plan period. We can study these figures from three different angles.

It will be interesting to know in the first instance what part of the State's general allocation was spent in the tribal areas and on the tribal people. It has not been possible for the States to supply such figures. As we have seen in chapter 9 except for one State, namely Andhra Pradesh, which has issued instructions that at least three per cent of the State budget under each head should be spent in the tribal areas, which is the proportion of the tribal population in Andhra Pradesh, no other State has taken any policy decision to see that the tribal areas and tribal people receive their fair share of advantages under the general budget.

10.13. Secondly, the additional provision is also not adequate. Column 5 relates to the percentage of Scheduled Tribe population to total population and column 4 relates to the percentage, the additional provision for tribal welfare in the State sector bears to the total plan provision for the State. If we compare these figures, we shall see that except for Assam and Punjab, the additional provision made falls short of the effort needed.

10.14. Thirdly is the level of expenditure. Column 10 in the table shows the *per capita* provision made under each head by the States and the Centre. It shows the disparities in *per capita* provision. Column 14 shows the expenditure. If we compare the figures of *per capita* expenditure to *per capita* provision we shall find that the targets achieved were lower still.

10.15. Taking all the above factors into consideration we can divide the States into three groups for the purpose of the assessment of the financial effort made. In the first group can be mentioned the States of Punjab, Assam, Kerala, Madras and Mysore whose additional allocations were good in relation to the percentage of population in their area. These States have been able also to discharge their obligation reasonably satisfactorily. In the second group comes Andhra Pradesh. Its effort has been on a marginal level. In the third group come States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal whose additional allocations were low and the execution, except in the case of Orissa, fell short of the original targets.

Physical Targets

10.16. *Economic Development*—As we have seen from the figures in table 12, economic development (Rs. 16.86 crores) received the highest priority. In the schemes of economic development a project for the establishment of 43 Multipurpose Blocks or, as they are now called, the Tribal Development Blocks occupied the first place and rehabilitation of the tribals received the second priority. We have discussed the first in a separate chapter. As regards the second it was expected that nearly 186 colonies would be established accommodating more than 12,000 families. These will be dealt with separately. Besides the two there was provision for developing 36,000 acres of land, distribution of agricultural implements and pedigree bulls. A

sum of Rs. 1.3 crores was earmarked for tackling the problem of shifting cultivation in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa and Tripura.

A provision was also made to train 4,000 persons in various crafts by the establishment of 825 cottage industries centres with a view to promoting cottage industries. In the State Sector a provision had been made to spend Rs. 1.40 crores on Cooperation. About 350 Grain Golas were intended to be converted into full-fledged cooperatives. 800 additional forest multipurpose cooperative societies were to be established. Provision was made for the regeneration of 6,570 acres of forest lands.

10.17. *Education*—Under the State Sector schemes, it was proposed to open 3,187 schools, 398 hostels and provide scholarships to over 3 lakhs of tribal students. The Plan contemplated the establishment of 200 community and cultural centres, production of text books in tribal dialects, improvement of the curriculum for schools in the tribal areas and research work in tribal activities. In its scheme Assam provided for 670 stipends for giving vocational training to tribal students. 45 training-cum-vocational centres were included in the Orissa State Plan. A provision was made for 87 industrial and technical centres for tribal students in the remaining States. A provision of Rs. 0.75 crores was made in the Centrally Sponsored schemes to open schools to give training in mechanical and civil engineering in certificate courses, giving training in Agriculture and for training teachers. Technical Institutes were sanctioned for Manipur, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

10.18. *Communications*—Communications received more than double the amount of the First Plan. The plan was to construct 10,200 miles of bridle paths and roads and 450 bridges. The Central allocation was Rs. 4 crores for construction of 450 miles of motorable roads and 7,200 miles of bridle paths.

10.19. *Health and Housing*—The programme of health services included the opening of 600 dispensaries and mobile health units and the sinking of 15,000 drinking-water wells in the tribal areas. At the same time, nurses and midwives recruited from the tribal people were to be trained. 26,000 wells and two reservoirs—one in Assam and one in Manipur—were to be constructed under the Centrally Sponsored schemes. In addition, about 33 special clinics or mobile dispensaries were to be set up to combat diseases like Leprosy, Venereal Diseases and Tuberculosis. Five Centres were to be opened for training of 400 mid-wives. Since housing conditions of the people were extremely unsatisfactory. Rs. 60 lakhs were provided for construction of 18,000 houses with 56 housing societies which would handle the construction programme. A sum of Rs. 1.77 crores was earmarked for the combined Central and State projects for housing with a target of 27,000, including the target of 18,000 mentioned above.

Deficiencies

10.20. Table 14 explains the economic conditions of the tribals. This table has been prepared from the Socio-Economic Survey Reports in the various States. A study of the data, even though very inadequate, will give an idea of deficiencies in the economic field, the tribals are suffering from.

TABLE 14

Table showing average size of a tribal family, size of holding, family income, per capita income, indebtedness, etc. in some States/Union Territories based on Socio-economic Survey Reports made available to the Commission.

Item	Madhya Pradesh	Rajasthan	Gujarat	Punjab	Andhra Pradesh	Bihar	Manipur	All-India
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Average size of family	6.57 51% are earners 49% are dependents. (A)	5.4 20% are earners 36% are earning dependents 44% dependents (B)	6.8 31% are earners 37% are earning dependents 32% dependents (E)	6.0 55% are earners and earning dependents 45% dependents (Lahaul) (F)	@	5.3 (H)	@	5.21 (Rural India)
Average size of the holding or per capita holding.	15.95 acres (A)	5.95 acres in Banswara District 4.40 acres in Dungarpur District (B)	5.32 acres (E)	@	@	@	2.8 acres holding and 0.57 acre per capita cropped area (J)	6.05 acres average size of cultivative holding or 1.09 acres per capita net area sown.
Family Income (per annum).	Rs. 687.17 (A)	Rs. 677.40 (B)	Rs. 700.4 (E)	Rs. 1,900 (Lahaul) (F)	@	Rs. 900 to 2,400 (I)	@	

Per capita Income (per annum)	Rs. 104.59 (A)	Rs. 103.6 (D)	Rs. 101.6 (E)	@	@	@	Rs. 284 in 1950-51 Rs. 306 in 1955-56 Rs. 330 in 1960-61
Indebtedness (per household)	Rs. 130.44 (A)	Rs. 179.59 (C)	.. (E)	Rs. 786 (Laharl) (F)	Average indebtedness per family not indicated (G)	Rs. 831 77.05% (H)	@
Literacy Percentage	@	4.25 (B)	17 (E)	17 (F)	@	36 (J)	11.4 (J)
Health Services	@	One institution serves 39 square miles. (B)	One institution serves 205 square miles (E)	@	@	@	One institution serves 126 sq. miles on an average (1957).
Communications	@	33 miles per 100 square miles of area. (Banswara) (B)	@	@	@	@	28 miles per 100 sq. miles of the area (1958). Target to be achieved under Twenty year plan is 52 miles per 100 sq. miles of area.

TABLE 14—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Percentage of Irrigation to cropped area.	0.42% (A)	2% (Banswara) (B)	26.5% (E)	@	@	@	@	17 per cent of the total area under cultivation.
Employment	@	@	38% fully employed 62% not fully employed (E)	@	@	About 17,000 tribals working as unskilled labourers (H)	@	On an average an adult could not get employment for 120 days in a year as per Agriculture Enquiry. (J)

(A) Source—Socio-Economic Survey of Selected villages in Special Multipurpose Blocks by the Director of Economics and Statistics, Madhya Pradesh.

(B) Source—Notes on Economic conditions in Banswara and Durgapur Districts of Rajasthan State by the Director of Economics and Industrial Surveys, Rajasthan State.

(C) Source—Sample Survey of indebtedness in Kushalgarh Multipurpose Development Block in 1960.

(D) Source—Survey of Indebtedness of the Bhils in the Rural Areas of Banswara District.

(E) Source—Socio-Economic Survey of the Khed Bramha Special Tribal Block by Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad in 1959.

(F) Source—Socio-Economic Survey of Lahaul with special reference to indebtedness conducted by Economic and Statistical Organisation during 1959.

(G) Source—A study of culture (Socio-Economic and Religious Organisation) of the Khond and Gadaba Tribes in the Visakhapatnam and Shrikulam Agency tracts by Cultural Research Institute, Andhra University.

(H) Source—Socio-Economic Survey of Tribal Labour in Tisco-Pilot Survey on the basis of 1 per cent sample.

(I) Source—A study of the impact of Industrialisation on the life of Adivasi Employees of Noamundi Iron Ore Mines (Tisco), Noamundi, Bihar; by Shri T. D. Sahu.

(J) Source—Techno-Economic Survey of Manipur by the National Council of Applied Economic Research 1961.

@ Not indicated in the Survey Reports referred to.

Deficiency in Quality

10.21. We agree that any effort that the Government makes has ultimately to be correlated to resources available to the State and the absorbing capacity of the people to be benefited. We also agree that the absorbing capacity of the tribals is low. While there is some justification for the low rate of spending, we have to discover whether this has been balanced by the quality of effort. We shall presently see in the chapters on Land, Forest and Indebtedness that achievements in the field of protection of tribal interests have been limited. The achievements in the positive field of development are also limited.

A Balanced Picture

10.22. One drawback in the welfare work done in our country is diffusion of effort. There is now a universal demand to concentrate on a few essential things. This is especially necessary in the tribal areas, because of the paucity of trained personnel. Drinking-water, food all the year round, employment at least for 300 days in a year on reasonable wages, education, health and village roads are the supreme needs of the tribals. An integrated and planned approach based on this would have given the Plan a more realistic touch in the eyes of the tribals.

10.23. In the tribal areas we are confronted by a stagnant rather than a feudal economy. The feudal idea assumes that the means of production are not only intended for sustenance but for profit. Exploitation is the result. The tribal is concerned only with sustenance. He is instinctively opposed to exploitation. Even for sustenance he does not adopt an individualistic but a community approach. Approached from this angle the problem of economic development in a tribal area should be easy. But the moment we do so we are faced with a stark reality. The tribal conception of agriculture, forest, animal husbandry and cottage industry requires to be changed. No longer can these four support him if he is to function in relation to them in the present way. He has to realise that land alone cannot support him and his community. *The problem of economic development for the bulk of the tribals cannot be solved unless the resources of land, forests, cattle wealth, cottage and village industries are all mobilised in an integrated basis in its service.*

10.24. Any activity for economic development requires to be organised with this principle in mind. The tribal cannot do it by himself. There should be an institutional set up to implement it. In Appendix VI we give a broad outline of the scheme and the institutional set up. It is not intended to be a rigid pattern. There is every scope for modification and alteration therein. It is useful only as a model. *Improvement of techniques together with an integrated approach in relation to all the four avenues of employment available in the tribal areas is the only answer.*

10.25. In the field of education, while quantitatively there is progress well worth noting, we feel that the qualitative aspect requires attention. In the chapter on Education, we have given the result of our investigation. Notwithstanding the handicaps under which State Governments labour, we must recognise that the educational side of development has produced an unmistakable impact upon the tribal mind. We can say, having gone round the whole

country, that there is no place in India which is not demanding primary, middle and high schools. Such is the consciousness of the need that has been created.

10.26. Girls' education is lagging behind. While the problem has been agitating the mind of the authorities, we have observed in some quarters a feeling that it will come in its own time. This is correct. But the tribal woman has a powerful voice in the ordering of the affairs at home. If the tribal, therefore, is to digest the lessons of the new social order and bring about the necessary adjustments in his life, he will not be able to do so unless his partner is also responsive. Extra expenditure incurred on girls' education will thus be not only an investment for the betterment of the individual citizen but would strengthen the foundations of the new social order that is envisaged.

10.27. In the field of health the most outstanding contribution is malaria control and eradication. The 'winged menace', as Mr. G. Borker calls it in his interesting report on 'Health in Independent India', is being tackled, not only in the towns and plains but in the forests and hills, as far as the mosquito reaches, through 390 units caring for 39 crores of people. The estimated cost for three years' operations was Rs. 43.87 crores of which the States were to bear Rs. 15.19 crores, the Centre Rs. 10.02 crores and Rs. 18.29 crores were to be in the form of assistance from United States of America Technical Cooperation Mission and World Health Organisation. We have not the figures of expenditure in the tribal areas but it is bound to be substantial. If there is any activity of the Government which has worked systematically and left a permanent and cheerful mark upon what were once the pale and haggard faces of the victims of malaria, it is the activity of the National Malaria Control squads.

10.28. Another serious disease specially affecting certain tribes is yaws or 'koya-rogam'. A couple of penicillin injections is all that is needed to relieve the patient of a disease that is, in some respects, worse than leprosy. Leprosy is being tackled, but still inadequately. Data on V.D. and T.B. is not available. The latter is reported to be on the increase.

10.29. The medical and public health services in the tribal areas have to be built up practically from scratch. In our opinion the pattern followed now is good for urban areas and townships, deficient for rural areas and wholly inadequate for the tribal areas.

10.30. We deal separately with the problem of communications. We feel that while the areas have been opened out to the plains people, the essential thing is to open them out to the tribals. It is true that the same road that leads the plainsmen or an officer to the tribal areas can also be used by the tribals. But the tribal is more concerned with the path and the road that will take him to the forests, bazaars or a school all the year round.

10.31. The Tribal Development Blocks have produced on the whole a good impression. They have yet to create a consciousness in the tribal mind that he has to shoulder the responsibility for the Blocks to develop his own initiative, his area and his people. This is the special message of the movement and it has not yet got across.

Net Result

10.32. The development plans have in consequence left a mixed impression on the minds of the people. They cannot forget their loss of land, their heavy indebtedness, the usury of money-lenders, contractors, traders and the *Hali, Gothi, Sagri, Vetti* systems, that still prevail in certain areas; the curtailment of forest rights and privileges. There is besides a want of an integrated approach to the problem of economic development and poor communications in their villages. The tribals have yet to understand fully the consideration, anxiety and concern exhibited by the people of India and the Government and appreciate the great work done in the field of education, health and community services.

Some Aspects of Planning

10.33. The original Plan allocations and the projected targets appear to have been revised from time to time. We could not get all the figures regarding revised Plan provisions and anticipated expenditure, etc. incurred during the Second Plan period from the respective State Governments. We are, however, obliged to the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs who have supplied the figures as compiled by their Secretariat. A table prepared on the basis of these figures is given on the next page.

10.34. Table 15 shows State-wise and development-groupwise break-up of—

- (i) the revised Second Plan outlay for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes,
- (ii) the anticipated expenditure during 1956—61, and
- (iii) the extent of shortfall or excess.

Figures under the State and the Central sectors have been combined together and are shown in this table. For the twelve States, the anticipated expenditure is estimated at Rs. 3,930.10 lakhs as against the Plan provision of Rs. 4,582.46 lakhs. The shortfall is, therefore, to the extent of Rs. 652.36 lakhs or 14.2 per cent. It will be seen that the extent of shortfall is high in some States; Rs. 341.22 lakhs in Madhya Pradesh (37 per cent); Rs. 35.85 lakhs in Punjab (33 per cent); Rs. 106.60 lakhs in Bihar (20 per cent); Rs. 8.72 lakhs in Mysore (17 per cent); Rs. 34.50 lakhs in West Bengal (16 per cent) and Rs. 41.08 lakhs in Rajasthan (15 per cent).

In regard to expenditure on schemes exclusively under the Centrally-sponsored programme, the over-all shortfall in these 12 States is to the extent of 6.7 per cent, a creditable achievement indeed. But so far as the schemes under the State sector alone are concerned, the over-all shortfall is 18.9 per cent. Shortfall in State Sector schemes is unquestionably high in some States like Madhya Pradesh (60 per cent), Mysore (28 per cent), Bihar (25 per cent) and Rajasthan (22 per cent).

10.35. We have tried to find out the difficulties of the States where there have been heavy shortfalls.

TABLE 15
Table showing the plan provision, anticipated expenditure and shortfall in the Second Plan on the schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and development of Scheduled Areas under the State and Central Sectors.
(Rs. in lakhs)

State/Union Territory	Education			Economic Uplift			Health, Housing & Other Schemes			Total			
	Plan Outlay	Anticipated Expenditure	Short-fall(—) or Excess (+)	Plan Outlay	Anticipated Expenditure	Short-fall(—) or Excess (+)	Plan Outlay	Anticipated Expenditure	Short-fall(—) or Excess (+)	Plan Outlay	Anticipated Expenditure	Short-fall(—) or Excess (+)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Andhra Pradesh	24.28	22.99	-1.29	152.84	144.54	-8.30	129.39	154.68	+25.29	306.51	322.21	+15.70	
Assam	148.37	168.76	+20.39	774.91	724.38	-50.53	203.72	183.77	-19.95	1,127.00*	1,076.91†	-50.09	4.4
Bihar	85.51	72.86	-12.65	262.78	199.92	-62.86	173.81	142.72	-31.09	522.10†	415.50	-106.60	20.4
Bombay	94.59	92.27	-2.32	175.89	142.41	-33.48	102.23	119.39	+17.16	372.71	354.07	-18.64	5.1
Kerala	11.61	17.39	+5.78	30.47	24.38	-6.09	25.66	15.98	-9.68	67.74	57.75	-9.99	14.7
Madhya Pradesh	260.58	218.13	-42.45	302.77	160.13	-142.64	343.62	187.49	-156.13	906.97	565.75	-341.22	37.6
Madras	11.68	14.09	+2.41	12.86	11.87	-0.99	23.26	20.48	-2.78	47.80	46.44	-1.36	2.8
Mysore	8.50	6.28	-2.22	22.08	21.87	-0.21	20.33	14.04	-6.29	50.91	42.19	-8.72	17.1
Orissa	127.98	146.60	+18.62	281.30	237.63	-43.67	195.47	200.51	+5.04	604.75	584.74	-20.01	3.3
Punjab	9.50	10.06	+0.56	20.87	21.63	+0.76	78.45	41.28	-37.17	108.82	72.97	-35.85	32.9
Rajasthan	69.10	58.27	-10.83	146.32	125.83	-20.49	44.56	34.80	-9.76	259.98	218.90	-41.08	15.8
West Bengal	38.18	39.85	+1.67	58.61	43.51	-15.10	110.38	89.31	-21.07	207.17	172.67	-34.50	16.6
Total	889.88	867.55	-22.33	2,241.70	1,858.10	-383.60	1,450.88	1,204.45	-246.43	4,582.46	3,980.10	-652.36	14.2

Himachal Pradesh	5.16	7.66	+2.50	18.74	16.73	-2.01	13.06	12.63	-0.43	36.96	37.02	+0.06
Tripura	4.80	5.07	+0.27	77.48	82.50	+5.02	38.32	29.95	-8.37	120.60	117.52	-3.08
Manipur	9.45	9.33	-0.12	50.40	49.73	-0.67	56.40	66.59	+10.19	116.25	125.65	+9.40
Total	19.41	22.06	+2.65	146.62	148.96	+2.34	107.78	109.17	+1.39	273.81	280.19	+6.38
Grand Total	909.29	889.61	-19.68	2,388.32	2,007.06	-381.26	1,558.66	1,313.62	-245.04	4,856.27	4,210.29	-645.98

*Does not include the statutory payment of two crores under the second proviso to Article 275.

†Including Rs. 28.53 lakhs on road schemes credit to Central Roads Fund (Special) Reserve during 1956-57 and including an anticipated expenditure on border relief programme during 1959-60 and 1960-61.

‡Excluding Rs. 8.60 lakhs for shifting cultivation not required by State Government.

The Madhya Pradesh Government explained to us the reasons for the shortfall as:

- (i) the re-organisation of the State; and
- (ii) the financial handicaps under which the State itself is working. The figures of shortfall vary from 45 per cent in Health and Housing to 47 per cent on Economic uplift.

Mysore was also reorganised. Its major shortfall was in Health-Housing (30 per cent) and in Education (22 per cent).

Rajasthan has a problem of chronic scarcity. The shortfall in Rajasthan related to Health and Housing schemes (22 per cent). West Bengal has not been able to use its grants on Economic development and in Health and Housing, etc. Punjab's shortfall was in Health and Housing (47 per cent).

Bihar Government was not faced by the troubles consequent on States Reorganisation so much. There is yet a shortfall of 24 per cent in Economic uplift and nearly 18 per cent in Health and Housing as the above table would indicate.

10.36. We agree that during the Second Plan period the development activities in many States were disturbed by the administrative re-organisation, and part of the shortfall may be attributed to this. Again the financial rules and procedures had not been revised by the Union Government till 1957 and that might have involved some delay. There was a chronic shortage of technical personnel too.

10.37. This does not, however, account for everything. There are two or three other important reasons for the shortfall. Tribal development is accepted as very necessary by all the State Governments, but between the competing claims of other departments, the Tribal Department does not get a high enough place. The inclusion of tribal welfare as part of Social Welfare leads to this complication. In the formulation of annual plans, whenever a cut is to be made, it is generally against expenditure on Social Services. *State Governments have represented to us that their position becomes embarrassing if they try to give a higher priority to one branch of Social Services and refuse a similar priority to other branches. We agree with them and recommend that it will certainly be helpful if tribal welfare is separated from Social Welfare and given its own special importance and priority.*

10.38. We have found that in the States, tribal schemes, whether at the policy, administrative or executive level, are handled just like any other subject. The schemes so prepared assume the existence of conditions which do not invariably exist. This results in gaps in their preparation and their execution. Curious situations sometimes arise which cost Government inordinate losses in time and money.

10.39. *In some of the tribal areas, the working season does not exceed three or four months. Even in the other areas it does not exceed eight or nine. Once snow begins to fall or the rainy season sets in, no work is possible. The rain is often torrential; there are dangerous land-slides; the rising of the streams and rivers hamper all activity. The rules should take into consideration these special conditions.*

10.40. One of the most important lessons that the shortfalls have to teach us is that there should be a constant watch upon expenditure and achievement in tribal areas. Because of the difficulties of communications and special climatic conditions, last minute decisions often cannot be implemented. Decisions have, therefore, to be taken well in advance.

10.41. No scheme can be undertaken in the tribal areas without considering the availability of labour, the raw materials—especially those to be brought from outside, and coordination between various departments. Coordination in the tribal areas has to be a built-in process. These snags at the administrative and executive levels can only be combated if there is some agency entirely devoted to this special kind of work and is fully aware of the conditions and the difficulties of the local officers and the people. This involves the question of delegation of authority and functions.

10.42. Finally, these shortfalls did not occur in the last year. They should have been noticed in the earlier years. The Union Government and the State Governments concerned, therefore, could and should have devoted their attention to the basic difficulties that were hampering progress. They could then have checked up if the shortfalls were due to a low absorbing potential of the tribals or to lack of finance or some other reason. A periodical examination of such vital questions at the time of the annual appraisal of the Plan is necessary at the Union Government level. This appraisal would enable the Union Government to step in as and when the situation required.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 11

LAND AND THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

Land, Land Reforms, Land Transfers

According to the 1951 Census, out of 191 lakhs of Scheduled Tribes, 173 lakhs (90.5 per cent) were engaged in agriculture¹. Out of these 173 lakh agriculturists belonging to Scheduled Tribes, 28 lakhs were estimated to be landless labourers and their dependents. These figures will show the dependence of tribals on land. They will also dispel any doubt that the tribal, being a hill-man or a forest dweller, has little to do with agriculture.

11.2. Like his brother in the plains the tribal is land-hungry. There are several reasons for it, besides the common desire to possess land. One is that those tribals who practise shifting cultivation are growing in numbers and the jhum cycle is shortening alarmingly in most places. Similarly, those tribals who have taken to settled cultivation are also increasing in numbers. The heavy pressure on land of an ever-growing population is more and more apparent. The Commission has worked out the figures of agriculturists and the acreage under cultivation of nearly 50 districts which have a predominantly tribal population (Appendix VII)². In Andhra Pradesh the per capita holding comes to about 0.66 acres; in the Autonomous Hills Districts of Assam it comes to 0.5 acres; in the 9 tribal districts of Bihar 0.5 to 1.1 acres; in the 5 districts of Gujarat 1.2 to 2 acres; in the 19 districts of Madhya Pradesh 1 to 2.7 acres; in the 5 districts of Maharashtra 1 to 2.5 acres; in the 2 districts of Rajasthan 1.7 acres and in the 5 districts of West Bengal 0.8 acres to 1.2 acres. These figures include non-tribals also. The areas are, however, predominantly tribal areas.

11.3. The land per capita in the country is less than an acre as against 7.5 acres in the U.S.A. and 4.5 acres in the U.S.S.R. On an average a person dependent on agriculture in India has 1.6 acres of land. There are, however, wide variations from region to region as the following details show³.

Northern Region	1.01 acres.
Eastern Region	1.25 acres.
Southern Region	1.17 acres.
Western Region	2.29 acres.
Central Region	2.57 acres.
North-Western Region	2.59 acres.

11.4. In the absence of detailed economic surveys throughout the country it is difficult to assess precisely the size of tribal holdings in each area. We will, however, give the results of some economic surveys in the tribal areas.

11.5. In December, 1959, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth conducted a socio-economic survey of the Khedbrahma Tribal Development Block in the Sabarkantha District of Gujarat¹. It shows that—

- (a) out of 459 families surveyed, 12 were landless;
- (b) each family had on an average 5.32 acres of land. The land in this part of the country is sandy as in Rajasthan and can be of some value if water is available.

11.6. The Madhya Pradesh Government conducted an economic survey in selected villages in its Tribal Development Blocks².

The average size of the holdings was about 15.95 acres. The average was the highest, 45.33 acres in the Dantewara Block in Bastar District and was the lowest, 9.23 acres in the Pondi-Uprora Block in the Bilaspur District.

11.7. As a result of the socio-economic survey conducted by the Government of Rajasthan of Dungarpur and Banswara Districts, which are Scheduled Areas, it was found that the size of average holding was 4.40 and 5.95 acres in Dungarpur and Banswara Districts respectively³. A similar survey was carried out in Manipur which disclosed that the size of average holding there was 2.80 acres⁴.

11.8. This shows that conditions are by no means uniform in all the tribal areas. There is also a disparity in the size of individual holdings. This will be clear from the particulars given below:—

- (a) In the Khedbrahma Tribal Development Block in Gujarat, 14.2 per cent of the families hold 40.3 per cent of the total agricultural land, whereas 56.2 per cent of the families hold 23 per cent of the land⁵.
- (b) In the Chhindwara District of Madhya Pradesh, 6 per cent of the land-holders hold 36 per cent of the total agricultural land, whereas 55 per cent of the land-holders hold only 13 per cent⁶.
- (c) In the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh, holdings of 12 per cent of the land-holders exceed 20 acres, whereas 50.33 per cent of land-holders hold less than 5 acres. Similarly, in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh, holdings of 16 per cent of land-holders exceed 10 acres, whereas 61.52 per cent of land-holders hold less than 5 acres⁷.

It is evident that in the tribal areas the majority of the cultivators have uneconomic holdings. If the holdings appear to be of bigger size as compared to those in the non-tribal areas, it should be remembered that by and large tribal land is of poor quality. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there should be an ever-increasing hunger for more and better land.

11.9. Poor soil, poor techniques of cultivation and the burden of indebtedness have been largely responsible for the many handicaps and hardships which the tribal has suffered for decades. Till Independence, he was fighting a losing game. Even after Independence the odds continue to be against him, even though steps, unfortunately often inadequate, have been taken by Government to help him. The assistance that he needs is, of course, in relation to intensive and

scientific methods of cultivation. Intensive cultivation will be discussed in the chapter on Agriculture. The problem of tribal rights in land is, however, equally important.

Land and Legislation

11.10. There have been two types of legislation to preserve tribal rights in land. One is protective, intended to prevent non-tribals acquiring tribal land, and the other deals with the question of land reforms as the term is generally understood. Both types of legislation have fallen short of the needs of the situation. The protective legislation could not be of much use as no arrangement for alternative credit was made. The land reform legislation could not help the tribal because it was too intricate for him to follow. We shall first examine the legislation concerning land reforms.

Land Reforms

11.11. The problem of land reforms in the tribal areas stands on a different footing from elsewhere. In large parts of tribal areas there was at one time a sort of communal ownership. But even where there was individual ownership the tribals used to own the land in their own right. Gradually, indebtedness and poverty forced a good proportion amongst the tribals first to hypothecate and then to part with their land. They came to be tenants of their bondees or mortgagees. The problem of land reforms in the tribal areas, therefore, is a mixed one of security of tenure, protection against rackrenting and protection against the usurious methods of the money-lenders. In the plains areas the land-holder was the owner or held directly from the Government and the tenants were those who got their title from him. Unhappily, the State Governments have not fully appreciated the difference between conditions in the tribal areas and in the plains. The schemes of land reform have been by and large based upon a 'landlord-tenant' relationship which cannot help the tribals who have leased, mortgaged or otherwise hypothecated their land against debts contracted by them or have transferred their land and become tenants of their bondees or mortgagees in respect of their own land. This is one major deficiency in the approach to the question of land reforms in the tribal areas.

States' Reactions

11.12. Land Reforms in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh have not been completed. In the remaining States and Union Territories, land reforms have been completed and are being implemented, and tribal cultivators have been or are being brought in direct relation with the State. But from the replies to the questionnaire it appears that none of the State Governments and the Union Territories have any planned programme to educate the tribals so that they may take full advantage of the newly acquired rights in land.

11.13. All States and Union Territories, except Madhya Pradesh, have stated that they have not heard any complaint that land reforms have done more harm than good to the tribals. The Madhya Pradesh Government considers that since a large number of intermediaries had to be replaced on the abolition of zamindari, the State was required to make alternate arrangements. This necessarily involved posting of a small group of Government officials for the purpose and

it was just possible, because of the great distances involved, that the tribals in inaccessible areas might have found it difficult to contact them. The State Governments think that the strengthening of the local panchayats would progressively improve the situation.

The Position in the States

11.14. *Assam*—In the Autonomous Hills Districts of Assam, the administration of land vests in the District Councils who have passed necessary laws restricting the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals. The land tenure system in the hills is based on the traditional system followed by the hillmen from earlier times. In the plains districts, the Assam State Acquisition of Zamindari Act, 1951, the Assam Fixation of Ceiling on Land Holdings Act, 1958, and the Assam Adhiars Protection and Regulation Act, 1948, have been applied and the various State Tenancy Acts have been amended to conform to modern ideas of land reform. All these Acts are in process of implementation.

11.15. *Punjab*—In Punjab, no special reforms have been undertaken in the interest of the Scheduled Tribes. The tribes there, at the same time, are subject to the Punjab Security of Land Tenure Act which applies to the whole of the Punjab excluding the old PEPSU areas and which lays down a ceiling of 30 standard acres. In Spiti, apart from a few monasteries, there is only one land-owner who has a cultivable area of more than 30 standard acres. The law ensures security of tenure to the tenants of small land-owners as long as they are not settled on a surplus area. In the entire State, tenants (including tribal tenants) who are holding non-resumable areas have been given the right to purchase proprietary interests. However, tenants of small landowners have not been given any such right of purchase.

11.16. *Rajasthan*—In Rajasthan, under sub-section (i) of Section 15 of the Rajasthan Tenancy Act, 1955, every person who at the commencement of the said Act (15th October, 1955) was a tenant of land, otherwise than a sub-tenant or tenant of Khudkasht or to whom land had been temporarily allotted in the Ganga Canal, Bhakra, Chambal or Jawai Project Areas or persons to whom land had been let out before 15th October, 1955, in furtherance of the Grow-More Food Campaign or under some special orders a sub-tenant or tenant who made a breach of any order or condition of his holding, became a Khatedar tenant except in respect of the categories of land specified in Section 16 of the Act. Under Section 19 of the Tenancy Act, as substituted by Section 3 of the Rajasthan Act No. 7 of 1959, every person who at the commencement of this Act was entered in the annual registers then current, as a tenant of Khudkasht and sub-tenant of land other than grove land, subject to other provisions, became a Khatedar tenant of such part of the land held by him as does not exceed the minimum area prescribed by the State Government for the purpose of clause (a) of sub-section (1) of Section 190 or exceeds the maximum area from which such person is liable to ejection under clause (d) of the said sub-section of the said Section. Rights of tribals on land have been further safeguarded by making special provision in the Tenancy Act prohibiting sub-letting or exchange of land so far as land belonging to Scheduled Tribes is concerned.

11.17. *West Bengal*—In West Bengal, the Zamindari system has been abolished, ceilings on agricultural holdings have already been imposed and surplus land in excess of the ceiling have been and are being taken possession by the Collectors and are being settled with the persons who are actually cultivating land. The tribals who cultivate lands of other persons as share-croppers are protected against eviction under the Land Reforms Act, but they have no right to purchase the interests of the land-holder and secure occupancy rights.

11.18. *Andhra Pradesh*—The Mustajari system was followed in Chinamerengi, Parvatipuram and Kurupam estates in Srikakulam District, while the Muttadari system was followed in East Godavari and Visakhapatnam Districts. According to the Mustajari system Mustajars were yearly tenants without holding any proprietary rights, whereas under the Muttadari system the Muttadars act as intermediaries to the Government in collecting land revenue, helping to maintain law and order and enjoy, in return, a good part of the revenue they collect. The Government has decided to abolish these systems and to introduce the ryotwari system. The question of paying compensation to Mustajars and Muttadars is, however, under consideration, and in the meantime they naturally continue to enjoy their hold on the tribals.

Implementation of Land Reforms Legislation

11.19. Most of the State Governments feel satisfied about the various tenancy and land reform legislations undertaken by them. We have, however, observed that at the implementation stage various difficulties arise and exploiters, who thrive on the ignorance of the tribals, take full advantage of them.

11.20. In the old Bombay Region, beginning from 1938 there were series of tenancy laws, the last one to come on the Statute Book being the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act. This Act which affords protection to the tenants is in force in the new State of Gujarat and in the Maharashtra region of the old Bombay State. The Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950, is in force in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands (Vidarbha Region and Kutch Area) Act, 1958, is in force in the Vidarbha area of Maharashtra and the Kutch area of Gujarat.

11.21. According to the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948, all tenants except—

- (a) those holding lands which are exempted from the provisions of the Act; or
- (b) those who hold land from minors, widows or serving members of the Armed Forces or physically or mentally disabled; or
- (c) those who hold land from those whose total holding as owner exceeds the ceiling area; or
- (d) those whose landlords have instituted proceedings for resumption of lands;

are deemed to have purchased the lands cultivated by them from the 1st of April 1957.

The extent of land which the tenant is deemed to have purchased is so much as will make the total holding of the tenant equal to the ceiling area irrespective of the extent of the land remaining

with the landlord after the purchase. According to the Act, the protected tenants have been deemed to have purchased lands to the extent of family holdings with the condition that what remains with the landlord after the purchase is not to be less than two family holdings. So far as ordinary tenants are concerned, they are conferred voluntary right of purchase to the extent of one family holding, leaving the landlord with at least one family holding. The Act also provides for compulsory transfer of land to these tenants to the same extent as in the case of protected tenants.

11.22. The present position, therefore, is that from the 1st of April 1957, all tenants in the two States of Gujarat and Maharashtra will be deemed to have acquired occupancy rights, the occupancy price being worked out later. Before the enactment of this legislation, there had been continuous changes in the tenancy legislation for 20 years. The Gujarat workers in the know of the implementation of the tenancy legislation gave the Commission an idea that because of the changes and defective execution, the evictions and surrenders together have resulted in at least 20 per cent of the tribals losing their land.

11.23. In the Maharashtra region, we had an opportunity to discuss this question with both non-officials and officials. It was explained to us that in the provisions of the Act, while the tenant was accepted as an occupant as on the 1st April 1957, he had to go through a long procedure before he could get his title-deeds. There was no special machinery for the tribal tenants and they had to take their chance with others. The magnitude of the work can be imagined from the fact that the Taluka Offices were overwhelmed with large numbers of applications. In Dahanu Taluka, for instance, there were 20,000 applications out of which only 4,000 have so far been disposed of. In Jawhar Taluka there were 4,500 enquiries out of which 3,000 have been completed. In Shahapur there were 7,000 enquiries out of which half have been completed. The total disposal up to now is approximately 33 per cent. There is no arrangement for legal aid to the tribals.

11.24. In the evidence recorded in Ghodegaon, the people said that nearly half the number of tenants had lost their land. In Pokhari, they corroborated this statement. The Advisory Board of the Peint Tribal Development Block said that 15 to 30 per cent of the land belonging to tenants must have gone out of their hands.

11.25. We examined some of the Collectors who gave us their views about the impact of tenancy legislation in their respective districts. The Collector of one of the districts said that while under the tenancy laws some concessions in the nature of increase in the limits of ceiling area and fixation of reasonable prices have been granted, the economic condition of the population has remained unchanged. Another Collector said in his Memorandum that except for two changes—in the matter of ceilings and compensation—all the other provisions applied to the lands held by the tribals as they apply to others. He added, "There is no salutary effect of the tenancy legislation in general in this Taluka, due to ignorance and illiteracy".

11.26. A third Collector said in his Memorandum, "The percentage of tenants as compared to owners is generally small in tribal areas as compared to other areas. The tribal people in the tribal area..... have not, however, been able to make full use of the privileges conferred

by the tenancy legislation....From the number of cases so far decided it is seen that about 50 per cent. of the cultivators in the Scheduled Areas and the proposed Scheduled Areas have expressed their unwillingness to purchase the land from the landlords and the purchases have been consequently declared ineffective". Similarly, a fourth Collector said, "The tenancy law has not had any conspicuous impact on the life of the tribals."

11.27. Our observations in regard to Gujarat and Maharashtra States apply with equal force to other States. Howsoever well-intentioned a legislation may be, the tribals may still not receive its benefits. At many places we observed that the tribals could not purchase proprietary interests in lands either because they did not know about their right or they had no money or they were under the thumb of the land-holders. The total effect left on our minds relating to the Land Reforms in the States is that they have produced mixed results, in some respects good, but for a fair percentage they have resulted in the loss of land.

Land Alienation

11.28. We have discussed, in the chapter on Governors' Powers, the laws in force in the Scheduled Areas. We give in Appendix VIII the legislation undertaken by various States to protect the rights of tribals in land.

11.29. From a study of the legislations in that appendix it will be clear that the authorities have almost everywhere been doing something to help the tribals. But except in the hill districts of Assam, Manipur and NEFA, as we shall see, the resulting benefits have been only nominal.

11.30. The main reasons are (i) the lacunae in the laws, (ii) the ignorance of the tribal people and (iii) the complicated legal procedures to be followed. Their shrewd opponents have hitherto had a clear field, for they know that the tribals are no match for them in monetary, legal and technical matters.

Methods Examined

11.31. We have tried to study the methods by which the money-lenders circumvent legislation despite every effort by the States to plug the lacunae therein. We take a specimen for the purpose. An Act called the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act was enacted by the then Bihar Government in 1908. It prohibited all alienation by gift or any other contract or agreement in respect of raiyat except—

- (a) Mortgages and leases for any period of less than five years;
- (b) Bhugat Banda mortgages for any period of less than seven years;
- (c) Mortgages to registered Co-operative Societies for 15 years;
- (d) Transfers permitted by rules subject to official sanction, the condition being that such transfer should not be from an aboriginal to a non-aboriginal.

This enactment also empowered the Deputy Commissioners to restore within three years the possession of the land through summary procedure.

11.32. This Act was amended thrice, once in 1938, again in 1947 and again in 1955. Every time the Government tried to remedy its defects, the other side found out some loop-hole which again had to be plugged.

(1) The Amendment introduced in 1938 widened the scope of alienability. It maintained the provisions mentioned at (a), (b) and (c) in paragraph 11.31, above, and made the following additions:—

- (a) An aboriginal occupancy raiyat or a member of Scheduled Caste could transfer his holdings by sale or exchange to another aboriginal or a member of the Scheduled Caste, as the case may be, resident in the police station area with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner and that in the case of gifts or wills to a near relative the transferee, it was further enacted, need not be a resident of the police station area.
- (b) Similar right was conferred on the non-tribal raiyats in respect of transfers of lands to non-Scheduled Caste raiyats.
- (c) Deputy Commissioners were authorised to restore possession within twelve years through summary procedure.

(2) The amendment introduced in 1947 enjoined that a tribal could transfer his land only to another tribal and not to a member of Scheduled Caste. Similarly, a member of the Scheduled Caste could transfer his holdings only to another member of the Scheduled Caste. In respect of non-tribal and non-Scheduled Caste persons all restrictions were removed. In respect of restoration the position was reverted to that obtaining in 1908.

(3) The amendment made in 1955 extended protection to all Backward Classes.

11.33. A critical examination of these changes would show—


- (a) The original Act as enacted in 1908 provided a blanket provision for protection. Though the rule-making power had been conferred upon the Government by this legislation to authorise certain transactions, it was meant to meet exceptional cases.
- (b) By the amendment introduced in 1938 transfers of land by tribals to members of the Scheduled Castes became legal. It was not realised that the Scheduled Castes in tribal areas were comparatively more shrewd than the unsophisticated tribals and, the amendment would provide legal opportunities for the exploitation of the tribals by members of the Scheduled Castes or others in the name of the Scheduled Castes.
- (c) The amendment introduced in 1947 remedied the lacuna mentioned at (b), above. But it took away the privilege of summary remedy in case of illegal transfers by sale or gift.
- (d) The amendments introduced in 1938 and 1947 did not take into consideration the possibility of Benami transactions nor did they take into consideration the possibility of usufructuary mortgages being extended beyond five or seven

years or the possibility of mortgages holding on beyond the term.

- (e) Removal of the blanket provision that existed in the original Act of 1908, enabled shrewd merchants and money-lenders to secure transfers in their favour. For instance, in one district it was brought to the Commission's notice that during the period from 1957-58 to 1960-61, 38 per cent. of the applications for transfer of tribals' lands to non-tribals had been allowed under Section 46 of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act. These, of course, do not include the transfers which have been taking place on account of the loop-holes in the Act.

11.34. We have deliberately given a long resume of legislation in one State. Any reader unaccustomed to the atmosphere of the law courts would be puzzled by it. If that is our reaction we can easily imagine the reaction of the unfortunate tribal who is a stranger to the complex and sophisticated methods of the modern courts of Justice.

11.35. The conflict between the law-makers and the exploiter does not end here. There are other ways of displacing the tribals. Section 49 of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act permits transfers of tribal lands with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner for the following purposes:—

- 
- (i) Charitable;
 - (ii) Religious;
 - (iii) Education;
 - (iv) Industrial;
 - (v) Irrigation;
 - (vi) Buildings;
 - (vii) Access to land used or required for any of these purposes;
 - (viii) Mining;
 - (ix) Purposes subsidiary to mining; and
 - (x) Access to land used or required for mining.

Though it is claimed by the authorities that proper enquiries are made to satisfy themselves that a transfer is for "reasonable and sufficient purpose", cases are not wanting when under the garb of any of these purposes the tribals have been deprived of their lands by non-tribals.

11.36. Section 46(3) of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act similarly prohibits any Civil, Criminal or Revenue Court from recognising transfers of lands in contravention of Section 46 of the Act. It has, however, come to the notice of the Commission that indirect transfers, without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioners have been taking place through declaratory suits filed in civil courts. The tribal raiyat helplessly or through ignorance acts in collusion with the transferee. The suit either goes uncontested or the parties compromise the suit outside the court and this eventually forms the basis of a decree. We are surprised that the Civil Courts have been entertaining such suits in contravention of the provisions of Section 46(3)

of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act. The matter needs to be investigated. *The situation can be remedied if Section 46(4) of the Act is amended and the Deputy Commissioners are empowered to examine all transfers either by agreement or under a decree or order of a Court. Pending the proposed amendment it should be possible for the State Government to put in an appearance in all such cases to prevent the passing of decrees against the tribals' interests.*

11.37. Similar deficiencies have been noticed in the enactments or regulations made by the various State Governments to prevent the alienation of tribal lands. In Tripura and Kerala, the problem has assumed serious proportions. In Kerala, it is reported that the tribal lands have been transferred to non-tribals at negligible prices, especially in the Udumbanchola, Wynaad, Peermede and Devicolam Taluks.

11.38. A large number of transfers have taken place near Ranchi, of lands which have been recorded as "Chhaperbandi", which are lands converted for non-agricultural purposes. We have been given details of 209 such cases that have occurred since 1957. It is said that the existing law does not prevent such transfers.

11.39. The tribals complained to us also about encroachments on Khuntkatti land, purchase of lands by private persons at tempting prices and purchase of land for townships without any provision for the tribal houses.

Other Methods

11.40. There are various other methods resorted to by non-tribals to get possession of the tribal lands. One is the familiar method of utilising the machinery of the courts, before which the tribal is more or less powerless. The second is the method of temptation of immediate gain. The tribal under a momentary inducement allows himself to be used by the money-lender or the usurper as a witness against himself. The third method is called 'bazdawa', by which the tribal is induced to suffer a decree being passed by a court of law against himself. A fourth is that of the tribal accepting before a court of law that his opponent holds the land by adverse possession. Then there is the voluntary surrender. In the Bardoli Taluka of Gujarat State, out of 3,648 Scheduled Tribe tenants in April 1957, holding 10,622 acres of land, 1,572 surrendered their lands to the extent of 5,960 acres¹⁰. Though these surrenders are usually taken as voluntary, in most cases they are actually engineered by the landlords who take advantages of their victim's ignorance. These are the various methods used by the non-tribals to get possession of the tribal lands.

11.41. We have seen how the tribal is losing his land and to what a small extent the protective machinery of the State has been of assistance to him. The reasons for this state of affairs are obvious. One of the most important is the lack of adequate knowledge of the real conditions in the tribal areas on the part of the authorities. The tribal is at the mercy of unscrupulous money-lenders who mostly come from outside and who have no interest in maintaining the tribal social structure or improving the tribal economy. The second reason is complicated legislation. Formerly, the tribal panchayats settled all disputes, thus avoiding recourse to endless litigation in costly law courts, the proceedings of which are totally incomprehensible to

the tribal. In a mixed population the tribal panchayats cannot operate. The great reason, however, is lack of alternative source of credit. This keeps him under the thumb of the money-lenders. We think there is cause for serious concern and we, therefore, recommend to the States as follows.

Recommendations to Prevent Land Alienation

11.42. There is need for a detailed scrutiny of all legislations affecting tribals' land. The complicated procedures that have resulted in depriving the tribal of assistance also require to be examined. We recommend, therefore, that all existing Acts and Regulations should be examined by a Committee in each State and Union Territory with the ultimate object of preventing completely transfers of tribals' lands to non-tribals for some time to come. It may be necessary in many cases to amend the present laws drastically. If this is likely to take time, we recommend that the Governors may, in exercise of the powers conferred on them under the Fifth Schedule, issue the necessary Regulations without delay.

11.43. We also recommend that there should be a general prohibition of all transfers, whether by sale, mortgage, gift or lease under any kind of agreement or contract entered into by tribals in favour of non-tribals without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector. The Government should make Rules in consultation with the Tribes Advisory Council governing grant of the permission by the Deputy Commissioner or Collector, after ascertaining the conditions prevailing in each area.

11.44. We would similarly recommend that there should be a bar against suits or applications against any such order made by a Deputy Commissioner or Collector and courts of law should be precluded from taking cognisance of such transfers by sale, mortgage, gift or lease or any other agreement or contract and from passing decree thereon unless arrangement has been entered into with the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector.

11.45. We further recommend that the Deputy Commissioner or Collector should have powers suo moto or at the instance of the aggrieved tribal land-holder within a period of 12 years to institute enquiries and restore possession of the land with or without payment of any compensation to the transferee. This provision should be made applicable to all transfers of lands by tribals to non-tribals with retrospective effect from the 26th January, 1950. Adequate machinery should be created to implement these laws or regulations.

11.46. Finally, we recommend that all surrenders must only be to the State, which should hold the surrendered land as a trustee for the tribals.

11.47. We feel strongly that it is necessary to launch a campaign to educate the tribals, preferably through non-official agencies, regarding the laws or regulations made for their benefit and render them necessary financial and legal assistance to secure full advantage thereof.

DISPLACEMENT AS A RESULT OF LAND ACQUISITION

11.48. Besides the displacement caused as above there is another cause for large scale displacement. The Union and the State Governments have to acquire tribals' lands for development projects such

as irrigation, power, mining and industry, both for public sector schemes as well as for the private sector schemes. The following table gives the necessary information in respect of some of the projects which have resulted in the displacement of the tribals and the quantum of effort made to rehabilitate them¹¹:—

TABLE 16

Project	No. of Scheduled Tribe families displaced	Area from which the Scheduled Tribe families displaced (Acres)	No. of Scheduled Tribe families settled on land	Area on which Scheduled Tribe families settled (Acres)
1	2	3	4	5
Maithon Dam (Bihar and West Bengal).	3,296	13,138	464	2,286
Mayurakshi Dam (Bihar)	2,910	7,215	..	2,082
Panchet Dam (Bihar and West Bengal).	1,916	1,951	..	..
Hirakud Dam (Madhya Pradesh & Orissa).	1,636	11,116	300	..
Maohkund Hydro-Electric Project (Orissa).	1,500	13,705	450	2,250
Rourkela Steel Project (Orissa)	1,271	8,158	843	..
Mandira Dam (Orissa)	817	4,225	447	1,696
Sindri Fertilizer Factory (Bihar).	597	1,228	973	..
Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi. (Bihar)	210	1,502	..	..
TOTAL	14,113	62,238	3,477	8,314

11.49. We appreciate the efforts made by the State Governments in attempting to rehabilitate the tribals. We also realise that the policy adopted for rehabilitation now also stands in striking contrast to the policy adopted before Independence, when it was not considered to be the responsibility of the State to see to the rehabilitation of the tribals in that detail. We are aware that in serving the larger interest of the community, individual interests have sometimes to be subordinated. *We feel that adequate safeguards, however, will have to be provided to ensure that the displaced persons are saved from loss, discomfort and anxiety as much as possible.*

Principle of Rehabilitation

11.50. It is also necessary that an investigation should be made to discover the level at which displaced tribals are absorbed in the changed economic pattern. Compensation, as suggested in the Land Acquisition Rules, is a partial solution of the problem. But efforts

should also be made to ensure that the tribal does not become rootless. In our opinion the new pattern, whatever it is, will also need agricultural supplies like vegetables, meat, eggs, milk and milk products. If, as part of the rehabilitation scheme, the tribal is given land to produce these supplies, he will become complementary to the new pattern and not surplus as he so often is today. The great hope of the tribal lies in the authorities implementing the social objective along with the economic objective. There is no reason why the tribal should lose his independent status along with his land and be a dependent in the new industrial set up.

11.51. Land has also been acquired for other miscellaneous purposes, for example, for agricultural farms, for buildings for the Community Development Blocks, for the construction of townships and so on. What is surprising and disconcerting is that when this is done, the man to whom the land belongs is often forgotten. In Hatia Project in Ranchi we asked the seniormost officer-in-charge of the Project as to the difficulties involved in giving land for housing to the tribals in the new Hatia township. His answer revealed some kind of a vague feeling that the tribal houses might not fit in with the industrial surroundings. It is a question whether the purposes of development can be served by ignoring the human aspect. There is no reason why the tribal houses cannot be adapted to a modern township without losing their essential character.

Recommendations for Rehabilitation of Displaced Tribals

11.52. To neutralise or modify the ill-effects of displacement, we make the following recommendations:—

- (a) *The scheme of rehabilitation of the persons likely to be displaced should form a part of the project itself and adequate financial provision should be made for it as a part of the project expenditure.*
- (b) *In selecting alternative sites, the acquiring authority should consult the tribals and their representatives.*
- (c) *So long as uncultivated land is available in the neighbourhood, land under cultivation should not be acquired.*
- (d) *In following the principle of compensation of giving land for land and house for house, if the value of land allotted is less than the value of land acquired, the difference should be made good by payment in cash.*
- (e) *Work on the development of colonies for displaced persons should be completed before they are asked to vacate their lands and houses.*
- (f) *Persons likely to be affected as a result of a project should have preference in employment on the project work, subject to the considerations of technical qualifications, where they are needed.*

Allotment of Land

11. 53. As we have seen, according to the 1951 Census, out of 191 lakhs of Scheduled Tribes, 173 lakhs were agriculturists, of whom 28 lakhs were landless labourers. The percentage of distribution of landless labourers from among the Scheduled Tribes is as under:—

South India—27.2.

Western India—21.1.

Central India—18.3.

Eastern India—10.5.

Northern India—1.7.

11.54. The following table gives some important details about the tribal landless labourers and the total cultivable waste land available in various parts of the country¹²:—

TABLE 17

Zone	No. of Scheduled Tribes Landless labourers and their dependents (1951 Census)	Cultivable waste land available (in acres) (1951-52)
1	2	3
Southern	2,95,910	86,60,000
Western	7,27,497	2,20,66,000
Central	10,19,353	1,40,22,000
Eastern	7,60,399	47,40,000
Northern	6	84,69,000
Total	28,03,165	5,79,57,000

11.55. Considering the availability of such vast areas, the rehabilitation of tribal landless labourers in the tribal areas like Bastar, Surguja, etc., should not present any difficulty, as, firstly, such areas are sparsely populated; and, secondly, the number of agricultural labourers in these areas will be comparatively small. In other areas such as Yeotmal, Dhulia or Broach, there is bound to be considerable difficulty as there are a large number of agricultural labourer and availability of waste-land for allotment is limited. The situation is particularly serious in the tribal areas of Yeotmal District of Maharashtra State on this account. *One solution in such an area might be to persuade the landless labourers to move to other place where land is available.* While in theory this seems easy, in practice it fails to work because the tribal people are usually unwilling to move from their original homes on a permanent basis. Again, the host areas may not be enthusiastic about receiving outsiders. *The second and immediate solution is through intensive cultivation of whatever land is available. This will naturally create more demand for labour which eventually will provide employment to the landless labourers. A third solution is to develop new skills among the landless and give them greater facilities for learning different cottage industries. The real solution, however, lies in an integrated approach, we have recommended elsewhere and the details of which are given in Appendix VI.*

Land Allotment in Assam

11.56. Since the beginning of this century a large number of immigrants, particularly from East Bengal, have been settling on tribal lands in the plains areas of Assam. To protect the tribals from

exploitation by them and to enable planned settlement of immigrants, the State Government has passed various resolutions. The latest position is as under:—

- (a) People from outside the village should be settled on planned basis only in the undeveloped villages, viz., those villages with more than 200 bighas of waste-land. 30 per cent of the cultivable waste land in such villages should be kept for the needs of the villages invariably. Settlement is not to exceed 30 bighas in the case of a large family.
- (b) The tribals are to be protected by the constitution of Tribal Belts and Blocks in areas predominantly occupied by them.
- (c) Grazing and other reserves are to be maintained.

To give effect to (b) above, under Chapter X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation, Tribal Belts and Blocks have been constituted covering an area of 5,715 square miles with villages where the percentage of tribals is more than 50. The population of this State has considerably increased as a result both of natural growth and of the influx of a large number of displaced persons from East Bengal. Moreover, on account of the earthquake of 1950 and subsequent floods, large areas, particularly in the districts of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar, have been rendered unfit for cultivation. There is thus an abundant pressure on land. Since the areas in the interior have now been opened by communications a large number of tribal people have been falling a prey to the temptation of exorbitant prices offered for their lands by non-tribals. As a result of this inflationary demand a large number of the tribals have been displaced.

We consider that the constitution of Tribal Belts and Blocks does not provide adequate protection to the tribals from the pressure of the non-tribals. To remedy this, the Advisory Council of the Plains Tribals of Assam and many other people suggested to us that the provisions of the Fifth Schedule may be made applicable to the Assam plains. *We have made proposals for general legislation and its implications on declaration of these as Scheduled Areas. But this in our opinion is a serious problem demanding serious attention on the part of the State.*

Land Allotment in Other States

11.57. Efforts are being made to allot lands to the tribals. But there are a number of difficulties. The State Governments have been following different policies. In the first instance, the Governments of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore and the Tripura Administration have now agreed that it is necessary to give the tribals first preference in the tribal areas. The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Orissa and West Bengal, however, are stressing that priority should be given to tribals only in the vicinity of their existing habitations. The Government of Bihar, while accepting the principle that some priority should be given to tribals in land allotment, does not consider it necessary to give first preference. The Government of Maharashtra has given fifth priority to the Scheduled Tribes in the Scheduled Areas and the sixth in the non-Scheduled Areas. It should not be forgotten that before 1894, the tribals were enjoying a right—or a concession, whatever it may be—that they

were free to cultivate whatever areas they cleared. The conditions are different now, but if the land is available there is no reason why a person belonging to the area should not get the preference if he otherwise deserves it. *Having regard to the spirit of the Fifth Schedule and the history of the areas, we are clear that in the areas which are today recognised as Scheduled Areas and in the areas where there is a predominantly tribal population, first priority should be given to the tribal people. In other areas they should rank for this purpose with the Scheduled Castes.*

11.58. The second difficulty is about the schemes or colonisation. These schemes are drawn up rather mechanically. The governing idea more often than not is to shift the tribals from the areas of 'jhum' cultivation or forests. We feel that there should be a regular plan for the allotment of land and rehabilitation. These two ideas have a bearing upon one another. If adequate land is not allotted and adequate facilities are not given, the purpose of allotment of land fails. We found in a Birhor colony in Hazaribagh that for nine families the land given did not exceed five acres. There were no irrigation facilities and much of the colonisation money was spent on housing. In this respect what we have found is not a lack of sympathy, but a lack of detailed thinking and follow-up. We would, therefore, recommend—

- (1) *There should be a regular plan drawn up, for every Scheduled Area and the area where the Scheduled Tribes are in considerable numbers, for allotment of cultivable wasteland. A certain portion of the cultivable waste may be set apart for the future needs of the State, the general public or the villagers, other lands being distributed without any further delay. Only such number of families may be accommodated there as can maintain themselves upon the land.*
- (2) *Along with the allotment of land immediate steps should be taken to extend the following facilities to the tribals:—*
 - (i) *Irrigation—This should be provided before allotment of land is made.*
 - (ii) *Credit—not on some mechanical basis, but having regard to the tribals' need to clear the area, construct houses, dig wells and maintain themselves till the new harvesting season.*
 - (iii) *Housing—The taste, tradition and needs of the tribals should be borne in mind. They should be permitted to build their own houses from locally-available material.*

In addition, all materials required for digging wells may be made available to the tribals. A condition should be attached to the allotment to the effect that if tribal allottee desires to shift he should surrender the land with the housing material to the State.

11.59. *Various State Governments have already enacted or are about to enact legislations prescribing ceiling on holdings. It is, however, unlikely that as a result much surplus land will become available in the tribal areas for allotment. Should, however, there be any*

surplus land the tribals should have a certain preference in its allotment.

11. 60. *There is a suggestion to allot surplus lands or cultivable waste to co-operatives only. While tribal co-operatives may have precedence, the allotment of land should not be tied up with any such condition. In some of the States preference is given to persons evicted from original holdings by the landlords whether it is on the application of the tenancy legislation or on the application of the ceilings legislation. We approve of this.*

11.61. *Finally, in the Scheduled Areas and the areas having a majority of tribals, landless tribals should receive the high priority.*

11.62. The land utilisation figures as given by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, in their publication "Agricultural Situation in India", give us hope that if the State Governments desire, they can provide land to all landless tribals. We give these figures in Appendix IX¹³. Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Punjab and Mysore have enough lands besides the forest areas that have not been brought under the plough. We hope and trust that it will be possible to solve the problem of allotment of land, upon which the Constitution lays so much emphasis under the Fifth Schedule, within the Third Plan period, so as to give maximum satisfaction to the tribals. This will also reverse the present trend whereby everybody seems to be after the tribals' land.

Bhoodan

11.63. One thing which has benefited the tribals is the Bhoodan activity. Nearly 44 lakh acres of land have been collected by August 1960, and about 9 lakh acres of land have been actually distributed to the landless including tribals.¹⁴ We may also expect that the remaining land will be soon distributed.

RECORD OF RIGHTS

11.64. Finally, we would refer to an important subject, the preparation of the Record of Rights. In most of the inaccessible and ex-zamindari areas, no proper records of rights have been prepared. In Madhya Pradesh, it was brought to our notice that the *pattas* issued by the ex-zamindars to the tribals in many places had not even been recognised by the State Government with the result that the tribals could easily be ejected from land which they had been cultivating for generations. The Governments of Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Maharashtra agree that as a first step a vigorous effort should be made to stabilise the tribal people on their land which they have been traditionally cultivating by issuing *pattas* in their favour. The Government of Maharashtra has stated that, where it has not been done already, steps are being taken to introduce the Record of Rights. The Governments of Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, West Bengal and the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Himachal Pradesh have stated that the tribals already hold such *pattas*. The Administration of Manipur states that unless the shifting cultivation system changes no recording can be effective. This can be done only for terraced fields. The NEFA Administration is of the view that this will raise unnecessary doubts in the tribals' minds, as at present rights in land are

passed on from generation to generation through laws of inheritance, and everyone accepts them. Therefore, they consider immediate preparation of Record of Rights as premature though it may be taken up in due course.

11.65. In Orissa, the Commission observed that there are many unsurveyed areas traditionally considered to belong to the tribal communities of different villages. During the preparation of the Record of Rights, these traditional rights have been totally ignored in many places. They are now being recorded as Government waste land and are occasionally leased out to individuals, a policy which encroaches on the traditional communal rights of the tribals. It was also observed by the Commission that during the current survey operations, a large number of perfunctory entries had been made, adversely affecting the rights of the tribals.

11.66. *We consider that the work of preparing the Record of Rights, as far as the tribals are concerned, should be completed as early as possible. Since most of the tribals are illiterate and ignorant of the implications of various enactments, the approach to this work should be a human one rather than legalistic and should take full note of tribal custom and tradition. Possession of a certain piece of land should be regarded as a prima facie proof to warrant recording of that land in favour of a tribal unless there are circumstances to show that it is illegally acquired.*

11.67. We can do no better than stress that behind the provisions of the Fifth Schedule in relation to the protection of rights in land and allotment of land lies a great urge to stabilise the tribal, enable him to feel secure and sustain his way of life. As has been stated in the Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks:—

“The tribal people are bound to their land by many and intimate ties. Their feeling for it is something more than mere possessiveness. It is connected with their sense of history, for their legends tell of the great journeys they made over the wild and lonely hills and of the heroic pioneers who made the first clearings in the forest. It is part of their reverence for the dead, whose spirits still haunt the countrysides. The land is the mother who provides for them in response to the labours of their hands and who, when supplies run short, feeds them with a hundred natural gifts. It is the setting of adventure, in love, in hunting and in war, which can never be forgotten. The land is the foundation of a sense of security and freedom from fear; its assured possession is a lasting road to peace”.¹⁵

We hope and trust even at this late hour it will be possible for the State Governments to take an earnest interest in implementing this provision of the Constitution.

Recommendations

11.68. *We, therefore, make the following recommendations:—*

(i) Section 46(4) of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act should be amended to prevent indirect transfer of tribals' lands to non-tribals. The Deputy Commissioners be empowered to examine all transfers either by agreement or under a decree or order of a Court. Pending the proposed amendment it should be possible for the

Government of Bihar to put in an appearance in all such cases to prevent the issue of decrees against the tribals' interests.

(ii) All existing acts and regulations affecting tribals' lands be examined by a Committee in each State and Union Territory from the point of view of preventing transfers of tribals' lands. It may be necessary in many cases to amend the present laws drastically. If this is likely to take time, the Governors may, in exercise of the powers conferred on them under the Fifth Schedule, issue the necessary regulations without delay.

(iii) There should be a general prohibition of all transfers, whether by sale, mortgage, gift or lease or under any kind of agreement or contract affecting the tribals' lands entered into by tribals in favour of non-tribals without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector. The Government should make rules, in consultation with the Tribes Advisory Council governing the grant of permission by the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector after ascertaining the conditions prevailing in each area.

(iv) There should be a bar against suits or applications against any such order made by a Deputy Commissioner or a Collector and courts of law should be precluded from taking cognisance of any transfer by sale, mortgage, gift or lease or any other agreement or contract and passing decree thereon, unless this has been entered into with the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector.

(v) The Deputy Commissioners or Collectors should have powers suo moto or at the instance of the aggrieved tribal land-holder within a period of 12 years to institute enquiries and restore possession of the land with or without payment of any compensation to the transferee. This provision should be made applicable with retrospective effect from the 26th January, 1950. Adequate machinery should be created to implement these provisions.

(vi) All surrenders of lands hereafter must only be to the State. The State should hold the surrendered land as a trustee for the tribals.

(vii) It is necessary to launch a campaign to educate the tribals, preferably through non-official agencies, regarding the laws or regulations made for their benefit and render them necessary financial and legal assistance.

(viii) The scheme of rehabilitation of persons likely to be displaced as a result of any project should form a part of the project itself and adequate financial provision should be made for it as a part of the project expenditure.

(ix) In selecting alternative sites for rehabilitation of tribals, the acquiring authority should consult the tribals and their representatives.

(x) So long as uncultivated land is available in the neighbourhood land under cultivation should not be acquired for any project.

(xi) In the matter of compensation the principle of land for land and house for house should be adopted. In application of this principle, if the value of land allotted is less than the value of land acquir-

ed for any project the difference should be made good by payment in cash.

(xii) Work on development of colonies for displaced persons should be undertaken simultaneously as and when they are asked to vacate their lands and houses acquired for any project.

(xiii) Persons likely to be effected as a result of a project should have preference in employment on the project work, subject to the consideration of technical qualifications where they are needed.

(xiv) For giving relief to the tribal landless labourers:

- (a) Surplus land in the tribal areas be distributed among the tribals without delay;
- (b) Surplus population of the landless labourers may be persuaded to move to other places where land is available;
- (c) Intensive cultivation of the available land may be undertaken to create more demand for labour;
- (d) Greater facilities have to be given for learning different kinds of cottage industries; and
- (e) The integrated approach recommended in this Report, the details of which are furnished in Appendix VI, should be adopted.

(xv) In the Scheduled Areas and in the areas where there is predominantly tribal population first priority for land allotment should be given to the tribals. In other areas they should rank for this purpose with the Scheduled Castes.

(xvi) There should be a regular plan drawn up for every Scheduled Area and the areas where the Scheduled Tribes are in considerable numbers for allotment of cultivable waste land. A certain portion of the cultivable waste land may be set apart for the future needs of the State, the general public or the villagers, the rest of the lands being distributed without any great delay. Only that number of families may be accommodated there as can maintain themselves upon the land.

(xvii) The following facilities should be made available to those to whom land is allotted:—

- (a) Irrigation.
- (b) Credit—not on some mechanical basis, but having regard to the tribals' need to clear the area, construct houses, dig wells and maintain themselves till the new harvesting season.
- (c) Housing—the taste, tradition and needs of the tribals should be borne in mind. They should be permitted to build their houses from locally available material.

(xviii) Surplus land that will be available in tribal areas as a result of legislation prescribing ceilings on holdings should be allotted to tribals on a preferential basis.

(xix) While allotting surplus or cultivable wasteland, the tribal co-operatives may have precedence but the allotment should not be tied up with any such condition.

(xx) The work of preparing the record of rights, as far as the tribals are concerned, should be completed as early as possible. Since most of the tribals are illiterate and ignorant of the implications of various enactments, the approach to this work should be human rather than legalistic and should take full note of tribals' custom and tradition. The fact of possession should be regarded as a prima facie proof to warrant recording of that land in favour of a tribal unless there are circumstances to show that it was illegally acquired.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 12

TRIBALS AND FOREST POLICY

To a vast number of the tribal people the forest is their well-loved home, their livelihood, their very existence. It gives them food—fruits of all kinds, edible leaves, honey, nourishing roots, wild game and fish. It provides them with material to build their homes and to practise their arts. By exploiting its produce they can supplement their meagre income. It keeps them warm with its fuel and cool with its grateful shade. Their religion leads them to believe that there are many spirits living in the trees and forests. There are special sacrifices to the forest gods; in many places offerings are made to a tree before it is cut and there are usually ceremonies before and after hunting. Tribal folk-tales often speak about the relations of human beings and the sylvan spirits and it is striking to see how in many of the myths and legends the deep sense of identity with the forest is emphasized.

12.2. From times immemorial the tribal people have enjoyed freedom to use the forest and hunt its animals and this has given them a conviction that remains even today deep in their hearts that the forest belongs to them. Some of them call themselves Pashupati, the Lord of the wild animals, and believe that they have a peculiar power over them.

12.3. This state of affairs continued happily until about the middle of the 19th century. Thereafter, people from outside began to move into the forest and conditions began to change. The gradual extension of the authority of the Government in these areas and the natural desire of the forest officials to exercise even closer control over the use of forest products deeply disturbed the entire tribal economy and introduced a psychological conflict. We have been flooded with complaints from the tribals and their representatives against the forest administration everywhere. While we do not suggest that all these complaints are justified there can be no doubt that a state of tension and mutual distrust exists and interferes with the work of development of forest too. We should search for the causes and explore the possibility of cures also.

History of the Present Forest Policy

The 1894 Policy

12.4. The present forest policy is based on a Resolution of the Union Government in Ministry of Food and Agriculture, dated the 12th May, 1952. This in turn owes its existence to a policy that was initiated in 1894. Explaining their new Policy in 1952, the Union Government emphasised that "fundamental concepts underlying the existing forest policy (of 1894) still hold good".

12.5. The following quotation contains the gist of the old forest policy of 1894:—

"The sole object with which State forests are administered is the public benefit. In some cases the public to be benefited

are the whole body of tax-payers; in others, the people of the tract within which the forest is situated; but in almost all cases the constitution and preservation of a forest involve, in greater or lesser degree, the regulation of rights and the restriction of privileges of user in the forest area which may have previously been enjoyed by the inhabitants of its immediate neighbourhood. This regulation and restriction are justified only when the advantage to be gained by the public is great; and the cardinal principle to be observed is that the rights and privileges of individuals must be limited, otherwise than for their own benefit, only in such degree as is absolutely necessary to secure that advantage".²

12.6. This passage illustrates that aspect of the old policy which mostly concerned the tribal people. As we have said, they previously considered that they had complete rights to the forests in which they lived. Few outsiders had gained a foothold among them and it was only in 1894 that forest officials seriously appeared on the scene and claimed authority to limit and regulate tribal rights in favour of the rights of Government. This conception of regulating the rights and restricting the privileges affected the tribal people very deeply and was the root cause of the delicate relations between them and the Forest Department which continue to the present time.

12.7. For the implementation of the 1894 policy, forests were broadly classified into the following four categories:—

- (i) Forests, the preservation of which was essential on climatic or physical grounds;
- (ii) Forests, which afforded a supply of valuable timber for commercial purposes;
- (iii) Minor forests; and
- (iv) Pasture lands.

12.8. The first category of forests were generally those which were situated on hill slopes. It was considered necessary that vegetation on the hill slopes should be preserved and its further growth accelerated to protect the plain areas down below from the devastating action of streams and torrents. In other words, the object was to prevent erosion on the hills and consequent destruction of the soil below. It was stated that in the interest of these forests, lesser interests "must not be allowed to stand in the way".³

12.9. The second category of forests included the great tracts from which the more valuable timber—teak, sal, deodar and the like was obtained. Privileges of the user in most parts were considered to have sprung up on the outskirts. As far as these forests were concerned it was laid down that "every reasonable facility should be afforded to the people concerned for the full and easy satisfaction of their needs, if not free... then at low and not at competitive rates".⁴ Considerations of forest income were to be subordinated to the satisfaction of these needs.

12.10. The third category of forests included those tracts which produced only the inferior species of timber or the smaller growths of the better sorts. They were to be managed mainly in the interests

of the local population, preserving the wood and grass from destruction and regulating their use in such a way that the people were "protected against their own improvidence"⁵ And to meet these objectives all considerations of revenues were to be subordinated.

12.11. The fourth category of forests included pastures and grazing-grounds which were forests only in name. The interests of the local people in them had reached their maximum and, therefore, it was laid down that the principles enunciated for the grant of privileges to local people in the third class of forests would apply *mutatis mutandis* to this class also.

12.12. *Conversion of Forests into Agricultural Lands*—Regarding the custom of conversion of forests into agricultural lands the old policy laid down that "wherever an effective demand for cultivable land exists and can only be supplied from forest areas, the land should ordinarily be relinquished without hesitation; and if this principle applies to the valuable class of forests... it applies *a fortiori* to the less valuable classes...". This was, however, subject to the following conditions:—

- (a) Honey-combing of valuable forest by patches of cultivation should not be allowed.
- (b) The cultivation must be permanent. A system of shifting cultivation, which denudes a large area of forest growth in order to place a small area under crops, costs more to the community than it is worth, and can only be permitted under due regulation, where forest tribes depend on it for their sustenance.
- (c) Cultivation must not be merely nominal, and an excuse for the creation of pastoral or semi-pastoral villages, which do more harm to the forest than the good they reap from it.
- (d) Cultivation must not be allowed to extend so as to encroach upon the minimum area of forest which is needed in order to supply the general forest needs of the country⁶.

12.13. This policy lasted for fifty years and more. Many a settlement of the rights of tribals and others in the forests were made in the meantime. While the need to conserve the forest wealth could not be disputed, the approach and the spirit and the way in which the provisions of the law were interpreted made the tribals suspicious of the forest officials and to a large extent of the policies of the Forest Department.

The 1952 Policy

12.14. This policy was reassessed in 1952 by the Union Government. Before initiating the new forest policy in 1952, they took note of the following factors:—

- (i) The population of the country had increased by 40 per cent. between 1894 and 1950 resulting in relentless pressure on forests and wasteland to secure more land for agriculture.

(ii) The importance of forests in mitigating the rigours of climatic conditions had come to be better understood.

(iii) The importance of forests in the economic field, such as the development of agriculture, industry and communications was better understood.

(iv) The two great world wars brought to the fore the hitherto unsuspected dependence of national defence on forests.

12.15. In laying down the new policy the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in its Resolution, dated the 12th May 1952, enumerated the six paramount needs of the country:—

- (i) The need for evolving a system of balanced and complementary land-use under which each type of land is allotted to that form of use under which it would produce most and deteriorate least;
- (ii) The need for checking—
 - (a) denudation in mountainous regions,
 - (b) the erosion progressing apace along the treeless banks on the great rivers,
 - (c) the invasion of sea-sands on coastal tracts, and the shifting of sand dunes;
- (iii) The need for establishment of tree-lands;
- (iv) The need for grazing, small wood and firewood;
- (v) The need for supply of timber and other forest produce required for defence, communications and industry; and
- (vi) The need for the realisation of the maximum annual revenue in perpetuity consistently with the fulfilment of the needs enumerated above.

12.16. *Shortfall in Forest Area*—It may be remembered that in 1952 India had only about 20 per cent. of her total land area under forest. This was considered very inadequate and it was laid down that the average proportion of the forest area should be raised to 33.3 per cent. To provide protection against erosion, floods and denudation in the Himalayas, the Deccan plateau and other mountainous regions, it was stated that the forest area in those parts should not be allowed to fall below 60 per cent.*

12.17. *New Classification*—In view of this new approach, forests whether State or privately owned were reclassified into:—

- (a) Protected forests, those to be preserved or created for physical and climatic considerations;
- (b) National forests, those to be maintained and managed to meet the needs of defence, communications, industry and other general purposes of public importance;
- (c) Village forests, to be maintained to provide firewood, small timber for agricultural implements, local requirements and grazing; and
- (d) Tree-lands, areas which, though outside the scope of the ordinary forest management, are essential for the amelioration of the physical conditions of the country.

Angle of the New Policy

12.18. The following statement made at the time of launching the new policy in 1952 clarified the Government's view regarding local needs:—

“Village Communities in the neighbourhood of a forest will naturally make greater use of its products for the satisfaction of their domestic and agricultural needs. Such use, however, should in no event be permitted at the cost of national interests. The accident of a village being situated close to a forest does not prejudice the right of the country as a whole to receive the benefits of a national asset. The scientific conservation of a forest inevitably involved the regulation of rights and the restriction of the privilege of user depending upon the value and importance of the forest, however, irksome such restraint may be to the neighbouring areas...While, therefore, the needs of the local population must be met to a reasonable extent, national interests should not be sacrificed because they are not directly discernible, nor should the rights and interests of future generations be subordinated to the improvidence of the present generation”.

Departure from the Old Policy Affecting the Tribals

12.19. Any one who studies the new angle and the new emphasis in this statement will appreciate that, though the policy of 1952 was claimed as a continuation of the old policy of 1894, it was in fact different in at least the following points of great concern to the tribals:—

- (i) The old policy envisaged the release of forest land for cultivation subject to certain safeguards. The new policy withdrew this concession.
- (ii) The old policy had left a margin for the supply of the villagers' needs from the outlying areas in the reserved forests. The new policy decided that there should be village forests for this purpose.
- (iii) The old policy did not touch the private forests of the tribals. The new policy applied the same controls to them.
- (iv) The old policy did not touch free grazing in forests. The new policy sought to bring it under control. Fees were introduced and grazing was to be kept to the minimum.
- (v) The new policy made one important concession. It admitted that while it was emphatically opposed to shifting cultivation, persuasive and not coercive measures should be used in a sort of missionary rather than in an authoritarian manner to attempt to wean the tribals from their traditional axe cultivation.

Impact of New Policy

12.20. Thus the tribal who formerly regarded himself as the lord of the forests, was through a deliberate process turned into a subject and placed under the Forest Department. Tribal villages were no longer an essential part of the forests but were there merely of sufferance. The traditional rights of the tribals were no longer recognised as rights. In 1894 they became “rights and privileges” and in

1952 they became "rights and concessions". Now they are being regarded as "concessions"

Reactions on Officials

12.21. This new emphasis produced a certain impact on the personnel of the Forest Department all over India also. The Union Government in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture have stated that: "In fact the rights and the concessions are too many and too freely exercised. Greater regulation and control is desirable not only for the protection of forests but generally from all points of view inclusive of soil conservation purposes etc."¹⁰ How this fits in relation to the tribals with the policy of the Prime Minister, who has insisted that "tribal rights in ... forest should be respected" is a matter for them to consider¹¹.

We give in Appendix X the gist of the replies of the State Governments to our questionnaire on this subject. The immediate effect of the new policy has been to restrict the rights of the tribals on a very large scale. We enumerate here some of their more rigorous features.

Treeless Forests

12.22. We have come across cases where the forest departments have claimed as forest land on which not many trees were standing. For instance, in Spiti, they claimed practically the entire uncultivated area as forest. It was admitted to us, and we saw it ourselves, that in the 600 sq. miles of this area, there were hardly 600 trees. Such claims are mechanical and bear no relation to either forest or human needs. Similar was the case in Rajasthan and also in Maharashtra. Large tracts with no vegetation are claimed as forest areas in many, if not all the States. In a Himachal Pradesh forest, we came across a case where an officer of the Forest Department would not agree to the construction of a canal in the forest simply because he was afraid that human beings would come to repair it and in the process cut the trees.

Cultivated Lands in Reserved Forests

12.23. We have come across cases, especially in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, where the Forest Department has included even cultivated lands in the reserved forests and would not permit the cultivators to enter the area. This has happened in unsurveyed forests, mostly of the ex-jagirdars. In a Madhya Pradesh village, a complaint was made to us by a tribal that he and many others were sitting idle because they were prevented from cutting the Mahul creepers for rope-making. These creepers are considered to be harmful to the growth of the forests and yet the Forest Department would not give the permission. They were so much concerned with the implementation of rules. We came across cases where hunting of small game by the tribals is being interfered with and grazing permitted only to a limited extent under severe conditions which included legal and illegal payments.

System of permits

12.24. The system of permits, licenses and passes has grown up because of this 'man shyness'. While the permit fees are not very

heavy, the inconvenience caused is out of all proportion. Many examples are given in the Report of the Committee on Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks.

Exploitation by Contractors

12.25. Apart from the policy and its psychological reactions upon the service personnel in the Forest Department, its implications produced other complications. The emphasis on realisation of maximum annual revenue placed in this policy has increased the importance of the contractor. The task of government has been no doubt rendered easy, but a large number of these contractors have become a source of uncontrolled exploitation for the tribals. The contractor has become a law unto himself. He has a pull with the officers in the Department. The tribal, who seldom knows the rules, is at his mercy. The contractor may give work to the villager or he may refuse to give it. He may purchase his commodities or refuse to purchase them. He interprets the rules in his own way. The contract system has operated as an undisguised monopoly in the last ten years.

12.26. Innumerable complaints were made to us by the villagers that the contractors were preventing them from gathering Tendu leaves from plants on their own land. In a Vidarbha village the tribals complained that they used to get bamboos free upto a limit for their crafts. They were now required to pay for them at prohibitive rates, and the cottage industry for the encouragement of which another department of Government was paying large sums was suffering. At some places the forest rangers admitted that some of these complaints were genuine, but more often than not they cited rules and their own interpretation of them. The punitive machinery of the Forest Department also works for the disposal of the contractor, for he can easily get those who oppose him "framed" for alleged infringement of the forest rules.

It was brought to the Commission's notice that the contractors purchase the minor forest produce from the areas leased but to them from the tribals and subsequently sell it at higher rates. For instance, the contractors, we were told, in some remote parts of Madhya Pradesh, purchase 'chironji' at Rs. 1.20 per seer whereas the market rate is Rs. 5 to 7 per seer. Contractors are said to exploit the ignorance of the tribals by paying them less for the 'Tendu' leaves collected by them. So is the case with other minor forest produce.

Reactions of the Tribals

12.27. There is constant propaganda that the tribals are destroying the forest. We put this complaint to some unsophisticated tribals. They countered the complaint by asking how could they destroy the forest. They owned no trucks. They hardly had even a bullock cart. The utmost that they could carry away was a head-load of produce for sale to maintain their family and that too against a licence. The utmost that they wanted was wood to keep them warm in the winter months, to reconstruct or repair their huts and carry on their little cottage industries. Their fuel-needs for cooking, they said, were not much, because they had not much to cook. Having explained their own position they invariably turned to the amount of destruction that was taking place all around them. They reiterated how the ex-

zamindars, in violation of their agreements, and the forest rules and laws, devastated vast areas of forest land right in front of officials. They also related how the contractors stray outside the contracted coupes, carry loads in trucks in excess of their authorised capacity and otherwise exploit both the forests and the tribals.

12.28. There is a feeling amongst the tribals that all the arguments in support of preservation and development of forest are intended to refuse them their demands. They argue that when it is a question of industry, township, development work or projects of rehabilitation, all these valuable arguments are forgotten and vast tracts are placed at the disposal of outsiders who mercilessly destroy the forest wealth with or without necessity.

Quantum of Tribals' Burden on Forests

12.29. With a view to ascertaining the quantum of the burden that falls upon the forest on tribal account, we asked several Forest Officers to give us an estimate of the total value of the demand of the tribals at market price as against their own annual gross income. We were rather surprised to find that there were no facts to substantiate the consistent propaganda against the tribals that they were asking for too much. We were fortunate to get some information from one State at least. Against the estimated forest revenue of about Rs. 5 crores in Maharashtra in the year 1960-61, the value of forest produce removed by privilege holders and free grantees was only Rs. 5 lakhs in 1959-60.¹² If we add to it the concessions granted to the graziers it would come to nearly Rs. 25 lakhs¹³. While we grant that the figure in one State cannot be taken as an index of the quantum of burden in all the States, we feel that if the figures are worked out in all these States, they may not be found to be as extravagant as it is sought to be made out.

Other Grievances and Their Solution

12.30. The grievances which the tribals have against the Forest Department are innumerable and varied. We have earlier dealt with the grievances relating to cultivated land in reserved forest areas, shifting cultivation, system of permits and exploitation by contractors. There are other major grievances as well, which we would like to mention and suggest how they require to be dealt with.

(i) Forest Villages

12.31. As the activities of the Forest Departments increased, a large labour force, far beyond the capacity of the tribes to provide, was needed for such works as survey and demarcation, felling, extraction, road-making, plantation and cultural operations, particularly in the forests remote from habitation. From this arose the concept of forest villages, which are colonies composed of tribals collected to work in the interior of the forest.

12.32. There are a large number of such forest villages in India. In Madhya Pradesh alone there are about a thousand forest villages with a population of about 1,00,000 tribals. It is not denied that the

residents of such villages enjoy some amenities provided by the Forest Department, but we were surprised to see at the same time that they suffer from certain restrictions.

12.33. The Madhya Pradesh rules, for example, provide *inter alia* that :

- (a) The Forest Department and its contractors have the first claim to the labour of forest villages on payment of the market rate.
- (b) The villagers may not accept other employment without the sanction of the Forest Department and are expected to obey the orders of the Divisional Forest Officers.
- (c) For breach of any of these conditions they are liable to summary eviction without compensation.

12.34. The tenure in forest villages is admittedly 'tenancy on sufferance'. The charge that forest villagers are no better than serfs is not justified. As long as the land given for temporary cultivation remains a part of the reserved forest, it is obvious that occupancy rights cannot be given to them. The hereditary principle is tacitly recognised. *We feel, however, that security of tenure should be assured to the tribals.*

12.35. *At present the tribals cannot get financial assistance on the security of their land. The Forest Department, therefore, should take upon itself the responsibility of providing necessary assistance for the improvement of the settlers' holdings and cultivation. It could also try to make these colonies model villages, self-sufficient as far as possible and provided with the essential amenities of life such as wells, schools and dispensaries. Removal of these people from their normal places of habitation casts this duty upon the department.*

(ii) Village Forests

12.36. The present policy regarding village forests is based upon the following principles :—

- (a) The village forests "are intended in the main to serve the needs of the surrounding villages in respect of small timber for housing and agricultural implements, firewood, leaves for manure and fodder, fencing thorns, grazing and edible forest products.
- (b) The supply for these requirements is at non-competitive rates.
- (c) The cooperation of Panchayats is enlisted in the protection and creation of village forests and in the distribution of forest produce.¹⁴

12.37. We, however, regret to observe that this policy is not being implemented in its spirit. No serious effort has been made for the rejuvenation of existing, and the development of new village forests. One reason appears to be that the areas reserved as village forests are not sufficient to meet local requirements; secondly, adequate incentives have not been provided. There is not much coordination apparent between the Revenue authorities and the Forest

Department in this work. *The management of the village forests should be vested in the village Panchayats and all revenues should go to them.*

(iii) Private Forests

12.39. The State Governments and the Administrations of Union forests in possession of the ex-proprietors have come into government's possession. There are, however, cases, where forests have been allowed to be retained by private proprietors. We would recommend the abolition of the right of the private owners in the forests, wherever it has not been done so far.

(iv) Regeneration of Forests

12.39. The State Governments and the Administrations of Union Territories have seriously taken up the work of regeneration of the forests. We recommend that suitable areas reserved for afforestation may conveniently be handed over to the local Panchayats, the Forest Department providing the necessary technical assistance. The Panchayats should not only have the responsibility of managing them but should also have the right to appropriate the forest produce for the benefit of the village in a certain proportion subject to the rules and regulations of the Forest Department.

(v) Grazing

12.40. Uncontrolled grazing in the forest areas is harmful to forest growth. The cultivation of improved types of grasses in forest areas especially in areas where afforestation has been in progress, should form an important item in the work of the Forest Department. Moreover, hay and silage-making can be fruitfully introduced. As a matter of fact, in forests near the big towns, contractors have been making huge profits by the sale of grass. If the tribals are trained for this work and are given necessary facilities they can make a sizable income.

(vi) Minimum Wages Act

12.41. It is the policy of the Government that the establishment of Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies should be encouraged. Until the people constitute their own societies, it is obvious that the system of contracts will continue. In the meantime, to ensure payment of reasonable wages by the contractors to labourers, the Minimum Wages Act should be enforced and adequate machinery should be created to see that the contractors and the Forest Department officials pay the prescribed wages.

The Official View

12.42. The Forest officials also have tried to make out a case upon this. The forests of India are being denuded; the demands of the people are heavy and it is the responsibility of the Forest Department to meet them also; the needs of the people are multiplying; the requirements of the country are not confined now merely to domestic needs, but also include demands for defence and industrial purposes; and finally the tribals are also getting worldly. While we appreciate their position and realise that it is difficult to strike a satisfactory balance between the needs of the country and the needs of the tribals, it should be realised also that these difficulties are aggravated by the fact that there have been misunderstandings,

bitterness and hostility which could have been avoided. The tribals have thought in terms of the forest as the provider of fruit, fuel, timber and labour and the Government has thought in technical and commercial terms on the question of conservation of the forest. The result has been that the former have always been pressing for extending their needs and the latter restricting them. This limited way of thinking about the problem has been the root cause of the trouble. *We feel that if a rational approach is made, it will be found that there need be no such conflict.*

Integrated Approach

12.43. *In the circumstances we are obliged to suggest a new approach. The Forest Department, as a branch of government, should consider itself responsible for the development of the tribals as well as the forest areas. It should not think in terms of an exclusive obligation to trees or vegetation, but should also accept an obligation to utilise the forest as much as possible from the angle of the economic development of the tribals residing in it. In return the tribals should recognise the need to preserve the forests. An essential feature of this new approach is that the Forest Department should undertake the responsibility of giving adequate employment to the tribals living in and around the forest areas. Development of the forest and the betterment of the tribals should no longer be at loggerheads. They have to go hand in hand. A close study of the problem from this point of view will open out before them a great vista of hope in place of the present despair and the tribals will find before them an endless panorama of employment opportunities.*

Partnership Approach

12.44. This calls for a partnership rather than an exclusive approach which arises from the policy enunciated in 1894 and 1952 and the manner in which it has been implemented. If this change comes about, the tribal can easily be won over to the view that the Forest Department is not his enemy, but a friend interested in helping him.

12.45. *The first step in the direction should be a coordinated approach to provide employment opportunities in forest, agriculture, animal husbandry and industries for at least 300 days in a year. The responsibility for coordinating and integrating the employment programme under these four heads should be accepted by the various departments of the Government.*

12.46. At our request the President of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, proposed a scheme to give to the local people permanent employment in forest operations and in forest industries (vide Appendix XI). *We would like to recommend preparation of a similar time schedule by the Forest Department in consultation with Agriculture, Industries and other development departments in each region.*

12.47. *Even in the Forest Department there is plenty of scope for recruiting tribals as Forest Guards. The tribals can also be organised for protection services. They can be recruited for conservation work after they have had some training. They can be utilised on a planned*

basis for the work of exploitation, beginning with numbering and ending with polishing.

Land Utilisation

12.48. Moreover, there is enough land available which can be given to the tribals for growing trees and improved varieties of grasses. The trees should be considered as their own property but should be cut only according to the Forest Rules. The tribals should be given liberty to cut grass and use it for their cattle and collect the dead wood for their own use. They should also have liberty to sell this produce. In case of selective growing, they should be permitted to prune the rejected growth. Training may have to be given to the tribals and arrangements may have to be made for credit and other facilities. Forest land used for horticulture and timber should be treated as agricultural land and agricultural produce for the purposes of State assistance. The Government of Maharashtra has recently issued orders to give to the landless labourers patches of land in compact blocks of 300 acres for horticulture purposes. This is worth emulating.

Collection of Forest Produce

12.49. Collection of minor forest produce is not at all likely to hinder the forest either in its growth or its preservation. We see no justification for auctioning out the right to collect the forest produce or have a middleman to exploit it. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has attempted in our opinion partially successfully, to solve this problem by establishing the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation, details of which are given later in this chapter.

12.50. We do not draw any distinction between minor forest produce of one category and another. In the definition of minor forest produce we include 'Tendu' leaves, medicinal plants, grasses, bamboos, honey and fruits, flowers and roots of all kinds.

Processing of Minor Forest Produce

12.51. Very little attention has been paid to the processing side and the produce is being sold in raw form. The price variations between the raw and processed articles are sometimes as much as 1 to 3. *Processing can be a great source of employment for the tribal people. It involves training, of course, and the supply of tools and instruments. This can be organised on a co-operative basis. Until the co-operatives are initiated, a corporation of the nature of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation with suitable modifications can make a beginning.*

Exploitation of Major Forest Produce

12.52. Finally, we come to major forest produce, which offers enormous scope for gainful employment for the tribals, beginning with its collection and ending with its sale as finished product. *There is no reason why major forest produce cannot be processed in or near the forest areas, for this would be cheaper and more meaningful. Export of major forest produce in its raw form not only deprives the tribal of wages but also deprives him of the opportunities*

that he otherwise would get to train himself as a technician. We have in mind not only polishing the timber but also sawing and processing it in the form of parts of furniture, doors, windows, etc.

12.53. Viewed against the background of the new relationship between the tribals and the Forest Department, we do not anticipate any real difficulty. We hope that, with the good offices of the Union Government, it will be possible to devise a programme which will be in the interest of both—the Forest Department and the people residing in the forest.

Two Experiments

12.54. There are two experiments which in our opinion have proved reasonably successful and we can safely recommend them to all the States. We have made repeated references to this earlier. One is Forest Labourers' Cooperative Society and the other Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation. The former is in operation in the Gujarat and Maharashtra States and the latter in Andhra Pradesh.

Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies

12.55. The late Shri B. G. Kher, even before he became the Chief Minister of the former Bombay State, worked among the Warli tribals of Thana District in Bombay State and was deeply touched by their unhappy lot and their exploitation. On his assuming the responsibilities of the State, he put into effect his idea of Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies. This was about fifteen years ago. Forest coupes, instead of being sold by auction, were given on an agreed basis to the Forest Cooperatives. The wages to be paid to the forest labourers were prescribed according to the kind of operation they undertook. They also received bonus and other facilities from the profits of the cooperative societies. The tribals have taken them so enthusiastically that these societies have spread over a large portion of the forest areas in that State. As against 13 coupes, with an upset price of Rs. 1,39,000, allotted in 1947-48, the number has risen to 425 in 1957-58 with an upset price of Rs. 94,96,993 before the bifurcation of the State. The Government of Maharashtra estimates that 500 forest labourers' cooperative societies will be necessary to bring the entire forest labour into the cooperative fold. It is estimated that by the end of the Second Plan 201 such societies would have been organised. By the end of the Fourth Plan, all forest areas in the State, it is expected, will be covered. Progress is definitely encouraging, for already much of the exploitation by contractors has been eliminated. It is the policy of the Government of Gujarat and Maharashtra to extend the experiment till all the work passes into tribal hands. *We are convinced that the experiment is on the right lines and is very promising. It is likely that the establishment of the forest labourers' societies may have caused some loss to the Government in forest revenues. This is probably one of the reasons why established societies are given merely 10 per cent of the net income after deducting expenditure on admissible items, the remaining 90 per cent being appropriated by Government. There is some complaint on this score and we feel that the share given to the forest societies is on the low side having regard to the fact that they are expected to meet obligations of various kinds to the members in particular and the tribal community in general.*

Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation

12.56. In 1950, the Government of Madras appointed a team of experts headed by Shri R. S. Malayappan to formulate plans for amelioration of the tribals and for development of the Agency areas in the four districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari.¹⁵ The team toured extensively in the Agency Areas and submitted its report which among other things recommended that a net work of multipurpose cooperative societies should be started at different centres in the Agency to eliminate the age-long exploitation by the sowcars and middlemen. These societies would:—

- (i) purchase all the minor forest produce collected by the tribals and also their surplus grains,
- (ii) sell them their daily needs like kerosene oil, salt, cloth, etc., and
- (iii) provide them easy credit facilities.

After the constitution of the Andhra State, the State Government examined these suggestions but found that the cooperative institutions functioning in the Agency did not work satisfactorily owing to lack of initiative and organisation among the tribals. They came to the conclusion that an institution under the control of Government and catering to the needs of tribals with a view to get over the difficulty was necessary. A Special Officer was appointed in January, 1956, to investigate and prepare a scheme. He suggested that a corporation as visualised by the State Government might be started in selected areas and then expanded to cover the entire tribal areas. The Andhra Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation, Ltd., was thus registered under the Indian Companies Act on 16th April, 1956. Later it was felt that it would be more appropriate to have it as a cooperative institution, and the company was liquidated and the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation was registered on the 26th October, 1956, as an institution under the Madras Cooperative Societies Act, 1932, with its headquarters at Visakhapatnam and with its area of operations extending to the Scheduled Areas in the districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari. The Corporation started its work on the 5th April, 1957.

Objects of the Corporation

12.57. The objects of the Corporation are—

- (i) to purchase outright the produce brought by members of the Scheduled Tribes through the agency of any Primary Marketing Cooperative Society affiliated to the Corporation and market it to the best advantage and for this purpose to take up forest contracts of bamboo coupes, fuel (and the like) and for procurement of minor forest produce from the Government,
- (ii) to supply the requirements of the members of the Scheduled Tribes through the agency of the affiliated societies by making bulk purchases,

- (iii) to take shares in the affiliated societies from its funds.
- (iv) to provide the working capital to the affiliated societies by advancing loans and cash credits and the like to them,
- (v) to co-ordinate, supervise and control the activities of the affiliated societies,
- (vi) to acquire or take on lease godowns or sale depots within its jurisdiction and elsewhere, if necessary, to facilitate the storage and sale of agricultural and other produce belonging to the Corporation and to its affiliated societies and their members,
- (vii) to undertake activities such as processing and grading for the benefit of the Corporation and its affiliated societies and their members and for this purpose to own or hire the necessary plants and machinery,
- (viii) to own or hire and ply lorries on hire for the transport of its goods and those of its affiliated societies, their members and others,
- (ix) to encourage self-help, thrift and cooperation among the affiliated societies and their members,
- (x) to discharge prior debts of the members of the Scheduled Tribes,
- (xi) to act as agent of the Government for procurement, supply and distribution of agricultural and other produce or other goods as and when required to do so, and
- (xii) to undertake generally such other activities as are conducive to the promotion of the economic interests and social welfare of the members of the Scheduled Tribes and the attainment of the above objectives.¹⁶

Progress made by the Corporation

12.58 By the end of June, 1960, eight Primaries (Agency Produce Cooperative Marketing Societies) had been affiliated to the Corporation covering the entire tribal areas in Srikakulam and Vishakapatnam Districts (except some pockets like Mokhasas and private forests) and parts of the tribal areas in the East Godavari District.

12.59. The Corporation is an initiating as well as an executive body. Not only does it arrange for financial assistance to the tribals but it has its own godowns and acts as a sale-purchase agency. The tribals bring their collections of minor forest produce either to the godowns of the affiliated cooperatives or directly to the Corporation's godowns, where they are paid according to scheduled rates in cash. The Corporation also arranges for the sale of articles of their daily needs. Through this agency on the one hand the Government of Andhra Pradesh is trying to eliminate the middlemen wherever the Corporation functions and on the other is providing a lucrative source of employment to the people.

12.60. The extent of work this Corporation has been doing for the tribals can be seen from the following table:—

TABLE 18

Year	Value of minor forest produce purchased by Corporation from the tribals	Net Profit
1	2	3
	Rs.	Rs.
1957-58	3,67,289	34,226
1958-59	6,50,329	91,532
1959-60	12,60,481	1,31,000

12.61. On a consideration of all the aspects of the matter and the grievances of the tribals as well as the difficulties of the forest department, we recommend that:—

- (a) (i) *the policy of 1952 should be reconsidered, and in relation to the rights of the tribals, the government should accept at any rate the position that obtained before Independence. This would mean that the departures, in relation to release of forest lands for cultivation (subject to the safeguards mentioned in the policy of 1894), in relation to supply of the villagers' needs from the outlying areas in the reserved forests, in relation to village forests of the tribals, in relation to grazing and in relation to shifting cultivation, be reconsidered. We similarly recommend that the statement in relation to the needs of the village communities be also reviewed and the approach of the government towards tribal villages in the forest areas to an extent be revised;*
- (ii) *government should accept as a policy that, as far as possible, it will take steps to eliminate the middleman between the inhabitants of the forests and the forest department in relation to the exploitation of the forests. The system of monopoly which at the moment operates must in any case be ended;*
- (iii) *provision be made for granting security of tenure to the settlers in the forest villages, it being specifically provided that they will not be required to work except on wages fixed according to schedule not lower than the wages payable under the Minimum Wages Act. The forest villages should be treated for the purpose of providing amenities including drinking water, education and health on a par with all other villages in the State. The*

settlers in the villages should be deemed entitled to credit both from the State as well as from the cooperative societies on a par with other agriculturists in the rural areas;

- (iv) the right of individuals in private forest be immediately abolished in those areas in the country where it has not been abolished so far; and
 - (v) the forest department should be deemed to be charged, as a branch of the government, with the responsibility of participating in the betterment of the tribals side by side with the development of the forest.
- (b) (i) steps should be taken to implement the policy decision of the government in regard to the village forests. There should be co-ordination between the forest, revenue and development authorities in this work. The management of the village forests should be vested in Village Panchayats and all revenues should go to them;
- (ii) suitable areas reserved for afforestation may conveniently be handed over to the local Panchayats, forest department providing the necessary technical guidance. The Panchayats should be given the right to appropriate the forest produce in a certain proportion subject to the rules and regulations of the forest department for the benefit of the village;
 - (iii) the forest department should promote the sowing of improved variety of grass in forest areas specially in areas where afforestation is in progress and should also participate in the preparation of hay and silage making. The grazing fees should be regulated;
 - (iv) the Minimum Wages Act should be scrupulously enforced both in relation to the departmental employees of the forest department and the employees of the contractors and middlemen;
 - (v) as a first step in the direction of the new approach a time schedule should be prepared by the forest department in consultation with agriculture, industries and development departments in each region with the intention of providing work to the tribals all the year round. Such work should include work in the services of the forest department as forest guards and protection, conservation, regeneration and exploitation work. It should include work on land utilisation schemes, collection of forest produce, exploitation and processing of minor forest produce and exploitation and processing of major forest produce;
 - (vi) for the purposes of obtaining labour of the right type for forest operations, the tribals residing in and around the forests be organised into permanent labour corps;
 - (vii) for the purposes of mobilising the labour and its economic and efficient use and for the purpose of increasing the tribals' will, skill and resources of income, the forest

department should assist in organising Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies. A period should be fixed to cover the entire forest area with such societies and all work should be entrusted to them; and

- (viii) with a view to consolidate and develop the economy of the tribals, particularly in relation to purchase of minor forest produce, with a view to supply the requirements of the members of the Scheduled Tribes to undertake activities such as processing and grading for the benefit of the tribals, to discharge prior debts and to act as agents of the Government for procurement, supply and distribution of agricultural and other produce and generally for the promotion of the economic interest and the social welfare of the members of the Scheduled Tribes, the State Governments should organise cooperative finance and development corporations on the model of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation, subject to such modifications as the circumstances may require. The entire tribal areas can only thus be covered by primary cooperatives functioning as its agents.



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CHAPTER 13

AGRICULTURE

About 90.5 per cent. of the tribals are engaged in agriculture and this is likely to be the predominant pattern of their economy for a long time to come. In the hills, jhuming or shifting cultivation is practised extensively. Otherwise both hills and plains tribals follow the old and traditional methods of cultivation.

State of Agriculture in Tribal Areas

13.2. Important crops, raised by the tribals of the central zone and north-east India, are paddy and the lesser millets which constitute their staple food. Though broadcasting of paddy is generally practised, transplantation is not unknown. Ploughing is usually done and manures are used to replenish the fertility of the soil. Some already know that taking leguminous crops in rotation increases the fertility of the soil. Some have remarkable indigenous methods of irrigation. The Saoras of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa have ingeniously constructed bunds on mountain streams to irrigate their fields and terraces. Similarly, the Marias of Madhya Pradesh construct *gattas* to irrigate their fields, which exhibit considerable engineering skill. Terrace cultivation has been known to some of the tribals for decades. Some of them, such as the Angamis of NEFA are experts in it and introduced cultivation of rice and potatoes on terraces long ago. It is said that the Saoras of Ganjam and Koraput Districts in Orissa have some of the most splendid terraces in the world. A few tribes in the south-western belt, the Muduvans of Anjanad valley, for example, have also been practising terrace cultivation from remote times.

13.3. Except in the above areas, and such other startlingly advanced areas as the Apa Tani plateau of NEFA and the Khasi Hills of Assam, agriculture in the tribal areas is in a primitive stage. There is the same problem of small holdings, fragmentation, poor quality of soil and elementary methods of cultivation both in the tribal and the rural areas generally, though the former are probably less developed than the latter. Improvement of agriculture for the tribes, therefore, has to follow the same principles of improved cultivation introduced in other parts of the country. This can only come with security of land tenure, irrigation, scientific jhuming, soil conservation and the promotion of animal husbandry. Progress is certainly slow but the Union and the State Governments are dealing with these five problems. As regards security of land, we have dealt with this aspect in chapter 11. We shall in this chapter deal with the remaining subjects.

The Two Plans

13.4. During the First Plan period, an amount of Rs. 265.98 lakhs was spent for the improvement of agriculture among the Scheduled Tribes.¹ The main targets achieved during the First Plan were: (i) establishment of 57 demonstration farms for imparting knowledge of improved methods of agriculture to tribal people; (ii) establishment of colonies and settlement of 8,000 families; (iii) organisation of 300 grain banks; and (iv) assistance by way of improved implements, supply of better breeds of cattle.²

13.5. During the Second Plan, the schemes proposed for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes were expected to cost Rs. 223 lakhs as follows³:—

	(Rupees in lakhs)
(a) State sector	201
(b) Centrally-sponsored schemes	22
Total:	223

The important schemes in the Second Plan were reclamation of waste land; rehabilitation of the Scheduled Tribes on land; subsidy for the purchase of ploughs, bullocks, seeds, manure and agricultural implements; soil conservation, minor irrigation schemes; opening of pilot farms and grain golas; and improving shifting cultivation.⁴

Shifting Cultivation

13.6. Shifting cultivation, commonly known as Jhum or Podu, is the traditional system practised by tribals in the hill areas. This type of cultivation is known as "Jhum" in Assam and Tripura; "Bewar" or "Dahiya" in Madhya Pradesh; "Podu" in Andhra Pradesh, "Pama", "Dahi", "Koman" or "Bringa" in north Orissa and "Gudia" or "Dongar chas" in south Orissa⁵. It consists of clearing the forest slopes, burning the fallen trees and bushes, and dibbling or broadcasting the seed in the ash-covered soil. The rest is left to nature. For the first one or two years, good crops are produced but the fertility of the soil is soon lost, and some of it is washed away in heavy rain. Cultivators then shift to other clearings and thus the cycle continues in rotation.

13.7. Nearly 26 lakhs of people live in this way. The problem is acute in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam (including NEFA), Bihar, Orissa and in the Union Territories of Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland. The following table gives the population engaged in shifting cultivation and the area used annually.⁶ Since the land is changed in rotation, the total area may be estimated at five times the annual area.

TABLE 19

State/Union Territory	Number of persons practising shifting cultivation	Total area of land utilised annually for shifting cultivation (in acres)
1	2	3
Andhra Pradesh	2,00,000	96,000
Assam	9,79,000	5,08,800
Bihar	1,15,000	436
Orissa	9,35,700	4,00,000
Uttar Pradesh	1,53,000	54,000
Tripura	95,501	1,16,900
Madhya Pradesh	30,000	44,000
Bombay	25,000	72,300
Mysore	14,000	2,500
Madras	2,200	3,000
Kerala	10,000	54,000
Total ..	25,89,401	13,51,936

The Two Views

13.8. Shifting cultivation naturally—for it undoubtedly damages the forest to some extent—has always been a bugbear to Forest Department. According to it, it is ruinous and wasteful, dries up the springs in the hills, causes soil erosion; destroys valuable forest; affects rainfall and deprives the people of the benefits of the forest and forest produce.

13.9. Mr. Nicholson, one time Conservator of Forests in Orissa, giving evidence before the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee of Orissa, observed:—

“The damage done to the forests by shifting cultivation was serious and only under certain conditions where the area of land available is large and population small, such cultivation does little harm.”

Dr. M. L. Bor, Botanist of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, in his presidential address to the Botany Section of the Indian Science Congress in 1942 went so far as to say:

“Of all practices initiated by men, the most anxious is that of shifting cultivation.”⁸

The atom bomb had not, of course, been invented at that time.

13.10. Modern opinion, however, is more liberal, and regards the practice as an organic response to certain geophysical conditions. Shri M. D. Chaturvedi, formerly Inspector-General of Forests opined :—

“The notion widely held that shifting cultivation is responsible in the main for large-scale soil erosion needs to be effectively dispelled. The correct approach to the problem of shifting cultivation lies in accepting it not as a necessary evil, but recognising it as a way of life; not condemning it as an evil practice, but regarding it as an agricultural practice evolved as a reflex to the physiographical character of land. For too long, jhuming has been condemned out of hand as a curse to be ashamed of, a vandalism to be decried. This attitude engenders an inferiority complex and unhealthy atmosphere for the launching of any development scheme seeking to improve the current practice.”⁹

Similarly, Shri M. S. Sivaraman, Adviser to the Programme Administration of the Planning Commission, observed in 1957 :—

“It is a mistake to assume that shifting cultivation in itself is unscientific land use. Actually it is a practical approach to certain inherent difficulties in preparing a proper seed-bed in steep slopes where any disturbance of the surface by hoeing or ploughing will result in washing away of the fertile top soil. The tribal people, therefore, take care not to plough or disturb the soil before sowing. The destruction of weeds and improvement of tilth necessary for a proper seed-bed are achieved with the help of fire..... In most of the interior areas, where communication is not developed and not sufficient land suitable for terracing is available, jhuming alone can be done for the present and as such every effort should be made to improve the fertility of the jhumed land.”¹⁰

Mr. S. H. Howard, another former Inspector General of Forests, suggested that instead of discouraging this method of cultivation, a trial should be given by regulating it, which means that if a longer period of rest is given between the fellings, there is little danger of soil erosion.¹¹ Mr. J. P. Mills, with his long experience in the tribal areas of Assam, believed that, wisely regulated, the method could probably be carried on indefinitely without causing excessive deterioration.¹²

The Practical Aspect

13.11. The fact of the matter is that nearly 10 per cent of the tribal population depends on jhuming, and they cannot be deprived of their land, their livelihood and their way of life for a theoretical

opinion on which not all the experts agree. Everyone, of course, agrees that it is not an ideal method, and that, wherever possible, terracing or other means of cultivation should be introduced. But over vast areas this is impossible, and it is likely to continue for a long time to come. *The total replacement of this system, if it comes at all, will be a long-term process. In the meantime, the proper course is to regulate it, experiment with it, improve it and try other workable alternatives. Shifting cultivation is tied up with the tribal way of life and it is thus much more than a technical problem pertaining only to the improved techniques of farming and agriculture. It is a mixed problem, partly connected with the physical conditions of the land and partly with social customs, traditions and beliefs. Any hurried departure may create complications.*

13.12. The following suggestions have been received by the Commission from persons competent to speak on the subject. We detail them here for the information of those who will ultimately have to pronounce judgment, after taking into consideration the practical and the theoretical aspects.

13.13. One suggestion is that the land should be divided into three parts according to its slope; hill tops and steep slopes of 45° should be kept permanently under afforestation; gentle slopes upto 10° should be terraced; and in between shifting cultivation may be permitted leaving enough land for the purpose, so that the cycle of rotation between each period of cultivation is not less than 10 to 12 years. Immediately after the use of the land or simultaneously steps should be taken for afforestation of the jhumed area.

13.14. Another suggestion was made by Dr. Verrier Elwin in his book "The Baiga" over twenty years ago. In the French and Belgian Ardennes great care is taken to preserve the vitality of the stools by cutting them so that they will pollard readily, and not spreading over them any of the stuff to be burnt. When the crop is weeded or harvested all damage to the shoots that come up from the stools is carefully avoided so that after the cropping is over, they quickly shoot out branches and leaves and cover the soil, thus protecting it until the next clearing is due.¹³

13.15. A third suggestion made by Shri M. S. Sivaraman, is to sow suitable crops in the jhums after the second year's harvest—

"At present the restoration of soil fertility depends mainly on the decay of weeds, grasses and leaves and this level of fertility is greatly reduced in two years of cropping. In order to hasten the restoration of fertility, all weeds and grasses in such areas should be suppressed by leguminous cover crops which fix nitrogen in the soil and the non-descript trees which are not all leguminous should be replaced by leguminous shrubs which can be cut or destroyed easily.

"The above objects can be completely achieved by growing in the third year, when jhumed land is left fallow, perennial red gram (arhar) which may be dibbled by April, twelve inches apart along the contours of slopes and in rows four feet apart. In every acre about one to two pounds of seeds of *Calapagonium Macuroides*, a very fast growing

leguminous creeper may be sown when the arhar is about 3 to 4 weeks old. Calapagonium forms a thick matted growth within two months and prevents soil erosion completely and suppresses weeds and grasses. In 1952-53, I successfully introduced Calapagonium for putting down weeds and grasses in coconut, pepper and citrus gardens in areas of heavy rainfall like Malabar, South Kanara and the Agency portions of Vizagapatam District.

"The arhar will provide extra food for the people, fix nitrogen in the soil and also improve soil-fertility by leaf-fall. Calapagonium dries up in December and January and can, therefore, be destroyed by fire before sowing other crops. Left to itself the seeds get self-sown and the plants fix very large quantities of nitrogen in the soil. A variation of this method will be to grow perennial arhar and long duration cowpeas in the kharif season and pea or gram in the rabi season or perennial leguminous shrubs like Tephrosia Candida or Crotalaria Anagyroides which are found to grow very well in Assam. All the legumes mentioned above will grow upto 4,000 feet and will suit the bulk of the jhumed lands. For areas above this elevation, the choice may be made from local legumes."

13.16. One more suggestion on the lines of the NEFA "half-plot" system was also placed before us. In this method, the old ways of jhuming and the improved scientific method are carried out side by side on two separate halves of the same plot.¹⁴ The idea is to provide organic matter to fertilise the soil, to introduce the appropriate crop rotation and evolve a simple way of adding humus other than by forest fallow. On the high slopes where shifting cultivation is to be altogether abandoned, the cultivation of rubber, cashew nuts, coffee, cardamom and black pepper, depending upon the soil and climate of each hill area, is done.

13.17. There is yet one more suggestion made to us that jhums can be transferred into regular forest by adopting the system known as "Taungia (axe) cultivation".¹⁵ During the clearings, the cultivator plants seedlings which grow simultaneously with his crop. This system originated in Burma and has proved successful in the Garo and Mikir Hills of Assam. But this does not improve the hill-side cultivation, but brings it to an end, and can only be practised where there is alternative land available.

13.18. Another attractive solution of the problem is that shifting cultivation should be converted into terraced cultivation. Wherever the hill slopes permit and the soil is sufficiently deep, this holds out immense possibilities of improvement, and in many places throughout the tribal areas it has already been taken up with enthusiasm. It involves, of course, heavy initial expenditure of money and energy by the tribes and it is, therefore, necessary for the government to give considerable assistance both for the building of the terraces and providing proper irrigation. Those tribes who have taken up terracing generally like to have small clearings which they can put under shifting cultivation at the same time for the growing of certain kinds of crop and this should continue to be permitted.

Some Precautions

13.19. The policy pursued so far has been to transfer batches of population living on shifting cultivation. During the First Plan Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa Governments and the Tripura Administration commenced what are called 'shifting cultivation control schemes'. Nine pilot project centres were started in Assam and 81 colonies were established in Orissa with a view to settling 6,271 families.¹⁷ We are given to understand that 284 families were settled in Bihar, 366 in Madhya Pradesh, 2,496 in Orissa and 3,124 in Manipur.¹⁸ Andhra Pradesh started 4 colonisation schemes.

13.20. The Second Plan also commenced with an ambitious programme of colonisation. About 27,000 families were to be settled, 208 demonstration centres to be opened and 3 pilot farms to be started, during this period at a cost of Rs. 287.33 lakhs.¹⁹ In addition, an amount of Rs. 130 lakhs was provided under the Centrally-sponsored programmes for the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura.²⁰ The expenditure incurred during the two years of 1958-59 and 1959-60 on Centrally-sponsored schemes came to Rs. 59.47 lakhs and State sector schemes to a little over Rs. 31 lakhs.²¹ The Government of Madhya Pradesh informed us that 1,081 families had been settled in 1960-61.²² We have not been able to obtain information from other States.

13.21. This is a very large and expensive programme. It is necessary that its implications are properly understood. There are 109 tribes in 12 States and the Union Territories comprising a population of about 2.5 millions practising shifting cultivation.²³ About 4 lakh acres in Orissa and 5 lakhs in Assam are annually used for shifting cultivation. *Whatever be the merits of the policy to shift people as a long-term remedy, the transfer of population from the shifting cultivation areas to the lower regions down below does not appear to us to be a practical proposition that would yield results in the immediate future. It may well have to be phased over a period of 50 years. We feel that the solution is beyond the reach not only of the resources of the States but of the machinery they possess. Whatever be the method of approach, it should be practical and gradual without resort to compulsion from outside.*

13.22. Another serious problem concerns possible changes in the tribal idea of land tenure. As we have seen, the system of Jhum cultivation provides an excellent foundation for the co-operative community farming towards which many parts of the world are moving. The introduction of permanent cultivation, however, is turning the minds of the people more and more to the idea of private ownership. We should be careful that the new individualism does not lead ultimately to fragmentation and litigation about land.

13.23. *The most reasonable policy, therefore, is to develop shifting cultivation on scientific lines so as to limit its disadvantages and promote the fertility of the soil. For this purpose we recommend the undertaking of research in every area where jhuming cultivation exists on a wide scale.*

Agricultural colonies

13.24. Apart from the colonisation schemes taken up specially to wean away the tribals from shifting cultivation, a scheme of founding agricultural colonies to settle the Scheduled Tribes on agriculture has been introduced in some States. Each tribal family that needs it is to be given cultivable waste land, financial assistance for the construction of houses and for reclamation of the land, bullocks, agricultural implements and seeds. Facilities for communications, drinking water, irrigation, medical aid and panchayat ghar are also proposed. Sometimes the assistance is given on a concessional basis, sometimes it is free.

13.25. We visited a few colonies which ranged from the ideal to the absurd. At the apex of this experiment, we feel, stands the Mysore experiment. Excellent colonies have also been reported from Orissa. We had occasion to visit several colonies started by the Government of Mysore for rehabilitating the tribals. Under this scheme, a tribal family is provided with 3 acres of wet land or 5 acres of dry land. The land, in the first instance, is leased out for a period of 3 years, and if it is utilised properly then it is allotted to the lease-holders permanently. Each family is also given Rs. 500/- for reclamation of land purchase of plough, bullocks, agricultural implements, manure, seeds and fencing material. During the first four years of the Second Plan period, 45 agricultural colonies were set up by the State Government. The Commission was particularly impressed with the good work done at the agricultural colony at Adinapur. Every colony has a school and a community centre. Some of these colonies have a craft centre and a cooperative society. A full-time welfare worker helps and guides the colonies constantly and the results achieved are satisfactory.

13.26. At the other end stands the agricultural colony of Sitampeta in Palaconda Taluk, Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, which stands practically deserted for there is not sufficient land, no water and no facilities.

13.27. Between those two extremes come the other colonies, some good, some tolerable, others of doubtful utility. They include colonies to settle 30 families in Madhya Pradesh under the Land Colonisation Scheme; a colony to settle 100 landless tribal families in West Bengal; colonies to settle Scheduled Tribes like Yenadis, Yerukulas in Nellore District and a colony known as 'Gandhi Janosangam' of Yenadis, Yerukulas, Kamaras, which has been established by the Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Nellore.²⁴

Recommendations on Agricultural Colonies

13.28. *The Commission is not opposed to the scheme for agricultural colonies and agree that it is a good scheme and has a great potential. It would like to recommend that in any land colonisation scheme or agricultural colony, the following details require*

special attention, even if this means that the number of colonies and families that can be accommodated is reduced as a result :—

- (i) There should be adequate land. It should be properly demarcated. Title deeds should also be given simultaneously.
- (ii) Irrigation facilities should be available and provided directly. We cannot conceive of a new agricultural colony without some irrigation facilities.
- (iii) The settlers should be provided employment in clearing the land, constructing houses, wells, approach roads, and in irrigation work on wages to be borne by the government.
- (iv) The rates of labour should be fair. There should not be a contractor in between, nor should there be any question of expecting the people to do the work on an 'ad hoc' basis or on the basis of future payment.
- (v) They should be provided with bullocks, seeds and maintenance allowance for the period they work on the fields till they get the harvest.
- (vi) The colony should be self-sufficient in every respect. There should be proper arrangements for drinking-water. There should be a school and a cooperative society.

Soil Conservation

13.29. The terrain which the tribals cultivate is mostly undulating. Continuous cultivation has resulted in the erosion of the soil and reduced its fertility. The process is accentuated by winds, snow and turbulent water-courses in the hills. Scientific soil conservation on a large scale becomes essential.

13.30. We have a vivid recollection of the Commissioner of Poona Division, Maharashtra State, yearningly expounding the potential of this activity and imploring us to lend our weight to secure for the tribal areas enough funds for contour-bunding. The Commissioner is renowned for his contribution to soil conservation work. The Western Ghats have completely become bare and naked with little of vegetation and much less of forest. He drew our attention to the fact that the average rainfall on the Ghats varied from 70 inches to 200 inches, but there was nothing to halt the water, nothing to retain the humidity, nothing to prevent the hill currents from washing away the little soil on the bare rocks. He was of the view that any expenditure incurred on this activity will yield immediate returns. It will give new soil. It will give new vegetation and in a few years rejuvenate forests also. It will increase the humidity in the soil. It will refresh the dried-up subterranean currents and refill the dried-up wells. He saw nothing in the development programme that could compare with soil conservation schemes in terms

of benefit to the soil, the country and the tribals. Hill ranges extending from Nasik to Jaipur—whether they are Western Ghats, or Satpuras or Aravalli—present a gloomy appearance and reflect the hard life of the tribals who cling to them. The great need for these areas is soil conservation. To a greater or lesser extent this is true of India as a whole.

13.31. Some activity in this connection has started since the establishment of the Community Development movement. But it is neither proportionately much nor always done scientifically. In the Araku Valley of Andhra Pradesh, 15,000 acres were terraced till the end of 1960. They have a target of 90,000 acres. In Orissa, 75,400 acres have been contour-bunded, out of which, 71,387 acres (97 per cent) are in tribal areas.²⁸ Good work is being done in Maharashtra and Gujarat too. Everywhere, however, there is complaint that the funds are insufficient. The Forest Department also can look into this problem for it is beneficial to it also. What is needed is a concerted effort on the part of all the departments and the people.

Recommendations on Soil Conservation

13.32. We therefore recommend that :—

- (i) A phased programme of soil conservation, including contour-bunding, gully-plugging, terracing and field-bunding should be prepared for every Tribal Development Block.
 - (ii) In preparing the schemes, those areas which have a tribal concentration should be given precedence.
 - (iii) Subsidies should be given for soil conservation measures on individual as well as community holdings. The tribals' contribution, if at all, should be in the form of labour only.
 - (iv) Afforestation work should be taken up simultaneously. If necessary, research should be undertaken to find out—
 - (a) suitable grass and legumes for the locality,
 - (b) suitable techniques for gully-plugging (reclamation),
 - (c) fruit trees suitable for eroded soils.
- N.B.—Fruit trees, grass and legumes, selected after research which would prove useful for erosion control, should be multiplied in government nurseries and distributed to the tribals free of cost.
- (v) Expenditure from tribal funds on schemes that predominantly benefit others should not be permitted.

Irrigation

13.33. The all-India percentage of irrigation is 17 acres per hundred acres. We give below a table showing the figures of irrigation in some of the areas inhabited predominantly by the tribals Statewise.²⁹

TABLE 20

State	District	Percentage of the area irrigated to the total cropped area
1	2	3
Gujarat	1. Dangs	0.00
	2. Broach	0.70
	3. Panch Mahals	1.37
	4. Baroda	1.37
	5. Surat	1.45
Madhya Pradesh	6. Mandla	0.26
	7. Surguja	0.57
	8. Jabua	0.90
	9. Shahdol	0.46
	10. Bastar	2.50
Maharashtra	11. Yeotmal	0.63
	12. Amravati	0.78
	13. Nashik	0.86
	14. Thana	1.46
	15. Dhulia (W.K.)	4.29
Madras	16. Coimbatore	4.90
Orissa	17. Phulbani	0.28
	18. Sundargarh	4.20
	19. Mayurbhanj	6.30
Rajasthan	20. Banswara	2.00
	21. Dungarpur	4.00

13.34. These figures demonstrate the extreme backwardness of the areas from the point of view of irrigation. The tribal areas have plenty of rain-fall. There, therefore, can be no difficulty about availability of water for storing. Except in scarcity areas where preventive works are needed and where there are protection dams, there is, however, insistence on a percentage of returns. The second difficulty is lack of staff for technical surveys and for preparing financial estimates. When these two hurdles are crossed, there is the question of priority in terms of return on investment. When all these obstacles are overcome, there is the rich money-lender who has acquired most of the low lying land that can be irrigated. In the Narayanpatna Tribal Development Block in Orissa, the Project Officer admitted that the scheme for minor irrigation, costing Rs. 30,000/- in the Tribal Block from the Block funds had not benefited a single tribal.

Irrigation in Tribal Development Blocks

13.35. The problem of irrigation in the tribal areas has thus several facets. There are enormous difficulties. We have an inescapable duty to stand by the tribals. Since agriculture will be the mainstay of their economy, their holdings will be small and there is chance of further fragmentation, the only solution is intensive cultivation if their economy is to be built up. Intensive cultivation is not possible without irrigation. Irrigation implies lands which come under the command of the irrigation schemes. These lands may largely be in the hands of persons other than the tribals. Certain measures thus automatically become obligatory. One is that there will have to be a redistribution of irrigated or irrigable lands in the tribal areas although on a limited scale. Had there been any alternative we would not have recommended such limited redistribution at this late hour. We would agree that if there is an alternative available by which the tribal can get the benefit of irrigation, the State Governments would be justified in following that alternative.

13.36. Our approach to this problem of irrigation programmes in Tribal Development Blocks is as follows:

- (i) *First of all there is need, in each Tribal Development Block, for a survey of the tribals' land and the possible sources of irrigation.*
- (ii) *Those schemes of irrigation should get priority which ensure irrigation of the lands of the tribals and other under-developed groups.*
- (iii) *If there are schemes which can irrigate the lands, but not necessarily those of the tribals, they should be undertaken on condition that if they irrigate lands which have been acquired by individuals from the tribals such lands should be redistributed in a manner that irrigation facilities become available to all.*
- (iv) *In the areas where additional irrigation is not possible, if there are already irrigated lands which once belonged to the tribals, such lands should be redistributed.*

13.37. The necessity for this formula arises from a moral responsibility to stabilise the tribal economy. For a long time to come the only means of production on which the tribals will have to depend will be land. Single crop areas with the possibilities of continuous divisions will ruin them sooner or later. The history of Indian agriculture in the last century is one of fragmentation and ever-increasing percentage of agricultural labour. If the consequential damage is to be checked, the only remedy is at one end to stop fragmentation and at the other, to redistribute larger holdings. Steps that have been taken so far appear to us to be halting. There is a feeling among thoughtful people that those in charge of the affairs of the State are not convinced of the justice of agricultural labourers' case mostly because the latter are neither organised nor vocal. Be that as it may, we feel that there is a higher equity in favour of the tribals in relation to the lands that originally belonged to them. We are arguing from considerations of humanity.

Our purpose is to see that this vast community living in vast regions which can be inhabited by it alone becomes stable, thus giving stability to the regions and the country also.

Irrigation Generally

13.38. The demand for irrigation facilities is universal. The achievements so far bear no relation to the tribals' needs. We, therefore, recommend that—

- (i) *A special division under a Superintending Engineer for survey and execution of minor and medium irrigation projects should be set up in each State. In Rajasthan such a step has already been taken.*
- (ii) *State Governments should fix targets for minor and medium irrigation works in tribal areas. The irrigation department in the States should earmark a specific amount from its normal budget also for this project.*
- (iii) *The rules in relation to returns should be revised. The question of returns should be considered in the light of the condition of the areas and the people.*
- (iv) *All existing irrigation sources—wells and tanks—should be repaired and improved.*
- (v) *Irrigation wells should be constructed on a full subsidy basis.*
- (vi) *Improvement and extension of channels, installation of electric and diesel pumps and Persian wheels and boring; of tube-wells should be taken up wherever possible.*

Cash Crops and Horticulture

13.39. There are two other aspects of agriculture which have great possibility in the tribal areas provided proper research is undertaken, sufficient technical assistance is made available and adequate arrangements are made for transport and marketing. A rapid survey of the changes that are coming over agriculture in the country will satisfy one that the process of revolution has begun. The only difference is that the tribals have neither the means nor the influence to reap the full advantage of it.

13.40. Even so tribal areas are also affected by these changes. Lahaul produces a medicinal herb called 'Kuth'. The small producers have already formed a cooperative society. They are, however, working under difficulties. Amritsar and Bombay traders are the only effective exporters who are dictating terms and trying to upset the cooperative society. Himachal Pradesh is supplying potato seeds to a great part of India. The Administration is taking interest in promoting horticulture. The effort can be multiplied. Credit, transport and marketing facilities are needed very urgently.

Similarly, the Andhra Pradesh Government in the Araku Valley is trying pineapple and other fruits as well as coffee. A survey was carried out by the Coffee Board. It is estimated that about a hundred thousand acres can easily be brought under coffee. Andhra Pradesh can also supply chillies, betel leaves and cashewnuts.

Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan are ideal for growing cotton and tobacco at the lower altitudes and various types of fruits at the higher altitudes. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal show promise for oranges, plantains, pineapples and potatoes. They can also grow coffee at higher altitudes. Orissa can develop its turmeric cultivation. The Assam tribal areas, Manipur and Tripura even now grow large quantities of oranges and pineapples, but they are wasted for want of transport. They can grow tea also. Nagaland and NEFA can grow potatoes on a large scale. Mysore, Kerala and Madras can grow coffee, tea and fruits.

13.41. Crops such as cardamom, paper, coffee and cashewnuts which have not yet been tried on any large scale are sure to thrive in the higher altitudes or on the slopes of the hills. The introduction of these crops would improve the economy of the tribals, and since they are not perishable, their transport should present no serious difficulty. The possibility of growing tapioca and sweet potatoes in these areas remains to be explored.

13.42. As the standard of living in India rises, the demand for these articles will increase. It was suggested to us in Himachal Pradesh that India is importing three to five crores worth of dry fruits, grapes, dates, etc. This demand is insignificant compared to the size of the population. The tribal areas can easily meet a part of this demand, for the conditions in the tribal regions are ideally suited for production of these articles. During the First and Second Plans, the scope for developing horticulture in tribal areas has not been sufficiently explored. In the development of cash crops and horticultural produce, it is imperative to provide irrigation facilities, proper communications and quick transport, facilities for cold storage and marketing.

Recommendations on Cash Crops and Horticulture

13.43. *Our recommendations in relation to cash crops and horticulture, therefore, are :—*

- (a) *suitable land, including land now classified under reserved forest but which is without trees should, wherever it is available and there is a demand, be transferred to tribals and Panchayats for the development of horticulture,*
- (b) *the holder of land should be granted full rights over the trees and fruits,*
- (c) *arrangements should be made to supply plants, seedlings, manure and fertilizers,*
- (d) *arrangements should also be made to supply insecticides and plant protection equipments,*
- (e) *technical assistance and guidance should be given by the Agriculture and Forest Departments free of cost especially in the initial stages,*
- (f) *fruit preservation units should be established wherever necessary, and*
- (g) *transport and marketing facilities should be provided.*

Animal husbandry

13.44. Animal Husbandry, both as a principal and a subsidiary occupation, can make a very significant contribution to the tribal economy. Over vast areas in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc., the tribals also make use of the cattle for agriculture. In most of the Blocks in the tribal areas, the cattle population exceeds the human population. The following table indicates the strength of cattle population in the six districts of Madhya Pradesh with predominantly tribal population."

TABLE 21

1956 Census (Figures in Lakhs)

District	Total No. of cattle and buffaloes	Total No. of sheep	Total No. of goats	Total No. of pigs	Total No. of fowls
Bastar	10.68	0.06	3.27	1.18	8.98
Bilaspur	13.54	0.16	1.83	0.06	1.79
Jhabua	4.80	0.029	1.61	..	2.37
Mandla	7.08	0.018	0.78	0.12	2.88
Raigarh	7.31	0.32	2.18	0.30	3.52
Surguja	9.51	0.16	2.48	0.09	2.81

13.45. The schemes of development that were taken up during the Second Plan period included establishment of veterinary dispensaries and cattle breeding farms, training of veterinary personnel and distribution of bulls and cows. The following table, based on the information supplied by the Planning Commission, indicates the achievements:—

TABLE 22

State/Union Territory	Families benefited	Cattle breeding Centres	Veterinary hospitals	Training for Veterinary Surgeons	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
Andhra Pradesh	2	2	..	..
Assam	4	14	117	..
Maharashtra*	1,035	3	..	..	..
Madhya Pradesh	13	13	..	..
West Bengal	†	1	..	..
Himachal Pradesh	5	..	..
Manipur	4	..	..
Tripura	3	..	..

N.B.—No figures are available for Bihar, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

* Includes figures for Gujarat.

† 40 bulls supplied.

13.46. From the preceding table, it is obvious that no effort worth the name has been made for the promotion of animal husbandry in the tribal areas. In some places, the tribal has an almost exaggerated idea of the economic value of cattle.

13.47. The promotion of animal husbandry sometimes presents difficulties. The tribal loves his cattle but in many places has not realised its economic value. The same can be said of the attitude of the Hindus to cows. While they venerate the cow, they have not realised its economic utility. We feel hopeful that like his Hindu confrere, the tribal will also realise that there is no contradiction in putting to economic use the things one loves.

13.48. There is variety in the cattle wealth possessed by the tribals. A rich vocabulary will be added to the long list of animal wealth of India if a survey is undertaken of our cattle wealth in the hill areas. The uses to which the domestic animals are put are many and varied. They act as watchmen, as purveyors of milk and meat, as beasts of burden; they are useful in religious ceremonies and are treasured as friends. Tribals and animals in tribal areas are inter-dependent. The science of animal husbandry like other sciences is well developed in other countries but not so much in India.

13.49. The need for development is obvious. With the intensification of agriculture the tribals will need a large number of sturdy bullocks. With the development of the industrial areas there will be an ever-increasing demand for more milk, meat, eggs and fish. If the nutritional deficiency in the tribal's diet is to be set right, the tribals will also need more nourishing food. If needs of the country for raw materials for wool, horns, bones, hide and other things are to be met domestic animals will supply them. What is required is a simple and scientific method that will yield results with some speed and at low cost.

13.50. We were surprised to find that hardly any State Government has anticipated the need for an increased supply of bullocks for cultivation. We saw only a couple of cattle-breeding farms where emphasis is laid on rearing the proper type of bulls and cows. The major need of the tribal as soon as he gets irrigation water will be bullocks. The common bullocks that are useful in the plains areas may not be able to stand the climatic conditions and the strain of cultivation in the hills. We would recommend an early establishment in each region of a suitable farm. For this purpose it will be necessary that the type of the animal needed should first be fixed. In the rainy or snowy regions it is not possible for the dual-purpose cows of the plains to flourish. We suggest cross-breeds for milk purposes in the colder regions, together with the upgrading of the local type of bull and use of he-buffaloes in the high rainfall areas. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture may be asked to examine this question further.

13.51. In the development of animal husbandry, the three most important things are breeding, feeding and weeding. The tribals, especially students in the higher standards, should be given lessons on the subject, and some of them may be trained as stockmen or

livestock officers. Certificate courses should be started to prepare the ground for mass-scale education of the tribals in the benefits of animal husbandry. The insistence on fulfilling minimum educational qualifications for entry into the stockmen and livestock officer courses should be waived in the case of tribals at least in the initial stages.

There is a great future for animal husbandry in India. Great and sprawling towns are rising in the heart of the tribal areas. The development of animal husbandry will provide to the tribals an advantage over others. They can be the suppliers of milk, meat, eggs and fish and they can develop their own draught animals too. The whole conception of dependence on agriculture can be changed and the tribal villages can be farming-cum-dairying centres.

Recommendations on Animal Husbandry

13.52. We, therefore, recommend—

- (i) *Establishment of special unit for development of animal husbandry to guide and direct the Tribal Development Block agencies in the work of survey and development.*
- (ii) *Establishment of a nucleus cattle farm in each region for developing a draught and milch breed.*
- (iii) *Survey of the milk and other needs of the people in the area, assessment of the possibilities of meeting those needs in the area and the steps to be taken in that connection.*
- (iv) *Provision of veterinary services in the area for the protection and development of stock.*
- (v) *Arrangement for breeding, feeding and weeding of the cattle.*
- (vi) *Training on a mass scale for spreading the knowledge about improvement of the stock and economic utilisation.*
- (vii) *Training of tribal students in certificate, diploma and degree courses in animal husbandry.*
- (viii) *Development of credit and marketing facilities.*
- (ix) *Rearing goats, sheep, horses, mithuns, yaks, and choru and development of poultry and piggery.*

CHAPTER 14

VILLAGE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

We are looking at the question of cottage industries from the following three angles:—

- (i) to 'utilise' and develop the creative faculties of the tribal people;
- (ii) to provide gainful employment to the tribals; and
- (iii) to offer them an avenue for converting their raw materials into processed articles and thus taking their economy a step further.

Colour and Dexterity

14.2. In the case of tribals, the most important factor that we have to bear in mind is that they have dexterity and colour. Wherever these have been utilised the results have yielded some of the finest specimens of creativeness and art. Anyone who has seen the exquisite hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics of the Nagas and Baro Kacharis; the fine bamboo ornaments of Lushais; the wood-carving of Gonds and Baigas; the choice handiwork of bamboos of the Akas and Kamengs; woollen fabrics of the Kinnaurs; the Lahaulians and the Spitiens will realise what potential lies hidden in our hills and forests and what it can add to the artistic and aesthetic treasures of India, while simultaneously transforming the economy of these areas in a short time.

Privation

14.3. The existing low potential of agriculture coupled with the present low level of supplementary employment is in no small measure the cause of destitution in the tribal areas. This destitution is not confined to any particular part of the country, but in some months in a year it is widespread. Those who have neither land nor any other occupation are the worst affected. The last 10 years have made a change in the conditions because of the opening of development projects in the areas. These development projects have however not yet spread out to the farthest corners, nor does the work in the projects last for the whole year. Tribals who have been accustomed to shift and move, go out to earn a living. Those who remain behind or who cannot move out, lead a difficult existence. This is not visible if one goes immediately before or after the harvesting season. But in the one-crop area, as the summer months advance, the struggle for existence commences becoming more and more difficult as the monsoon sets in. Those who have some land do preserve something for the hard days. Those who are without land have to depend partly upon flowers, roots and the wild fruits that the forests yield. There are certain parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra where the struggle lasts for nearly two months. In certain parts of Bihar, Orissa

and Madhya Pradesh, the struggle lasts a little longer. It is very difficult to estimate the proportion of the tribals that have to undergo privation for lack of foodgrains, but in our opinion not less than 10 to 15 per cent of foodgrains, but in our opinion not less than 10 straits for a couple of months in a year.

14.4. A Deputy Development Commissioner and a Collector in Maharashtra gave us to understand that about 25 to 30 per cent of the people live on roots and leaves. They hardly get anything to eat for two to three months and for the rest of the year, most of the time throughout the monsoon, they eat roots, 'Kandmul' as they call it. They are forced to live under conditions which are more or less akin to primitive state. The President, Maharashtra Pradesh Adivasi Samaj Seva Sangh, Malegaon similarly told us that excepting some 1½ lakhs of tribal people the remaining 5½ lakhs remain half-starved for months in a year. A member of the Tribes Advisory Council of Gujarat stated, "They do not even get agricultural labour throughout the year. They remain unemployed at least for four or five months in a year. They have to suffer on account of starvation. Therefore, some small-scale industries should be started for giving them employment". We have come across in Bihar tribal hutments where there was nothing but roots to eat. In Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, we heard similar tales.

Avenues of Employment

14.5. The answer to this continuous struggle for existence has to be found in land, cottage industries, animal husbandry and forests for these people. Any one of these four by itself will not be adequate to support the entire mass in the context of their growing population. As the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee Report shows the scope of higher employment in agriculture is limited due to growing pressure on land, sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, employment of family labour and prevalence of mutual help among land-holders. The quantum of average employment available to casual adult male agricultural labourer is about 197 days in the plains¹. This together with self-employment for 40 days comes to 237 days in a year even in the case of a person who has some land. The Government through the development programmes has reduced the intensity of the effect of mass unemployment upon the economy in the plains. All this points to one definite conclusion that we cannot look to land alone for satisfactory solution of this problem. Land alone is in no case an adequate answer.

14.6. Poverty in the midst of considerable unused human and material resources and undeveloped creative faculties is the phenomenon that faces us in the tribal areas. It was the genius of Gandhiji that conceived of a plan to combat this poverty by providing opportunities for work and developing the local resources through improved techniques in the field of production. It was a mass approach to the problem of unemployment and under-employment. The village and cottage industries movement was the outcome of this conception. In our opinion if the problem of destitution or the sub-normal standards of living in the tribal areas is to be tackled, it can only be through development of village and cottage industries. The theory

of percolation of prosperity would be sound if there were no handicaps of illiteracy or disparity and the bottlenecks inherent in an acquisitive type of economic frame-work.

Direction of the Programmes and Organisation

14.7. The problem of village and cottage industries is one of proper direction and of large-scale organisation. It was with that purpose that the All-India Spinners Association and Village Industries Association were started under the inspiration of Gandhiji even before Freedom. We had the benefit of getting the advice of the Chairman of Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Shri V. L. Mehta. He gave us to understand that—

- (i) Khadi Commission, like all other statutory bodies, had to function within the limits prescribed by its constitution and the rules.
- (ii) The programmes for different village industries under its purview and the pattern of assistance available were not specifically oriented to serve the needs of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.
- (iii) If the Commission were to work in the Scheduled Areas, Government would have to invest the Commission with the necessary authority to vary the appropriate patterns to suit the needs of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.
- (iv) As conditions varied from one area to another and from one tribe to another, the authority required would be of a general nature so that the Commission could modify its pattern of assistance suitably for each of the areas in which it would operate.
- (v) The response of the population, moreover, may not be of that intensity as might be expected.
- (vi) The outlook for implementing programmes for the development of consumer goods industries in these areas is not bright.
- (vii) Programmes based on the utilisation of forest wealth or on the processing of forest produce would be comparatively easy.
- (viii) To undertake the formulation or implementation of such programmes it would be necessary to obtain the specific sanction of government.

The colleagues of the Chairman, Khadi and Village Industries Commission, made out two additional points—

- (ix) The Commission should be permitted to run Gramodyog Bhandars on a barter basis.
- (x) The work can be taken up through non-official agencies.

14.8. We were rather surprised that there was not much contact between those in charge of tribal problems at the Governmental level and those in charge of the village industries at the Union Government level. We feel that a clear policy decision needs to be taken in consultation with those who are competent to guide and operate in order to do full justice to the programme. As we shall presently observe, owing to the lack of an organisation and absence of a clear-cut policy, the efforts at spreading village and cottage industries have been mostly superficial.

14.9. Because of lack of any organisation there is very little of preliminary survey of the scope of such industries, or of market, nor about the benefit resulting from the schemes undertaken. Because of lack of application of mind there is no idea about the type of industries that would be suitable for the areas. In the absence of a clear-cut line of approach, while money has been spent, to what extent such expenditure had secured the basic purpose has remained mere guess-work.

Plans

14.10. The following tables give the original allocation in the Central and the State sectors, together with the revised figures in the Second Plan period and achievements during that period—

TABLE 23

1	1st Plan (Rupees in lakhs)	2nd Plan (Rupees in lakhs)
	2	3
All Backward Classes	74.17	547.29
Scheduled Tribes	47.43	238.50 } 120.18—State sector. 118.32—Central sector.
Expenditure incurred for Scheduled Tribes ..	47.43	148.54 } 93.09—State sector. 55.45—Central sector (excluding expenditure in those states for which information is not available.)

TABLE 24
Table showing the revised allocations and anticipated expenditure on Village and Cottage Industries together with shortfall and main achievements during the Second Plan period.

States/Union Territories	1st Plan Expenditure	Second Plan						Short-fall (—) or Excess (+)	Main targets achieved			
		Original Allocations		Revised Allocations as communicated by States/Union Territories		Anticipated Expenditure as communicated by States/Union Territories						
		State	Central	State	Central	State	Central			Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Andhra Pradesh	0.57	1.90	3.66	5.56	3.57	3.66	7.23	2.90	3.66	6.56	-0.67	11 Handicraft Centres, 3 Production-cum-Training Centres under State Sector
Assam	27.03	34.09	8.00	42.09	34.08	8.00	42.08	22.33	4.65	26.98	-15.10	1 Training-cum-Production Centre for Carpentry, 2 Training Centres for brick laying, 1 Training Centre for masons and 4 Training Centres for bee-keeping under Centrally Sponsored Programme. 95 Training-cum-Production Centres, 6 Emporia for production of tribal Arts and Crafts; 12 Establishments and Extension of Training Centres, etc. Grants-in-aid to various institutions numbering 1257. 778 Trainees given stipends for various Trades; Production of raw silk Cocoons, muga mulberry silk 902,000 lbs, Handloom Fabrics 54 Million yards; 32,868 Shuttles converted—under State sector. 6 Production-cum-Training Centres under Centrally Sponsored Programme.

Bihar	2-51	2-37	31-00	33-37	22-80	*	22-96	11-26	*	11-26	32-42	11-64	54 Cottage Industry Centres under State sector; 466 Trainees and 400 Co-operative Societies of the Trainees given subsidy, 3 Technical Schools, 25 Training-cum-Production Centres, 1 Tussar Station and 2 other new stations and marketing organisations for Tussar Cocoons to be maintained under Centrally Sponsored Programme.
Bombay	4-65	1-64	7-50	9-14	21-04	12-46	33-50	23-64	8-78	32-42	1-08	(1) Forest Labourers—100 Societies; (2) Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies—60, (3) Industrial Co-operative Societies of Backward Classes—39. Economic uplift to 375 persons, 247 Co-operative Societies in the Scheduled Areas, Subsidies, etc. to 23 Co-operative Societies, 2 Handicraft Centres, 3 Cottage Industry Training Centres, 1 Technical Training Centre for tribal Yonhis under State sector, 3 Production-cum-Training Centres, 600 persons given subsidy under Centrally Sponsored Programme.	
Kerala	7 Craft Centres till 1960 under Centrally Sponsored programme.
Madhya Pradesh	..	5-97	0-25	12-22	12-74	5-56	18-30	8-55	4-35	12-90	-5-40	3 Development Centres of Tussar and Eri Silk, 1 Central Organisation, 2 Training Centres in Carpentry, Smithy, Tile-making and Pottery, etc. 1 Lac and 1 Ross. Oil Industry, 1 Tailoring Centre, 1 Grass mat-making Centre with a building, 2 Handloom Centres and 40 persons trained under State sector, 2 Training-cum-Production Centres under Centrally Sponsored Programme.	
Madras	..	5-06	3-27	8-33	2-75	1-65	4-40	2-64	1-77	4-41	+0-01	1 Training-cum-Production Centre, 1 Basket-making Centre, 8 Cottage Industries Centres for Women, 1 Workshop, 20 families supplied beehives under State sector, 6 Cottage Industrial Training Schools and 1 Building for the school at Coimbatore, '95 tribals trained in Smithy and Carpentry under Centrally Sponsored Programme.	

TABLE 24—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Mysoore	..	1.04	..	1.14	2.50	*	2.50	1.19	*	1.19	-1.31	6 Rattan and Bamboo Craft Centres, 900 families supplied with bee-hives under State sector.
Orissa	0.72	20.49	12.56	33.05	5.79	13.84	19.63	4.98	20.70	25.68	+6.05	100 boys trained under State Sector. 500 boys trained and 8 Production-cum-Training Centres under Centrally Sponsored Programme.
Punjab	1.04	2.08	3.00	5.08	2.08	3.00	5.08	2.03	2.99	5.02	-0.06	1 Demonstration Unit for training local people in Spinning and Weaving and also to demonstrate Carding, felting, embroidering and Carpet-weaving is provided. Spinning Wheels to ex-trainees, 15 and 20 persons trained in Spinning and Weaving respectively. Technical guidance to 295 persons under State sector.
Rajasthan	1.79	4.00	..	4.00	9.19	3.75	12.94	6.44	1.50	7.94	-5.00	7 Production-cum-Training Centres under State sector, 2 Production-cum-Training Centres under Centrally Sponsored Programme.
West Bengal	0.85	15.41	9.41	24.82	3.97	6.16	10.13	3.95	6.16	10.11	-0.02	384 Students trained in Vocational Trades and Crafts, 264 Scheduled Tribes given financial assistance for various trades and crafts, 5 Production-cum-Training Centres under State sector. 1 Society with one godown for marketing of paddy and storage, 2 Bee-keeping Centres, 3 Lac Cultivation Centres, 1 Training-cum-Production Centre in Metal Sheet Industry and Wool Industry at Kalimpong under Centrally Sponsored Programme.
Himachal Pradesh	0.08	1.42	6.00	7.42	*	*	..	*	*	..	..	1 Weaving Centre and 1 Carpentry Centre under State sector.

	0-40	1-70	0-36	2-08	1-95	1-00	2-95	1-60	0-89	2-58	-0-37
Manipur .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tripura	0-06	1-75	3-00	4-75	1-96	*	1-96	1-49	*	1-49	-0-47
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	93-09	55-45	148-54	..
Hyderabad .. .. .	..	2-89	..	2-89	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Madhya Bharat	7-67	12-96	3-68	21-64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Travancore-Cochin .. .. .	..	..	3-33	3-33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ajmer .. .. .	..	3-65	1-50	5-15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhopal .. .. .	..	0-47	..	0-47	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coorg .. .. .	..	0-24	..	0-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kutch	0-06	..	1-25	1-25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vindhya Pradesh .. .. .	..	..	3-30	3-30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Saurashtra .. .. .	..	0-95	6-25	7-20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	47-43	120-18	118-32	238-50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

4 Weaving Centres and 3 Carpentry Centres under State sector. Chandal Weaving Training Institute under Centrally Sponsored Programme.

Stipends to 130 tribal trainees; Equipments distributed to 27 Mahila Samitis; Grants to 84 ex-trainees for raw materials and tools; Purchased products of tribal handicrafts under State sector.

N.B.—*Information not available.

It will be seen from table 24 that complete information in regard to the anticipated expenditure is not available in respect of Bihar, Kerala, Mysore, Himachal Pradesh and Tripura. Of the remaining States, which have furnished full information, the extent of shortfall is high in three States only: Rs. 5.00 lakhs in Rajasthan (38 per cent); Rs. 15.10 lakhs in Assam (35 per cent) and Rs. 5.40 lakhs in Madhya Pradesh (29 per cent).

14.11. The impression these figures will leave on anyone who studies them will be that the State Governments have been largely thinking in terms of assisting the existing cottage industries and imparting some training. Both these purposes are necessary, but they are not enough. An investment on village and cottage industries of Rs. 2 crores calculated at the rate of Rs. 500 per head of investment for overhead, training and equipment can at best give employment to 40,000 people or 8,000 a year in a population of 200 lakhs of tribals. Even so, if the work had been undertaken in a systematic manner it would have made some impression.

Three kinds of industries

14.12. The village industries in the tribal areas can be divided into three categories (i) consumer goods industries, (ii) processing industries and (iii) handicrafts and art pieces. Different treatment is required for different categories.

14.13. Taking consumer goods industries first, the tribals' needs are still insignificant. There will not, therefore, be much of a local market for articles manufactured in tribal villages. There should be close study of the possibilities before a consumer goods industry is opened anywhere. Similarly, the third type of industry which is also dependent upon the outside market requires a survey or an assessment of the potential markets. Wherever there is any expectation that the industry will work, a pilot project can be started. But there should be no unplanned endeavour. Whenever the possibilities are noticed the effort should be systematic and should be accompanied by provision for adequate financial investment together with adequate training facilities. It should be an organised effort and the organisation should be able to cope with all aspects of production including raw material supply, credit supply, training, equipment, storing, marketing and most of all, accounting.

14.14. The prospects for processing industries are, however, exceedingly bright. There have been efforts made to organise such industries and it has been found that it can be done. Adda leaves (Palas) used as dining platters is one such industry. The Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation purchases Adda leaves from tribals in large quantities and has started selling them to the traders after converting them into platters. Even art is being introduced in it. It is yielding larger income to the tribals. In course of time the tribal instead of selling the leaves will be selling ready-made platters. The same thing applies to the brooms and the baskets. There is a wide market for them. In fact, this can be said about many other minor and major forest produce. In a NEFA village they have set up a saw mill. That has attracted the tribals' attention.

14.15. *Wherever, therefore, there is raw material available and there is a market available locally or outside, the principle should be that the raw material should not go out as raw material but should go as a processed article unless the cost is uneconomic or it involves technical or transport problems beyond the reach of the administration in the tribal area.*

Effective Organisation

14.16. *The basic thing, however, is the need for an effective organisation for all the three types of village and cottage industries. It is only when there is an organisation solely devoted to the task of survey, study, piloting and organising that there will be any appreciable change in the situation. We may not forget that it required twenty years or more for the All-India Spinners Association to produce an impact and that too with the weight of a towering personality like Mahatma Gandhi and the backing of the nationalist movement. We see no possibility of this work progressing without an organisation.*

14.17. *In this respect it is clear that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the All-India Handicrafts Board can take over a large share of responsibility. What remains can be attended to by an organisation modelled according to their advice. These agencies have the background and reputation. They have experience and personnel. The Union Government should not find it difficult to vest them with necessary authority. The work will then be on an organised basis.*

14.18. *There should be attached to each State institution representing them, a special section to assist the field agencies with guidance, technical assistance, training facilities and financial help. The Tribal Welfare Departments with the assistance of the State Boards should set up a field organisation for the purpose.*

14.19. *As time passes, the cottage, village and small-scale industries sector would come into their own, and along with land, forests and animal husbandry play a part in providing employment to the tribals as part of the co-ordinated plan of economic development. We have dealt with this question in the Chapters on Forests and Agriculture in great detail and we would not like to repeat our observations. We would like to place the utmost emphasis on the development of this aspect of the tribal economy.*

Raw Materials

14.20. *We append at the end of the Chapter a table showing the raw materials available in the forest in the shape of minor forest produce.³ A glance at the table will satisfy one that there will not be much difficulty in securing a market in relation to most of the items. This will only mean a question of transport to the nearest trade centre after the raw materials are processed in the forest areas. All these things, 'Tendu' leaves, handspinning, handweaving, sericulture, wool, cane and bamboo work, bell metal, paddy husking, bee-keeping, boat-making and net-making are in demand practically everywhere.*

Production and Training Centres

14.21. We visited a number of production-cum-training centres. We observed in some places that other youths outnumbered the tribals and that too in the centres opened by the Tribal Development Blocks. We also saw that selection of trade was not carefully done having regard to the needs of the area and also the psychology of the people. Tannery should not be introduced in the tribal areas so long as it carries a social stigma among the tribals. Satisfactory records have not been maintained of the follow-up efforts made by the authorities about the rehabilitation of trainees after completion of their course.

Possibilities in States

14.22. There is some scope for expansion of cottage industries in Assam, NEFA and Nagaland. Weaving, cane and bamboo work, carpentry, smithy, canning and food preservation, bee-keeping, limestone burning and coke-making, hand pounding of rice, boat-making together with Assam's particular muga, eri and tussar can easily take care of the unemployment and under-employment prevailing amongst them. It was represented to us that because of the political situation the Assamese have almost lost the Tibet market for their wares. This requires further examination.

14.23. Spinning, weaving, tussar rearing, silver jewellery, bell metal work, bamboo, pottery, wood carving, blacksmithy, net-making, blanket weaving, rope-making, comb and toys-making and instruments can flourish in Bihar. The Institute of Industrial Designs in Bihar should come forward with tribal designs which have plenty of market about which survey has still to be made.

14.24. Orissa has a large scope for handloom, spinning, bamboo work, rope-making, bee-keeping, carpentry, broom-making and soap-making. Maharashtra can, along with the above trades, supply cashewnuts. Gujarat and Rajasthan can do the same. Some of the plains tribals namely, Lambadas and Yenadis of Andhra Pradesh are very good at embroidery, mat-weaving, boat-making and net-making (for fishing). In Kerala, bamboo work, mat-weaving and basket-making are traditional crafts of the tribals. Mysore is famous for bamboo and rattan work. Kurabas of Mysore are well known for extraction of honey.

14.25. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa are dominating the Indian scene in bidi manufacture. There is no reason why processing of tobacco and preparation of bidis cannot be taken over by the tribals. Pilot schemes can be undertaken. It is reported that there is a large margin of profit in this trade.

14.26. Himachal Pradesh can be the fruit garden of India. It can supply most of the dry fruit needs of India. It can also supply all kinds of woollen fabrics and so too Lahaul and Spiti. On account of the happenings in Tibet, the tribals in Himachal Pradesh, as also in Lahaul and Spiti are experiencing great difficulties in obtaining wool for spinning and weaving. In Lahaul and Spiti, the local spinning and weaving industry and economy of the people have been adversely affected due to the stoppage of supply of

Pashmina wool from Tibet on which the industry depends. Unless adequate quantities of wool are supplied to maintain the industry as well as meet their domestic requirements, a very difficult and serious situation can arise.

14.27. With the rich basic resources that the forest areas possess and with the backing of a vast agricultural community there is no reason why there should be under-employment or unemployment in these areas. It is a question of effort, organisation and practical schemes. Without anyone of these three very little can be accomplished. With these three nothing is impossible.



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TABLE 25
Table showing the scope for development of more important Village and Cottage Industries in tribal areas in various states.

Name of the Industry	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Bihar	Maharashtra	Gujarat	Kerala	Madhya Pradesh	Madras	Mysore	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan	West Bengal	Himachal Pradesh	Manipur	Nagaland	Tripura
1. Collection & processing of forest produce like—																	
(a) Tendu Leaves—Bidi making.	Yes	..	Yes	Yes	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	..	..	..
(b) Medicinal herbs ..	..	..	Yes	Yes	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	..	..	..
(c) Mahua-seed oil-soap.	Yes	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(d) Match sticks from bamboo.	Yes	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(e) Charcoal and Coke-making.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	..	..	..
2. Setting up of saw mills on co-operative basis.	Yes	..	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	Yes	Yes	..	..	..	..
3. Furniture making, manufacture of doors & windows.	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	Yes	Yes	..	Yes	Yes	..	Yes	Yes	..	..	..	..

CHAPTER 15

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS

The Community Development Evaluation Mission in India organised in 1958-59 by the United Nations Technical Administration characterising the Community Development movement as one of the major experiments of the 20th Century, says in its review: "The Community Development programme is intended to meet all these problems (ignorance, illiteracy and poverty of the rural population) through an integrated comprehensive approach which is simultaneously economical and social aimed at both future production and current welfare. Its theory is that change cannot take place in an isolated fragment of a society, but must be a total process involving the total person and the entire community. The energies upon which it depends are mainly those of the people; the chief source of capital upon which it must draw is the surplus labour of the villagers".

15.2. The Commission had before it the reports of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes and the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks Committee which was specially appointed in May 1959 to examine the functioning of the Blocks.

15.3. This project to develop the neglected villages of India, especially as it affects tribal India, is one of great importance. A Development Block has on an average 20 technicians and about a dozen trained Gramsevaks and Gramsevikas. Never before in India's history has such concentrated attention been paid to the economic and technical needs of the rural people. When the whole country is covered there will be about 1,50,000 trained persons to help the awakened rural areas. The following table indicates the amount and variety of training that has to be given to this great army of workers¹.

TABLE 26

Extension Staff in Position
(as on the 30th September, 1960)

	<i>Numbers</i>
(a) Block Development Officers	3,172
(b) Extension Officers (Agriculture)	3,161
(c) Extension Officers (Animal Husbandry)	1,840
(d) Extension Officers (Cooperation)	2,577
(e) Extension Officers (Village Industries)	1,658
(f) Extension Officers (Panchayats)	1,654
(g) Social Education Organisers (Men)	3,359
(h) Social Education Organisers (Women)	1,549
(i) Overseers	2,426
(j) Gram Sevaks	30,853
(k) Gram Sevikas	2,775
(l) Progress Assistants	1,754
	56,778

15.4. It must be said to the credit of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation that it has devoted special attention to the question of proper recruitment and training especially through its reorientation courses and posting and functioning of its personnel.

15.5. We discuss, in the pages that follow, the contribution of this nation-wide movement to the tribal areas and deal with the improvements needed in order to make it even more useful and successful.

Objectives and Approach—All-sided Development

15.6. The natural concomitant of a free society is a responsible society. It is a credit to the old structure of the village that it has withstood, through the centuries, great changes and powerful attacks on its integrity. New obligations in the wake of freedom are now coming on the rural population. Every free citizen and every free society have to be ready to discharge them. The government has provided them with a vehicle and medicines. In the tribal areas these Blocks were formerly called by the name of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks. These Blocks are now called Tribal Development Blocks.

15.7. The objectives of this programme have recently been re-defined as follows:—

“To promote the all-sided development of the village community, including their economic, political, social, cultural and moral development; in particular:—

- “(a) to develop *a spirit of community life* among the people by promoting cooperation and mutual sharing, leading ultimately to voluntary community ownership of the basic needs of production, such as land, and fulfilment by the village community of responsibility for the welfare, employment and livelihood of all its members,
- “(b) to make the village *self-sufficient*, in the primary needs of life, such as food, clothing and shelter and to promote the development of each village along with the development of the local area of which it forms part, and
- “(c) to develop *self-reliance in the individual, and initiative in the community* so that the people are able to manage and run their affairs themselves and make the villages self-governing units.”

15.8. The first two objectives, the spirit of community life and self-sufficiency in the primary needs of life are entirely compatible with tribal psychology and its way of life and the third objective of self-reliance and initiative is deep in its tradition. The tribal areas have preserved to the present time a spirit of community living, self-reliance and initiative and many villages are self-sufficient in their essential primary needs of life. The labour, whether in the field or in the farm, is in the case of many, on a community basis. Their holidays and days of joys and sorrow are observed as a whole. The tribals accept this movement as an extension of their own way of life.

15.9. In order to implement these objectives, the country has been divided into Blocks. Each of these Community Development Blocks contains about 100 villages covering an area of about 150 square miles

and a population ranging between sixty and seventy thousand. Before entering on the intensive or First Stage, every Block (except the Tribal Development Blocks) has a "pre-extension" phase of one year during which the programme is exclusively confined to agricultural development. Then follows a period of intensive development for five years. On completion of that period the Block enters the Second Stage during which development is continued with a relatively reduced budget. These Blocks are opened in all rural areas throughout the country, irrespective of the level of development of any particular area, whereas the Tribal Development Blocks (formerly called Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks) are opened where there is a predominantly tribal population. Since in the tribal areas the population is often sparse and the terrain difficult, each Tribal Development Block is planned to cover about 25,000 persons as against 65,000 in a normal Block. To encourage more intensive effort in these Blocks, the Ministry of Home Affairs contributed in the Second Plan an amount of Rs. 15 lakhs per Block in addition to the usual Rs. 12 lakhs available for a Stage I Block. In the Third Plan the Ministry of Home Affairs' initial contribution will be Rs. 10 lakhs per Block.

Present Coverage

15.10. During the Second Plan 43 Tribal Development Blocks were opened. They cover 23,540.58 square miles, and have a population of 16.85 lakhs, of which 12.1 lakhs (71.0%) is tribal. The average coverage in each Block works out to 182 villages with a population of 39,193 spread over an area of 547.45 square miles. The distribution of these Tribal Development Blocks has been as follows*:-

Madhya Pradesh	...	...	...	10 Blocks
Bihar	...	...	...	8 Blocks
Assam	...	...	...	7 Blocks
Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa	...	...	...	4 Blocks each
Gujarat	...	...	...	3 Blocks
Rajasthan, Manipur and Tripura	...	...	...	1 Block each

Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks Committee's Recommendation for the Third Plan

15.11. The Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks has made a number of very valuable recommendations after studying the working of these Blocks. The Committee was satisfied that they are proving useful and it, therefore, recommended that the additional Tribal Development Blocks in the Third Plan period should not be confined to Scheduled Areas but should cover other tribal areas also, wherever the tribal concentration is 55 per cent. of the total population.⁵ On this basis the Working Group in the Ministry of Home Affairs recommended the opening of 480 Blocks during the Third Plan period.

Union Government's Decision

15.12. We understand, however, that the latest plan is to open only about 300 additional Tribal Development Blocks in administratively viable units where the tribal population is at least two-thirds of the total. The phasing of the programme is 10 per cent per year in the first two years, 20 per cent in the third, 25 per cent in the fourth and 35 per cent in the fifth year of the Plan.⁶

15.13. The Working Group in the Ministry of Home Affairs had decided that areas predominantly inhabited by tribals should be

covered by Tribal Development Blocks on the basis of the criteria recommended by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. It had also suggested tentative allotments. According to its proposals, Bihar and Orissa were to get 100 Blocks each, Madhya Pradesh 71, Gujarat 61, Maharashtra 46, Assam 36, Rajasthan 35, Andhra Pradesh 19 and the rest of the States except Madras and West Bengal 2 or 3 each. The Union Government have, however, sanctioned 57 Blocks for Orissa, 56 for Madhya Pradesh, 48 for Bihar, 39 for Gujarat, 37 for Assam, 16 for Maharashtra, 15 for Andhra Pradesh, 11 for Rajasthan, 7 for Manipur, 2 for Himachal Pradesh and 1 for Kerala: in all 289 Blocks.⁶

Union Government's Criteria for Delimiting Tribal Development Blocks

15.14. While delimiting the Tribal Development Blocks to be opened during the Third Plan period, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Union Government has taken into account only one condition, that the proposed Block, with an area of about 200 square miles and a population of about 25,000 should have at least 66.6 per cent tribal population.⁶ We are of opinion that the original proposal of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks was a sound one. The Ministry of Home Affairs is naturally concerned to see that the maximum benefits go to the tribals. This could surely be ensured by proper programmes and implementation as otherwise a large number of places which have concentrations of Scheduled Tribes will be excluded. For instance in Madhya Pradesh, the Scheduled Areas of Baihar Tehsil of Balaghat District, Bhainsdehi Tehsil of Betul District, Kenda, Matin and other ex-zamindari areas of Bilaspur District and Jhabua District with areas ranging from 1,500 to 2,500 square miles and with Scheduled Tribes population ranging from 60,000 to 3,46,000 will not get a single Tribal Development Block under the new scheme. Other anomalies will crop up. This arbitrary standard of 66.6 per cent tribal population will thus lead to discrimination which could not have been in the Ministry of Home Affairs' mind.

15.15. We would draw the attention of the Union Government to the new approach suggested by us in the chapter on Criteria for the Scheduled Areas. There are two courses open to the Government. The first is to extend the benefits of the Fifth Schedule to areas that fulfil the four criteria suggested by us and declare them Scheduled Areas, or to accept the alternative plan for protection and development with specific targets, specific priorities and a definite time-schedule suggested by us therein. As a part of the alternative plan, all the areas where there is a concentration of Scheduled Tribes should be grouped together for the purpose of coverage under the Tribal Development Blocks and an intensive effort should be undertaken to promote economic development, education, health, housing and communications, so as to bring them to the level of the neighbouring areas with a gap not exceeding five years.

15.16. We realise that the financial burden involved in the latter case will be heavy. We also realise that the present phasing of the programme will have to be reviewed and that even when money is available, it will be difficult to find sufficient technical personnel. All these problems notwithstanding, we think that if we are to meet

our responsibility of ensuring protection, development and integration of the tribes, we will have to exert ourselves much more than at present and make the necessary resources and technical personnel available.

15.17. We, therefore, recommend that the question of coverage should be reviewed and necessary regrouping be made. The Ministry of Community Development and the Ministry of Home Affairs will have to work out the details on the basis of the alternative plan suggested by us. The area of a Tribal Development Block should in that case be between 150 square miles and 200 square miles and the population approximately 25,000. Where these limits are crossed, the Blocks should be reorganised.

Pre-extension Stage

15.18. As we have seen above, there is no pre-extension stage for Tribal Development Blocks. It has been represented to us that its absence poses difficult problems to the State Government and the Project Officers. Selection of staff and their training delays the commencement of work. Sometimes the delay is so much that it leads to the dissipation of initial enthusiasm, and works in the final stages have to be hurried with consequent lowering of quality.

15.19. The Commission, therefore, feels that there should be a pre-extension stage even in Tribal Development Blocks with the additional reason that the staff should get acquainted with conditions in the tribal areas and know something of their life and language.

15.20. If we have not misunderstood the intention of the Union Government in the Ministry of Home Affairs' circular dated the 27th May 1961, the idea is to have some kind of a pre-extension stage. If this is correct, they should clarify it as soon as possible. If, however, this is not the intention, we recommend that the Union Government should reconsider this matter.

Schematic Budget

15.21. We give in the table below the details of the schematic budgets for the various types of Blocks now in existence.¹

TABLE 27

(Rupees in Lakhs)

Heads	Community Development Blocks			Tribal Development Block (5 years)	NEFA pre-extension (1 year)	NEFA Stage I (5 years)	NEFA Stage II (5 years)
	Pre-extension (1 year)	Stage I (5 years)	Stage II (5 years)				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Block Headquarters. (Staff, etc.)	0.168	3.15	0.85	7.00 (b)	0.12	1.65	1.19
II. Agriculture & Animal Husbandry.	0.020	0.50	0.50	1.50	0.08	0.70	0.40
III. Irrigation. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IV. Reclamation, Soil Conservation, etc. . . . .	..	3.40	0.85	4.00	..	0.30	0.10
V. Health & Rural Sanitation. . . . .	..	1.15	0.50	2.00	..	0.30	0.10
VI. Education. . . . .	..	0.60	0.50	0.75	..	..	..

(b) This includes a provision of Rs. 1 lakh for project staff quarters.

TABLE 27—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
VII. Social Education, Women, Youth and Children's Programme.	..	0.70	0.50	0.75	..	0.15	0.29
VIII. Communications	0.85	0.50	4.00	..	0.80	0.40
IX. Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries.	..	0.65	0.50	2.00	..	0.10	0.10
X. Rural Housing	1.00 (a)	0.30	2.50	..	0.80 (c)	0.60 (d)
XI. Cooperation	2.00	..	..	..
XII. Miscellaneous (Survey, Research, etc.).	0.50	..	..	..
TOTAL ..	0.188	12.00	5.00	27.00	0.20	5.30	3.29

NOTE:—(a) This includes provision for project staff quarters.

(c) This includes a provision of Rs. 0.50 lakh for staff quarters.

(d) This includes a provision of Rs. 0.10 lakh for project staff quarters.

After the completion of the intensive phase the Tribal Development Blocks also will be treated as Normal stage II Blocks and will be entitled to receive Rs. 5 lakhs for 5 years.

15.22. Mention of the "Schematic Budget" produces certain reactions in the State Governments. The conditions in tribal areas are distinct from those in the rural areas. Any mechanical application to tribal areas of schemes primarily intended for people with reasonably developed consciousness living in thickly-populated areas is not advisable. The conditions in the tribal areas also vary widely; amongst themselves tribals react differently to different things. We discussed this aspect in detail with the representatives of the Ministry of Community Development. They affirmed that there was no question of applying anything mechanically and that this fact was being emphasised in their conferences and circulars repeatedly.

15.23. We tried to enquire from the State Governments the real difficulty in the matter. They accepted the fact that they had received such an assurance. They also agreed that they were repeatedly told to act on their own initiative. Their difficulty was, however, that there were intangible factors which substantially neutralised this assurance. As an example, they pointed to the recruitment rules, financial procedures, norms and forms of evaluation and multiplicity of programmes. They also accepted the fact that nobody could dispute the need for rules and procedures. They themselves would not like to be parties to any kind of misuse of Government finance or any laxity.

15.24. We feel that there is some force in the argument of the State Governments that these factors are operating despite the best intentions of the Ministry of Community Development. A few of them also came to our notice. A psychology prevails amongst the Block-level officers and non-officials that they are expected to fulfil the required financial and physical targets to prove that a Block is a success. In two of the States we saw a categorisation of efficiency of the Blocks on the basis of achievement of financial and physical targets. According to this categorisation, Blocks in operation for less than one year, which had succeeded in spending more than 50 per cent of the financial allocation, were to be classed as category A

Blocks; those that had spent between 25 and 50 per cent as category B; and those below 25 per cent were to be put into category C. In relation to Blocks in operation for more than one year the financial targets are respectively 75, 50 to 75 per cent and below 50 per cent. In relation to physical achievements, a number of items under each sector are selected and 'per Block—per quarter' achievements are expressed as percentages of a norm to be fulfilled. The Blocks are classified on the basis of certain indices by combining these percentages. Those that have completed two years and show hundred per cent 'achievement' are placed in category A, between 50 and 100 per cent in category B and below 50 per cent in category C. For that Blocks that have not completed two years, the expected targets are 25 per cent less^a.

15.25. The consequence of adopting such a standard is to force the staff to raise the tempo of expenditure and start off the programmes on their own initiative rather than on the initiative of the people. Even though the targets may thereby be fulfilled, the objective of self-reliance and self-sufficiency may not be advanced. Thus the schematic budget does result in driving the staff to fulfil the physical and financial targets anyhow; rather than to take up schemes which would be more in consonance with the objectives of the programme.

15.26. The tribal needs are food all the year round, drinking water in summer months, employment in the off-season, fuel and timber for repairing or building houses, contour bunding of their undulating lands, minor irrigation facilities, schools and medical facilities. These are the felt needs of the people. It is only after these are satisfied that they would think of other needs. The emphasis of the schematic budget tends to give the question of felt needs a second place and the first place to 'works'. The operation becomes more and more a 'works' or 'construction' programme and less and less an 'extension' programme. The content and quality also suffer. Excessive spending also tends to weaken the tribals' self-reliance and initiative. This also explains to a certain extent the fall in the people's contribution in the local works programme.

15.27. One typical example of absence of initiative can be cited. The Commission visited a Development Block in Orissa. The tribal representatives complained that after the emergence of the new order they were prevented from practising shifting cultivation (*Podu*, as they call it there) under a promise of alternative lands for horticulture. They did not receive the land, but the *Podu* cultivation was stopped. The Block Development Officer, on being asked whether the Government could not give those lands for horticulture when the tribals were not permitted to do *Podu* cultivation, replied that the matter was under consideration. When asked further if it was not desirable to permit them to do *Podu* cultivation so long as the matter was under consideration and alternative land was not given to them for horticulture, he replied that he also felt like that but he was helpless and pointed to the Collector, saying that he knew the whole position. When we turned to the Collector, he suggested to the Commission that they might take up the matter with the State Government as it involved a policy matter. This and other things that we observed lead us to agree with the recommendation of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks that a certain background has developed

behind the idea of schematic budget. It interferes to an extent with the initiative of the people and works for rigidity, resulting in lopsided development.

15.28. In the place of a schematic budget the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks has prescribed certain percentages after making provision for expenditure on staff. We were told that at one stage of discussion it was against prescribing any such percentages for fear of the same result. The percentages it had prescribed simply denoted its priorities for provision of finance. It never thought in terms of percentages being kept up in all the Tribal Development Blocks even when the conditions otherwise required. Even its proposed percentages were flexible. They were as follows:—

Schemes for Economic Development	...	60 per cent.
Communications	....	25 per cent.
Social Services	... ..	15 per cent.

15.29. We, in common with almost everyone who has studied community development in the tribal areas, emphasise in the first Chapter of the Report, the need for concentrating on fundamental objectives and cutting out the "frills", the showy things that impress a visiting VIP but are not essential to the urgent tribal needs of the present time. We, therefore, suggest all concentration on economic development, education, health, and communications, but without laying down any percentages.

15.30. Although we ourselves and the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (two of whose members are also members of our Commission) agree in stressing economic development as requiring top priority there is, at first sight, some disagreement between us. This, however, is more apparent than real. The view of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks was that the allocation for Education need not be included under the head of Social Services in the Block Budget as it would be better that the whole burden of financing education both in the Blocks and outside should fall on the Education Departments of the States and also because voluntary agencies, including missionary institutions, make a considerable contribution to education in many of the tribal areas. Since the Committee also recommended that a minimum expenditure should go for the Social Education and Housing, most of the allocation, therefore, under the head of Social Services would go for Public Health. Members of the Committee later agreed that funds for the supply of drinking-water, which they recognised as of highest importance, might be taken from any of the heads. They were further of the view that conditions in different tribal areas varied so greatly that the utmost liberty should be given to the States, and even to the local Block Development Committee, to arrange priorities according to local tribal needs within a very broad pattern, and that to tie up staff with a schematic budget would, in fact, create "a sort of psychological paralysis" which it was essential to avoid.

15.31. *We would, therefore, suggest that the term "schematic budget" should be substituted by some other term which is flexible. It may be called "model budget" or "illustrative budget". The budget for each Block should be prepared by the Block Development Committee in consultation with the local officers of the Tribal Development Block. District Collector in charge may give them such guidance*

as he feels suitable. The Development Blocks should concentrate on economic development, education, health and communications.

15.32. We have examined the position of financial targets on the basis of the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks Committee's recommendations. The following table shows the difference between the allocations in the schematic budget and the proposals for allocation made by the Committee:—

TABLE 28

Item in the schematic budget.	Amount allocated under the existing schematic budget.	Percentage to total	Amount proposed to be allocated by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks	Percentage to total
1	2	3	4	5
1. Project Headquarters (Staff etc.,)	7.00	25.9	7.00	31.8
2. Economic Development (Items II, III, IV, IX, XI XII of Statement under paragraph 15.21)	10.00	37.1	9.00	40.9 (60% of 2+3+4)
3. Communications ..	4.00	14.8	3.75	17.1 (25% of 2+3+4)
4. Social Services (Remaining items).	6.00	22.2	2.25	10.2 (15% of 2+3+4)
Total ..	27.00	100.00	22.00	100.00

15.33. This will show that—

- Though the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks Committee recommended minimum amount of Rs. 10 lakhs to be spent on agriculture, irrigation, reclamation and soil conservation, the total amount available after making necessary provision for the staff, etc. will be Rs. 9 lakhs only⁵.
- Though there will be some increase in the allotment for schemes of economic development and communications, there will be much greater increase in expenditure on Project Headquarters.
- There will be considerable reduction in the amount available for schemes under Social Services.

Planning Commission's Views

15.34. The Planning Commission, it is understood, has accepted in principle the distribution of allotments under the various heads as proposed by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks.

Union Government's Views

15.35. The Union Government in the Ministry of Home Affairs, in respect of their contributions for the Tribal Development Blocks

(Rs. 10 lakhs for Stage I and Rs. 5 lakhs for Stage II) have, however, recommended the following expenditure pattern—

- (a) Staff, vehicles, etc.—20 per cent.
- (b) Economic Development—48 per cent.
- (c) Communications—20 per cent.
- (d) Social Services—12 per cent.

Note:—(1) Money for drinking-water wells may be found from any head.

- (2) If any amount is reserved to be spent from the Block funds on education, 90 per cent of it should be spent on Scheduled Tribes.

Commission's Observations

15.36. We have already stated our view above. We are in the first instance opposed to any fixed percentage. We would at the same time like to make a few observations.

15.37. *Project Headquarters*—In the schematic budget for a Tribal Development Block there is an item of Rs. 7 lakhs under the head "Project Headquarters" as against Rs. 3.15 lakhs for the normal Stage I Block and Rs. 1.65 lakhs for NEFA Stage I Block. This disparity is explained by the difference in the number of personnel employed. However, the criticism on this score remains and we feel that there is scope for economy and recasting of the budget. The Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, although it did not go into financial details, contemplated a considerable reduction of expenditure under the head "Project Headquarters". For it urged that the Block Headquarters should be situated in the interior among the least developed tribe and should be built with local material. It would be improper to spend nearly 33 per cent of the total budget on "Project Headquarters". We agree with this view. This would, of course, result in a very large saving.

15.38. *Agriculture, Irrigation, etc.*—The provision of Rs. 4 lakhs for land-reclamation and irrigation in the Tribal Development Block, when compared with a provision of Rs. 7 lakhs under the head "Project Headquarters", can easily be mis-interpreted. Again, when in the case of a normal Stage I Block, out of Rs. 12 lakhs, an amount of Rs. 3.40 lakhs has been reserved for irrigation, reclamation and soil conservation, it was unreasonable to have fixed in the case of a Tribal Development Block Rs. 4 lakhs for this purpose out of Rs. 27 lakhs. There is a case for reconsideration. It is true that more funds would be forthcoming from the general budget of the States for these purposes, but this is more likely in the case of other areas than in the case of tribal areas because the pressure from the former will be as great or perhaps greater.

15.39. *Education*—The allocation for Education is very meagre and it would be really very difficult to find additional funds from the Block Budget for this purpose. On the other hand, if we go on the basis of the existing allocation, the progress of education in tribal areas will be very slow. We, therefore, agree with the recommendations of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks that the funds available under the Block Programme should be administered by the Education Department. The State Government should also allocate more funds from the general revenues for expenditure on education in the tribal areas.

Recommendations

15.40. We would also like to make the following additional recommendations:—

- (i) Before the commencement of the Block activities it is necessary to have a preliminary socio-economic survey of the area.
- (ii) On the basis of this survey, the State Government in consultation with the District Development Committee should indicate the general priorities in respect of the important items such as economic development, communications, health, education and drinking water supply.

The priorities suggested by the State Government would be for the purpose of guidance of the project staff and the local people. They should have the option to change the order of priority.

- (iii) While doing this, care should be taken to avoid multiplicity of schemes, emphasis being laid on a few selected schemes in relation to matters for which there is a recognised felt need. In relation to schemes of economic development emphasis should also be laid on productive employment. An integrated development programme in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and industries should be undertaken as recommended by us in the earlier chapter.
- (iv) Responsibility for successful implementation of this programme by activating the project staff and rendering necessary assistance and advice to the Block Development Committee should be that of the Collector. The Collector should be in a position to accord sanction or order modification on behalf of the State Government in respect of all schemes.

Staffing Pattern

General

15.41. The staffing pattern for the various types of Blocks is as under—

TABLE 29

(Number of posts)

Categories of staff-members	Community Development Blocks.			Tribal Development Blocks	NEFA Types		
	Pre-extension	Stage I	Stage II		Pre-extension	Stage I	Stage
Block Development Officer (Project Officer for Tribal Development Blocks).	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Agricultural Extension Officer.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Extension Officer for Soil Conservation.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..

TABLE 29—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Extension Officer for Animal Husbandry.	..	1	1	1	..	1	1
Veterinary Doctor	1	..	1	..	..	..
Extension Officer for Co-operation.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Extension Officer for Panchayats.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Extension Officer for Rural Industries.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Extension Officer for Rural Engineering (Overseers).	..	1	1	2	..	1	..
Assistant Engineer	1	..	..	..
Extension Officer for Social Education (S.E.O.)	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Extension Officer for Women & Children (Lady S.E.O.)	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Medical Officer	1	..	2	..	..	..
Compounder	1	..	2	..	..	..
Sanitary Inspector	1	..	1	..	..	..
Lady Health Visitor	1	..	1	..	..	..
Midwives	6	..	..	..
Stockmen (Veterinary)	2	..	2	..	..	..
Messenger (Veterinary)	2	..	2	..	..	..
Progress Assistant	1	1	1	..	..	..
Head Clerk	1	..	..	..
Accountant and Clerks ..	1	4	4	4	1	2	..
Driver	1	1	2	..	..	..
Class IV employees including sweepers.	1	6	4	8	..	2	2
Gram Sevaks ..	5	10	10	10	4+2	10	10
Gram Sevikas	2	2	2	..	..	..
Total ..	9	46	31*	57	9	18	15

*In the Second Stage the administrative control of the technical staff and the institution is transferred to the Departments concerned.

15.42. We agree with the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks that there should be a Forest Extension Officer attached to the Tribal Development Block and the charge of a Gram sevak should be reasonable. The terrain is difficult and normally a Gram-sevak should be in a position to pay a visit to every village at least once in a fortnight in the agricultural season. We consider the knowledge of the local language an absolutely essential qualification for a Gram sevak. If the work is to be undertaken on the scale we envisage, the question of extra pay will only go to limit the number of Tribal Blocks and, therefore, we do not recommend it. With a view to introducing the staff gradually, we would suggest that a Block should start with reasonable staff, viz., Project Executive Officer, Agricultural Extension Officer, Soil Conservation Officer, Medical Officer and Assistant Engineer. With the progress of the activities other officers like Extension Officer for Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Officer, etc., may be introduced.

Training

15.43. The Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development, the Institute for Instruction on Community Development, the Orientation and Study Centres and training centres for Social Education Organisers and Mukhya Sevikas, as also Small Industries Service Institutes and Khadi Gramodyog Mahavidyalayas for special training in village industries and Public Health Institutes and Gram Sevak Training Centres are all doing commendable work.

Progress of Expenditure

15.44. Although the scheme of the Special Multipurpose Blocks or Tribal Development Blocks, as they are now called, was sanctioned in 1956 almost all the Blocks started functioning only from 1957. The total allocation for 43 Blocks at the rate of Rs. 27 lakhs per Block as sanctioned in 1956 was Rs. 11.46 crores. Since the inception of these Tribal Development Blocks upto December, 1960, an amount of Rs. 5.42 crores has been spent over these 43 Blocks as per details furnished in the following table¹⁰:—

TABLE 30
Table showing State-wise and Head-wise Expenditure on Tribal Development Blocks since inception upto the 31st December, 1960 (Rs. '000)

Heads (No. of Blocks)	Andhra	Assam	Bihar	Gujarat & Mahara- shtra	Madhya Pradesh	Orissa	Rajas- than	Manipur	Tripura	Total
I	4	7	8	7	10	4	1	1	1	43
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
I. Block Head Quarters ..	1,087	2,156	3,568	1,045	3,990	1,553	140	394	346	13,979
II. Economic Development—										
(a) Agriculture Extension and Animal Husbandry.	213	914	826	369	1,510	767	13	183	177	4,372
(b) Irrigation and Reclamation	197	315	1,753	660	1,375	382	387	384	73	5,526
(c) Village Industries ..	188	277	865	324	804	143	11	88	107	2,807
Total ..	598	1,506	3,444	1,353	3,689	1,292	411	655	357	13,305
III. Communications ..	442	896	1,453	305	1,319	878	23	373	203	5,892
IV. Social Services—										
(a) Health and Rural Sanitation	214	705	1,018	381	1,005	628	64	163	60	4,238
(b) Education ..	159	346	370	323	477	289	6	39	174	2,183
(c) Social Education ..	201	239	477	133	468	297	21	40	..	1,876
(d) Housing ..	108	813	1,433	319	1,139	539	33	24	101	4,509
Total ..	682	2,103	3,298	1,156	3,089	1,753	124	266	335	12,806
V. Miscellaneous ..	122	..	153	6,636	1,956	10	144	..	123	8,244
GRAND TOTAL	2,931	6,661	11,916	10,495	12,843	5,486	842	1,688	1,364	54,226
Peoples contribution ..	240	1,072	3,876	1,113	1,375	346	99	700	153	8,974
People's contribution as percentage of Grand Total ..	8	16	33	11	11	6	12	41	11	17

15.45. This table reveals that—

(a) As against the total amount of Rs. 11.46 crores sanctioned for 43 Blocks, the expenditure during the period 1956—60 amounts to Rs. 5.423 crores. The expenditure upto September, 1959, was 34.42 per cent. By December, 1960, it has gone up to 47 per cent, showing a rise of 13 per cent in one year and three months. It is certainly an improvement on the situation as it existed when the evaluation was made by the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks Committee.

(b) The table further shows the percentage of expenditure under four heads as follows:—

1. Staff	25.9%
2. Economic Development ..	24.6%
3. Communications	10.9%
4. Social Services	38.6%

(c) People's contribution has been only 17 per cent of Government expenditure as against 44.4 per cent in other Community Development Blocks in India.

(d) Expenditure on Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Irrigation and Reclamation has been only 19.5 per cent as against 29.2 per cent in other Community Development Blocks in India.

(e) It will be pertinent to note that the percentage of expenditure on Education is 1 per cent in Rajasthan, 2 per cent in Manipur, 3 to 4 per cent in Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, 5 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Orissa and 10 per cent in Tripura. If the figures of Social Education are added to this, it comes to 4 per cent in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Manipur, 6 to 7 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, 8 to 10 per cent in Assam, Orissa and Tripura and 12 per cent in Andhra Pradesh.

Physical Achievements in Tribal Development Blocks

For All Tribal Development Blocks

15.46. The following table shows the average cumulative achievement per Block for some of the important items of activity and its

comparison with those in an average Community Development Block. ¹¹ & ¹²

TABLE 31

Item	Average cumulative achievement per Tribal Development Block (within a period of about 4 years)	Average achievement per year per Tribal Development Block (Col. 2 divided by Col. 4)	Average achievement in 1959-60 per Community Development Block
1	2	3	4
<i>Agriculture</i>			
1. Improved seeds distributed (mds.) ..	4,688	1,172	3,211
2. Chemical fertilizers distributed (mds.)	2,990	748	5,629
3. Improved implements distributed (Nos.)	256	64	139
4. Agricultural Demonstrations held (Nos.)	2,724	681	580
5. Compost pits dug (Nos.) ..	3,607	902	1,126
<i>Animal Husbandry</i>			
1. Improved animals supplied (Nos.) ..	32	8	7.3
2. Improved birds supplied (Nos.) ..	283	71	102
<i>Rural Health & Sanitation</i>			
1. Pucca latrines constructed (Nos.) ..	125	31	50
2. Drinking water wells constructed (Nos.)	65	16	15
3. Drinking water wells renovated (Nos.) ..	135	34	17
<i>Communications</i>			
1. Katcha roads constructed (miles) ..	64	16	5.7
2. Existing katcha roads improved (miles)	44	11	11.0
3. No. of culverts constructed	44	11	8.6

This table leads to the following conclusions:—

- (a) As compared to the other Blocks, development activities have been in progress at a slower pace in the Tribal Development Blocks.
- (b) Activities in the field of Agriculture are lagging behind in the Tribal Development Blocks.
- (c) Activities in the fields of Animal Husbandry, Public Health and Communications on reported items in the Tribal Development Blocks are nearly on par with those in the other Community Development Blocks.

Achievements in Some Tribal Development Blocks

15.47. Lest what we have said above create an impression that not much work has been done in these blocks we give below an idea of the work done in some of the blocks. It will be evident that the programme has great potential and is being worked out at more than one place with great earnestness and sincerity.

Sukhsar Tribal Development Block in Gujarat

15.48. (a) Facilities for primary education have been extended to all the villages and new school buildings constructed in 32 out of 60 villages.

(b) 10 ordinary Primary schools have been converted into Basic schools.

(c) The area under double cropping has increased from 5,777 to 19,204 acres.

(d) Area under irrigation has increased from 190.02 acres to 1,342 acres by constructing and repairing 433 wells.

(e) 8,726 acres of land have been protected by soil conservation operations such as contour bunding, terracing, etc.

(f) Use of fertilizers, etc., has gone up from 89.27 mds. in 1957-58 to 919.28 mds. in 1960-61.

(g) Area under improved seeds has gone up as per details given below:—

	(Acres)	
	Paddy	Maize
1957-58	NIL	160
1960-61	5,532	7,717
Total area under the crop (1960-61)	14,818	8,527

(h) Average yield of crops has gone up as per details given below:—

	Prior to Block Activities (1956-57)	Now (1960-61)
Paddy	12 mds.	26 mds.
Maize	10 mds.	12 mds.
Wheat (Irrigated)	10 mds.	22 mds.

(i) 8,492 fruit trees, 7,000 bamboo plants and 20,654 other trees have been planted.

(j) Average annual income has increased from Rs. 275/- per family to about Rs. 425/- per family.

(k) A six bedded Primary Health Centre and three sub-centres have been opened.

(l) 68 per cent of the total population has been brought under co-operative fold.

(m) Road mileage has increased from 9 to 60 miles connecting all the 60 villages by all weather or fair weather roads with district roads.

15.49. *Khedbrahma Tribal Development Block in Gujarat—*

- (a) 1,894 mds. of fertilisers and 4,802 mds. of improved seeds distributed.
- (b) 812 acres of area brought under vegetables and fruits.
- (c) 3,488 improved implements distributed.
- (d) 1,200 acres of area covered under soil conservation programme.
- (e) 3,834 acres additional area brought under irrigation by constructing or repairing 869 irrigation wells.
- (f) There was no area under cotton before the commencement of the Block activities. Now 78.2 per cent of families grow American cotton on 5,000 acres of land.
- (g) Agricultural income within 4 years has gone up by Rs. 22 lakhs.
- (h) Per capita income has gone up from Rs. 44 in 1954-55 to Rs. 101 in 1959-60.
- (i) 45 drinking water wells have been constructed or repaired.
- (j) The whole Block has been provided with facilities for primary education.
- (k) 250 miles of pacca and katcha roads have been constructed.

15.50. *Mokhada Tribal Development Block in Maharashtra—*

- (a) Cultivators have used 533 mds. of improved paddy seeds and 633 mds. of fertilizers.
- (b) 160 families have been enabled to purchase milch cattle.
- (c) 3,500 mango grafts of improved varieties have been successfully planted by cultivators
- (d) 340 acres of land has been bunded.
- (e) 20 new drinking water wells have been constructed.
- (f) 12 new school buildings have been constructed and 13 have been under construction.
- (g) Link roads with a total length of 16 miles are under construction.
- (h) 250 persons have been helped to construct or repair their houses.

15.51. *Akrani Mahal Tribal Development Block in Maharashtra—*

- (a) 1,256 mds. of fertilizers and 1,894 mds. of improved seeds have been distributed.
- (b) 3,995 acres have been covered under the soil conservation programme.
- (c) 1,200 acres of additional area brought under irrigation.
- (d) 75 drinking water wells have been constructed or repaired.
- (e) 25 new school buildings have been constructed.

Conclusion

15.52. These are four specimen Blocks that we have selected out of the Blocks that we have visited with a view to demonstrate the potential of this programme. We think that if there is co-operation among the tribal representatives and the non-official agencies and the Government, similar results can be obtained everywhere. The whole question is one of co-operation among all the agencies and selection of a few items with a view to create an impression on the tribal mind that if he takes the initiative he can within a period of time tackle some of the basic problems, in relation to economic development, education, health and communications, that he faces. We may once again repeat that given this atmosphere and this initiative, we have full hope that the alternative programme envisaged by the Commission can be fulfilled successfully and the problem of economic development successfully tackled.

15.53. We need not repeat the many suggestions of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks which went into very great detail and in particular, has stressed, as we ourselves have done the importance of the correct approach, the "imponderables" of all work in the tribal areas and the need to obtain the right type of men and women. Mere money is not the essential thing nor is its expenditure the ultimate criterion of genuine progress. The success of the Blocks will ultimately depend on the devotion and enthusiasm of those who go for work in them and the response that they can evoke in tribal people. The Committee's view is epitomised in the following words:—

"Some of the tribal areas have already made, and we hope that soon they all will make, sensational progress in material prosperity. Yet this prosperity may be positively dangerous unless there is a simultaneous ethical and spiritual renaissance. It is unhappily true that when a tribal enters our world of today he all too often loses the fine qualities that formerly distinguished him. India is a secular state and it would be improper for official or even voluntary organizations that receive support from Government, to promote any particular religion or ideology. But the tribal people themselves have ideals which in their own way are good and beautiful. We must cherish these and help them to grow so that there will be no loss of those imponderable treasures that give dignity to the life of Man."¹³

Recommendations

15.54. We, therefore, make the following recommendations:—

- (i) As far as the coverage of the tribal areas by the Tribal Development Blocks is concerned, the criterion of 66.6 per cent tribal population in selecting the area, as fixed by the Ministry of Home Affairs, is inappropriate and will lead to discrimination. The original proposal made by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks in this connection was a sound one. All the areas where there is a concentration of Scheduled Tribes should be grouped together for the purpose of coverage under the Tribal Development Blocks and an intensive effort should be undertaken to raise the level in the spheres of economic development, education, health, housing and communications, to that of the neighbouring areas so that the gap does not exceed five years. The question of coverage should, therefore, be reviewed and necessary regrouping made. The Ministry of Community Development and Home Affairs will have to work out the details. The area of Tribal Development Block should in that case be between 150--200 sq. miles, the population approximately 25,000 and the tribal population more than half or thereabout. Where these limits have been crossed, the Block should be re-organised.
- (ii) There should be a pre-extension stage even for a Tribal Development Block.
- (iii) The term "schematic budget" should be substituted by some other term which is flexible. It may be called "model budget" or "illustrative budget". The budget for each Block should be prepared by the Block Development Committee in consultation with the local officers of the Tribal Development Block. The Collector may give them suitable guidance.
- (iv) The funds available under the Block Programme for education should be administered by the Education Department. The State should also allocate more funds from the general revenues for expenditure on education bearing in mind the relative backwardness in the tribal areas.
- (v) (a) Before the commencement of the Block activities, it is necessary to have a rapid sample survey of the area.
 (b) On the basis of this survey, the State Governments in consultation with the District Development Committees should indicate the general priorities in respect of important items such as economic development, communications, health, education and drinking water supply. The priorities suggested by the State Governments would be for the purpose of guidance of the project staff and the local people. They shall, however, have the option to change the order of priority.
 (c) While doing this, care should be taken to avoid multiplicity of schemes, emphasis being laid on a few selected schemes in relation to matters for which there is recognised felt need. In relation to schemes of econo-

mic development, emphasis should be laid on provision of productive employment. Integrated developmental programme in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and industries should be undertaken.

- (d) Responsibility for the successful implementation of this programme by activating the project staff and rendering necessary assistance and advice to the Block Development Committee should be that of the Collector. The Collector should be in a position to accord sanction or order modification on behalf of the State Government in respect of all schemes on the recommendation of the Block Development Committee when he is satisfied that doing so is in the interest of the Block and especially when the villagers are prepared to share a substantial burden.
- (vi) There should be a Forest Extension Officer attached to the Tribal Development Block.
- (vii) The charge of a Gram Sevak should be reasonable. He should be in a position to pay a visit to every village at least once in a fortnight in an agricultural season. Knowledge of the local language should be an essential qualification for a Gram Sevak.
- (viii) With a view to introducing the staff gradually, a Block should start with the minimum staff, viz. Project Executive Officer, Agricultural Extension Officer, Soil Conservation Officer, Medical Officer and Assistant Engineer. With the progress of the programme, as drawn up, the other officers like Extension Officer for Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Officer, etc., may be introduced.

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CHAPTER 16

THE PROBLEM OF INDEBTEDNESS

One of the worst forms of exploitation to which the tribal people have been, and are still, exposed is through traditional money lending. The Fifth Schedule empowers the Governor of a State to regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of Scheduled Tribes in Scheduled areas. We propose in this chapter to assess the extent of indebtedness among the tribal people, examine the role of the money-lender, examine the success or otherwise of legislative and executive measures adopted by the State Governments to control the evil and suggest measures for the future.

Lack of Scientific Data

16.2. In this task we have been considerably handicapped by the lack of scientific studies in regard to the tribals. The All-India Rural Credit Survey, whose report was published in 1954, was in the nature of a general survey of indebtedness in the whole country. Its observations and recommendations, though to some extent applicable to the tribal areas, do not specifically relate to them. Moreover, they relate to a period when the idea of planning was still in an experimental stage and the credit policies of the country had not been liberalised. We are, therefore, basing our suggestions on a few surveys on indebtedness in the tribal areas, representations made to us and our own observations in the field.

16.3. The size of the problem is enormous. It has various aspects—psychological, social and economic. It is difficult to estimate the psychological burden: for some at least, all happiness and peace of mind is lost, while others so burdened seem to sink into a dull and hopeless apathy. Often the debts descend from father to son and even to the third generation. Generally speaking the tribals appear to accept indebtedness as a normal, almost inescapable aspect of their existence. On the social side, the customs of marriage, death and hospitality are deeply ingrained though for a time it is true that these customs provide occasions for the tribal to escape from the dull routine of village life. On the economic side, the tribals rely entirely upon the money-lender for the settlement of his dues. His faith and trust in him is quite astonishing. One reason is that the money-lender gives easy credit when it is needed most. The tribal does not seem to believe in the law of limitation, nor in defending himself in a court of law, nor in distrusting the money-lender's word. The cumulative result of this three-sided oppression is crushing. It is in this context that we proceed to consider this tragic and all-pervasive problem.

Various Practices

16.4. One of the most urgent matters that face the State Governments is the abolition of forced or bonded labour. It is

known by various names in different parts of the country. In Rajasthan, it is called Sagri; in Andhra, Vetti; in Orissa, Gothi; in Mysore, Jeetha; and in Madhya Pradesh, 'naukri nama'. In N.E.F.A. and Nagaland, the relationship is between tribal and the tribal; in other parts of the country it is mostly, but not always, tribal and non-tribal. The prominent feature of the system is that a man pledges his person and sometimes a member of his family against a loan. The pledger or his nominee is released only on its discharge. Until then the man himself or the member of the family is required to work for his creditor against his daily meals. Since he gets no money, he has to depend upon someone in the family to procure the sum required for his release and this, of course, is rarely available. The relationship lasts for months and sometimes years, occasionally for an entire lifetime and not infrequently follows the male heir.

16.5. There is another category of money-lender known by different names in different areas, in one as 'Punjabi', in another as 'Madras', in a third as 'Kangal Bank'. They lend petty sums, on atrocious rates of interest and stoop to all means to recover their dues.

16.6. The third category of money-lender is the professional one. They lend money for productive as well as non-productive purposes at high rates of interest. While they do not accept forced labour or resort to other unscrupulous means of recovery, they nevertheless sap the vitality of the tribal economy.

16.7. The role of cooperatives in the tribal areas is still insignificant. Attempts to develop them have been made on a very meagre scale. In Andhra Pradesh, the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation Ltd. has done some work in this direction. In Gujarat and Maharashtra, the home of the cooperative movement in India, the activity is under way. The level they have reached can be judged from the following figures:—

TABLE 32

State	Total No. of Cooperative Societies as on 30.6.1960 in the State	Total No. of Cooperative Societies established in districts inhabited by tribals
1	2	3
Andhra Pradesh	23,635	156*
Gujarat	13,108	478
Maharashtra	28,972	1,289

* Figures incomplete.

The relief given by the State in the Tribal Development Blocks, though not substantial, is fair. Elsewhere, amongst the settled tribal cultivators, the State gives taccavi loans but in the interior the credit facilities the tribals get are negligible.

Statewise Conditions

16.8. While basically conditions are far from satisfactory in every part of India, they differ from State to State.

16.9. *Bihar*—Though no regular survey has been conducted in Bihar tribal organisations and non-officials made representations to the Commission about the high incidence of debt. A member of the Legislature told us that more than 75 per cent of the tribals were in debt. Members of the Aboriginal Welfare Board, Daltonganj, stated that 90 per cent of the tribal population in their area was indebted.

16.10. *Kerala*—A large number of Paniyans, who are the most undeveloped among the tribal groups in Kerala, serve as bonded labourers under the landlords, who are also the money-lenders, in consideration of loans advanced. By the clever manoeuvrings of the landlords, the earnings of the tribals are never adjusted towards the loans and consequently they are perpetually in debt. The custom is, however, fading away.

16.11. *Mysore*—Certain non-officials of Kharapur (Mysore District) told the Commission that about 300 families of Sholigars are working under a system of bonded labour called 'Jeetha'. Under this practice, the tribals, whose ancestors might have borrowed sums ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500, work under the landlords indefinitely on wages sometimes as low as Rs. 25 per annum, in addition to food and clothing. We have passed on the information to the State Government for enquiry and action.

16.12. *Madras*—A high incidence of indebtedness leading to a form of bonded labour has been reported among the Paniyans. The Kotas of the Nilgiris, a very hard-working tribe of artisans and agriculturists, told the Commission that they were indebted to the extent of Rs. 2,000 to 2,500 per family. The Irulas told the Commission that each family has a debt ranging from Rs. 400 to 500.

16.13. *West Bengal*—In Masanjhar, it was reported that the average debt per family is Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 or 10 to 15 maunds of paddy, and the tribals had to do manual labour for the landlords and money-lenders on obtaining loans.

16.14. *Andhra Pradesh*—In Andhra Pradesh, both in the Telangana and Agency areas, the 'Vetti' and 'Gothi' forms of bonded labour were in vogue. The Muttadars, a chain of intermediaries, serve both as landlords and money-lenders to the tribals. The Chairman of the Zila Parishad, Warangal, told the Commission that the average debt per family among the tribal people was about Rs. 50. The Chairman of the Zila Parishad, Srikakulam told us that the incidence of indebtedness was so high that once a tribal borrowed

from a sahlukar he was never able to free himself, as whatever he paid towards redemption of his debt was counted against interest and the capital always remained unpaid.

16.15. *Assam*—The Chief Minister of Assam told the Commission that on the basis of a sample survey conducted in different areas of the State, about 28 per cent of tribals in Jaintia Hills, 17 per cent in Mikir Hills, 39 per cent in Nowgong District, 38 per cent in Darrang, 66 per cent in Sibsagar and 35 per cent in Diphu were indebted.

16.16. *Madhya Pradesh*—The Socio-Economic Survey of selected villages in the Tribal Blocks of Madhya Pradesh revealed that out of 1,319 households surveyed, 645 were in debt, that average debt per household working out to Rs. 130.¹ A Member of Parliament from Mandla told us that, under a system of 'naukri nama', bonded labour still exists in his district. Two Members of Parliament and other non-officials, as well as the Collector of Sidhi referred to the prevalence of the Hali system in the tribal areas. The Madhya Pradesh survey revealed that out of the average family debt of Rs. 130.44, Rs. 51.66 was incurred for social functions.

16.17. *Punjab*—In Punjab, the Economic and Statistical Organisation conducted a survey of Lahaul and Spiti which revealed that 70 per cent of the families were in debt. The total estimated debt in Lahaul was Rs. 13 lakhs owed by about 1,300 families. It worked out to an average of Rs. 1,000 per family. Out of these, 229 families had a total debt of Rs. 1.8 lakhs which was more than ten years old. The average debt per family in their case worked out to Rs. 786. There are 166 families whose debts are not more than ten years old. Their liabilities were in all Rs. 9.5 lakhs. In their case the average debt per family came to about Rs. 900. 521 families had incurred their debts in 1959. The sum taken on loan was Rs. 2 lakhs. In the case of a Lahaulian, however, his debts are attributable partly to the commercial nature of the transactions. The Lahaulian is a renowned trader with Tibet.²

16.18. *Rajasthan*—According to the Survey of Indebtedness in the Kushalgarh Tribal Development Block in Banswara District conducted in seven selected villages in 1960, it was found that here were 86 money-lenders, out of whom 16 belonged to the tribal communities. The average debt per family worked out to Rs. 179.59. A family consisting of three members on an average had a debt of Rs. 50 and a family consisting of 7 to 9 members had on an average a debt of Rs. 240.12. Out of 168 families in relation to whom the survey was made, 62 had borrowed for foodgrains, 29 for clothes, 26 for marriage, 17 for agricultural purposes and 9 for construction of wells. Thus only 26 out of 168 families had borrowed loans for productive purposes.³

16.19. A rapid survey of Sagri system was conducted at our instance in the Districts of Dungarpur and Udaipur in Rajasthan by the Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Rajasthan. In a majority of cases the loan was taken for the purpose

of paying the bride price. In some cases it was taken for the purpose of repaying the debt or a part of it. A Sagri must be capable of hard work. A creditor would not engage a Sagri whose age was less than 13 or 14. Usually there are more members than one adult male in Sagri's family. In Kherwara Tehsil in Udaipur District the money-lenders do not give a loan of more than Rs. 300 on Sagri. The bride price these days is generally not less than Rs. 300. If a Bhil has got to borrow Rs. 300, half the amount is on loan on Sagri system and the other half is on interest. Agreement is renewed every year which results in adding the interest to the principal. A Sagri in Sagwara area is released on paying the original amount after serving his master for three years, whereas in Patia area he is required to pay interest also. If a Sagri remains absent from duty he is required to pay at the rate of Re. 1 per day. It is extremely difficult to give an indication about the extent of the problem. The incidence of Sagri in four villages chosen by the Investigator was 1, 8, 5 and 9 families respectively against 112, 159, 34 and 58 families in those villages. Fragmentation of land and social customs are the root cause for a Bhil entering into such onerous transactions. The rate of fertility is high. On marriage he separates from his family and finds no other place to turn to except sowcar for his money needs.*

16.20. *Gujarat*—The Economic Survey of the Tribal Development Block, Khedbrahma, undertaken by the Gujarat Vidyapeeth in 1956-57, states that 67.4 per cent of the requirements of the tribals were in the shape of advances by the sahumkaras. In 1958, the figure had gone down to 38.1 per cent. In 1959, the tribals purchased goods worth Rs. 15 lakhs on credit. These advances were against crops with the result that the 'cream' of development went to the sahumkaras.*

16.21. *Orissa*—A survey of indebtedness conducted at our instance in 14 villages by the Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Orissa revealed that there were 90 unregistered money-lenders in 13 villages in the districts of Koraput, Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Cuttack and Puri. 99 out of 121 tribal families surveyed were indebted.*

16.22. The unregistered money-lenders give paddy loans at rates varying from 25 per cent to 50 per cent. In Keonjhar District, paddy loan is to be repaid in paddy with 25 per cent interest. But, for rice, the sahumkar demands an equal quantity of oil-seeds for rabi crops. The price of oil-seeds compared to rice is much higher. 121 tribal families borrowed 195 maunds of paddy from unregistered money-lenders, 161 maunds from other sources such as private grain-golas and only 137 maunds from cooperative grain-golas. The total amount of cash loans obtained by the 121 tribal families was Rs. 3,539 from unregistered money-lenders compared to Rs. 350 borrowed from cooperatives. The survey revealed that most of the transactions were oral.

16.23. The existence of Gothi, a form of bonded labour, on a wide scale, was brought to our notice during our visit to Orissa. A survey was conducted by the Assistant Commissioner in four villages of Sembliguda in Koraput District to ascertain the incidence of Gothi. Out of 61 tribal families interviewed, 21 persons belonging to the tribal communities were serving as Gothis. The practice existed also

amongst persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and other communities. The period of service ranged from three to five years. The age of the Gothis was generally between 16 and 20. The Gothis had to do both agricultural and domestic service, including fetching of fuel and drawing of water. The Gothis at Sunabeda were engaged in the construction of the approach road under a Tribal Welfare Programme for which the contract was taken by a local panchayat member. The wages specified in the contract were not paid to the Gothis but were received by their masters. Out of 24 Gothis, about whom records were available, 21 had houses of their own. Among the families interviewed, there were 20 who in addition had members who were earning. The amount of loan taken by them ranged between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200.

Extent of Indebtedness

16.24. The above account gives a broad idea of the situation. It is extremely difficult to give a more detailed picture. We should, however, say that the evil practices attributed to money-lenders are waning and are on their last legs. The social awakening, political consciousness and development activities are having their impact. The tribal, like any other citizen is getting out of the old rut. If the survey had been conducted 10 years ago conditions would have been deplorable. We have to bear in mind those conditions also.

Purpose of Debt

16.25. The Special Assistant Agent, Bhadrachalam, gave the following causes for indebtedness:—

- (i) meagre income due to unfertile soil;
- (ii) ignorance of equitable price system;
- (iii) adherence to panchayat decisions regarding fines for fear of ex-communication; and
- (iv) large-scale social celebrations and festivities like marriages and deaths.

16.26. Everywhere we were told that the funds placed at the disposal of the revenue authorities in the districts were inadequate for meeting the demands for loans. For instance, the Commissioner, Chhota Nagpur Division, stated that during 1960-61, for the five districts in his jurisdiction, five lakhs of rupees were provided for agricultural loans, whereas even for a single district like Ranchi, the requirements go upto Rs. 25 to 30 lakhs. The Chief Secretary, Bihar, also confirmed this and stated that the funds available to the co-operatives were totally inadequate to meet such demands.

Interest Charged

16.27. The Agency Agricultural Officer, Andhra Pradesh, told the Commission that the tribals take seed on loan at the time of sowing and return twice the quantity at the time of harvest; grain taken for consumption is given back at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the original.

16.28. The Kushalgarh Block Survey of Indebtedness revealed that the rate of interest charged against cash advances worked out to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and for advances in kind from 25 to 100 per cent.³

16.29. The above examples are, of course, inadequate and could hardly be otherwise in the absence of scientific data. However, it

would be worthwhile to make a study in certain areas to discover the proportion of the total income of a tribal family that is taken away in payment of interest. It may be anything between 10 and 20 per cent. This is not a small percentage, when applied to a very small income. It accentuates poverty. There is a feeling, and not a wrong one, that the 'cream' of the benefits that accrue to the tribals from economic betterment activities is taken away by the money-lender.

The Role of the Money-lender

16.30. The All-India Rural Credit Survey reveals that, out of the average borrowing of a cultivating family during the year, which comes to Rs. 210, 3 per cent was borrowed from Government, 3 per cent from co-operatives, 14 per cent from relatives, 2 per cent from landlords, 25 per cent from agriculturist money-lenders, 45 per cent from professional money-lenders, 6 per cent from traders and slightly less than 1 per cent from commercial banks; the remainder represents borrowing from other classes of traders.⁸

Increase in Credit Offered by Co-operatives

16.31. There has been an increase in the credit facilities offered by the co-operative societies during the Second Plan period. The Report of the Committee on Co-operative Credit (May, 1960) says, "At the beginning of the Second Plan, Primary Agricultural Co-operative Credit Societies supplied short-term and medium-term credit of the order of Rs. 49.62 crores. The Second Plan set a target of Rs. 200 crores to be achieved by the end of 1960-61—Rs. 150 crores under short-term and Rs. 50 crores under medium-term".

16.32. On this basis, even if we assume a three-fold increase in the credit made available by the co-operative societies, and it is well-known that the progress of the co-operative movement in the tribal areas has not been as widespread as in non-tribal areas, the major source of the credit requirements of the tribal people continues to be the professional money-lender.

Reasons Why Money-lenders are Preferred

16.33. It is important to study the money-lender's simple but effective *modus operandi* and compare it with the elaborate procedure followed by the government agencies. The money-lender readily offers unsecured loans. The average tribal has very little in the way of movable or immovable property to offer as security. All that he has is his honest desire to fulfil his loan obligations out of his earnings and some land that he may possess. The money-lender recognises these as good security. There are no formalities, no cumbersome procedures and no documents. The money-lender accepts not only the personal security of the tribal but even discards the procedure of committing the transaction to writing.

16.34. The All-India Rural Credit Survey reveals that there is normally a time-lag of at least three months, if not more, between the date of application and date of disbursement of loans by Government Departments.⁹ But in the case of the money-lender there is no delay in disbursing the loan amount. Almost instantaneously, when the debtor approaches him, he makes the cash available.

16.35. The personal human contact which the money-lender maintains with the tribal debtor is also an important factor. The money-lender is generally near at hand in the tribal's village, speaks his own language, knows the entire family history and background and circumstances leading to the debtor's need of money. At some time or other, practically every family in the village is indebted to him: he is part of the traditional economy of the village.

16.36. Government loans, such as taccavi, are advanced only for productive purposes and not to meet social obligations, whereas the loans by the money-lender are for both purposes. From the tribal standpoint, funerals, marriages, maintenance or clothing are essential purposes.

16.37. The money-lender accepts the repayment of the loan in any form—in cash and in kind.

Existing Legislation Controlling Money-lending

16.38. In Appendix XII, we have given a list of the legislative enactments and executive measures adopted by the State Governments to control money-lending.

16.39. *Andhra Pradesh*—Until 1960, the Andhra Pradesh Government had not adopted any such legislative measures under the Fifth Schedule. The Andhra Pradesh Regulation I of 1960 applies only to the Andhra region and is yet to be extended to Telangana. However, some relief may be obtained in the Telangana region by the Hyderabad Money-lenders Act, 1938, even though no court can take cognisance of an offence punishable under this Regulation except on a complaint in writing made by the Inspector. Andhra Pradesh Regulation II of 1960 provides for scaling down of debts incurred before 1st January 1961. In respect of debts so scaled down, the rate of interest shall not exceed 5 per cent per annum simple interest. It is too early to judge the effects of this legislation.

16.40. *Assam*—In Assam, the District Councils of the Mizo and Mikir Hills introduced legislation in 1953 for the control of money-lending. Similar Regulations have not been introduced by other District Councils although there is provision for it in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. The Assam Government are undertaking a survey of indebtedness among the Scheduled Tribes, in the hills and the plains.

16.41. *Position in Other States*—In Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab, apart from the general legislation applicable to all money-lenders, the State Governments have not promulgated any special regulations envisaged in the Fifth Schedule. The machinery to control money-lending in the Scheduled Areas or for the conciliation and scaling down of old accumulated debts is also the same. In the other States, where there are no Scheduled Areas but there are Scheduled Tribes, such as Kerala, Madras, Mysore, West Bengal, only general laws exist. It is amazing that they could be deemed to be adequate to safeguard the tribal people.

Malpractices of Money-lenders

16.42. Our enquiries into the working of the existing money-lending regulations or legislation, as they affect the tribal people,

have revealed that the following practices are common both in areas where the regulations are applicable as well as elsewhere:—

- (i) There is evasion of the regulations and legislation, money-lenders taking little notice of the restrictions imposed on their operations.
- (ii) The transactions between the tribals and the money-lenders are generally oral. Even when they are reduced to writing, the amount for which pro-notes are given include the usurious portion.
- (iii) Sometimes the usurious portion of interest, much higher than that prescribed in the regulations or legislation, is deducted in advance from the money advanced.
- (iv) In many tribal areas, as in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and in Tripura, the crop is invariably mortgaged in advance. In Tripura and parts of West Bengal, according to the 'Dadan' system, it is a condition for the advance of a loan that the crop has to be sold to the money-lender at harvest time.
- (v) In several tribal areas we observed that though the title to the land is nominally with the tribal debtor, it is under usufructuary mortgage to the money-lender, who reaps full benefit out of it.
- (vi) The worst manifestation of money-lending is in the form of bonded labour.

16.43. Having considered the problem and the extent of indebtedness we have arrived at the following broad conclusions:—

- (1) The State Governments have not made adequate use of the protective provisions of the Fifth Schedule to lend protection to the tribals against bonded labour.
- (2) The State Governments have not been able to utilise the protective provisions of the Fifth Schedule to lend protection to the tribals against usurious practices, partly because the State Governments have been unable to find funds for alternative credit.
- (3) The State Governments have not been able to make effective use of the penal provisions in their existing legislation against evasion by money-lenders.
- (4) The money-lender's position is impregnable on account of the absence of an alternative source of credit. Until alternative credit becomes available to the tribals at reasonable rates of interest and in time, the money-lender will continue to hold to his present position. We discuss in a separate chapter on Co-operation how the credit requirements of the people can be met by the co-operatives.

16.44. In the absence of reliable figures of the extent of indebtedness and the rates of interest charged, the magnitude of the problem cannot be fully assessed nor can the remedies proposed be considered adequate. We would, therefore, suggest that as a first step the State Governments should undertake forthwith sample surveys in the tribal areas to ascertain the quantum of indebtedness.

16.45. It is also necessary for the State Governments to undertake an enquiry into the existence of bonded labour, the nature of violation of the provisions of the laws in force and the extent of exploitative element in money-lending transactions.

Recommendations

16.46. Subject to a specific enquiry on these two questions, the Commission would like to suggest the following solutions for meeting this grave menace to the stability and the development of the tribal economy.

16.47. *We recommend that in the case of indebtedness accompanied by oral or under customary arrangements or written agreements for bonded labour, legislation should be passed forthwith treating the agreements as void and arrangements as offences, the debt as discharged and the labour as released. The tribal will not be in a position to stand up against the creditor so long as the burden of debt survives. An agreement of this nature should be declared not only illegal but an offence, punishable severely.*

16.48. *The Commission has considered the question of total abolition of old debts as recommended by the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare, and the question of reconciliation, as suggested by the Punjab Government. We feel that a practical programme will have to be worked out so as not to destroy the credit which the tribals possess today until it is possible for the Government or the Co-operatives to take up the responsibility and provide effective alternative credit to a reasonable extent.*

16.49. The problem of conciliation of the past debts and regulation of money-lending in future also requires to be handled with firmness. Having regard to the handicaps under which the tribal operates, while we do not wish to do away with his credit, we do desire and recommend that an effective control should be exercised over money-lenders. This control can be exercised by licensing the money-lender, making it obligatory upon him to enter his transactions in certified books of accounts and providing for periodical examination of his books. *As regards the past debts we recommend the following steps:—*

- (i) *The creditor may be required by legislation to file all his claims against all his tribal debtors within a prescribed time after which the right of action should be barred and the debt should be considered as discharged.*
- (ii) *The creditor should be required to produce all his books or other documents in support of his claims and deposit them in the court with the claims.*
- (iii) *No book of account or document or written proof not deposited in the court along with the claim should be admitted at the instance of the creditor in evidence thereafter.*
- (iv) *The onus of proving the loan and the amount received should be on the creditor. Verbal evidence, unsupported by books of account kept in course of regular business, should not be considered to be sufficient. Promissory notes alone should not be deemed to be adequate evidence of the proof of the loan in the case of tribals.*

- (v) *The rate of interest should be fixed. All payments should be credited first against interest and the balance against the loans. The principle of Dam Dupat should be applied. The account should be prepared on the basis of simple interest where there is no provision for compound interest. Where, however, there is such a provision, the compound interest should be calculated on the basis of yearly rates. If payments by the debtor as a result of preparation of such account exceed the loan and interest, a decree should be passed in favour of the debtor to that extent.*
- (vi) *The balance payable to the creditor on taking account should be made payable by instalments at a nominal rate of interest having regard to the repaying capacity of the debtor. Such payment of instalments may be either through the revenue authorities along with the revenue guaranteed by the government or be made recoverable dues of the government. In no case should the government take over his responsibility of discharging these debts from its funds, as this will reduce funds with the government for alternative credit or development.*

16.50. The first three steps will remove all chances of fabrication of evidence or collusion and will also deprive the creditor of his initial advantage since he will be required to file claims against all his debtors and produce all his books of accounts and proofs against them simultaneously. There will be an additional advantage for the tribal debtor as there will be no fear of loss of face. The courts will have full opportunity to discover from the materials produced the methods pursued and practices followed by the creditor in dealing with his clients.

The fifth step is essential. The genuine creditors alone will then come forward to lodge their claims. The exploiters will quit their occupation, which will be good for the tribals as well as for them. This is the only way in which the tribals can be freed from their usurious burdens without harming their present credit. Side by side, we have to encourage credit co-operatives.

16.51. The proposals made above though drastic, if they are properly understood, will not come in the way of genuine credit being made available to the tribal by even private money-lenders. We would suggest that non-official agencies should undertake the responsibility of educating the tribals also that too much borrowing does harm not only to themselves, but also to their future generations. There should be proper educative propaganda about the new legislation as and when undertaken.

CHAPTER 17

CO-OPERATION

Role of Co-operation in the Tribal Areas

We have* given some idea of indebtedness in tribal areas already, which related to the average family income, is by no means light. In most of the tribal areas we have to reckon with a subsistence level of economy. In such an economy savings are insignificant; there is hardly any prospect of large-scale deposits and exploitation in some form or the other causes still further depression. In such a situation co-operation has a treble role to play. It has to combat the factors that cause depression; it has to ensure that the maximum benefits of present production and future development go to the tribals; and it has to encourage the habit of thrift. In practical terms, the co-operative movement, if it is to thrive in the tribal areas, has to concern itself, with the discharge of outstanding debts; with the day to day needs of the tribals including non-productive requirements; and with the needs for development.

Discharge of Outstanding Debt

17.2. In relation to past debts of the tribals, much as some of us would have liked to, we have not advocated total abolition of tribal's debts more than three years old, as was recommended by the Central Tribal Advisory Board. This does not mean that the decision of the Board was wrong. The scale on which exploitation is going on in the tribal areas is something which cannot be tolerated. But practically all the State Governments have been of the view that any such scheme of abolition just will not work, unless arrangements are made for alternative credit. We have also seen the working of the beneficial and protective legislation to prevent the transfer of tribal land to non-tribals and exploitation by the money-lenders. We feel that some time will be taken for making arrangements for alternative credit on the scale it will be necessary and that the advice of the State Governments should not be rejected lightly. We have, however, suggested a scheme for scaling down debt, which if properly worked out will ensure solution of this problem without leaving a burden upon the tribals or the Government. We see no reason why the State finances, much of which could be utilised for future development, should be locked up in paying off old debts of the tribals. Any debt due by them should be made payable by instalments under the normal processes of law consistently with their paying capacity.

Co-operatives for Rendering Alternative Credit

17.3. Coming to the question of current needs it should be recognised that unless arrangements are made for finance through alternative sources the tribal will have to get money from someone and that someone is not going to give it for charity. It is necessary,

*Vide table 14.

therefore, for the Union Government to take a firm decision on the question of making arrangements for adequate alternative credit with a view to eliminating all sources of exploitation existing in the tribal areas. Not that we doubt the Union Government's intentions in the matter, but we feel that there is some hesitancy. Perhaps the hesitancy is due to the lack of data. Government may also not be desirous of committing themselves to an incalculable financial obligation. They want to make themselves sure of their capacity. This attitude is reasonable enough. What we feel, however, is that before the credit facilities are extended some initial steps will have to be taken. If we examine the history of the co-operative credit movement in the former Bombay State, the first step taken by Government was to pass two laws, namely, Agriculturists' Loans Act, 1883, and the Land Improvement Loans Act, of 1884. These laws were enacted as a result of the recommendations made by Sir William Wedderburn and Justice M. G. Ranade. It was only when Government entered the field of credit that it could secure some idea of the problem. Similar steps require to be taken in this case also. There is also need for clarity about the Government's obligation for credit for non-productive or social purposes.

Day to Day Needs of the Tribals

17.4. In his reply to our Questionnaire, Shri V. L. Mehta, the Chairman of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, has observed on the question of loans for social purposes as follows:--

"There is no provision in the Co-operative Societies Act or Rules in any State which prevents a co-operative society from granting loans for domestic needs to members belonging to Scheduled Tribes or to other sections of the population. But when credit is extended, what is borrowed has to be repaid, and the quantum of credit is thus linked to repaying capacity. Since the main aim of the co-operative system of credit is to make finance available for meeting the expenses of cultivation or for land improvement, oftener than not there is little margin left for satisfying other needs. Hence, even if advances are given for social needs, these have to be kept down to the minimum".

17.5. A retired Joint Registrar of the Co-operative Societies having experience of the tribal areas in his reply to the Questionnaire has also stated that:

"There should be a condition on which the societies should grant loans to tribals for social purposes. One is that the society should get a very effective charge on their produce. What was happening now was that tribals borrowed money both from a society and also from the money-lender. The latter is very diligent. He runs down to the villages and carries away their produce with the result the society is left in the lurch. What is required is that the society should have a very effective charge on the tribals' produce. They should be required to bring their produce to the godowns of the society when the

society asks them to do it. Unless that charge becomes effective it was not possible that the society would venture to lend for social purposes. This was a fundamental question in a tribal area”.

Proportion of Productive to Unproductive Loans

17.6. *We are of the opinion that for a time till the tribals gather some experience in economic functioning in the modern world and attain maturity, arrangements will have to be made for giving loans for social purposes. It is clear that there is no provision in the Co-operative Societies Act or Rules which debars a society from lending money for social customs or other obligations. This may, however, be gradually discontinued as their economic status improves. The ratio between productive and unproductive loans may be fixed carefully in the light of conditions obtaining in the various States. There is no reason why this approach cannot succeed if a co-operative society has an effective charge on the produce.*

Social obligations may be defined as festivals and other religious ceremonies, weddings, funerals and special ceremonies to be performed for the sick. One of the main causes for the indebtedness of the Saoras of Orissa is an expensive ceremony for propitiating the spiritual agents of disease. These non-productive items are often regarded as unnecessary extravagances and sometimes attempts are made to persuade the people to give them up, but there is a view that the tribal does not divide life into compartments, into secular and religious or productive and non-productive. He regards life as a whole and each part of it affects the other. Tribal religion, for example, is intimately connected with production. If the agricultural festivals are not observed, if the ceremonies before hunting and fishing are forgotten, the tribal works under a sense of guilt and anxiety which prevents him from working properly. These ceremonies are occasions when the monotony of village life is broken; they bring people together; since everyone shares in the community's joys and sorrows, even the poorest people can for once enjoy good food; they promote the co-operative spirit and when they are stopped (as the famous Naga Feasts of Merit were stopped by missionaries) there is an increase of individualistic selfishness. With the fixation of a proportion between productive and non-productive loans and with the effective charge on the produce the fear of losses will be reduced.

Creditworthiness

17.7. Shri V. L. Mehta also drew our attention to another fact. In view of the primitive method of cultivation, the creditworthiness of the tribals is not very considerable, even though they have to their credit the primitive virtue of honesty. The Bombay Government Co-operative Department had a rule that no person who had less than a holding of five acres should be admitted as a member of a co-operative society. This restriction was done away with in Gujarat and Maharashtra but still prevails in some other States, where it should obviously be changed. In the tribal areas the co-operative organisation should be liberal, flexible and original, if it is to succeed—and it is not succeeding yet.

Security

17.8. The other difficulty is the question of security. A tribal can offer only personal security. The land cultivated by him may belong to the community or it may be engaged to a mortgagee or bondholder. Credit is at present given for productive purposes to people who have some tangible security. There is need to make provision for credit to people who have no tangible security.

Need for Dynamic Programme

17.9. The report of the Committee on Co-operative Credit, appointed by the Ministry of Community Development, has recommended a dynamic programme of agricultural credit to enable the farmer to take full advantage of the agricultural plans.¹ The report is clear that a primary credit society should not deny a loan to a person merely on the ground that he does not own land or cannot produce owners of land as sureties. The primary test is the capacity to repay.² Co-operation in the tribal areas will have a better chance of success if this aspect is borne in mind. In the case of those whose lands are hypothecated as security or who are cultivating as tenants what were once their own lands, the money can be advanced on the security of their produce, the co-operative society getting an effective charge thereon.

17.10. The co-operative law will have to be amended to meet the needs of the tribals who own land also in common as members of a tribe or in the name of their headman. This is certainly a more advanced form of social production than that on which the present legislation is based and it should be recognised.

17.11. If co-operative movement has not gathered strength in the areas where it had a reasonable prospect of success, it is because of these three impediments, existence of old debts, want of alternative avenues for credit for social needs and the question of security.

First Plan

17.12. We next come to co-operative credit for productive and development purposes. We will first take stock of the efforts made so far. During the First Plan the State Governments undertook schemes involving financial commitments to the tune of Rs. 49.75 lakhs in the field of co-operation, 310 multi-purpose societies, 350 grain banks and 653 forest labourers' co-operative societies were formed in the tribal areas.³

Second Plan

17.13. During the Second Plan period, similar schemes were proposed at a cost of Rs. 139.71 lakhs out of which Rs. 53.12 lakhs were to be spent under the Centrally-sponsored programme and the remaining Rs. 86.59 lakhs under the State Plans.⁴ The progress in

terms of financial targets achieved till the end of 1959-60 may be seen from the following table:—

TABLE 33

(Rupees in lakhs)

Expenditure incurred			
1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
15.32	15.88	23.03	26.02

Thus the total expenditure incurred on this programme during the first four years of the Second Plan comes to Rs. 80.25 lakhs which works out to 57 per cent of the total Plan allocation.

17.14. The following table, based on the information received from the Planning Commission, indicates the physical targets achieved during the Second Plan, both in the State and Central Sectors:—

TABLE 34

State/Union Territory	Finance Corporation	Grain golas	Co-operative Societies	Co-operative Stores
1	2	3	4	5
<i>States</i>				
Andhra Pradesh	1	..	8	4
Assam	280	..
Bihar	644	21	..
Kerala	34	..
Madhya Pradesh	1	..	78	..
Madras
Maharashtra*	271	3
Mysore
Orissa	790	..	..
Punjab
Rajasthan	12	39	20
West Bengal	136	8	..
<i>Union Territories</i>				
Andaman and Nicobar Islands
Himachal Pradesh	42	..
Manipur
Tripura	35	..

* Includes Gujarat.

17.15. Co-operation, in its various aspects, has fairly well developed in Gujarat and Maharashtra States mainly due to the efforts of non-official agencies. 452 societies were working in the tribal areas of the Gujarat with a total working capital of Rs. 28.50 lakhs. Efforts are also being made to link credit with marketing by starting a federal organisation called Purchase and Sale Unions. In the Tribal Development Block of Khedbrahma, 93 villages out of 97 have been covered and the total membership has gone up to 2,169 which comes to 30 per cent of the total agricultural families in the area. In Maharashtra State, 1,289 co-operative societies of different types have been organised and the number of tribals brought into the co-operative fold is 58,716.⁶

17.16. In the States of Assam, Bihar and Orissa progress is comparatively slow. The reasons for the slow progress can be summed up in a few sentences

- (i) Lack of correct appraisal of the problem, its size and complexity and the solution;
- (ii) lack of trained personnel;
- (iii) inadequacy of the programme;
- (iv) inadequacy of credit;
- (v) rigidity of rules and cumbersomeness of the procedures; and
- (vi) inadequacy of organisation.

17.17. Before we deal with some of these questions we would like to record our appreciation of the progress made in the following fields of co-operation.

- (i) Forest Labour Co-operative Societies.
- (ii) Grain Golas.
- (iii) Co-operative Farming Societies.
- (iv) Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation.

Forest Co-operatives

17.18. In Gujarat and Maharashtra, the development of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies has been the most significant contribution made by voluntary agencies in the field of tribal development.⁷ 205 such societies have been organised involving about 14,000 tribals. In Vidarbha, 21 Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies have come into existence. During the year 1959-60, there were 55 such societies in Andhra Pradesh, 29 in Rajasthan, 4 in Assam and 3 in Tripura.⁸ There is a great need to set up a network of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies to 'exploit' the forests through tribal labour in these and other States.

Grain Golas

17.19. The idea behind setting up grain golas is to ameliorate the economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes by providing cheap credit in the form of grain loans and by eliminating usurious money-lenders. Grain golas or grain banks are functioning in the States of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal satisfactorily.

The West Bengal Government is spending substantial sums on this scheme. Each grain gola requires an investment of Rs. 10,000, Rs. 4,000 for construction and Rs. 6,000 for purchase of paddy. The paddy is given on credit for seed and maintenance purposes and recovered from the harvest with interest in kind. *There has been a persistent demand for grain golas from the tribals. Proper check, control and supervision from time to time require to be exercised in order to make the scheme effective. It is necessary to increase the number of grain golas and reduce the area of operation of each of them. At the same time, the stocks of grain should be raised sufficiently so as to meet the full requirements of the members, who at present, meet their requirements partly from the grain golas and partly from other sources, generally the money-lender. It is desirable that the grain golas should develop a cash wing for advancing money on credit.* The Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal Governments have already started this experiment by introducing the scheme of "grain gola-cum-credit societies".

Farming co-operative

17.20. In Madhya Pradesh, the Agricultural Co-operative Farming Society at Tantatola, which was registered in 1958, has been progressing well. All the members of this Society are Scheduled Tribes like Gonds, Baigas and Pardhans. During 1959-60, 227 acres of land out of 300 acres were reclaimed. There are already two wells for irrigation and four more are to be sunk. Two small tanks for storing water for irrigation have also been constructed.'

Andhra Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation

17.21. The main objectives of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation Ltd., working in Andhra Pradesh are:—

- (a) To purchase outright the produce brought by members of Scheduled Tribes through the agency of any primary society and market it to the best advantage, and for this purpose to take up forest contracts of bamboo coupes, fuel and minor forest produce from Government.
- (b) To supply the requirements of the members of the Scheduled Tribes through the agency of the affiliated societies.
- (c) To provide working capital to the affiliated societies by advancing loans.
- (d) To undertake activities such as processing and grading.
- (e) To own or hire, and ply lorries for the transport of its goods and those of its affiliated societies and their members.
- (f) To encourage thrift and co-operation among affiliated societies and their members.

The activities of this Corporation have been extended to the districts of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam and part of East Godavari District, where separate primary marketing societies have been organised. Due to its efforts, contractors, traders and money-lenders are being eliminated and the problems relating to storage, marketing of forest and other produce, weights and measures, etc., are being solved for the tribals.

Tribals Nearer to the Co-operative Idea

17.22. We feel that there is need for a dynamic and an all round approach. The tribals are traditionally nearer to the co-operative idea than their brethren in the plains. Although 'Co-operation' in its literal sense is the basis of all social life, the human being by and large has been working on an individual basis both in the social and economic spheres for centuries. That does not mean that he is not drawing upon co-operation. But he is drawing upon it only to the extent he is obliged to. The instinctive reaction is individual interest. Basically co-operation grows from a sense of responsibility to conserve the resources of society. These resources may be resources of capital, raw materials, labour or skill. Co-operation is, therefore, indispensable in a democratic socialist society, especially in a poor country. Its aim is to conserve the manpower resources of labour and skill as well as the material resources of capital and raw materials and utilise them to the utmost advantage of everybody.

Co-operation Must Grow on Voluntary Basis

17.23. The whole process of establishment of co-operative pooling of resources, utilisation of manpower, and of production, distribution and exchange must be on a voluntary basis. Those who engage in a co-operative endeavour will formulate and develop their own code, their own conventions and rules and their own norms and forms. The State will only provide legal and technical guidance and finance. The controlling authority of the State will only be residual. Viewed in this light, co-operative endeavour stands on a higher level both from the point of view of the quality of endeavour and the aim with which it is being made. It implies a higher sense of social values. For every such endeavour a sufficiently higher consciousness is needed. A real co-operative movement can only grow as this consciousness grows. Though the co-operative structure of the society as we advocate it in India to day is not really native to the country, interdependence or co-operation has always been the key-note of Indian village life. Given a practical, realistic and sympathetic approach there is no reason why Co-operative Societies cannot thrive in India.

Practical Approach

17.24. Committee on Co-operative Credit referred to above has discussed in its report the question of revitalisation of the existing societies, training of management, accounting and clerical personnel; flexibility in the approach in relation to pattern of organisation; participation of Government in sharing responsibilities and linking of credit with marketing. We would not like to repeat them here. We can only say that we agree with the approach and the recommendations. But as we have observed above, the economic picture in many tribal areas is different from the picture in the areas where there is settled cultivation, a comparatively more conscious cultivating community, a ready market and social and economic thinkers close at the elbow, studying the problems of the society and its economy. In many tribal areas there is neither that consciousness nor that organised scientific thinking. Suitable modifications in the structure and the rules and procedure will be called for with special training and special facilities.

Separate Department for Tribal Economy in the Reserve Bank

17.25. While it is true the tribal is instinctively incuneated towards co-operation, he is also getting injected with the spirit of individualism because of his contacts with the agriculturist in the plains, perhaps with the zeal of a new convert. If we can take up the question of co-operation in the tribal areas with a corresponding zeal we shall have saved at least half of the tribal population for a new social endeavour on healthy lines. We have, therefore, all along been emphasising the need for an agency charged with the responsibility of initiating the movement. There should be for the purpose a separate department in the Reserve Bank of India dealing with the problem of tribal economy, on the lines of the Agricultural Credit Department set up in the Reserve Bank of India in 1935.

Sponsoring Agency for Promoting Co-operatives

17.26. Similarly, there should be in each State a promoting or sponsoring agency. The idea should be to initiate, through a phased programme and after taking into consideration the level of consciousness of the people, the work of establishing primary co-operatives. Their establishment will, in the prevailing standards of education and economic under-development, be a gradual process. The sponsoring body should begin by undertaking the work of purchasing the articles the tribals produce, selling to them their needs and providing them credit with a view to replacing the middleman in that field.

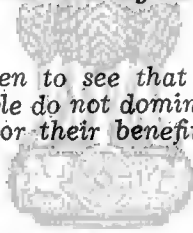
17.27. The exact relationship between this body and the Government can be worked out by the Government in the light of the advice received by it. We have referred time and again to the example of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation Ltd. The responsibility for organising trade and finance in the initial stages should be on the Government. Among the personnel constituting the Corporation, besides officials and tribal representatives Government should also nominate representatives of non-official organisations working in the field.

Other Recommendations

17.28. Along with (i) a change in the approach; (ii) a promoting or sponsoring organisation; and (iii) the recommendations of the Committee on Co-operative Credit referred to above, we recommend the following additional steps:—

- (a) Formation of co-operatives should be preceded by preliminary educative work. Education in co-operation should be imparted to tribals in general and the members of the societies in particular.
- (b) Every village should be served by a co-operative society with at least one member from each family as a member.
- (c) The Society should embrace all the avenues of economic development such as agriculture, animal husbandry, forest and processing, consumer goods as well as other village industries and handicrafts as a part of an integrated programme of economic development.

- (d) *The Co-operative Societies Act should be amended to enable the creation of an effective charge on goods or articles produced by its members.*
- (e) *Minimum credit of a member should be fixed on his capacity to raise crops in his land and not on the acreage of his holdings or multiple of the assessment he pays to the Government.*
- (f) *Steps should be taken to link credit with marketing.*
- (g) *The procedure for advance of loans should be simplified in keeping with the conditions in tribal areas.*
- (h) *A Thrift Fund may be created for meeting demands for loans on account of social obligations, particularly of landless tribals.*
- (i) *The sale and marketing of the produce and supply of the tribal people's requirements at reasonable prices should receive special attention through co-operatives. In some areas, there is the problem of storage and marketing of perishable goods like fruits, etc. The marketing societies in such areas should take up the processing and preservation of these commodities by setting up processing and preservation units.*
- (j) *Care should be taken to see that the rich or influential sections of the people do not dominate the co-operatives and monopolise them for their benefit.*



नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

CHAPTER 18

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The country is growing more and more education-conscious. This is reflected among the tribals, and the State Governments are increasingly becoming aware of their duty to them. The Prime Minister has recently approached the question, not only from the standpoint of intellectual training and equipment, but from that of equality of opportunity. *In the case of the Scheduled Tribes we have to face problems both of equipment and equality of opportunity. The Commission, therefore, places the greatest emphasis upon this aspect of development.*

Tribes Education—Part of States Responsibility

18.2. Education is primarily the responsibility of the State Governments. This is a salutary provision. One of the aims of education in India is to promote integration in all fields. Had there been a division of responsibility, it would have led to a psychological division in the minds of the tribal children. Education, in that event, would have been regarded as something to be developed through the State for non-tribal children and through the Centre for the tribals. This would have promoted a wrong idea that they were the Centre's beneficiaries and were separate from the general bulk of the children in the State.

Centre's Role

18.3. The Union Government's responsibility is co-ordination of facilities and determination of standards in respect of higher education, research, scientific and technical education. We had the benefit of discussing this subject with the representatives of the Union Ministry of Education. That Ministry, while it accepted its responsibility for the education of tribal children, explained that it had so far left the matter to the Ministry of Home Affairs which was chiefly concerned with tribal problems. It was stated to us that the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education had not had any occasion to discuss the question of a proper system of education for tribal children. This is hardly understandable. *The education of tribal children is, and should be, the concern of the Ministry of Education to the same extent as the education of the children of the non-tribals. The Ministry of Home Affairs should, of course, be associated at the thinking level. We would recommend a Board or Committee to be established to study this question and formulate procedures that would ensure smooth and efficient functioning. We understand that recently a Co-ordinating Committee has been appointed. Our suggestion, however, goes beyond the limits of administrative problems. It touches the question of fundamental policies and curriculum as well.*

18.4. The representatives of the Ministry of Education made the following points about the system of education in the tribal areas:—

- (i) For many a decade to come India will continue to be a land of villages with mainly agricultural economy as its principal source of livelihood.

- (ii) There has been a continuous drain of vitality and intellect from the villages to the urban areas. The general interest of the country demands that this drain be arrested, and the only way to do this is to provide social amenities and employment opportunities to the villagers in their own surroundings and satisfy their aspirations for progress and development.
- (iii) It was a tragedy that the basic education was first started in the villages. Basic education satisfies all the tests and requirements of a sound system of education under Indian conditions. It is not a discriminatory system.
- (iv) In the United States, the Federal Government had to intervene when they found that the intellectuals and people with some creative ability or initiative in them were leaving the villages for the urban areas. They tried to arrest this flow by establishing schools and colleges orientated to cater to the needs of the land-based section of society, and at the same time trying to satisfy their other requirements.
- (v) The Ministry of Education was trying to ensure that ordinary schools attain the standards of basic schools, but they had to follow the policy of gradualness until they could train a sufficient number of teachers, and secure the necessary equipment.
- (vi) Basic education should not stop at the primary level. It must go even beyond the secondary stage and have collegiate courses. The Ministry of Education thought in terms of the expansion of post-basic schools and rural institutes which would satisfy this need.
- (vii) The system of basic and post-basic education together with rural institutes is an appropriate system to be introduced in the tribal areas.

18.5. We were glad to observe this faith in the representatives of the Ministry of Education. We appreciate the handicaps under which they are working. These handicaps ensue partly from the confusion that prevails about the social order for which we are preparing our young men and young women and partly from the paucity of resources available to the Union and the State Governments. There are a few other difficulties to which we shall refer hereafter. Before, however, we enter into the question of difficulties, we will give below a factual account of what has been achieved on the educational front.

Comparative Progress

18.6. There were 380.62 lakh students in 3,94,292 educational institutions of all types in India in 1957-58. The percentage of children undergoing education to the total number of children in the age group 6—11 was 55.21 and the percentage in the age group 11—17 was 16.2. The percentage of literacy in India for males is 24.88, for females is 7.87, and for everybody is 16.61.¹ There is no doubt that compared to other sections of society, literacy is still very low among the Backward Classes, particularly among most, but not all, of the Scheduled Tribes. This means that one of the foremost things which has to be done is the spread of education amongst the tribals.

They will be served best if they are helped to develop their own culture against the background of Indian history and culture as a whole and of the modern world. A right type of education can be a medium through which all changes can be simultaneously introduced. In a well-planned system, opportunities have to be provided at every level to the tribal pupils for the exercise of their reflective powers, artistic abilities and practical work.

First Plan

18.7. During the First Plan period, a sum of Rs. 10.33 crores was spent mostly for pre-matric education of the Backward Classes by the various State Governments, out of which Rs. 5.10 crores were spent on the education of tribals as indicated in the following table² :—

TABLE 35

State	Financial Tar- gets Achieved (Amount in Rupees)
1	2
Andhra Pradesh .. .. .	..
Assam	1,10,36,367
Bihar	86,35,116
Bombay	1,17,58,734
Madhya Pradesh* .. .. .	..
Madras	1,45,135
Orissa	1,20,02,020
Punjab	2,95,808
West Bengal	21,87,850
Madhya Bharat	16,54,230
Mysore* .. .. .	..
Rajasthan	9,56,629
Saurashtra	2,01,150
Travancore-Cochin	91,776
Ajmer	55,236
Bhopal	2,35,444
Himachal Pradesh	60,068
Kutch	58,481
Manipur	5,60,726
Tripura	5,66,000
Vindhya Pradesh	5,32,748
Total	5,10,33,518

* Not available.

18.8. In addition, the Union Government spent a sum of Rs. 3.65 crores for the award of scholarships for post-matric education of the Backward Classes³.

18.9. Notable achievements during the First Plan were the establishment of 4,000 schools in the tribal areas including 1,000 Ashrams and Sevashram Schools specially in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and the erstwhile State of Bombay, and about 650 Sanskar Kendras, Balwadis and Community Centres in Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and the pre-reorganised Bombay State'. Assistance was given to about 4,50,000 tribal students by way of scholarships, grants for books, hostel fees, etc. 8,464 scholarships were provided by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.⁴

Second Plan

18.10. During the Second Plan, a provision of Rs. 23.76 crores was made for educational advancement of the Backward Classes, of which Rs. 7.23 crores were earmarked for Scheduled Tribes as indicated in the following table.⁵ In addition, a sum of Rs. 11.38 crores was earmarked under the Centrally sponsored programme for post-matric scholarships for Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, Vimukta Jatis and Other Backward Classes.⁶

TABLE 36

State	Proposed Financial Targets ¹ (Amount in Rupees)
1	2
Andhra Pradesh	19,60,800
Assam	1,30,36,850
Bihar	45,55,250
Bombay	41,99,000
Madhya Pradesh	1,95,34,700
Madras	24,03,000
Orissa	1,32,40,500
Punjab	9,50,000
West Bengal	33,24,050
Hyderabad	4,59,800
Madhya Bharat	18,22,100
Mysore	5,03,500
Rajasthan	20,55,000
Travancore-Cochin	9,50,000
Ajmer	1,40,260
Bhopal	2,85,000
Coorg	1,90,000
Himachal Pradesh	4,38,535
Kutch	1,80,500
Manipur	8,60,000
Tripura	4,47,000
Vindhya Pradesh	8,08,000
Total	7,23,43,845

18.11. The main targets to be achieved in the Second Plan included the opening of 3,187 schools and 398 hostels for Scheduled Tribes and the award of scholarships and other concessions to about 3,00,000 tribal students.⁷

18.12. The following table, based on the information received from the Planning Commission, indicates the revised Plan provision and the anticipated expenditure incurred by the State Governments on schemes under Education during the Second Plan period under the State sector. It will be seen that in the 12 States, out of Rs. 801.98 lakhs, Rs. 684.87 lakhs would be spent giving rise to a shortfall of Rs. 117.11 lakhs (14.5 per cent). The extent of shortfall in the State of Madhya Pradesh would be Rs. 106.98 lakhs (46 per cent), in Bihar it would be Rs. 16.52 lakhs (19 per cent) and in Rajasthan it would be Rs. 8.76 lakhs (10 per cent).

TABLE 37

Table showing revised Second Plan allocation, anticipated expenditure and shortfall

				(Rupees in lakhs)		
State/Union Territory				Plan Provision	Expenditure	Shortfall or Excess
1				2	3	4
<i>States</i>						
Andhra Pradesh	..	..	..	24.28	21.76	-2.52
Assam	..	..	..	130.37	139.73	+9.36
Bihar	..	..	..	85.51	68.99	-16.52
Bombay	..	..	..	82.59	82.59	..
Kerala	..	..	..	11.37	17.13	+5.76
Madhya Pradesh	..	..	..	229.68	122.70	-106.98
Madras	..	..	..	11.68	13.99	+2.31
Mysore	..	..	..	8.50	6.26	-2.24
Orissa	..	..	..	116.74	117.61	+0.87
Punjab	..	..	..	9.50	10.06	+0.56
Rajasthan	..	..	..	53.58	44.82	-8.76
West Bengal	..	..	..	38.18	39.23	+1.05
Total				801.98	684.87	-117.11
<i>Union Territories</i>						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	..	..	..	1.00	0.99	-0.01
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	4.34	6.71	+2.37
Tripura	..	..	..	4.80	5.07	+0.27
Manipur	..	..	..	9.45	9.33	-0.12
Total				19.59	22.10	+2.51
GRAND TOTAL				821.57	706.97	-114.60

18.13. The number of schools, Ashram schools (residential) and hostels established under the welfare programme for Scheduled Tribes during the Second Plan Period, under both the State and Central sectors, is given in the following table on the basis of the information supplied by the Planning Commission:—

TABLE 38

State/Union Territory	No. of schools	No. of Ashram schools (residential)	No. of hostels	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Andhra Pradesh	20	2	40	
Assam	*	..	23	
Bihar	223		99	
Kerala	201	1	..	
Madhya Pradesh	430	2	91	
Madras	38	..	5	
Maharashtra†	51	54	10	
Mysore	24		20	
Orissa .. ..	..	151	123	
Punjab	17	12	2	
Rajasthan	47	21	31	
West Bengal	29	..	27	
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	4	..	..
Himachal Pradesh	22‡	5	..	
Manipur	152	..	52	
Nagaland .. ..	..	..	..
Tripura	85	..	..

Scholarships

18.14. We have already seen that primary education for tribal children is free everywhere. In the middle school stage and in the high school stage, Government grants scholarships and makes free

* Information not available.

† Including Gujarat.

‡ Including four mobile schools.

grants of books. The following table based on the information supplied by the Planning Commission will give an idea about the extent of help rendered in the Second Plan period for the purpose:—

TABLE 39

Table showing the assistance rendered to tribal students by way of scholarships in the middle school and high school stages as well as free grant of books during the period 1956—61.

State, Union Territory	No. of scholarships granted	No. of Free-ships, Book grants, etc.
1	2	3
Andhra Pradesh	12,835	17,733
Assam	8,740	2,444
Bihar	15,000	2,500
Kerala	22,426	..
Madhya Pradesh	1,34,189	..
Madras	330	..
Maharashtra†	26,129	*
Mysore	2,519	10,195
Orissa	*	*
Punjab	6,704	..
Rajasthan	68,852	2,139
West Bengal	1,639	53,937
Himachal Pradesh	922	399
Manipur	440	58
Tripura	—	4,608

18.15. The scheme for award of post-matric scholarships to the Scheduled Tribe students was instituted by the Union Government in 1948-49. Since the year 1952-53, scholarships are being awarded to all the eligible Scheduled Tribe students on the basis of merely passing the last University examination irrespective of the class/division obtained. The funds are, therefore, progressively increasing every year. We give hereunder a table showing the num-

* Information not available.

† Including Gujarat.

ber of postmatric scholarships awarded yearly and the expenditure incurred thereon:—

TABLE 40

Year	No. of scholarship awarded	Expenditure incurred (in Rupees)
1	2	3
1948-49	84	45,986
1949-50	186	94,965
1950-51	348	1,85,301
1951-52	675	2,81,780
1952-53	1,093	5,82,452
1953-54	1,587	8,18,538
1954-55	2,356	12,37,733
1955-56	2,883	13,05,238
1956-57	3,482	15,77,850
1957-58	4,300	18,97,538
1958-59	4,821	20,76,206
1959-60	6,112	23,88,691
Total	27,827	1,24,92,278

18.16. Four scholarships to Scheduled Tribe students are also awarded for overseas studies every year and the selection of candidates has been entrusted to the Union Public Service Commission. From the year 1954-55 and upto 1958-59, 16 scholarships have been awarded to the Scheduled Tribe students for higher studies abroad.'

Problem of Primary Education

Poor Economic Condition

18.17. We now propose to deal with some of the difficulties and handicaps that are experienced in promoting education among the Scheduled Tribes. For a tribal family, to send its grown up boy or girl to school is an economic preposition and entails dislocation in the traditional pattern of division of labour. Girls give every kind of help to their mothers in the work at home. During the agricultural season, tribal boys work in the fields with their parents. At other seasons, they are busy in collecting minor forest produce and firewood, grazing, watching the crops, bringing water, hunting and fishing. Many parents just cannot afford to send their children to school. It was suggested to us that adequate provision for mid-day meals, clothing, a small amount of pocket money, say Rs. 2/- a month for the girls, the supply of free books, slates and stationery

would surely attract tribal boys and girls to schools in sufficient numbers. *While we, particularly, cannot accept the suggestion about allowance in all cases we would like to stress the need for midday meals, clothing, free books and stationery to all tribal children in areas where education has not made sufficient headway.*

Distances

18.18. Though during the Second Plan, a large number of primary schools have been opened, even now there are many villages in the tribal areas which have no primary school within a radius of 4 to 5 miles or even more. In the hill areas of Assam, students have sometimes to travel long distances to attend schools, as the villages are scattered. It can easily be imagined how difficult it is for the small children to attend schools situated 3 to 4 miles away. Although the schools are situated so far apart, there is no provision for hostels for boys or girls, except in NEFA. We realise that it is difficult to set up so many schools and hostels in small villages which are little more than hamlets. Nevertheless, giving due allowance for this factor, the number of schools and hostels should be increased so as to serve the area and the needs of the people. *We recommend that where 30 children of school-going age are available in one locality, the school should not be located at a distance of more than one mile. In no case should a child be required to walk for more than two miles to go to school. In other cases there should be schools with hostels attached.*

Timing

18.19. The attendance of the students in schools in the tribal areas depends considerably on the timing of school hours and seasons. Attendance goes down considerably during the harvesting season, and on important festivals. *This handicap can easily be removed by observing vacations and holidays to fit in with agricultural and forest operations and social festivities. In this matter the conditions in the locality and the requirements of the people should be borne in mind along with reasonable hours for school timings. It will be wrong to expect a student to concentrate upon his studies after he is exhausted as a result of the day's work. A balance has to be maintained between the needs of the family and the needs of education and a suitable time table evolved. Even after primary education is over, facilities will have to be provided to the tribals in the form of night schools to enable them to continue further studies.*

School Buildings

18.20. A considerable amount is being spent on the construction of new school buildings, though naturally this is a long-term programme. In the meantime, schools are often located in rented buildings which are not always in a proper environment nor congenial to the atmosphere in which a school can be properly run. *Some of these buildings are in a very miserable condition. Even in the case of rented buildings, there is need to see that they are clean, kept in good repair and have proper surroundings.*

Types of Schools

18.21. There are some aspects of our policy and its execution which are producing confusion in the tribal mind. First is the

dual approach to the system of education. There are traditional schools and the basic schools as well as other types. The basic schools have certain facilities which the traditional schools do not possess. Moreover, at the higher education level, the traditional schools have certain advantages which the basic schools do not possess. It is necessary that this discrimination should be kept down as low as possible. In no event should a tribal student be placed in a position where he cannot procure admission in higher standards simply because he has taken his primary education in a school of a particular type.

18.22. We recommend that this confusion should be ended as soon as possible. We, therefore, suggest that the emphasis should be on a craft or technical bias rather than upon the name and as far as possible the idea of a residential school should be encouraged. The basic system of education is the most suitable to the needs of India. It arouses keen interest in the pupil and trains him in a useful craft which enables him to enter life with confidence. A sense of the dignity of labour and the qualities of co-operation and social discipline are developed in him. Needless to say, the success of basic education depends upon suitable trained teachers, the amount of interest taken by them and adequate provision for the necessary equipment for craft teaching.

Equipment and Environments

18.23. Equipment in primary schools should continuously be improved. With a view to giving a touch of homeliness, the classrooms should display pictures of the people, vegetation, birds and animals common in the locality. The structure and decoration in the school building should be in the tribal style. The class-room should give a feeling of cheer and should not be shabby.

18.24. The teaching of drawing and art should be a part of the school curriculum and tribal children should be given full opportunity to satisfy their creative urge through school activities. Agriculture, dancing and hunting are a part of tribal life, and should enable the children to display their love for their own culture.

18.25. Songs and dances are vital to tribal life and culture. The teaching of folk songs, stories and riddles should not be ignored. The tribal games and archery, as well as tribal music and dances that have a fascination of their own, should be organised as a part of the curriculum. This would keep the children in tune with their own life pattern.

18.26. The whole idea is that the pupil should be enthusiastic about education. Born and brought up in freedom and the open air, he should not be thrust into an altogether alien atmosphere in the school with its rigid discipline and long hours of instructions. The creation of a suitable and congenial atmosphere should be aimed at in which all the persons concerned, the teacher, the pupil and the parent should take part.

Medium of Instruction

18.27. One of the major problems in tribal education is that of language. The question is creating considerable confusion in the tribal areas. This problem has come before the Commission in

various forms. The most controversial aspect concerns the medium of instruction. The tribals in some States have demanded that at the primary stage this should be in their own language written in Devanāgarī or the regional script at least in the first two years. The State Governments have expressed their difficulties on two grounds: the tribal dialects are innumerable and secondly, there will be a time-lag in the preparation of text-books and the training of teachers if this is made compulsory.

18.28. *A possible compromise seems to us to be that in the first two years, lessons be imparted invariably in tribal dialect so as to make them understandable to the tribal children. We have found during our tour that the tribal children pick up their subjects much more easily when the subjects are taught even verbally in their own dialect.* The instance in point is the school in Thana District run by Shrimati Tarabai Modak. She has stated in her reply to the questionnaire:—

“There are certain words and phrases which have to be translated in their dialects, but soon they begin to understand the teacher’s language although they express themselves in their dialect which the teachers understand.”

18.29. *This means that the teachers should invariably know the tribal language. This in our opinion is indispensable. Everyone with whom we discussed this agreed that within two years the tribal children will pick up the regional script and also the regional language in sufficient degree to understand the lessons, if a beginning is made on the lines suggested by us.*

18.30. *The Commission, however, feel that this compromise should not result in forgetting the major tribal languages. Under Article 350A of the Constitution it has to be the endeavour of every State and every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities. This certainly goes a long way beyond a certain amount of oral instruction for a couple of years.* In actual fact some of the States have taken this matter very casually. To say that it is impossible to prepare text-books in the tribal languages because there are so many of them may not be wholly justifiable. We would not for a moment suggest that books should be written in the dialects of every small tribal group. States should concentrate on the large tribal languages which are spoken by a sufficient number of people. If it has been possible for the NEFA Administration to produce in five years well over a hundred text-books in thirteen different languages, it should certainly be possible to have text-books in Saora, Kui and Gondi. If it is possible for the same Administration to produce alphabet charts in Devnagari for several tribal languages, to prepare health posters for a dozen different tribes and to produce small books of folk tales and folk songs in the local tongues, it should be possible for any State to do so. In Assam the mother tongue is used in education to quite a high standard and several of the main tribal languages are recognised for examination purposes by the University of Gauhati which has also recognised the Abor language used in NEFA. In Nagaland,

while text-books are lagging behind, the local languages are commonly used for instruction. The interest in their own tongue is vividly illustrated in the Mizo Hills where the Mizos buy several hundred rupees worth of books in their language every day of the year.

Difficulties are admittedly great, but they can be overcome by sincere effort and imagination. There seems to be little understanding of what his own language means to a tribal. It is to him a vital element in his culture. He feels at home in it and there is little doubt that by encouraging it we definitely assist the process of integration. Every tribal school also teaches the national and regional language from a certain standard onwards. Knowledge of these greater languages and even of English is of course essential. Simultaneously, the greater tribal languages should not be forgotten.

18.31. This is not the only point in which confusion prevails. In NEFA we were told that the Government started with Assamese, went over to Hindi and have now again adopted Assamese. These constant changes are not only confusing but hamper the progress of children.

18.32. The question of text-books has to be viewed from two angles. One is the question of script and the other is the question of content. As regards the content of the text-books, we should not miss the objective of integration. In States where there is a substantial population of tribals, the process of integration demands that the people of the State as a whole know sufficiently about every major group in the State. The tribal students are expected today to read the common text-books for the State. We feel that these common text-books should also include lessons depicting the life of the tribals, their folk-lore, songs, history and the lives of important personalities who have made a mark in the social, religious or political field. These subjects should be woven into the text-books. This will enable the non-tribal people as well as the tribal people to understand each other better. It will add to their regard for each other and also give added confidence to the tribals that their life, history and culture are getting adequate support from the rest of the members of their family.

Stagnation and Wastage

18.33. Absenteeism, stagnation and wastage are universal problems affecting all educational institutions throughout India in the primary stage. The problem of absenteeism is a very serious one in the tribal area. Whereas on the rolls one sees a large number of pupils, the actual attendance is generally low. It is admitted by all hands that absenteeism is phenomenal, especially in the interior areas.

18.34. Sometimes the teachers are at fault. They may not really be interested in their work. Irregularity in attendance is also common. Because of these deficiencies on the part of the teachers, the students do not develop habits of regularity, punctuality and application. Difficulties at home also play a part. Distances and weather contribute. The real problem is to create in the students sufficient interest in their studies.

18.35. This absenteeism and irregularity and lack of interest in their studies is reflected in stagnation. The students remain in the

same standard for a long time. We give below comparative figures of stagnation in an ordinary school and a tribal school in Maharashtra.¹⁰ What is happening in Maharashtra may not be wholly applicable to all tribal schools but it suggests a state of affairs which is of general application.

TABLE 41

Table showing comparative figures of stagnation between an ordinary school and a tribal school

Type of School	Std. I	Std. II	Std. III	Std. IV	Over Std. I—IV
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ordinary School	46.6	25.7	22.0	14.2	34.0
Tribal School (including wastage).	59.7	51.1	59.4	59.6	53—57.5

18.36. The third aspect is the aspect of wastage. The following table prepared from the observations in 63 schools in Thana District of Maharashtra will show the effect of stagnation and wastage in the progress of education among the tribal people.¹⁰

TABLE 42

Pupils on Rolls				Boys	Girls	Total
1				2	3	4
Sd. I .. ..	..	..	..	1,056	182	1,238
II .. ..	..	..	..	459	40	499
III .. ..	..	..	..	223	21	244
IV .. ..	..	..	..	86	13	99
V .. ..	..	..	..	31	9	40
VI .. ..	..	..	..	12	5	17
VII .. ..	..	..	..	4	4	8
Total ..				1,871	274	2,145

18.37. Against this, the Ashram schools present a far more favourable picture. Inclusive of day scholars who are not resident in the Ashram, the average attendance of boys is 60.4 per cent, of girls, 45.5 per cent and of all pupils, 52.3 per cent. The overall promotion also gives higher percentages. The percentage of promotion is 80, of stagnation is 20 and of wastage is 19.¹¹

18.38. All this highlights the deficiency in the quality of tuition, the lack of interest on the part of the students and the lack of interest on the part of the teachers in the primary schools. This has to be taken seriously. The lag will assume large proportions as

education in the rest of India gains momentum. It demands the immediate attention of the Education Departments of the States as well as of the Centre. The expenditure incurred may not prove rewarding if there are such vast percentages of stagnation and wastage.

18.39. There were constant complaints from many quarters before the Commission that the teachers were not taking interest in their work and the school attendance was very low. From the above state of affairs in the schools we see no justification to disbelieve these complaints. Even the authorities in many places admitted that the teachers often go away a day before a holiday and return a day late and, in some cases, after several days. We have come across some cases when teachers have been found to be more concerned with trading or business than with their schools.

18.40. *We feel there is urgent need for right type of teachers and more effective inspecting and supervising machinery and stern disciplinary action against recalcitrant ones. Teachers may be placed under the administrative supervision of the Block or Project Officers who will have a far more direct contact with them than the other officers.*

Right Type of Teachers

18.41. *A teacher in the tribal areas must have a thorough knowledge of tribal life and culture. He must speak the tribal language. Only so can he be in a position to act as a friend, philosopher and guide to the tribals. Actually, the gulf between teacher and taught can be best reduced by appointing teachers from the tribal community itself.*

18.42. We cannot leave this subject without referring to the difficulties the teachers as a class have to face in the tribal areas. If they do not belong to the areas and come from outside, their difficulties begin with finding a house to live in. They cannot bring their families with them for more than one reason. They are occasionally transferred and do not know when and where they will have to go next. There is difficulty about education of their children which they cannot afford if they have to maintain two establishments. When, therefore, they come to the tribal areas it is often with the thought of escaping as quickly as possible to their own homes. *It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that teachers should be provided with houses and should have a fixed tenure in their schools.*

18.43. Their pay scales also are too low and it would be unreasonable to expect them to bear the burden of maintaining two establishments or neglecting the education of their own children. *We, therefore, suggest that over and above residential accommodation some additional inducement should be given to them. In our opinion there is no other remedy but to have a separate cadre for teachers in these areas for a period of 20 years. As the areas develop, as communications develop and as the situation reaches the normal level, the cadre may ultimately be wound up. So much depends upon education that we cannot but underline the necessity of good teachers going to the tribal areas. It will be better still if local talent is developed. This will reduce the strain upon the State and also*

improve the quality and ensure greater attention in teaching. We should not forget that the teacher is expected to know the language of the area and any new teacher who comes from outside will have to learn it. This is an additional reason for creating a separate cadre.

Recruitment and Teachers' Training

18.44. We have stressed the point that educational progress depends on the availability of suitably trained teachers and the amount of interest they take. During our tours we had the opportunity to visit the Teachers' Training Centre at Sudimalla in Andhra Pradesh, where a scheme is being implemented to train tribal students as village school teachers. This is in order to meet the situation which arises on account of the teachers leaving the areas or not joining their duties. According to this scheme, candidates are selected from village schools who have studied upto 4th standard and they are taught in the Centre upto the 6th standard. The special teachers training is given for one year. The successful candidates are appointed as teachers. During the training period, a candidate is paid Rs. 20 as monthly stipend. This is a good experiment and its results should be carefully studied. *Tribal boys and girls who pass out VII and VIII standards can be trained as teachers and posted to schools in tribal areas. To that extent, ordinary rules and conditions should be relaxed. There should be a special scheme for a training course for such students.*

18.45. *Training centres should be located in the tribal areas so that those teachers who are employed from outside can become familiar with the surroundings in which they have to work. The teachers should also be given a re-orientation course in which they will learn the customs, characteristics and languages of the tribals in the areas where they are posted.*

Compulsory Primary Education

18.46. We have carefully considered the question of compulsory primary education. Our national leaders have repeatedly stated that it is not the policy of the Union Government to impose anything on the tribal people. We have taken the same view in this Report and, so long as the present standard of schools and teachers remains at its present level, the last thing we would wish to do is to impose an inferior type of education upon the tribes. A bad school can do much harm and a bad teacher can be a positively dangerous agent in hindering the cause of integration.

18.47. We do not all the same want to be misunderstood as implying that we are opposed to the idea of compulsory primary education. We only want that adequate preparation should be made. Therefore, while planning for education of the tribal children, Government should start by thinking in terms of the facilities that should exist so that the programme of compulsory education can be initiated as early as possible, we cannot contemplate a situation whereby as a result of the programme of compulsory education in the plains area the children of the plains people go forward and because of these difficulties the tribal children who are behind remain further behind.

18.48. The State Governments and the non-officials both have stated before the Commission that in tribal areas a punitive approach would not be effective in regard to compulsory primary education. Mid-day meals, supply of free books, slates and stationery will have to be provided, if compulsory education is to be introduced. An intensive propaganda campaign will also have to be organised.

18.49. We are of the opinion in the circumstances that before introducing compulsory education the first thing is to get suitable people to do the educating. The authorities should make sure about the availability of well-qualified and experienced teachers who know the local language and they should have the necessary text-books ready, apart from giving facilities like mid-day meals, etc. to which we have referred to earlier.

Policy and Curriculum

18.50. Throughout the country education of the tribal children is being attended to by more than one agency. In Madhya Pradesh, there are as many as five. In one village in Manipur, there were no fewer than five schools, each run by different missionary groups. We do not want to interfere with the arrangements but we are clear in our mind that so far as policy and curriculum are concerned, education should be the sole responsibility of the Education Department. An integrated system of education is a sine qua non of an integrated society. This principle should cover all institutions run in the States, whether they are run by the State or local bodies or by voluntary organisations including missionary institutions. As it is, the tribals are bewildered by different ideologies and sometimes violently conflicting social, religious and political ideas which are imposed on them in the schools.

18.51. We also recommend that besides policy and curriculum which constitute the responsibility of the State Governments, they should also see that in the matter of admission to schools there is no discrimination at any stage of education. In granting recognition to schools or giving them any grant-in-aid, the State Government should satisfy itself that no institution, which receives a grant from the Government or is recognised by it, practises discrimination either in the matter of recruitment of teachers or in the admission of students on the ground of caste, community or religion.

18.52. To end the present chaotic conditions in the field which prevail in some of the States, we recommend that there should be one system, one policy-making body and one operating channel in the tribal areas. Education is primarily the responsibility of the State Government and they so far as primary and secondary education is concerned, must take over the sole responsibility.

Secondary & Technical Education

18.53. Hitherto, we have spoken mostly about primary education. We will now refer to secondary, technical and higher education. We found at Jhilimili (West Bengal) that about 21 tribal boys were required to walk a long distance to attend school. This is the situation in most parts. In the field of secondary education, there will be

needed, therefore, besides school buildings, a proper curriculum and the right type of teachers, hostel accommodation for the students, especially for girls, if it is to progress with the same speed as in the neighbouring areas. We feel that wherever a student has to walk more than four or five miles a day there should be a hostel to take away the strain of distance, for it is bound to affect his studies. Without such hostel accommodation the tribal students will not be able to keep up with the rest.

18.54. The tribals have an aptitude for technical education and their boys take to technical trades quickly. Under the Second Plan, six technical training institutes for tribals are sanctioned.¹² Five out of the six have already started functioning. These are located at Korba (Madhya Pradesh), Imphal (Manipur), Ranchi and Dumka (Bihar) and Takatpur (Orissa)¹³. The trades taught are those of turner, moulder, lineman, wireman, fitter, electrician, draftsman (civil and mechanical engineering), blacksmithy, etc. This is really a great achievement. About 600 pupils are studying in these centres. *The Commission is of the opinion that there should be a considerable expansion of this programme. The courses should include the certificate courses, diploma courses, and degree courses. Agricultural engineering should also be included. As far as possible there should be a technical education centre or a workshop training centre in every district. If there is an additional demand, there should be no reluctance or hesitation to the opening of new ones. We would lay the greatest emphasis on the expansion of the certificate courses.*

18.55. Complaints were made to us by the boys under training in the Ranchi Centre that they were expected to pass the science examination but in the high school in which they studied science subjects were not taught. This condition should be relaxed for the boys who come from areas where the high school has no science subject and arrangements should be made for coaching. Another complaint they made to us was about the difficulties in securing admission in the factories for practical experience on completion of their course which is obligatory for granting the diploma. As they could not secure such service, they were put in the very embarrassing position of having taken training, yet in the absence of a diploma they could not work. *We recommend that there should be an agency which should see that tribal boys get admission for securing experience in factories or in the industries concerned.*

18.56. Greatest emphasis should be laid on the certificate course which opens an opportunity for large scale turn out at the minimum possible expenditure. Arrangements can also be made for simple workshop training to the boys to work as motor mechanics, motor drivers, fitters for irrigation pumps and such other jobs. There is a great demand everywhere for these artisans and a workshop-type, of course, while cheap in running offers a solution for mass employment as there is need for such trained personnel.

18.57. We have come across cases where colleges opened with tribal funds contained very few tribal students. We certainly do not advocate that colleges built out of tribal funds should exclusively be for tribal students, but every effort should be made to see that they come in largest possible numbers.

Other Recommendations

18.58. We would like to stress the need for attention to girls' education. It lags very much behind. We think that there should be a larger number of girls' hostels. Clothing, books and slates should also be provided. Women teachers, wherever possible, should be appointed to generate confidence. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has been trying an experiment of giving a little allowance to the teachers' wives for bringing them to the schools and leaving them again at their houses. The presence of a lady in the school—although she may not be a teacher—gives added confidence to the parents. This also ties the teacher to the village and the school.

18.59. We have referred above to the scholarships in the primary, pre-matric and the post-matric stages. We recommend that the proportion of scholarships where education is still lagging behind will have to be raised. In effect, we suggest that where the progress in education is below the First Plan level in any region approximately of the size of a Tribal Development Block, the number of scholarships should be increased.

18.60. Serious complaints have come to our notice of irregularity and delays in payment of scholarships at every stage, and the State Governments have admitted this to be true. Various methods have been tried to obviate the delays, but have not so far succeeded. It has been represented to us that because of these delays, students are compelled to borrow money for their sustenance at heavy rates of interest, and limited as the amount of scholarship is, after defraying the interest charges, they have little left for their studies. The proper thing, in our opinion, is to ensure that the scholarship amount is sent along with the salaries of the teachers so that it reaches the students every month in time.

18.61. The State Governments have also explained their position that the scholarships are meant for students actually prosecuting studies and unless they were satisfied that the students were doing so, they felt disinclined to continue the scholarships. But scholarships are related to under-development and unless a student fails repeatedly there is no reason why he should be deprived of scholarship so long as there is some hope that he will get through in the end.

18.62. There are two other points relating to the subject. One is the payment of examination fees in the Universities and the Boards. We hope that these bodies, although they are autonomous, will consider the economic condition of the tribals. The second point is the condition for admission of students in the secondary and collegiate courses. While we do not want to advocate any kind of lowering of the standard, we feel that there should be a period of coaching before tests are taken. The tribal students should be admitted in the institution on their showing the minimum educational qualifications for admission. Necessary facilities can be provided to them for coaching after which they may appear for the test.

18.63. A growing number of educated tribals are beginning to write books, pamphlets and articles in magazines. Abor boys are

now producing stories and even books of poems in their own language. One Abor boy has written a short novel, with tribal characters and setting, in Assamese. Several Nagas are interested in writing on their own history and folklore. The Khasis have written long books and articles in their own language on their own customs and ideas. Elsewhere, tribals have been writing on their own system of medicine and other things. The Chin Culture, Literature and Education Board of Manipur is enthusiastically going ahead in the building up of their own literature. One feature of this movement is that the new literature is nearly always in the people's own mother tongue, another argument in favour of emphasising the tribal languages at the school level. This movement may well provide us with many treasures and may prove an invaluable means of helping the tribals to attain self-expression. It should be encouraged in every possible way. Amongst these educated persons are people who have a special bent of mind for such things and it is in the interest of the country that they are helped to the utmost.

18.64. In the matter of audio-visual education, full advantage cannot be taken by the tribals for more than one reason. One reason is the lack of transport and another reason is lack of adequate finance to cover all the principal tribal dialects. We think that a beginning should be made. Where the Government cannot do it in any tribal dialect, silent visual demonstration accompanied by explanation of the subject in the local tribal dialect verbally will also arouse interest.

18.65. *Finally, there is one point on which the Commission would like to lay special emphasis. There are groups of tribals who are comparatively-speaking in the most underdeveloped condition. They are not conscious of the benefits of education. In case of such groups we would like that special efforts should be made by the State Governments. They should undertake special projects for the purpose. We include nomadic tribals also in this category. The ordinary school will not be adequate to raise the level of education amongst these sections. The responsibility for books, meals and clothing in such cases should be undertaken by the Government. The project should also take into consideration the needs of the teachers operating in such conditions.*

CHAPTER 19

HEALTH

Good work has been done in the field of public health, especially malaria control, in the past ten years. A new freedom is coming to the tribal areas which will soon be independent of the oppressive Anopheles mosquito. Progress has also been made in other fields. But there is a vast leeway to be made up and medical facilities in the tribal areas are still inadequate. While the normal health of the tribals cannot be said to be bad, after infection their condition often becomes chronic.

Drinking Water

19.2. The tribals suffer from many chronic diseases, the most prevalent of which are water-borne. The drinking water-supply in many of the tribal areas is very poor. In Aijal in Assam, water has to be purchased by the tin or fetched from a distance of two to three miles. In the hill regions of Maharashtra, especially around Poona, Nasik and Dhulia, people have to go far down the hills to get water. Even when water is available, it is often dirty and contaminated. Consequently, the tribals are easily susceptible to intestinal and skin diseases. Diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera, guinea-worm and tape-worm are also not infrequent.

Other Diseases

19.3. In the Himalayan ranges there is goitre, a disease of the thyroid gland due to iodine deficiency. Venereal diseases occur in certain parts of Himachal Pradesh, parts of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and the Andhra Agency Tracts. Tuberculosis, which is intensified by nutritional deficiency so common among the tribals, is found in the foot hills. The tribal has not yet developed an immunity and when he comes in contact with new diseases he falls an easy prey to them. The incidence of T.B. seems to be increasing for that reason.

19.4. One of the fell diseases of which the tribal is mortally afraid is yaws which occurs in the northern region of the Agency Area in Andhra Pradesh, southern Orissa, Chanda District of Maharashtra and Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh. *Hansen's Disease*, as leprosy should now be called, is common throughout India and has not spared the tribal people. It is extremely bad in the Agency Areas in Andhra Pradesh, in the Mikir Hills in Assam, Bankura and Purulia Districts of West Bengal, Santal Parganas of Bihar, from Mayurbhanj upto Puri in Orissa, Scabies, ring-worm, small-pox and anaemia are also common.

First Plan

19.5. A sum of Rs. 154 lakhs was spent in the First Plan period on providing medical and public health services to Scheduled Tribes and a sum of Rs. 500 lakhs was allocated in the Second Plan period¹. The notable achievements during the First Plan have been the maintenance and opening of 101 allopathic dispensaries, 23 Ayurvedic dispensaries, 13 health centres, 10 Hansen's Disease centres, 3

maternity centres, 27 health units, and 4 mobile units. In addition, 10 anti-malaria schemes, 4 anti-yaws campaigns and 6 anti-Venereal diseases campaigns were carried out. Grants were given to 266 dispensaries, in addition to distribution of a number of medical chests². We give below the figures of expenditure State-wise during the First Plan period and the allocations made in the Second Plan period on Medical and Public Health³. The State-wise allocations of the Third Plan are not yet known.

TABLE 43

(Amount in Rupees)

State	Expenditure under First Plan	Provision for Second Plan Period		
		State Sector	Central Sector	Total
1	2	3	4	5
Andhra Pradesh ..	21,81,412	41,90,450	78,000	42,68,450
Assam	20,05,386	74,73,650	31,72,000	1,06,45,650
Bihar	48,78,295	91,67,500	7,00,000	98,67,500
Bombay	10,04,275	10,58,300	15,00,000	25,58,300
Madhya Pradesh ..	..	40,83,000	14,25,000	55,08,000
Madras	615	8,02,000	6,73,000	14,75,000
Orissa	12,27,580	40,56,000	..	40,56,000
Punjab	1,46,423	1,90,000	2,66,000	4,56,000
West Bengal	25,43,458	16,91,950	11,86,000	28,77,950
Hyderabad .. ..	..	2,37,500	..	2,37,500
Madhya Bharat ..	5,38,554	..	17,32,000	17,32,000
Mysore .. ..	..	3,89,500	30,000	4,19,500
Rajasthan	1,24,406	5,25,000	7,00,000	12,25,000
Saurashtra	1,850	71,250	..	71,250
Travancore-Cochin ..	80,771	2,85,000	30,000	3,15,000
Ajmer	7,678	45,000	25,000	70,000
Coorg .. ..	..	85,500	..	85,500
Himachal Pradesh ..	6,247	4,75,228	4,00,000	8,75,228
Kutch	36,711	23,750	..	23,750
Manipur	4,09,940	13,25,000	1,75,000	15,00,000
Tripura	1,59,000	4,27,000	2,30,000	6,57,000
Vindhya Pradesh ..	..	7,38,000	3,70,000	11,08,000
Total	1,53,52,601	3,73,40,578	1,26,92,000	5,00,32,578

personnel; (iii) inadequacy of communications; and (iv) rules about supply of medicine. We refer to these problems though we have been told that these have been agitating the mind of the State Governments also in view of the heavy shortfalls in this direction.

Deficiency in Approach

19.8. One of the major difficulties in the interior regions in the way of persuading tribal people to come for medical treatment is the fact that they have a well-developed system of diagnosis and cure. The usual theory of disease in tribal society is that it is caused by hostile spirits, the ghosts of the dead, or the breach of some taboo. What is spiritually caused, therefore, must be spiritually cured, and this is the main reason why the people in the interior prefer to go to their own doctors rather than to ours. There is no doubt that this theory of disease is a deterrent to many who would otherwise come to dispensaries and hospitals for treatment and it is natural that the doctors should regard the tribal priest as a dangerous professional rival. But this surely is not necessary. A pious invalid will send for both the priest and the physician. The priest will pray for him, the physician will give him a pill. The theory is that God answers the priest's prayer by making the pill more efficacious: the physician is the instrument through which the divine compassion works.

19.9. An interesting experiment is being tried in NEFA where the medical staff has been asked to regard the medicineman not as his rival but his ally. The doctors have been directed not to be antagonistic to the system of tribal diagnosis and cure, cease to sneer at it as 'superstitious', and extend to it the sympathy they would feel for any other kind of faith-healing and psychological treatment (for this is what in effect it is), of which there are ample examples throughout the world.

19.10. A wise doctor will make friends with the local priest, invite him to visit his hospital and let him offer prayers and make sacrifices for his patient, explaining that his own way of treatment is supplementary to his. For the old methods are not without their value. Many diseases are at least partly due to mental causes— anxiety (peptic ulcers), guilt or fear (indigestion), frustration (constipation). Where a patient believes that his illness is due to sin or breach of some taboo, the priest can, by offering the appropriate sacrifices, remove the sense of guilt and the attendant anxiety which is itself a potent cause of ill-health. If the patient thinks he is ill because a ghost or demon has attacked him, the priest can remove the fear and restore confidence by appeasing the offended spirit. His work thus has a really valuable psychological function, for it can promote the will-to-live, which is one of the most important needs in a case of serious illness.

19.11. Whenever a hospital or dispensary is opened or when the foundations of such buildings are laid (tribal people attach great importance to the foundations, and sacrifices are generally offered at this time), the local priests should be invited to perform rites of blessing and protection. In NEFA we saw images of the local spirits erected before a hospital to make the people feel more at home and attend more readily.

19.12. The essential thing is for the medical staff to take the right attitude to tribal medicine and the tribal priest. The most successful doctors have been those who have interested themselves in what we may call medical sociology, in such things as the tribal pharmacopoeia, the tribal theory of the influence of dreams on health, tribal methods of diagnosis. The subject is fascinating in itself and to study it almost automatically changes a man's attitude and thus helps him to win the confidence of the local people.

19.13. No one should ever make fun of the tribal priests and doctors in Variety Shows or on other occasions. In some parts of tribal Area, efforts have been made to wean the people away from their own traditions by mockery, criticism and even by abuse. This does not succeed; it only makes the tribesmen feel alien from us and creates in them a sense of inferiority and resentment.

19.14. In Spiti, where medical facilities are still a novelty, the image of the Buddha is brought to a hospital to create confidence in the tribals that Buddha is as satisfied with the allopathic doctor as with the indigenous physician. In the central belt where missionaries took medical services to the tribals long ago, many tribals are already conscious of their utility. In the Bhil areas of Rajasthan, the tribals prefer the indigenous physician if they can get his services.

19.15. Maternity services are yet in an initial stage. Age-old traditions often make a trained Dai or midwife unacceptable to tribal women. When a child dies at birth, there is a feeling that the unseen spirits are angry, and insufficient care has been taken to propitiate them; they may even have been angered by the presence of a doctor or midwife. A lady assistant, attached to a Public Health Centre in the Dangs (Gujarat), told us how she was once assaulted when she went to visit an ante-natal case. Although she proved a match for her assailants and returned safe and sound, there is sometimes a certain danger about the possible reactions of enraged tribals after an unsuccessful delivery.

Problems of Personnel

19.16. Here is, therefore, a mixed picture of continued belief in the old system and a steadily rising faith in the new. In this complex situation, one of the greatest shortages is of medical personnel and qualified nurses. It has not been possible to create a sufficient response in the men and women of the medical profession in India to offer themselves for service in tribal areas.

Public health and medicine cannot easily be assessed in terms of money. The coverage in India for one medical institution in 1957 was 126 sq. miles, but a medical institution in the tribal area, we can unhesitatingly say, serves twice or thrice this area². There are not enough doctors, nurses, midwives and compounders. Figures supplied by the Planning Commission indicate that there are about 1,000 persons receiving stipends for training in medical and nursery sections. Even if they were all diverted to the tribal areas, this would still be inadequate. *There are difficulties of housing, education for their children, contact with the world outside; these cannot be calculated in terms of money. We feel that leave rules, and rules relating to service generally will have to be modified. The question has to be*

studied from two angles; sympathy towards the personnel posted in the tribal areas and consciousness of the urgency of the problem. The solution lies, in our opinion, in having a special cadre for a period of twenty years to secure the medical personnel required for the tribal areas. We do not think that it will be possible for the State Governments to secure the services of the requisite personnel on the terms offered in the plains areas. Except perhaps for Dais we think that this applies to other categories such as nurses, compounders, etc.

19.17. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to train the local people. A time will come when they will be able to staff their own hospitals but this will take time, at least twenty years. While there should be no difference in their emoluments, tribal recruits should understand that, on the expiry of the period, they will be absorbed in the general cadre on such terms and conditions as the Government may consider fit.

Ayurvedic and Herbal Medicines

19.18. In view of the small number of allopathic doctors available, the State Governments may set up increased number of Ayurvedic dispensaries to meet the need for treatment of diseases on scientific lines. The tribals are already used to herbal remedies. Tried and tested herbal medicines can be made available to them.

Problems of Rules and Procedure

19.19. The other difficulty is the rules and procedures. There are too many rules and regulations also and conditions of service are not quite satisfactory. The present method of indenting for medical supplies in the remoter areas is very frustrating. When forms are filled up and reach the headquarters, scrutiny is made on the basis of the normal requirements of the plains areas. It is all mathematically done on the basis of 'hospital returns'. It is forgotten that the medical personnel in tribal areas have not only to treat the patients but also brave the rigours of climate and on many occasions to meet the urgent requirements which require the maintenance of stocks of special remedies at hand. We recommend that simple rules and procedures suited to the conditions in the area be devised to make the task of medical and health personnel easy so that they may concentrate on and extend the sphere of their work. While the bulk of the medical personnel is conscious of their obligations, there are a few exceptions. Such cases can be dealt with by the Deputy Commissioner, Collector and the district head of the Medical Department. But confidence and trust must be the guiding principle if the medical and health services are to reach the farthest corner of these areas.

Problem of Communications

19.20. As far back as 1956-57, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes made the following recommendation :—

“To serve the needs of the Scheduled and Tribal Areas, it would be advisable to have a large number of peripatetic dispensaries and mobile health units rather than the static dispensaries and hospitals. In this way, it will be possible to cover a larger area and a larger number of Scheduled Tribes.”

We fully agree with this suggestion. Already, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Tripura have started a few mobile medical units or dispensaries for giving medical aid to the tribals in the interior. Under the tribal welfare programme in West Bengal, a mobile venereal disease unit has been doing good work at Siliguri in Darjeeling District.

19.21. The Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks has suggested that "it is unrealistic to provide these mobile Centres in the tribal areas with ambulances or large vans which often cannot get along the rough roads or tracks even in fine weather. An ordinary jeep is quite sufficient to take a doctor with his staff and medicines to a number of outlying villages. Serious cases can easily, by a little ingenuity, be accommodated in a jeep and brought back to hospital. It might even be considered whether an improved type of bullock-cart could not be sometimes used for the mobile units; in NEFA these Units have to move about in the most difficult country on foot, and doctors there have performed successful operations under the most impossible circumstances in the village camps without any assistance from motor transport. Special financial provision will, of course, have to be made for this type of touring."

19.22. We recommend that the mobile medical units should be adequately increased and must have an equally important preventive section which should work on such items as malaria control through spraying of D.D.T., tuberculosis control through B.C.G. vaccination, control of epidemics like small pox, cholera, etc., by proper inoculation and supply of milk and vitamins to children and expectant mothers. The mobile unit must also have a propaganda section equipped with projector, film or literature. The unit should carry all the necessary medicines, ayurvedic, allopathic or homeopathic. Thus the multipurpose mobile unit will go very far in meeting the medical needs of the tribal people.

Medicine Chests

19.23. Medicine chests should be provided at all Panchayats, Primary Schools, Middle Schools, Dormitories, etc. These chests should be kept under the charge of the headmasters, or the panch or the village level worker. Arrangements to refill them should be ensured. These chests should contain simple, harmless and patent medicines. Since they would be provided in places where no other medical facilities would be available, we recommend that each doctor be put in charge of a certain number of medicine chests, and tour from time to time to inspect and supervise their working.

Health Education

19.24. Health education is very necessary in the tribal areas. A systematic programme, wherever possible, with audio-visual equipment should be undertaken to spread knowledge about the dietary conditions and sanitary habits. Health posters with a tribal background might also be introduced.

Water Supply

19.25. During the Second Plan period some progress has been made in the construction of drinking-water wells, as follows:—

TABLE 45

State/Union Territory	Wells constructed (Number)	Wells repaired (Number)
	2	3
Andhra Pradesh	287	93
Assam	250	..
Bihar	1,900	..
Gujarat and Maharashtra	1,152	..
Kerala	122	..
Madhya Pradesh	1,000	..
Madras	150	40
Mysore	52	..
Orissa	2,850	..
Punjab	*	*
Rajasthan	1,428	..
West Bengal	*	*
Andaman & Nicobar Islands .. .. .	..	..
Himachal Pradesh	69 Water Supply Schemes; 56 Khuls	..
Manipur	331 tanks	..
Tripura	77	..

19.26. We have already said that for want of clean drinking-water facilities, the tribals suffer from water-borne diseases. The Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes have made the following recommendations, which we endorse:—

- (i) There should be at least one reliable drinking-water well or any other source in each village,
- (ii) In hills, special provision should be made for tapping perennial sources with pipe connections or even with bamboos, or carved out hollowed trunks of palm trees”⁸.

*Information not indicated.

We also recommend that (1) the rule for a percentage contribution from the tribals for digging drinking water wells should be waived; (2) the water sources in the tribal areas should be properly tapped with pipe connections with overhead protective tanks.

19.27. This problem is very serious and we give here brief account of conditions in some of the States we visited; this underlines the urgent necessity of finding a solution. In Andhra Pradesh, the Collector of Adilabad told us that nearly three-fourths of the villages in his district need drinking-water wells. In the hill areas of Assam, although places like Cherrapunji have the highest rainfall in the country, they are completely dry in the winter months. In the Mizo Hills, water has to be brought to Aijal in lorries and is being distributed to the Government servants and the Assam Rifle personnel at an annual cost of Rs. 2.50 lakhs. In the plains districts, there is hardly any protected water supply for the tribals as all the existing sources are flooded by the rivers in summer. In Bihar, according to the Health Survey in the Chhota Nagpur Division in 1956-57, the water supply was mainly from shallow wells, rivers, ponds and tanks. Thirty-two per cent of the population had an adequate water supply, sixty-five per cent inadequate and the rest scarce. The scarcity was felt most in Singhbhum area and water was insufficient in Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad and Palamau Districts.

19.28. In other hill areas the rivers dry up in summer and the tribals experience great hardship in getting water to drink. The Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, conducted a survey of water scarcity problems in the Tamia Special Tribal Development Block. In 31 villages surveyed for this enquiry, there were in all 55 wells out of which only 20 were *pucca* and 35 *kuchha*. In as many as 8 villages, there was no well at all; in 11 the wells were absolutely dry; 15 were half full; about 10 had 3 feet of water and only a few had between 5 and 10 feet or more. Out of these 55 wells, only two had been built by the State, 30 were constructed by the villagers and 23 by private individuals. Out of the total population of 1,763 in these 31 villages, 4 families had to go about half a furlong for their water and others had to go longer distances. A distance of 4 to 7 furlongs was very common. The longest distances covered were one mile in Khamaria village, 1½ miles in Daletbhakhari and 2 miles in Bangai village.

19.29. In Orissa also, there is a shortage of drinking water in most of the tribal areas. The State Government have a master plan for rural water supply scheme, but according to this, villages having less than 30 families remain outside its scope and thus a large number cannot benefit. The Punjab Government is trying to meet the need for piped water supply to the villages in Lahaul. So far, they have been able to provide this to 14 villages at an approximate cost of Rs. 4 lakhs. In Rajasthan, step-wells still exist, of which only 50 per cent have been converted into draw-wells. The difficulty lies with the private step-wells as there is no legal sanction, when objections are raised to their conversion into draw-wells. Some kind of executive order may be issued or, if necessary, Regulation may be passed for the compulsory conversion of private step-wells into draw-wells.

19.30. In West Bengal, a Survey conducted by the Public Health Directorate in 1958 indicates that about 30,000 additional sources of

drinking-water are necessary to cover all the villages in the State. The areas where the majority of the tribals live are arid, and their villages cannot be adequately covered by the general programme alone. Tribal villages in Manipur are generally situated on hill-tops. People in Mao have sometimes to go down about a mile to get drinking water. But the Government had a programme that by the end of March, 1960, 226 water tanks were to be constructed. The target figure for the Second Plan was 330 tanks. In Nagaland also, villages are situated on hill tops. At many places, women have to go down a thousand feet for fetching water. So far, about 135 villages have been equipped with wells or pipes from springs—thus ensuring protected water supply.

19.31. *We recommend that—*

- (1) *a phased programme should be undertaken for providing drinking-water wells or clean water supply to all the villages. Priority should be given on the basis of population and distance, so that no person should be required to go more than four furlongs from his place or residence to fetch water,*
- (2) *such wells should be sanitary and properly looked after,*
- (3) *people's contribution should not be insisted upon in this programme, and*
- (4) *in the hills, the springs should be connected with pipes and clean drinking-water provided.*

Maternity Services

19.32. It does not require a Commission to say that maternity services are quite inadequate. Good work has been done in the central belt and Assam by the missionaries, but this can only be on a limited scale. During the Second Plan period, 259 maternity and child welfare centres and 179 health centres were established. This shows that we have not touched the fringe of the problem. *We, therefore, recommend a phased programme of maternity and child welfare centres. An extensive programme for training Dais is also necessary. The Dais will be in contact with the tribals and will be in a better position to make maternity services acceptable. Best of all, tribal women themselves should be trained. At least for one Panchayat area there should be one Dai. These Dais should be given refresher courses continuously through a peripatetic arrangement and their standards raised to the level of midwife. They will then be in a position to render the local Dais scientific and technical assistance.*

We also recommend that our target should be a Maternity Home in each Panchayat Samiti in the tribal areas with propaganda arrangements for sanitation, care of children and the care of expectant mothers.

Public Health

19.33. *Goitre*—In NEFA, there is a problem of endemic goitre with its complications of cretinism and deafmutism. The Chief Medical Officer, Cooch Behar (West Bengal), informed the Commission that this disease is common in North Bengal and that 80 per cent of the people in Kalimpong are affected by goitre. It is also found in

Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab. This disease is due to deficiency of iodine and an easy remedy for it is to supply iodized salt. *This experiment was tried in Jaunsar Bawar in Uttar Pradesh and we are told that it was successful. The medical section, with the assistance of the Revenue or the Community Development Department, should make arrangements for the distribution of iodized salt at concessional rates in these affected areas.*

19.34. *Yaws*—Yaws is found particularly among the Koyas and Marias. It is still prevalent in parts of Agency areas and in Khammam and Warangal Districts of Andhra Pradesh, and is suspected in NEFA. According to the District Health Officer, Khammam, the number of yaws-affected persons is about two lakhs. But the figure seems to us on the high side. In Bihar, in the course of an investigation made in the Chhota Nagpur Division in 1956-57 by the Assistant Director of Public Health and Nutrition Department, it was found that out of 11,864 Scheduled Tribes people examined, 1,163 persons or 9.8 per cent were suffering from one disease or the other and that the proportion of yaws cases per thousand worked out to 3.09. Scattered cases of yaws occur in the Districts of Palamau and Hazari-bagh and in some parts of the Chanda and Nanded Districts of Maharashtra.

19.35. In Madhya Pradesh, the first attempt to treat yaws on a mass scale was made when the late Sir W. V. Grigson was Administrator of Bastar State, where the Dandami Marias of Dantewara suffered from it badly. During the three years from 1951 to 1953, there were, on an average, four thousand cases of yaws per year in Bastar District⁹. In 1954-55, the Conservator of Forests, Eastern Circle, conducted a Yaws Survey in the remoter areas of the Mandla, Bilaspur and Balaghat Districts, and found that out of 3,569 inhabitants of 31 forest villages, 136 were suffering from yaws, 76 being men, 15 women, 33 boys and 12 girls¹⁰. Ninety of them were Baigas and 46 Gonds. The Commissioner of Raipur Division was of the opinion that yaws is not due to insanitary living conditions but it is invariably higher amongst population which exist on an almost fatless diet¹¹. Treatment is easy and all that is necessary is a couple of Penicillin injections and the patient immediately responds to the treatment. The disease is also found in the Koraput, Mayurbhanj and Ganjam Districts of Orissa State and probably, unsuspected, in many other places. The number of people treated during 1959 by the Anti-Yaws Teams was as follows¹²:—

Madhya Pradesh	...	...	...	1,533
Andhra Pradesh	...	...	...	9,694
Orissa	...	...	...	4,059

19.36. *Hansen's Disease*—The incidence of Hansen's Disease, the modern name for leprosy, is high in Bankura and Purulia Districts of West Bengal, Santhal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum Districts of Bihar, Bastar and Bilaspur Districts of Madhya Pradesh, Mayurbhanj District of Orissa and in the northern parts of the plains districts of Assam and Mikir Hills. It is also prevalent in certain parts of Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Manipur.

19.37. In Orissa State, a sample survey in Scheduled Areas of Phulbani, Mayurbhanj and Koraput Districts was carried out. Pockets

of high incidence of Hansen's Disease were found in those three districts. In West Bengal, the Commission was informed that the clinics could be easily opened but the difficulty lay in obtaining the services of trained doctors and workers. The Commission had occasion to pay a visit to Mission Lepers Hospital at Purulia which is one of the biggest in India and doing excellent work. There are 730 indoor patients and the annual expenditure is about Rs. 34 lakhs.

19.38. In Bihar, very useful work is being done by Mission Hospitals and the Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal. Unfortunately, persons cured of Hansen's Disease are not readily accepted in society. Consequently, many of them become homeless and have no employment. This disease not only creates public and medical problems but also grave social problems. Some years back we had to depend almost entirely on the missionaries and private institutions for this work. The National Control Scheme has now been started in 1955-56 and 99 control centres have been established in the endemic areas, where the incidence of Hansen's Disease is 0.5 per cent. 23 more control centres were to be opened during 1960-61¹³. The Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation is also doing useful work.

19.39. *Venereal Diseases*—Venereal diseases are widespread in tribal areas. The decline in the population of Todas of Nilgiris has been fortunately arrested by the timely measures adopted by the Government of Madras and non-official agencies. This disease is on the increase in the tribal areas of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. According to the Health Survey conducted in the Chhota Nagpur Division of Bihar in 1956-57, the proportion of V.D. patients was the highest, being 12.55 per cent of the tribal patients. During our tour of the District of Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh, a lady doctor told us that 70 per cent of her patients were suffering from V.D. Similarly, a doctor of Raigarh in Madhya Pradesh informed us that 30 per cent of the patients coming to her hospital suffered from V.D. In the Lahaul and Spiti regions of Punjab, the incidence is estimated to be about 15 per cent of the patients visiting the hospital. We should, however, bear in mind that many cases of yaws, which is not a venereal disease, are reported as syphilis. Indeed so difficult is it to be certain that a disease is really venereal that the World Health Organisation has urged that we should speak of treponematoses instead of syphilis.

19.40. A campaign to combat yaws and V.D. has been launched in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa since 1952 with the assistance of the World Health Organisation. The information regarding number of people treated during 1956, 1957 and 1958 is given below¹⁴ :—

TABLE 46

State	1956	1957	1958
1	2	3	4
Andhra Pradesh	23,803	2,954	2,926
Madhya Pradesh	11,455	2,212	1,164
Orissa	5,687	2,922	2,611
Total	40,945	8,088	6,701

19.41. A mass campaign against V.D. was conducted among the hill population of the Kulu Sub-Division of Punjab in 1959. 77,413 persons were treated which works out to 60 per cent of the population¹⁸. Another campaign was launched in the border areas of Kulu Sub-Division, Chamba, Mandi and Mahasu Districts in Himachal Pradesh, in September, 1959. 3,269 patients were treated of which 782 were found positive. 840 patients were given treatment. It works out at nearly 25 per cent. How many of the cases were actually the non-venereal yaws cases does not seem to have been examined.

We learn that twenty-six Hansen's Disease and V.D. cure centres were opened for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes during the Second Plan.

19.42. *Tuberculosis*—Malnutrition, unhygienic conditions and lack of immunity are regarded as responsible for the increase of tuberculosis in the tribal areas, especially in the foothills. In Madhya Pradesh and Bihar and to a certain extent in West Bengal and Assam, this disease is common. It is very serious in the Pasighat area of NEFA. There has, however, been no general survey. There has been a mass programme of BCG vaccination, but, in the nature of things, it is very difficult to take these services to the remoter tribal areas. In the tribal village of Hoomgarh in West Bengal, the Commission was informed that out of the total number of patients who went to hospitals and private medical practitioners for examination for T.B., 40 per cent were tribals. In Madhya Pradesh, the Additional Civil Surgeon, Bilaspur District, informed us that the incidence of T.B. in that part of Madhya Pradesh was between 10 and 15 per cent of the patients attending hospitals. In Bihar and Orissa and to a certain extent in Rajasthan too, we were told that T.B. was on the increase. The truth of this should be examined.

19.43. *Malaria*—We have discussed the work done in relation to malaria already. While remarkable work has been done in all parts of India, especially in the Hill Districts of Assam, in the Keonjhar and Ganjam Districts of Orissa and the eastern districts of West Bengal and parts of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, malaria still exists, though its intensity is now comparatively small. We are not giving the figures about the work done by the National Malaria Control Programme, but we can say that it is admirable.

19.44. *Small-pox*—Small-pox also is a problem for the tribals, especially children, and vaccination proceeds rather slowly, some people paying the vaccinator to leave them alone.

19.45. *Malnutrition*—The dietary standard of the tribals is very low. Their diet hardly provides the essentials of nutrition in proper proportion. During 1958-59 in Madhya Pradesh, 4,100 cases of malnutrition were treated¹⁸. Anaemia is not uncommon among the tribals of Madras, Orissa, Maharashtra, and Manipur. Educated persons should be very careful not to make a bad situation worse by introducing new changes in food, such as vegetarianism, to the tribal people.

Prohibition

19.46. One of the most important problems in connection with health is the addiction of the tribals to spirituous and intoxicating

liquors and drinks. Article 47 of the Constitution casts a duty upon the State by prescribing that "the State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and improvement of public health as among its primary duties and, in particular the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health."

19.47. Drinking is widely prevalent amongst the tribals. First of all there is the indigenous beverage prepared by fermentation of rice and millets, which the tribals have been drinking for a long time. It is called by various names such as 'Handia' in Madhya Pradesh, 'A pong' in Assam, 'Zoo' in NEFA and Nagaland, 'Ludgi' in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, 'Kallu' in Andhra Pradesh and 'Pachawe' in Bihar. It is claimed that it is not an intoxicant though it has an invigorating effect and has some food value also. The second variety is the distilled liquor which the licence holders from the Government sell. It is really an intoxicant and no one, in our tour, claimed any sanctity for it, nor suggested that it had any food value. The third variety is the smuggled article in any and every form with a view to induce the tribals to form a habit. This is called 'Parchoonia'. Opinion was unanimous that Parchoonia was playing havoc with the life and the pecuniary conditions of the tribals. It is ruinous from every direction. Tribals are sometimes made to part with the property or enter into explorative bargains under the influence of this smuggled article. We would lay the greatest emphasis that whatever happens to other forms of drinking, this Parchoonia, as it is called, should be completely stamped out.

19.48. We next come to the distilled liquor sold under licences issued by the Government. In some places this distilled variety has entered only after Independence. This is surprising. We do not understand the need for this type of arrangement when the tribals have their own favourite beverage which from the social as well as ceremonial point of view they regard as quite sufficient.

On the whole if the tribal is to come out of his age-old slavery to money-lenders and start on a new and orderly life, it is incumbent that he should be weaned away from distilled liquors. It cannot be said that by depriving the tribals of distilled liquors Government will be taking away the little cheer in their life.

As a matter of fact on all their ceremonial occasions with the attendant dance, music and merry-making they use their favourite beverage. Nobody has advanced an argument in support of the need for this type of distilled liquor and we see no justification for introducing distilled liquors which have such a harmful effect.

19.49. We have before us the evidence of the working of 'Prohibition' in the tribal areas of Gujarat and Maharashtra. There it has been found that the tribals have taken to orderly life. Purchasing power has increased and standard of living has also improved. The Government of Bombay deputed a senior civilian officer, Shri Bhansali, in 1952, to report on the working of prohibition amongst the backward classes. In his report he said, "In the interior and away from the coastal areas improvement is more marked. Bad patches

exist but they are localised areas. The honest and law abiding agriculturist finding that liquor is prohibited and that there is no shop where he can readily get it, manages to do without it. The use of liquor on festive occasions, marriage parties, funerals, etc. by the aborigines, backward classes and rural inhabitants has practically disappeared. Occasionally when the urge for liquor becomes imperative home brew may be prepared either at home or in the jungle which a few friends may enjoy, but unless the profit motive exists, such cases are rare and the prohibition of liquor is effective."

19.50. In the year 1958 a survey about the effect of prohibition among the backward classes was carried out by the Government of Bombay through the officers of the Social Welfare Department. The survey covered 168 families of addicts, scattered over 112 villages of the old Bombay State and it was found that all the persons addicted to liquor prior to prohibition had given up drinking. Thirteen families paid off their debts varying from Rs. 100 to 3,000; fifty families have been able to purchase ornaments and forty-eight families purchased brass utensils.

A phased programme of prohibition was introduced in the Vidarbha and Marathwada areas of the old Bombay State from 1st April, 1957, which culminated in complete prohibition except the outstill areas of Chanda District. The outstill areas of Chanda District are mostly inhabited by Gonds and Marias. Therefore the programme of prohibition was phased for that area and was to be introduced in that area from 1st April, 1962. Surprisingly, however, the people and the workers of these areas asked for earlier prohibition and accordingly prohibition has been introduced in these areas from 1st April, 1961.

Recommendations

19.51. *We, therefore, recommend—*

- (a) *The parchooniya or smuggled liquor must be put down with a strong hand. Traffic in it should be made a penal offence with severe punishment.*
- (b) *The sale and use of distilled liquors should also be discontinued forthwith and offenders should be punished severely. Pending the adoption of this policy the grant of licences to sell distilled liquors in the weekly markets should be immediately discontinued.*
- (c) *We would not like at this stage to interfere with the use of the normal beverage that the tribals are accustomed to take. We are hopeful that by and by with the spread of education and with the realisation that rice and other articles that they use for the purpose of beverage, can be more suitably utilised, the tribals will also give up this habit.*

19.52. *In relation to Madhya Pradesh and one or two other States, the States permit distilled liquors and prohibit the tribals' indigenous drink. This policy should be reviewed on the lines stated above. We are clearly of opinion that there should be no question of selling the indigenous beverage in the markets. The tribals should have the freedom to prepare it in their own homes.*

Non-official Organisations

19.53. Various non-official organisations, like the Servants of India Society, the Indian Red Cross Society, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Christian missions and Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh are doing commendable work among the tribal people in the field of medical relief. In many areas missionaries have done pioneering work and all credit goes to their earlier efforts braving all the risks and working under financial stresses and difficult conditions. Needless to say that for raising the standard of health of the tribals, co-operative endeavour is necessary among the States, the Centre, the non-official organisations and the medical personnel. Success will depend on the measure of this co-operation.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 20

HOUSING

The problem of housing for the tribal people has to be viewed from the following four aspects: —

- (i) Shelter.
- (ii) Sanitation.
- (iii) Aesthetic tastes of the tribes.
- (iv) Comparative cost.

The Environment

20.2. The problem of housing is complicated by the enormous differences in climate, prosperity or poverty of the people and the type of architecture in the tribal areas. A very large number of the tribal people are fortunate in living in almost ideal climatic conditions. To the Chhota Nagpur plateau, classic home of a dozen tribes, come many visitors anxious to escape the heat of the plains. The lovely Khasi Hills around Shillong, the Lushai or Naga Hills are cool, bracing and healthy. The Maikal Hills of Madhya Pradesh, though less elevated, are cool and invigorating for most of the year. The Nilgiris, home of the Todas and Kotas, are famous as a tourist resort. It has been suggested that one of the reasons why the missionaries have paid so much attention to the tribal people is that the latter generally live in cooler regions.

20.3. But India is a large country and other areas are not so fortunate. The Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, inhabited by many of what are known as plains tribals, is oppressively hot in summer and some of the dense forest-districts, as for example in Chanda, are dry, airless and dusty. At the opposite extreme, in the high mountain areas of the Sub-Himalayan ranges, the climate is extremely severe and the tribal people there have to face the rigours of snow and wind, rain and storm, glacier and avalanche. A number of tribes live in the seismic belt and the great 1950 Earthquake in Assam had a devastating effect on their economy. In the areas of extreme climate, however, the people have learnt to adapt themselves. Their housing as their clothing is designed to keep out heat or resist the cold:

Examples of Good Tribal Houses

20.4. There is equal divergence in the economic status of the tribals, their sense of pride in their homes and the vitality and energy which they put into building them. Many tribal houses are attractively built and architecture and lay-out have been evolved through the centuries with a view to their own comfort. In the hot areas of Tripura, for example, and in lower Assam, houses are built with bamboo framework which lets in plenty of air. Where the soil is consistently damp and the rainfall heavy, houses are

generally arranged on piles well above the ground to keep them dry. In cooler areas, houses are built on plinths of mud and stone raised from one to three or four feet above the ground. In the coldest areas, many of the buildings are of stone or in the nature of log-cabins.

Utility and Artistic Value

20.5. But whatever the type, the existing houses of majority of the tribal families are very well built, making use of locally available material and at the same time combining both utilitarian and artistic values. The Garos, for example, and many Mishmis build admirable houses. Some of them are 100 to 150 feet long. They are raised well off the ground and are thus healthy and ventilated. The people make good floors, weave bamboo expertly, keep their houses spotlessly clean and, though they do not have windows, they do have doors all along the walls and these can be opened to admit light and air. Miri, Naga and Reang houses too are often very good. The same may be said of many Gond houses in Madhya Pradesh or Orissa, Bagata and Koya houses in Andhra Pradesh, Gadaba and Saora houses in Orissa and Oraon and Santal houses in Bihar, which are usually well constructed with thick mud walls on which the people model or paint designs and pictures. Santal and Saora houses are substantial and pleasant, though rather dark, and the same may be said of tribal homes in many other places. The doors are often strong and well-decorated exhibiting fine designs in wood-carving as, for instance, amongst the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh. The floors and walls are washed with red or white clay or cow-dung.

Lack of House-sense

20.6. Equally varied is the architecture of the houses and layout of villages. As we have said, these are often attractive. Tribal villages are often placed in beautiful surroundings where there is a view of the countryside. Many of the tribals have developed a real pride in having a good house. On the other hand, there are a number of tribal groups—usually the smaller groups—who seem to have no house-sense at all. They are content to live in miserable hovels, dirty and insanitary, generally without proper doors and either far too open to the weather or completely lacking in ventilation. Some, like the Birhors, live in houses of leaves, though these are not so bad as they sound, for it is a tradition among them that they must build their little huts so that they will never let in the rain, and indeed the Birhor whose hut leaks is fined by the community.

Houses of Plains Tribals

20.7. Similarly not all tribals are so fortunate. Particularly in the plains, some are landless and homeless, and their plight is miserable. They are like pavement-dwellers in magnificent cities, whose condition is often worse than that of people in the slums. They live on the sufferance of climate, police and local landlords. The one need of these people is to have at least some small corner on the bosom of the earth for building up a roof. A notable example of this shocking condition will be found in the Yenadi tribe of

Andhra Pradesh. We found that they make use of the vacant land on both sides of P.W.D. roads, tanks and canals, find some place to camp until they are driven away, when they go to other place and live there to be driven away again. They are a few lakhs, and their need is of outstanding urgency.

Need for Research in Tribal Housing

20.8. Considering this great variety, it should have been obvious that before undertaking expensive housing schemes, there should have been extensive research to ensure that the right people receive help, that the houses given should be adapted to the climate and that, wherever possible, the style of building evolved through centuries of experience should be followed. Instead, what generally happens is that some architect in the State capital, who has never seen a good tribal house or visited a tribal village, draws up a type-plan which is followed automatically throughout the State. The result is that new houses are put up with verandahs facing the wrong way, with the rooms inconvenient for the people's needs, with far too many doors and windows which deprive the inhabitants of any privacy. Where the people like to live in three or four small buildings round a compound, they are put into one large chilly house facing a street. Where they like to have a small garden round the house, buildings are joined together in rows. Often the material used, cement, corrugated iron sheets and so on, are not only unnecessarily expensive but result in homes that are comfortless and unfamiliar. There are few subjects on which more money has been mispent, with of course the best intentions, than this.

Danger of Pauperisation

20.9. Another danger of our housing schemes is that they may lead to pauperisation. This is a very great danger in the new programmes of development. The people, who formerly were self-reliant, are now beginning to expect Government to do everything for them. They used to build their own schools, now they will do without education if Government will not take a hand. Even parents are expected to be paid to allow their children to go to school. Some of the tribes prefer to live in hovels rather than exert themselves and put up a decent house.

20.10. Here we come to one very great difference between two types of tribals. There is very little reason why any normal tribal family (except, of course, the landless, widow or the sick) who lives in a forest area with plenty of wood and bamboo available, should not have a really good home *provided we can persuade the Forest Department to be more liberal in allowing the extraction of building material. The forest people can then go ahead with making roomy, well-ventilated and water-proof homes given a little guidance and encouragement, but not involving Government into heavy cost.*

20.11. The position of the tribals living in a forest area, surrounded by raw material ready to be used, is entirely different from that of the Scheduled Castes people in the cities and towns where raw materials have to be purchased. It is equally different from the tribals who are being dispossessed from their lands as a

result of industrial projects or for other reasons and who have drifted to the towns. These need immediate help, for they are unable to help themselves, but the real forest-dweller can do a great deal for himself. In some places a great improvement in the tribal house has been effected without spending a single rupee, simply by intelligent and tactful propaganda.

In most tribal areas there is no need to change the architecture of the buildings. We may introduce small windows, double-roofing or ventilators to take away the smoke and let in more air; we may help to make the house more sanitary.

Housing Benefits Only for the Needy

20.12. The most important point, therefore, is that the housing schemes should benefit those who are in real need of houses. All too often the benefits of this programme have gone to the well-to-do tribals, some of whom may already have a house. At the same time the really poor people, sometimes because they cannot pay up their own contribution in cash, have not been benefited. Our aim should be to stress continually the needs of the poorest and the needs of the dispossessed who have gone to the cities—and give them a place where they can live in comfort.

The State Governments construct, more often than not, replicas of buildings obtaining in the plains with all kinds of attendant complications of transport, cost, repairs, technicians and shortage of technical personnel. The staff from the plains, ignorant of the local conditions, gives buildings to the tribals which are neither to their taste nor add to their comforts. The question of building cattle-sheds, pig-sties and poultry runs is also important. In the Assam Hills, every house has a granary separately built and placed outside the village as a means of protection against fire.

The Five Year Plans

20.13. It is against this background that we will examine the progress achieved in the First and the Second Plans. The following table shows the allocation in the two Plans—

TABLE 41

Table showing expenditure under the First Plan, original and revised Second Plan provision, anticipated expenditure during 1956-61 and the targets achieved on "Housing Schemes" during the Second Plan both under State and Central sectors, based on information supplied by State Governments (Rupees in lakhs)

State/Union Territories	1st Plan Expenditure	2nd Plan (original) Allocation	2nd Plan (revised) Allocation	2nd Plan Anticipated Expenditure	Shortfall (—) or Excess (+)	Targets achieved under 1st Plan	Targets achieved under 2nd Plan
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Andhra Pradesh	16.32	14.77	-1.55	The following achievements were made for backward classes in the various States:—	1,911 Houses.
Assam	..	3.75	3.75	3.75	..	(1) 8,865 Houses	Housing (District Councils) —6.
Bihar	..	20.00	20.00	20.05	+0.05	(2) 8 Model Villages	2,217 Houses.
Bombay	..	38.02	37.50	37.27	-0.23	(3) 31 Colonies	5,198 Houses. Subsidies to 44 Co-operative Societies for housing 854 Houses.
Kerala	16.56	11.92	-4.64	(4) 20 Sheds	6,673 Houses and 4 Model Villages.
Madhya Pradesh	..	37.50	63.30	52.33	-10.97	(5) 7 Community Houses	2,236 Houses.
Madras	..	17.49	12.39	12.31	-0.08	(6) 6 Panchayat Ghars	1,625 Houses.
Mysore	..	2.50	12.50	9.27	-3.23	(7) 20 Ashram buildings	6,333 Houses.
Orissa	..	42.00	42.00	40.00	-2.00	(8) 1,561 persons given financial aids, for construction and repairs.	*
Punjab	*	*	..		
Rajasthan	4.00	3.17	-0.83		874 Houses.

TABLE 47—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
West Bengal ..	..	10.00	15.61	*	..		1,798 Houses.
Himachal Pradesh ..	0.12	..	*	*	..		
Manipur ..	..	5.00	3.04	3.04	..		
Tripura ..	0.05	5.00	*	*	..		
Hyderabad ..	..	5.39	..	..	..		365 families given subsidy.
Madhya Bharat ..	..	15.00	..	..	..
Travancore-Cochin ..	..	4.72	..	..	..
Ajmer ..	0.92	4.00	..	..	..
Bhopal ..	4.12	..	..	..	..
Coorg ..	..	5.80	..	..	..
Kutch ..	2.48	3.27	..	..	..
Vindhya Pradesh ..	..	7.00	..	..	..
Total ..	48.96	226.44					

175.35 under Central sector.

*Information not available.

51.09 under State sector.

226.44

20.14. The table shows an allocation in the First Plan of Rs. 48.96 lakhs. Of this Rs. 40.91 lakhs were spent in Orissa and rest in other States. The outstanding achievements were eight model villages and 9,000 houses along with help to 1,561 persons for construction and repairs. There were some 50 to 100 other structures. In the Second Plan period, out of a total allocation of Rs. 226.44 lakhs, Rs. 175.35 lakhs were to be spent on the Central sector schemes and Rs. 51.09 lakhs in the State sector. Andhra and Hyderabad account for Rs. 5.39 lakhs, Assam for Rs. 3.75 lakhs, Bihar for Rs. 20 lakhs, Bombay for Rs. 38 lakhs, Madhya Pradesh for Rs. 37 lakhs and Orissa for Rs. 42 lakhs. There have been shortfalls in the execution, for the simple reason that the State Governments had neither the means nor the machinery and local knowledge to implement the programme. The usual plan followed in most of the States was to give a subsidy of Rs. 750 per house with Rs. 250 by way of contribution from the tribals. The aim was to construct about 45,000 houses along with the establishment of about 100 Housing Societies.

20.15. We have not yet got full figures of the total performance in the Second Plan. From the data available there has been a shortfall in every State, the major shortfalls being in Kerala (27 per cent), Mysore (25 per cent), Rajasthan (20 per cent) and Madhya Pradesh (17 per cent).

20.16. The money available to the States in the Second Plan was substantial. They could have made a solid beginning to provide housing assistance to the tribals. The liberal allocations by the Centre could not, however, be fully utilised. Where it was utilised, far too much went to people who were already comfortably housed.

Ventilation

20.17. A serious defect in a normal tribal dwelling is lack of proper ventilation. In the hills, the tribals generally claim that by not having windows or ventilators, their houses are kept cool in summer and warm in winter and also prevent the mosquitoes and other stinging insects from coming in. They fear that through the ventilators or windows evil spirits would get into the house. In the houses built by Government, we found that in many cases the windows and ventilators were later blocked up. The scheme of introducing ventilation would be more likely to succeed if we do not try to do too much at once. Small windows with shutters would be more acceptable in the beginning, or a system of "double-roofing" can also be very successful.

Restrictions on Use of Timber

20.18. One great impediment to tribal housing is the attitude of the Forest Department in imposing great restrictions on the use of timber. It is very difficult for the tribal to obtain a permit from a forest official to collect the necessary material. This involves considerable delay and constant irritation for he has to make long journeys to and from the forest offices. The rules should be considerably liberalised to enable every tribal family to obtain easily their requirements of timber for house-building purposes.

Funds for Improving Existing Houses

20.19. *Instead of attempting to provide houses to all and sundry which will involve considerable expenditure and divert funds and attention from programmes of greater priority, the limited funds available for housing should be used for the weaker groups who are really in need of houses. In other cases funds be utilised for improving the existing houses. In the Tribal Development Blocks in Raruan and Kashipur, Orissa, improvement in the houses was achieved entirely by propaganda. Since the improvement of rural housing is more an educational than a constructional programme, much could be done by persuasion and propaganda and the funds could be used for improvements such as providing windows, drains and sanitation facilities. In this way the benefits of the programme will be spread over a much larger population.*

Recommendations

20.20. *We, therefore, recommend that:—*

- (1) *Need for Planned Approach—The most important aspect of housing is the need for a planned approach, bearing in mind the needs of the tribals, their tastes, sanitation and finance. Unless this problem is approached systematically in a detailed manner and on a planned basis, the money utilised may be practically wasted.*
- (2) *Housing for Impoverished Groups—The question of housing schemes for such small and impoverished groups as the Yerukulas, Yenadis and Sugalis of Andhra Pradesh, the Katkaris of Maharashtra, the Dublas and Naiks of Gujarat, the Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh, the Paniyans of Kerala and the Kurubas of Mysore should have priority. The houses need not be costly nor built with imported materials. We have seen colonies where the houses have been constructed with asbestos roofing, cement floors, cement windows and doors. This is unsuited to the tribals who are often uncomfortable in such unfamiliar surroundings.*
- (3) *Housing Colonies—No colonisation scheme should be undertaken unless it is possible to provide employment. In the case of land-colonisation the scheme should be accompanied with provision for adequate land and irrigation. Money spent on colonisation without regard to the possibility of securing employment or the land given without possibility of irrigation, is in a majority of cases completely wasted. We have actually seen in a few places non-tribals in the tribal colonies are cultivating tribal lands.*
- (4) *Improve the Tribal Pattern—In the Santal Parganas and many other places we should not get away from the beautiful housing models that the tribals themselves follow. We can improve upon them by giving them some technical advice, here and there, to make the houses more durable and better ventilated. In all places, the basic architecture and village lay-out, which have evolved through the centuries, should be followed with suitable improvements.*

- (5) *Advice from Tribals—Before and during the construction of the colony, full advantage should be taken of the tribals' own advice.*
- (6) *Avoid Hurry—Hurried programmes for housing with a view to fulfil the targets are not at all advisable. We have found specimens of colonies wide-spread in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa which are already neglected and standing vacant, as the architecture, lay-out and general facilities are unacceptable to the people. The structure is weak. This leaves a very bad impression on the tribal mind.*
- (7) *Amenities in Colonies—Pending the construction of regular houses in the colonies, a little help wherever possible should be given for improved sanitation, and some facilities for children to play and for games. This would not cost very much.*
- (8) *Avoid Overcrowding—In Lahaul, Spiti and Himachal Pradesh, the Chamangs and Hanses live under conditions of over-crowding. We have found single rooms occupied by 10 or 15 people, huddled together in the winter months. We should help them to get more rooms.*
- (9) *Wells and Schools—Drinking-water facilities and schools along with houses are, essential. The school-buildings may be of the same type as the houses, but larger, so that they fit into the picture.*
- (10) *Sanitation—We found in Spiti a system of latrines. The Spitians preserve the night soil for manure. A little technical assistance may go a long way in improving sanitation. In the Assam tribal areas we would recommend the NEFA approach to housing and sanitation.*
- (11) *Food Preservation—A proper grain-gola in every village may go to relieve the congestion and yet enable the tribals to preserve their food-stuff properly. At present during winter food, fodder, cattle, human beings are all huddled together.*
- (12) *Smokeless Chulhas—The introduction of a smokeless 'Chulha' or introduction of a chimney will go a long way in improving the existing houses in these areas, where for 4 to 5 months in a year people have to live indoors and keep their fires burning continuously.*

CHAPTER 21

COMMUNICATIONS

The importance of communications in the tribal areas has constantly been emphasised. In this chapter we propose to deal with the communication system as a whole including roads, road transport, railways, posts and telegraphs, telephones and other systems of communication. We will examine the problem from two angles—from that of the needs of the tribals and from that of the development of the tribal areas as a whole.

21.2. It is possible that communications may not always prove a blessing. They can, for example, facilitate the entry of exploiters and other harmful elements before the tribals become sufficiently conscious to look after their own interests. This is true. But the benefits outweigh the dangers. The march of events is fast. The needs of frontier defence, of industrialisation, of mining and development of every kind are compelling. There is really no controversy here, for every one is agreed that we must go ahead, but always keeping the tribal needs in mind.

21.3. Starting from the north, communications will soon open out the Lahaul and Spiti valleys connecting Manali with Keylong on the one side and with Kaza and Corrick on the other by jeepable roads except for the two passes of Rohtang and Kunzum. A little to the south live the Kinnaurs in the Sutlej valley. In 1957, only Rampur could be reached by jeep. In 1961, jeep will go as far as the Dubling Bridge a few miles from Namgiah, the little town providing as it were a back-support to our armed forces at Shipki La.

21.4. The road system in Uttar Pradesh will reach near Badri-Kedar which, five years back, could only be approached on foot. In NEFA, Nagaland and Manipur, roads are being constructed with considerable speed which will open them up within a few years. From Ranchi to Jamshedpur, Rourkela and Bhilai there is a net-work of roads which has practically opened out the entire tribal region in the central belt. In Rajasthan, progress was formerly comparatively slow, but is now picking up. Gujarat and Maharashtra have schemes of development which will transform the tribal areas by the end of the Fourth Plan period. In Vidarbha there is already a road linking Nagpur with Chanda which in a few years time will reach the boundaries of Madhya Pradesh near Bastar and of Andhra Pradesh near Bhadrachalam. The Andhra Agency is speedily opening out and so are the tribal areas in the three Southern States. Orissa lags behind but there is considerable activity.

21.5. This brief survey suggests that communications will spread in the tribal areas much more speedily than we imagine. It may be that in a majority of cases the development of the tribal consciousness

may not keep pace with the development of communications. Realistically speaking, therefore balance will have to be struck so that this unprecedented expansion does not place an inordinate strain on the tribals and wherever the new roads go, the State will have to protect them against exploitation.

Priority for Development of Communications

21.6. *The problem of communications in the tribal areas may be considered from five aspects:—*

- (i) *roads and other communications indispensable for national needs and defence;*
- (ii) *roads and other communications indispensable for industrial development;*
- (iii) *roads and other communications necessary for administration;*
- (iv) *roads and other communications needed from the point of view of trade and commercial interests;*
- (v) *roads and other communications needed in the interests of the tribals.*

We consider that a correct approach will be to give the highest priority to (i) and (v) above; second priority to (ii) and (iii) and in relation to (iv) decide only after a close study on the basis of the trade and commercial data available and of the relative advantage to the tribal population.

First Plan Achievement in the Tribal Areas

21.7. The schemes that have been laid before us thus far have naturally proceeded on *ad hoc* basis, as we shall see from a cursory study of the expenditure and allocations in the First and Second Plans respectively. The expenditure in the First Plan was of the order of Rs. 408 lakhs approximately and 2,500 miles of roads were constructed including village roads, bridle paths and culverts. Out of the amount of Rs. 408 lakhs spent in the First Plan period, Rs. 331 lakhs were spent in Assam alone. Table 48 gives the State-wise expenditure in the First Plan period¹. The figures disclose that apart from Assam a fair beginning was made in some of the States, especially in Andhra Pradesh and the Punjab. In the Second Plan period a sum of Rs. 879 lakhs was allocated for this purpose—Rs. 656 lakhs under the State sector and Rs. 223 lakhs under the Centrally-sponsored programmes².

TABLE 48

Expenditure on schemes of communications in areas inhabited by Scheduled Tribes during the First Plan and comparative expenditure proposed in the Second Plan under the State and Central sectors..³

State	First Plan Expenditure	Second Plan Provision		
		State Sector	Central Sector	Total
1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Andhra Pradesh ..	31,36,864	38,95,000	6,76,000	45,71,000
Assam	3,31,43,227	4,58,90,700	36,21,000	4,95,11,700
Bihar	2,59,134	26,12,500	25,00,000	51,12,500
Bombay	7,07,159	9,50,000	13,00,000	22,50,000
Madhya Pradesh ..	*	5,70,000	60,00,000	65,70,000
Madras .. ..	..	1,98,000	..	1,98,000
Orissa	2,85,600	14,00,000	25,00,000	39,00,000
Punjab	11,99,637	53,20,000	24,34,000	77,54,000
West Bengal	8,24,828	15,26,650	7,62,000	22,88,650
Hyderabad .. ..	..	3,32,500	..	3,32,500
Madhya Bharat ..	5,12,000	3,30,000	10,00,000	13,80,000
Mysore	*	95,000	70,000	1,65,000
Rajasthan	1,98,233	4,25,000	..	4,25,000
Saurashtra	7,940	..	..	..
Coorg	*	47,500	1,00,000	1,47,500
Himachal Pradesh ..	79,386	..	..	..
Manipur	3,73,538	15,50,000	8,75,000	24,25,000
Tripura	72,000	..	1,00,000	1,00,000
Vindhya Pradesh ..	*	3,65,000	4,00,000	7,65,000
Total ..	4,07,99,551	6,55,57,850	2,23,38,000	8,78,95,850

* Figures not available.

21.8. During the Second Plan, it was proposed to construct 10,200 miles of bridle and hill paths and 450 bridges under the State sector and 450 miles of motorable roads and 7,200 miles under the Central sector⁴.

21.9. Table 49 would also indicate the revised Second Plan allocations and the expenditure incurred under Communications in the tribal areas both under the State sector as well as the Central sector and the extent of shortfall⁵:—

TABLE 49
(Rupees in Lakhs)

State/Union Territory	Revised Second Plan Provision			Second Plan Expenditure			Shortfall		
	State Sector	Central Sector	Total	State Sector	Central Sector	Total	State Sector	Central Sector	Total
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1									
Andhra Pradesh	72.14	*	..	87.35	*	..	+15.21	..	..
Assam	485.29	28.52@	513.81	273.87 (till 30.3.60)	28.52@	302.39	-211.42	Nil	-211.42
Bihar	20.00	25.00	45.00	9.34 (till end of 1960)	23.64	32.98	-10.66	-1.36	-12.02
Bombay (Maharashtra & Gujarat)	8.04	15.00	23.04	8.04	15.00	23.04	Nil	Nil	Nil
Kerala	*	*	..	*	*	..	..	..	..
Madhya Pradesh	17.83	74.00	91.83	5.08	38.03	43.11	-12.75	-35.97	-48.72
Madras	0.37	..	0.37	0.55	..	0.55	+0.18	..	+0.18
Mysore	0.95	0.70	1.65	0.44	*	..	-0.51	..	..
Orissa	14.00	25.00	39.00	8.94	25.00	33.94	-5.06	Nil	-5.06
Punjab	*	77.54	..	*	40.21	40.21	..	-37.33	..
Rajasthan	7.25	..	..	5.22	..	..	-2.03	..	..
West Bengal	13.87	9.62	23.49	5.02	3.62	8.64	-8.85	-6.00	-14.85
Manipur	17.28	10.00	27.28	21.29	10.59	31.88	+4.01	+0.59	+4.60
Nagaland	..	177.00	..	..	177.00	..	..	Nil	..

* Information not available.

@ Deposited with Central Road Reserve Fund.

21.10. It will be seen that there have been shortfalls in fulfilling the financial targets in the case of Assam (Rs. 211 lakhs out of Rs. 51½ lakhs i.e. 41 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (Rs. 48 lakhs out of Rs. 91 lakhs—52 per cent) and West Bengal (Rs. 15 lakhs out of Rs. 2½ lakhs—65 per cent). We appreciate the difficulties under which the State Governments had to function, and may also say that so far as the road communications go there has been comparative improvement. The question, however, has to be viewed from two angles. We have to compare the growth of communications in the tribal areas with the rest of the countryside in the State and secondly, to see if the communications are being planned and implemented on the basis of priorities suggested in paragraph 5 above

Average Length of Roads

21.11. As regards the question of comparative development we feel that there is a long leeway to be made up. The present all-India average length of roads per 100 sq. miles is 28 miles whereas the average length in many tribal areas is not even a dozen miles. In Rajasthan, the average length of all-weather roads per 100 sq. miles is 7 miles in the District of Banswara which is a Scheduled Area. In the District of Chittorgarh it works out to 6 miles and in the District of Sawai Madhopur to about 7 miles.

21.12. In Madhya Pradesh it works out to 13 miles for the whole State. If we compare this figure of 13 miles with the average length in the Districts of Bastar, Surguja, Bilaspur, Chhindwara and Betul it is between 5 to 9 miles provided we include the village and fair weather roads. The following table gives the position in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh:—

TABLE 50

Table showing average length of roads per 100 sq. miles in some tribal districts of Madhya Pradesh

District	Area (Sq. miles)	National highway, State highway, major district roads etc. (miles)	Village roads (miles)	Fair weather roads (miles)	Total	Average length of total roads per 100 sq. miles of area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bastar	15,091	629	..	158	787	5.2
Surguja	8,613	529	..	56	585	6.8
Bilaspur	7,657	453	..	63	516	6.7
Chhindwara ..	4,717	337	64	..	401	8.5
East Nimar ..	4,142	324	56	..	380	9.2
Betul	3,886	294	58	10	362	9.2

21.13. The Government of Madhya Pradesh has admitted that out of Plan allocation of Rs. 17.83 lakhs for construction of roads under the Second Plan it could sanction a programme only of Rs. 5.06 lakhs and under the Centrally-sponsored programme out of a Plan allocation of Rs. 74 lakhs, it could spend only Rs. 38 lakhs. The performance on the part of the State was only 50 per cent.

21.14. In Orissa the surface road mileage is 4.4 per 100 square miles. Most of the rivers are still unbridged. In the Scheduled Areas the conditions are still worse and for several months in a year they are cut off from the rest of the State. This shows that while the States are making an effort, the leeway to be made good is still substantial. When we come to the question of approach, this picture, depressing enough, becomes even more depressing. In fact, no definite approach has been followed in the schemes.

Planning

21.15. *From this point of view, the tribal will be more concerned in connecting his village with the forest or the weekly market or the school for his children. These roads should be planned in such a manner that they could be used all the year round and could be widened for purposes of carts and jeeps as occasion arises or funds permit. Similarly, if it is possible to link up a village with a hospital or dispensary, that also would be useful. A priority worked out on this basis will offset any feeling that the tribal interests are being given the lowest place in the matter of communications. The Government should undertake a programme of roads fulfilling the needs of the tribals and give such roads the first priority. This has not been done.*

21.16. *The majority of these roads should not be very expensive. Careful planning is, of course, necessary to spread their benefits to the largest possible number of people, and it will have to be based on prevailing conditions. In the Aijal town in the Mizo Hills, for instance, the people have to fetch water from a few furlongs down the hills, when the supply in local reservoirs gets exhausted. At the time of our visit, water was actually being sold by the tin and there was no direct road to the stream at the foot of the hill. But there was a tar road linking the Rest House with the Government offices. The feelings of the tribals can well be imagined. This is only an example. It underlines the necessity for careful study of the road requirements of the tribals, area by area.*

21.17. Block Officers seem to be more concerned with putting on a show than satisfying the needs of the people. *Again, in fixing the relative priorities, consultation with the local people should be the rule.* Everywhere there is a demand for cement. It has become an excuse for not doing or not completing schemes in time. But surely there is plenty of local material available. There is metal, of course, in plenty and it should be possible to get limestone locally. There is no reason why roads and culverts could not be built with stone and lime where cement is not easily available. *Local material should be used unless the use of imported material is unavoidable.*

21.18. *Thirdly, while we may have foot-tracks or bridle-paths in the beginning, they should be so planned that alignment, soling, earth-work and culverts will be suitable and useful when the roads are*

widened for the use of carts, jeeps and trucks. In fact, bridle-paths or foot-tracks should be parts of a phased programme.

21.19. Finally, the work should be undertaken in the off-season, whenever possible when the tribals have comparatively little to do. All works, as we may emphasise over and over again, whether it is in the forests or in Public Works Department or the Community Development Section must be so co-ordinated that there is continuous employment, either in the fields or on the roads or forests, for the tribals all the year round.

Special Problems of Some Areas

21.20. There are some special problems needing attention at the national level. One of these is the need for communications in the Assam hills, especially in those areas which used to depend for their markets on places which are now a part of Pakistan. The Assam hills and plains are very large producers of fruits, especially oranges and pineapples. This can be one of the major sources of the tribals' income. Partition destroyed this profitable trade and resulted in a colossal waste of this wealth, which unfortunately still continues. The budgetary allocations have been made, but the difficulty of the Assam Government appears to be the lack of trained technical staff. The hill people—and the country at large—will be greatly benefited if the necessary communications are established quickly.

21.21. Manipur is an area where the tribal farmers have suffered exploitation by merchants of the foothills, who have taken full advantage of the lack of adequate communications. Paddy and rice have always been purchased from the tribals at extremely low prices. The Administration has tried various measures, but they have not been successful so far because, though these shortcuts can mitigate the hardships of the people for the time being, they cannot obviate exploitation. It is only communications that can do that.

21.22. A third example comes from Himachal Pradesh. Its seed potatoes are in demand all over the country, but some of us have seen the farmers selling their stock for practically nothing. The Hindustan-Tibet Road cannot serve them adequately unless it is linked up with the villages.

21.23. In these days of planning the forest and the Public Works Department roads should be planned as a part of a single co-ordinated system of communications with proper regard to the question of the protection and development of forests. The Forest Department should come out of its isolation, not only in the interest of the tribals but in the interest of the forests.

21.24. We recommend that the possibilities of developing traffic on inland waters be explored. A small section in each State where there are perennial rivers should be entrusted with this study.

Arterial Roads

21.25. A complaint, which is not without justification, is that the States charge the construction of arterial roads intended to link up the administrative headquarters in the tribal areas to the Tribal Welfare account. While it is true that some benefit does result to the tribal areas and the people, this is likely to be misconstrued. The best thing in our opinion is for the Union Government to specify what

part of their grants on Communications will be used in the States specifically on the construction of arterial roads. The rest should be spent on village roads, bridle paths and inter-village communications. This will keep the position of the States and Centre clear before the public. In any case the States will not then be blamed for spending the Central grants on ordinary roads. This type of roads are normally the responsibility of the States and misunderstandings do arise when Central grants for tribal welfare are spent upon roads needed for State or commercial purposes.

Construction of Roads

21.26. We have come across numerous cases where the Public Works Department works in the tribal areas are done on a contract basis. On this we have two suggestions to offer. *In the first place the Public Works Department should encourage co-operatives of the tribal labourers. Where this is not feasible, Public Works Department should see that the tribals get fair wages.* In a number of cases we received complaints that the contractors were abusing their position by taking work from the tribals at unfair wages. We ourselves ascertained in a good many cases, principally in Rajasthan and Orissa, that the complaint about wage rates not being fair were quite genuine.

Field Staff

21.27. There are constant complaints about the shortage of field staff, but with the opening up of the areas the situation will improve. *To assist in this process, every encouragement should be given to the local people to equip themselves through work and practice for the work of mistries, sub-overseers and so on. Educational qualifications need not be regarded as essential. The devotion and courage of the tribals, their vitality and stamina are famous and should be used to the full.* For instance, in Spiti we met a sub-overseer who had dared the perils of glaciers and taken the road from Khoksar to very near the foot of Kunzam, a distance of forty to fifty miles in a matter of two or three years, with no special equipment and with men who were not trained for the work. Those who have witnessed the construction of the road on the Sutlej in Himachal Pradesh especially between Rampur and Sahran and Sahran and Wangtu will endorse our statement that none but the local tribals could perform that miracle. The reconstruction of the Hindustan-Tibet road is an epic story of road engineering, and can be equalled only by the construction that is going on in NEFA and Nagaland. We have seen tracers, compressor-men, labourers slung down on wooden planks tied to ropes sometimes 50 feet, sometimes 100 feet long, and doing their work morning, afternoon and evening with the mighty Sutlej down below, with nothing between the plank and the river. A slight loosening of the soil and they would fall in the river with no hope of survival. The very sight produced a creep in the heart of some of us. That such fine human material should find no avenue to augment its talent is a poor reward for the risk it is running and the sacrifices it is making for the country's development.

21.28. We have found similarly in other parts of the country tremendously difficult conditions under which roads have to be constructed. To this heroic effort we only want a human approach and some consideration for the tribals to be added. The most formidable

hindrances are the Rules and Code of the Public Works Department. What is suited for the plains cannot suit the hills. *We recommend that in such risky operations the States should not only be considerate but prompt in meeting the claims of the living and helping the relations of the dead or injured. Compensation cases should be promptly disposed of. Women and men should be paid according to the risk of the operation they are involved in, and not just as women or men as unskilled labourers. In these far-off places there should be proper arrangement for shelter, water, medicine and education and arrangements for some training for higher jobs. Discrimination between local labour and imported labour in the matter of wages should be brought down as far as possible. The test of risk, dirt, effort and skill which is the first article in the fixation of fair wages should be implemented in all governmental works. In making these suggestions we would stress that we do not under-rate the efforts made by the Public Works Departments, State and Central Governments in spreading road communications in the tribal areas.*

Telephones

21.29. A telephone service would be a boon to village or villagers in distress all over India. It will help the administration. It will be cheaper on the whole. *There are in existence telephone and wireless services run by the Defence and Police Forces in many a place. They should be thrown open to the public on payment, subject of course to official work getting the necessary precedence. The question of constant repairs will present some difficult problems. But the sooner we link up the tribal and forest areas of India, through the telephone or wireless service, as is done in NEFA and Nagaland, the earlier we would be able to integrate them.*

Posts and Telegraphs

21.30. Posts and telegraphs are slowly percolating into the remote parts of tribal areas. The problem begins with the runner who carries the post bag on his shoulders. You may meet him everywhere as he trudges the weary miles in regions where there are no carts, let alone jeeps or cars. The first impression that one gets is that the runner is not adequately equipped. Nobody perhaps has yet thought of such an eventuality. Hence there are no rules. The runners are engaged only for the period that the post can be carried. Then they are left to fend for themselves. As regards the post offices in these distant places, the routine work goes on. But no thought is given to the children of the Post or Telegraph staff. In villages the post office is managed by school teachers. The common complaint is that not only the students but teachers play truant for there is little supervision. Result is that the schools and the public suffer. *We suggest that for these regions the norms must be different and the rules must also be different. The post office has an attraction for the tribal people. Their children have started learning. They will go out for service. Every one of the means of communication is valued by the tribals, therefore.*

Air Communication

21.31. There are places where airstrips can be constructed. That will bring these areas closer to the country. The Punjab Government and the Himachal Pradesh Administration are keen on it.. We

feel that their keenness has a justification which may not be easily appreciated by those who have not visited these areas.

Conclusion

21.32. Development of communications will provide greater opportunities for the tribal to develop his national consciousness. He is essentially a rural entity. The village is the 'be all and end all' of his existence. On no account should he be drawn away from his native soil to hold out a morbid picture of uprooted humanity. *Development programmes aimed at his all-round progress, including communications should, therefore, start with the village as the centre. Roads should be expanded; posts, telegraphs and telephones be increased; even air communication should be established. In phasing this programme, priority should be given to the most urgent and laillu needs of the tribal people.*



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 22

IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALISATION

Certain areas which have been the traditional homes of the tribals in India in the central belt and a portion of the southern and western belts are undergoing a process of rapid transformation as a result of gigantic industrial programmes. They remained unexploited until recent times for various reasons such as their inaccessibility, lack of industrial enterprise and the then Government's reluctance to industrialise the country. India's industrial revolution that really began during the Second World War has gained a new momentum by the adoption of the objective of a socialistic pattern of society on the basis of planned economic development. The power, irrigation and industrial projects in the First and Second Plans laid the real foundations of a new industrial revolution and every year that passes, sees this ever expanding.

Surveys on the Question of Impact

22.2. This was the most impressive and significant problem that was posed before the Commission when it visited Bihar. To the representatives of the tribals, industrialisation was welcome, but the tribals are working under various kinds of strains that followed in its wake. We inquired of the State Government as also the Research Institute at Ranchi if they had undertaken any survey of the reactions of the tribals to the advent of industrialisation. Anthropologically speaking, this is a matter of first rate importance. But we wanted to know at the practical level what were the reactions on the psychology, social behaviour and economic conditions of the tribals in those areas where industrialisation was making its way.

22.3. There have actually been three Surveys of these areas during the last decade—

- (1) The Socio-Economic Survey of Tribal Labour in TISCO. Pilot Survey, on the basis of 1 per cent sample, conducted by the Government of Bihar through Shri T. R. Sharma, Assistant Sectional Officer in Sociology in 1958;
- (2) a Socio-Economic Survey conducted under the supervision of Shri B. R. Misra, University Professor of Applied Economics and Commerce, Patna University, Bihar, for the Department of Applied Economics and Commerce of the Patna University in 1959; and
- (3) a Study of the Impact of Industrialisation on the life of Adivasi Employees of Naumandi Iron Ore Mines (TISCO), Naumandi, Bihar, by Shri T. D. Sahu of the Xavier Institute of Labour Relations, Jamshedpur, Bihar.

Of these three Survey Reports, the first and the third are concerned with the tribals engaged in industries and the second is a general one not confined to the tribals. While these surveys are good in themselves, we feel the need to approach the problem from a comprehensive angle.

22.4. There is no doubt that *pari passu* with the industrialisation of these areas, the tribal people are also becoming conscious of their rights, are taking advantage of the development schemes and are gradually being integrated with the neighbouring population. What we should be keen to know, however, was how they were standing the effects of industrialisation, for the processes of assimilation in the normal texture of society can hardly be expected to keep pace with the mass-scale effects of large-scale industrial activity. Impact of any such change must have such wide ramifications that it may not be possible to deal with them comprehensively without a proper scientific study. Industrial development has its impact on the individual, the family, society and on the entire environment. This impact has psychological, social and economic consequences. The Commission regrets to note that the problem has not been viewed in this broader light yet. The research work done so far is wholly inadequate.

22.5. We expect that the States as trustees of the tribal communities will take up the matter. While it would not be fair to expect them to halt the march of industrialisation, there is a consequential obligation to the tribals to see that the process of industrialisation does not sweep them off their feet. It is in this context that we have accepted Gandhiji's approach as a basis of our views. He did not want the tribals or anyone to remain in a prison house. He wanted the doors and the windows of these houses to remain always open. But at the same time he wanted the foundations of their houses to remain secure. We have to see that the foundations of tribal life are not shaken and the house does not crash. We have no doubt that it is possible to devise ways and means by which, on the one side, industrialisation can proceed unabated and, on the other, the tribals can be enabled to build on their moorings and secure the utmost advantage out of the new wealth-creating machines that have entered their areas.

Problem of Rehabilitation Consequent on Displacement

22.6. One of the first things that requires attention is the problem of rehabilitation after displacement. The major power and irrigation projects in the First and Second Plans such as the Maithon, Konar and Panchet in Bihar; the Mandira, the Machkund and Hirakud in Orissa; the steel projects of Rourkela, Durgapur and Bhilai in Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, are among the many undertakings that have resulted in a substantial displacement of the tribal people. This was inevitable and seems to have been accepted by them. What is needed, in our opinion, is a social approach to a social problem of deep moral significance. We are sorry to remark that this has not so far been realised. The tribals were dislodged from their traditional sources of livelihood and places of habitation. Not conversant with the details of acquisition proceedings they accepted whatever cash compensation was given to them and became emigrants. With cash in hand and many attractions in the nearby industrial towns, their funds were rapidly depleted and in course of time they were without money as well as without land. They joined the ranks of landless labourers but without any training, equipment or aptitude for any skilled or semi-skilled job.

22.7. Enquiries made by the Assistant Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa, reveal that out of 14,561 tribal families displaced from an area of 62,494 acres, only 3,479 have been allotted alternative land. The situation is far from happy, for the following reasons:—

- (i) Very few of them have taken advantage of the agricultural facilities offered in the reclamation camps. The attraction of easy money and industrial employment has been too strong, especially, for the younger generation.
- (ii) The alternative land offered by the authorities for cultivation is not irrigable and cannot offer adequate return to maintain the families living on it.
- (iii) The cash compensation that is given, is seldom utilised for productive purposes. It is almost invariably used up on daily living expenses until alternative employment could be found.

Government as a trustee cannot allow such a situation to grow.

Problem of Psychological and Social Adjustments

22.8. The second problem is the problem of psychological and social adjustments. The tribals in Chhota Nagpur plateau and the Ganjam and Koraput areas and also in some parts of Madhya Pradesh are not stick-at-home people. Ever since the beginning of the 19th century they used to emigrate to other places, first to indigo plantations and tea gardens in India and then even as far as British Colonies outside India for work on sugar estates and other plantations. In a previous chapter on "The Condition of the Tribes prior to Independence", we have referred to the inter-provincial migration of tribal labour and its migration outside India. There was this difference, however, that migration to plantations did not involve a radical change of occupation. The plantation worker was drawn away from one type of agriculture to another. Secondly, the plantations employed both men and women and sometimes children too, as labourers. The family continued to function more or less as a unit of labour. In the mines also men did the work of cutting and women of loading. In the factories, however, it is the individual who is wanted. We are anxious to understand the significance of this great change on the tribal. From the membership of a closed society he is being induced to accommodate himself in a universal pattern of society without education, without equipment and without resources. The crux of the problem is to ensure that in the process the tribal does not go down and this is where the government as a trustee also comes into the picture.

Problem of Absorption in the New Set-up

22.9. The third problem is the level of absorption in the new economic set-up. The Chairman of the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, gave us an idea of the Company's requirements in terms of land. The new factory requires 2,400 acres of land for installations and 12,000 to 18,000 acres for a new township near Ranchi. We learnt from him that the plans of the township did not make any provision to house the tribals who would be evicted from their lands, for this area is more or less reserved for the factory people.

He also told us that out of 700 labourers who are working in the factory, only 190 belonged to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes together and this number also will go down once the jobs for the unskilled are over. These projects will employ 16,000 people, but almost all of them will require experience and qualifications. The projects will cost approximately Rs. 125 crores. With a little expenditure to meet the social objectives of rehabilitation, education, training and equipment of tribes, we think it could be possible to save this section from a rootless existence. Such additional expenditure will not be out of proportion.

In the Rourkela Steel Plant the unemployed tribal families have been carrying on an agitation for absorption in the work on the plant. They could have been given training as semi-skilled labourers while the work of installation was under way. An investigation by the Assistant Commissioner, Orissa, has revealed that the older and conservative members of the different families have receded to distant reclamation camps, whereas the younger members have preferred to stay in the rehabilitation colonies round about the plant. That means that they are interested in working in the industry. There is no reason why they cannot be trained for semi-skilled jobs.

22.10. The Jamshedpur Survey shows that for every six persons engaged as labourers, five come from rural areas. The percentage of daily rated employees is 60.85, a vast majority of which earns less than Rs. 3.75 per day. 83.12 per cent of the earners hold permanent appointments. Absenteeism is negligible, but there is more among part-time than full-time workers. Compared with the earnings of shop assistants and persons working in small establishments, an earning of nearly Rs. 100 by a labourer cannot be considered very bad. The Survey discloses that the earnings of persons engaged in shops and establishments range between Rs. 25 and Rs. 100 per month as against Rs. 50 and Rs. 250 in the case of workers in Jamshedpur.

Other Problems

22.11. Finally, from the economic point of view the picture may not be bad, but other questions of (i) adjustment to the new way of life, (ii) pattern of individual as well as community settlement, (iii) inducement of changes in the motivation or incentives, (iv) rational readjustments or the questions pertaining to social status of persons entering into the industrial field and those who are left out, (v) re-organisation of associations and institutions, (vi) social customs and stability of individual and collective life, and (vii) questions of marriage and fertility patterns require a detailed survey. It has been suggested to us that, because the younger people are moving towards the industrial centres, the social codes and tribal disciplines are loosening. And due to lack of contact with the traditional tribal institutions those who are moving away to industrial centres are no longer influenced by them. On the one side the influence decreases and on the other the hold diminishes.

22.12. As regards causes of migration, the Survey conducted by the Xavier Labour Relations Institute on the impact of industrialisation on the tribal people of the Naumandi iron-ore mines in Bihar, shows that the majority of them who migrated to Naumandi were in search of employment. 11 per cent of them were the victims of land

alienations; 20 per cent had gone because of deterioration of their financial position; 25 per cent. came to earn extra income for the family; 10 per cent. were landless; 8 per cent. came for temporary relief due to drought; 7 per cent. were attracted by urban amenities and 6 per cent. because of shortage of land.

22.13. An analysis of the occupations followed by the tribal people before their migration to Naumandi reveals that 64.5 per cent were agriculturists while the rest were weavers, unskilled manual labourers, domestic servants, skilled manual workers, clerks or unemployed persons. The Survey of the production pattern followed by the agriculturists before migration reveals one interesting aspect. It is stated that out of 85 per cent. of the people who owned land, a little above 50 per cent. of the tribal people were pioneers in introducing the Japanese method of cultivation in their villages and in introducing improved agricultural implements. Some of them had also installed tube-wells. This is a new problem. Industrialisation is drawing away intelligent and dynamic elements from rural society and little is being done to fill the vacuum.

22.14. Industrialisation, while it creates an avenue of new employment for the local people, also attracts people from outside. This leads to competition between the older element who have the advantage of proximity and the new element which possesses the advantage of originality. We have to ascertain whether the tribals can hold their own against this competition. It has come to our notice that in some of the coal mines of Asansol the tribal people, who once constituted a majority about a decade ago, now constitute only 10 per cent of the labour force. This shows the lack of opportunity for the tribals to equip themselves.

22.15. There is yet another aspect of industrialisation which must be stressed. Many tribal people find it difficult to conform to the regular routine work so indispensable for modern industrial occupations. In the coal mines of West Bengal, it was found that absenteeism was very high among the tribals and employers were reluctant to engage them. To what extent this is correct and what is its remedy is yet another question before the Government.

22.16. At Garanda in Koraput District, Orissa, Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe found that the output of work of a tribal labourer was hardly half that of an Andhra labourer. The contractors always preferred to have Andhra labourers and paid the tribals lower wages. Shri Annasaheb says:—

“It was nobody’s business so far to see why the Adivasi fails to put in adequate work. It was seen at this sibir at Garanda that the output of Adivasis’ work increased by nearly 40 per cent within a period of one month when he was well-fed at the camp. He was given able guidance in handling tools by sturdy workers from outside and by the end of 3 months it was observed that he could put up enough work to earn as much as one rupee a day on earth work like his counterpart from neighbouring plain areas.”

Planning Necessary Safeguards

22.17. Among the tribal people, taboos constitute one of the most effective means of impressing on the younger generation the rules of

social conduct. The pressure of society exercised usually through the council of elders, also has a strong influence. The group ideals and beliefs are reiterated through various ceremonies shared by everybody. Thus the behaviour patterns are conditioned to serve as educational measures. With the impact of industrialisation, there is considerable disintegration of tribal society and the taboos have no longer the same influence as before on members who go out.

22.18. As we have said, all these aspects of the problem require study. It is only then it will be possible for Government to devise ways and means to assist the tribal to adjust himself to his new life as a member of the industrial community or to a new life which is complementary and supplementary to its needs. We see no reason why a plan for an industrial community should not include a community that can supply its farm, dairy and other daily needs. Our plans seem to have ignored this aspect. In large parts of India there is no doubt that agriculture will predominate, but there is no reason why even in industrial centres agricultural farms, vegetable gardens, fruit gardens, dairies, poultry farms and piggeries cannot flourish side by side with the big industries.

22.19. With the advent of industrialisation there has been a loosening of the old family ties and the social organization of the tribal communities. Social cohesion and community endeavour which had been the characteristic of the tribal people from time immemorial have been shaken to a great extent and are giving place to individualism. This, in our opinion, is a process of social regression. It should have been possible to assist the tribals to go a step forward in the direction of greater social cohesion and community endeavour by infusing scientifically new social values which are not far removed from the tribal values. An opportunity has been lost of utilising this aspect of tribal society as an example or model for others. This necessarily implied the transformation of the medium itself by impregnating it with the new values.

22.20. It is but natural that a large number of tribal people should avail themselves of increasing employment opportunities on industrial expansion. But the occupational mobility of a technologically undeveloped tribal community from a primitive agrarian economy to an advanced acquisitive economy with fully developed means of production has to be gradual and to be assisted in a planned manner with the necessary safeguards. This approach has been absent in the welfare programmes of the Governments both in the States and at the Centre.

Recommendations

22.21. *We would like to recommend therefore:—*

(1) *Need for Scientific Research—There has been very scant research on the question of the impact of industrialisation on the socio-economy of the tribal people which would have given a greater insight into the steps to be taken. We consider it the responsibility of the Union Government, as a corollary to the Central planning of large scale industries, to undertake this research. Bihar, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa will come under intensive industrialisation and, though no data is available at the moment, we are confident*

that as soon as research studies are conducted, adequate provision will be made to assist the tribal people to adapt themselves. By industrial impact, we mean not only the impact of large-scale industries, but also that of mining, the immigration of labour and the entry of outside interests in the tribal areas.

(2) Scheme of rehabilitation to be integrated with the project—Surveys in selected areas in the various States will give some idea of the rehabilitation programmes. We consider it necessary to set up a permanent machinery which will study every individual project and its impact upon tribal interests. This machinery should, besides following up the proper rehabilitation of tribal families through welfare schemes, also be responsible for integrated planning right from the inception of the project. It should be accepted that such projects are intended to improve the existing condition of the families affected also. We, therefore, consider it necessary that the scheme of rehabilitation should be an integral part of the project itself. The time-lag between the actual displacement and rehabilitation should be avoided or minimised. By planning the project and phasing the programme of rehabilitation in advance, it would be possible to bring down to the minimum inconvenience and rehabilitation.

(3) We also consider that the schemes for rehabilitation should include programmes for education, training and equipment of the displaced people.

(4) To increase employment opportunities for the tribal families affected by the projects we recommend the establishment of a workshop or industrial training centre within the project areas. In our Interim Proposals, we recommended that greater emphasis should be laid on technical education in such areas. We have proposed for Bihar, the establishment of one more technical institution in the Scheduled Areas of Singhbhum District and ten workshop training centres in other Scheduled Areas to train as large a number of tribal boys as possible in industrial work. We suggest the setting up of similar institutes in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal to help the tribals to keep pace with the rapid advance of industrialisation.

(5) Need for rehabilitation in land—In the case of families displaced by industrial or development projects, Government should also consider possibilities of settlement of the tribals, not necessarily as landless labourers, but as producers of the primary needs of the township dwellers and factory workers. These needs include food-grains, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat and other requirements of the people. They should be given land for the purpose.

(6) Amenities in colonies—The incentives offered by government or the project authorities in the colonies should be sufficiently attractive. So far they have not always been satisfactory. It should be the responsibility of the project authorities to provide water supply, sanitation, provision for schools and medical relief. Facilities for open-air life and the amenities offered should be such as to make the tribal people feel at home. They should not feel that they have been uprooted from their natural surroundings and placed in the midst of a modern industrial colony.

(7) *Preference in employment in the project—In the case of families receiving cash compensation every effort should be made to rehabilitate them in some suitable employment within the Project itself. We consider that a high priority should be given to the absorption of the tribal people in permanent employment. The Employment Exchanges should arrange to give preference to local tribals over outsiders. The heads of factories and employing departments should be advised accordingly.*



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PART III

Administration and Institutional Set-up

Chapters 23 to 29

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CHAPTER 23

ADMINISTRATION

Need for Effective Implementation

Nine years ago, in the First Five Year Plan Report, it was pointed out that "in all directions, the pace of development will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works and the co-operation which it evokes. The tasks facing the administration are larger in magnitude and more complex... The patterns of organisation and the claims upon both Government and administration will now be determined by the needs of development." Again, the Third Five Year Plan Draft Outline emphasised that "if the larger objectives of administration are to be achieved, there is need within the administration itself for continuing leadership in securing steady improvement in administrative efficiency and standards." These observations are of special significance for the implementation of programmes for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

Machinery at the Centre

The Ministry of Home Affairs

23.2 The Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for the policy and co-ordination of all tribal welfare programmes, and has a large say in regard to allocation of funds for them. In accordance with the recommendations of the Estimates Committee of Parliament, the Ministry set up, on 22nd March 1961, a Central Co-ordinating Committee consisting of representatives of the various Ministries concerned to ensure better awareness, co-ordination and proper working of welfare schemes. This will naturally take time before it begins to function effectively.

23.3 In the Ministry, besides the Minister himself, there is a senior officer of the status of Secretary who along with a great deal of other work, also attends to tribal affairs. He is assisted by a Deputy Secretary, an Officer on Special Duty and two Under Secretaries who are in charge of the entire work for the Backward Classes of which this is a part. The Estimates Committee felt that the staff was adequate, but they had not anticipated the enlarged functions to be taken up later by the Ministry. The Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward classes, therefore, suggested the setting up of a Department in the Ministry of Home Affairs to deal exclusively with the welfare of the Backward Classes. They did not suggest any change in the allocation of subjects, as all schemes for them, with the exception of scholarships, were already dealt with in the Ministry. The Department was suggested presumably in order that the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes might receive greater attention.

23.4. We have, in the preceding chapters, been very categorical on the question of the time factor in the matter of fulfilling the responsibility cast on the State Governments under the Fifth Schedule and also raising the tempo of development so as to make good the leeway to as large an extent as possible before the end of the Fourth Plan. In our opinion, it will be difficult for the tribals to catch up if the leeway exceeds a certain limit. We have, therefore, suggested specific targets and a time-limit of ten years for their fulfilment. We also feel that in this context the existing arrangements in the Ministry may not be adequate. *We do not, however, suggest a separate Ministry for this purpose; a separate Department in the Home Ministry devoted exclusively to tribal problems would be sufficient. This Department may be placed under the exclusive charge of a Minister under the Home Minister. Its actual set-up is a matter of administrative detail but we would emphasise that its organisation should be such as to achieve the objective we have in view. We deal with the organisation of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the next chapter.*

Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare

23.5. The Ministry of Home Affairs has set up a Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare to associate non-officials with the administration of the tribal welfare programmes. It consists of Members of Parliament and social workers. The Resolution establishing this Board defines its functions as follows:—

“The Board may generally advise the Government of India on all matters relating to the development of tribal areas and the welfare of tribal people and will in particular do so in regard to the following:—

- (a) assessment of the requirements of tribal areas;
- (b) formulation of welfare schemes for those areas; and
- (c) review from time to time of the working of sanctioned schemes and appraisal and evaluation of the benefits derived therefrom with a view to suggesting improvements or changes in the schemes where necessary.”

23.6. The Board was constituted on the 3rd September, 1956, with the intention that it should meet once in every six months. So far there have been six meetings of the Board, which considered eight or nine resolutions at each sitting. The subjects discussed cover a very wide field, and some of them have been really important. The Board has, for instance, been discussing the problem of indebtedness for at least three years; it has taken up the question of free legal aid for Scheduled Tribes, criteria for declaration of Scheduled Areas, the encouragement of Forest Co-operative Societies, waiving of *Shramdan* contribution, prohibition of alienation of land by the tribals, the opening of technical institutions in Scheduled Areas, employment of tribals by other methods than through the Employment Exchanges, creation of a separate department for Scheduled Tribes and perspective planning for prevention of shifting cultivation. The Board, however, has never had sufficient time to discuss these matters in proper detail and its recommendations have been largely infructuous.

23.7. The Estimates Committee suggested the creation of an autonomous Central Board charged with the function of looking after the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. The suggestion was examined and the Union Government did not find it feasible. They are taking steps to ensure speedy and effective implementation of the welfare programmes and while non-officials will be associated and their co-operation enlisted, the administration will have to remain with Government for the time being. This position has been accepted by the Estimates Committee.

Some Further Suggestion

23.8. We will consider the question of evaluation when we discuss the functioning of the Commissioner's office. We wish to be clear about this matter because we have found that today every department has its own evaluation machinery and examines the progress of development from its own angle. This may be valuable from the departmental point of view, but the question of overall evaluation is different from evaluation designed to satisfy a department that its plans are working according to the original specifications and original estimates and producing the results expected. What then is the purpose of evaluation in relation to the Scheduled Tribes? The laying-down of physical and financial targets is today the function of the Planning Commission. *We think that it should remain so. If necessary, the functioning of evaluation under the Planning Commission may be improved and perfected.* Again, we agree with the recommendations of the Study Team that the Commissioner should be charged with the responsibility of qualitative evaluation and the impact upon the tribals, but the co-ordination of these two and evaluation of all further branches of tribal interest whether social, economic or cultural, should be the function of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which will also be the competent agency to evaluate the work of the research institutes. We are increasing the number of universities and teaching institutes in the country. A vast programme of continuous evaluation can only be undertaken by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Ministry can very well utilise the agency of the universities for the purposes.

23.9. It would also be necessary for the Ministry to arrange for periodical research through a cell or cells established specifically for the examination of the following subjects: (i) implementation of safeguards in relation to rights in land and forests, (ii) prevention from exploitation by money-lenders and other intermediaries, (iii) indebtedness and relief from it, (iv) allotment of land, (v) impact of development activities under the Tribal Development Blocks, (vi) integrated programme of development through agriculture, animal husbandry, forests, processing industries, (vii) growth of co-operation, (viii) impact of industrialisation, (ix) displacement of tribals from their lands, (x) Tribal Councils and Statutory Panchayats, (xi) questions of personnel, (xii) education and (xiii) health. We would also recommend two special cells in the Ministry to follow up actively, the progress of work in the Tribal Development Blocks which constitute the largest single programme under the Tribal Welfare Programme and the development of weaker tribes.

23.10. Another suggestion arises from the fact that at present the schemes received from the States, together with the technical and

financial data, are referred to the Ministries concerned and to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. *This procedure leads to duplication and triplication. The technical and financial examination by the State should be considered sufficient and the Ministry of Home Affairs should give its approval unless, on account of the nature of the scheme, the finances involved or other important reasons, it feels that it should have further advice.*

23.11. The functions of the Ministry will include examination of the Governor's reports, implementation of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule, functioning of the Tribes Advisory Council, progress of plan, general administration of the schemes of welfare, working of the safeguards, training of the personnel and co-ordination.

Machinery at the State level

Ministers

23.12. In some States there is a Minister of Tribal Welfare. In Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Assam this is a Constitutional requirement, and the purpose behind it seems to have been that, in view of the heavy concentration of tribal people in these States, there would be need for special attention to their problems. But in practice the Minister for Tribal Welfare is generally in charge of several other matters besides this one. The Constituent Assembly's Sub-Committee, in discussing this problem, was categorical on the need for a separate Minister for Tribal Welfare in those areas where the tribal population was large. It also recommended that he should preferably be a tribal. It was suggested to us that the Commission might repeat this recommendation. In a parliamentary democracy, however, where the Chief Minister is at the apex of its functioning, we would not like to restrict his choice in selecting his colleagues or of distribution of portfolios. We realise that in these areas where the tribal population is so large, the tribals would naturally wish to be represented in the Council of Ministers. This is a reasonable aspiration and should be met. But in the matter of holding one portfolio or another, fitness to fulfil the task ahead should be the only criterion. *We recommend, therefore, that in the States with a tribal population of one million and above, there should be a Minister exclusively in charge of the portfolio of tribal welfare and responsible for the fulfilment of tribal policies and programmes. He need not necessarily be a tribal.*

State Secretariat

23.13. At the Secretariat level the administrative pattern in the States presents a bewildering picture. Rajasthan and Mysore have a single department in charge of both social welfare and the backward classes. In Bihar, the Welfare Department deals exclusively with the backward classes and social welfare subjects are dealt with in other departments. In Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and West Bengal there are separate departments for these two subjects. But even where there are separate departments the allocation of subjects differs widely in different States. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, the subjects of social welfare and labour welfare have been brought under the Education and Social Welfare Department.

23.14. In some States, the Tribal Welfare Department, instead of being a co-ordinating agency advising the other departments on the

programmes to be undertaken in the tribal areas, has been running directly institutions, schools, hospitals and in some cases has even undertaken minor irrigation works.

23.15. The Governments of Bihar, Gujarat, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore and Punjab have stated that their existing organisations are adequate for the speedy implementation of tribal welfare schemes. The Andhra Pradesh Government says that it is considering the question of bringing about uniformity in the administration of the Scheduled Areas in the Telengana and Andhra regions. The Assam Government has suggested that the staff at headquarters should be strengthened by posting a senior officer in each department to look after the tribal side of the subject. Madhya Pradesh is re-organising the Tribal Welfare Department. The Orissa Government requires some special machinery to see to speedy implementation of welfare schemes. West Bengal proposes to augment the staff both at headquarters and at field level and to attach a special wing to some of the administrative departments.

23.16. The majority of the State Governments and the Union Territories do not consider it necessary to entrust the work of tribal welfare to a separate co-ordinating department under the Chief Secretary, as in their opinion, the existing arrangements are adequate. They are of the opinion that it probably would not be possible for a Chief Secretary to devote sufficient attention to the subject. In Bihar, the Development Commissioner is the co-ordinating authority and he enjoys the powers of an Additional Chief Secretary. In Punjab and Orissa, the co-ordinating department is under the Chief Secretary. The Madhya Pradesh Government has undertaken the task of examining this question in the light of the schemes included in the Third Plan and the division of responsibility between the Planning and Development Department and the Tribal Welfare Department.

23.17. Having observed the organisation in the State Secretariats and having heard the views of the State Governments, we have come to the conclusion that there should be a separate Department for Tribal Welfare in the States where the tribal population is more than a million. This will apply to the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Assam is not mentioned in this list because it has the sixth Schedule and the position is different.

23.18. This Department should not be saddled with other functions such as social welfare or the welfare of Scheduled Castes or Backward Classes because the schemes for the Scheduled Tribes cover the entire sector of development and are, therefore, of a different nature from the social welfare schemes. The department should be only a policy-making and co-ordinating department, a counterpart in the States to the Department in the Ministry of Home Affairs which we recommended in a previous paragraph. It should not undertake functions parallel to the other departments, as for example, education, medical and public health. It should ensure that schemes for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes are included in the development programmes of the other departments and that sufficient funds are provided for them. This is an important function since we notice

that many of the State Governments seem to be under the impression that it is not necessary for them to do anything over and above the special additional provision made for the tribal programmes.

23.19. States should have a section to evaluate qualitatively and quantitatively the tribal welfare programmes. The section should be placed under the overall charge of the Chief Secretary who, being in charge of the entire Secretariat, will be in a position to co-ordinate the activities of the various departments, ensure quick decisions and expeditious implementation. This arrangement would also enable him to give more attention to the administration of the Scheduled Areas.

Directorate

23.20. The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha and the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes have suggested that policy decisions could be taken more quickly if the Director of Tribal Welfare is clothed with the powers of a Joint Secretary or Joint Development Commissioner. This experiment has been tried in Bihar. The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madras, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal do not consider it necessary to give a higher status to the Director of Social Welfare as in most of the States I.A.S. Officers are holding this post. The Governments of Kerala and Mysore consider that a senior I.A.S. Officer should be appointed as Director of Tribal Welfare. In Punjab there is no post of Director of Tribal Welfare. The Governments of Rajasthan and Assam have no comments.

The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan do not consider it necessary that the Director of Tribal Welfare should be either a Joint Secretary or a Joint Development Commissioner. In Assam, Bihar and Orissa, officers incharge of Tribal Welfare have already been given the status of Secretary and Deputy Secretary to the Government. The Government of Maharashtra is of opinion that the Director of Tribal Welfare should be given the status of Joint Secretary or Joint Development Commissioner.

23.21. It seems to us that this suggestion may not carry us far. There may be a slight improvement here and there but it will not solve the question of inadequate implementation of policies. While matters of policy relating to welfare, training and recruitment of welfare personnel, legislation, etc., will be handled at the departmental level, the execution of schemes for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes may be entrusted to the other directorates or the executive wings, as the case may be, the Director of Tribal Welfare acting as a co-ordinating agency. We suggest that the State Governments may bring about the required administrative flexibility by reorganising the procedures and methods of the directorates dealing with tribal affairs. We would, however, add that a small committee of officials from the Tribal Welfare, Agriculture, Veterinary, Forest, Irrigation and Roads and Medical and Public Health Departments should be set up at the State level for co-ordination and effective implementation of tribal welfare programmes both in the Scheduled Areas

and other tribal areas. The Committee may also be charged with the function of scrutinising the general development programmes of these departments to ensure that their schemes also cover the Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas.

23.22. Before we discuss the administrative machinery at the district level, we should refer to a very pertinent question, the proper formation of the districts. Some of the Collectors brought to our notice that there would be an improvement in the administration as well as in the tempo of development if contiguous Scheduled Areas of different districts were formed into separate districts or if unwieldy large districts were divided into two or more separate districts each under a separate Collector. They further emphasised that in those districts the Collectors might be given greater administrative powers. The Collectors may not interfere with the broad policy of the department concerned but they should have an effective control over all the District Officers of various departments functioning in their districts. The departmental officers should invariably be located in the tribal areas. If the District Administration is stream-lined in this way and the Collector is given more effective control for the implementation of policies including sanctioning of priorities, development work would proceed with greater speed. Other Collectors who gave evidence before the Commission, and even a Chief Secretary, admitted that the arrangement suggested in this scheme would give greater impetus to the tribal welfare programme and effective administration of the protective laws. We have considered the above argument and admit that it has great force.

Machinery at the District Level

23.23. Effective implementation of policies and welfare programmes for the tribals is at the district level. The District Collector, his subordinate staff and the officers of the different departments working in the district form the executive agency and upon the efficiency of this agency depends to a very large extent the speedy and effective implementation of the welfare programmes. At present there is no uniformity in the executive agency at the district level. Broadly, there are four distinct patterns.

23.24. *Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (Telangana)*—First of all, there is the normal administrative pattern which prevails in many States. The Collector is in charge of the district but there is excessive departmentalisation, with the result that he has lost his position as the leader of the team. Each Department carries on its own activities with very little co-ordination. The policies are laid down by the Department and the Collector has very little voice in the matter. There may be a Social Welfare Officer to ensure certain amount of co-ordination and keep the Collector posted with the progress of schemes.

23.25. There is a slight variation of this pattern in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, certain parts of Madhya Pradesh and in the Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh. In the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, the Tribal Welfare Department has set up Regional and Area Organisers who conduct directly without

reference to the other agencies functioning in the district or the Collector, the welfare programmes of the Department, namely, maintenance of schools, hostels, technical institutions, production-cum-work centres, etc. In the Telangana area, the Social Welfare Department operates through the Social Welfare Officers and conducts schools and other institutions directly. The Collector has no control over the Social Welfare Officer and sometimes even the District Officers of the departments are not consulted. In these areas the effectiveness of the Collector at the executive level is considerably impaired.

23.26. *Andhra Pradesh*—The second pattern prevails in the Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh. Here the Scheduled Areas form part of the district but the Collector functions as Agent of the Governor for the Scheduled Areas and the Revenue Divisional Officer is the Deputy Agent. They conduct the revenue and judicial administration of these areas under different laws, rules and regulations in force there.

23.27. *Punjab and Himachal Pradesh*—The third pattern of District administration characterises the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. In the Punjab, the Scheduled Areas have been formed into a separate District which has been placed in charge of a Deputy Commissioner with extensive powers. The position is similar in the border district of Himachal Pradesh which has a predominantly tribal population. Owing to the difficult terrain and climatic conditions, the Deputy Commissioner has also been delegated greater powers since it would be difficult to obtain Government orders in time. These districts cover wide areas, the population is sparse but homogenous and the Deputy Commissioners are, therefore, able to devote more time to their problems.

23.28. *NEFA*—The fourth type of District Administration is that of the single-line administration of NEFA. The Deputy Commissioner, who is called the Political Officer, is the head of a Division and is in effective charge of all developmental activities. He has Sub-Divisional Officers and technical officers to assist him but they are under his administrative control. He is thus able to enforce rules and regulations in his charge, regulate developmental activities by fixing priorities and ensure their effective implementation. This has proved exceptionally successful.

Requirements

23.29. We have devoted some thought to the type of administration best suited for undeveloped areas. The tribals are simple people, their requirements are few and their areas are sparsely populated. They are intensely interested in comparatively small things which affect them in their day to day life and they expect the Government to attend to them promptly. They cannot wait, but if they have to frequently, they lose faith in the administration. The extent to which the Government is able to meet their needs expeditiously is the measure of the esteem and respect in which it is held. For these reasons the tribal people and the Scheduled Areas require greater attention and a more efficient staff than is required for a plains district.

23.30. At the district level there is no co-ordination between the executive agencies. The Deputy Commissioner is not in overall charge of the developmental activities in the Scheduled Areas or the tribal welfare programme. There is a multiplicity of agencies in certain fields of development, in education for example. Thirdly, neither the Collector nor the staff at the Block level have sufficient powers to give directions for the execution of particular programmes, nor to sanction schemes needed by the people. In our opinion these short-comings have robbed the tribal welfare programmes of the sense of urgency. This position will have to be remedied.

Proposals for Re-organisation

23.31. *We suggest the following scheme for the consideration of the State Governments to ensure more speedy and effective implementation of the developmental activities in the tribal areas.*

- (i) *The Collector should be in overall charge of not only the revenue and judicial administration but also of developmental activities.*
- (ii) *He should have the power to alter priorities of development schemes for the tribal areas and sanction schemes up to a limit prescribed by Government.*
- (iii) *All the heads of the departments in the districts and their subordinates to whatever department they may belong, concerned with the work of the Scheduled Tribes, should function under his supervision, guidance and control.*
- (iv) *He should have powers to punish erring Class III and IV staff after proper investigation and write confidential records of Class I and II officers.*

23.32. Above the Collectors in each of the States having Scheduled Areas, there should be an officer of the status of a Commissioner in overall charge of the tribal districts. He should be a senior officer and be delegated with all the necessary powers, subject to the condition that in regard to important questions of policy he should consult the State Governments. If the administration is streamlined at the district level on the lines we have suggested, many difficulties will be removed, there will be greater co-ordination, and the implementation of development programmes will proceed with vigour and speed.

Below the District Level

Machinery

23.33. Below the district level, except in the Block areas, there is hardly any uniformity in the administrative pattern in the States and there is no co-ordination of the activities carried on by different executive agencies. We endorse the view of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks which suggested that "the Blocks should be the units not only of development but also of administration. As far as the Scheduled Tribes residing in the ordinary areas are concerned, it will be beneficial to channelise all development activity through the Block administration."

Different systems have been in operation in different States and they have been functioning independently of the Block organisation.

For instance, in Bihar, under each District Welfare Officer there is one Assistant Welfare Officer (non-gazetted). There are 187 Welfare Inspectors for each Sub-Division and under them 648 Thana Welfare Officers, all of whom are outside the purview of the Collector. In Madhya Pradesh under each Deputy Director of Tribal Welfare there are 27 Area Organisers and 97 Organisers. In Maharashtra in the Vidarbha area under the Regional Officer, there are 7 Area Organisers and 8 Circle Organisers under each Area Organiser. In Orissa, under 13 District Welfare Officers there are 35 Assistant Welfare Officers, 67 Rural Welfare Inspectors and 187 social workers. We are clear that ultimately these activities have to be dovetailed into the Block arrangement. In the interim period, however, they should be brought together under the control of the Collector. Otherwise, the Collector will not know what is happening in his own district.

23.34. There is uniformity of administration in the Block areas and since it is expected that the entire tribal areas will be covered by Tribal Development Blocks by the end of the Third Plan period, we may assume that the administrative pattern throughout the tribal areas will be uniform by then. Ultimately it is the administration at the Block and village level which matters to the people who form their opinion of the administration on the quality, ability and efficiency of its officers. The staff should, therefore, be carefully selected. As far as possible, trained staff with a background of tribal culture and way of life should be posted so that they may be able to handle the situation sympathetically and not try to overwhelm the tribals with too many schemes. The number of the officers should be kept to the minimum.

Provision of Inspecting Staff

23.35. There should be greater provision of inspecting staff in the Co-operation and Education Departments to go round, examine the working of the co-operative societies and schools and make suggestions for their improvement. The extension staff of the Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Engineering Departments requires to be strengthened.

Separate Cadre for Doctors and Teachers

23.36. The shortage of doctors in the tribal areas is very serious. The terms and conditions of service are not sufficiently attractive to induce doctors to go and serve in these inaccessible and undeveloped places. We suggest that a separate cadre of medical officers for service in these areas should be formed and that its terms and conditions of service should be so framed as to induce the doctors to stay in the tribal areas for a period of time. The control and administration of this cadre may be vested for the time being in the Commissioner, the creation of which we have suggested in para. 23.32 above. Similarly, a separate cadre may also be formed for teachers for service in the tribal areas. We are of opinion that recruitment to these cadres may be from amongst the existing officers of the State cadres so that as the areas become normal and as more and more tribals are trained for work in their own areas, the special cadre may be wound up and the medical officers and teachers be placed

thought of social security on a decentralised basis. The idea of a State being responsible for every individual citizen appeared to them as it appeared to Gandhiji later, to be the beginning of the end of the liberty of the individual to develop along the lines of his own tradition and genius. The institution of joint family that they conceived was both a social and an economic entity, which was designed to guarantee social happiness, advancement and security from birth to death to all in the family without any distinction in status or regard. Social equality, justice and security were to be woven in the social texture like warp and weft. It was one of the world's greatest experiments in social organisation. The joint family and village panchayats sustained the Indian social order like the lungs of a body. The time was not yet ripe for an organised system of education and health services.

25.9. What would have happened if India had taken to an industrial civilisation along with the rest of the West it is difficult to say. Perhaps with the means that we would have possessed we would by now have solved the problem of the weaker sections. It is no use entering into hypothetical discussions. But today it is a humble, thoughtful and rational India that is approaching the problem of reconstruction of its ancient social fabric. We would wish that those who have played the part in the past from any other angle help us to solve the problems in a new spirit. Those of Indian origin or western origin who mentally or emotionally cannot fit in with that approach will only be increasing our difficulties and creating complications for us.

Thakkar Bapa and Tribal Welfare

25.10. Under the impact of the Gandhian age—a very prominent member of the Servants of India Society, an institution established by the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale whom Gandhiji called his 'Guru', late Thakkar Bapa laid the foundation of another service agency. Like other pioneering projects this also had a small beginning. He established in 1921 an Ashram at Mirakhedi in Panchmahal District and the Bhil Seva Mandal at Dohad in Gujarat—then a part of the old Bombay Presidency. By single minded devotion and hard work he made his way through the thick forests of India. Before Freedom came he had established twenty-one institutions in various parts of the country, three each in Andhra and what is now the Madhya Pradesh, two each in Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh and one each in Kerala, Madras and Rajasthan. There was a magic in his personality. He could create workers, attract workers and hold on to the workers—which is the secret of retaining the workers. The history of a quarter of a century of dogged endeavour on the part of this singularly quiet and dedicated yet principled personality is a romance of social work in India.

25.11. The activities of Thakkar Bapa and his band, prior to Independence were mostly concentrated in the field of education and in some places in the field of public health. A noteworthy beginning was also made in the field of cooperation in Bombay Presidency.

25.12. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President and Shri A. V. Thakkar as its Vice-President, was founded twelve years ago. Its objective is "the development of the tribal communities in India, socially, economically, culturally and educationally, with a view to enable them to take their legitimate

place in the national life of the country as equal citizens".¹ This apex institution has been mostly concerned with the coordination of the activities of various affiliated and recognised institutions. It has played no small part in helping Government shape its tribal welfare policy at the stage of preparation of the Constitution and thereafter the plans of development.

25.13. This apex institution has today behind it as affiliated or recognised institutions sixty-two bodies, ten in Maharashtra, nine in Madhya Pradesh, six each in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, five in Assam, four each in Gujarat and Madras, three in Kerala, two each in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and one each in Mysore, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. Two are directly run by it—one in Assam and one in Manipur.

Central Social Welfare Board

25.14. The Central Social Welfare Board for the welfare of women and children has been setting up welfare extension projects in each of the Community Development Blocks. Such projects are being initiated also in the Tribal Development Blocks for which each Block contributes an amount of Rs. 60,000/- from its funds. These projects are managed entirely by non-officials, though officials having administrative and technical experience are also associated with the working of the Project Implementation Committees, as they are called. For want of competent, willing and qualified non-official women workers in the rural areas in general and the tribal areas in particular, this work has not yet been able to make any substantial impact on the welfare programme.

Christian Missions

25.15. We have already referred to the excellent and pioneering work done by them. We had the pleasure of seeing some of the schools and hospitals run by them. From the point of view of simplicity, economy and efficiency the other social agencies have a lot to learn from them.

Ramakrishna Mission

25.16. Another All-India organisation that is doing commendable work is the Ramakrishna Mission with branches in Assam, Bihar and West Bengal. Its fundamental aim is character-building in the widest possible sense. Its institutions are maintaining successfully their traditions of service with special emphasis on character building and are free from all taints of proselytisation.

Other Institutions

25.17. Other important non-official agencies, which include tribal welfare in their programmes, are:

- (i) The Servants of India Society,
- (ii) Sarve Seva Sangh,
- (iii) Gandhi Smarak Nidhi,
- (iv) Kasturba Smarak Nidhi,
- (v) The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay,
- (vi) The Indian Council of Child Welfare, Chhindwara, and
- (vii) Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandir, Udaipur.

25.18. The following tables show the details of the income and expenditure of some of the non-official organisations during the years 1959-60/1960-61².

TABLE 51
Sources of income of some of the Non-official Organisations

(In Rupees)

State	Name of the Non-official organisation	Sources of Income					Total
		Govern- ment and Social Welfare Board	Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Harijan Seva Sangh	Bhartiya Adimjati Seva Sangh	Amount raised by the institution	7	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Andhra Pradesh	1. Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Nellore	25,000	6,560	2,500	4,145	38,205	
	2. Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha, Kovvur	23,000	..	..	3,175	26,175
Assam	3. Assam Seva Samiti, Gauhati	2,26,170	..	..	21,170	2,47,340
Bihar	4. Adimjati Seva Mandal, Ranchi	5,96,040	12,000	12,000	..	6,20,040	
	5. Santhal Pahadia Seva Mandal, Deoghar	3,78,255	10,000	..	11,795	4,00,050	
Gujarat	6. Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad	2,29,355	30,000	..	42,750	3,02,105	
Maharashtra	7. Dang Seva Mandal, Nasik	1,67,655	..	..	1,09,750	2,77,405
	8. West Khandosh Bhil Seva Mandal, Nandurbar	1,35,070	..	..	32,940	1,68,010
Madhya Pradesh	9. Vanavasi Seva Mandal, Mandla (1958-59)	9,11,590	..	20,020	..	9,31,610	
Orissa	10. Navjivan Mandal, Angul	98,655	6,000	..	2,345	1,02,000	
Rajasthan	11. Rajasthan Seva Sangh, Dungarpur	1,30,320	10,000	..	3,180	1,43,500	
	Total	29,16,110	..	..	..	32,56,440*

* Government's contribution being 89.5 per cent.

TABLE 52

Details of expenditure by some of the Non-official Organisations

Name of the Non-official organisation	Education	Health	Economic development	Other activities including administration	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha, Kovvur, Andhra Pradesh.	11,585	..	5,105	6,400	23,090
Assam Seva Samiti, Gauhati, Assam.	..	1,16,760	3,890	1,35,955	2,56,605
Adimjati Seva Mandal, Ranchi, Bihar	5,70,225	..	12,000	37,035	6,19,260
Santhal Pahadia Seva Mandal, Deoghar, Bihar.	2,68,305	1,48,500	..	37,120	4,53,925
Dang Seva Mandal, Nasik, Maharashtra.	2,88,920	..	..	13,567	3,02,487
West Khandesh Bhil Seva Mandal, Nandurbar, Maharashtra.	1,80,645	..	5,700	18,025	2,04,370
Vanavasi Seva Mandal, Mandla, Madhya Pradesh.	8,48,704	16,061	8,389	1,11,339	9,84,493
Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad, Gujarat	3,69,070	3,715	60,000	27,784	4,60,569
Ashok Ashram, Kalsi, Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh.	1,413	5,512	52	6,085	13,062
Adimjati Shiksha Ashram, Imphal, Manipur.	3,51,060	1,211	12,028	..	3,64,299
Rajasthan Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Jaipur, Rajasthan.	5,32,815	..	15,000	43,560	5,91,075

Non-official Agencies

25.19. Assessment of the work of the non-official agencies is a very embarrassing task, especially in view of the fact that six out of the eleven members of the Commission are directly or indirectly connected with them. It is doubly embarrassing for those who are not members. We will try, however, to come to as objective a judgement as possible. Along with the Christian Missionaries, the non-official agencies are working mainly in the fields of education and public health. They are found in seven States and two Union Territories. They command the services of workers some of whom have given their lives to the cause, and have been able to create an impact because of their devotion and sacrifice in some areas at least.

25.20. The non-official agencies including the Missionary Societies have, as we have said, tended until very recently to concentrate on education, the provision of medical facilities and—in western India—

on Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies. Gradually, however, they are extending their interest to include:

- Tribal Development Block,
- Co-operation,
- Forest Trade and Industry,
- Cottage and Village Industries,
- Co-operative Farming,
- Grain Golas,
- Animal Husbandry,
- Panchayat Work,
- Research, Survey and Evaluation,
- Cultural Activities,
- Prohibition and
- Legal Assistance.

The Missionary Societies have taken the lead in language studies and the publication of literature in the tribal languages. These activities, however, are still in their infancy. Details are furnished in Appendix XIII.

25.21. *The raison d'être* for successful functioning of a participating democracy is direct, active and purposeful participation of the people at all levels, in planning and implementation of welfare activities. This principle can be best served by assigning an important role to non-official organisations. It is necessary in any democratic frame-work that a measure of the constructive activity of the nation should be done under non-official auspices. These activities can satisfy the urge of the normal human being to be of some use to the community in his spare time and give the benefit of his special abilities to those who are in need of them. They can also become the training-ground of social service workers on a mass scale. Another important service which non-official organisations can render is the mobilisation of the resources of the community for welfare programmes. The best administrative machinery of even a highly responsible and responsive democratic government, by its very nature, is bound to be impersonal in character and a non-official organisation can more easily provide the personal touch. Through this personal touch these organisations can harness the latent energies of the masses into useful channels for their development. Government has resources on which pressing demands are being made from all quarters including the non-official organisations. We have, on the other hand, tremendous unharnessed latent energies in our people which can be usefully utilised if the non-official agencies set an example in self-reliance.

25.22. To perpetuate development activities on healthy lines, the only course is to institutionalise them. Otherwise we may have the sad spectacle of the collapse of social or economic programmes on the sudden disappearance of the person at the helm of affairs.

More often than not we have faced such situations in successful Development Blocks after the transfer of efficient Project Officers. This has been the case even with many Ashrams and institutions founded by eminent social workers.

25.23. The scope of the non-official organisations working in the tribal areas, however, needs to be clearly defined to avoid duplication of effort. It has been now accepted as a national policy that Panchayat Raj will soon be introduced throughout the country, including the tribal areas, though there may be some staggering of the programme or a different slant introduced as far as the tribal areas are concerned. Already we are committed to a policy of covering the entire country by co-operatives to speed up economic development. In some of the tribal areas we have already in existence traditional Tribal Councils of vital importance, whose development has great possibilities.

25.24. These non-official organisations have experienced social workers who by their activities in the spheres of education and health contribute towards the creation of a favourable climate for the organisation and smooth functioning of the Panchayats and Co-operatives. Eventually, as and when these get established, the non-official organisations will have to withdraw from those spheres partially though they may continue to assist the co-operatives and Panchayats to function successfully.

25.25. Sooner or later, the non-official agencies will have to reckon with a demand by the tribals for representation in the administration of funds received by them from Government or public bodies. This difficulty will probably be minimised as the Panchayats become the media of all development activities and there will then be no reason to duplicate their efforts. No one should object to this, for representation of the tribals in the functioning of non-official agencies is necessary in the interest of democratic planning and integration.

Accounting

25.26. An important aspect of non-official agency work is proper accounting. There are institutions which receive comparatively small grants and others which receive large sums from Government. But there is hardly any institution today which does not depend on Government grants directly or indirectly for its work. A good social worker may be a good accounts man but this may not be always so. It will facilitate the work of the non-official institutions and save them from embarrassment if they have the services of qualified accountants who know government procedures and rules. *We suggest that the Accountant General's offices in each State maintain a list of such qualified accountants who can be made available to non-official institutions in receipt of assistance on any substantial scale from Government. This does not mean that it will be obligatory upon these institutions to engage persons on the approved list but, whenever an institution agrees to this plan, the responsibility of preparing the accounts and filing them in time will be shared by the accountants appointed. This will have the added advantage of lifting a heavy burden of anxiety from the mind of the worker. In such cases, the allowance or salary paid to the accountant should be given to the institution as an additional grant and the accountant should count as one of its*

servants. In the case of institutions in receipt of small grants, we would not like to encumber them with such a responsibility. But if any of them volunteer to accept the services of accountants from the approved list, it should also get the same advantages.

Evaluation and Research

25.27. Another aspect is evaluation. Periodical reports issued by the non-official agencies are certainly interesting, but they somewhat naturally, are lacking in dispassionate self-evaluation. Some machinery to evaluate the true value of their work will go a long way in infusing new vigour and new ideas.

25.28. Such evaluation can be done, at the instance of the non-official agency itself, by any local research institute. The Governor in his report to the President should invariably give an assessment of the work of every institution which receives a grant of more than Rs. 25,000 in a year.

Entrusting Specific Activities to and Financial Provision for Non-official Agencies

25.29. Finally, with a view to making fuller use of the potential of the non-official agencies, the Union Government, as well as the State Governments should share their responsibility by entrusting to them specific activities, both in the State and Central schemes of the tribal welfare programmes. It will lead to a healthy competition between the official and non-official organisations engaged in working out similar schemes and enable them to improve their performance.



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CHAPTER 26

TRAINING PROGRAMMES

In the chapter on "Assessment" of the Five Year Plans we observed that progress had been made in the welfare programme for the Scheduled Tribes, but that in both physical achievement and quality it was still short of our expectations. We have suggested an intensification of developmental activities in the next ten years through Tribal Development Blocks. The success of this programme will be largely conditioned by the approach of the official and non-official agencies, by their understanding of tribal culture and traditions, and on the appreciation of social, psychological and economic problems. A body of trained personnel with the necessary aptitude and background of tribal life will be required. This personnel is not available readily nor can it be found ready-made. It will have to be recruited and trained. The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha in its 48th Report also stated that the slow progress in the implementation of welfare schemes was largely due to the non-availability of trained personnel; the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes mentioned that the success of the welfare programmes was conditioned by the calibre of the staff provided, that the present staff position was far from satisfactory and that very little had been done to improve the situation. The Study Team further observed that in many of the Tribal-Development Blocks and other tribal welfare centres, the personnel employed lacked proper training and had no understanding of tribal problems. They also found that sanctioned posts had remained unfilled owing to the non-availability of the personnel required. Among the various causes for the inadequate progress of the tribal welfare schemes, the shortage of trained personnel is probably the greatest single factor.

26.2. The programme for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes is expanding fast and will be considerably intensified if our recommendations are accepted. The Third Plan has commenced and to take a single instance, it is expected that by the end of the Third Plan there will be nearly 400 Tribal Development Blocks operating in the various tribal areas of the country. There will be other welfare centres and activities during the same period. For operating these schemes a very large number of officers and staff at various levels will be required. In addition, there are the shortages which will have to be made good in the developmental activities of other departments, such as Education, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Public Works, etc. The personnel of all these departments working in tribal areas will require training. This training is specially necessary because it will not be possible to find the required personnel from amongst the tribals and non-tribals will have to be recruited.

26.3. In Bihar, it is stated that orientation training is provided at training centres under the Community Development programme and also at the training centre attached to the Bihar Tribal Research

Institute, Ranchi. At the latter Institute the non-gazetted staff from the Tribal Blocks are being trained and the State Government proposes to expand the programme to cover the gazetted staff also. In Maharashtra, there is no special institute but officers are sent to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences for training and orientation in tribal welfare work. The State Government has suggested a training programme preferably under the agency of the Social Welfare Department or a suitable voluntary agency. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has no definite programme but sends its officers to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. There are also four centres for training village teachers and two higher elementary grade training centres at Araku Valley and Bhadrachalam. In Madhya Pradesh, training for officers below the rank of Area Organisers is given at the Tribal Workers Training Institute at Chhindwara but the Area Organisers are being sent to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

26.4. Some of the State Governments who have undertaken training for Tribal Welfare Officers and workers at the field level have not assessed their requirements of officers and staff. A proper scheme can be drawn up only after the requirements have been assessed as this should be related to the officers, staff and other workers. It seems, therefore, that as an essential preliminary to the drawing up of a training programme, all the State Governments should be asked to assess their requirements immediately.

26.5. The training programme should have reference to the following:

- (a) the officers, the staff and other workers to be trained and the type of work which they will be required to do;
- (b) the content of training, whether it should be of a standard pattern and duration or should be different for different categories of personnel;
- (c) the agencies for training, the pattern and standard of training centres in terms of staff; and
- (d) the authority that should arrange for the training, namely, whether it should be the State Government or the Union Government or any other agency.

Tribal Welfare Agencies

26.6. The tribal welfare programme reaches the tribals through all or any of the following agencies:

- (a) Government officials functioning at different levels in the tribal welfare programmes and the general development programme;
- (b) workers of the various non-official voluntary agencies and the personnel engaged by them;
- (c) office-bearers and employees of the cooperatives and statutory organisations, for example, the Panchayats; and
- (d) village leaders.

Categories of Government Personnel to be Trained

26.7. The various officials of the State Governments engaged in planning and implementation of the tribal welfare programme may

be broadly classified under 5 categories:—

(a) *Planning and Administrative Staff*—The Directors of Tribal Welfare, the Divisional Commissioners and the Collectors will be in this category.

(b) *The Supervisory Staff who are expected to guide and direct the Field Workers*—These are the Project Executive Officers of the Tribal Development Blocks, the Block Development Officers, and the District Welfare Officers.

(c) *Technical non-field staff above and at the District level*—These will include Deputy Directors of Agriculture, Conservators of Forests, Superintendents of Education, Civil Surgeons and Executive Engineers.

(d) *Technical Staff below District Level*—Assistant Engineers, Overseers, Soil Conservation Extension Officers, Assistant Surgeons/Medical Officers, Compounders, Agricultural Officers, Co-operative Officers, Social Education Organisers, Extension Officers in Panchayats, Extension Officers in Rural Industries, Extension Officers in Animal Husbandry, Forest Rangers, Station House Officers.

(e) *Field Staff*—Gram Sevaks, Gram Sevikas, Sanitary Inspectors, Health Visitors, Midwives, Stockmen-cum-Health Supervisors, Head Constables, Forest Guards, Agricultural Assistants.

Categories of Personnel of Non-Official Agencies

26.8. The personnel of the non-official voluntary agencies working in the tribal areas or amongst the tribals may be classified into—

- (a) Office-bearers,
- (b) Non-field technical personnel and
- (c) Field technical personnel.

Statutory Organisations

26.9. Statutory organisations which function in the tribal areas are the Panchayats. The office-bearers and employees of these institutions would also require training.

Examination of Existing Arrangements

26.10. In view of the difference in the type of agencies functioning in the tribal areas and the scope of their work, it will neither be possible nor advisable to have a uniform training programme for all of them. The content, duration, place and type of training will have to be different for each category of personnel to be trained. We have, therefore, examined the existing arrangements for the training of each category of personnel and suggested improvements wherever necessary.

Training of Administrative and Planning Staff

26.11. Training of the planning and administrative staff working above the district level is of the utmost importance since they give shape and form to the Government's policies by drawing up the tribal welfare programmes and arranging for their effective implementation. Unless they are fully conversant with the tribal way of life,

their beliefs, their likes and dislikes and their likely reactions to the various development schemes, the welfare programmes may not prove a success in spite of the best qualified field staff.

26.12. The one institution which could be fruitfully utilised for imparting the necessary training to this class of officers is the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development at Mussoorie. At this Institute, at present, Collectors and other officers of the State Governments and the Union Government, Members of Parliament, Members of State Legislatures, University professors and others are given necessary orientation courses in connection with the community development programmes. As the tribal welfare programme will be implemented in the tribal areas largely through the agency of the Tribal Development Blocks, it will be appropriate that the administrative officers working at and above the district levels should have an orientation course at this Institute in tribal welfare also at the time they receive training in the community development programme. It may be necessary to expand the existing institution or extend the duration of the course or it may be advisable to attach another wing to the Central Institute for this purpose.

26.13. The method of training will, as hitherto, be through seminars, study groups, syndicates, etc. We do not consider it necessary to prescribe a detailed syllabus for this category of officers, but the subjects should include—

- (a) Applied Anthropology;
- (b) Psychology of Tribal people;
- (c) Constitution and the Scheduled Tribes;
- (d) Tribal economy with special reference to forest, land, industries, and finance;
- (e) Study of problems pertaining to health, education, communications, etc., among the tribals;
- (f) Study of various schemes implemented by the Union Government and the State Governments for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes; and
- (g) Socio-economic surveys.

We would also suggest that arrangements should be made for visits to the tribal areas to give the officers direct experience of the physical conditions in these areas, the economy of the people and the difficulties of the staff working there. Training at this Institute may be phased so that those who are directly in charge of tribal welfare at the State and divisional level and the Collectors in charge of districts predominantly inhabited by the tribals can be given training immediately. The other officers can be taken up for training at a later stage.

Training of Technical Staff

26.14. We would emphasise that the training which we have proposed for Collectors/Commissioners, who are directly concerned with planning and implementation of tribal welfare programmes should also be extended to other heads of departments, and divisional officers, for example, the Chief Conservator of Forests, Director of Education, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, etc.

Training of Supervisory Officers Below the District Level

26.15. For the other supervisory officers, namely, those working at and below the district level, training is at present arranged at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay. So far 78 Social/Tribal Welfare Officers from the States have received training at this Institute. The Governments of Madras and West Bengal have not availed of this facility. The Government of West Bengal mentioned that the training courses of the Tata Institute are specially oriented for the welfare of forest dwellers and since hardly 5 per cent of the tribals in that State are forest dwellers, such training is not of much use to its officers. *We are of opinion that either the capacity of the Tata Institute should be expanded or similar facilities should be provided.*

Instruction at the Tata Institute

26.16. There are two types of courses arranged at the Tata Institute. One is a one year course in tribal welfare; and the second a two year regular course in social work with specialisation in tribal welfare. The training at present imparted at the Tata Institute, though very useful, leans heavily on the academic side. It requires to be improved to make it more "problem-centred" and "job-related" *Our suggestion is that the subjects which are of immediate practical utility should be taught. Practical training and visits to tribal areas should be arranged. To create the necessary aptitude amongst the workers, they should be taught tribal culture and some of the subjects which we have suggested for inclusion in the syllabus for officers of the higher category.*

Utilisation of Orientation and Study Centres for Training

26.17. The Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation is running a number of Orientation and Study Centres at Nilo-kheri, Bakshi-ka-Talab, Ranchi and Junagadh where two to three courses are conducted for junior and senior Block staff and non-officials engaged in the community development programme. We feel that these Orientation and Study Training Centres, can, with a slight expansion of training facilities, undertake training of the supervisory staff at the Block level, district officers of the other development departments operating in the tribal areas and the District Social Welfare Officers. The Ministry has already undertaken a very big programme and we do not think it should be difficult for them to take up the additional training which is more or less a part of it.

26.18. We have considered whether anything could be done to remedy the defect in the working of the Tribal Development Blocks pointed out by the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes, namely, that the personnel employed have neither the training nor any understanding of tribal problems. This is, no doubt, a serious draw-back, but it may not be possible to replace the personnel at this stage. *We, therefore, feel that a short in-service training for a period of three months should be given to these personnel at the Orientation and Study Centres under the community development programme or at any other centre considered suitable by the State Governments.*

Technical Staff Below the District Level

26.19. Regarding the technical personnel working below the district level, attention must be given to those officers who are working in the tribal areas. At present a three-month orientation course in tribal life and culture is given to the Social Education Organisers at the Social Education Organisers' Training Centre at Ranchi. It has come to our notice, however, that the trained personnel are not necessarily utilised in the tribal areas. *Such training should, therefore, be confined to those officers who are likely to serve in the tribal areas for a period of at least three years. This training will embrace all the departments including Revenue, Forests, Public Works, Police, Agriculture, etc., and, if it is possible, the training can also be arranged along with the supervisory staff working at or below the district level either at the Tata Institute or in the separate institute that may be set up for the purpose. The training in their case should be curtailed to three months.*

26.20. We have discussed in an earlier paragraph the content of training of the planning and administrative staff above the district level in charge of tribal welfare programme. We have also considered the training given to the Block Development Officers and District Social Welfare Officers at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. We have proposed that all the supervisory field staff as well as the technical staff should be trained and that the capacity of the training institutions should be increased or new training centres set up. The content of training and its duration will have to be worked out for each category of personnel. These are technical matters and *we suggest that the representatives of the Ministries of Home Affairs, Education and Community Development and Co-operation, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and Research Institutes should work out an appropriate syllabus for the purpose.*

Training of Field Staff

26.21. The Governments of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal have facilities for training field staff engaged in tribal welfare programmes. The Bihar Government intend to expand the Tribal Research Institute at Ranchi to provide facilities for training gazetted officers also. The Madhya Pradesh Research Institute at Chhindwara is, at present, imparting training to Tribal Welfare Officers of all cadres including the field staff. Some of the State Governments seem to feel that no special training is required for the field staff working in the tribal areas. Persons working in the field at the village level come in contact with the tribals and their understanding and approach to the tribals will determine the success of the welfare schemes. The tribals also will judge the staff working in their midst by their ability to understand their customs as well as their problems. If these persons do not know the tribal dialect or their culture or they are not able to get the reaction of the tribal mind to the innovations introduced in the tribal areas, even the best of schemes may not succeed. *The training of field staff is, in our opinion, as important as the training of the supervisory administrative personnel. This should be impressed on the State Governments and they should be asked to assess their requirements of field staff, arrange for their recruitment or selection well in time and complete*

the training before they are actually posted for working in the tribal areas.

Pooling of Official and Non-official Training Centres

26.22. We have observed that the training institutions for the field staff in the States are not adequate. The non-official organisations have also been arranging training courses for their field staff. It seems that in the matter of training of the field staff all the existing training facilities should be pooled and expanded wherever necessary, to train the field staff of both official and non-official agencies. Training of the field workers of official and non-official agencies at a common institution will remove the existing barriers, facilitate understanding of each other's point of view and thus help speedy implementation of programmes. We would accordingly suggest that the existing training institutions run by Government should, when they have capacity, undertake the training of the field workers of voluntary agencies and similarly the centres established by the non-official agencies should undertake the training of Government field staff, wherever possible. There has been some difficulty in training women field workers, such as Gram Sevikas. The State Governments have training facilities as well as non-official agencies like the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust. We consider that the facilities for training at the institutions conducted by the non-official agencies should be utilised to the maximum extent by the State Governments. *We would also suggest that the non-official voluntary agencies should be encouraged to establish additional training centres in selected areas through substantial subsidy from Centre.*

Additional Centres for Training of Technical Field Staff

26.23. The field staff will be engaged on a wide range of subjects and we expect that various departments will have arranged for their training in the particular subject. In order that they may have the necessary background knowledge of the tribal areas in general and the tribal way of life in particular, we propose that training institutes on the lines of the Gram Sevak Training Centre may be opened in suitable areas. Probably one such centre in each State having a concentration of tribal population may be adequate. These training centres should be located in tribal areas so that facilities are readily available for practical training. As in the existing conditions the number of non-tribals among the field staff will be quite considerable, arrangement should also be made at the training centres to teach them the tribal dialects.

Training of Office Bearers of Non-official Voluntary Agencies

26.24. Training of the workers of non-official agencies functioning in tribal areas is as necessary as for government staff. Mere zeal for social work is not a substitute for the correct approach or the correct technique. The non-official agencies also do not have adequate opportunities to view tribal welfare problems from the point of view of the administration. We would, therefore, suggest that the office-bearers of these institutions should attend the orientation courses along with the officials at the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development at Mussoorie. They will understand the administrators' point of view and they will also contribute

in bringing about a change in the attitude of the administrator trainees. This will bridge the existing gulf between the administrators and social workers. This experiment is being carried on by the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation at the Central Institute as well as at the Orientation Training Centres with considerable success.

For the non-field technical personnel of the non-official agencies training may be arranged along with the supervisory government technical personnel either at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences or at the Research Institutes run by the Governments of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

Training of Office-bearers and Employees of Statutory Organisations.

26.25. Statutory organisations—Panchayats—have also started functioning in the tribal areas. It will be necessary to give training to their office-bearers and employees so that they may adjust themselves to the tribal conditions and way of life. This training in the case of tribals can be in-service training by holding camps in the villages as is being done by the various Community Development Blocks. Paid employees, however, will have to be trained at the institutions mentioned for the supervisory and field staff.

Training of Village Leaders

26.26. The average tribal is not literate and new ideas and innovations reach him only through the medium of the village elder to whom he looks for advice. The tribal leaders thus occupy a pivotal role in the transmission of ideas from the outside world and also in interpreting the views of the tribals to the administration. It is necessary for the success of all welfare programmes that the tribal leaders should be taken into confidence.

26.27. The Community Development programme includes training of village leaders by holding camps in villages. A similar programme could be adopted in the tribal areas. The camps should not take the form of class-rooms which may give the impression to the tribals that outsiders have come to wean them away from their old traditions but should be held in an informal atmosphere and the emphasis should be on exchange of views. Demonstrations could also be held to convince the tribal leaders of the efficacy of new methods and techniques. They may also be taken on study tours to adjoining areas to impress on them the value of improved methods and techniques in agriculture. These camps should, however, be organised by experienced and sympathetic officials and non-officials and should not be left to inexperienced officers. We are convinced that a programme of training of the tribal leaders in the manner suggested will, in the long run, be advantageous to government and the tribals.

Suggestions to Give Tribal Bias to the Programme

26.28. There are a few other questions connected with the training of staff in tribal welfare work. The first is the question of giving a tribal bias to the whole programme. We feel that an active effort should be made to recruit tribals for some of the jobs at the village or Block level. There should not be any great difficulty in recruiting and training a number of tribals for jobs in their own areas which will not require a high educational qualification, namely:

teachers in primary schools, dais and midwives and nurses, compounders, forest guards, etc. The State Governments have stated that although they have opened training institutes for training of nurses, compounders and midwives, the tribals are not coming in sufficient numbers. We would suggest for their consideration that instead of fixing the educational qualification at the 10th class or Matriculation, the qualification may be fixed slightly lower and the period of training correspondingly enhanced so as to increase the general knowledge of these tribal candidates. A period of 6 to 8 months may be devoted to give them training in the basic subjects before they are taken over for training in the particular fields for which they were recruited, e.g., midwifery, nursing. Similarly, the educational qualification for compounders may be slightly lowered and the period of training extended.

Establishment of Institute to Give Professional and Technical Training to Tribals

26.29. The second question relates to the general shortage of doctors, sanitary inspectors, veterinary doctors, agricultural officers, civil engineers, overseers and instructors for technical schools in the whole country. While assessing the requirements of the whole country for professional and technical personnel the demands of the tribal areas should be specifically kept in view. We are already expanding the existing facilities to meet the additional requirements. It would also be advisable if some of these institutions are established in areas predominantly inhabited by tribals so that the tribal candidates may be inspired to take advantage of them. It is most important that adequate incentives should be provided to tribal candidates to join these colleges and institutions so that eventually we will have a large number of tribals working in the tribal areas. We are convinced that given the necessary opportunities, tribal candidates, both men and women, have the inherent capacity for learning all types of professions.

26.30. The third point for consideration relates to the economic betterment of the tribals. At present, the tribal economy is based on agriculture. In order to improve the standard of living and to provide greater employment opportunities in industrial developments in the tribal areas, they will require training in technical trades so that they may be employed as technicians and artisans. *We therefore, recommend the establishment of technical institutes on the model of the one at Korba in Madhya Pradesh, in each district having a large concentration of tribal population. These institutions should have facilities for training in trades like blacksmithy, carpentry, welding, civil engineering and so on. Training should be free and the tribal students should be given stipends, hostel accommodation and apprenticeship training so that they can settle in life immediately on completion of their training. Those who want to establish their own workshops should be assisted by suitable subsidies or grants.*

Recruitment and Training of Teachers

26.31. The last point relates to the recruitment and training of teachers. With the rapid expansion of primary education in the tribal areas, the demand for trained teachers will increase manifold. It is, therefore, necessary that steps should be taken to recruit and train

an adequate number of teachers to meet this increased demand. We have observed that on account of the increasing demand for schools in tribal areas, non-tribal teachers have been recruited in large numbers for the primary schools. The teachers do not know the local tribal dialect and they are unable to teach tribal boys and girls especially those in the 1st and 2nd standards of the primary schools. Since the boys and girls also do not know any language excepting their dialect the purpose of engaging the teacher is partially defeated. The teachers in many cases do not know anything about tribal culture or way of life with the result they are not able to make an impression on the children or the parents. *We, therefore, recommend that:—*

- (i) *as far as possible local tribals should be selected, the qualifications being relaxed, if necessary;*
- (ii) *if outsiders are recruited, special arrangements should be made to teach them the local dialect before they are posted as teachers; and*
- (iii) *while under training they should make themselves familiar with the tribal way of life and culture.*

Training Teachers for Training Centres

26.32. In the preceding paragraphs, we have considered the training programmes for all officers and field staff engaged in the tribal welfare programmes. This will necessitate either the expansion of the facilities available at the existing institutions or the establishment of new institutes. All these training institutes will have to be staffed with suitable teachers and instructors who can guide and train the officers and field staff to understand the culture and traditions of the tribals, their social, psychological and economic problems. Simultaneously, with the training programmes for officers and field staff, provision should also be made for training these teachers. *We suggest that this aspect of the training programme be examined further by the Union Government in consultation with the State Governments and Research Institutes and suitable steps taken to ensure that the required number of additional teachers and instructors will be forthcoming.*

26.33. We have given our ideas and suggestions regarding the training programmes for the entire staff engaged in the tribal welfare programme. The training should instill in the trainees zeal and aptitude for work among the tribals. This is necessary since a portion of the personnel has already been selected and is in position. We have suggested in the earlier part of the Report that the development of the tribal areas and raising the standard of life of the tribals should be intensified but without disturbing the tribals' way of life or their culture and customs. The training of the personnel engaged in tribal welfare activities is thus of paramount importance to the success of the programme according to the time schedule that we have suggested. We feel that if the training facilities cannot be provided or expanded early to meet the requirements it would be better to stagger the further programme in tribal areas rather than allow it to develop on a non-effective basis. We would like to add that the staff requirements in the tribal areas should be kept to the minimum. It should not be our intention to flood the areas with public servants. The whole emphasis should be on the selective process. A few selected items of development to satisfy a few major needs of the tribals through selected officials should be the basis of our approach.

CHAPTER 27

REPRESENTATION IN SERVICES

The Constitution provides for reservation of posts, in services under the Union and State Governments, in favour of the Scheduled Tribes. Articles 16(4) and 335, which are the relevant provisions, read as follows:—

“16(4). Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State”

335. The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State”.

27.2. Before Independence, there was no special reservation for tribals. The Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam) Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly, however, recommended as follows:—

“It has been pointed out that the tribals constitute an appreciable proportion of the population particularly in some Provinces. On this account the policy of recruitment of a due proportion of aboriginals having regard to reasonable efficiency, into the Government services is justified and necessary and must be followed. Apart from this, however, it is necessary that there should be an adequate number of tribals in the services so that the constant complaints of mishandling by non-tribal officials particularly of such servants as forest guards, constables or excise peons and clerks can be minimised. Moreover, it is only by adequate representation in the Government and local bodies' services that the tribal can gain the necessary confidence and status”.

27.3. The constitutional safeguards, therefore, reflect the concern of the people of India for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. The Union Government and the State Governments have taken steps to discharge their constitutional obligation by executive instructions.

Policy of the Union Government

Direct Recruitment by Open Competition and Recruitment Made Otherwise than by Open Competition

27.4. The Union Government, in fulfilment of their constitutional obligations, have laid down their policy as follows:—

- (i) Five per cent of the vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment on an all-India basis should be reserved for members of Scheduled Tribes.

- (ii) In the case of local or regional recruitment for Class III and Class IV services and posts made otherwise than through the Union Public Service Commission except in Delhi, the reservation will be in direct proportion to the Scheduled Tribe population in that area, subject to a minimum of 5 per cent.
- (iii) The principle of reservation has been extended to such grades in services which are filled by promotion through competitive examinations limited to departmental candidates, the quantum of reservation being 5 per cent as in the case of direct recruitment.
- (iv) The reservation is subject to the overall condition that the Scheduled Tribe candidates should possess the prescribed qualifications.
- (v) If a sufficient number of Scheduled Tribe candidates for whom reservations have been made are not forthcoming the vacancies would be carried over for two years. Thereafter, the vacancies would be treated as unreserved and filled by other candidates.
- (vi) Before a reserved vacancy is treated as unreserved, the vacancy should be advertised and also brought to the notice of the non-official agencies who would be in a position to assist in the matter.
- (vii) A roster of vacancies should be maintained for services and posts other than All India Services and Central Services Class I, and vacancies should be filled in accordance with the order mentioned in the roster. If a sufficient number of candidates belonging to Scheduled Tribes is not forthcoming, the vacancies reserved for them should be filled by candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes.
- (viii) The Ministries of the Union Government and all appointing authorities have to submit returns in the prescribed form indicating whether the percentage of reservations was followed during the year.
- (ix) The policy of Government has been brought to the notice of the local bodies under the Ministries with a suggestion that wherever possible the Union Government's orders in regard to representation for Scheduled Tribes should be followed.

27.5. *Concessions*—The following concessions are allowed to the candidates from the Scheduled Tribes:—

- (a) The normal maximum age limit prescribed for appointment to the posts is relaxed by five years for Scheduled Tribe candidates, and the fees prescribed for admission to any examination or selection is reduced to one-fourth.
- (b) In the case of direct recruitment by examination, the Union Public Service Commission or other recruiting authority have full discretion to recommend Scheduled

Tribe candidates who may obtain a low place in the examination except where such authority considers that the minimum standard necessary for the maintenance of efficiency of administration is not reached. In these cases, the appointing authorities make necessary arrangements to give additional training and coaching to the recruits.

- (c) Where recruitment is made otherwise than by examination, the appointing authorities have discretion to select candidates from the Scheduled Tribes fulfilling a lower standard of suitability, so long as the candidate fulfils the prescribed minimum technical and educational qualifications and they are satisfied that the lowering of standards will not unduly affect the maintenance of administrative efficiency.
- (d) In order to increase the educational attainment of Scheduled Tribe candidates and to prepare them for competitive examinations for All India and Central Services, the Union Government have started a scheme for pre-examination training at the Allahabad University.

27.6. *Promotion*—There is no reservation for the Scheduled Tribes in regard to vacancies filled by promotion. Tribal officers, however, are given the following concessions:—

- (a) Where passing of tests or examinations have been laid down as a condition, the authority prescribing the rules for tests and examinations may issue suitable instructions to ensure that the standard of qualification required in respect of members of Scheduled Tribes is not unduly high.
- (b) Where promotion is made on the basis of seniority subject to fitness and in the case of promotion to selection posts, the cases of officers belonging to Scheduled Tribes should be judged in a sympathetic manner without applying too rigid a standard.

Cases of supersession of officers belonging to the Scheduled Tribes have to be reviewed at the highest level. The prior orders of the Minister or Deputy Minister have to be taken, if the supersession is in respect of appointments to Class I and Class II posts and a report has to be sent to the Minister or Deputy Minister concerned within a month of the decision, if the supersession relates to Class III and Class IV posts.

27.7. The following tables will show the progress in recruitment of members of Scheduled Tribes to the All India and Central Services. It will be seen that, though it will take some time to complete the reservation for the Scheduled Tribes, the number of such candidates in the All India Services is beginning to show a gradual increase. It is only by raising the educational qualifications of the candidates, thereby increasing their capacity for useful service, that quicker progress can be secured in their representation in Government services without detriment to public interest.

TABLE 53

Number of vacancies filled in the I.A.S. and I.P.S. during 1952—1960 on the results of competitive examinations and the number of Scheduled Tribe candidates appointed against vacancies reserved for them.

Year of appointment	Number of vacancies filled	Number of vacancies reserved for Scheduled Tribes	Number of Scheduled Tribe candidates actually appointed	Percentage of Col. 4 to Col. 3
1	2	3	4	5
INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE				
1952	38	1	..	..
1953	32	1	..	..
1954	42	2	..	..
1955	49	4	1	25
1956	57	4	1	25
1957	77	5	..	..
1958	64	6	..	..
1959	54	5	2	40
1960	73	5	5	100
Total ..	486	33	9	27 roughly
INDIAN POLICE SERVICE				
1952	39	1	..	..
1953	39	1	..	..
1954	44	2	..	..
1955	31	4	..	..
1956	44	4	1	25
1957	67	5	..	..
1958	34	4	2	50
1959	43	3	..	..
1960	48	4	..	..
Total ..	389	28	3	10.7

The above table will show that in the Indian Administrative Service, out of 486 vacancies filled up, 33 were reserved for tribals from 1952 to 1960 and 9, or roughly 27 per cent, have been appointed. What is significant, however, is that the percentage is going up and it was possible in 1960 to find the full quota. It may well be that in course of time the tribals may go beyond the reserved quota which is of course, entirely open to them to do. The situation in the Indian Police Service is, however, depressing and it is necessary to consider how to attract tribal candidates to it.

TABLE 54
Representation of Scheduled Tribes in the services of the Union Government for
the years 1956—1959

Service	1956			1957			1958			1959		
	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes employees	% of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes employees	% of Col. 6 to Col. 5	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes employees	% of Col. 9 to Col. 8	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes employees	% of Col. 12 to Col. 11
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
I	6,273	7	0.11	9,763	27	0.28	10,286	18	0.17	11,378	23	0.20
II	18,698	65	0.34	18,931	102	0.54	20,270	107	0.53	22,213	162	0.73
III	6,14,478	3,920	0.64	8,07,533	6,348	0.79	8,24,403	6,587	0.80	8,69,221	8,168	0.94
IV	6,81,381	17,556	2.58	9,64,294	22,771	2.36	9,10,134	23,786	2.61	9,24,336	27,227	2.95

We are giving this table with considerable hesitation because the people may not understand it properly. The number of employees shown in columns 2, 5, 8 and 11 of the table are not all new recruits, it is the total number of Government Servants in the employ of the Union Government. The significant point to be noted is that as against about 21,000 Scheduled Tribe Government employees under the Union Government in 1956, there were about 35,000 in 1959.

TABLE 55

Table showing Scheduled Tribes candidates appointed against reserved vacancies in the Ministries/Departments of the Union Government including Attached/Subordinate Offices during the years 1951—1957.

Class of post	Vacancies reserved for Scheduled Tribes	No. of candidates belonging to Scheduled Tribes appointed	Percentage of Column 3 to Column 2
1	2	3	4
Class I	264	14	5.3
Class II	412	49	11.89
Class III	20,782	3,190	15.3
Class IV	1,981	2,119	106.96

The above table shows that in Class IV services the Scheduled Tribes not only have made up their quota but have also participated in the general quota. Efforts have to be made to see that they do so in the other three classes also.

Policy of State Governments

27.8. *Andhra Pradesh*—The State Government has prescribed a reservation of 17 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (combined) in its services. Separate figures regarding the intake of Scheduled Tribes, however, are not available.

27.9. *Assam*—The State Government has reserved 10 per cent of the sanctioned posts for the plains tribals and 12 per cent for the hills tribals. Reserved vacancies which remain unfilled in any particular year are carried forward for one year and if they still remain unfilled they are treated as lapsed and are filled by other candidates.

27.10. *Bihar*—From 1953 onwards the State Government has been reserving for the Scheduled Tribes 10 per cent of those vacancies for which direct recruitment is made on a State basis. Vacancies in regional or local cadres, establishments and offices, to which appointments are made by an authority having only regional or local jurisdiction, e.g., Divisional Commissioners, District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police, are reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the following manner:—

- (i) Where the population of the Scheduled Tribes in an area exceeds 20 per cent of the total population, reservation is equal to half the percentage of the tribal population of the division, district, etc., i.e., if the tribal population is 30 per cent, the reservation will be 15 per cent.

- (ii) Where the tribal population is between 10 to 25 per cent the reservation will be 10 per cent.
- (iii) If the tribal population is less than 10 per cent, the reservation will be equal to the percentage of Scheduled Tribe population.

These rules are applicable to Class I, Class II and Class III posts only. In regard to Class IV posts the State Government has decided that in order to accelerate the representation of Scheduled Tribes, the reservation should be 20 per cent of the vacancies in the case of posts recruited on a State basis and in the case of local or regional recruitment the prescribed percentage should be doubled, while the percentage of Scheduled Tribes to the total population is over 10 per cent, the excess percentage should be added to the product to arrive at the percentage of reservation of Class IV posts. These rules do not apply to vacancies filled by promotion.

27.11. The State Government has furnished the following figures to show the progress made in the recruitment of the Scheduled Tribes in the State Services:—

TABLE 56

Class of posts	Total No. of posts sanctioned for the whole State	No. of posts reserved for Scheduled Tribes	No. of Scheduled Tribe candidates appointed to reserved posts	Percentage of Col. 4 to Col. 3	No. of Non-Scheduled Tribe candidates appointed to reserved posts	No. of reserved posts lying vacant
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Class I	498	49	3	6.1	46	..
Class II	5,046	504	111	22.02	393	..
Class III	93,502	9,350	5,040	53.14	4,310	..
Class IV	39,067	3,906	3,269	83.69	637	..

The Bihar Government informed the Commission that it is doing its best to improve the situation. It has even issued strict instructions that if a non-tribal is appointed to a vacancy reserved for a tribal the Finance Department will not accord sanction.

27.12. *Gujarat*—The Government of Gujarat presumably follows the order in force in the erstwhile State of Bombay. Reservation for Scheduled Tribes is 12½ per cent in Class III services. The following figures show the position:—

TABLE 57

Class of Service	Forest Dept.			Agriculture Dept.			Land Records			Revenue Dept.		
	Sanc- tioned stren- gth	Posts held by Schedul- ed Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Sanc- tioned stren- gth	Post held by Schedul- ed Tribes	Percent- age of col. 6 to col. 5	Sanc- tioned stren- gth	Post held by Schedul- ed Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 9 to Col. 8	Sanc- tioned stren- gth	Post held by Schedul- ed Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 12 to col. 11
..	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Class I (Gazetted)	21	..	..	32	..	..	2	..	..	29	11	3-45
Class II (Gazetted)	20	..	..	141	4	2-84	61	..	..	683	16	2-84
Class III	2,418	397	12-69	13,523	16	0-45	1,675	5	0-3	603	18	1-33
Class IV	587	23	3-92	1,402	103	7-35	499	22	4-4	..	..	..

27.13. *Madhya Pradesh*—The State Government has fixed the following reservation for members of the Scheduled Tribes in the public services of the State:

1. Class I and Class II posts 18 per cent
2. Class III and Class IV posts 20 per cent

The concessions granted to tribal candidates to increase their representation are relaxation of upper age limit by 5 years, and exemption from payment of application, registration and examination fees. In regard to promotion, the normal rules of merit and seniority apply. However, the cases of members of Scheduled Tribes are examined with a certain amount of sympathy. In the case of Class III and Class IV posts, if the recruitment in any particular year falls short of the percentage fixed, the deficiency is carried on to the next year. The State Government has prescribed periodical returns to be submitted by the appointing authorities. The position in regard to representation of Scheduled Tribes in various services of the State in 1958 was as follows:—

TABLE 58

Class of Service	No. of posts	No. of Scheduled Tribes	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2
1	2	3	4
1. (a) Class II permanent	2,164	6	0.28
(b) Class II temporary	1,376	2	0.15
2. (a) Class III permanent	67,700	1,379	2.03
(b) Class III temporary	46,913	878	1.01
3. (a) Class IV permanent	17,747	495	2.70
(b) Class IV temporary	14,607	1,467	10.00

27.14. *Madras*—The State Government has made a combined reservation of 16 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, whereas the reservation for Other Backward Classes is 25 per cent. Four vacancies in a cycle of 25 vacancies are reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the roster prepared by the State Government, if no qualified and suitable candidates are available in the turn allotted to Scheduled Tribe candidates, the turn lapses and the vacancy is filled by the next candidate in order of rotation. No account is taken of lapsed vacancies. The State Government has not maintained any separate figures for tribal employment.

27.15. *Maharashtra*—In the erstwhile State of Bombay, Government had reserved a percentage of posts in all services collectively for members of the “backward” classes. This was 12½ per cent for State Services and posts (Class I and II), 20 per cent for Class III services and posts and 25 per cent for Class IV services and posts. Under this arrangement the majority of the reserved posts went to the members of the Other Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes did not benefit. In January 1953, the State Government issued orders prescribing a separate reservation of 7 per cent in Class III services and 9 per cent in Class IV services for members of the Scheduled Tribes. The collective reservation of vacancies, however, continued in the case of “State (Gazetted) services and posts”. The Special Representation Orders, were also extended to local bodies, municipalities and district boards. As a result of States’ Reorganisation, separate orders are in force in the various regions of Maharashtra regarding the percentage of reservation for Scheduled Tribes in services and posts.

The concessions and facilities for Scheduled Tribes in the matter of recruitment to State services and posts are as follows:—

- (i) Relaxation of maximum age-limit by five years.
- (ii) Minimum educational qualifications and no additional qualifications.
- (iii) Scheduled Tribe candidates should not be retrenched *inter se* non-backward class personnel.
- (iv) Full or partial exemption from payment of examination fees, application fees, etc.
- (v) They can be sponsored by the Director of Backward Classes Welfare though not registered by the Employment Exchange.

The overall representation of Scheduled Tribes in Government services upto the end of 1959 is as shown below:—

TABLE 59

Service	Total No. of posts	Total No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2
1	2	3	4
Class I	787	1	0.1
Class II	3,496	7	0.2
Class III	1,63,345	3,419	2.1
Class IV	40,050	1,804	4.5

N.B.—This information relates to the erstwhile Bombay State.

The State Government made the following suggestions to increase the percentage of Scheduled Tribes recruitment:—

- (a) Bright tribal boys who pass the primary school certificate examination with more than 50 per cent. marks would form excellent material for recruitment to the ministerial and gazetted cadres. If they do not have facilities for further education in their home villages they should be placed in cosmopolitan hostels or in Government hostels where their expenditure should be borne by Government.
- (b) For a vast majority of the tribals, jobs in their own areas as primary school teachers, secretaries of village panchayats, co-operative institutions, dais and nurses are the most suitable. For recruitment to these posts, the primary school certificate is the minimum qualification and higher training is not necessary. The District Social Welfare Officer should have close liaison with the staff selection committee, school boards and revenue authorities to ensure that a certain number of tribal boys are recruited.
- (c) Tribals who are literate, i.e., who have passed the 4th standard examination but cannot continue their studies further, should be recruited as forest guards and police constables. If possible, the posts of forest guards should be almost exclusively reserved for tribals.
- (d) The machinery of the Social Welfare Department should be strengthened at headquarters, and also at the divisional and district levels to ensure that the employment targets for Scheduled Tribes are fulfilled.

27.16. *Orissa*—The State Government has laid down the following policy:—

- (i) 20 per cent. of vacancies in all services is reserved for Scheduled Tribes.
- (ii) The maximum age-limit for appointment to a post or service is relaxed by three years for gazetted posts and by five years for non-gazetted posts.
- (iii) The Scheduled Tribes candidates pay one-fourth of the fees normally prescribed for admission to any examination or selection.
- (iv) Until the desired percentage is reached, reservations in respect of Class III and Class IV posts have been raised to 50 per cent.
- (v) Roster arrangement for appointment of Scheduled Tribes is prescribed to ensure their proper consideration. The appointing authorities have been asked to report periodically the total number of posts in various cadres held by Scheduled Tribe officers, the number of vacancies occurring and the number of Scheduled Tribe officers appointed during the year.

The State Government has admitted that representation of the Scheduled Tribes in the services is below the prescribed percentage. It gave the following reasons:—

- (a) Suitable qualified candidates are not available, particularly for higher and technical posts.
- (b) As the tribals live in remote areas, they do not get proper information regarding vacancies which are ordinarily advertised in the local dailies.
- (c) Even when they know of the vacancies, they have no means to come for interview at their own expense.
- (d) In the case of Class III and Class IV services, the candidates are not coming for interview owing to their unwillingness to serve at places far away from their homes.

The district officers have, however, been instructed to enlist the names of suitable tribal candidates and to recommend them for suitable vacancies. These officers help them to register themselves in the Employment Exchanges and provision has been made in the budget to defray the journey expenses in order to enable them to appear at interviews.

The following table shows the position of representation of Scheduled Tribes in the State services in 1959:—

TABLE 60

Class	Total No. of sanctioned posts	No. of posts reserved for Scheduled Tribes	Total No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage of Col. 4 to Col. 3
1	2	3	4	5
I	220	44	..	..
II	1,654	351	4	1.1
III	25,401	12,700	1,724	13.5
IV	21,153	10,576	1,734	16

27.17. *Punjab*—The State Government has reserved 19 per cent of the vacancies in their services and posts for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes combined on the basis of their combined population. Separate figures for Scheduled Tribes are not maintained.

27.18. *Rajasthan*—There is no separate reservation for Scheduled Tribes. 12½ per cent of the posts are reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Separate figures are not maintained for the Scheduled Tribes. The State Government considers that the reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be separate.

27.19. *West Bengal*—The Government of West Bengal has reserved 5 per cent of the vacancies filled through direct recruitment for Scheduled Tribes subject to the availability of suitable candidates. Reservation does not apply to vacancies filled by promotion. Its experience is that a sufficient number of qualified candidates belonging to Scheduled Tribes is not forthcoming. The State Government consults the non-official organisations. The position regarding the intake of Scheduled Tribes in the State's services in the years 1957—60 is indicated in the following table:—



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TABLE 61

Number of Scheduled Tribes vis-a-vis the total number of employees as on the 28th February 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1960.

Class of Service	1957			1958			1959			1960		
	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 6 to Col. 5	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 9 to Col. 8	Total No. of employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes	Percent- age of Col. 12 to Col. 11
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Gazetted	3,178	4	0.13	3,173	5	0.15	3,338	6	0.18	3,651	6	0.16
Non-gazetted (Superior)	59,728	1,854	3.11	59,862	1,927	3.22	63,128	2,080	3.29	64,379	2,091	3.24
Non-Gazetted (Inferior)	9,309	116	1.25	9,532	125	1.31	10,367	129	1.24	12,048	150	1.25
				<i>Permanent Establishment</i>								
Gazetted	1,265	4	0.16	1,466	3	0.20	1,634	3	0.12	1,627	3	0.18
Non-Gazetted (Superior)	54,966	186	0.34	59,276	245	0.41	64,337	208	0.32	69,555	306	0.44
Non-gazetted (Inferior)	37,674	648	1.72	40,523	736	1.82	49,316	865	1.75	51,802	995	1.93
				<i>Temporary Establishment</i>								

The State Government has reduced the qualifications for tribal teachers. Tribals who have passed the 8th class can now be appointed as primary teachers but on reduced pay. The State Government has not been able to fill up even 5 per cent of the vacancies.

27.20. *Manipur*—5 per cent of Class I and II posts and 20 per cent of Class III and IV posts are reserved for Scheduled Tribes. The Administration has furnished the following figures :—

TABLE 62

Class of Posts	Total No. of posts sanctioned for the State as a whole	No. of posts reserved for Scheduled Tribes	No. of Scheduled Tribes appointed.	Percentage of Col. 5 to Col. 4	No. of non-Scheduled Tribes appointed to posts reserved for Scheduled Tribes	No. of posts reserved for Scheduled Tribes lying vacant
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Class I	41	2	5	250	..	..
Class II	215	11	38	345	..	..
Class III	3,065	613	375	61	129	108
Class IV	2,599	520	638	122	..	..

27.21. Progress in regard to representation of Scheduled Tribes in the various services and posts under the Union Government and the State Governments is slow, indeed very slow, though in recent years some improvement is noticeable. The Union Government on their part have not only issued instructions but are also following them up systematically by prescribing a regular procedure. The working of this procedure is also reviewed periodically when bottlenecks, which are brought to their notice, are removed. They have also been impressing on the State Governments the need for effective implementation and follow up. Some of the State Governments like Bihar, have issued elaborate instructions and are following them up. In other States the follow-up is either defective or non-existent.

Views of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

27.22. In his Ninth Report (1959-60), the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes observed that there is a gradual improvement in the representation of Scheduled Tribes for the All India and Central Services. The shortfall in the selection of tribal candidates in the Central and State Services is due to the

lack of suitable candidates. Scheduled Tribe candidates possessing requisite educational qualifications do not fare well in the written examination and *viva-voce*. In order to overcome these shortcomings, it is desirable that coaching classes or refresher courses on the pattern of the pre-examination training centre opened by the Union Government at Allahabad should be started for other Central and State Services.

Views of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha

27.23. The Estimates Committee suggested that a more concerted effort should be made to ensure proper implementation of the rules and orders issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs for increasing the intake of Scheduled Tribe candidates in the Central Services and posts so that the prescribed percentage is filled within a reasonable period of time. The Union Government have taken steps in furtherance of this recommendation. Certain important measures like special coaching and training facilities for Scheduled Tribes have been taken in hand. A liaison officer has been nominated in each Ministry whose function is to pay particular attention to the special representation of Scheduled Tribes in its services and the offices under it. Another recommendation made by the Estimates Committee to improve the representation of Scheduled Tribes in Class IV posts was that Government should consider the desirability of having some representatives of non-official agencies on the Selection Boards. The Union Government were unable to accept this recommendation.

Non-officials' Opinion

27.24. Non-official witnesses and social workers who gave evidence before the Commission stated that there were tribals who had passed the matriculation and even higher examinations but had not been properly absorbed in the services. They mentioned that for posts in the Scheduled Areas people from the plains with minimum qualifications had been recruited when tribals with the same qualifications were available locally. The suggestion was made that certain jobs where only minimum educational qualifications were necessary, such as forest guards, watchmen and so on, should be given to the tribals. Similarly, posts of peons, clerks, etc. should also be reserved for them if they satisfy the minimum educational requirements. In Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, they complained against the combined reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, on the ground that under this arrangement all the reserved posts are being monopolised by the Scheduled Castes. In Bihar the complaint was that outsiders had been appointed even in the remotest villages on jobs which could be managed by the tribals. A suggestion was made that the percentage of reservation for tribals should be increased to 60 and that the upper age limit and educational qualifications should be relaxed. The non-officials from Madhya Pradesh suggested that the qualifications prescribed should be lowered in order to attract more Scheduled Tribe candidates in the lower category of posts in the services. In Orissa a suggestion was made by the non-officials that the tribals

should be employed in greater numbers in community development projects and in gram panchayats. A tribal who has read up to the VII class, according to them, can easily run a panchayat.

Commission's Views

27.25. In Bihar and other places it was represented to the Commission that in the matter of recruitment to the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs, the Scheduled Tribes were not being appointed in proportion to their population. It was pointed out that the combined reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had operated to the detriment of the tribals. It is very likely that in the recruitment made to the Posts and Telegraphs and the Railways on an all-India basis, the policy of the Union Government is followed but that in regard to local recruitment made by the Railways there may be variation. We have not been able to verify the correctness or otherwise of these complaints.

27.26. There was also a complaint that inadequate representation was given to the tribals in recruitment to the Central and State undertakings in the public sector. The Union Government's policy is quite clear on the subject but it is likely that in this, as in other matters, there is imperfect implementation. We would bring this to the notice of the Union Government so that suitable instructions may be issued to the authorities in-charge of public undertakings.

27.27. The All India and Central Services, for which recruitment is made on an all-India basis, require higher educational qualifications and until education has progressed sufficiently amongst the tribals it will not be possible for them to take full advantage of the reservation made in these Services in their favour. Greater facilities in education and other fields have been extended to the tribal students and as we have already seen, there is a gradual improvement in the situation. If the policy is pursued further with the same vigour and speed as at present, the representation of Scheduled Tribes in the higher services will improve appreciably in the next ten years.

27.28. The picture is not reassuring in other branches of the services, whether under the Union Government or the States. They have not been able to explain satisfactorily the slow progress in the implementation of their orders. The usual justification put forward is that the Scheduled Tribe candidates who fulfil the prescribed qualifications and were suitable otherwise, are not available in sufficient numbers and that in respect of Class III and Class IV staff, tribal candidates are reluctant to serve away from their homes. There has been slackness on the part of the governments to devise a proper procedure which would ensure adequate intake of tribal candidates. In the following paragraphs we have attempted to locate and analyse the causes for the slow progress and suggest remedies.

27.29. We noticed that in some of the States notably, Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Punjab, Rajasthan and to a certain extent in Maharashtra, there is a combined reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Consequently, the majority of the reserved posts are filled by members of the Scheduled Castes. Non-officials

in Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Rajasthan pressed for a separate percentage for Scheduled Tribes. The State Governments seem to admit that the arrangements require to be reviewed.

27.30. It may be mentioned that the Union Government had occasion to consider this point in 1952 and they had issued the following instructions to the State Governments:—

“The Government of India have examined the point whether under the Constitution of India it is obligatory on the Union and State Governments to make separate provision for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the matter of representation in the public services and if so, whether the reservation should be made separately for each of these two categories. The Government of India have been advised that while it is not obligatory as a constitutional necessity to make reservations in the public services separately for the Scheduled Castes and for the Scheduled Tribes, such reservation should, as far as possible, be made as a matter of convention. This is desirable if the Government were to carry out the spirit of the obligations imposed on them under Articles 16(4) and 335 of the Constitution in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.”

The State Governments were accordingly asked to review their orders relating to reservation in respect of services under their control so as to provide separate reservation for the Scheduled Tribes.

27.31. We feel that the attention of the State Governments should be drawn to this matter again and they should be requested to fix a separate percentage for Scheduled Tribes for all the State Services.

27.32. The second question relates to the efficiency of administration. We feel that the quality of public services is important when it is a question of recruitment to Class I and Class II services and posts. In regard to Class III and Class IV services, where the work is more or less mechanical, it is only a question of picking up the routine. It seems, therefore, that it should be possible to recruit tribal candidates satisfying the normal qualifications for Class III and Class IV posts, arrange for their in-service training, so that they may pick up the routine as quickly as possible.

27.33. We have also considered the question whether the quota of representation should be fixed differently for different services and posts. It seems to us that this will be necessary since the tribals will take a long time to reach the graduation point and even then the number of graduates will be far below the required number. In regard to Class I and technical posts, tribal candidates with the requisite qualifications may not be available. Hence from the point of view of availability of tribal candidates with the requisite qualifications, it will take a long time before they can fill up the percentage in Class I and Class II services and posts. Naturally, therefore, if the quota is to be made up in the initial stages, the quota for appointment to Class III and Class IV will have to be proportionately higher. This will be in the interest of the tribals because they will find

immediate opportunities for absorption with the qualifications they possess though at the lower level in the beginning. We find that the Government of Orissa has prescribed a higher percentage of reservation in Class III and Class IV services, namely, 50 per cent. *We would commend this experiment for the consideration of the other States.*

27.34. There are particular classes of service, for instance, forest guards in the Forest Department, primary teachers, dais, nurses and gram sevikas, secretaries of village Panchayats, where because of the habitation factor it will be more convenient for the tribals to work in those departments. For recruitment to these posts the minimum qualification is the primary school certificate and higher training is not necessary. In these cases it is only a question of placement. The percentage of reservation in such departments can be different from the percentage of reservation in other departments. This point was stressed by the non-official witnesses who appeared before us in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and other States. We would, therefore, suggest that while the overall percentage of reservation should continue at the figure already fixed, the State Governments may study the question with reference to the local conditions, so that a higher percentage of reservation in certain categories of services and in certain departments may be fixed. This will go a long way in ensuring that the tribals get adequate representation in the services within the shortest possible time.

27.35. Representations were made to the Commission that with the progress of democratic decentralisation and introduction of Panchayati Raj in the States, Municipalities, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads will come more and more under democratic control and there was a great risk that the interests of the Scheduled Tribes in regard to representation in the services under these institutions may not receive that attention that is required. The apprehension of the tribals was noticed in the suggestion made to us that the State Governments should instruct all the local authorities like the Municipalities, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads to follow the policy laid down by the State Governments in regard to representation of Scheduled Tribes in services. *We feel that this apprehension is not without basis and would commend the suggestion for the acceptance of the States.*

27.36. During the course of our tours we were repeatedly asked by tribal representatives whether it was fair to expect the tribal candidates, who had not had the benefit of opportunities or contacts on the scale the other candidates had, to appear in the Public Service Commission tests on the same footing. Non-official witnesses also generally lent their support to this argument. We notice that this point was considered by the Union Government in 1955 when they decided that no useful purpose would be served by holding separate examinations for Scheduled Tribe candidates and that entry into the public services should be through a common door, otherwise there was the danger of the tribal candidates being branded as inferior. We have not been able to follow this argument. If it was a question of the level of education, it would be a different matter. But the tribal student is prepared to accept the primary test of a minimum educational qualification and he pleads that he is

working under a disadvantage owing to his isolation. It is from that point of view only that he is asking for a separate examination. We do not know where the argument of inferiority comes in and whether this aspect of the matter has been considered by the Union Government. While we do not want to fetter their discretion in the matter, we feel that in determining their policy of recruitment this aspect requires consideration. *Viva Voce* tests are conducted by persons who may not have adequate knowledge of the conditions in the tribal areas and, therefore, the handicaps under which the tribal is working, and in our opinion, this is one of the causes for deficiency in recruitment.

It has been represented that the Scheduled Tribes candidates are lacking in general knowledge and consequently do not fare well in the *viva voce* tests for Class I and Class II Services. If they are given some coaching and pre-examination training, it would assist them to get into the higher services. We feel that there is some force in this suggestion. The Union Government have already taken steps to start such coaching and pre-examination training centres. We suggest that similar coaching and pre-examination centres for tribals be opened by the State Governments.

Promotion

27.37. It was urged before the Commission that there should be reservation for Scheduled Tribes in regard to posts filled by promotion. Such reservation does not exist at present and it does not seem necessary to modify the existing orders. The claims of tribal candidates for promotion will be adequately met by the instructions already issued. These provide that, where the passing of tests is a condition precedent to promotion, the authority prescribing the rules may issue suitable instructions to ensure that the standard of qualification for members of the Scheduled Tribes is not unduly high. This should meet the legitimate aspirations of the tribal candidates consistently with the requirements of administrative efficiency. Secondly, in the case of promotion on the basis of seniority subject to fitness, officers belonging to the Scheduled Tribes are to be judged in a sympathetic manner without applying too rigid a test. These instructions, however, apply only in regard to services and posts under the Union Government and we are not aware of the position obtaining in the States. We suggest that the Union Government may bring these instructions to the notice of the State Governments for their consideration and adoption.

Review of Cases of Supersession

27.38. It will be seen from paragraph 27.6 above that the existing orders of the Union Government already prescribe that cases of supersession of officers belonging to Scheduled Tribes should be reviewed at the highest level. We do not consider it necessary that the Public Service Commission should be brought into the picture except in cases of promotion from Class II to Class I. In these cases, the rules already provide reference to the Public Service Commission. The existing orders, therefore, sufficiently safeguard the interest of the tribal officers and there is no need to amend them. We would,

however, suggest that the State Governments may take steps to issue similar instructions and orders in respect of services and posts under their control.

Other Suggestions

27.39. We have a few other suggestions to make in regard to the representation of Scheduled Tribes in the services :—

- (i) At the moment, if a vacancy reserved for a Scheduled Tribe is not filled owing to the non-availability of a suitable candidate, the vacancy is kept open for a period of two years. We would suggest that, whatever the period for which the vacancy may be kept open, if the State Government can get a candidate who is near enough the prescribed qualification, he may be given coaching for a time, re-examined and recruited if he is found to have made satisfactory progress.
- (ii) The existing orders of the Union Government which permit the appointment of Scheduled Caste candidates in the vacancies reserved for Scheduled Tribes, where suitable qualified Scheduled Tribe candidates are not available, should, in our opinion, be rescinded. The presence of such a permissive order makes for the complacency. The recruiting authorities should make all possible efforts to find the Scheduled Tribe candidates.
- (iii) The relaxation of the age-limit in regard to Gazetted and non-Gazetted posts is quite sufficient in our opinion, but there are States where this has not been done. We feel that this rule should be made applicable uniformly throughout the States.
- (iv) In the case of local recruitment, there should be on the Selection Committee somebody who can look after the interests of the tribals. The Tribal Welfare Officers in the district or the sub-division can be associated with the Selection Board.
- (v) Adequate publicity should be given in the tribal areas about reserved vacancies. Social agencies could be used to spread this information. Publicity should not be confined merely to newspapers as many of the tribals live in inaccessible areas. Other means of publicity should be devised and checked periodically.
- (vi) The rule that a name must be registered with the Employment Exchange before appointments are made, should not be binding in the case of the tribal candidates because they cannot be expected to maintain contact with it.
- (vii) Arrangements should be made to pay some allowance to a tribal candidate, who is expected to appear before the recruiting authority at his headquarters if this is at a distance from his normal place of residence. This has been done in Orissa and might be followed by other States.

- (viii) It is necessary that a roster of appointments on the Bihar model or on the lines of the instructions issued by the Union Government should be maintained and this should be made obligatory for all categories of services and in all the Departments. Periodical checks should be made to find out if, at every stage, proper care is being taken to ensure recruitment of Scheduled Tribe candidates against posts reserved for them.

Conclusion

27.40. We have surveyed the position and made some suggestions to improve the existing representation of Scheduled Tribes in services and posts under the Union Government and the State Governments. The Constitution places an obligation on them to take all possible steps to give adequate representation to the Scheduled Tribes in their services and posts. This is not only warranted by the size of the tribal population, but is also necessary to give them a sense of confidence and thus bring them close to the rest of the people. The tribals will judge the Government not by its constitutional obligations or its intentions but by the active steps taken to make the safeguards a reality. From the tribal point of view we should confess to a feeling that the performance of the States has not been adequate. We feel, therefore, that if the State Governments can adopt some of the measures suggested by us to improve the intake of the Scheduled Tribe candidates in the services, it will go a long way to remove the misgivings of the tribals.



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CHAPTER 28

ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL TRIBAL COUNCILS

In this chapter, to avoid confusion we will speak of the traditional tribal bodies as Councils and the statutory bodies as Panchayats. If we are to do justice to the institution of the traditional Tribal Councils we shall not be able to do so by casting merely a cursory glance at them as they exist today. Examined from the modern or western point of view they may have significance, in-so-far as they reflect some of the characteristics of modern democratic institutions. We shall have to assess their role in a different perspective. In the first instance it would be advisable to look at these councils in the background of the history of the society which gave birth to them. Secondly, we have to think of the purpose for which they were created by the society. If they are examined in that light, we shall have a fuller idea about the role they played and the context in which they played it. Their functions in many places were primarily to decide social and religious matters in the light of their customary laws and, in some areas, to determine judicial matters also, on the basis of the consent of the people as a whole, just as the functions of the Panchayats in the plains were to deal with social and economic matters coming before the rural community on the basis of consent of the people of the village as a whole.

28.2. This does not mean that the tribal councils did not decide economic questions just as the plains Panchayats did not decide religious questions. These came before them incidentally as part of their social responsibilities. As a matter of fact, Indian society has functioned on the basis of an integrated approach to all the problems of life, never taking an extreme position. The effort on the part of the Panchayats used to be to evolve harmony in all these spheres of life.

28.3. In a word there was a continuous attempt to express in the life of the tribal community through action what the Prime Minister has put in the following beautiful words:—

“The real problems for me remain problems of individual and social life, of harmonious living, of proper balancing of an individual’s inner and outer life, of an adjustment of relations between individuals and between groups, of a continuous becoming something better and higher, of social development, of the ceaseless adventure of man”.

28.4. Students from the West naturally will be surprised at this effort at harmony. Marx and Engels expressed their surprise by asking “How does it come about that the orientals do not arrive at landed property even in its feudal form?” In the ‘Capital’ Marx hailed that the extremely ancient Indian communities are based on possession in common of the land, on the blending of agriculture and handicrafts, and on an unalterable division of labour.¹

28.5. The old Panchayats of India were not elected bodies. Everybody participated in the discussions. Every adult person had an equal right to argue and put forth any question. The decision was taken by the elders, who were called Panchas. They were selected on no rigid formula. Heredity was often the basis. But many times, character and the personal life of an individual elevated him to this coveted position. However, what is worth noting is that the decisions of the Panchas were not arbitrary. They had to go by the consensus of the general opinion. As we will see, the modern Tribal Councils are very similar to the ancient Panchayats.

28.6. Villages in ancient India were able to attain such a decisive importance in the administrative machinery mainly because of the close unity in which the people were knit together through the Panchayat institution, and the consciousness of the people about their duties along with rights and sense of justice. The Panchayats did not work it out all scientifically. It was also a question of common sense and wisdom of the people, some idea of fairplay as also the confidence in their Panchayats on the part of the people in the village.

28.7. The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss the respective roles of the traditional Councils and the statutory village Panchayats. The State Governments and Administration of the Union Territories are vying with one another in the rapid expansion of the Panchayati Raj institution. There appears to be a unanimity of opinion that these village Panchayats should, not merely be the administrative unit, but also be the medium for the developmental activities of the village. This is in accordance with Article 40, which says that:

“The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government”.

Conditions throughout India

28.8. The decision of their councils is law to the tribals. The sanction behind it is both necessity and faith; necessity because in those far-flung areas, social equilibrium and stability have to be maintained by some responsible agency and the Council is that agency; faith because with the tribals their social customs and religious rites are the essence of their existence.

28.9. We have received some information from the States about the condition of the tribal councils in their areas. It may be said that throughout the whole of tribal India every substantial village has some kind of machinery for settlement of social and religious disputes. Sometimes this machinery has grown a little rusty and it may be difficult to start it working again with full efficiency. In some cases, as in NEFA where the tribal councils function within the general framework of the Assam Frontier and Administration of Justice Act (Regulation of 1945), the councils are powerful and are working with considerable success in both the development and

judicial fields. Nagaland has recognised Village Councils, Range Councils and Tribal Councils which have wide powers to deal with administrative and development matters and with cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages. The same may be said for the hill tribal areas of Assam generally, while in the hill areas of Manipur the tribal councils have long been recognised, and any change in their constitution (such as introduction of the elective principle) has been strongly resisted by the tribals.

28.10. *Assam*—Statutory village Panchayats have been constituted in some villages in the Autonomous Districts of Assam. Where, however, such Panchayats could not be constituted, the traditional village Darbars have been recognised as such. Both these types of institutions work under the District Councils. They enjoy to a large extent autonomy in the administration of the tribal areas according to their tribal way of life and customary law. They attend without any restrictions to social and religious matters and exercise limited judicial and revenue powers under the control of the respective District Councils.

28.11. *Bihar*—In the Santhal Parganas, for every tribal village there is a village council which is presided over by a Majhi. The village council gives its decision on all important matters, on the disputes in the village and levies penalties against the defaulters.

In the Chhota Nagpur area where the Munda Manki system has been in vogue for a long time, the Mundas exercise considerable influence over the tribal community. They even now are entrusted with the work of collection of revenue. These institutions attend to the religious and social affairs of the tribals.

28.12. *Gujarat*—Groups of small villages have tribal Panchayats which have considerable influence over the tribals. They usually deal with social matters.

28.13. *Madhya Pradesh*—Every tribal community has its own Panchayat organisation which is comparatively stronger in the more inaccessible tracts but is weakening in areas where non-tribal influence has been increasing.

28.14. *Maharashtra*—The conditions of existing tribal institutions vary from region to region. The general pattern is that there is a council of elders which has a supreme voice in socio-religious matters.

28.15. *Orissa*—There are 62 tribal communities in the State each having a separate social organisation. In some areas these traditional Panchayats undertake judicial, socio-religious and developmental functions, but they are generally becoming less effective.

28.16. *Punjab*—The most distinctive institution in Lahaul and Spiti is the monastery which is the product both of the Lama system and of the social and economic set up of the Scheduled Tribes in these areas particularly in Spiti. Their hold, however, is not as strong as it used to be in the past. The monastery has both a social and religious purpose. Another traditional institution in Spiti is the *Nono* who holds his office on a hereditary basis. The *Nono* has always been vested with certain criminal and civil powers.

28.17. *Rajasthan*—Except for social and religious matters, the traditional tribal Panchayats do not perform any other function. It is felt that they do not have enough vitality left to grow into a useful instrument of village development.

28.18. *West Bengal*—Among the tribes like Santal, Munda, etc. traditional councils exist even now but in many areas they are not effective at present. These councils settle disputes relating to conubial and commensal restrictions, rights and obligations of the family members, inheritance, etc. They also control performance of village festivals.

28.19. *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*—Each village in Nicobar group of islands inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes has a village council. They are live institutions with age-long traditions.

28.20. *Himachal Pradesh*—The tribal councils are languishing.

28.21. *Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands*—No tribal institutions exist.

Panchayati Raj

28.22. *Objectives*—As a result of the Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, it has been recognised that the Panchayats should be strengthened not only for sustained development activities but for the effective functioning of democracy itself. Statutory Panchayats, therefore, have been or are being constituted in the rural areas. In some areas, Panchayats in some form or other with varying degrees of powers already existed. They were re-constituted under the new scheme. As stated earlier, the ideal of Panchayati Raj has been accepted and is spreading fast. The following account about their progress will give a picture as it emerges today.

28.23. *Progress in the States*—Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh are the pioneers of the Panchayati Raj idea. Assam and Mysore have introduced the scheme in their respective States. Madras has completed the first phase of its programme of setting up Panchayat Samities in 75 Blocks. Elections have already been held in Punjab for constituting Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads. The Committees appointed by the State Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat to recommend the form of Panchayati Raj have already submitted their recommendations. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has already introduced legislation while in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Kerala, legislation is about to be introduced.

28.24. The functions of the Statutory Panchayats are broadly speaking administrative, economic and social. Amongst the administrative functions are included watch and ward, control and regulation of fairs, markets, slaughter-houses, grazing grounds and village farm lands and functions pertaining to sanitation and health. Amongst the economic functions are included functions relating to development of agriculture, irrigation, conservation, improvement of agricultural techniques, promotion of cottage industries and development of animal husbandry. Amongst social functions are included education, and recreation, maternity and child welfare. *We would recommend in addition that for the tribals, one more function of Panchayats or councils should be in relation to forests.*

28.25. The Panchayats have varied sources of income including share in land revenue, cess on agricultural lands, occupation cess, market rates and cesses on fairs and a few other cesses. As in the case of the functions of Statutory Panchayats all these sources of income are problematical in the tribal areas. The major burden of financing the Panchayats will naturally fall upon the State.

28.26. Though it is a fact that a large number of Panchayats has not yet reached that level of efficiency which is expected of them, the institution as such has started functioning on the desired lines in the non-tribal areas. It has been introduced on a large scale also in the tribal areas, and it remains to be seen how far it will succeed there.

28.27. We feel at the same time that it is of great importance, in order that the foundations of tribal life should not be destroyed, that the tribal councils should not disappear. They should be revived where they are weak and encouraged where they are strong. They have evolved naturally out of the conditions of life in the tribal areas and they command a ready allegiance from the people, who are naturally more willing to co-operate with institutions which have an established position among them through long usage and convention.

Recommendations

28.28. It is not easy to offer recommendations which will be applicable everywhere, for conditions vary so greatly from place to place, but *we may suggest broadly that—*

- (i) *In areas where the population is mixed, and where the tribal people do not preponderate and the tribal councils have virtually fallen into disuse or have little authority, every effort should be made to revive them, so that they can work alongside the Statutory Panchayats and settle their own religious and social affairs. In the rules of the Statutory Panchayats there should be certain safeguards to protect the interests of the tribal minority.*
- (ii) *In all homogeneous tribal areas such as Nagaland, NEFA, the Autonomous Hills Districts of Assam, the hill areas of Manipur and suitable areas which are already Scheduled, where the tribal councils are strong and alive, we may take advantage of the provisions in the Panchayat Acts whereby the Governor can exempt a specific area or areas from the operation of the Act. It will not be necessary to introduce new Statutory Panchayats in such places but a serious attempt should be made to develop the existing councils and gradually transfer to them all the powers of the Statutory Panchayats, ultimately recognising them as such.*
- (iii) *In other tribal areas, where there is a mixed population, wherever tribal councils are active and have some authority among the tribal people, they should be encouraged and developed to function side by side with the Statutory Panchayats. There need not be any clash of status or function between these two bodies—the traditional councils will be concerned mainly with social and religious matters,*

and the Statutory Panchayats which are predominantly political organisations with administration and development.

- (iv) If the traditional tribal councils are weakened, the fabric of tribal life will also be weakened. We do not, therefore, contemplate the submerging of these traditional councils under the impact of the new Panchayats. It is essential that the tribal people should decide how they will manage their own lives in social and religious matters.
- (v) The principle of election has to be explained to the tribals. They should be free to moderate the principle of election with a view to avoid internal frictions.
- (vi) The Statutory Panchayats should take advantage of the influence of the traditional councils in the matter of development activity. We have no doubt that if approached in a proper spirit tribal councils will lend their full weight in furthering the objectives of development.
- (vii) The programmes for development of the village should always be prepared by the Statutory Panchayats in consultation with the tribal councils.
- (viii) Just at a time when we are suggesting very far-reaching measures to combat exploitation in the Scheduled and tribal areas, we recommend that provision should be made to protect tribal interests in the Statutory Panchayats. Wherever a Statutory Panchayat is instituted in a tribal village, rules should be made to ensure that a fair proportion of the members comes from the tribal groups.
- (ix) The tribal councils, even where the Statutory Panchayats exist side by side, may be given various aspects of development work and the management of ordinary or forest co-operatives, and they should be encouraged to settle village and inter-village disputes without having resort to the ordinary courts.
- (x) It will not be possible for either the traditional councils or the Statutory Panchayats to raise revenues or levy cesses and taxes for some time. No hurried effort should be made to earn revenues. By and by as the economy and the consciousness develops, cesses and taxes may be gradually introduced.

28.29. The tribal councils have great potentialities, Established in history and tradition, supported by social and religious sanctions, expression of a genuine democracy representing the co-operative and communal temperament of the people, they can be used not only to maintain the foundation of the tribal institutions but also to further the progress of development throughout the tribal areas.

CHAPTER 29

SURVEY, RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

We have in the foregoing chapters referred to the need for surveys, both general and special, in relation to the subjects discussed by us. We would not like to repeat what we have already said; nor is it necessary to expatiate on the need and usefulness of such surveys. In this chapter we propose to examine the subject of survey from four different angles—

- (1) From the point of view of fulfilment of the package programme we have discussed in chapter 8 of the Report;
- (2) the special surveys needed in relation to education, health and economic development of the tribal areas;
- (3) the impact on the tribals of the development schemes undertaken in their areas; and
- (4) the removal of deficiencies that have been noticed in the surveys undertaken so far.

Rapid Sample Surveys

29.2. We shall first of all deal with the fulfilment of the programme for the development of the tribal areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes on the lines we have suggested in chapter 8. We realise the need for proper surveys. We also realise that in order to have a proper survey we should have really competent personnel with necessary resources and reasonable time at their disposal. We are, however, clear that implementation of the development schemes cannot wait till all these are found. We have suggested the speeding up of the developmental activities to save the administration and the people from undertaking long enquiries about the criteria for continuing or adding to the Scheduled Areas or de-Scheduling the areas and also for accelerating the pace of progress so that the economic gap between the tribal areas and the non-tribal areas does not expand. *We feel that for this purpose some special arrangements will have to be made for rapid sample surveys of selected tribal areas and completed within a reasonable time. Such surveys should concentrate on certain items, collect the data in relation to them and also find out the conveniences available locally which would enable the Government to carry out the programme within the time limit fixed. The emphasis should be upon rapid sample survey of representative tribal areas and not on detailed elaborate surveys of all the tribals in the entire State.*

29.3. *A similar survey should be conducted in a selected adjoining non-scheduled area so as to assess the disparity existing between the tribals and the non-tribals and the comparative backwardness between the tribal area and the non-tribal area. The survey should also indicate the leeway to be made up. These surveys should be confined to the selected items and will have to be done from the point of view of practical discharge of the responsibilities rather than of academic study.*

29.4. The sample survey should be exhaustive enough to present a correct picture of the selected tribal and non-tribal areas and facilitate the preparation of development plans in relation to the items mentioned in chapter 8. We have attempted to indicate the scope of the proposed survey in Appendix XIV. This should not be taken as exhaustive but is only illustrative and may be extended or curtailed according to the needs of the area.

29.5. To facilitate the completion of this work within the specified period, it should be possible to associate University students in this work though the primary responsibility of completing the work by the prescribed date should be that of the State Government. The Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, with the help of some of the students, conducted a very useful socio-economic survey of the Tribal Development Block, Khedbrahma, within a very short period. The association of Universities and Research Institutes in the proposed surveys would be useful and will expedite the work.

Special Surveys

29.6. *In addition to the sample survey or surveys of representative tribal areas and the tribal groups, we would suggest that the State Governments conduct specific surveys in relation to specific problems facing specific areas. Special surveys involve technical knowledge of the subject as well as the science of statistics. Naturally this work will have to be entrusted to persons who are qualified to undertake such surveys. Therefore, though the responsibility of conducting such surveys would rest with the State Government, these surveys should, as far as possible, be carried out through the Bureaus of Economics and Statistics, Universities, Tribal Research Institutes and Institutes like the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and similar other non-official agencies qualified to do this work. The State Governments, of course, should render them all possible help and financial assistance.*

29.7. One of the deficiencies that we have noticed in connection with such special surveys is that the results are not published immediately after the completion of the work and the delay creates difficulties in ascertaining to what extent the data collected from such surveys and the recommendations made by them would be applicable to the particular area in relation to the particular problem. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that the survey reports should be published immediately they are submitted.

29.8. As scientific survey is a condition precedent to the planning of the development programme, so evaluation is a necessity for ascertaining its data and suggesting improvement needed in the programme. Evaluation has always to be done having regard to the objectives of the programme. It should present a balanced picture of achievements and deficiencies, the reasons for the success and the causes for the failures, if any. It should be objective. The data should be collected according to scientific principles. Intrusion of subjective elements into the analysis and formation of conclusions on a subjective basis should be avoided.

29.9. For the reasons stated above evaluation has always to be done by an agency which, as far as possible, is capable of taking an objective view. It should not be an agency in charge of implementation of the programme. Of course, the implementing agency may, i

it so desires, undertake surveys from the point of view of self-evaluation. These can only be in the form of periodical reports of assessment. This evaluation, however, has its own limitations as it cannot always be free from subjective element. We have observed that the tribal welfare programmes have not been evaluated so far by an objective agency of the character mentioned above.

29.10. In their zeal to evaluate the programme it has been observed that evaluating agencies sometimes are carried away by a mood of criticism which results in producing a feeling of disappointment amongst the workers and other participants. The evaluating agencies should take into account the special difficulties in the implementation of the programme in the tribal areas. Sometimes it so happens that evaluating agencies find themselves at sea for lack of data or material from the executive agencies. This raises a feeling of unnecessary doubt in the minds of the evaluating agencies and in the general public. Co-operation between the two agencies will not only dispel any such doubt, but also create an atmosphere of confidence even though deficiencies and shortcomings are pointed out.

Surveys about the Impact of Welfare Programmes

29.11. There is hardly a survey which gives an idea about the impact of the various development programmes upon the tribal people. There have been surveys on various aspects of tribal life and sometimes about the tribal economy. But the problems that loom large for the tribals are the problems of rights on land, rights in forests, exploitation by money-lenders, the reaction on the tribal life of industrialisation, and health, education and communication problems. It is the concern of the Union Government as well as the State Governments to enlist the co-operation of the Universities and other public bodies to find out the impact of the development schemes on the tribal people.

Research

29.12. *Need for Research*—Welfare programmes for Scheduled Tribes should be in consonance and harmony with their way of life. This requires first-hand information regarding their culture, religion and the way of life so that the development programme can be adjusted to the tribals' needs and aspirations. Thus research into these aspects of tribal life is an essential pre-requisite for effective planning. Such research has several aspects. First, the collection of basic information regarding social organisation and economy of a tribe—its livelihood pattern, arts or handicrafts practised, its language, condition of its health, dietics, etc. This will give not only the factual and statistical information but also help in the formulation of schemes with a tribal bias. Secondly, it is necessary to find out the economic potential of the area and how local talent and resources can be combined to develop tribal economy and raise the standard of life of the tribals. Thirdly, an assessment of the welfare measures undertaken from the point of view of physical targets and the measures for acceleration of the progress of such schemes. And lastly to study the effect of such schemes on the personality of tribals to gauge how far the development programme has helped the process of integration of the tribals with the rest of the population.

29.13. *Existing Facilities*—At present the research in tribal welfare/anthropology is conducted in some form or the other by the following agencies:—

- (1) Government agencies:
 - (i) Cultural Research Institutes,
 - (ii) Department of Anthropology of the Union Government.
 - (iii) Research Department, NEFA.
- (2) Other Agencies:
 - (i) Universities.
 - (ii) Non-official organisations.

The main agencies in the field of research in tribal welfare are the Cultural Research Institutes/Tribal Research Bureaus set up in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal by the State Governments.

29.14. The following is a brief account of the activities of some of these research institutes:—

(a) *Bihar*—The Tribal Research Institute, Bihar, was started at Ranchi during 1954 with the primary object of carrying out researches on customs, languages and pattern of social behaviour among the tribal population of Bihar with the idea of helping the Government in the formulation of welfare measures. The Institute has a museum and a library. The Institute conducted socio-economic studies on various tribes—like the Pahariyas, Kumarbhag, Birhors and Asurs in the Districts of Santhal Parganas and Ranchi. The Institute conducted socio-economic surveys of:

- (i) Sauria Paharia and Mal Paharia of Santhal Parganas,
- (ii) Hos of Revenue Villages of Saranda Division in the District of Singhbhum,
- (iii) Asurs of the Pat Areas of Ranchi District and Tana Bhagats of Ranchi District.

An orientation centre for providing training to the staff connected with the welfare activities for Scheduled Tribes is attached to the Institute.

(b) *Madhya Pradesh*—The Tribal Research Institute, Madhya Pradesh, was started in April, 1954 to conduct socio-economic surveys and undertake studies on tribal life. The Institute has so far conducted socio-economic surveys of Abujmarh area in Bastar District and Barwani (Nimar) and Tamia (Chhindwara) Tribal Blocks.

The Institute also provides orientation training to personnel engaged in tribal welfare. There is a Tribal Workers' Training Institute located in the Institute of Chhindwara.

The Institute has also been entrusted with the task of evaluation of schemes.

(c) *Orissa*—The Tribal Research Bureau, located at Bhubaneswar, has undertaken studies of tribal life and submitted reports on tribes like Kondh, Laonjia Saora. The Bureau is also concerned with the evaluation of schemes. The Bureau publishes a quarterly journal 'Adivasi'. The Bureau has been transferred to the Utkal University.

(d) *West Bengal*—The Cultural Research Institute was set up at Calcutta under the Tribal Welfare Department. The following studies were conducted:—

- (i) Study on the different aspects of the problems of seasonal migration of tribal labourers in Midnapore and Hooghly Districts,
- (ii) Socio-economic study on the Birhor of Purulia Districts,
- (iii) Socio-economic study of the Lodha at Pholkot of Midnapore District, and
- (iv) Exploratory study on alienation of tribal land in 24 Parganas.

In addition to above, the Institute conducted philological studies in tribal languages with a view to preparing primers in these languages. The Institute is also engaged in the evaluation of the schemes.

(e) *Andhra Pradesh*—The recently set up Institute in Andhra Pradesh has so far undertaken (i) a compilation of folk songs and (ii) study of the psychological aspects of the life of tribals.

(f) *NEFA*—The NEFA Administration has set up a Research Department. The Department has been divided into three Sections—Philological, Cultural and Historical. The Philological Research Section assists the Ministry of Education in the important task of preparing a new linguistic survey of the region and studying the inter-relations of the different dialects and languages. At the same time it is engaged in preparing dictionaries, grammars, song-books, charts, etc., in local languages and also assisting the NEFA Education Department in preparing text-books in tribal languages.

The Cultural Research Section is engaged in the task of studying social and cultural anthropology, with special reference to social and family organization, religion, folk-lore, dance and music and other arts. It is building up a Central Museum in the divisions. The Historical Research Section, apart from preparing the detailed history of NEFA, runs the Central and Divisional Libraries and is currently preparing divisional gazetteers.

Department of Anthropology, Union Government—The Department of Anthropology of the Union Government, is mainly concerned with conducting and co-ordinating anthropological research in India. The Department has completed two projects, one on the interethnic relationship and social mobility among some tribal and caste groups of India and the other, a rapid survey of selected material traits in 148 districts all over India. A linguistic study of the Districts of Bastar and Raigarh was also conducted.

29.15. *Non-official Organizations*—Apart from the Tribal Research Institutes, certain other organisations receive grants-in-aid for conducting researches in the field of tribal welfare. These include, Gujarat Research Society, Bombay, Anthropological Society, Bombay, Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal, Udaipur and National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi.

(a) *Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal, Udaipur*—The Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal, Udaipur, has been given *ad hoc* grants by the Union Government for preparing documentary films on the tribes of Rajasthan and a cultural survey of some tribes of Vindhya Pradesh and Mahakoshal regions of Madhya Pradesh. The Mandal has completed a report on the cultural survey of 12 tribes in Madhya Pradesh.

During 1958-59, the Union Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 15,000 to the Mandal for conducting a cultural survey of Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura. The Mandal carried out surveys in Churachandpur, Ukhrul, Mao and Tengnoupal areas of Manipur and Belonia, Dharamnagar and Kailashwar sub-divisions of Tripura.

(b) *National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi*—The National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, conducted a socio-economic survey of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh, covering Balaghat, Betul, Chhindwara, Drug, Bastar, Mandla, Raigarh, Dhar and Raisen Districts. The Council received a grant of Rs. 20,000 from the Government of Madhya Pradesh for the purpose.

29.16. *Universities*—Some of the Universities, viz., Agra, Bihar, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Gauhati, Madras, Nagpur, Patna, Pooa, Rajasthan, Saugar and Utkal, have undertaken researches in the field of Social and Cultural Anthropology.

29.17. The progress made so far by these Institutes cannot be claimed as very satisfactory. They have undertaken the study more or less on an *ad hoc* basis and the work done is more or less of an academic character. The emphasis, it appears, has been on research of academic and historical nature with very little emphasis upon applied research particularly in the field of tribal economy. We have found absence of a systematic programme of research conducted by the Institutes. So far only the Research Institutes of Madhya Pradesh Orissa and West Bengal have undertaken the evaluation of schemes in operation in their States. We have also found absence of any training facility in the Research Institutes which is a part of the Research Institute's work. We have also found lack of clarity about the priorities in relation to the work to be undertaken.

29.18. The functions of the Tribal Research Institutes should be redefined to include:—

(i) Collection of basic socio-economic data for surveys referred to earlier for the use of Welfare Department in the formulation and implementation of schemes for tribals, particularly for their economic development.

(ii) Research on craft and industries which will be of immediate value for the economic development of the tribals by the utilisation of their skill and local materials and resources.

(iii) Examination of tribal welfare schemes with special reference to—

- (a) the impact on their attitudes, skills and knowledge;
- (b) the social and economic changes brought about by them;
- (c) improvement of the programme.

(iv) Assistance to the State Governments, etc., in their training programme for the personnel engaged in tribal welfare by arranging orientation courses for the departmental and field staff. Training can be made more problem-centred by making an intelligent use of case-studies which would be available as a result of research by these Institutes.

(v) Research in tribal philology with a view to preparing textbooks and primers in tribal languages, collection of folk songs, folklore, stories of tribal heroes, etc. For this purpose, the Institutes may also seek collaboration of Universities and research scholars.

(vi) Teaching of tribal languages or dialects to the field staff of the Tribal Welfare Department.

29.19. We endorse the suggestion made by the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes set up by the Committee on Plan Projects that a Central Institute of Tribal Welfare may be set up which could co-ordinate research on an all-India level and take up studies of special problems which extend beyond the territorial limits of any one State, e.g., shifting cultivation, impact of industrialisation on tribal society, etc.

29.20. We would urge that a beginning may be made with a co-ordinating body in the Ministry of Home Affairs to guide, supervise and co-ordinate the work of Research Institutes. For this purpose, a separate cell may be attached to the proposed Department of Tribal Welfare in the Ministry.



सत्यमेव जयते

PART IV
STATEWISE RECOMMENDATIONS
CHAPTERS 30 TO 49

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N.B.—References relate to Supplementary Notes.



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CHAPTER 30

ANDHRA PRADESH

At the outset we would like to refer to an anomaly in the scheduling of tribes in Andhra Pradesh. Yenadis, Yerukulas and Sugalis (Lambadis) are Scheduled Tribes in the Andhra region while they are not in the Telangana region. The record indicates that owing to the reorganisation of States there was no time for Parliament to make a change in the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, for the former Hyderabad State while effecting the change for the former Andhra State. Since the economic and social conditions and way of life of these undeveloped tribes remain the same in both the regions of the State, this anomaly would have to be removed. In that event the present tribal population of 11.5 lakhs will increase by another 5 or 6 lakhs.

30.2. The population of Scheduled Tribes in the State is 3.68 per cent of the total population. The extent of Scheduled Areas in the State is 11,342 sq. miles which is 11 per cent of the total Scheduled Area in the country and 10.7 per cent of the total area of the State.¹ Of the total Scheduled Tribes population, about 5 lakhs live in the Scheduled Areas while the remaining live in the non-Scheduled Areas. The problems of these two areas are different and, this fact should be borne in mind in the allocation of funds for the schemes.

30.3. Before considering the outlay for the Third Plan, we may briefly state the problems in the State of Andhra Pradesh. The base of tribal economy in the Andhra region is (i) forestry; (ii) agriculture; and (iii) crafts, while in Telangana region this base shifts to (i) agriculture; (ii) forestry, and (iii) crafts.²

30.4. The total provision for Andhra Pradesh during the Second Plan was Rs. 380 lakhs, out of which Rs. 215 lakhs was under the

Supplementary Notes—

1. (a) Chenchus Kondhs and Koyas are still in an undeveloped stage and the Yenadis are educationally and economically the most under-developed. They are landless and their condition is deplorable. Kondhs, Gadabas, Savaras, Koyas, Konda Dhoras, Bagatas, Kammaras, Porjas, Konda Kapus, Nayaks and Kondareddis practise 'Podu' cultivation.

(b) *Scheduled Areas*: The State Government has not submitted to the Commission any proposals for declaring any additional areas as Scheduled Areas and has stated that the entire question is being examined.

2. *Safeguards and Protective measures: Land alienations*—(i) The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act—for regulating transfer of lands from the tribals to non-tribals and for allotment of lands and for regulating interest on loans advanced by money-lenders was passed in 1917. All the best lands of the plains tribals had passed into the hands of non-tribals. Government promulgated Regulation I of 1959 prohibiting alienation of land in favour of non-tribals, but during the intervening period great damage has occurred. Large-scale transfers of land from tribals to non-tribals had occurred.

State sector and Rs. 165 lakhs under the Central sector. Under the State sector schemes, we find an outlay of Rs. 194 lakhs for the Andhra region whereas it was only about Rs. 19 lakhs for the Telangana region. Under the Central sector, except the location of two Tribal Development Blocks in Telangana region, there is no other scheme there whereas in the Andhra region the outlay is nearly Rs. 165 lakhs. This allocation leads to an unbalanced regional development and is, therefore, to be checked while deciding the outlay for the Third Plan.

Supplementary Notes—contd.

(ii) In Telangana all alienations and transfers of land without the permission of the Tehsildar are prohibited under the Hyderabad Tenancy Act, 1950. In addition, the regulations issued under the powers conferred by Section 58(9) of Hyderabad Land Revenue Act prohibit transfer of land without the permission of the Agent. In spite of the provisions of the Tenancy Act and the statutory regulations, there have been illegal transfers of land from tribals to non-tribals. The State Government agreed that in Telangana there had been a number of illegal transfers of land and it had been extremely difficult to stop them.

(iii) It is recommended that the Regulation I of 1959 be also extended to the Scheduled Areas of Telangana region. Any transfer in contravention of the Regulation should result in forfeiture of the owner's right in land which should then vest in Government.

(iv) *Money-lending*—The Agency tracts have been penetrated by money-lenders from the plains who charge interest at the rate of 2 to 4 annas a rupee a month and recover their dues under intimidation. In Telangana area the rate of interest is as high as 2 to 4 annas per rupee per month. In 1960, the following two Regulations were issued for the Scheduled Areas of the Andhra region to regulate money-lending and to give relief to the tribals from indebtedness:—

- (1) Regulation I of 1960 to control the business of money-lending in the Scheduled Areas;
- (2) Regulation II of 1960 to relieve the indebtedness of tribals in the Scheduled Areas.

(v) Under Regulation II of 1960, debts incurred before the 1st January, 1951 are to be scaled down and the interest outstanding on the 1st January, 1957 is deemed to be discharged. We suggest that Regulation II of 1960 be amended in the light of our general recommendations contained in chapter 16; and that Regulations I and II of 1960, as amended, be extended to the Scheduled Areas of the Telangana region.

(vi) *Allotment of Land*—So far as allotment of land is concerned, it is noticed that even in Scheduled Areas plainmen are being granted land on *darkhast* upto 100 to 200 acres each. We would recommend that the State Government should give first priority in allotting land in areas with predominantly tribal population to the tribals. It is also suggested that the tribals should be given first priority in allotment of lands released on account of imposition of ceiling on land holdings in the Scheduled Areas.

(vii) *Patta rights in forest lands*—Both in Telangana and Andhra areas, the Commission received several representations from tribals residing in forest areas that they are not in receipt of any *pattas* confirming the actual possession of land allotted to them by Government or in relation to lands which they have been cultivating from time immemorial but over which they have no formal rights.

30.5. The total outlay as approved by the Working Group for the Third Plan for Andhra Pradesh is Rs. 341 lakhs. Without dealing with each and every item we would like to refer to such of them on which the Commission has based its interim recommendations.

Supplementary Notes—contd.

In the Telangana area the tribals have been in receipt of certain amount of land which has been excised from the forests for the purpose of setting up colonies. The State Government has resettled hundreds of Koyas and Hill Reddis in these colonies and has given them temporary occupancy certificates. Permanent rights should be granted so that the tribals may avail of Taccavi loans or advances from co-operatives.

(viii) *Muttadari system*—Most of the villages in the Taluka of Yellavaram and Rampachodavaram are still not surveyed and settled and *Muttadari* still prevails there. The *Muttadars* collect land revenue on behalf of Government and also exact *Vetti* from the tribals. These *Muttadars* have appropriated the best lands in every village and have been following questionable methods for collection of revenue. Though in his report of 1952, Shri R. S. Malayappan had recommended the replacement of the *Muttadars* by Revenue Inspectors, the State Government has not yet taken a decision on the question of abolition of this outmoded system. It appears that the question is still under consideration. In such matters time is the essence.

(ix) *Forest policy and employment of tribals*—The following are the privileges of the tribals in Andhra region—

- (a) free grazing in reserved and unreserved forests;
- (b) hunting;
- (c) *Podu* cultivation;
- (d) timber for building and agricultural purposes and fuel for domestic use; and
- (e) collection of minor forest produce.

In Telangana, they are as under:—

- (a) collection of thatch grass;
- (b) fuel for domestic purposes;
- (c) fencing material;
- (d) collection of mahua seeds and flowers;
- (e) wood for construction of huts; and
- (f) free grazing.

The Collector, Warangal District, has stated that these privileges are not necessarily available in practice. There were several complaints from tribals and social workers that in practice the tribals have to undergo many hardships in the enjoyment of the privileges and that delays take place in securing permits.

(x) *Wages for forest work*—Minimum Wages Act is applied but wages are not paid according to the provisions of the Act and the rules thereunder. There is no adequate machinery for implementing the Act. The Forest Department should embody a condition in the agreement with the contractors about wages to be paid to the labourers. Any breach of the condition should entail forfeiture of deposit.

Tribal Development Blocks

30.6. There is an allocation of Rs. 125 lakhs for the purpose. We have no idea about the exact number of Blocks that would be needed to cover the total Scheduled Area and also such of the non-Scheduled Areas where there is a predominance of tribal population. *The Commission recommends that the entire Scheduled Area may be covered by the Tribal Development Blocks and that the provision made for this purpose may be enhanced.*



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against the demand of the State Government which was Rs. 59 lakhs. *The Commission consider that there is need for an intensive programme to eradicate leprosy, yaws and other diseases. The original demand of the State Government may, therefore, be restored.*

Housing

30.11. The Working Group has allocated a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for the housing of Yerukulas, Yenadis and Sugalis. The outlay in the Second Plan for the same was Rs. 15 lakhs. It may be noted further that this expenditure was to be incurred only in Andhra region while, as stated earlier, the same communities also inhabit the Telangana region. For this purpose the State Government had separately put in a demand for Rs. 8 lakhs for housing in Telangana region. But this demand was totally rejected by the Working Group. One of the major problems of Andhra Pradesh State is the housing conditions of the tribals in the plains. It is, therefore, necessary that the scheme started in the Second Plan should be for the housing of Yerukulas, Yenadis and Sugalis should be expanded and also extended to the Telangana region. A higher allocation of Rs. 20 lakhs, therefore, is necessary.

Technical Training

30.12. There is not even a single technical institute on the lines of Korba (Madhya Pradesh) in the entire State. *We feel that there is need for two such training centres in Andhra region and one in Telangana region. It would entail an allocation of Rs. 60 lakhs.*

Co-operation

30.13. The tribals have been continuously in the grip of money-lenders and have been victims of continuous exploitation. The lands of which they were the proud masters in the past have rapidly changed hands. The practice of "Vetti", or "Gothi" (debt bondage), still obtains in parts of Andhra region and has to be eliminated and this could be done only by an effective system of alternative credit.

30.14. The experiment conducted by the State Government, in co-operatives, viz., the Andhra Scheduled Tribes' Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation, is basically sound. During the Second Plan period the outlay was roughly Rs. 15 lakhs on the Corporation. The provision made by the Working Group both under the head 'Co-operation' as well as the Andhra Scheduled Tribes' Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation is only Rs. 30 lakhs. There is need for extension of the activities of this Corporation not only to other tribal areas of Andhra region but also to the Telangana region.

Supplementary Notes—

3. *Education*: In Andhra, 55 per cent boys and 26 per cent girls of the age group 6 to 11 go to schools. In Telangana, the progress in primary education seems to be fairly satisfactory. Still much leeway is to be made. We recommend that Ashram Schools and hostels for boys and girls be opened at the rate of one each for every 20,000 tribal population.

Secondary education has not made any headway among the tribals. 1,103 tribal students are receiving high school education. Efforts should be made by the State Government for spreading secondary education among Scheduled Tribes by starting more hostels for students with free boarding and lodging facilities.

There is a need for further extension of the scope of its activities to cover major forest produce. There is also a need for setting up a network of forest labourers' co-operative societies to exploit the forests through tribal labour. The State Government had demanded Rs. 61 lakhs for all these schemes. *We feel that the demand of the State Government should be restored.*

30.15. The financial implications of the suggestions made in the preceding paragraphs are given in the following table:—

TABLE 63

(Rupees in lakhs).

Name of Scheme	Working Group's proposals	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
1	2	3	4
Education	40	..	40
Tribal Development Blocks	125	..	125
Land Colonisation and Supply of Bullocks, Plough etc.	30	+20	50
Soil Conservation Schemes.	15	..	15
Minor Irrigation	5	+55	60
Co-operation and Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation	30	+21	51
Communications	50	+97	147
Cottage Industries	15	..	15
Technical Training Institutes (3) .. .. .	..	+60	60
Welfare of Chenchus	5	..	5
Drinking-water Wells, Medical and Public Health.	15	+44	59
Housing	5	+15	20
Research and Training	5	..	5
Aid to Voluntary Agencies	1	..	1
Total	341	+312	653

CHAPTER 31

ASSAM

The total population of Assam is 90.4 lakhs of which the Scheduled Tribes population is 17.61 lakhs. This does not take into account the Scheduled Tribes population of the Hills districts who migrate to the plains or the tribals of the plains who migrate to the Hills districts or the tribes from other States who work as plantation labour. The population of the latter category is about 10 lakhs.¹

31.2. The total outlay for the Scheduled Tribes of the State during the Second Plan period was Rs. 11.27 crores. The allocation for the Hills Districts was Rs. 9.14 crores and for the plains tribals Rs. 2.13 crores, but the actual expenditure anticipated is only Rs. 10.77 crores. Details of the allocation and expenditure are given in the table below:—

TABLE 64

(Rupees in lakhs)

	Central sector		State sector	
	Revised Plan allocation	Anticipated expenditure	Revised Plan allocation	Anticipated expenditure
1	2	3	4	5
Education	18.00	29.03	130.37	130.73
Economic Development ..	127.50	137.80	647.41	586.58
Health, Housing and other schemes	79.00	63.55	124.72	120.22
Total ..	224.50	230.38	902.50	846.53

Supplementary Notes—

1. (i) In the four Autonomous Districts of Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the North Cachar and Mikir Hills, and the Mizo Hills, the population is predominantly tribal, while in the plains or the Brahmaputra Valley, the tribal population is **mixed and scattered** throughout the various districts, sometimes in **compact pockets** of tribal villages. There is no Scheduled Area in Assam, but in the plains districts there are what are known as tribal Belts and Blocks. These Belts and Blocks cover an approximate area of 5,718 square miles consisting of villages where the percentage of tribal population is more than 50.

Out of the total tribal population of 17.61 lakhs it is estimated that about 11 lakhs inhabit the four Autonomous Districts. The Mikirs are economically weak and underdeveloped and need attention. The position of the Chakmas in the Mizo Hills District is similar.

(ii) According to Article 244(2) of the Constitution, the provisions of the Sixth Schedule apply to the administration of the Autonomous Districts. Today there are the following District and Regional Councils:—

- (a) The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills District Council
- (b) The Garo Hills District Council.
- (c) The Mikir Hills District Council.
- (d) The North Cachar Hills District Council:
- (e) The Mizo Hills District Council.
- (f) The Pawi-Lakheer Regional Council.

31.3. The Third Plan outlay proposed by the State for the Autonomous Districts was Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 2.72 crores for the plains districts. The outlay suggested by the Working Group for Scheduled Tribes of Assam is Rs. 550 lakhs as follows:—

	Rs.
Education	150 lakhs
Economic Development	340 lakhs
Health, Housing and other schemes ...	60 lakhs
TOTAL ..	550 lakhs

That Group also suggested that an allocation be made for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes from the general sector of development as follows:—

	Rs. in lakhs
Soil conservation in the Hills districts ..	200
Completion of incomplete roads in the Hills districts	380
Roads in the border areas	150
Roads for the benefit of plains tribals ...	120
Electricity development in the Hills districts ...	75
The establishment of an industry for manufacturing meters	61
TOTAL ...	986

31.4. It is very difficult to state at the moment whether such a large allocation as Rs. 986 lakhs can be diverted from the general development plans for the benefit of the Hill districts and the plains tribals. For obvious reasons it would not be safe to proceed on that basis in drawing up the plan for the Scheduled Tribes.

31.5. The major problems² of the Scheduled Tribes in Assam in order of priority are:—

- (a) communications;
- (b) education;
- (c) shifting cultivation, and
- (d) soil conservation.

Supplementary Notes—

2. (i) In the plains the pressure on land is increasing. The State Government has constituted a number of Tribal Blocks and Belts under the provisions of Assam Land Revenue Regulations to protect the interests of the tribals in land, whereby a tribal residing in the Block or Belt cannot transfer his land to a non-tribal without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. In spite of this it was found that tribals do transfer or mortgage the land to money-lenders in repayment of debt. Some of the transfers are illegal.

The Hills districts are growing cash crops. There was an almost universal demand before the Commission that good motorable roads should be provided to move the cash crops to outside markets. These crops used to be moved to the areas now in Pakistan but after partition this market has been closed. The economy of the areas has consequently deteriorated very badly.

The demand was that the Hills Districts and especially the areas bordering Pakistan should be linked with the National Highways in the plains in order to facilitate quick movement of the cash crops

Supplementary Notes 2—contd.

(ii) With the increase in the population of the State due to influx of displaced persons from East Pakistan and illegal immigration of Pakistanis and with the flooding of large areas in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts rendering them unfit for cultivation, the land of the tribals is being purchased at exorbitant prices by the non-tribals who have entered interior areas with the opening up of communications, a large number of tribals in the plains are consequently becoming landless. It is necessary that loopholes in the Act should be plugged so that transfer of land becomes impossible. We suggest that the lands held by tribals in Belts and Blocks should be made inalienable. This problem has also been discussed in detail in para 56 of chapter 11 of this Report.

(iii) In Goalpara and other districts there are certain villages which are treated as forest villages. There are no forests in or around them and they are exactly similar to revenue villages. We suggest that these villages be treated as revenue villages and that the lands be surveyed and settled.

(iv) In the Autonomous Districts the distribution and settlement of land is made by the District Councils in accordance with the laws made by them under para 3(1) (a) of the Sixth Schedule. The interests of the tribals in lands in the Hills districts are adequately safeguarded.

(v) *Forests and Forest Policy*—The area under forest is about 47 per cent of the total area of Assam. Only 12.5 per cent comes under reserved forest. The rest is free for grazing and jhuming. All unclassed forests in the Autonomous Districts are under the control of District Councils and no difficulties are experienced by the tribals in obtaining their requirements such as timber, thatch and bamboos for their domestic use and for cottage industries, etc. For extraction of forest produce from the reserved forests permit is required both in the Autonomous Districts and in the plains districts.

(vi) Exploitation of major forest produce and minor forest produce is done through contractors. The policy of exploitation of forest through contractors requires revision. We would suggest that the State Government should take steps to organise Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies for exploitation and for processing of major forest produce. These may be sponsored by the Forest Department.

(vii) *Economy*—The predominant occupation of the people living in this State both in the hills and the plains areas is agriculture. In the hills the mode of farming is still by and large jhuming. With the exception of low-lying areas which lie contiguous to plains districts, the hill people have not as yet taken to the use of the plough for their cultivation. In some places where wet paddy cultivation is practised, the implements used are still the old Kudali (Phaura) and the dao. Both jhuming as well as wet paddy cultivation in the Hills districts, are very difficult and strenuous operations. Besides the cultivation of paddy, several other crops are grown in the hills areas, such as cotton, maize, potatoes, various types of fruits and vegetables.

grown in those areas. The plains tribals have also similar problems since though there is a National Highway in the plains, various places are not connected and for the best part of the year they are cut off owing to the absence of bridges on the innumerable rivers that have to be crossed to get to the National Highway. These tracts should also be linked with the National Highway and for this purpose more roads and bridges have to be built.³ The allocation suggested by the Working Group will be totally inadequate for the requirements. It will also not be possible to divert such a large amount as Rs. 500 lakhs from the general development plans for this purpose. We would, therefore, suggest that Rs. 500 lakhs be allotted for the development of communications in the Autonomous Districts as well as in the plains in the following proportion:—

	Rs.
Completion of incomplete roads in the Hills districts	380 lakhs
Roads in the plains districts	120 lakhs

Education

31.6. Next to communications, education is a pressing problem.⁴ The number of primary schools is not adequate even in an educationally progressive area like the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills. There are pockets in these districts which are without primary schools. Mikir and Cachar are educationally the most under-developed

Supplementary Notes 2—concl'd.

Along with agriculture and horticulture they also carry on a fair amount of animal husbandry. The hills people have been, from time immemorial, commercially minded. The weekly markets play an important role in the total economy of the people. After Independence, the hills people lost their trade with the areas in Pakistan which affected their economy very badly. This has given a set back to the development of horticulture in Hills districts.

3. (i) The Mizo Hills district should be linked by road with Tripura which it adjoins.

(ii) As road transport is not very good in the Mizo Hills District, the possibilities of developing river transport may be examined. At present there is limited use of this method of transport for goods.

4. The progress of education among the hill tribals is somewhat impressive. There are men and women among the hill people who have attained a high standard of training in various fields of education like agriculture, science, medicine and engineering. The literacy varies from 15 per cent in Mikir Hills to 40 per cent in Mizo Hills. The number of primary schools in hill areas is 2,493 and secondary schools is 262. The number of students in primary schools is 1,07,246 and in secondary schools 32,972. No separate figures of plains tribal students are available but the plains tribals are far behind the hill people specially in higher education.

of the Autonomous Districts. Secondly, much of the educational activity in all the areas is mainly through the agency of Christian missionaries. In the plains districts the situation is no better. Literacy is very poor and the number of schools is quite inadequate to the requirements.

31.7. In the field of middle and high school education also the position is not very encouraging. The situation is somewhat better in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District. In the tribal areas some of the students have to travel long distances to attend schools as the villages are scattered. This is a serious handicap to the spread of education among the tribals. It is, therefore, necessary that at convenient centres middle schools of the residential type with attached hostels should be established both in the Hills districts and in outlying areas of the plains districts.

31.8. The State Government had proposed a total allocation of Rs. 95 lakhs for education for the Hills districts and Rs. 60 lakhs for plains tribals. This has been more or less accepted by the Working Group but we feel that the State Government's plan has not sufficiently taken into account the felt-needs of the people in the area. The provision for education both in the Hills districts and the plains districts should be increased to Rs. 200 lakhs.

31.9. At the moment there is no Ashram type of residential school anywhere in Assam. We feel that since educationally and economically the plains tribals are far behind the hills tribals, it is necessary to establish Ashram schools for them. It would be possible to train tribal teachers for the primary schools at these Ashram schools. They should be completely financed by the State. A beginning should be made with at least 10 such schools. This would involve an outlay of Rs. 50 lakhs.

31.10. We feel that there should be more technical institutes throughout the State. The tribals have a mechanical bent of mind and will take to technical trades more quickly. For some time to come, there should be considerable scope even in Assam for such technically trained people as new industries are springing up. We recommend that ten such institutes should be established, primarily for the benefit of the tribal boys, five of them in Hills districts and the other five in plains districts. The total outlay on this account will be of the order of Rs. 50 lakhs during the Third Plan period.

Medical, Public Health and Drinking Water Supply

31.11. Medical aid as well as protected water-supply is quite inadequate both in the hills areas and in the plains. In the hill areas, for instance, although Cherrapunji has the highest rainfall, it is completely dry in the winter months and the people there complained that there is scarcity of drinking water. In the Mizo Hills, water has to be brought to Aijal in lorries from the Siang river and distributed to the Government servants and Assam Rifles personnel at an annual cost of Rs. 2½ lakhs. There is no provision for supply of drinking water to the general public. In the plains districts there is no protected water-supply for the tribals as all the existing sources are polluted during the summer. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that protected water-supply in the hills as well as in

the plains areas should be developed quickly. The State Government is considering certain schemes in this connection. We consider that the provision suggested for this purpose by the Working Group does not take into account the realities of the situation. This will have to be increased considerably but in the absence of properly worked-out schemes, we are unable to suggest any specific figure.

31.12. The existing medical facilities are inadequate. Owing to the recruitment policy, some of the dispensaries are without doctors. This situation will have to be remedied.

Jhuming and Agriculture

31.13. In the hills as well as in the plains the predominant occupation of the people is agriculture and it will continue to be the pattern of economy for some time to come. In the Hills districts jhuming or shifting cultivation is practised extensively. In the plains districts the cultivator still follows the traditional methods of irrigation termed *dongs*. The plains tribals were insistent that Government should give additional subsidies for construction of improved type of *dongs* or that Government should provide canal irrigation as in Punjab and other States.

31.14. It would not be possible in places like the Mizo District or even in the Khasi and Jaintia District to stop Jhuming altogether. Jhuming has, therefore, to be regulated scientifically so as to reduce soil erosion and loss of fertility. Soil conservation measures are, therefore, necessary. This may take the form of terracing, contour bunding on the lower slopes of the hills and afforestation on the steeper slopes and hill tops. Other improved methods which have been successful in NEFA can also be tried. It is very necessary that the watershed arrangement, a technique which has been followed in Orissa, should also be adopted for the Hills districts of Assam.

31.15. The State Government had proposed an outlay of Rs. 225 lakhs for soil conservation measures in the Hills districts but the Working Group has reduced it to Rs. 30 lakhs for soil conservation and Rs. 30 lakhs for regulation and improvement of shifting cultivation. They have suggested that a provision of Rs. 200 lakhs should be made in the general sector for this purpose. As already stated, it will be very difficult to get this provision from the general sector and we, therefore, recommend that the provision suggested by the Working Group be increased to Rs. 260 lakhs which should include expenditure on introduction of horticulture in the areas subject to shifting cultivation.

Cottage Industries

31.16. No provision has been made for cottage industries in the outlay proposed by the Working Group. The State Government had asked for a provision of Rs. 13 lakhs both for the Hills and the plains districts. Cottage industries are flourishing amongst the plain tribals and exist only in some of the Hills districts. These cottage industries will have to be developed and improved and additional marketing facilities should be provided. It was represented by the plains tribals that as a result of the political situation in the northern

border of the State, exports of their silk and other textiles to Tibet and other places had ceased. It is, therefore, necessary to make suitable arrangements for marketing their produce. We suggest that a provision of Rs. 15 lakhs be made for this purpose.⁵

31.17. The Scheduled Tribes from other States who have settled in the State for a long time, have been completely left out of the Plan. Their economic condition is also weak and they require to be assisted. It would be desirable, that as in the case of Madhya Pradesh and other States, welfare schemes should be drawn up for giving them all the facilities open to the plains tribals.

31.18. The financial implications of the suggestions made in the preceding paragraphs are given in the following table—

TABLE 65

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's proposals		Total	Commission's recommendations.		Total
	Separately for Scheduled Tribes (from funds allotted for Backward Classes Sector)	Allocation from General Sector for Scheduled Tribes		Separately for Scheduled Tribes (from funds allotted for Backward Classes Sector)	Allocation from General Sector for Scheduled Tribes	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Education ..	150	..	150	200	..	200
Economic Development Tribal Development Blocks.	190	..	190	190	..	190

Supplementary Notes—

5. In the Hills districts, the co-operative movement has not worked as satisfactorily as expected. The number of societies is 480 with a total membership of 28,322. The share capital of these societies is Rs. 4,37,480 and the total amount of transactions was Rs. 35,23,300. Some of the societies are incurring huge losses. There is a scope for development of co-operative movement among the tribals as their economy is most suited to it. Looking at the number of members enrolled by the 480 co-operative societies, it seems that the tribals are not averse to co-operation. In order to vitalise the movement, we suggest that:—

- (i) the rules and regulations be made as simple as possible;
- (ii) the share capital may be contributed by the Government which may be recovered in instalments as the tribals would find it difficult to pay the share capital even though the minimum is as low as Rs. 10;
- (iii) the volume of credit should be increased;
- (iv) the defunct societies whose number is 53 should be revived;
- (v) the supply of necessities of life should be taken up; and
- (vi) a co-operative marketing organisation may be established for handling coffee and other cash crops produced in the Hills districts.

TABLE 65—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Soil Conservation ...	30	200	230	} 260	..	260
Regulation and improvement of shifting cultivation including rehabilitation of Jhumias.	30	..	30		..	..
Agriculture including Veterinary and fisheries.	20	..	20	..	..	..
Industrial development.	20	..	20	20	..	20
Cooperation ..	10	..	10	10	..	10
Communications ..	30	650	680	500	180	680
Expansion of Technical Training Schools.	10	..	10	50	..	50
Cottage Industries ..	..	..	..	15	..	15
Electricity .. ..	..	75	75	..	75	75
Industry for manufacture of meters.	..	61	61	..	61	61
Health	10	..	10	10	..	10
Water supply ..	25	..	25	25	..	25
Aid to non-official agencies.	15	..	15	15	..	15
Tribal Research Institute.	10	..	10	10	..	10
Total ..	550	986	1,536	1,305	316	1,621

CHAPTER 32

BIHAR

Next to Madhya Pradesh, Bihar has the largest concentration of tribal population. It is 39 lakhs in a total population of 3.9 crores, that is approximately 10 per cent. The Scheduled Areas cover 15,611 sq. miles out of the total area of the State which is 67,198 sq. miles, or roughly, 22 per cent. As in Madhya Pradesh there are certain tribes who are extremely underdeveloped. Their population is 96,546.

Supplementary Notes—

1. The tribes are mostly concentrated in the Chhota Nagpur Plateau and Rajmahal Hills of the Central Belt which comprise the Districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Santal Parganas. The tribal population of Ranchi District is 11.5 lakhs, of Santal Parganas 10.5 lakhs and of Singhbhum 7 lakhs. Among the main tribes, the population of Santals is 14 lakhs, Mundas 5 lakhs, Oraons 4 lakhs and Kharias 1 lakh.

2. Whereas the State Government has not asked for any extension of the Scheduled Areas, the representatives of tribals suggested that the following areas should be declared as Scheduled Areas:—

- (i) Pirtant, Dumri, Gonia, Jaridi, Patibar, Gola, Mandu, Ramgarh, Giridih, Ganda, and Bengobad Police Stations of Hazaribagh District.
- (ii) Ghatsila and Dalbhum Sub-Divisions of Singhbhum District.
- (iii) Sundi Police Station of Dhanbad District.
- (iv) Goddi and Deogarh Sub-Divisions; Sunderpaharia, Boarijore and Palajori Police Stations of Santal Parganas District.
- (v) Jamui Sub-Division of Monghyr District.
- (vi) Banka Sub-Division of Bhagalpur District.
- (vii) Araria and Katihar Sub-Divisions of Furnea District.
- (viii) Rohtas, Adhaura Hill of Shahbad District.
- (ix) Supaul, Saharsa and areas covered by the Tharus of Champaran District.

We are of opinion that if an enquiry is made, there may be compact areas in Palamau and Hazaribagh Districts which may fulfil the criteria recommended by us.

3. Birhor, Kharia, Korwa, Mal Paharia, Sauria Paharia, Asur and Savar constitute the weaker sections amongst the tribals.

Land Acquisition and Alienation

32.2. One of the most important problems that face these Scheduled Tribes is the demand for the land possessed by the tribals. It is coming from five or six directions as mentioned below—

- (a) from the Government for
 - (i) public purposes such as hydro-electric and irrigation schemes;
 - (ii) other developmental activities;
 - (iii) administrative purposes; and
 - (iv) the public sector undertakings and other people in the private sector for industries and mining;
- (b) from the Forest Department for reservation and development of forest;
- (c) from propertied classes in the urban areas which are part of the Scheduled Areas; and
- (d) from the money-lenders who despite the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act and Santal Parganas Tenancy Act somehow manage to get the land from the tribals.

32.3. We noticed great anxiety amongst the tribals on this question. We were happy to observe that there was no inclination on the part of the tribals to stand in the way of Government acquiring their lands for genuine public purposes and even industrial purposes, but they were anxious that such acquisition should not result in uprooting the tribal population. We discussed this matter with the State Government, who accepted that it was its responsibility to set the minds of the tribals at ease. *Our detailed recommendations on this question will follow but one item of our recommendation is that along with fixation of compensation for acquisition, proper arrangements must be made for simultaneous rehabilitation of the tribals. The cost of such rehabilitation should be included in the scheme of development which results in their displacement.*

32.4. It is difficult for us to suggest any figure because we have no data on the point, but we are given to understand that the bulk

Supplementary Notes—

4. (i) The State Government considers that the existing laws in force in Bihar are adequate to protect the tribals from exploitation and violation of their rights on land. We have discussed in the chapter on Land and Scheduled Tribes in greater detail the provisions of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 as amended in 1938, 1947 and 1955 and how despite the law, the interests of the tribals in lands are being violated. We have also discussed in the chapter on Indebtedness how despite the Money-lenders' Act, exploitation is going on. The rates of interest for normal loans vary between 15 per cent and 35 per cent.

(ii) The representatives of the tribals in a joint memorandum have raised questions in regard to the customary rights of the tribals in respect of the Bhuinhari, Mahjhias, Service and Mundari Khutkatti lands. There are other types of lands about which there is considerable dispute both in relation to the title as well as rights of the tribals. It is contended that Government does not make any arrangement for providing legal assistance with the result that Government is profiting at the expense of ignorant tribals. We would suggest that the State Government may enquire into these complaints and take suitable steps to protect the customary rights of the tribals.

of tribals, evicted as a result of the Damodar Valley Corporation schemes, still remain to be rehabilitated:—

Dams				No. of families displaced
Tilaiya	...	...	...	1,800
Konar	...	...	...	1,100
Maithon	...	...	...	5,000
Panchet	...	...	...	10,000

It is true that in all these cases cash compensation has been paid by the State. This is a class which has to be saved from itself. The inducement to get ready money is human, but they have neither the capacity to retain the money nor to put it to proper use. We shall, therefore, suggest that alongwith the scheme for acquisition the scheme for rehabilitation of these people should also be considered. The best course would be that in case of eviction on mass scale, every effort should be made to rehabilitate the people so that they do not labour under a feeling that all elements including the Government are conspiring to oust them from their lands.

32.5. The problem, therefore, has to be divided into three parts—

- (i) rehabilitation of persons whose lands have already been acquired;
- (ii) rehabilitation of persons whose lands are being acquired now under various projects of development either in the public sector or in the private sector; and
- (iii) rehabilitation of the tribals who have been the victims of exploitation.

A proper enquiry will have to be made into this aspect and adequate provision will have to be made for it.

Impact of Industrialisation

32.6. There is another aspect of industrialisation which results in putting the tribal economy under added strain. The things become costly. All kinds of elements push themselves into the area with an eye to earn sometimes at the cost of the tribals. Finally, in place of the simple life that the tribals are used to, a pattern of costlier living is developing. To a certain extent this is unavoidable because one cannot hold up industrialisation. The Constitution and human considerations, however, throw a responsibility upon us to see that this does not result in imposing a crushing burden upon the weaker sections. The Commission after a proper study will be in a position to make suggestions, but at the moment the Commission feels that there has been very scanty research on the question of impact of industrialisation upon the tribal economy and immediate steps should be taken in that direction. It should be the responsibility of the Union Government as a corollary to the Central planning of industries to undertake this research. Bihar, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa will come under intensive industrialisation and though no data is available at the moment, we are confident that as soon as the research is over an adequate provision will be made to assist the tribal population to sustain themselves against this new impact. By

Supplementary Notes—

5. The recommendations of the Commission are contained in Chapter 22 on Impact of Industrialisation.

industrial impact is meant not only the impact of large scale industries, but the impact of mining, impact due to the emigrant labour and other outside interests that enter into the area.

Agriculture

32.7. As mentioned above the face of the tribal areas in Bihar is rapidly changing. It is very difficult for us at the moment to conceive the future economic pattern of the areas where industrialisation has not still entered. But all the same, agriculture will be the mainstay of the tribal population at least for some time. As in the case of Madhya Pradesh we feel that (i) soil conservation; (ii) minor and medium irrigation; and (iii) supply of bullocks and agricultural implements, will need concentrated attention.

Soil Conservation

32.8. The soil conservation problem in the tribal areas requires, in our opinion, some attention. The Tribal Development Blocks will naturally attend to this problem and there may be some provision in the general budget also. But having regard to the extent and the magnitude of the problem of the displaced tribal population we would like that special provision should be made for soil conservation. Out of the total area of 196 lakh acres excluding the forests, the cropped area is only 54.88 lakh acres, that is, near about 25 per cent. There is some cultivable waste area which can be brought under the plough with adequate measures for soil conservation. We have already referred to the extent of acquisition. Many other projects are under way. Reclamation and soil conservation offer the only other alternative for rehabilitation of the tribals. We think efforts should be made to bring the bulk of cultivable waste land under plough and for that purpose measures for reclamation and conservation should be expedited.

Irrigation

32.9. We should like the State Government to fix a target for minor and medium irrigation works. This is an activity which can create an impact upon the tribals and stabilise their economy.

32.10. There is a great scope for minor and medium irrigation in the hill areas. There is an acute demand for irrigation facilities. Here is an opportunity for the State Government to identify itself with the felt needs of the people. We shall, therefore, recommend that in the Third Plan steps should be taken to bring at least 2 lakh acres of land under minor and medium irrigation. An effort was made in the first two Plans and according to the figures available, about 4 lakh acres of land was brought under irrigation. But from our personal observation and the reports available to us, the work was done at some places in a haphazard manner and all the schemes have not proved successful. We are, therefore, limiting the target to 2 lakh acres to ensure that there is no wastage. The Bihar schemes cost less than the Madhya Pradesh schemes. In our opinion, in this area, where industrialisation is bringing about economic changes at a rapid pace in the standard of living of labour it is desirable to raise the economic level of the people and reduce disparities that are arising between the industrial labour and the agricultural community. *We suggest that the original provision proposed by the State Government may be restored, the balance being met from the funds of the Tribal Development Blocks and the general budget of the State.*

Seeds, Implements, etc.

32.11. The Working Group has suggested a provision of Rs. 10 lakhs by way of subsidies to agriculturists for purchase of bullocks and agricultural implements. We consider this provision to be adequate as some additional funds will be forthcoming from the Tribal Development Blocks and the general budget also.

Co-operation

32.12. Some provision has been made for co-operation and grain golas.⁶ *The Commission recommend that a sponsoring agency on the lines of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation Ltd., with certain modifications be established to promote the formation of co-operative societies.* This Corporation will on the one hand promote co-operatives and on the other assist the tribals in collection of minor forest produce. With this end in view, we suggest that as in the case of Madhya Pradesh the provision of Rs. 32 lakhs suggested under the head "Co-operation" by the Working Group, be raised to Rs. 60 lakhs. It will provide for initial share capital, expenditure on organising the co-operatives and expenses for godowns etc. as also for setting up additional grain golas. To enable the State Government to proceed with this activity with confidence it should be assured that if further funds are necessary they will be forthcoming. During our discussions, the then Chief Minister was clear that if the State Government could get funds, he would concentrate all energy to make co-operation in the field of exploitation of forests and in the field of agriculture a success in this area.

Indebtedness

32.13. There is a negative side of economic development and that is indebtedness. While in Rajasthan and Orissa and to a certain extent in Madhya Pradesh bonded labour still exists in a limited area, we did not come across such instances in Bihar. The incidence

Supplementary Notes—

6. In Chhota Nagpur Division there are 3,280 Multipurpose Co-operative Societies, 34 Lac Growers' Co-operative Societies and 16 Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies. Out of a total membership of 10,600 the tribals are about 86 per cent. Total advances to members during the kharif season were of the order of Rs. 10,46,000 out of which 80 per cent were made to the tribals. It means that a member was given an advance of Rs. 10 on an average during the kharif season. This is 10 times less than the advance which a tribal gets in the Panchmahals District in Gujarat. There are a number of grain golas but there was a complaint that grain loan is not given in time and in adequate quantity. The rate of interest at 25 per cent is on the face of it unjustifiable.

The Bihar Government has a programme of expanding and developing the co-operative movement by payment of Rs. 25 lakhs towards the share capital of co-operative societies. We feel that strenuous efforts are required for developing the co-operative movement.

We would like to make some additional suggestions—

- (i) the grain golas should be under the Co-operative Department and the machinery for inspection and audit of the grain golas should be strengthened;
- (ii) interest to be reduced by 50 per cent in the first year; and
- (iii) the maximum credit of a member should be fixed not on the acreage of his holdings but on the produce which he raises.

of indebtedness, however, is still high and if the benefits of development have to go to the people, facilities for alternative credit will have to be provided to them. We understand that a larger provision is being made for rural credit this time. We hope that emphasis will be laid on meeting the needs for credit to the tribals. We are, therefore, not suggesting any separate provision.

Education

32.14. Apart from the allocation suggested by the Working Group we would suggest three other schemes. Except the Districts of Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh and Palamau, the State Government has done well in the matter of education. It should be noted that there is a vast network of missionary institutions and a good portion of the credit for it should go to them. To a certain extent, this creates problems also. *We recommend that the programme should as far as possible be worked out through the Education Department.*

32.15. In the matter of girls' education, Bihar as a whole is very backward in comparison to the all-India figure. The all-India figure of girls' education is 7.8 and in Bihar it is only 1.9. We would suggest that in Santal Parganas, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Purnea and Ranchi Districts some special effort should be made to bring more girls to the schools. The Commission would like that the figure originally suggested by the State in relation to hostels and residential schools should be adhered to. This will mean additional allocation of Rs. 24.50 lakhs.

32.16. In the matter of publications in tribal language, the original proposal of Rs. 2 lakhs made by the State Government does not seem to be extravagant.

Technical Education

32.17. The second suggestion that we have to make is in connection with the technical education. There are at present four technical institutions imparting training to the tribal students. However, as industrialisation is rapidly increasing, we would recommend emphasis on technical education in that area. It is the only way to avoid any suspicion in the minds of the tribal people and the only way to give them a stake in the industrial development of the area. *We would, therefore, recommend establishment of one additional technical institution in the Scheduled Area of Singhbhum District and 10 industrial workshops in other Scheduled Areas in order to train as large a number of tribal boys as possible for industrial work.*

Education for Scheduled Tribes in Non-Scheduled Areas

32.18. Our third suggestion is about the tribals in the non-Scheduled Areas. We can render effective assistance to them through educational stipends and hostel facilities and we would suggest a provision of Rs. 40 lakhs for hostels and stipends for the students in those areas.

Health and Sanitation

32.19. Regarding drinking water supply, the provision of Rs. 7.50 lakhs suggested by the State appears to us to be too low as in the summer months Chhota Nagpur area presents a desolate appearance. We would suggest a provision of at least Rs. 25 lakhs for drinking water supply. Finally, concentrated efforts should be made to weed out leprosy, T. B. and V. D. from the area. Therefore, the provision of Rs. 20 lakhs made by the State Government for T.B. clinics should be restored and expenditure on eradication of leprosy, T.B. and V.D. also be met from this amount.

32.20. As a result of these recommendations, the proposed outlay for the Third Plan will be of the order of Rs. 1,157.50 lakhs instead of Rs. 928.00 lakhs as recommended by the Working Group. The financial implications of the proposals made by the Commission are furnished in the following table:—

TABLE 66

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's Proposal	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
1	2	3	4
<i>I Education</i>			
1. Stipend to College students .. .. .	.. .. .	..	..
2. Stipends to High School students	108.00	..	108.00
3. Stipends to students of technical institutions.	4.00	..	4.00
4. Book grants to High School students	2.00	..	2.00
5. Grants to Primary and Middle School students.	38.00	..	38.00
6. Examination fees, other fees, etc. (Reimbursement grants).	2.00	..	2.00
7. Hostels	22.00	+3.50	25.50
8. Residential schools	21.00	+21.00	42.00
9. Publications in tribal languages	1.00	+1.00	2.00
10. Stipends for encouragement of dances, dramas, etc.	..	..	..
11. Exemption of Scheduled Tribe students from payment of tuition fees at Secondary & College stages.	45.00 (not at College stage)	..	45.00
12. Establishment of 10 industrial workshops.	..	+10.00	10.00
13. Stipends & Hostels for Scheduled Tribes outside Scheduled Area.	..	+40.00	40.00

TABLE 66—contd.

1	2	3	4
<i>II. Economic Development</i>			
14. Grain golas	24·00	-24·00	..
15. Business loans .. .. .	..	..	..
16. Subsidy for cottage industries ..	3·00	-3·00	..
17. Subsidy for purchase of agricultural cattle, seeds, implements.	10·00	..	10·00
18. Grants-in-aid to Co-operative Societies	..	..	..
19. Industrial Training—Ranchi, Dumka, Daltonganj, Lohardagga.	49·00	+11·00	60·00
20. Development of Lac and Tassar Industries.	..	..	..
21. Rehabilitation of Kharias	4·00	..	4·00
22. Poultry development	1·00	..	1·00
23. Forest Co-operative Societies	5·00	-5·00	..
24. Technical Institutions .. .. .	..	..	..
25. Improved bucks and boar	1·00	..	1·00
26. Irrigation schemes .. .. .	..	+75·00	75·00
27. Tribal Development Blocks	540·00	..	540·00
28. Co-operation .. .. .	..	+60·00	60·00
<i>III. Health, Housing & Other Schemes</i>			
29. Drinking water supply	5·00	+20·00	25·00
30. Medical aid	3·00	..	3·00
31. Legal aid .. .. .	..	..	..
32. Housing schemes .. .. .	..	..	..
33. Village roads & hill pathways	5·00	..	5·00
34. Rehabilitation schemes .. .. .	..	..	..
35. Ayurvedic dispensaries .. .. .	..	..	..
36. T. B. Clinics .. .. .	..	+20·00	20·00
37. Grant-in-aid to Non-official Institutions	5·00	..	5·00
38. Establishment and Research	25·00	..	25·00
39. Bihar Tribal Research Institute	5·00	..	5·00
Total	928·00	+229·50	1,157·50

CHAPTER 33

GUJARAT

The State of Gujarat came into existence in May, 1960, as a result of the bifurcation of the Bombay State. The population of Scheduled Tribes in this State is 20,64,522. The Scheduled Areas extend over 7,000 sq. miles with a population of 9,95,000 Scheduled Tribes.¹ In the State Plan, outlay for the Scheduled Tribes for the State of Bombay in the Second Plan was Rs. 167.47 lakhs of which the estimated outlay for Gujarat was Rs. 65.11 lakhs. Against this, the expenditure was estimated at Rs. 76.87 lakhs. The total provision for the erstwhile Bombay State under the Centrally-sponsored schemes was Rs. 206.34 lakhs.

33.2. The State Government has proposed that a number of areas where the tribal population is more than 40 per cent should be declared as Scheduled Areas.² These areas cover about 2,800 sq. miles with a total population of about 12 lakhs of whom about 5 lakhs are tribals. These proposals have been dealt with in chapter 8 of the Report.

33.3. The biggest tribal group in Gujarat is the Bhil. Dangi Bhiils, Machis and Warlis of Dharampur and Bansda and Bhilalas of Chhota Udepur are the last rung of the social order. The Dublas of Surat numbering about 2 lakhs and Nayakas of Panchmahals and Chhota Udepur are landless labourers. The Dublas of Surat were formerly under the bonded labour system. It is claimed by the State Government that the system has been rooted out, though one finds here and there vestiges of this system.³

Supplementary Notes—

1. The population of Scheduled Tribes in the State would be about 21.5 lakhs if their population in parts of Umbergaon and Nawapur Talukas transferred to the State, is also taken into account.

About 10 lakhs of Scheduled Tribes are concentrated in the District of Surat, 5 lakhs in Panchmahals and the remaining are in the Districts of Baroda, Broach, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha.

2. The State Government has proposed that Chaklia (Block), Kathala (Dohad), Ranapur (Dohad), and Sura Sultanpur (Halol) in Panchmahals District; Ankleshwar (excluding Ankleshwar town) in Broach District; Mangrol (West), Pardi (North), Pardi (South), Mandvi (East), Mandvi (West), Bardoli, Valod, Mahuwa, Chikhli (North), Chikhli (South), Bulsar (North), (excluding Bulsar, Bhadeli, Malvan and Untadi towns), and Bulsar (South) in Surat District; Danta (excluding Danta and Ambaji towns) and Amirgadh Vibhag of Palanpur in Banaskantha District, be declared as Scheduled Areas. The representatives of the tribals have also suggested that these areas be declared as Scheduled Areas.

The Union Government will have to enquire whether these areas or any of them fulfil the criteria suggested by the Commission, if the alternative approach recommended by it is not accepted by Government.

3. (i) The State Government feels that the ordinary laws of the land are sufficient to protect the tribals. Except for Dangs which was an

Agriculture

33.4. The Bhils are following agriculture in all the districts except the Dangs where the economy is predominantly forest-based. To improve the economic condition of the tribals, measures for

Supplementary Note (3)—contd.

Excluded Area, it appears that no special regulation has been undertaken for the protection of tribals. The Bombay Land Revenue Code which is an omnibus law regulates relations between the landholders and the State. Sections in this enactment authorise the State Government to regulate or prohibit alienation of lands in any region, and prohibit transfer of lands granted to the tribals by Government to anybody. The evidence before the Commission shows that while tenancy legislations were under way at least 20 per cent of the tribal tenants were deprived of their tenancy rights on lands either by voluntary surrender or eviction from land on the ground of personal cultivation by the landholders. Under the Tenancy and Agriculture Land Act (as amended upto 1st February 1958), a tenant is deemed to have purchased land from his landlord, if the landlord has not given notice of termination of his tenancy for personal cultivation or for any non-agricultural use. The tenant has to pay the price of land as determined by the Tribunal, in equal annual instalments but no facilities have been provided to enable him to pay the purchase price of land. We would suggest that Government should make arrangement for regular payment of instalments by a tenant through co-operative financing agencies like land mortgage banks.

(ii) The lands available for disposal are:—

- (1) government waste lands;
- (2) forest land suitable for cultivation; and
- (3) tank beds.

The erstwhile Government of Bombay had laid down a policy by executive order in 1960 for disposal of these lands according to which backward classes including the tribals are given first priority. 27,000 acres of land in Panchmahals tribal area have so far been allotted on a permanent basis. There is no percentage reservation for tribals. We recommend that first priority should be given to the tribals in predominantly tribal areas for allotment of government cultivable waste lands.

(iii) As against the national average of 21.3 per cent the forest area is 4.8 per cent in Gujarat. Only Dangs and parts of Dharampur, Songadh and Vyara have good forest. "Jagirdari" forests are still not acquired by the Government. Barring this complaint, the State Government has taken steps to provide gainful employment to the tribals and to give an interest to the tribals in the preservation and exploitation of the forest wealth by organising Forest Co-operative Societies.

(iv) The Forest Co-operatives cover almost all the forest exploitation work in the State except, perhaps, in Dangs. In Dangs there have been difficulties which have resulted in the State taking over the work of exploitation from all the Forest Co-operative Societies. Establishment of a Forest Co-operative should not result in cutting down the tribals' right to obtain supplies of timber for their requirements. That will create prejudice against the concept of Forest Co-operatives. In the matter of construction and repairs of their houses and agricultural implements, it was alleged that the tribals have to go to station depots to get timber while material was available nearby.

improvement of agriculture and for soil conservation will have to be given high priority. The Tribal Development Blocks include these items but taking into account the extent and the magnitude of the problem special provision should be made for soil conservation and irrigation. The State Government is of the opinion that two lakh acres of land should be brought under soil conservation scheme in the Scheduled Areas as well as in other areas with a predominantly tribal population termed as "backward areas". The approximate cost of this scheme will be Rs. 60 lakhs. Two-thirds of this amount should be treated as a subsidy to the State Government and provision should be made for Rs. 40 lakhs as against a provision of Rs. 20 lakhs proposed by the Working Group.⁵

Minor Irrigation

33.5. This State has been particularly unfortunate in respect of irrigation facilities. Only 6.24 per cent of the total gross cropped area is at present under irrigation as against the national average of 17 per cent and in the five of the six districts containing Scheduled

Supplementary Note (3)—contd.

We suggest that the wage rates given by Co-operative Societies should be increased in view of high prices of food-grains and other necessities of life. The present practice of fixing the wage rates in a Committee, on which the contractors are members is hardly a proper course. The supply of timber for construction of huts, repairs of huts and for agricultural implements should be made at concessional rates which tribals can afford. The existing privileges and concessions should be made available without any delay on the part of the forest administration.

(v) It has been mentioned in the economic survey of Khedbrahma Block in Sabarkantha District that in 1956-57 *Sowkars* had advanced 67.4 per cent of the total requirements of the 457 families surveyed. In 1958 it has gone down to 38.1 per cent on account of development of co-operative credit. In 1959 the tribals had purchased goods worth Rs. 15 lakhs on credit from *Sowkars*. These advances were against crops with the result that the cream of development goes to *Sowkars*. Even in Panchmahals where the co-operative movement can be said to be well developed more than 50 per cent of the credit requirements of the tribals are met by licensed money-lenders who number 557. There are unlicensed money-lenders whose seasonal rate of interest varies between 25 per cent to 50 per cent. The Registrar, Co-operative Societies has also corroborated the fact that the Money-lenders Act has been ineffective in checking money-lending by unauthorised money-lenders and in enforcing the rate of interest as prescribed in the Act.

Old debts have already been scaled down under the Debt Redemption Act some eight years back, but new debts have again mounted with the result that the burden of indebtedness continues. We suggest that the Government should take steps to investigate the burden of new debts and scale down the debts.

4. Majority of tribals own less than five acres of land which has also been rendered infertile on account of continuous erosion.

5. We would further recommend that within the next ten years the programme in the tribal areas be completed by covering all areas liable to erosion. At present the rate of subsidy for contour bunding is 25 per cent which is low looking to the economic conditions of the tribals; this may be increased to 50 per cent.

Areas, this percentage is even less than 2 which will be clear from the table given below—

TABLE 67

Percentage of Area irrigated
to Cropped Area—

India
17.00

Gujarat
6.24

Serial No.	District	Gross cropped area (acres)	Gross area irrigated (acres)	Percentage of area irrigated to cropped area
1	2	3	4	5
1	Kutch	11,36,600	1,36,000	11.97
2	Jamnagar	13,94,100	60,200	4.32
3	Rajkot	21,47,400	1,46,800	6.84
4	Surendranagar	15,73,400	27,900	1.77
5	Bhavnagar	18,66,600	1,31,700	7.05
6	Junagadh	15,17,900	1,58,600	10.45
7	Amreli	6,26,300	37,600	6.00
8	Banaskantha	16,40,200	1,50,000	9.15
9	*Sabarkantha	11,67,800	1,17,600	10.08
10	Mehsana	20,98,000	2,44,300	11.64
11	Ahmedabad	16,20,900	1,15,300	7.11
12	Kaira	13,76,100	88,900	6.46
13	*Panch mahals	15,06,300	20,600	1.37
14	*Baroda	13,47,900	18,400	1.37
15	*Broach	11,04,700	7,700	0.70
16	*Surat	18,04,200	26,200	1.45
17	*Dangs	51,500	..	0.00
	Gujarat State	2,39,79,900	14,87,800	6.24

To increase the per acre crop yield as well as to minimise the threat of scarcity conditions in the northern districts of the State, provision of irrigation facilities is imperative. The Working Group has made a provision of Rs. 30 lakhs for minor irrigation in the Third Plan. This seems to be inadequate in view of the felt needs of the people and the conditions obtaining in some of the northern districts. It is proposed that 25,000 acres of land in the Scheduled Areas and

*Scheduled Areas are located in these districts.

backward areas should be brought under irrigation at a total cost of Rs. 150 lakhs at the rate of Rs. 600 per acre. 50 per cent of the cost may be met from the Tribal Development Block funds and normal State expenditure on Irrigation. The other half of the estimated cost i.e. Rs. 75 lakhs should be treated as a subsidy to the State and provided in the Third Plan.⁶

Tribal Development Blocks

33.6. The Working Group has recommended Rs. 185 lakhs for Tribal Development Blocks. As all the areas which have 55 per cent tribal population are proposed to be covered by Tribal Development Blocks additional provision will have to be made as the total number of Blocks would be 61.

33.7. The provision suggested by the Working Group for agriculture, supply of bullocks, forest co-operative societies, communications, etc. seems to be adequate.⁷

Industrial Training

33.8. In Gujarat there is no industrial training institute for imparting training to the tribal students in junior courses of smithy, carpentry, welding, motor mechanics, turning, etc. Industrialisation is in progress in the State. Hence it is necessary that opportunities are provided for technical training to the tribal students which will give them a stake in the industrial development of the State and enable them to come in line with other sections of the society. It is proposed that there should be 10 industrial training schools in the tribal areas—with certificate courses for which an amount of Rs. 25 lakhs may be provided. Each school will have the capacity to train 100 students, at a time, in various trades.

Supplementary Notes—

6. The State Government should investigate possibilities for irrigation in the Scheduled Areas and the areas predominantly inhabited by tribals which are liable to famine conditions and formulate a programme for bringing as much land as possible under irrigation.

We recommend that a large scale programme be taken up for well irrigation and the basis for advancing loans by State Land Mortgage Bank be liberalised in the case of tribals. Adequate guarantee should be given by the State to the Land Mortgage Bank.

7. (i) Animal Husbandry has great potentialities for improving the economic conditions of the tribals. The State Government has taken steps to improve breed of cattle but they do not seem to be adequate. There are very good grass birs (grass lands) in forest areas which, if developed, will be helpful in developing animal husbandry.

We suggest that with the existing schemes the following schemes should be taken up:—

- (a) an integrated key village-cum-artificial insemination centre with suitable sub-centres for insemination,
- (b) establishment of a livestock farm for raising stud bulls suitable for tribal areas,
- (c) expansion of veterinary services,
- (d) eradication of rinder-pest and control of other diseases like H.S. and foot and mouth disease.

Housing

33.9. Halpatis (Dublas), a Scheduled Tribe living in Surat, have neither land nor huts of their own. There are 60,000 families and till recently they were treated as bonded labour. Very little has been done for them in the last ten years. Their rehabilitation should receive high priority in schemes of tribal welfare. Like Yenadis and Yerukulas of Andhra Pradesh they should be given house sites. Surat District is a very congested area. It is a very huge problem which cannot be solved at once. Nevertheless the Commission is of opinion that a ten year programme should be drawn up for their rehabilitation. It should be on a minimum scale as even at the rate of Rs. 125 per hutment (including land) it would cost Rs. 75 lakhs. The cost is, however, likely, to be far in excess of this amount but we suggest that Rs. 37.5 lakhs be provided in the Third Plan.

Education

33.10. The provision of Rs. 30 lakhs recommended by the Working Group for the Third Plan under various items of education seems to be adequate.*

Supplementary Note (7)—contd.

(ii) There was an unanimous opinion that the Co-operative Society should have an effective charge on the produce of its members. If this is done a society will venture to advance money to its members even for unproductive purposes like social functions. Secondly, a tribal should get his requirement without any delay and at any time he wants; something like a cash credit system should be devised. We recommend that—

- (1) steps should be taken to link credit with marketing;
- (2) Co-operative Act should be amended for creating an effective charge of a society on the produce of its members;
- (3) procedure for advance of loans should be simplified;
- (4) branches of Central Financing Agencies be opened in the interior for minimising delay in advancing loans; and
- (5) the Government should give a guarantee to the Central Financing Agencies to the extent of 10 to 15 per cent for all additional finances advanced to tribal members.

8. (i) *Education*—In 1958-59, the number of Scheduled Tribe pupils in primary schools was 1,74,000. About 9 per cent of the total tribal population goes to primary schools. A leeway of 5 per cent has still to be made up. The number of girls is 50,000. There is much leeway to be made up in girls' education. In the secondary education, the number of pupils belonging to Scheduled Tribes is only 3,500 which is unsatisfactory. There are 36 Ashram schools for Scheduled Tribes which are doing good work.

The Tribes Advisory Council members and other tribal workers have recommended mid-day meals to tribal students to encourage them to go to schools regularly and to stop wastage and stagnation.

(ii) The educational programme undertaken by the Gujarat Government seems to be satisfactory. The experiment of residential schools with craft bias (Ashram schools) has proved successful. We recommend that

- (a) post basic residential schools should be opened—one for a group of 5 to 6 junior residential schools (Ashram school),
- (b) a rural educational centre on the lines of Sanosera Educational Centre (in Saurashtra) be opened in the tribal area which should be placed in charge of a well established non-official agency;
- (c) residential quarters for teachers should be constructed along with school buildings;

Health

33.11. There is a provision of Rs. 20 lakhs for medical aid and drinking water supply. There are very few hospitals in the tribal areas. The tribals suffer from various diseases like V.D., T.B. and eye diseases. It is suggested that there should be two cottage hospitals in the Scheduled Areas of the State. A mobile van should also be attached to each of these hospitals. An additional provision of Rs. 20 lakhs during the Third Plan is recommended.

33.12. The financial implications of the proposals made by the Commission are given in the following table—

TABLE 68

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's Proposals	Additional Allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
1	2	3	4
<i>Economic Development</i>			
1. Tribal Development Blocks	185.00	..	185.00
2. Agricultural Aids (Ploughs, bullocks etc.)	10.00	..	10.00
3. Forest Cooperative Societies	10.00	..	10.00
4. Marketing-cum-Consumers Cooperatives Societies	20.00	..	20.00
5. Production cum-Training Centres and Cottage Industries.	10.00	..	10.00
6. Soil Conservation	20.00	20.00	40.00
7. Minor Irrigation	30.00	45.00	75.00
<i>Communications</i>	20.00	..	20.00
<i>Education</i>			
1. Tuition fees and Examination fees (Pre-matric)	5.00	..	5.00
2. Scholarships (Pre-matric)	12.00	..	12.00
3. Hostels	17.00	..	17.00
4. Ashram Schools	40.00	..	40.00
5. Post-Basic Ashram Schools	6.00	..	6.00
6. Industrial Schools .. .. .	..	25.00	25.00
<i>Health, Housing and Other Schemes</i>			
1. Medical aid and drinking water supply (Bandharas, etc.)	20.00	..	20.00
2. Cottage Hospitals (2) .. .. .	..	20.00	20.00
3. Housing for Halpatis and Nayaks .. .. .	..	37.50	37.50
4. Research, Training, Statistics, Coordination Cell etc.	5.00	..	5.00
Total	410.00	147.50	557.50

CHAPTER 34

KERALA

The population of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Kerala is 1.34 lakhs in a total population of 135 lakhs which works out to 0.99 per cent of the total population. The concentration of tribal population is in the Districts of Palghat, Kozhikode, Cannanore and Kottayam. The figures are as under:—

Kozhikode	...	...	...	54,000
Palghat	...	...	...	48,000
Cannanore	...	...	...	32,200
Kottayam	...	...	...	11,110

The main tribes are Paniyans, 25,000; Irulars, 12,000; Kurichchans 12,000; Marati 11,000 and Kanikkar 10,000, Kadars, Kurumbas, Koragas constitute the weaker section amongst the tribals.

Protective Measures and Safeguards

34.2. No step has been taken to safeguard the rights of the tribals in land or to protect them from exploitation by money-lenders. It was represented that there has been alienation of land from tribals to non-tribals. In South Wynad, it was stated, that 50 per cent of the land had passed into the hands of the non-tribals. Any new assignment of land to a tribal is inalienable but he has full freedom to sell or mortgage the land already owned by him. From 1950 there has been an influx of settlers. They have pushed out the tribals and deprived them of their lands. Shri Kelappan, a former Minister and Sarvodaya leader has stated as follows:—

“They have their lands. But all these lands have been trespassed or sold by the landlords to other persons who are in a position to acquire those lands. So these people find themselves deprived of lands they were cultivating. Now in Wynad you will find that there may be persons who acquired the lands in the name of these tribals and they are not cultivating them. When you go and ask them they tell you that they are only cultivators and their master is some landlord. They are being exploited in this way and after sometime you will find that there will be no land for the tribal huts. They complained to me that they have their small temples and their own deities—even these lands have been trespassed into.”

The whole of Attappady valley except the reserved forest belongs to jemmies. The system of land tenancy in the valley is complicated by leases, sub-leases and litigation. It may be stated that the tribals cultivating the land are the tenants of one of the jemmies. We would recommend that

- (i) the tenants of jemmies should be brought in direct relation to the State by the abolition of the intermediary rights on payment of compensation;
- (ii) till a survey is made, land pattas should be issued to the tribals for the lands in their possession; and
- (iii) land held by tribals as owners should be made inalienable.

The present allocation of Rs. 1,175 lakhs should be raised to Rs. 1,745 lakhs.

The following table summarises the financial implications of our proposals—

TABLE 72

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's proposal	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
1	2	3	4
<i>Education</i>			
1. Scholarships and stipends (pre-matric)	100.00	..	100
2. Educational aid for books, stationery and equipment ..	20.00	..	20
3. Construction of Teachers' Quarters	40.00	..	40
4. Construction of school buildings	40.00	..	40
5. Hostel facilities (construction of Hostel buildings and Hostel stipends).	00.00	..	100
6. Educational tour	5.00	..	5
7. Ashram type hostels for Adibasi girls .. .. .	..	50	50
8. Hostels and stipends for tribals in the non-Scheduled Area.	..	50	50
<i>Economic Development</i>			
1. Tribal Development Blocks	450.00	..	450
2. Subsidy for soil conservation	50.00	..	50
3. Subsidy for minor irrigation works	40.00	210	250

Supplementary Note (7)—contd.

in this area. Chattisgarh area has possibilities so far as milk and milk-products are concerned. There are places like Bhilai, Rourkela, Hirakud, Brijrajnagar (paper Mills) where these products would fetch very good price. Special steps should be taken to develop animal husbandry in the region.

The veterinary facilities available to the tribal people are considered to be inadequate. There should be at least one veterinary dispensary with three sub-centres and a veterinary team in every Block. The efforts so far made by the Government for controlling rinderpest and foot and mouth diseases have borne fruit.

TABLE 72—contd.

1	2	3	4
<i>Economic Development—contd.</i>			
4. Other agricultural subsidies (such as bullocks, ploughs, implements, etc.)	25·00	..	..
5. Settlement of shifting cultivators	20·00	} 20	65
6. Technical Training Institutes	60·00	30	90
7. Training-cum-Production centres	25·00	..	25
8. Lac culture	10·00	..	10
9. Rural workshop centres	5·00	..	5
10. Co-operation	100·00	..	100
11. Sericulture .. ..	..	20	20
<i>Health, Housing and other Schemes</i>			
1. Communications (culverts, crossings and approach roads to inaccessible tribal villages).	25·00	100	125
2. Staff including planning, progress and coordination cell	15·00	..	15
3. Non-official organisations	5·00	..	5
4. Research, Training and survey including cultural programmes.	10·00	..	10
5. Health Programme (V.D. Control Units, Leprosy Asylums, medicine chests and drinking water supply).	25·00	75	100
6. Legal Aid and Miscellaneous, Development of Abujmah and Baiga Chak.	5·00	15	20
Total ..	1,175·00	570	1,745

CHAPTER 36

MADRAS

The population of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Madras is 1.36 lakhs which forms 0.6 per cent of the total population of the State. The State Government has, however, estimated the total population at 1.84 lakhs. The district-wise population of the tribes is as under:—

Nilgiris	12,302
Coimbatore	2,968
North Arcot	44,697
Salem	81,688
Tiruchirapalli	7,923

The main tribes are Malayalees, Irulars, Paniyans, Pulayars, Todas, Kotas and Kadars.

36.2. Paniyans, Kadars, Irulars, form the weaker section among the tribes. The Malayalees are agriculturists and labourers in coffee plantations. They number 80,265 which is nearly one half of the total tribal population. Todas are a picturesque and proud people and are pastoral.

Scheduled Areas

36.3. The State Government is of the opinion that no area need be declared as a Scheduled Area.

Economy

36.4. The State Government has sanctioned a socio-economic survey of the tribes of Nilgiris through the agency of the P. S. G. School of Social Work, Coimbatore. The tribal economy is mainly based on forest and agriculture.

Protective Measures and Safeguards

36.5. No special legislative measures have been passed for protecting the right of the tribals on land. The State Government has, however, reported that no case of dispossession of land from tribals to non-tribals has been brought to its notice. The State Government has undertaken the management of the forest and waste lands situated in the Nilgiris District known as Toda patta lands, and has allowed certain concessions in regard to assignment of forest and waste lands to Todas for cultivation.

36.6. The State Government has also issued orders for assignment of lands to the Todas to an extent of 1,393 acres lying outside Wenlock Downs in Ootacamund. Attempts have also been made by the Government to reinstate the tribals on the lands which have been taken over by the Forest Department.

36.7. With a view to enabling the Scheduled Tribes to settle down to permanent cultivation, State Government has granted

certain concessions, which include the assignment of maximum of 10 acres of dry land or 5 acres of wet land in hilly tracts, if sufficient lands are available to landless tribal. These assignments include the regularization of unobjectionable encroachments of Government waste lands made by the hill tribes. The Government has under consideration, a proposal to reserve cultivable waste land for assignment to Scheduled Tribes in other districts. It has always been the policy of the Government to encourage colonies of the tribal people, practising shifting cultivation or subsisting on forest labour, by giving them land and other facilities for carrying out agricultural operations. In the Nilgiris District, the tribal families are given a subsidy of Rs. 600 per family for potato cultivation and Rs. 150 per family for millets and other forms of cultivation. In other districts, the hill tribes are given a subsidy of Rs. 285 per family for the purchase of bullocks, seeds and implements. In addition, from the last year of the Second Plan period, the Government offers a subsidy of Rs. 1,500 towards the cost of sinking an irrigation well by a member of a Scheduled Tribe.

36.8. In Tiruchirapalli District, the State Government has also made an attempt at colonising Scheduled Tribe families on co-operative basis by allotting land, bullocks and other agricultural requisites to a group of tribal families, say 20 or 25 in number.

36.9. *We suggest that Paniyans and Irulas be allotted land in Mettupalayam taluk where about ten thousand acres of land are available. The Government should formulate a scheme for rehabilitating these people who form the weaker section of the tribal society.*

36.10. There is a Money-lenders' Act, which has not been able to protect the tribals from exploitation by money-lenders. The rate of interest varies from 12 to 48 per cent per annum.

36.11. Bonded labour in some or the other form does exist among the Paniyans. We suggest that immediate steps be taken to release the Paniyans from bonded labour.

Development of Agriculture

36.12. (a) The tribals practising agriculture should be supplied with improved implements, improved seeds and bullocks at concessional rates.

(b) Land held by tribals should be brought under irrigation in order to raise production.

36.13. We think that the Working Group's allocation of Rs. 5 lakhs for agricultural subsidies for implements, bullocks etc. and of Rs. 3 lakhs for irrigation is adequate and would meet the needs of the tribal people particularly the weaker section among them like Paniyans, Irulas.

36.14. Sheep rearing have great potentiality for development in hills. We would suggest that special efforts should be made by Government to develop sheep rearing among Todas. A provision of Rs. 1 lakh should be made for the purpose in the Third Plan.

Education

36.15. There are 28 residential schools with a total strength of 1500 students in the State. The State Government has decided to

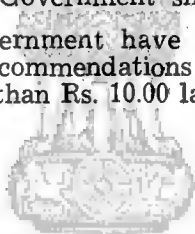
introduce compulsory primary education in the age group of 6—11 by three stages, in the first year in the age group of 6 to 7, in the second year in the age group of 8—9 and in the third year in the age group of 10—11. It is a happy thing that mid-day meals are supplied to students.

36.16. We feel that the steps taken by the State Government are adequate. Still the gap between the tribals and the other section of the society is wide. The schemes which are being implemented by the State Government should be expanded, particularly scheme of residential schools and hostels for students studying in high schools.

36.17. The allocation proposed by the Working Group in respect of cottage industries, forest co-operatives, health and drinking water supply seems to us adequate.

36.18. The Working Group has suggested Tribal Development Blocks for Mysore and Kerala. We are of opinion that such type of Tribal Development Blocks should be started in those areas where the tribal population is more than 55 per cent of the total population since the population is dispersed, the normal average of 25,000 people per Block, need not be insisted. It may be fixed near about 15,000—20,000. The State Government should locate such areas.

36.19. The Union Government have agreed to an allocation of Rs. 33.00 lakhs. If our recommendations are accepted the provision should be raised by more than Rs. 10.00 lakhs, exclusive of the Tribal Development Blocks.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 37

MAHARASHTRA

The State has about 16 lakhs Scheduled Tribe population which is about 5 per cent of the total population. The Scheduled Areas extending over 10,000 sq. miles are located only in the Thana, Nanded, Dhulia, Jalgaon, Nasik, Chanda and Amravati districts and the Scheduled Tribes living therein are only 7,23,948. The State Government has proposed additional Scheduled Areas to the extent of about 5,000 sq. miles covering a Scheduled Tribe population of about 6 lakhs. Some of these areas were formerly Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas.¹ It has also been contended before the Commission that about 6 lakhs of tribals belonging to those very communities or tribes declared as Scheduled Tribes but living in areas outside the Scheduled and specified areas have not been accepted as Scheduled Tribes. This has, it is claimed, placed these members of the same tribal community in a disadvantageous position.

The Katkaris of the Thana and Kolaba Districts are economically very backward and, therefore, need special protection. Similarly

Supplementary Notes—

1. The State Government has proposed the following areas to be included in the list of the Scheduled Areas:—

- (a) Vada, Nyaphadi Valley of Murbad Taluka, Jangalpatti area of Bassein Taluka, Paye Chimbepada Ganeshpuri Area of Bhivandi Taluka and part of Palghar Taluka in Thana District.
- (b) Dindori, Western part of Igatpuri taluka; Western part of Baglan taluka; and Western part of Nasik taluka in District Nasik.
- (c) Part of Chopda and Yawal Talukas in East Khandesh District.
- (d) Taloda, Western part of Nandurbar Taluka, Western and Northern parts of Sakri Taluka, Northern part of Sahahada Taluka and Northern part of Shivpur Taluka in West Khandesh District.
- (e) Akola in Ahmednagar District.
- (f) Mawal, and parts of Ambegaon, Khed and Junar Talukas in Poona District.
- (g) Kelapur Taluka (except Pandhar Kawada Town), Yeotmal Taluka (except Yeotmal Town), part of Wani Taluka and part of Darwha Taluka in Yeotmal District.
- (h) Whole of Sironcha and whole of Gadchiroli Tehsils in Chanda District.
- (i) Part of Cheechgarh tract in Sakoli Tehsil and part of Sakoli Tehsil in Bhandara District.

After examining the arguments advocated by the State Government and the non-officials very carefully, we recommend that the question should be considered in the light of the alternative approach suggested in chapter 8.

the Maria Gonds of Chanda District are leading a near primitive life. They, therefore, need special attention to raise them at least to the level of the other Scheduled Tribes.²

Supplementary Notes—

2. (a) *Land*—We have already discussed at length in chapter 12 the various legislative measures taken by the State Government in connection with land reforms and prevention of land alienation. We would, however, like to emphasise particularly the following recommendations in this connection:—

- (i) The land held by or in the possession of the tribals should be made inalienable.
- (ii) The tribals should be given the necessary legal aid and financial assistance to purchase the occupancy rights conferred by the Agriculture Improvements and Tenancy Act, 1957.

(b) *Indebtedness*—No detailed survey has been made to assess the incidence of indebtedness among the tribals. The following facts will give the extent of the problem:—

- (i) The Collector, Thana, stated that the average outstanding loan per tribal family was approximately Rs. 175, the money-lender's share being Rs. 50/-. The rate of interest is 15 to 50% per annum. He, however, stated that "in many cases the indebtedness is so heavy that the entire crop of the tribal cultivator is taken away by the money-lender."
- (ii) A rapid survey conducted in the Amravati District indicated that the average debt per tribal family ranged from Rs. 125 to Rs. 200, the rate of interest charged by the money-lenders being 25 to 50 per cent per annum.
- (iii) In the Scheduled areas of the Amravati District, we were informed that about 150 unlicensed money-lenders had been operating and the outstanding loans due to them amounted to about Rs. 7 lakhs.
- (iv) In the Dhulia District the average outstanding debt per tribal family is Rs. 744.69 out of which the money-lender's share is 36.9 per cent.

This is the state of affairs in spite of the application of the Money-lenders Act and we would make the following recommendations:—

- (i) Debts should be scaled down.
- (ii) Money-lending by private individuals should be controlled effectively.
- (iii) Alternative source of credit preferably through co-operatives should be provided extensively in the light of our recommendations contained in chapter 17.

(c) *Forest Policy*—There have been large scale complaints alleging encroachment on the rights of user in respect of forest produce, especially in respect of forests taken over from the ex-zamindars. These should be enquired into. The State Government should take steps immediately to complete the survey of all the forests taken over from the ex-zamindars so as to enable settlement of tribals' rights in land as well as forest produce.

Economic Development

37.2 Except in the part of Sironcha tehsil of Chanda District and the Melghat tehsil of Amravati District the tribal economy is mostly agriculture based. A substantial population of the tribals in Maharashtra is unfortunately landless. In Sironcha and Melghat tehsils, however, the economy is forest-cum-agriculture. Where the tribals have land and the lands are of poor quality, they have been following a primitive method of agriculture. The peculiar physical features of the Western Ghats present difficulties in improving agricultural production.

Soil conservation measures especially contour bunding and terracing can go a long way in increasing crop yields. The State Government has launched a very big soil conservation programme which has produced commendable results. For the Third Plan the State

Supplementary Note (2)—contd.

(d) As far as cultivable lands in forest areas are concerned, the State Government's decision to transfer such lands, the gradient of which do not exceed 10 per cent and which does not have more than 20 timber trees per acre and which constitute a compact block of 300 acres, is a laudable one. Effective steps should be taken to implement this decision in all the tribal areas as early as possible.

(e) The Government has also done well in giving occupancy rights to the yearly lease holders who were in continuous possession of such plots for a period of 3 years.

(f) The Government's policy of making land available in forest areas for agri-silvi purposes is on right lines. This, however, needs to be implemented in as large an area as possible. Many of the tribals are still not in the know of this policy.

(g) Forests in Western Maharashtra are on their last legs. The regeneration of these forests will not only increase the forest wealth but provide employment opportunities to these landless tribals many of whom are really destitute. Our idea is that the time schedule and the programme should be so drawn up that the local people are provided employment for at least 300 days in a year.

(i) *Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies*—We would like to make the following recommendations so as to make these Societies more effective:—

- (i) The wage rates should be increased by 12½ per cent in view of the general rise in the cost of living index.
- (ii) Admissible expenditure on account of exploitation of coupes, transport of materials, management, etc., be worked out liberally.
- (iii) The share in the net profits which at present varies from 10 to 25 per cent depending on the period for which the societies have been in existence, should be fixed uniformly at 20 per cent for all societies.
- (iv) The Co-operative societies should be entrusted with the work of the collection of minor forest produce on the same basis as is obtaining for major forest produce. These societies should be enabled to take up processing of forest produce, both major and minor, by giving them technical and financial assistance.

programme embraces 50 lakhs acres covering the entire State. We consider that an area of about 3 lakhs acres in the Scheduled Areas requires contour bunding and terracing and that this should be taken up in the Third Plan of the State. The estimated cost of this scheme is Rs. 120 lakhs at the rate of Rs. 40 per acre. Out of this outlay we would suggest that 2/3rd, namely, Rs. 80 lakhs, should be treated as a subsidy to the State Government, the balance being met by the State Government and beneficiaries. The financial assistance will go a long way in intensifying the programme in the Scheduled Areas thereby giving them direct and immediate benefit.

37.3. On account of its peculiar physical features this State has been particularly unfortunate in irrigation facilities. As against the national average of 17 per cent area under irrigation this State has only 5.61 per cent of the gross cropped area under irrigation. All the districts having Scheduled Areas except the Chanda District have been particularly very unfortunate, the area under irrigation varying between 0.78 per cent to 6.06 per cent. The following table* gives the necessary details regarding the areas under irrigation in 1956-57 in the various districts of the State.

TABLE 73

	India	Maharashtra
(1) Gross Cropped Area .. .. .	..	4,63,81,600
(2) Gross Area Irrigated .. .. .	..	28,01,700
(3) Percentage of Area Irrigated to Cropped Area	17	5.61

(In. acres)

District	Total gross cropped area	Gross Area Irrigated	Percentage of area irrigated to cropped area
1	2	3	4
Nanded	19,80,000	17,100	0.86
Amravati	16,70,300	13,100	0.78
Chanda	13,49,900	2,12,500	15.73
Yavatmal	18,06,900	6,100	0.33
Jalgaon	20,90,300	88,700	4.23
Thane	7,79,100	11,400	1.46
Nasik	24,25,700	1,47,500	6.08
Dhule (W.K.)	19,64,100	84,400	4.29

* Handbook of Basic Statistics of Maharashtra State, 1960.

Unless special measures are undertaken and specific funds provided for increasing the area under irrigation in the Scheduled

Areas the possibilities of increasing production are limited. A provision of Rs. 0.75 lakhs specially for this purpose is, therefore suggested.

Industrial Schools

37.4. The Scheduled Tribes have been particularly unfortunate in taking any advantage of industrial development in the State. Arrangements must be made for equipping them with the necessary 'know-how' for absorption in the various industries. This will relieve the increasing pressure on land in the Scheduled Areas also. It is proposed that ten industrial schools with a capacity of 100 trainees each and a total outlay of Rs. 25 lakhs should be established in the Scheduled Areas. Training would be imparted in various trades and professions, namely, carpentry, smithy, turning, welding, electrical engineering, etc.

Rehabilitation of Tribals following Shifting Cultivation

37.5. About 180 families in the Bhamragarh area of the Sironcha tehsil are reported to be following shifting cultivation. The State Government has been able to persuade fifty families to settle on the land allotted to them for cultivation. This scheme has cost it Rs. 1 lakh during the last two years of the Second Plan. For rehabilitating the remaining families, it will be necessary to provide an amount of Rs. 4 lakhs. The State Government is prepared to find out suitable lands for them.

Housing

37.6. In Maharashtra as elsewhere housing conditions of many of tribals are miserable. This is especially so in the case of some of the landless labourers in Kolaba, Thana and Yeotmal districts, who not having a site of their own, are at present living on the sites given to them by landlords. This has inevitably led to their attachment to those very landlords thus resulting in a certain amount of exploitation. We feel that if these landless labourers are able to live in houses of their own their mobility as well as their bargaining power would increase. The State Government is willing to provide lands but they will not be in a position to give subsidy for housing. A lump sum provision of Rs. 25 lakhs is proposed for this purpose in the Third Plan of the State.

Medical Facilities

37.7. The following table gives the medical facilities available in the districts having Scheduled Areas. These facilities are by no means adequate. To improve this position two cottage hospitals with an ophthalmic section each at an estimated cost of Rs. 20 lakhs are proposed to be established in some of the Scheduled Areas, and this is recommended.

Supplementary Notes—

3. *Tribal Development Block*—The Working Group had recommended 46 Tribal Development Blocks for the whole State. It has been brought to our notice that the Ministry of Home Affairs has allotted only 16 Blocks on the basis of a minimum of 66.6 per cent Scheduled Tribe population in the particular Block. We consider that by adopting this criterion considerable injustice is likely to be caused to the tribals. We, therefore, recommend that all the Scheduled Areas in the State be covered with Tribal Development Blocks. Regarding the other areas where the tribal population is more than 55 per cent we recommend that additional Tribal Development Blocks be demarcated and allotted on the basis of the criteria recommended by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks.

TABLE 74
 Medical Facilities in the Scheduled Areas of the Maharashtra State
 India
 Maharashtra State

(a) Total population/Area (Sq. miles) (a) 356,879,364/12,59,979
 (b) Total No. of Hospitals & Dispensaries (b) 856
 (c) Population/Area covered per Hospital/Dispensary (c) 37,387/138.4
 (d) Total No. of Beds (d) 11,909
 (e) Population covered per Bed (e) 2687

Serial No.	District	Scheduled Area	Population	No. of Hospitals and Dispensaries	Population covered per Hospital or Dispensary	No. of beds	Population covered per bed	Area (sq. miles)	Area covered per Hospital/Dispensary
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Nandei	..	9,58,888	13	73,761	101	9,494	4,690	360.6
2	Amravati	..	10,31,160	40	25,779	379	2,720	4,723	118.1
3	Chanda	Melghat ..	52,356	3	17,452	10	5,236	1,546	515.3
		Sironcha ..	9,77,618	28	34,915	130	7,520	9,200	328.6
		Gadchiroli ..	93,726	4	23,432	12	7,810	3,089	772.3
		..	1,31,475	3	43,825	7	18,782	2,265	755.0
4	Yectmal ..	..	9,31,982	17	54,822	157	5,936	5,246	308.6
		Kelapur (Part) ..	91,206	5	18,241	29	3,145	070	134.0
		Yectmal (Part) ..	51,334	4	12,834	50	1,027	455	113.8
		Wani (Part) ..	32,556	2	16,278	22	1,480	316	157.5
		Darwaha (Part) ..	4,903	3	1,634	16	307	45	15.0

TABLE 74—contd.

1 क्र.सं.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5	Jalgaon (EK)	..	14,71,351	19	77,439	233	6,315	4,575	240.8
6	Thana ..	..	12,80,749	46	27,342	372	3,443	3,612	78.5
	Dahanu & Jawahar	..	1,98,687	5	39,738	36	5,519	683	136.6
	Shahapur	..	99,019	1	99,019	23	4,305	635	635.0
	Mokhada	..	39,140	1	39,140	10	3,914	242	242.0
7	Nasik ..	..	14,29,916	37	38,646	574	2,491	6,021	162.7
	Kalwan ..	..	75,005	4	18,762	4	18,752	421	105.3
	Surgana ..	..	35,665	2	17,832	2	17,832	316	158.0
	Peint ..	..	49,266	4	12,319	3	16,422	342	85.5
8	Dhulia (WK)	..	10,60,800	44	24,109	66	16,073	5,091	115.7
	Nawapur	..	91,316	6	13,386	5	16,263	421	70.2
	Akrani Mahal	..	22,517	3	7,506	6	3,753	232	77.3
	Akkalkuwa	..	43,572	1	43,572	4	10,893	672	672.0
9	Greater Bombay ..	..	29,96,267	65	46,096	3,498	857	186	2.9
10	Poona ..	..	19,50,976	59	33,067	1,385	1,409	6,029	102.2
11	Aurangabad ..	..	11,79,404	13	90,723	147	8,023	6,314	485.7
12	Nagpur ..	..	12,34,556	41	30,111	590	2,093	3,842	93.7

Communications

37.8. As against the national average of 28 miles of road per 100 sq. miles, the percentage in the districts in the Marathwada and Vidarbha regions which have Scheduled Areas varies from 5.1 to 12.6. Want of communication facilities has been one of the greatest hindrances in the development of these areas. It is, therefore, proposed that an amount of Rs. 20 lakhs be specially earmarked for the development of communications in Scheduled Areas of the State. Necessary details regarding the road mileage as on 31-3-58 have been furnished in the table given below:—

TABLE 75

	India	Maharashtra
(1) Total Area (Sq. miles)	11,76,680*	1,18,459
(2) Total Road Mileage.	3,79,000	20,815
(3) Total Road length per 100 sq. miles Area.	28.00	17.6
(4) Twenty-years Plan Target-Road Length per 100 sq. miles area.	52.0	52.00

*Provisional

Serial No.	District	Total Area (sq. miles)	Length of Roads in miles			Total road length in miles per 100 sq. miles of Area
			Metalled	Non-metalled	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Nanded	4,690	172.50	65.34	237.84	5.1
2	Amravati	4,723	579.43	16.04	595.47	12.6
3	Chanda	9,200	374.49	291.43	665.92	7.3
4	Yatmal	5,246	377.40	174.01	551.41	10.5
5	Jalgaon	4,575	346.15	1230.02	1476.17	34.05
6	Thana	3,612	778.85	85.76	864.61	23.9
7	Nasik	6,021	805.28	423.16	1228.44	20.4
8	Dhulia (WK)	5,091	515.21	518.79	1034.00	20.3
9	Poona	6,029	850.09	692.51	1542.60	25.6
10	Aurangabad	6,314	531.87	60.41	592.28	9.4
11	Nagpur	3,842	416.75	41.80	458.55	11.9

37.9. Financial implications as a result of these recommendations are contained in the table given below:—

TABLE 76

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's proposals	Additional allocations proposed by the Commission	Total
I	2	3	4
<i>Economic Development—</i>			
1. Tribal Development Blocks	273·00	..	273·00
2. Soil Conservation .. .. .	..	80·00	80·00
3. Minor Irrigation .. .. .	..	75·00	75·00
4. Other Schemes	50·00	..	50·00
5. Rehabilitation of tribals following shifting cultivation	..	4·00	4·00
<i>Communications</i> .. .. .	..	20·00	20·00
<i>Education—</i>			
1. Scholarships, etc.	45·00	..	45·00
2. Industrial Schools .. .. .	..	25·00	25·00
<i>Health, Housing & Other Schemes—</i>			
1. Medical Facilities (Cottage Hospitals) .. .. .	..	20·00	20·00
2. Housing .. .. .	..	25·00	25·00
3. Other Schemes	33·00	..	33·00
Total	401·00	249·00	650·00

CHAPTER 38

MYSORE

According to the figures furnished by the Government of Mysore the estimated population of the Scheduled Tribes in the State is 1,06,700. The largest concentration is in the Districts of South Kanara, which accounts for 34,000; Coorg 20,000; Mysore 12,000; Dharwar 10,000 and Bijapur 10,000. Kurubas, Pardhis, Maratis, Yeravas are the main tribes.

Protective Measures

38.2. There are no Scheduled Areas in the State. There is a Money-lenders Act which is not effective. From the evidence received by the Commission, it is observed that the tribals are heavily indebted. The rate of interest varies from 50 per cent to 100 per cent. No special legislation has been enacted for scaling down the debts. Bonded labour called 'Jeetha' is in practice in the taluk of Kharapur, under which a tribal has to work as 'Jeetha' under a landlord for repayment of a debt incurred by his parents. He gets Rs. 25 per annum in addition to food and clothing. If he wants to be free, he has to pay the amount originally borrowed from the landlord.

38.3. We recommend that the State Government should take steps to protect the tribals from unscrupulous money-lenders by introducing special provisions in the Money-lenders Act. It should also take steps to scale down debts of tribals on the lines suggested in chapter 16 of the Report. The Jeetha system should be abolished forthwith by legislation.

Land

38.4. The State Government has estimated that 40,000 tribals are subsisting on agriculture and the land under cultivation is about 12,000 acres. The State Government has allotted 1,500 acres of land to 350 tribal families and given aid to them for reclamation of land and for ploughs, bullocks, implements and manure. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Government is taking steps to rehabilitate tribals by allotment of cultivable waste lands.

38.5. Most of the tribal cultivators have no record of rights. It is desirable that steps should be taken to establish their rights on lands which they are cultivating by preparing a record of rights and issuing pattas.

38.6. No legislation has been passed for safeguarding the interest in land except in house sites, whereby a member belonging to a Scheduled Tribe cannot be evicted from a plot of land which he is holding from 1st January, 1958. There is no large scale transfer of land by tribals to non-tribals. Still, however, it is desirable that the Government should prohibit transfers of land owned by tribals to non-tribals.

Forest and Forest Policy

38.7. Majority of tribals subsist on collection of forest produce and labour in forests. Collection of minor forest produce is sold annually and exploitation of major forest produce is done by contractors. These middlemen exploit them. The tribals who collect the minor forest produce actually get 1/6 of the price at which the monopolist sells the produce in the market. There is no control over the wages paid by the contractors to the labourers.

38.8. There is a need for an apex institution on the lines of Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation and Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies for exploitation of minor and major forest produce.

Economy

38.9. The economy of most of the tribals is forest based. Except the Maratis in South Kanara who have reached a fairly advanced stage, the remaining tribal groups subsist on collection of forest produce and forest labour, and some of them practise shifting cultivation known as 'Kumri'. The population of tribals practising 'Kumri' is about 14,000. Average income of a tribal is 15 np to 75 np a day and of a tribal who works as forest labourer it is 75 np to Re. 1 a day.

Agriculture & Colonisation

38.10. The State Government has already taken up a programme of rehabilitating tribals in colonies. The Commission had occasion to see some of the colonies. The tribals have taken to settled cultivation with enthusiasm. During the Second Plan period 45 colonies have been set up. The colonists have been provided with reclaimed land, a house, a pair of bullocks and agricultural implements. A colony has a well, a school and a community centre. A few of them have craft centres and Cooperative Society. We are of opinion that the colonisation scheme should be expanded. The Working Group has not made any provision for colonisation scheme. *We would suggest that during the Third Plan 1,000 families should be rehabilitated in colonies, for which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs should be provided in the Third Plan. The programme of colonisation should be continued in the Fourth Plan period.*

Tribal Development Blocks

38.11. The State Government has proposed two Tribal Development Blocks of a special type with a population even smaller than that of a normal Tribal Development Block. The Working Group has accepted the proposals and asked for details. The Working Group has provided a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs for two Tribal Development Blocks pending detailed proposals from the State. We agree with the proposals of the Working Group.

Education

38.12. According to figures supplied by the State Government out of a total of 1,06,000 tribals 1,000 were stated to have studied upto primary stage, 20 upto secondary stage and 1 upto higher stage. There are only 100 women who have reached the primary stage. The State Government has decided to introduce compulsory primary education in the age group of 6—11 in the Third Plan for which

ground work is being done. The achievements by the end of Second Plan were 21 schools, 13 Ashram schools, hostels for 350 students, supply of mid-day meals to 4,000 students and books to 4,500 students.

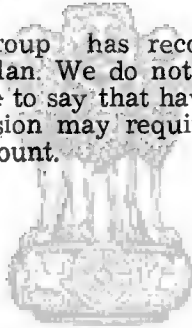
We recommend that 10 Ashram schools and 5 hostels be started in the Third Plan. We agree with the Working Group's proposal for allocation of Rs. 5 lakhs for educational purposes.

Public Health

38.13. The general health of the tribals is not good according to State Government's statement. Water borne diseases and skin diseases are prevalent. At the end of Second Plan period 5 mobile health units and 3 maternity and health service units were working. There is a great scarcity of drinking water in the interior areas.

During the Third Plan against the proposal of the State Government for Rs. 32 lakhs for medical relief, health and water supply the Working Group has provided Rs. 4 lakhs only for health, housing and communications. We are of opinion that looking to the urgency of the problem a provision of Rs. 5 lakhs for water supply and medical relief should be made.

38.14. The Working Group has recommended a provision of Rs. 30 lakhs in the Third Plan. We do not want to suggest any sum in particular, but would like to say that having regard to some of our recommendations the provision may require to be supplemented by approximately an equal amount.



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CHAPTER 39

ORISSA

The State of Orissa has the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribe population in India being 20.25 per cent of the total population. Of the total population of 1,46,45,946 the population of Scheduled Tribes is 30,09,580. The extent of Scheduled Areas is more than 1/3 of the total area of the State, viz. 22,000 sq. miles. The population of Scheduled Tribes in the Scheduled Areas is 15,22,527. There are as many as 62 Scheduled Tribes which can be divided into four distinct categories based on their relative socio-economic development.

39.2. The Scheduled Areas in the State comprise the Districts of Koraput, Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, the two Sub-divisions of Phulbani District and a part of the Ganjam Agency.¹ The District of Koraput is the biggest district in the State having an area of 9,875 sq. miles. On account of the difficult terrain and inaccessibility of the interior areas, it is necessary that the administrative set up should be strengthened in order to accelerate the pace of development activities and also for the effective implementation of legislation for protection of the Scheduled Tribes.²

Supplementary Notes—

1. The State Government has proposed that Champua and Sadar Sub-divisions of Keonjhar District; Boudh Sub-division of Phulbani District; Kasipur taluk of Kalahandi District; Deogarh and Kuchinda Sub-division of Sambalpur District; Juangpirh area in Pallahara Sub-division and Sourika area in Kamachyanagar Sub-division of Dhenkanal District be declared as Scheduled Areas. The non-officials have also supported the proposal.

2. (a) In Orissa, the Agency Tracts Interests and Transfers Act, 1917 was enforced for preventing transfers of land of tribals to non-tribals but it was almost ineffective and much of the lands belonging to tribals passed into the hands of non-tribals and money-lenders.

(b) A Regulation was issued by the Governor in 1956 called "The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property Regulation" to control and check transfers of immovable property in the Scheduled Areas by Scheduled Tribes. This Regulation repealed the Agency Tracts Interests and Transfers Act, 1917, Orissa Merged States' (Laws) Act, 1956 and Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898. The Regulation makes null and void any transfer of immovable property by a member of a Scheduled Tribe to a non-tribal without the previous consent in writing of a competent authority. There is also a provision for restoration of transferred property made in contravention of the provisions of the Regulation to the transferer or to his heirs if it is found practicable or if not found so, the property vests in the Gram Sabha. The Regulation could not be brought into operation before 1959 as rules under it were framed only in 1959. In the meanwhile, the clever non-tribals have utilised the interim period for their own advantage.

(c) It was stated that there had been large-scale transfers in the Scheduled Areas and the tribals have thereby lost a part of best lands. The authority given to permit transfer of lands to non-tribals has been misused by the subordinate staff. We have come across a case in Balangi wherein the Sub-divisional Officer gave permission to one of his clerks to buy more than 30 acres of lands from a tribal. There is also another

39.3: Like Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, Orissa is also being rapidly industrialised on account of mines and big industrial projects like steel plant at Rourkela, aluminium industry at Hirakud, ferro-manganese plant at Jodda, cement factory at Raj Gungpur etc. It is a matter of satisfaction that the tribals who have been displaced on account of industries being set up in the State are being rehabilitated

Supplementary Note (2)—contd.

case which is pending in the High Court where a tribal lost 22 acres of paddy land for Rs. 60/- only. It means that the Regulation is defective in the matter of protecting the rights of the tribals. Shrimati Malati Devi Choudhary told the Commission that in Koraput, the lands of tribals are mortgaged to money-lenders, although they are not transferred. The Deputy Commissioner, Koraput and the Statistical Officer also said that transfers are made on account of certain lacuna in the law which is being taken advantage of. We would like to suggest that the Regulation may be examined by the Legal Department to make it more effective.

(d) For protecting the tribals from exploitation by money-lenders, no regulation has been issued. The only Act which regulates money-lending is the Orissa Money-lenders Act, 1937. There are no special provisions in the Act to protect the tribals from the unscrupulous money-lenders. Government has admitted that the Act has been ineffective in giving protection to the tribals.

(e) We would recommend that a special regulation for regulating and controlling money-lending by private persons should be issued immediately which should *inter alia* provide for licensing of money-lenders, periodical inspection of their accounts and ban on recovery in kind.

(f) We would also suggest that a regulation should be issued to conciliate all old debts of the tribals on the principle of 'dam dupat' in Scheduled Areas.

(g) Orissa has a large forest area. The area occupied by forests is 41 per cent of the total area. There are at present two Forest Acts in the State. The Madras Forest Act, 1882 is enforced in the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput, the Balliguda, Udaigiri talukas of Phulbani District. The Indian Forests Act, 1927 applies to the rest of the State. The ex-zamindari areas like Jeypore, Parlakimedi, Dharakote, Athgarh, Kalikote had their own rules framed under the Madras Forests Act. The rest of the ex-zamindari areas had their own rules which were not framed under any Act. After the merger, the Indian Forests Act was extended to these areas. The different rules enforced in various ex-Estate areas were declared as deemed to have been framed under the Indian Forests Act. There are, thus, different rules in different Estate areas. The Orissa Government has appointed a Forest Enquiry Committee whose report indicates that there are different systems in the matter of enjoyment of rights and privileges in different forest areas. For example, in Mayurbhanj, the tribals have a right to collect edible fruits and roots free. They have also a right to graze free of charge in protected areas or in the reserved forests where the villages are situated in those areas. In the reserved forests they have a right to collect leaves, timber and firewood for their personal consumption. In Koraput, the tribals have rights to remove minor forest produce also from the reserved forests. Podu cultivation is prohibited in all classes of forests. In Phulbani, Podu cultivation is allowed as a right of the tribals. In spite of these rights, there were grievances from the tribals that they were not allowed to graze their domestic animals in reserved forests and are arbitrarily prosecuted for minor violation of forest rules. The tribals do not get permits readily for materials for their own use. We suggest, that the Forest Department should adopt a liberal attitude towards the tribals and devise a machinery so that the tribals get permission without any delay or harassment.

by the State Government.³

Development of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes

39.4. In the scheme of development of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes, we suggest the following priority:

- (i) Soil conservation and rationalisation of hill slopes cultivation;
- (ii) Communications;
- (iii) Education.

Shifting Cultivation

39.5. In Orissa, shifting cultivation is the major problem. About 10 lakh Scheduled Tribe people practise Podu cultivation affecting an area of about 12,770 sq. miles. Due to heavy pressure on land the tribal people in Orissa do not find it possible to give a long period of rotation in shifting cultivation and in most parts of the State this cycle is short, being 4 or 5 years. Several methods have been advocated to control or rationalise shifting cultivation out of which schemes of rational land use on water shed basis and on Assam pattern are being implemented by the State Government. The Government of Orissa has established 10 water shed management units each of which covers an area of 10,000 acres of the water shed. About 90,000 acres have been covered under various conservation measures during the last 4 years. If shifting cultivation is to be tackled, it should be rationalised by contour bunding, terracing and afforestation on very steep slopes and preserving tree growth on hill tops. A target of 2 lakh acres of land may be fixed during the Third Plan which can be brought under rationalised cultivation on hill slopes. *The Commission would suggest that a provision of Rs. 35 lakhs to cover the worst affected shifting cultivation areas in the districts of Koraput, Phulbani, Ganjam agency and Keonjhar is essential. A part may be provided by the Tribal Development Blocks and State Agriculture Department.*

Agriculture

39.6. The State Government has not made any provision for minor irrigation works. Unless and until some provision for irrigation is provided, it will not be possible to develop intensive cultivation for raising average yield of foodgrains per acre. There is a great demand for irrigation facilities from the tribal people. The Commission would like to recommend that 40,000 acres of tribal land may be brought under major and minor irrigation. An allocation of Rs. 50 lakhs is suggested to be included in the Third Plan at the rate of Rs. 250 per acre. If irrigation facilities are provided adequately in the colonisation schemes, the tribals who are practising shifting cultivation can be settled permanently in these colonies. This may help the tribals to increase their standard of life and quicken the

Supplementary Note—

3. The economy of the tribal is based on agriculture and forests. It has been estimated that one-third of the tribal population is doing shifting cultivation. No economic survey of tribals has been carried out in any area. But it appears from the evidence which we got, that the tribals are heavily indebted and their economic condition is bad. Many of the tribals in the lean months have to depend on wild fruits, roots and tender shoots of bamboos.

pace of progress. The Commission would like to suggest a provision of Rs. 10 lakhs for supply of bullocks and improved implements. Facilities for irrigation, supply of bullocks and agricultural implements and soil conservation for rationalising hill slopes cultivation will go a long way in rehabilitating the scheduled tribes. We agree with the Working Group's proposal for the following items:—

- (i) Jhum control on Assam pattern at Rs. 7 lakhs.
- (ii) Grant for the development of cottage industries at Rs. 10 lakhs.
- (iii) Development of poultry, piggery, etc. at Rs. 10 lakhs.

But we suggest a provision of Rs. 10 lakhs for lac cultivation and tassar rearing. Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar are tassar growing areas and we would suggest the establishment of a tassar research centre. For the development of tribal economy, exploitation of minor forest produce and its processing offers great scope. We suggest that an organisation for exploiting minor forest produce on the lines of Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation with modifications be set up which will accelerate promotion of a net work of cooperatives and may after some time take up the exploitation of major forest produce also. The State Government has proposed an amount of Rs. 40 lakhs for grain golas and Rs. 33.80 lakhs for Forest Cooperatives which in our opinion are reasonable and should be fully restored. In addition to that an amount of Rs. 1.1 lakhs may be provided for the Cooperative Organisation suggested above. This amount will include the cost of managerial staff also. The Khonds cultivate turmeric on a large scale which is half the produce of India. For its marketing Cooperative Marketing Societies on the lines of Tikabali Society in Phulbani District may be set up. The provision of Rs. 2 lakhs proposed by the State Government appears to be reasonable and is recommended by the Commission.

Education

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39.7. The scheme of Ashram schools and Seva Ashrams is on sound lines. The Commission would like to suggest that junior type of technical schools or senior Ashram schools may be set up to train students of Ashram schools in various trades. During the Third Plan for every ten Ashram schools one junior type of technical institute or senior Ashram school may be set up. The Commission, therefore, suggest that to begin with a provision of Rs. 15 lakhs be made for setting up 6 junior type of training institutes.

39.8. The State Government has proposed an amount of Rs. 60 lakhs for stipends to the students. Demand for higher education is steadily increasing and the number of students in secondary schools as well. The Working Group's proposal of Rs. 30 lakhs for stipends seems to be inadequate and, therefore, it should be restored to Rs. 60 lakhs as originally proposed by the State Government.

Technical Education

39.9. As several industries are growing up in the districts of Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur which have a large tribal population, it is essential that senior technical training institutes having diploma courses should be set up for training tribal boys in various trades like electric wiring, welding, turning, fitting,

mining, etc. A provision of Rs. 14 lakhs has been made for the technical training institutes which seems inadequate. The operation of the Dandakaranya project requires a large number of craftsmen. Therefore, the Commission think that there is a necessity for one more technical training institute. The provision should be augmented to provide another technical training institute by Rs. 15 lakhs.

Communications

39.10. Orissa is really backward in road communications. There are unbridged rivers which cut off most of the parts during rainy season. In the Scheduled Areas inhabited by a large number of tribals the condition actually becomes worst and for several months in a year the tribal areas are cut off from the district and sub-divisional head quarters. In Orissa, the pucca surfaced road mileage is 44 per 1,000 sq. miles. On enquiry from the State Government the Commissioner came to know that it has suggested the following three roads which will open the Scheduled Areas:—

- (i) Ranchi—Rourkela—Pallahara—Talcher—Dhenkanal—Paradip Port.
- (ii) Ranchi—Sundargarh—Sambalpur—Rampur—Boudh—Phulbani—Keonjamundi—Daringabadi—Adva—Koraput—Malakangiri—Motu—Vijaywada Road.
- (iii) Raipur—Nawapara—Khariar—Bhawani—Patna—Komatlapotta—Rayagada—Vizianagaram.

The Commission has not been able to verify the fact but there is necessity for construction of roads in Scheduled Areas as they are least served by all weather roads. *In view of this, the Commission feel that a provision of Rs. 50 lakhs should be provided for improving communications in Scheduled Areas.*

Drinking Water Supply

39. 11. The Working Group's allocation of Rs. 25 lakhs for village water supply may be raised to Rs. 35 lakhs looking to the difficult terrain of the areas inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes as sinking of wells becomes expensive on account of blasting.

Medical and Public Health

39.12. The State Government has proposed an allocation of Rs. 18 lakhs for the improvement of hospitals which the Working Group has not approved. *The Commission recommend that an amount of Rs. 15 lakhs should be provided for opening of dispensaries, health centres in addition to the primary health centres which will be set up under the Community Development and National Extension Blocks, in order that the medical facilities reach the remotest parts of the Scheduled Areas.*

Impact of Industrialisation

39.13. It is necessary to have proper study and survey to find out the impact of industrialisation on the tribals. The impact of the Dandakaranya Project amongst the undeveloped tribes will also reveal the type of changes which the tribe will face. *We would recommend the appointment of a Tribal Adviser to the Dandakaranya Development Authority. He will be able to help in formulating suitable welfare measures with least resistance. Rs. 6 lakhs have been*

recommended by the Working Group for Research-cum-Training Institute. As much work is yet to be done in Orissa on the above aspects, the Commission will like to recommend an increase of Rs. 4 lakhs more, i.e., a total of Rs. 10 lakhs on this head.

Indebtedness

39.14. The tribals will need legal assistance to protect their rights and interests against the money-lenders (Sahukars) in the Law Courts. They will have also to get legal assistance for any suit on land transfer and adverse possessions, etc. for relief from debt bondage. The amount of Rs. 1 lakh provided in the Working Group's allocation is rather inadequate for the purpose and the commission, therefore, recommend augmentation of this to Rs. 2.50 (Two and a half).

39.15. Gothi system of debt bondage was prevalent in the entire Vizagapatnam District of the erstwhile Madras Presidency of which the present district of Koraput formed a part. This system has been abolished by a regulation of the Madras Government and has also been abolished in Orissa by a regulation in 1948 and all agreements have been made void. In spite of this there are still a large number of Gothis in Koraput District. Ignorance, poverty and their constant obligation to the money-lenders preclude the Gothis from availing of the protection afforded by this regulation. The system should be immediately eradicated and all necessary steps taken to free the tribals from the Sahukars.

39.16. As a result of these recommendations the proposed outlay of the Third Plan will be of the order of Rs. 1,081.31 lakhs instead of Rs. 825.00 lakhs as recommended by the Working Group. A summary of the financial implications is furnished in the following table:—

TABLE 77

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's Proposals	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
1	2	3	4
<i>Education</i>			
1. Ashram Schools	35.00	..	35.00
2. Stipends	30.00	+30.00	60.00
3. Hostels	15.00	..	15.00
4. Quarters for Primary School teachers	16.00	..	16.00
5. Midday meals	10.00	..	10.00
6. Junior Technical Schools .. .. .	..	+15.00	15.00
7. Social Education Research	4.00	..	4.00
8. Hostels for Post Matric Institutions .. .. .	..	..	..
9. People's share of running H.E. Schools .. .. .	..	..	..

TABLE 77—contd.

1	2	3	4
<i>II. Economic Development</i>			
10. Tribal Development Blocks	524.00	..	524.00
11. Jhum Control Scheme	7.00	..	7.00
12. Irrigation .. .. .	..	+50.00	50.00
13. Supply of bullocks, etc. .. .. .	..	+10.00	10.00
14. Soil Conservation, etc. .. .. .	..	+35.00	35.00
15. Cottage Industries	10.00	..	10.00
16. Poultry, Pisciculture, piggery, etc.	10.00	..	10.00
17. Tassar rearing including training centre and processing machine. .. .. .	..	+10.00	10.00
18. Grain Golas	30.00	+10.00	40.00
19. Forest Cooperatives	30.00	+ 3.80	33.80
20. Cooperative Marketing etc. .. .. .	..	+17.00	17.00
21. Technical Training Institutes	14.00	+15.00	29.00
<i>III Health, Housing and other Schemes.</i>			
22. Communications	10.00	+40.00	50.00
23. Drinking Water Supply	25.00	+10.00	35.00
24. Housing	10.00	..	10.00
25. Research-cum-Training Institute	6.00	+4.00	10.00
26. Mobile Health Units	10.00	+5.00	15.00
27. Coordination, etc.	20.00	..	20.00
28. Aids to non-official organisations	2.00	..	2.00
29. Legal Aid	1.00	+1.50	2.50
30. Anti Yaws and V.D. Campaigns	6.00	..	6.00
31. Nutrition .. .. .	..	..	..
32. Lac cultivation .. .. .	..	..	..
33. Fair Price Shops .. .. .	..	..	..
34. People's contribution for Health Centres .. .. .	..	..	..
35. Improvement of Hospitals .. .. .	..	..	..
36. Training of Dais .. .. .	..	..	..
37. Training of pharmacists and Inspectors .. .. .	..	..	..
38. Social Customs .. .. .	..	..	..
Total	825.00	+256.30	1,081.30

CHAPTER 40

PUNJAB

The Second Plan provision for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in the Punjab was Rs. 109 lakhs plus Rs. 7.5 lakhs diverted from the provision for communications, total Rs. 117.32 lakhs. It appears that of this outlay the Centre's responsibility was Rs. 95.70 lakhs and the State's share was Rs. 21.62 lakhs. From the figures supplied to us by the State Government it appears that except for a shortfall of Rs. 37 lakhs under "Communications", the State Government has utilised the entire provision. The State Government has worked out its proposal for the Third Plan at Rs. 170.60 lakhs. We were informed by the State Government that the Planning Commission has approved of Rs. 114 lakhs.¹

Supplementary Note—

1. (i) Lahaul and Spiti are the Scheduled Areas in Punjab. Till recently they formed part of Kangra District, but now a separate district has been constituted with headquarters at Keylong in Lahaul Sub-division. Spiti Valley forms another Sub-division. To get to Lahaul the 13,500 feet high Rohtang Pass, has to be crossed; and the gateway to Spiti is Kunzum Pass at 16,000 feet. The area of Lahaul is 1,764 sq. miles, and that of Spiti is 2,931 sq. miles. The population of Lahaul is 12,298 and Spiti is 5,324. Hensis and Swangla constitute the weaker sections amongst the tribals. The State Government has proposed that Bara Bangahal and Chhota Bangahal areas in the Palampur Sub-Division of the Kangra District be declared as Scheduled Areas.

(ii) *Safeguards and protective measures*—No special regulation under the Fifth Schedule Para 5(2) has been issued by the Governor for the protection of lands of tribals or for protection from exploitation by money-lenders or for allotment of land. The following acts have been applied to the Scheduled Areas without any modifications:

- (a) The Punjab Debtors' Protection Act, 1941.
- (b) The Punjab Regulation of Money-lenders' Act, 1938.
- (c) The Punjab Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act, 1938.
- (d) The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1954.

(iii) *Allotment of Land*—No figures of cultivable waste land are available. It is stated by the Forest Department that allotment of Navtod land will lead to heavy erosion. This may be true if Navtod land is given on an extensive scale but 500 to 750 acres of land, if allotted, will rehabilitate those families who are landless in Spiti without doing any damage to the hills. We suggest that a survey be made for assessing the area of cultivable waste land and a policy laid down for its allotment to the landless tribals.

(iv) *Forest Policy*—All the waste lands are under the control of the Forest Department and have been declared as protected forests. In the whole of Spiti there is not a single shrub but all the area except cultivated area is under Forest. In Lahaul there is sporadic growth of trees. As there are no trees in Spiti, acute shortage of fuel and timber is felt by the people.

We are of opinion that the cooperation of people should be sought for raising fast growing trees like Safeda for fuel by giving the growers

Communications

40.2. The Planning Commission appears to have approved Rs. 20 lakhs. The communications in this part of the country have a multi-fold utility. These are necessary to bring the people nearer to the rest of the country. The communications may be to a certain extent necessary, these being border areas. Over and above these essential needs, there is a third aspect and that is the aspect of economy of the place. The cost of transportation, the wages to be paid to the labour, the allowances paid to the servants (these services will multiply to a certain extent with the increase in the developmental activity as any where else) are all operating as a handicap to development. Anything spent on communications will mean automatic reduction in the cost, charges and expenses of administration and speedier development apart from normalising the economy of the place which today is extraordinarily cramped.

It is clear that in the case of Lahaul and Spiti areas, without communications there is no hope of sustained economic progress. The State Government's original demand for Rs. 68.38 lakhs does not appear to be on the high side.

40.3. The Commission have observed that the Union Government have themselves taken over the responsibility of developing roads in the border areas as well as in NEFA and the progress under this appears to be satisfactory. There is no reason why the Central Government should themselves not undertake a similar programme

Supplementary Note (1)—contd.

right of ownership, and giving them small subsidy and technical guidance. The Village Panchayats may be encouraged to take up afforestation work by transferring some portion of the protected forest area to them.

(v) *Economy*—A socio-economic survey of Lahaul Valley was conducted by the Punjab Government. 17% of the families possessed more than 5 acres, 39% between 2.5 and 5 acres, 27% between 1 and 2.5 acres and 10% less than one acre. 55% of the families have agriculture as their principal occupation. 10% of the families depend mainly on plying horses and mules, and 2% on trade and commerce. The average annual income per family is Rs. 1,900/-. About 36% of the families have income more than the average and 28% less than Rs. 1,900/- but more than Rs. 1,200/-; 27% Rs. 600/- but less than Rs. 1,200/- and 14% families less than Rs. 600/- per annum.

70% of the families are in debt, the average incidence of indebtedness per family is Rs. 1,000/-.

In Spiti 90% of the people depend on agriculture, 10% comprising Hensis and Lohars depend on other sources. 80% of the people own land. The area under crops is approximately 6,200 acres, besides this, an area of 3,200 acres is under grass.

The economy is based on agriculture and trade. The trade is with Tibet, but on account of border situation it has been dislocated affecting the economy of Lahaul and Spiti. The main cash crop is the medicinal herb "Kuth" which is fetching high price at present.

Pin Valley in Spiti requires more attention.

(vi) Gaddis are actually not found in Lahaul and Spiti. Those notified in this area come from Kulu and Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) during summer for grazing their sheep and goats. A representation has been received that they should be considered as Scheduled Tribes.

in the tribal areas of the Punjab. In addition to the construction of arterial roads, there is need for bridges, culverts, causeways, and aerial ropeways to connect the inaccessible tribal areas. It should be understood that with this expenditure the State Government will have to finance maintenance of the roads. Snowfall in these parts is extremely heavy and the glaciers continuously active. In our discussions with the State Government we could see that the State Government is aware of these difficulties and is prepared to bear the burden. It is clear that communications is the first need of these areas if Government is to discharge its responsibility towards the Scheduled Tribe population therein. We have been assured that with such communications the cost of living will come down considerably and with it the development cost will be reduced. The difficulties in recruiting technical personnel for the area can be minimised.

Rehabilitation of Landless Families

40.4. These parts of the country are very sparsely populated. Because of the terrain and the extremely difficult climate they will ever be so, inspite of the improvement in communications. Those who are acclimatised to the conditions in these areas only can stay there. The average heights range from 9,000 ft. in the case of Lahaul to 12,000 ft. in the case of Spiti. It is in the interest of the nation that these parts continue to be inhabited. With the increase in education there will be a natural tendency to turn towards the more populated and developed areas of Kulu and Kangra. As a matter of fact that movement has begun. It would be advisable, therefore, to stabilise the existing population in those regions by providing facilities for economic and social advancement. In our opinion the problem is comparatively easy of solution. There are, according to a recent survey, about 163 landless families in the Spiti area and about 10 per cent of the population in the Lahaul area are without land. There is enough land available for the people in the Spiti area, and some may be available for the people in the Lahaul area.

40.5. The land in this area without irrigation facilities is of no use. The time available for raising crops is very short. There must be assured water supply to take the harvest in time. Irrigation is by means of kuhls or canals leading water from the snowtops above to the fields down below. The cost is necessarily more in comparison to the plains. It comes to about Rs. 1,000/- per acre. If the families now residing there are given irrigated land that would save the cost of transport of foodgrains also. The Commission consider that this programme should be given the first priority. The State Government asked for Rs. 24 lakhs and the Planning Commission has approved Rs. 16 lakhs. We feel that looking to the conditions of the people and from the broader national interest these areas should be self-sufficient in the matter of food and the population that is there should be stabilised there. *We, therefore, recommend that there should be a programme for rehabilitation of the landless.* The State Government estimates an expenditure of Rs. 4,000 per family for reclamation of land and rehabilitation. Reckoning about 500 families in both areas and at the rate of 8 acres per family the cost of reclaiming and irrigating 4,000 acres is estimated at Rs. 40,00,000. We feel that an additional provision of Rs. 20 lakhs may be made.

This will help in the rehabilitation of 250 families and irrigating at least 2,000 acres of land in the first stage, the second stage being taken up thereafter. In the meantime it may be possible to bring down the cost of irrigation as a result of improvement in communications, consequent increase in labour supply and reduction of transport charges. In our opinion it may not be necessary to take up the second stage for the survey then may reveal that there are not more than 250 agricultural families to be settled on land. The remaining will have to be provided with other kind of work.

Forestry

40.6. Problem next in importance in that area is the problem of fuel especially in the Spiti area. Because of the altitude and the snows very few species of trees can grow there. Growth is also stunted and fuel needs in this area—one of the coldest region of India—are great. Same is the case with grazing. The people have to collect 5 to 7 months supplies for their cattle which serve more than one purpose for them. We are of the view that an intensive effort through village Panchayats for village forests and pastures should be made. For increasing the supply of fuel and grass in this area, it is suggested that a large scale programme of growing willow trees (safeda) and Basim grass should be undertaken. We shall give our detailed suggestions on these two points in the main report.² There are about 19 Panchayats in this area. Not all of them will have the necessary facilities. We have no idea about the cost, etc. that would be incurred. The State Government is at the moment giving a grant of Rs. 1,000/- per annum to the Panchayats. A scale may be fixed under this head also. The contribution to each village Panchayat may be increased to Rs. 2,500/- to enable them to undertake this programme of afforestation which involves sowing new seeds, watering and enclosing the area.

Rural Water Supply

40.7. Rural water supply is another item. We should think that the State provision of Rs. 16.50 lakhs should be kept intact instead of Rs. 11.50 lakhs that is approved.

Education

40.8. Cut in education is not desirable especially as the State Government is committed to take education to the interior villages in the next five years.³

Supplementary Notes—

2. We have four suggestions to make:—

- (i) By a practice of controlled grazing existing grasses 'chhup' be preserved. Experiments be made to see if other varieties could grow that could stand the climate.
- (ii) Simultaneously safeda, a wild plant, be multiplied. We have found that it is climate resistant.
- (iii) Safeda plantation should be encouraged on a popular basis as in Lahaul.
- (iv) Depots for timber and fuel should be opened in Losar from where the people can get their needs and at reasonable costs.

3. In Spiti progress in education is slow. We would like to recommend that two residential schools having a craft-bias—wool, weaving and agriculture—may be established at suitable centres.

Tribal Development Blocks

40.9. We are given to understand that Lahaul and Spiti will have Tribal Development Blocks. We feel that the other items will be looked after by them.

Co-operation

40.10. In the matter of credit we are of the view that scaling down and liquidation of debts should be simultaneously undertaken if the benefit of development is to go to these people. The credit facilities for these areas will have to be properly organised so that the people do not fall again into the clutches of the money-lenders.

40.11. To summarise, our recommendations are:—

- (i) that the original estimates of the State in relation to P.W.D. (B. & R.), Public Health (Water Supply) and Education be adhered to (Rs. 68.38 lakhs+Rs. 8.25 lakhs+Rs. 29.49 lakhs);
- (ii) Rs. 20 lakhs be made available to the State for rehabilitation of 250 families of landless people on land. This will be a Central contribution and, therefore, wholly in the Central sector;
- (iii) State Government should make an intensive effort to generate village forests and grazing grounds to meet the fuel needs of the people and fodder needs of their cattle, (Rs. 3 lakhs); and
- (iv) Simultaneously with liquidation of old debts and scaling down of new ones, proper credit facilities be organised without delay to secure the advantages of development to the tribals (Rs. 2 lakhs).

The financial implications of these recommendations are given in the table below—

TABLE 78

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of Scheme	Working Group's proposal	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
Communications	24.0	44.38	68.38
Irrigation & Agriculture	19.32	20.00	39.32
Health	7.18	..	7.18
Water Supply	11.50	5.00	16.50
Industries	4.75	..	4.75
Electricity	13.94	..	13.94
Cooperative	3.45	5.00	8.45
Forests	7.00	..	7.00
Veterinary	3.48	..	3.48
Education	18.13	11.36	29.49
Public Relations	1.25	..	1.25
Total	114.00	85.74	199.74

CHAPTER 41

RAJASTHAN

Rajasthan has a Scheduled Tribe population of 17.74 lakhs (1951 Census). This forms 11.1 per cent of the total population (1,59,70,774). The existing Scheduled Areas in this State comprise the Dungarpur and Banswara Districts and the Pratapgarh tehsil of Chittorgarh District. These cover an area of 3,666 sq. miles and a Scheduled Tribe population of 4.97 lakhs.

41.2. The Second Plan outlay for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan was Rs. 259.58 lakhs but the achievement fell short of the Plan targets by nearly 15 to 20 per cent.

41.3. In the draft Third Plan, the State Government had proposed an outlay of Rs. 648 lakhs for Scheduled Tribes as follows:

Education	...	Rs. 114 lakhs	
Economic development	...	Rs. 459 lakhs	
Health, Housing and other schemes.		Rs. 75 lakhs	
		<hr/>	
	Total	...	Rs. 648 lakhs

Of this it had suggested that the outlay in the Central sector should be of the order of Rs. 416 lakhs and the State sector Rs. 232 lakhs. The Working Group and the Ministry of Home Affairs have proposed a total outlay of Rs. 409 lakhs for the Third Plan for both the Central and the State sectors. The expenditure on Tribal Development Blocks, co-operatives and training will be a wholly Central responsibility. Consequently the State sector will be of the order of Rs. 184 lakhs, of which roughly 50 per cent will be borne by the Centre. In other words, of a total outlay of Rs. 409 lakhs, the expenditure to be borne by the Centre will be roughly Rs. 317 lakhs and the State Government's liability Rs. 92 lakhs. Some provision might have been made in the general development plans of the State for schemes which would benefit directly the tribal areas and the tribal people. But we have not the details and it is not, therefore, possible to assess how much the State is spending from its own resources for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

41.4. The total Third Plan outlay of the State is of the order of Rs. 236 crores and even on the purely per capita basis the minimum contribution which the State revenue should make towards the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and development of Scheduled Areas should be of the order of Rs. 27 crores. The contribution from the general revenues of the State for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes is far less than is warranted by the population figures. The Rajasthan Government should, therefore, be pressed to earmark certain percentage of

its general outlay under agriculture and irrigation, education, medical and public health and drinking water supply for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

41.5. The State Government has proposed that a number of areas where the tribal concentration is more than 50 per cent should be declared as Scheduled Areas. These areas cover 3,927 sq. miles with a tribal population of 2,65,978, the tribal concentration varying from 52 per cent to 65 per cent. This proposal will be dealt with by the Commission in its final report. It, however, establishes the need for doing something immediately for the welfare of the Scheduled

Supplementary Note—

1. (a) Sarada Sub-Division comprising Sarada, Salumber, and Kherawara Tehsils; Kotda Tehsil; Pnalasia Tehsil; Lasadia Tehsil; Gogunda Tehsil; Girwa Tehsil (villages of Nae, Bunjhada, Naya Guda, Popalati, Naya Khera, Dodavali, Surana, Karmali, Boravar, Ka Khera, Kachhar, Kaliwas, Madari, Keli, Beri Undari, Chhoti Undari, Peepalwas, Kunwaria Khera, Alsigarh, Paee, Aar and Sang of Barda Village Panchayat and all the villages of Sub-Tehsil Barapal); and Vallabhagar Tehsil (villages of the following Panchayats—Adinda, Motida, Panund, Syiand, Lunda, Kundiya, Kuntwas, Akola and Sgrampura) of Udaipur District.

(b) Achanera Tehsil and Villages of Chhoti Sadri Panchayat Samiti of Chittorgarh District.

(c) Abu Road Panchayat Samiti of Sirohi District.

(d) Shahbad and Kishanganj Tehsils of Kota District.

(e) Sawai Madhopur District.

(f) Lalsot and Sikrai of Jaipur District.

(g) Rajgarh Tehsil of Alwar District.

(h) Bali Tehsil of Pali District.

(i) Pindwara Tehsil of Sirohi District.

(j) Hindoli and Talera Tehsils of Bundi District.

(k) Jahajpur and Mandargarh Tehsils of Bhilwara District.

(l) Deoli Tehsil of Tonk District.

The Rajasthan Government has given the following reasons for declaring these areas as Scheduled Areas:—

(a) Most of the proposed areas, excepting few pockets, are contiguous with the existing Scheduled Areas;

(b) The people living in these areas are ethnically, socially and culturally linked with the tribals living in the Scheduled Areas;

(c) There is not much difference in social and economic conditions existing in the two areas;

(d) Psychological tension will continue if these areas are not declared as Scheduled Areas.

(e) Protection of the tribals regarding indebtedness, money-lending, forest rights etc. cannot be afforded unless the areas are declared as Scheduled Areas.

It has stated that regulations in regard to indebtedness, money-lending, etc. are required for protection of tribals in these areas and unless the areas are declared as Scheduled Areas it is not possible to make such regulations.

Safeguards and Protective Measures.

(i) The State Government has stated that no occasion has arisen for exercising the Governor's powers under para 5(2) of Part B of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution.

Tribes living there. The outlay proposed by the Working Group for Scheduled Tribes includes an item—Tribal Development Block—Rs. 180 lakhs. This proceeds on the basis that there should be 35 Tribal Development Blocks, 22 in the Scheduled Areas and 13 in the other areas. But these 35 Blocks are, however, to be phased at the rate of 7 per year. Since the declared objective is to cover the entire country by Blocks by the end of 1963, we should press for the establishment of Tribal Development Blocks so as to cover not only the Scheduled Areas but also the areas now proposed by the State Government for scheduling. The Blocks may be located in such a manner that the additional areas are covered and the percentage of

Supplementary Note (1)—contd.

(ii) In its reply to the Questionnaire, the Government of Rajasthan has stated that a draft legislation designed to regulate money-lending to the tribals is receiving consideration.

Bonded labour prevails in certain parts of Rajasthan. It is called "Sagri" and "Hali". We appreciate very much the action taken by the State Government to promulgate an Ordinance abolishing it immediately when its attention was drawn to this practice.

Forests and Forests Policy.

(iii) Rajasthan has more deserts than forests. As against the national average of 18 per cent. of land under forests, Rajasthan has 4.2 per cent. Some of the forests are of very poor growth. The State Government has stated that in order to preserve forests, it has restricted some of the activities of the tribals in forests but their domestic and agricultural requirements are met liberally.

We received complaints that thorns, timber, fuel-wood, bamboo, etc. were not made available as per concessions laid down.

The Panchayats have been given the power to issue the permits but the permit-holder has to go to the Ranger. This results in delay. We suggest a simpler procedure by which the Panchayats can give the permit so that the requirements of the tribals may be fulfilled without delay.

(iv) The State Government is considering the question of handing over small village forests to Panchayats. Sufficient financial help may be given to the Panchayats for regeneration and maintenance of these forests. Proper technical guidance should also be made available to them.

The relationship between the tribals and the Forest Department is more or less the same throughout India. A few co-operative societies are functioning but for want of proper guidance progress had been found to be slow. Two further reasons for their slow functioning are want of credit facilities and proper outlook on the part of the officers.

Allotment of Land.

(v) The Government has made special provisions in the rules for allotment of land. Under Sub-Rule (4) of Rule 6 of Rajasthan Land Revenue Rules, 1957, 25 per cent. of the unoccupied Government land available for allotment is reserved for allotment to Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes. Looking to the size of the uneconomic holdings of the tribals, this is inadequate. We suggest that 25 per cent. of available land be reserved exclusively for the Scheduled Tribes and the Chowkidar-Minas and Saharias be given preference. Similarly, Minas in Sikar and Jhunjhunu Districts should be given similar preference. Full Khatadari rights should be conferred on persons allotted Government lands, after three years. On the attainment of Khatadari rights they will be subject to the general law against alienation.

tribal concentration is maintained at the prescribed level. If even with such adjustments these areas cannot be covered by the 35 Blocks agreed to by the Working Group, additional Blocks should be allotted to Rajasthan in the Third Plan.

41.6. The main activities during the Second Plan period for Scheduled Tribes were provision for educational facilities, such as hostels and scholarships, rehabilitation schemes for the landless, minor irrigation schemes, drinking water wells and housing. In the Third Plan the schemes do not appear to have been drawn on the basis of a socio-economic survey of the tribal areas. We are of opinion that the welfare schemes should be properly integrated with the future pattern of economy of the tribals and the tribal areas so that the felt-needs of the people, priorities and a balanced development are kept in view. There is general agreement that the socio-economic pattern of the areas for the next 10 years will be predominantly agriculture-based supplemented by animal husbandry and forests. Hence the order of priority for the development of the Scheduled and tribal Areas and the welfare of the tribes will be:—

- (i) Economic Development;
- (ii) Education;
- (iii) Public Health and Medical Aid; and
- (iv) Communications.

Economic Development

41.7. The Tribal has very little land, follows a primitive method of agriculture and more than all is weighed down by the burden of unproductive debts. In this situation, for an appreciable improvement in the economic position of the tribals in the next few years, it will be necessary to tackle the problem simultaneously from three directions, namely;

- (a) relieving the pressure on the available land by land settlement;
- (b) the improvement of agricultural production; and
- (c) relief from the unproductive debts.

Land Settlement

41.8. The number of landless cultivators is very high. Cultivable land available for fresh settlement is very limited. Even the land which will come under the proposed Rajasthan Canal will not be available for some time to come. The settlement of landless labour on land thus offers a very limited scope. The State Government proposes to settle 1,250 families on land which is readily available at an estimated cost of Rs. 25 lakhs. This is by no means an ambitious programme and we recommend both the scheme and the proposed provision for acceptance.

Agriculture

41.9. There is hardly any shifting cultivation in Rajasthan and this is a relieving feature. The Bhils and Minas are good agriculturists, are aware of the advantages of settled cultivation but require facilities. Since the land available for fresh settlement is very limited, all the available land will have to be cultivated intensively to increase the per acre production to support the present population.

and to improve their economic and social condition. Improvement of the agricultural production of the areas is thus a matter of necessity and not of choice and is urgent. To achieve this objective, the following measures are necessary:

1. Soil conservation;
2. Irrigation facilities;
3. Better farming technique, implements, etc.

Soil Conservation

41.10. The terrain which the tribals cultivate is undulated and continuous cultivation has considerably eroded the soil and has reduced its fertility. A few bunds exist where wet paddy cultivation is practised. To stop soil erosion and restore fertility to the soil it is necessary that soil conservation should be undertaken in these tribal villages on an extensive scale. This would include contour bunding of all the cultivated areas and afforestation of the higher slopes of the hills. There is no provision at all either in the State Government's original plan or in the Working Group's allocation for soil conservation measures. This is an important item and sufficient provision should be made for it. We are unable to recommend any specific sum in the absence of schemes.²

Irrigation

41.11. There is considerable scope for minor irrigation facilities in the tribal villages. Production could be considerably stepped up with the construction of a few irrigation wells, tanks and dams. The demand for such facilities was almost universal. The minor irrigation facilities would completely transform the tribal economy and should be taken up on an extensive scale. The State Government had provided originally a sum of Rs. 52 lakhs for irrigation wells, construction of tanks and dams, and the physical targets were fixed at 1,500 irrigation wells and 370 tanks and dams. The Working Group has reduced this provision to Rs. 40 lakhs. The State Government has set up a special division with a Superintending Engineer at the head for survey and execution of minor irrigation projects. The machinery is, therefore, adequate for the purpose and it appears that even during the current year the State Government has under execution some minor irrigation schemes totalling Rs. 20 lakhs. We attach considerable importance to the provision of adequate minor irrigation facilities for tribal villages and do not consider that the provision suggested by the Working Group or the State Government is adequate for the purpose. *We recommend that quite apart from the provision made for the purpose under the Tribal Development Blocks*

Supplementary Note—

2. We suggest that the Rajasthan Government should implement the scheme of soil conservation on the lines of the scheme of Maharashtra, with necessary modifications. This is an important item and there should be sufficient provision for it.

and in the State's general development plans a sum of Rs. 100 lakhs should be set apart for minor irrigation during the Third Plan period.⁹

Better Farming, Technical Implements, etc.

41.12. It is necessary that the tribal cultivator should be taught better farming techniques, use of improved seeds, implements and manures and fertilisers. These can be carried home to him only by the establishment of demonstration farms at suitable places and the provision of demonstration workers who could go round the villages and propagate the improved techniques. It will also be necessary to supply the farmers with improved seeds, implements and a pair of bullocks at subsidised rates. For all these the State Government had originally proposed a sum of Rs. 35 lakhs. This provision has been tagged on to the item 'Settlement on Land' in the Working Group's allocation. Some additional provision will have to be made for subsidy for agricultural implements, bullocks, seeds, etc. A provision of another Rs. 15 lakhs under this head would probably meet the requirements of the situation and we recommend inclusion of this provision.

Horticulture

41.13. There is considerable scope for horticulture in the higher altitudes and on the slopes of the hills where the tribals live. These slopes will not be fit for cultivation of food crops and development of horticulture will, therefore, provide a steady source of income to the tribals. With the provision of additional irrigation facilities, cultivation of fruit trees will not present any problem. It would be comparatively easy to draw up and execute plans for growing orchards and plantations in selected areas during the Third Plan period. No provision has, however, been made for such schemes in the Working Group's allocation or in the State Plan. This should be one of the items which should be taken up in the State sector and adequate provision made.

Indebtedness

41.14. The benefit of the improvements in agricultural production suggested above will not accrue to the tribals unless they are relieved from their indebtedness. This indebtedness is mainly due to want of credit facilities for day to day requirements, inadequacy and poor return from their holding and socio-religious obligations. The State Government is taking steps to free the tribals from the burden of indebtedness—

- (a) by scaling down debts more than three years old by the application of 'Damduppat' principle; and
- (b) by conciliation of debts of less than three years—necessary legislation will be introduced shortly.

The State Government has also promulgated an Ordinance which has completely abolished the system of Sagri or forced labour and made this practice a penal offence.

Supplementary Note—

3. The programme of irrigation should be continued in the Fourth Plan period.

41.15. The effect of the legislation undertaken by this State will be to dry up the sources of credit available to the tribal cultivator. It is, therefore, necessary that immediately alternative credit facilities should be made available to the tribal people by the establishment of Agricultural Credit Societies which would give them loans not only for their agricultural operations but also for their maintenance while they are waiting for the harvest. The exact details of this scheme will have to be worked out but it will be necessary for the State Government to subscribe the initial share capital of these societies. This will impose a financial burden on the State Government which may be of the order of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 lakhs.

Co-operation

41.16. In addition to Agricultural Credit Societies it will be necessary to take the following steps to improve the economic position of the tribals:—

- (a) A State Finance and Development Corporation for the purchase and marketing of the minor forest produce should be set up. The initial working capital for this Corporation as well as the managerial staff required by it will have to be provided by the State Government. This will involve a financial outlay of Rs. 5 lakhs plus the cost of the managerial staff.
- (b) Forest Co-operative Societies will have to be started on an extensive scale for exploitation of the forests. The State Government has taken a decision to stop exploitation of forests by the contractors and to resort to departmental exploitation as an interim measure pending the formation of forest co-operative societies. The State Government envisages 210 Forest Co-operative Societies in the Third Plan. For the successful working of these Forest Co-operatives, Government will have to subscribe the share capital and also grant a subsidy of Rs. 4,000 per society for managerial expenses. The allocation made for co-operation by the Working Group is only Rs. 40 lakhs which includes Forest Co-operative Societies, Marketing and Consumers' Co-operative Societies. This sum will be inadequate and will have to be increased to Rs. 50 lakhs.*

Supplementary Note—

4. Co-operative movement has not made any headway among the tribals, even among the Bhils of Kushalgarh where a Tribal Development Block is functioning. In the Scheduled Areas of Banswara and Dungarpur, the total number of Credit Societies is 302 with a total membership of 12,518. This includes Credit Societies working in semi-urban areas. In Kushalgarh Block area, 41 societies with a membership of 1,707 are functioning, of which 27 are Credit Societies and the remaining are Industrial and Forest Co-operative Societies. Advances to the members by a Credit Society are neither adequate nor made timely. Recoveries of dues are also not regular and are poor, resulting in stagnation of the movement. There is free scope for the money-lenders as money-lending is not regulated by any Act. Legislation for regulating and controlling money-lending by private persons reduces the credit of tribals with private money-lenders and gives an impetus to the co-operative movement. We are of the opinion that the

Animal Husbandry

41.17. A further direction in which the economic position of the tribals can be improved lies in animal husbandry. Animal husbandry is related to agriculture and it should, therefore, be comparatively easy for the tribal to rear cattle and sheep. Rajasthan offers great scope for the rearing of cattle. The bulls will be useful to the tribal for his draught purposes and the use of dairy products of cows and buffaloes will improve his health. What is required is that the existing breed of cattle should be improved. There is bound to be an increased demand for bullocks and once the cattle is upgraded, it will give the tribal a considerable supplementary income. No information is available, either in the State Plans or in the Working Group's allocation whether the State Government has taken this aspect of the matter into consideration. We consider this a serious omission and adequate provision should be made for animal husbandry.

Education

41.18. Next in importance to economic development of the tribal people is the question of education. Rajasthan is below the all-India average both in respect of primary and secondary education. The attendance of girls in schools is practically 1 to 2 per cent of the children of school-going age. The position is still worse in the tribal areas. The following steps should be taken to improve the position:—

- (1) The number of primary schools will have to be increased. At the moment there are many villages which have no primary school within a distance of 4 to 5 miles. Every village with a population of 300 should have a primary school.
- (2) Dress, a small stipend and mid-day meals should be provided.
- (3) More middle and high schools should be opened with hostels.
- (4) Hostel accommodation for both boys and girls is very inadequate and we consider that new hostels should be established.
- (5) Adequate provision should be made for training of tribal teachers for the primary and middle schools. It may be possible to utilise the Ashram schools for this purpose.

Supplementary Note (4)—contd.

State Government should utilise the movement by adopting the following measures:—

- (1) a special officer to be appointed for the development of co-operatives in Scheduled Areas and among the tribals;
- (2) contribution of share capital by Government to the extent of 75 per cent to Service Societies;
- (3) adequate inspection by appointment of additional staff;
- (4) supply of trained secretaries to the societies whose expenditure should be borne by Government for a period of five years; and
- (5) liberal subsidy for construction of godowns.

41.19. The Working Group's allocation envisages the establishment of 10 Ashram schools at a total cost of Rs. 10 lakhs. Each Ashram school will cost Rs. 1 lakh for building and about Rs. 50,000 per annum for working expenses. With the provision proposed it would not be possible even to maintain 3 Ashram schools of the type in vogue in Orissa. We consider that there should be 5 Ashram schools for boys and 5 for girls. Rs. 10 lakhs will hardly be adequate for this purpose.

41.20. The tribal areas have rich mineral deposits and hold out possibilities for the establishment of industries. In order to enable the tribals to take advantage of the industrial development in this area, scientific and technical institutes should be opened at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs each. These institutes should, as far as possible, be located in the predominantly tribal areas.*

Public Health and Medical Aid

41.21. There is hardly any necessity to emphasise the need for additional dispensaries in the rural areas and for the provision of adequate drinking water wells. Considering the poor health of the tribals this appears to be an inescapable item of development and we do not consider that any curtailment on this item would be justified. The provision made by the State Government may be retained.*

Communications

41.22. The existing road mileage in India works out to 28 miles per 100 sq. miles. Rajasthan is far below this average. In the Scheduled districts of Chittorgarh and Banswara, road mileage including the fair weather roads works to hardly 10 miles per 100 sq. miles. *We would recommend that the allocation to the State for communications be raised so that the road mileage of the Scheduled Areas is brought up to the all-India average as quickly as possible.*

41.23. A table indicating the financial implications of the recommendations is given below—

Supplementary Note—

5. There is no industrial training institute for imparting training to the tribal students in junior courses of smithy, carpentry, welding, motor mechanics, turning, etc. It is necessary that opportunities are provided for technical training to the tribal students. We suggest that 10 industrial training schools with certificate courses should be established.

6. There was universal demand for increased provision for drinking water wells. There is need for ensuring that each tribal village has at least one well for supply of protected drinking water. In Rajasthan, step-wells still exist. Only 50 per cent of the step-wells have been converted into draw-wells. The remaining step-wells should be converted into draw-wells as soon as possible.

TABLE 79

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's proposals	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
<i>Education</i>			
1. Scholarships (pre-matric)	20.00	..	20.00
2. Establishment of rented hostels	15.00	..	15.00
3. Construction of new hostel buildings	15.00	..	15.00
4. Ashram schools	10.00	+35.00	45.00
5. Technical schools	Nil	+10.00	10.00
6. Aid to Voluntary Agencies for hostels	35.00	..	35.00
<i>Economic Development</i>			
1. Tribal Development Blocks	180.00	..	180.00
2. Co-operation (Forest Co-operative Societies and Marketing-cum-Consumers' Co-operative Societies)	40.00	+50.00	90.00
3. Irrigation	40.00	+100.00	140.00
4. Agriculture .. .. .	..	..	..
5. Cottage industries	6.00	..	6.00
6. Settlement on land and subsidy for agricultural implements, bullocks, ploughs, etc.	25.00	..	25.00
7. Soil conservation measures .. .. .	..	..	..
<i>Health, Housing and Other Schemes</i>			
1. Drinking water wells and conversion of step-wells into draw wells.	10.00	..	10.00
2. Legal aid	1.00	..	1.00
3. Orientation and training	5.00	..	5.00
4. Staff including Planning, Progress & Co-ordination Cell	7.00	..	7.00
Total	409.00	+195.00	604.00

CHAPTER 42

WEST BENGAL

In West Bengal, out of the total population of 263 lakhs, the estimated population of Scheduled Tribes in the State is 15.67 lakhs which is 6 per cent of the total population. There are as many as 19 tribes, the more important of them are:

	Population according to 1951 Census.
1. Santal.	9,77,401
2. Oraon.	2,06,655
3. Bhumij.	1,59,575
4. Munda.	84,821

In the northern districts, the Lepchas, Bhutias, Mechs are the principal tribes. The Lepchas are economically the weaker section and need more attention. There is no Scheduled Area. The State Government has not proposed that any area should be declared as a Scheduled Area.

Forest and Forest Policy

42.2. Till a few years back, the forests were in the hands of private landlords. According to the State Government, the requirements of the people were met but no systematic afforestation was planned with the result that there has been considerable deterioration of the forest wealth. The State Government, therefore, thinks that the forests rather than the old rights and customs of the tribals should be revived. Accordingly, the Forest Department has re-oriented its policy, and use of forest produce by the tribal people has been restricted. The Government of West Bengal is not, therefore, in favour of reviving the rights in regard to forest produce which might have existed during the days of abundance.

42.3. Representation, memoranda and complaints regarding forest rights, usages and customs which the tribals had enjoyed till the Government took over the forests were received by the Commission. A few of the complaints are mentioned below:—

- (i) They are not now allowed to collect dry fuel or wood, roots and fruits from the forest.
- (ii) Free collection of barks, creepers etc. required for rope or mat-making is now prohibited.
- (iii) "Assan" trees, on which their tussar cultivation and industry depend are now being indiscriminately cut down by contractors. As a result the tussar industry, which was once flourishing in many tribal villages in Gopiballavpur Police Station in Midnapore District has been adversely affected.

- (iv) The Forest Department has now dug trenches round the forests for their protection. This has stopped the flow of rain water to the rice fields and this has affected the paddy crop.
- (v) Timber for housing and agriculture which they formerly used to get at a nominal rate are given to them at market rates.
- (vi) Lands converted into agricultural land within the forest area are not now allowed to be cultivated.
- (vii) Khuntkatti right has not been recognised by the Government where it existed.

42.4. The enjoyment of the customs and rights played an important part in the economic life of the tribals. The total denial has affected their economy and has created a feeling of resentment. The forest administration, according to the present policy of the Government, has become too rigid. It is, therefore, very necessary that the present position should be reviewed and a policy which would reconcile both the interests adopted. The tribals should be given an interest in the preservation and working of the forests on proper lines. This can be done by organising Forest Co-operatives for exploitation of major and minor forest produce. The Forest Department should take initiative in establishing such Forest Co-operative Societies of the tribals and give proper guidance and directions for their efficient functioning. These co-operatives should be organised on the lines of those working in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Land Transfer and Allotment

42.5. The transfer of land by tribals in this State is restricted under Chapter VIII of Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885. This Act will be repealed with the enforcement of the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955, which will regulate in future the tenancy right in respect of agricultural lands in this State. Restriction on the transfer of agricultural lands by the Scheduled Tribes has been imposed under this Act. Under Section 13 of that Act, except in certain cases, the transfer of the holding of a raiyot belonging to a Scheduled Tribe is void. Further, the West Bengal Alienation of Agricultural Lands (Temporary Provision) Act of 1954 has been enacted with a view to effecting restoration of agricultural lands to the transferers where such lands had been transferred for the purpose of maintenance of their families during the economic distress prevailing in some parts of this State during the period from 1st January, 1950, to 30th December, 1953, and where the value of land transferred had not exceeded Rs. 550 in each case. This is a laudable action on the part of the West Bengal Government.

42.6. In spite of this, considerable number of tribals has been dispossessed of their lands due to various reasons. The State Government informed the Commission that many tribals in order to circumvent the provisions of the Act changed their names and adopted non-tribal names e.g. Mundas changed to Mahadeo Pal because Mahadeo Pal is not a Scheduled Tribe. This change of name has resulted in the parting of lands by the tribals. About 400 tribals were affected

in this way. In Darjeeling area, Bhutias took advantage of the Alienation Act and got lands from poorer sections of the tribals i.e. Lepchas at very nominal price. Zamindari has not been totally abolished in Purulia District which came over to West Bengal in 1956. At present two-thirds of the lands are under their possession. Government will take over all the land after the settlement operation is over, which will take 3 to 4 years. The State Government informed the Commission that many tribals had surrendered their lands to their landlords who, in their turn, transferred such lands to non-tribals—thus indirectly avoiding the provision restricting transfer of lands by a tribal to non-tribal. During the last settlement, thousands of tribal Bargadars or share-croppers were uprooted and lands passed out of their possession because of the defective records then maintained and because of their ignorance. In fact, evictions of Bargadars on a mass scale from land were done.

42.7. The Commission was informed by the State Government that there are no rules or enactment according to which preference would be given to tribals in the matter of allotment of land. We suggest that landless tribals should be given first preference in the matter of distribution and allotment of Khas lands.

42.8. The contention of the West Bengal Government is that the tribals live interspersed with the rest of the community, and as such, there is little or no geographical segregation. It has also been the policy of the State Government to discourage segregation. Consequently, separate schools, hostels and similar institutions have not been encouraged or established. It is for the Union Government to look into these matters in the light of existing policies. On our part we are clear that the State Government should revise its approach with reference to rights of tribals on land and forest as the guardian of the weaker section of its people.

42.9. The Second Plan outlay was Rs. 38.18 lakhs for education, Rs. 58.61 lakhs for economic development and Rs. 110.38 lakhs for health, housing and other schemes. Out of the total provision of Rs. 207.17 lakhs, the extent of short-fall is Rs. 15.10 lakhs (25 per cent) under economic development and Rs. 21.07 lakhs (19 per cent) under health, housing, etc., the overall shortfall being Rs. 34.50 lakhs i.e. 16 per cent.

Tribal Economy

42.10. An overwhelming majority of tribals are agriculturists. According to the Census Report of 1951, 28.08 per cent of the tribals are "owners"; 29.34 per cent are cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and 21.52 per cent are cultivating labourers. As the tribals are predominantly agriculturists, the emphasis should be on the agricultural sector in the programme of economic development. More emphasis should be given to intensified cultivation and increase of the per acre yield by the provision of suitable minor irrigation facilities, fertilisers, seeds, etc., and the introduction of the double cropping pattern.

Irrigation

42.11. There was a universal demand for irrigation facilities in tribal areas. There is also enough scope for minor and medium irrigation works in these areas. It was stated before the Commission

that as many as 7 irrigation projects can be taken up which would entirely change economic condition of the tribals. They are—

1. Harangarh project.
2. Talebada project.
3. Lachnazar project.
4. Kulandari project.
5. Gollajor project.
6. Jhilmili project.
7. Mahadevsimha project.

Plans and estimates were prepared and technical sanctions were also obtained, but for want of funds, no project has been taken up. We recommend that minor and medium irrigation works in tribal areas should be taken up. The Working Group had proposed an allotment of Rs. 20 lakhs for the purpose which according to the felt needs of the people seems very inadequate. It should be increased by 30 lakhs.

Rehabilitation of Tribals

42.12. It appears that no serious thought has been given to rehabilitate the tribal families who would be uprooted on account of acquisition of lands for Kansabari project. This is a 5 crore project and about 8,000 families or 40,000 persons would be affected. Rehabilitation question (land for land) is still under examination of the State Government. We suggest that rehabilitation programme of the uprooted families should form part of the project and they should be rehabilitated as far as possible on lands coming under the command of the project.

Co-operation

42.13. The State Government admits that the progress under the co-operative movement has been slow. The movement of grain golas has, however, gained momentum and the target of grain golas has been raised from 78 in original plan to 105. A revised scheme under which a grain gola will, in addition to the supply of grain, advance cash loans to its members has been taken up. This will help the tribals to free themselves of the money-lenders. The revised scheme should be expanded and all the needs of the tribals for maintenance, raising of crops, bullocks, etc., should be met by the Grain-Golas-cum-Credit Societies.

Education

42.14. (a) *Education in mother tongue*—The tribals and their leaders have everywhere emphasised that the instruction in the primary schools should be imparted to the tribals through their mother-tongue. The Commission also feel that this should be done in areas of tribal concentration. In all primary schools, tribal teachers or teachers knowing tribal dialects should be appointed, so that they can teach the tribal boys and girls in their mother tongue for the first two years of the primary stage. Teachers should be recruited locally. There are no schools exclusively for Scheduled Tribes in this State. During tour, the Commission observed that there is considerable urge for education among the tribals, but for various reasons like refusal of admission, non-payment or late payment of hostel stipends, late payment of book-grants and long distances, tribal boys are not able to continue their studies. In the junior high school at Burdwan

village, only 14 out of 35 tribal students received book grants. The members of the District Welfare Committee at Purulia pointed out that the existing number of hostels were inadequate and many tribal boys are refused admission and that the book grant of Rs. 30 and free education are not enough for the tribals whose economic condition is very poor. The stipend paid to the boys is also very meagre and that is also not paid regularly. At several places it was represented to the Commission that many students cannot pay even admission fees and that some special incentives like mid-day meals, etc. should be provided in schools for tribal boys.

42.15. At Jhilmili, it was noticed that about 21 tribal boys were required to walk a distance of about 6 miles daily for attending school. Out of 113 tribal boys, 13 reside in a hostel but none of them is getting stipend. The reason communicated to the Commission was that none of them has secured more than 50 per cent marks. Book grants were paid to only 3 tribal students. The Headmasters at Midnapur and Jhargram told the Commission that the present facilities provided to tribal boys are inadequate and many tribal students cannot prosecute their studies.

The Commission, therefore, feel that not only special facilities are to be provided but also hostels for tribal boys and girls should be established in tribal areas both for middle and high school students.

42.16. (b) *Girls' education*—Girls' education among tribals has been more or less neglected. The present policy has failed to attract tribal girls to schools. At Masanjhar school, in Classes V and VI, there are 76 students of whom 23 are tribals. There is no tribal girl student. At Jhilmili, in the multipurpose high school, there were 113 tribal boys but only 2 tribal girls. We would like to draw the attention of the State Government to our recommendations in chapter 18 and suggest that they may be implemented by the Government.

42.17. (c) *School buildings*—Condition of many primary school buildings located in tribal villages is far from satisfactory. We suggest that Government should take active steps to repair the school buildings which are in dilapidated condition.

42.18. (d) *College scholarships*—In the post-matric stage scholarships are awarded to every tribal student. But there is inordinate delay in its distribution with the result that many of the students have had to give up their studies. The matter is serious and should be looked into.

Our recommendations are:—

- (i) *Books and slates should be given free to all tribal students in primary schools.*
- (ii) *Provision for hostel accommodation for students studying in middle and high schools should be made in the tribal areas.*
- (iii) *The rate of stipend to a student studying in secondary school should be raised to Rs. 25 per month.*
- (iv) *For girls' education, there should be—*
 - (a) *separate Ashram type schools for tribal girls, and*
 - (b) *hostel accommodation for girls studying in middle and high schools.*

- (v) *Regarding post-matric education, no tribal student should be refused admission in colleges on the ground that he had secured only a third division. There should be a hostel for tribal students of post-matric and post-graduate classes at Calcutta, with accommodation of 100 boys.*
- (vi) *In all technical institutes, higher or lower, certain seats should be reserved for the Scheduled Tribe students.*

Medical and Public Health

42.19. Information regarding the incidence of diseases among the Scheduled Tribes is not separately maintained by the State Government. It is found that T.B. is on the increase among the tribals in recent years and there has been demand for reservation of beds for Scheduled Tribes in T.B. Sanatorium. Leprosy is also prevalent to a considerable extent among them.

42.20. In Aydhya Pahar Area of Bagamandi, there is concentration of about 6,000 tribals in 40 to 50 villages. There is no medical facility available there. At village Jhilmili, the people stated that no medical facilities were available within the radius of 14 miles. Similarly, no medical facilities are available within the radius of 6 miles of Masanjhore village. At Bankura, it was stated that about 25 years back, there was no T.B. among tribals. But now it is on the increase. No B.C.G. campaign has been started in Bankura.

42.21. Dispensaries and health centres in tribal areas are inadequate to meet the demand and the need of the tribals. We would suggest that there should be arrangements for treatment of T.B. patients in all thana health centres. More leprosy clinics should be established in tribal areas and beds for tribal patients should be reserved in the leprosy asylum at Purulia and Bankura which are doing commendable work. There is also great need for organising surgical and eye camps from time to time and mobile vans for eradication of venereal diseases.

Drinking Water Supply

42.22. In many villages the tribals have to cover considerable distance for fetching drinking water. The distance exceeds 2 miles in few cases. There are no drinking water wells in many villages in Nayagram Police Station, Midnapore District. There is need for digging at least one well in each tribal village or hamlet with a population of 100. We would recommend that an additional amount of Rs. 15 lakhs be provided in the Third Plan for water supply and medical relief.

Housing

42.23. The housing scheme for the welfare of the tribals is to improve the existing houses of the tribals or to build new houses on the existing house-sites. The Commission had opportunity to see the implementation of the housing scheme at villages Birhar (Purulia District), Chipidi (Purulia District) and Dumaria (Midnapore District), where 28, 15 and 50 houses have been constructed respectively. The Commission found that many houses have been damaged within one year after construction due to the faulty construction by the contractors. We suggest that the planning should be made according to the taste of the people and the would-be occupants should be made

responsible for construction of the houses. We also recommend that the present allocation of Rs. 20 lakhs made by the Working Group should be raised to Rs. 30 lakhs. The Public Works Department should earmark a substantial amount from their normal budget for development of communications in tribal areas. Villages in tribal areas should be linked with weekly *hats* and bazars and with main roads.

Tribal Development Blocks

42.24. There is no Tribal Development Block in the State. The tribal leaders and villagers, however, were in favour of opening such Tribal Development Blocks in areas where there is concentration of tribal population. The Commission feel that either these may be established in such areas or some special schemes for tribals in the ordinary development Blocks may be taken up.

Third Plan

42.25. The Working Group has proposed a total outlay of Rs. 250.00 lakhs in the Third Plan for Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal as under:—

1. Education	Rs. 70 lakhs.
2. Economic Development	Rs. 105 lakhs.
3. Health, Housing & other schemes	Rs. 75 lakhs.
TOTAL	Rs. 250 lakhs.

Our recommendations involve an additional outlay of Rs. 55 lakhs as in the table given below—

TABLE 80

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's proposals	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
1. Subsidy for minor irrigation schemes	20	+30	50
2. House and house sites	20	+10	30
3. Drinking water supply	21	+10	31
4. Mobile Dispensary-cum-V. D. Unit	5	+5	10
Total	66	+55	121

CHAPTER 43

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands in all number 223 big and small and cover an area of 3,215 sq. miles. They are in the midst of the Bay of Bengal, 590 miles south of the mouth of the Hooghly. The most northernly island of Nicobar Group of Islands is 143 miles south of Port Blair. The extreme length of Andaman Islands Group, is 219 miles and of the Nicobar 163 miles, while the extreme width of the former is 32 miles and of the latter 36 miles. Rainfall ranges between 90 inches and 120 inches annually spread over a period of eight months. A number of islands are uninhabited.

43.2. Before the advent of freedom the word 'Andamans' produced two different sentiments in the minds of Indians. There was a class of people who thought of Andamans with a feeling of dread. There was another class who thought of them as the ultimate home of all patriots whom the British Government found difficult to tackle at home.

43.3. The total population of the Islands, according to 1961 provisional Census figures, is 63,438. Of the population of nearly 63,000 in the entire Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 15,000 are tribals of whom Nicobarese are 14,000, Jarawas and Sentinelese 500, Onges and Shompen a little more than 100 each and Andamanese 23.

43.4. The Census of 1901 proved the existence of altogether twelve tribes of the Andamanese, divided into three distinct groups depending upon their characteristics, namely, the forms of huts, bows and arrows, canoes, ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing and languages. These three groups were the Yarawa group, the Onges—Jarawa group and the Bojing-ngiji group. The Yarawa group has faded away or mixed with the other two groups. Even in relation to the Onges—Jarawa, the population is fast diminishing. There were about 600 souls in each group in 1900; now there are about 100 people. The Great Andamanese were also reported to be 600 in 1901. They are now barely 23.

43.5. Despite the proximity of Andamans to the Indian main land and despite its being on the trade route to the South-East the tribal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands still continue to adhere to their age old traditional way of living. Efforts have been made to teach them cultivation but without any result. The present policy, however, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the existing conditions to be helpful to them. By and large, there is enough of vegetation upon which they live.

43.6. To the immediate south of Andaman Islands, are the Nicobar Islands inhabited by the Nicobarese. From Ptolemy's description about the Islands, the Nicobarese are inhabiting these Islands for over two thousand years. The Nicobarese are extremely hospitable people and friendly. They are multiplying as evidenced from the fact that in 1901 they were 6,000. Now they are 14,000. They are healthy and intelligent. They have a spoken language but no script of their own. They have adopted Roman script. Some of them know

Hindi, English, Burmese and Chinese. Their average span of life is said to be high. The average height of males is 5' 3" and of females is 5'. They have excellent community life. Their village headman is called Captain. He directs the affairs of the village. Poverty is unknown. There is hardly any agricultural activity in the Islands other than plantation of coconut trees and bananas. Fish is in plenty. Pig hunting is a common sport.

43.7. Timber is a great source of wealth of these Islands and there is plenty of labour available for those who want it. The Government's saw mill at Port Blair is said to be the biggest in Asia. There is also a splint-making factory owned by WIMCO. A plywood factory has gone into production. An oil mill has been opened but a good part of the coconuts are directly transported. There is a dry dock at Port Blair with facilities for ship repairs. About 40 miles south of Car Nicobar is the Choreia Island known for clay pottery. The area of the Island is hardly three square miles but has a population of 1,500 inhabitants.

43.8. As we have seen, the tribals constitute one-fourth of the population; three-fourths are non-tribals. We have a complex problem of Nicobarese who are a few stages in advance and of Andamanese, especially Yarawa, Sentinelese and Shompen who are still unresponsive to any effort towards development.

43.9. The Islands are directly under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Chief Commissioner is the head of the administration. Port Blair in South Andaman is the headquarters of administration. It has a population of about 10,000. The Development Officer assisted by an Assistant Secretary and the Deputy and Assistant Commissioners constitute the administrative set up with the Chief Commissioner in overall charge. The set up appears to be adequate.

Second Plan and the Level of Development Anticipated at the End of 1960-61

43.10. In the Second Plan of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, sufficient amounts were allocated for the implementation of development programmes under various sectors in the areas inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes. The Plan outlay was Rs. 603.135 lakhs including a special provision of rupees one lakh for the amelioration of the Scheduled Tribes. There has been considerable shortfall in the implementation of the programme.

Third Plan

43.11. The Administration proposed an outlay of Rs. 6.788 lakhs for Scheduled Tribes in the Third Plan. The Working Group reduced this provision to Rs. 6.50 lakhs as follows:

Educational Facilities

	Rs.
Hostels	0.50 lakhs
Grant for books and equipments	0.50 lakhs
Scholarships	0.50 lakhs
Total	1.50 lakhs

Economic Development Schemes

	Rs.
Coconut plantation for Onges ...	1.60 lakhs
Settlement of 50 families on agriculture in Car Nicobar	0.90 lakhs
Other aids	0.75 lakhs
Total ...	3.25 lakhs

Other Schemes

	Rs.
Community Development Centres ...	0.75 lakhs
Water supply	0.20 lakhs
Cultural activities including contacts with Jarawas etc.	0.80 lakhs
Total ...	1.75 lakhs

Land Alienation

43.12. There is no land problem in these Islands as nobody is allowed to go there or hold land without the specific permission of the Chief Commissioner.

Health

43.13. The tribals there suffer mostly from malaria, sand-fly fever and worms. In the Second Plan there was a scheme for the establishment of a medical-cum-anthropological unit in the Little Andamans. The Chief Commissioner stated that due to the inaccessibility of the Island during monsoon it has not been found possible to post a doctor or a compounder permanently. At present a compounder visits the Island frequently during fair weather and there is sufficient stock of medicines. With the additional sea-going vessels, for which provision has been made in the Third Plan, it would be possible to send a doctor more frequently to the Island and to post a compounder there permanently.

43.14. At Car Nicobar and the Nancowrie Islands, the medical facilities available are adequate. Local women may be given training in midwifery and facilities may be given to attract trained nurses. There are no medical facilities at present in other Islands of the Nicobar Group. We were told that the hospital-ship stationed at Nancowrie Island which visits the other Islands frequently, is out of commission at present. We recommend that the ship may be repaired immediately and put in the service.

Drinking Water

43.15. A provision of Rs. 0.20 lakhs has been made for drinking water supply in tribal areas. At Car Nicobar drinking water is supplied from wells which is satisfactory. But in the Little Andamans there is no facility. We suggest that the provision under Water Supply be increased to Rs. 1.00 lakh.

Housing

43.16. The houses of the Nicobarese are very small and bee-hive shaped and ill-ventilated. They are fifteen to twenty feet in diameter. A provision of Rs. 0.87 lakhs has been made in the Third Plan for subsidy at the rate of Rs. 350 per house for fifty houses each year. The huts of Onges are also very bad and unhygienic. We recommend that a provision of Rs. 0.05 lakhs may be made for houses for Onges.

Education

43.17. In the tribal areas there are 16 primary schools and one higher secondary school, of which 9 primary schools and the higher secondary school are at Car Nicobar and the remaining seven primary schools at Nancowrie. Education is imparted in tribal language in first two classes and in Hindi from Class III. At the time of our visit to the Islands, we were told that the number of students in the schools was 736 (521 boys and 215 girls). In the higher secondary school, there were 44 boys and 5 girls. The Educational Officer told us that the Nicobarese are intelligent and their children are keen to get education. In order to attract more students, a provision of Rs. 1.50 lakhs has been made in the Third Plan for free supply of books, award of scholarships and construction of a hostel at Nancowrie. This provision appears to be sufficient. In regard to teachers, we were told that Nicobarese would be good teachers if some training is given to them. It is suggested that some arrangement may be made at Car Nicobar itself for training teachers.

Communications

43.18. The Islands are separated from the main land and from each other by deep sea. The Islands have at present two sea-going vessels and a few small boats which can be used during fair weather only. There is generally a weekly steamer between Port Blair and the main land. The voyage usually takes about four days. The people are, therefore, practically cut off from the main stream of national life. There is practically no communication between one Island and the other. In regard to the communication with the main land, the Indian Airlines Corporation has recently started a weekly air service between Calcutta and Port Blair *via* Rangoon.

43.19. We were told by the Chief Commissioner that a provision for ships has been made in the Third Plan and the Planning Commission has agreed to release the required foreign exchange. The ships will establish inter-Island communications and we hope that the welfare work among the Scheduled Tribes will gather a momentum thereafter. The Onges, Jarawas, Sentinelese and Shompen present difficult problems. The Chief Commissioner suggested that some social organisation should take up the work. In the initial stages the Government itself should help the organisation with finances and transport facilities. It is only then it can take roots.

Economy of the Tribals

43.20. The main source of income of the Nicobarese is tending of coconut and arecanuts. In the Car Nicobar and Nancowrie Islands each village has a co-operative society and the head of each family in a village is a member of the society. The individuals collect coconut and arecanuts and sell them to the village co-operative societies. They

in turn sell these articles to the Car Nicobar Trading Company and the Nancowrie Trading Company. 50 per cent of the shares in these Trading Companies are held by the various co-operative societies of the Islands while 50 per cent of the shares are held by a private concern. The Trading Companies have been given the monopoly to purchase coconut and arecanuts from the village co-operative societies at a price fixed by the Chief Commissioner and to sell them in the main land. The Companies are also required to provide all the necessities of life to the Islanders. Though the local co-operative societies hold 50 per cent of the shares in the Companies, it appears that the other partner who is in charge of transport and disposal of goods at the markets in the main land exploits the local co-operative societies and thereby the tribals. It is understood that the matter is under the consideration of the Andaman Administration and the Government of India. *We recommend that the shares held by the Trading Companies may be acquired by Government and their monopoly broken.*

Agriculture

43.21. The Nicobarese do not produce any cereals. Their staple food is coconut but rice has recently been introduced. There are possibilities for extensive rice cultivation.

Industries

43.22. There are no industries worth the name in the Nicobar Group of Islands. We were told by the Assistant Commissioner, Car Nicobar, that there are also no facilities in the Islands for processing coconuts. We suggest that small oil mills may be established at Nancowrie and Car Nicobar Islands and oil produced thereby may be exported or/and used for soap-making for local consumption. The coir fibre may be cured and turned into ropes, mattresses etc. The possibility of establishing shell industry may be explored as shells are found in plenty in the sea around the Nicobar Group of Islands.

Money-lending

43.23. Nobody is allowed to go to the Nicobar Group of Islands without the specific permission of the Chief Commissioner. There is, therefore, no money-lender in the Islands. The tribals do not like to borrow from anybody, even from Government. The tribals are not indebted as in the mainland.

Panchayats

43.24. The Nicobarese have their own traditional Panchayats. In Car Nicobar, the headman of each village known as 'Captain' is a member of the Panchayat. Reverend J. Richardson who carries great influence over the Nicobarese, is the head of the Panchayat. The decisions of the Panchayat are obeyed by all. The Chief Commissioner, with whom the question was discussed, was of the view that the Statutory Panchayats should not be introduced in the Nicobar Group of Islands and that the Traditional Panchayats may be allowed to function.

CHAPTER 44

HIMACHAL PRADESH

The population of Scheduled Tribes, in Himachal Pradesh has been assessed by the Administration at 90,000 as follows:--

	Rs
Kinnaur District	35,000
Bharmaur area in Chamba District	26,000
Pangi area in Chamba District	15,000
Gujjars	14,000
	<hr/>
	90,000
	<hr/>

Since the 1961 Census has already been completed in the snow-bound areas which are proposed to be scheduled in Himachal Pradesh, it would be easy for the Planning Commission to obtain the actual figures from the Registrar General and revise the ceiling on that basis. In our recommendations we have accepted the figures as worked out by the Administration.¹

Supplementary Note—

1. The area of the Kinnaur District was a tehsil under Mahasu District. It was made into a full fledged district in 1960 in view of latest developments on the border and, also for giving more attention to the development of the area and its people. The district has an area of 2,700 sq. miles with a population of 35,159. Most of its area remains snow bound for several months of the year. Lack of communications has kept its people cut off from the rest of the country. This tract is interspersed by Himalayan Ranges and difficult passes. The main valleys are Sutlej Valley, Hangrang Valley and Sangla Valley.

The Bharmaur and the Pangi sub-tehsils of Chamba District are also within the Himalayan Ranges.

Hangrang in Kinnaur District and Pangi in Chamba District are undeveloped and require more attention. Chamang sub-tribe of Kinnaur and Nomadic Gujjars constitute the weaker sections amongst the tribals.

(ii) The Himachal Pradesh Administration has proposed that the whole of Kinnaur District; Bharmaur sub-Tehsil and Patwar circles of Bassu, Gehra, Goon, Lih and Samra of Chamba Tehsils of Chamba District; whole of Pangi sub-Tehsil and Patwar circles of Chanju, half Tissa, Baira, Sei Bagor, Bharnanta and Banantar of Chamba Tehsil of Chamba District, be declared as Scheduled Areas.

Protective measures

(iii) No protective measures for protecting the lands of tribals and for preventing exploitation by money-lenders have been taken. As the areas are being opened up very rapidly by the construction of Hindustan-Tibet Road, non-tribals will enter these areas. It is likely that with the intrusion of non-tribals the interests of tribals in land will be jeopardised. As it is

44.2. The Planning Commission has allocated Rs. 49.50 lakhs for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes during the Third Plan period. They have made further provision of Rs. 10 lakhs for another Tribal Development Block in case the population exceeds the figures assessed by the Registrar General of India according to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956. Taking this amount also into consideration, the total allocation comes to Rs. 59.50 lakhs, say Rs. 60 lakhs.

Tribal Development Blocks.

44.3. In Kinnaur District it would not be possible for one single Tribal Development Block to cover so vast an area as 2,700 sq. miles, particularly when the areas are snow-bound and totally inaccessible. The area that each Tribal Development Block is expected to

Supplementary Note (1)—contd.

a Union Territory we are of opinion that existing acts in force in other States for protection of the rights of tribals in land and from exploitation by money-lenders may be extended to these areas.

Allotment of Land

(iv) There is a great demand for allotment of 'Navtod' land for agriculture and horticulture. The Administration should survey the position and decide the extent of land available for allotment. Such land may be granted on inalienable tenure. There are some patches of lands in the revenue forests in Kinnaur District which can be made available for allotment to the tribals. These patches mostly are between Wangtu and Sarai and in 15/20 Parganas. About 200 families can be settled on these lands. This may be investigated by the Administration. We would suggest that in the allotment of land Chamangs should be given first preference as they are landless.

The Administration has framed Navtod rules by which a Collector can allow ten bighas of lands to a head of a family for agricultural purposes provided the Forest Department agree to de-forest that land.

A survey of indebtedness amongst the tribals in the Hangrang area may be conducted and steps taken to liquidate old debts and repayment of debts in kind.

Forest and Forest Policy

(v) The Himachal Pradesh Administration has stated that rights of the tribal people in relation to forests have not been curtailed. The tribals are given trees at cheap rates. A first-class tree costing about Rs. 450 is given to them at Rs. 4.50 nP. The people have no right to take out slates free of charge for covering the roofs of their houses. They have rights to fodder and chilgoza trees. The chilgoza trees coming within the limits of certain area are distributed amongst the villagers and each family earns about Rs. 500 per annum. The value of free grant of materials and concessions given to the people is estimated at about Rs. 13.0 lakhs for the three years from 1957-60.

(vi) There was, however, a general complaint from the people that restrictions by the Forest Department on the use of forest for grazing purposes and collection of timber and wood for building houses have put them to much hardship. The villagers of Kilba, Brua and Saoni complained that they did not get full quota of their demand. There was also a complaint that there were long delays in getting sanction for their applications for the grant of timber. We would suggest that the Administration should minimise the delay in the grant of permits as far as possible.

(vii) Exploitation of forest is done on contract basis. All the labour employed by contractors is from outside. The Commission was told that

cover is about 200 sq. miles. In view, however, of the scarcity of population in Kinnaur District a wider area may be covered by each Tribal Development Block. Bharmaur and Pangri are two separate areas situated in different corners of the District. It will not be administratively feasible nor desirable to club them together into one Block. At the same time it should be emphasised that these areas which are so backward should not be deprived of the benefits of Tribal Development Blocks. We, therefore find no way out but to suggest four Tribal Development Blocks for the Territory.

Communications

44.4. There is a meagre provision of Rs. 3 lakhs for roads and bridges in the Third Five Year Plan which is hardly adequate to meet the requirements. We cannot expect any appreciable portion out of similar provision in the general sector. The tribal people both in Pangri and Bharmour areas of Chamba District are extremely undeveloped and the principal reason for their backwardness is the total inaccessibility of that area. If any appreciable difference in their economic condition is to be made, it can be only after these areas are opened up. No doubt the National Highway that connects Simla to Namgia opens up the country to a great extent and the tribal people will also be benefited by it indirectly. But there is need for devoting more attention to connect the inaccessible tribal areas also. We, therefore, suggest a larger provision be made for the construction of bridges, culverts, bridle paths and aerial ropeways.³

Schemes for Economic Development

44.5. Our approach in the Third Plan in regard to the economic development of the tribal areas in Himachal Pradesh is to have an integrated programme consisting of minor irrigation, horticulture, animal husbandry, cottage industries, cooperative and marketing. In the past the programme of minor irrigation, which is a very

Supplementary Note (1)—contd.

local labour was not available. We would suggest that a beginning may be made by organising Forest Co-operative Societies for exploitation of major forest produce and to train the local people in the matter of exploitation of forests.

Minor forest produce like karu, dhup and patish are available. They are collected by the people and sold to traders. Chilgoza and other fruits are also sold to the traders. The tribals do not get a fair price for all these produce. We would suggest that an organisation on the lines of Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative, Finance and Development Corporation be set up here for collecting all minor forest produce and fruits like chilgoza in order to obtain better price for the tribals.

(viii) There is a great scope for development of horticulture in the forest areas. We would suggest that community orchards may be grown for the benefit of the tribals. This activity will protect the steep slopes of hills from erosion and also lessen the demand for Navtod lands.

(ix) There is scarcity of fuel in the Hangrang Valley and some afforestation programme should be taken up in this area.

2. As these are the border areas, it is imperative that speedy means of communications should be established. There should be greater coordination of the programme of the various agencies constructing roads in this area. Postal facilities may be improved in the Bharmour area in Chamba District as they are inadequate at present.

important activity, has not received the attention it deserved. As figures and estimates for the works to be immediately undertaken are not readily available with us, we are not able to indicate the exact requirements. But we feel that greater concentration of activity is required on providing minor irrigation facilities upon which will depend the success of horticulture whose intensive development in turn will transform the economy of these undeveloped areas. The need for stress on horticulture programmes, particularly the growth of dry fruits, can be better appreciated in view of its effects on production and employment aspect. On account of the imminent possibility of the Bhakra Dam silting up in the event of adopting a policy of indiscriminate Navtod land distribution to the landless, the alternative presents itself of developing fully the horticultural potentialities within limits of availability of land. The production of dry fruits will not only improve the economy of tribal people but also save considerable foreign exchange. On account of the immense potentialities for horticulture, the Commission would also recommend the setting up in the public sector, of a State Horticulture Farm managed by the Government. Such an organised venture will not only produce dry fruits on a large scale but would also offer employment potentialities to the tribal people.

44.6. Another important aspect of the programme of economic development for the tribal people is the development of animal husbandry. Sheep breeding and development of pashmina goats should receive urgent attention. There have been considerable repercussions on trade on account of the happenings in Tibet and unless sheep breeding on a self-contained basis is developed in the Territory itself, the tribals who have been the victims of this economic crisis will suffer more. Among the steps to be taken in this direction should be the setting up and expansion of sheep breeding farms on the lines of the farm opened at Sarahan. There is also need for procuring from the Tibetan refugees as many Yaks and pashmina goats as available for retention and development of the breed. The Gujjars who are excellent cattle breeders could be greatly benefited if a well-planned scheme of dairying were to be launched.

44.7. The development of cottage industries, which would mostly centre round the production of wool and its products, is another aspect of this integrated programme. The pattern and designs of the area should be popularised with a view to capturing the markets.

44.8. The programme of the development of cooperatives should be sufficiently expanded so as to meet the increasing needs of the tribal producer. The scheme of cooperatives should cover the exploitation of major and minor forest produce and should also arrange the sale of medicinal herbs, such as karu, patish and dhup, for which Himachal Pradesh is so well known.

44.9. The institution of Ashram schools has come to be recognised as one of the essential items in the programme of tribal education. There is no provision for the expansion of Ashram schools during the

Supplementary Note—

3. There is great scope for development of wool industry in Himachal Pradesh. We have referred to this matter very exhaustively in chapter 14.

We would suggest that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission should make special efforts for development of wool industry in these areas.

Third Plan. In the absence of such a provision, it is feared the existing seven Ashram schools may be wound up. There is, therefore, need for adequate provision in the Third Plan not only for continuing the existing Ashrams but also to set up new ones.

44.10. The tribal areas in Himachal Pradesh, particularly Pangi, Bharmaur and Chini, suffer from chronic food shortage. Their inaccessibility has contributed to this state of near famine conditions. The Commission feels it essential for the Administration to take up a programme of supplying subsidised foodgrain in these areas.⁴

44.11. The Commission feels that during the Third Plan period the various schemes referred to above have to be taken up and that unless the existing provision (Rs. 59.50 lakhs) is increased by another Rs. 60 lakhs, no appreciable benefits that would make an impact on tribal economy would accrue. The following table gives the financial implications of the recommendations.

TABLE 81

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme	Working Group's proposal	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total
Education	9.00	} 40.00	79.50
Economic Development Schemes	16.50		
Other Schemes	14.00		
Tribal Development Blocks	20.00	20.00	40.00
Total	59.50	60.00	119.50

Supplementary Note—

4. In the Third Plan no provision has been made for housing the tribals. In chapter 21 we have referred to the housing conditions of Chamangs. We have also stated that the Gujjars who are nomads require rehabilitation. We recommend that provision should be made to improve the housing condition of chamangs and for rehabilitation of nomadic Gujjars only.

CHAPTER 45

LACCADIVE, MINICOY & AMINDIVI ISLANDS

The Laccadive, Minicoy and the Amindivi Islands are a group of 19 small islands, of which 10 are inhabited and 9 uninhabited. The total area of all the islands is 10.76 sq. miles. The largest island, i.e., Minicoy, is hardly $1\frac{3}{4}$ sq. miles in area. The present population is about 24,000 and is entirely Muslim.

45.2. Before the 1st November, 1956, all the islands were a Scheduled Area in Madras State. On the re-organisation of States, these were constituted into a Union Territory and ceased to be a Scheduled Area.

Soil & Cultivation

45.3. The annual rainfall is between 50" to 70". The soil is sandy and barren. There are no forests. Coconut trees thrive on these islands and roughly 5,500 acres out of the total cultivable land of 6,620 acres are planted with coconut. The coconut tree is the mainstay of the islanders' economy.

Scheduled Tribes

45.4. All the inhabitants, both of whose parents were born in the islands, are recognised as Scheduled Tribes.

Administrative Set-up

45.5. The Administrator is the head of the Union Territory with his head-quarters at Kozhikode. A tehsildar is posted in each of the islands of Minicoy, Androth and Ameni. Kalpeni, Kavarithi and Agathi islands are governed through Amins. In each island of Laccadive Group and Minicoy, there are a number of 'Karnavans' partly hereditary and partly nominated at Government's discretion, who assist the "Amin" in the trial of criminal cases and civil suits. They are like village elders and the Amin's Court is akin to a Panchayat. The Amin is responsible for the collection of tree tax on Government land. The tehsildars supervise the work of the Amins.

Laws

45.6. In Amindivi Group the tehsildar administers both civil and criminal justice under the customary law. In the Laccadive Group of islands and Minicoy it is in accordance with the Island Regulation of 1912.

Land

45.7. Land has not been surveyed and soil classified. There is no land-tax in any of the islands. Government land is leased to individuals in the Laccadive Group where tree-tax is collected on the basis of the yield of coconut. Poll tax is collected in Minicoy. The annual revenue under all the items is about Rs. 21,000.

Advisory Council

45.8. An Advisory Council was constituted for this Territory in April, 1957. The Council consists of five islanders including the Member of the Lok Sabha from the islands, nominated annually by the Government of India. It advises the Administrator on various administrative and developmental matters.

First Plan

45.9. There was no integrated plan for the development of these islands during the First Plan period. A plan for the development of these islands was drawn up and approved by the Planning Commission in October 1957. Actual work was started only at the end of 1957.

Second Plan

45.10. The Second Plan outlay for this Union Territory was Rs. 73.86 lakhs, and the estimated expenditure Rs. 45.82 lakhs. The shortfall was mainly due to non-implementation of certain schemes under transport and communication, cooperation, fisheries and non-completion of building works.

Third Plan

45.11. The allocation for the Third Plan is Rs. 96.76 lakhs, as detailed below:—

	(Rupees in lakhs)
1. Agricultural Programme ...	29.97
2. Cooperation ...	00.98
3. Power (Electricity) ...	5.26
4. Village and Small Industries ...	6.02
5. Transport and Communications ...	17.50
6. Education ...	18.83
7. Health ...	10.36
8. Housing and Urban development ...	2.00
9. Welfare of Backward Classes ...	5.00
10. Other Schemes ...	0.84
Total ...	96.76

This seems to be quite adequate and we have no comments to offer.

Scheduled Areas

45.12. The Administrator considers that it is not necessary to declare any area in the Territory as a Scheduled Area.

Education

45.13. The position in regard to education appears to be satisfactory. There are 5 primary schools, 4 middle schools, one high school and two feeder schools. Education is free and is imparted in Malayalam. Of 4,000 children of school going age, 1,400 are attending schools. The

girls are given clothing worth Rs. 2 each. All the students are supplied with books, slates, pencils free of cost. Mid-day meals are also provided.

Fisheries

45.14. The sea around the islands abounds in valuable fish and there is scope for developing fisheries. It will also give stability to the economy of the islands. The islanders are very good fishermen but they have neither the mechanised boats nor improved nets. We recommend that provision be made for the purchase of boats and equipment for development of fisheries.

Money-lending

45.15. There are no money-lenders. The islanders, when they come to the mainland, borrow money from people there. The extent of indebtedness amongst the tribals is estimated at Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs. Co-operative societies may be organised which may advance loans to the tribals for agricultural purposes and for other obligatory social functions, the latter being limited to 1/3 of the total credit worthiness of the applicant.

Communications

45.16. Communication between the islands and the mainland is through the sailing vessels and during the monsoon months, the islands are completely cut off from outside world. The islands also lack inter-island communication. Provision for the purchase of two steamers was made during the Second Plan but so far the Administration has been able to procure one ship only. We recommend that the other ship may be purchased without any further delay. For inter-island communication motor launches may be provided and the expenditure met from the existing allotment.

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CHAPTER 46

MANIPUR

Manipur has an area of 8,636 sq. miles. The territory is divided into two distinct zones, namely, the valley and the surrounding hill-areas. The valley is inhabited by the Manipuris, known as "Meithei" and the hills by the Nagas, Kukis and other hill tribes. Socially and culturally there is a vast difference between the people of valley and those of the hill-areas. The inhabitants of the valley, are fairly well advanced in their economic conditions, education and social habits. Those in the hills, however, are isolated.

46.2. The total population was 5,77,635 (1951 Census). It increased to 6,35,000 in 1958. 70 per cent of the population is concentrated in the valley. 83.4 per cent of the population is dependent upon agriculture and only 16.6 per cent upon non-agricultural pursuits. In the valley the average size of holding according to Agricultural Labour Enquiry Report was 2.8 acres.

46.3. The tribes of Manipur can be broadly classified into Kukis and Nagas. The Nagas live in compact villages. The Nagas resort to jhuming to supplement their income from settled cultivation. They are hard working and virile, educationally and economically better off than their Kuki neighbours. In Kuki villages, the entire land is owned by the chief who lets it out to different families on a rental basis. Sometimes, some families hard pressed by demands of high rent by the chief leave the village. According to a common practice, the family leaving the village has to surrender all its belongings and is left penniless.

Forest

46.4. Manipur has a forest area of 2,325 sq. miles. The percentage of forest area is 26.9. The forest is of mixed type and, therefore, timber value is comparatively low. Bamboo is plentiful, covering an area of about 1,000 sq. miles. The area under bamboo is increasing because jhum lands are being turned into bamboo forests. The forests are classified into 3 categories.

Reserved forests	...	388 sq. miles
Protected forests	...	857 sq. miles
Unclassified forests	...	1080 sq. miles
TOTAL	...	2325 sq. miles

In reserved forests rights of the tribals, such as jhuming, wood-rights, hunting rights, grazing rights have been recorded. Most of the Nagas have grievances against the forest department for extending its control over what the Nagas consider as their private Reserves.

Scheduled Areas

46.5. The Administration and the members of the Tribal Council are of opinion that the hill areas of Manipur which are underdeveloped should be declared as Scheduled Areas.

Administration and Administrative Set-up

46.6. There is only one district at present in Manipur. The Chief Commissioner, Manipur, is of the opinion that there should be 4 districts—one in valley and 3 in hills but to start with two districts—one in the hill areas and another in the plains—may be formed. One Additional Development Commissioner assists the Chief Commissioner in development work. Sadar Hills and Mao tribals complained that they are put to great difficulties on account of the headquarters of the sub-division being at Imphal at present. There is some force in their complaint. We would suggest the single line set up as in NEFA for this area.

Laws and Regulations

46.7. So far as protection of land is concerned, transfer of land belonging to a tribal to a non-tribal or to another tribal of a different village is not allowed without the special permission of the Deputy Commissioner in the Tribal Blocks of Ukhrul, Tamenlong, Sadar hills and Mao, Churachandpur, Tengnoupal and Jiribam under chapter X of the Assam Land Revenue Regulations.

46.8. The tribals of hill areas have pressed before the Commission the withdrawal of the provisions of Criminal Procedure Code and Indian Penal Code from the hill areas and that cases, both civil and criminal be decided according to their local customs. According to them, the abolition of Hill Courts has not been appreciated by the tribals. The provisions of Criminal Procedure Code and Indian Penal Code are not understood by them, and so the Hill Courts may be revived. The Commission was also told that the judiciary system in its present form is not acceptable to tribals because its procedure is cumbersome and time-consuming. They feel that a simple and cheap procedure for justice should be evolved and adopted for tribals. The Chief Commissioner, Manipur, is of the opinion that the Panchayat Act should be suitably amended so as to bring it in keeping with the tribal customs and rights. We have considered this subject in chapter 28 and would invite attention to the recommendations made therein.

Land Reforms

46.9. The institution of 'Chief' amongst the Kukis is akin to Zamindari system. Zamindari system has been abolished, so also the Chief-system. But there has been no survey or settlement of the land and hence no records are available to establish ownership of the land cultivated. Difficulties will, therefore, arise in recognising individual rights and ownership over such lands. It has, however, been admitted by the members of the Manipur Territorial Council and others that many have taken advantage of this situation. Nepalis in large numbers, it appears, have taken possession of such lands. There is immediate need for survey and preparation of records of rights without changing the land revenue

system. We recommend that an amount of Rs. 5 lakhs. should be included in the Third Plan for survey work.

46.10. The Chiefs are against abolition of their proprietary and customary rights. Many of them have urged before the Commission that they should get adequate compensation for abolition of their manifold rights which they enjoyed so far e.g., they were entitled to realise 3 to 4 tins of paddy from every cultivator, take 3 days free labour from every tenant in a year, have the hind-leg of an animal killed by a tribal etc. Either these rights should be restored to them or adequate compensation should be paid to them.

46.11. The Chief Commissioner, Manipur, feels that the Chieftainship must go and that some compensation be paid for the abolition of their rights and customs. It is suggested that a lump sum amount may be paid to these Chiefs by way of compensation and rehabilitation grant without transferring the burden to the tenants.

Agriculture

46.12. In Manipur, tribal economy is mainly based on agriculture. Paddy is the main crop. In parts of Mao and Ukhrul areas, terracing is done. In other areas, jhuming is the principal method.

Irrigation

46.13. There is a great scope for medium and minor schemes. Irrigation facilities are almost nil in jhum areas. The works taken up in the Community Development areas, with people's participation, are of a minor nature such as the construction of small channels to bring water from high altitudes to the fields at lower levels. About 400 tribals, who had collected at Mao, demanded, amongst others, construction of tanks and water channels for irrigation purposes. They were willing to give free labour for this work. No provision has been made in the Third Plan for medium and minor irrigation works. A provision of Rs. 10 lakhs should be included in the Third Plan for this purpose.

Horticulture

46.14. Horticulture can be developed as the climatic conditions are very suitable. If transport facilities are created horticulture will be an attractive occupation. Need for cold storage plants at Imphal, Kohima and Dimapur for preserving fruits and canning has been stressed before the Commission by the tribals of Manipur. We recommend that the allocation for 'Fruit Preservation' and Canning should be raised to Rs. 4 lakhs.

Education

46.15. The percentage of literacy for the whole of Manipur, according to the 1951 Census, was 11.4 as against the all-India figure of 16.61. For tribals, it would be much less. At present there are 637 primary schools, 35 basic schools and 94 secondary schools. In primary schools, out of 30,146 students 17,709 are tribals. In the secondary schools, out of 27,720 students 6,709 are tribals. Most of the schools are run by the Education Department of the Territorial Council. A few schools are grant-in-aid schools. The main problem

is to get trained teachers for the existing schools and for the new ones. Many schools have no trained teachers. Out of 4,000 teachers, only 400 are trained. Condition of school buildings is very bad. About 400 primary school buildings need immediate repairs. *We recommend that the present allocation of Rs. 24 lakhs should be raised to Rs. 30 lakhs so as to include expenditure on construction and repairs to schools buildings and provision for hostels and girls' education.*

Village Industries, Arts and Crafts

46.16. There is great scope for weaving, carpentry, bamboo and cane works, basket making, mat making and wood work in hill areas. The tribals need no training in weaving. Regular supply of raw materials and proper marketing facilities for the finished products are to be ensured. Intensified efforts should be made to grow local varieties of long staple cotton. The experiment that is being done by the Adimjati Shiksha Ashram should be encouraged and expanded.

Animal Husbandry

46.17. The condition of milch animals in Manipur is very poor as compared with the rest of India, more so in the case of cows. Cattle development is at present confined to valley areas. Very little has been done in hill areas. The territory has an assured rainfall. This natural advantage should be fully exploited for growing fodder. Veterinary facilities are inadequate. The incidence of cattle mortality is high due to lack of veterinary facilities. This has been a discouragement to farmers to develop animal husbandry as a subsidiary occupation. Sheep rearing and wool industry should be encouraged amongst the tribals because Adimjati Shiksha Ashram has come out successful in their scheme of sheep rearing and wool industry. Some tribals may be sent to Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh for training in wool spinning and weaving and sheep rearing. The Working Group has allocated Rs. 3 lakhs for the development of poultry and piggery. *We recommend an additional amount of Rs. 3 lakhs for upgrading local livestock for production of milk, improvement of pasture, for rearing of sheep and wool industry.*

Development of Marketing Facilities and Fruit Preservation

46.18. Dimapur in Nagaland is an important marketing centre and the nearest rail-head for exporting produce grown in Manipur Territory. The business at Dimapur is in the hands of, and is being controlled by, merchants from outside who obviously exploit the growers and producers of Manipur. The Manipur Administration has no control over Dimapur market. The Commission was informed that last year about one lakh maunds of potatoes, mostly from Manipur territory, were brought to Dimapur market for sale and export. The most essential thing is that a marketing corporation should be organised for purchase and sale of vegetables, fruits etc. and the local cooperative should be asked to join it. Nagaland and Manipur Administrations should join hands and develop the marketing facilities at Dimapur, keeping in view the needs and demands of the growers of both the territories. It is also suggested

that similar marketing facilities should be developed at other places like Churachandpur, Mao, Imphal and Kohima. We recommend that an amount of Rs. 5 lakhs should be included for establishing a marketing corporation.

Communications

46.19. According to Manipur Administration, the primary requirement is better roads. Manipur has no railways. The only land communication between Manipur and the rest of India is the Imphal-Dimapur road. The road mileage works out to 13 miles per 100 sq. miles area against all-India average of 28 miles. Owing to lack of transport facilities, imported articles cost more when they reach the consuming points, while local products fetch much less than they should to the producers. Shri Mathialom, President, Zeliengrong Naga Union and others have stated before the Commission that the absence of communication is the main problem and is the greatest handicap to the improvement of economic condition. Communications should, therefore, receive top priority.

Medical and Public Health

46.20. The Administration admitted that the medical facilities are not adequate. Leprosy, Malaria, and V.D. are present in varying degrees. Some cases which are returned as V.D. may be Yaws which is suspected all along the Burma border. The matter should be carefully examined. In hill areas, there are 8 hospitals and 48 dispensaries. In addition, there are two touring dispensaries. The dispensaries are managed mostly by compounders. There is acute shortage of doctors.

Drinking Water Supply

46.21. Tribal villages in hill areas are situated on hill tops. The villagers have to cover not less than a mile to fetch drinking water. More tanks and wells for supply of clean drinking water should be constructed.

Non-official Organisations

46.22. Of late, many non-official agencies have been organised in such a small territory not bigger than a district. The Commission observed that everyone wanted to represent his own section or tribe. The Adimjati Shiksha Ashram under the auspices of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh has been working in Manipur since 1950. They have been running hostels in the tribal areas and giving training to tribals in technical trades. The Ashram is given 100 per cent Government grant for running the Adimjati Technical Institute at Imphal. Many candidates trained from this technical institute have found employment in Nagaland, Assam etc. This voluntary organisation deserves further encouragement and financial help. We recommend that an amount of Rs. 2 lakhs should be included in the Third Plan for this purpose.

Services

46.23. It was explained before the Commission that many tribal youths, though educated, did not get employment even in the Police Department, where high educational qualification is not required for subordinate posts. The Administration should make special efforts to employ young tribal students in all the departments.

Villages on Burma Border

46.24. Special attention should be paid in villages near the Burma border and intensified efforts made to develop this border area.

Third Plan

46.25. As a result of the above recommendations, the outlay of the Third Plan for Scheduled Tribes will be Rs. 160 lakhs as follows:—

TABLE 82

(Rs. in lakhs)

Development Head	Working Group's proposal	Additional allocation proposed by the Commission	Total	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
I. Education	24	6	30	Additional amount of Rs. 6 lakhs recommended for construction and repairs to school building and provision for hostels and girls' education.
II. Economic Development	83	22	105	Additional amount of Rs. 22 lakhs recommended for— (i) Horticulture, preservation units, cold storage etc. 4.0 (ii) Medium & minor irrigation works. 10.0 (iii) Upgrading local live-stock, improvement of pasture, rearing of sheep and wool industry. 3.0 (iv) Marketing corporation. 5.0 22.0

TABLE 82—contd.

1	2	3	4	5
III. Health, Housing and other schemes.	18	7	25	Additional amount of Rs. 7 lakhs recommended for— (i) Survey in hill areas. 5.0 (ii) Grants-in-aid to non-official agencies. 2.0 <hr/> 7.0
Total	125	35	160	



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CHAPTER 47

NAGALAND

There are three districts—Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang—in Nagaland and its administrative headquarters are in Kohima town. The entire country is covered with ranges of hills. Most villages stand at three to four thousand feet and the main concentrations of population, very typical of the Nagas, are on the tops of hills and at the higher elevations. The unhealthy foothills towards the plains are only thinly populated. The rainfall ranges from 70" to 100" a year, and there are many springs, rivers and streams, but no lakes or tanks: in spite of this village water-supply is one of the greatest problems. The area of Nagaland is 6,236 sq. miles including forest-covered land, which is estimated at about 1,000 sq. miles. Its population is over 3,75,000.

Tribes of Nagaland and their Characteristics

47.2. The Nagas are an Indo-Mongoloid folk living in the north-eastern hills of India, divided into over a dozen major tribes, speaking more than a dozen languages and dialects. They number between three-and-a-half and four lakhs and are divided into the following groups:—



Tribe	Estimated population
1. Angamis	30,000
2. Aos	50,000
3. Chakesangs	31,000
4. Changs	17,000
5. Khienmungans	17,000
6. Konyaks	63,000
7. Lhotas	23,000
8. Mixed Tribes	5,000
9. Phoms	13,000
10. Rengmas	5,000
11. Sangtams	20,000
12. Semas	48,000
13. Yimchungrs	17,500
14. Zeliangs	5,250

There are also 2,400 Kukis in Nagaland.

47.3 The Nagas were formerly notorious for head-hunting, which is almost the only thing many people know about them, but today are awake and stirring, anxious to progress. They are a fine people of whom the country is proud, strong and self-reliant, with the free and independent outlook characteristic of highlanders everywhere, good to look at, with an unerring instinct for colour and design, friendly and cheerful with a keen sense of humour, gifted with splendid dances and a love of song.

47.4. Naga society presents a varied pattern of near-dictatorship and extreme democracy. There is a system of hereditary chief-tainship among the Semas and Changs. The Konyaks have powerful chiefs or Angs who are regarded as sacred and whose word is law. The Aos, however, have bodies of elders who represent the main family groups in the village, and the Angamis, Lhotas, Rengmas and others are exceptionally democratic. The basic interest of every Naga is in his family, the clan, the village. He is passionately attached to his land, his system of land tenure, the arrangements for the government of his village, the organisation of cultivation, the administration of tribal justice through the village and tribal courts. Prominent in many villages is the Morung or dormitory for the young unmarried men—some tribes also have small houses for the unmarried girls. The Morungs are guard-houses, recreation clubs, centres of education, art and discipline and have an important ceremonial purpose. Many house the great wooden drums which are beaten to summon for war or to announce a festival, and formerly skulls and other trophies of war were displayed in them.

47.5. The staple food of the Nagas is rice supplemented by meat, preferably beef and pork. They are now drinking tea and even taking to milk, on which until recently they had a taboo. But their favourite drink is rice-beer (*zu*), which may be described as a nourishing and palatable soup with a kick in it. For while its alcoholic content is small, it contains most of the essential nutrients and is an important source of Naga energy and strength.

47.6. The Angamis build excellent terraces and in this they are followed by a few other tribes who have come under their influence. Others do not practice terracing at all, though this type of cultivation is being rapidly introduced by Government.

47.7. For a long time past, Nagas of different groups have talked to one another either in broken Assamese or in English. Assamese has been useful to the Nagas for the purpose of trade and to promote unity between different tribes. Many Nagas now are acquainted with Hindi and English.

The Christian Church

47.8. The Christian Church plays a very important part in Naga life. Missionaries entered the country well over a hundred years ago and at first their progress was slow. There were only 211 converts in 1891 and 579 in 1901, but today at Imphal the Missionaries have a high school, a Bible school, a hospital and the central office, and the majority of the Aos have been converted. The Naga Baptist Christian Convention which is autonomous (there is no foreign Baptist missionaries in Nagaland), is organised into fourteen tribal associations, representing all the major tribes. It maintains 632 churches with a total membership of 73,500 persons, but its influence goes far beyond this. Each church has a pastor supported by the local villagers who build him a house, provide him with food and pay him a small sum of about fifty rupees a month.

The Political Background

47.9. The Naga people have a long history of turbulence and warfare which reached its climax in the recent disturbances arising from demand for an independent State separate from India. The

Commission is not concerned with politics and we only refer very briefly to this subject because of the bearing that it has on the development programmes. Government has all along given the most anxious thought to the problem of restoring peace and prosperity to the Naga people and when in 1957, largely attended Naga People's Convention asked for a new administrative set up within the Indian Union, they willingly established what was called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Ministry of External Affairs. This included the Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA. As a result of this, developmental work, which had been rendered almost impossible by rebel activity during the first two years of the Second Plan, was taken up with a new enthusiasm and much progress was made. In 1960 another Convention was held at Mokokchung with 3,000 delegates who asked for a Naga State (to be known as Nagaland) within the framework of the Indian Union, under the Ministry of External Affairs, with an Administrative Secretariat, a Council of Ministers and a Legislative Assembly. The Governor of Assam would also act as Governor of Nagaland. Provision was made for the constitution of Village Councils, Range Councils, and Tribal Councils to settle, among other matters, disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages, as well as to advise on and implement development schemes.

47.10. The Nagas, however, themselves requested that the full panoply of a State should not be created immediately but that there should be a transitional period to enable the law and order situation to be stabilised so that they themselves might gain experience in administration before assuming the responsibilities of a State in the ordinary manner. The Governor would have special responsibility for law and order, during this period or for so long as disturbances continued. Since the financial resources of the new State would be extremely limited, and large grants from the Union Government would be necessary, not only for development schemes, but also to maintain the efficiency of the administration, the Governor would have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Union Government were expended for the purpose for which they were approved.

47.11. An interim body has, therefore, been established with representatives from every Naga tribe to assist the Governor in the administration of Nagaland.

47.12. For some years the people had been frustrated in their desire for progress by the activities of the rebels but since the end of 1957 and still more since 1960 their enthusiasm for development could no longer be restricted. Officials and people together have thrown themselves into the task of creating a new Nagaland with energy, imagination and zest. Among the aims of development and welfare activities in Nagaland are the following three main objectives—

- (i) the channelization of the enthusiasm of the people,
- (ii) the diversion of the emotion and sentiment of the Nagas to nation-building as an alternative to destructive activities, and

- (iii) the implementation of development schemes in such a way as to create a sense of friendliness and unity.

For centuries the loyalty of the tribal people was restricted to their own villages and clans. But today they should inspire with the sense of responsibility for their entire area and, indeed, for the whole of India.

47.13. An important feature of the Nagaland Administration is the stress laid on the employment of tribals. Total employment comes to 2,515 Nagas and 809 outsiders. The majority of outsiders are technical people, especially in the fields of health and engineering, and it is inevitable that they should be drawn from outside at present. But directly the Nagas themselves take up these professions and become available the position will be reversed.

Administrative Set-up

47.14. The present administrative set-up is purely temporary and is acknowledged on all sides to be inadequate. The change-over to responsible Government anywhere creates its own problems. An administrative and development staff that was sufficient in 1956 is entirely insufficient today. There are inevitably small frustrations and irritations, especially on financial matters, about which the Naga leaders complained to us on our visit to Kohima. We understand that the Governor, through his Adviser's Secretariat, has already made provisions which, it is hoped, will remove these, and the powers of the local Commissioner are to be enhanced. It is important that, particularly in this transitional period things should be as flexible as possible, for it is only when the Nagas are convinced that their new State gives them substantial authority to transact their own business and to develop on their own lines that they will believe in its reality. It is actually for the Nagas themselves to make it possible to realise their full-fledged State at the earliest possible moment, for they themselves are the best agents for bringing hostilities to an end.

Development

47.15. Before Independence, there were only 12 hospitals, about 200 schools (of which 61 were private) and 214 miles of motorable road in what was then the Naga Hills District.

47.16. After Independence and during the First Plan, until disturbances began, development schemes started very hopefully, especially in Tuensang. During this period, nearly a thousand miles of roads were constructed and the number of schools was more than doubled. The number of hospitals and dispensaries also increased. Two National Extension Services Blocks were established in 1953-54 and three more were added later.

47.17. After the outbreak of violence, the programme for the early years of the Second Plan became almost impossible to implement, and in fact the Plan can actually be dated only from 1958-59. In the following three years or so, about four crores of rupees were spent, the major achievements being the construction of 989 miles of roads (Kohima has been linked with Mokokchung and Tuensang by a

jeepable road), 450 primary schools maintained by the Administration and about 100 primary schools by public subscription; 74 M.E. schools (including 15 private) as against 17 in 1959; 12 high schools (including 5 private high schools); one private college at Mokokchung; 24 hospitals and 58 dispensaries; protected water supply for 138 villages; subsidies for terraced cultivation for irrigation; and encouragement of sugar-cane cultivation and horticulture.

Forests

47.18. Out of the total area of about 6,236 sq. miles, forest-covered land is estimated about 1,000 sq. miles. This has been made accessible by the opening of 300 miles of new roads and the improvement of the existing 670 miles of roads and tracks for heavy and all-weather traffic during the Second Plan period. Another 700 miles of new roads and improvement of 1,200 miles of existing roads and tracks will be taken up during the Third Plan.

47.19. The forests are stocked with a good quality of timber for railway-sleepers, plywood, matchwood, bridges and buildings, bamboos and reeds for domestic use, paper and rayon industries, grass, boulders, sand, cane, and agorwood. A modest estimate of what may be possible by way of annual yield during the Third Plan period, subject to the provision of adequate funds for schemes is as follows:—

- (i) Railway Sleepers—1,50,000—2,50,000 c. ft. valued at Rs. 7.50 lakhs to 12 lakhs.
- (ii) Plywood and other constructional timber—3,00,000—6,00,000 c. ft. valued at Rs. 12 to 20 lakhs.
- (iii) Bamboos and reeds—Rs. 0.25 to 0.75 lakhs.
- (iv) Sand and boulders—Rs. 2.00 to 6.00 lakhs.
- (v) Elephant hunting to supply ivory—Rs. 0.20 to 0.25 lakhs.
- (vi) Other forest produce (agor, thatch, cane etc.)—Rs. 0.30 to 0.50 lakhs.

47.20. Forest operations were formerly confined mainly to the plains and border areas of the Kohima and Mokokchung Districts outside the Inner Line. There was no regular and organised Forest Department before December, 1957. A start was, however, made with a small subordinate staff of the Assam Forest Department who were posted in the plains of the Kohima District to work for both the Naga Hills and Assam State. Their activities were gradually extended to all the three districts, but the Department is still in its infancy. Even so, it has to its credit the following Revenue earnings:—

1957-58 (part)—Rs. 12,500.

1958-59—Rs. 1,70,000.

1959-60—Rs. 2,92,000.

1960-61—Rs. 3,50,000 (anticipated).

47.21. As we have said, the annual yield during the Third Plan period is estimated at Rs. 22.25 lakhs to Rs. 40 lakhs, if adequate

funds for forest development can be provided. The following is a break-up of the estimated earnings during the Third Plan:—

1. Royalty (Government income): 25 per cent.	Rs. 4.50 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs annually.
2. Tribal Income Collection, extraction, roads, paths etc: 60 per cent.	Rs. 13 lakhs to 24 lakhs annually.
3. Milling, Sewing Finishing etc: 15 per cent.	Rs. 4.75 lakhs to Rs. 6 lakhs annually.

Total Rs. 22.25 lakhs to Rs. 40 lakhs annually.

47.22. An analysis shows that about 25 per cent of the earnings would go to the Nagaland exchequer annually as royalties, monopoly fees and sales tax. The earnings of fellers, draggers, transport agencies and so on, who are invariably local tribals and traders, would go to increase the per capita income of the people.

For the development of forests, schemes were prepared with a total financial outlay of Rs. 40,96,000 in the Third Plan. The Working Group reduced the target to Rs. 23.26 lakhs; and the Planning Commission recommended a still more drastic reduction to only Rs. 15 lakhs, which amounts to over 63 per cent cut on the original proposal and 33 per cent cut on the Working Group's recommendations. The newly created Forest Department has surely proved its worth by raising its earning capacity in three years from Rs. 12,500 to over Rs. 3 lakhs and giving economic help amounting to over Rs. 6 lakhs to the local tribals engaged in the forest trade. There was formerly a colossal waste of timber and other forest produce through shifting cultivation, but the people have now realised the importance of preserving the trees which can be of such great economic importance. The drastic cut in the proposed outlay is, therefore, not justified and is hardly keeping with the general development policy in Nagaland.

47.23. The most urgent need of the Forest Department is the re-organisation of its staff by raising it to a Directorate with two divisions: there being only one at present.

Third Plan

47.24. The Nagas welcomed the Third Plan with enthusiasm and the Administration submitted proposals which totalled Rs. 12.86 crores. The Planning Commission, however, cut this down to Rs. 7.15 crores, thus reducing it by Rs. 5.71 crores. The major cuts were:—

Economic development	... Rs. 138 lakhs.
Education	... Rs. 102 lakhs.
Health and Housing	... Rs. 115 lakhs
Communications	... Rs. 155 lakhs.

47.25. While, generally speaking, we would not have considered it desirable to recommend a revision, we suggest that in this case the Planning Commission should consider the fact that during the first

two years of conflict at the beginning of the Second Plan no work could be done. This completely changes the financial picture. We, therefore, recommend a review of the allocations for the Third Plan to Nagaland. There is also the important question of over-all strengthening of the administrative apparatus to take over its new responsibilities, for which provision should also be made. We will now give our recommendations in detail.

47.26. The priorities suggested by the Nagaland authorities in reply to our Questionnaire were Food Production, Communications, Education and Health Services. Food Production was given priority in order to carry the impact of development to every home. Everywhere there is a demand for help to change over from shifting to terraced cultivation. There is reason and justification for this both from the tribal point of view and that of the national interest. Terracing and such matters as the canning of fruit, requires the most generous financial assistance and the cut should be restored. In fact,

- (i) Communications,
- (ii) Terrace cultivation,
- (iii) Canning industry,
- (iv) Education, and
- (v) Forest processing industries,

are the five problems on which the Nagaland Plan should concentrate.

47.27. The improvement of communications in these remote and difficult hills is imperative. The Nagas themselves feel that the construction of a road, (about 180 miles in length) to connect Tuensang—Shamatore—Pungro—Kipri—Malori—Phek—Kohima, which will lead to the Burma border, is essential.

47.28. Shifting cultivation on a scientific basis, subsidies for terraced cultivation, introduction of new tools, implements, seeds, fertilisers, the construction of irrigation channels and encouragement of the cultivation of potatoes, pineapples and other cash crops will need much more than has yet been given.

47.29. Nagaland is ideal for the growing of pineapples and oranges (the sweetest pineapples grow in Ghaspani) and there is room for a large expansion of the canning industry.

Health Services

47.30. In 1957 there were 12 hospitals, 18 dispensaries and 5 mobile medical units in NHTA but during the disturbances most of these, except the hospitals at headquarters, were closed down as a result of looting by the rebels and in some cases the abduction of the medical staff. During the last three years, however, considerable progress has been made. Today there are 24 hospitals, 58 dispensaries and no fewer than 66 doctors, 83 compounders and 23 nurses.

47.31. The new hospital at Mokokchung will be a splendid affair when it is ready, and a whole area of the town has been set apart for medical services. One feature of the medical work is its mobility and a temporary twenty-bedded hospital can be set up anywhere in the district that is accessible by road within forty-eight hours. The villagers themselves build rough temporary sheds for the purpose,

and such a hospital can be invaluable in time of epidemic or disaster. There is need, however, for money to erect proper buildings for the permanent hospitals and to house the staff: many are still accommodated in what are called basha-type buildings of bamboo and thatch.

47.32. There is a universal demand for drinking water facilities. The original proposal for the Third Plan was to provide a protected water-supply in every village in Nagaland. But this cannot be implemented now on account of the heavy reduction in the allocation for Health Services.

Education

47.33. The Naga enthusiasm for education is exciting and should be an example to tribal people throughout India. For years the people started and maintained their own schools, putting up the buildings and paying the teachers out of their own money. Today there are no fewer than 47,000 boys and girls, out of a population of three-and-a-half lakhs, who go to school. Nearly all the schools are now being run by Government but, unfortunately, in many places the buildings are poor and lacking in decoration and equipment. Many of them are seriously understaffed. We were told that in Longchang, for example, there are two teachers for three to four hundred pupils who attend daily out of an actual enrolment of 583. In many places (and this is a remarkable and moving thing) where the number of teachers is insufficient, the villagers themselves pay for two or three additional teachers to assist them. In other parts of India we have to struggle to persuade children to go to school. Surely here where children and their parents are clamouring at our doors, we should do everything possible to meet their demand.

There is some difficulty in sending teachers, who wish to do their B.T. on deputation. None of them can afford to do this at their own expense and we suggest that the Union Government may consider the matter and the rules may be liberalised for all tribals.

In the primary stage, teaching in Nagaland is in the mother-tongue, and there are text-books in the most important languages up to the sixth standard: in other languages there are books up to the second, third or fourth standard. The Nagas are anxious to develop their own languages, and they should be helped to do so. Assamese, Hindi and English are also known and taught.

Arts and Crafts

47.34. The Nagas are a hard-working and artistic people and they have many traditional cottage industries. Their textiles are wonderful and the women are enthusiastic in producing them. The problem here is not to teach industries so much as to increase production and supply the villagers with raw materials. In the Tuensang District, however, there are two Cottage Industries Training and Production Centres in which carpentry, blacksmithy and masonry are being taught and wood-carving is being encouraged. Here and in Mokokchung District there are emporia in which the finest local products are kept for show or sale. There is a similar emporium in Kohima and a junior technical School, which was started many years ago, and will shortly be converted into a polytechnic institute.

When this is started it will train boys in carpentry, blacksmithy, masonry, tailoring, paper-making and, it is hoped, will ultimately turn out electricians, draftsmen and overseers.

A Naga Museum

47.35. The Nagas themselves are anxious to have really good museum in Kohima or elsewhere in Nagaland which will preserve for them their beautiful textiles and other artistic achievements. The idea is to have complete set of dresses, both for men and women, of all the fourteen tribes in Nagaland and make as large a collection as possible of wood-carvings and other things. Many of these, it is expected, will be contributed free of charge by the people because of pride in their own heritage. These will not only be of great scientific value but will be an inspiration for the development of crafts among the people themselves. If these precious specimens are to be preserved for posterity, it is essential that a really good building should be erected for the purpose. The present allocation is quite insufficient and we recommend that an additional sum of not less than two lakhs of rupees for a building, show-cases, and (where necessary) purchase of specimens should be given.

Forests

47.36. Forest work is developing. The original proposals for the expansion of processing work were not extravagant in view of the fact that, against an investment of Rs. 40 lakhs, the State is expected to receive an annual income of Rs. 10 lakhs and the people Rs. 24 lakhs. If these figures, on verification, are found to be correct, we suggest that this is a very sound commercial proposition.

Recommendations

47.37. We have compared in the following table the original proposals, the cuts made by the Planning Commission, and our own recommendations:—

TABLE 83

(Rs. in lakhs)

Scheme	Second Plan Target (1958-59 to 1960-61)	Second Plan Expenditure	Third Plan proposals	Third Plan allocations	Commission's proposals
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Economic Development</i>					
Agriculture including Community Development, Veterinary, forest Co-operatives, etc.	73.87	59.21	276.82	167.00	} 320.92
Power	30.00	9.40	7.00	30.00	
Industries	4.50	1.50	7.10	5.00	
Total	108.37	70.11	320.92	202.00	320.92

TABLE 83—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Education	44·40	32·29	202·70	100·00	150·00
Health, Housing, Social Welfare etc.	93·77	40·69	302·59	155·00	155·00
Roads	185·01	99·44	405·50	250·00	405·00
Other Schemes like Publicity, Engineering etc.	..	..	55·12	8·00	8·00
Total ..	323·18	172·42	965·91	513·00	718·00
Grand Total ..	431·55	192·53	1236·83	715·00	1038·92

47.38. We recommend the restoration of the cuts under the heads of Agriculture and Communications and an increase in Education from 100 lakhs to Rs. 150 lakhs. This will make up for the loss of two or three years in the Second Plan period. It will mean an additional provision of Rs. 323.92 lakhs, which can easily be made available.

47.39. The figures of performance of the Second Plan in Nagaland cannot be accepted as a criterion for the possible performance in the Third Plan. Even if there is a short-fall, the new Administration will have no reason to complain that enough was not provided.

Non-official Organisations

47.40. A Gandhi Ashram has been opened at Chucha-Yimlong. It is managed directly by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and is doing good work. But we were informed that grants were not being released in time and to the extent recommended by the Deputy Commissioner.

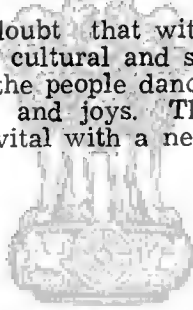
47.41. There will be scope later, when the law and order situation is fully established, for the development of welfare work by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the All India Handicrafts Board, if the Nagaland Administration desires it. Cottage industries in Nagaland have almost limitless possibilities, and even now weaving should be encouraged by supplies of generously subsidised yarn.

47.42. Anything is possible to the Naga people. Secure in their own villages and towns, their land guaranteed, their forests protected, with the ready assistance and trust of the Union Government which treasure their co-operation, with the splendid resources of their own energy, imagination and intelligence there is no reason why, if they can preserve their unity, they should not build up a really progressive State.

47.43. Material progress is within their grasp. New methods of agriculture with animal husbandry, improved seed, extended irrigation, fertilizers to make their already fertile hills more productive, and new implements will help them to have more, much more food. A great net-work of roads and bridges will help to create unity among those who have been divided from one another by towering hills and raging torrents. Until the Nagas can produce their own, devoted doctors from other parts of India will come to work with them as friends: there are already many Naga girls who have become nurses. Electricity will bring power and light and solve many practical problems. The Nagas will explore and exploit their mineral and forest wealth, and as they develop their arts, these will, if they are in line with their own traditions, find a ready market and bring more money to them.

47.44. The spread of education, if we are to judge by what has already happened, will be rapid; if it has a sufficiently technical bias, before long Nagas themselves will not only be laying down policies in their Legislature but will be themselves implementing them as engineers, doctors, teachers and agriculturists in the field.

47.45. We have little doubt that with the growth of material prosperity there will be a cultural and spiritual renaissance. Naga dancing is famous and as the people dance more they will revive in their hearts old memories and joys. The arts are being revived. The people are alive and vital with a new hope.



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CHAPTER 48

NEFA

The North-East Frontier Agency (for convenience sake called NEFA) is administered by the President through the Governor of Assam as his Agent. The Governor is assisted by an Adviser who is the administrative head. It consists of five administrative divisions: Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap. Tuensang, which till 1957 was a part of NEFA, has been separated from it and is now a part of the Nagaland. Each of the five divisions is under a Political Officer who, under the system of administration adopted for NEFA, is responsible for the functioning of all the departments of the Administration and for implementation of schemes and plans thereof. He is in full control of all the subordinate services in the division.

48.2. The area of NEFA is 35,000 square miles. It is a hilly area. There are flat lands in the riverine tracts. It abounds in streams. The rainfall varies from 40" at Bomdi-La to 200" at Pasighat. The northern regions are snow-bound during the winter. On the east, the hill ranges present a formidable barrier. Except for the snow-bound high ranges, the area is ever-green.

48.3. Out of the total area, about 200 square miles are under reserve forests. It is contemplated to place 3,500 square miles more under reserve forests.

48.4. On the two sides of NEFA we have international borders with China and Burma. The development of approach roads is going on very rapidly. The Principal, Assam Rifles Training School, Bomdi-La, gave us to understand that the number of tribals in the Assam Rifles is comparatively low. Only Daflas and Akas have so far been recruited. With adequate military training they make very good material, especially for scouting and guerilla warfare as they know the country. But they are very much attached to their families. In Assam Rifles due to the prevailing conditions it would not be possible for a man to visit his family for two or three years. It may take time for the tribals of NEFA to get used to this foreign life.

48.5. The population of NEFA is 3.5 lakhs, comprising about 29 main tribes and 41 sub-tribes. The numbers of dialects vary. Few dialects have scripts.

48. 6. One thing that strikes very much anyone who visits NEFA is the great change that has come over these people. A few years back it was unthinkable for ordinary citizens to move amongst these people so freely as they do now. The credit for this change goes to those who have approached the problem in a correct scientific and human spirit. The tribal is sensitive to human approach and through the human approach he can easily be persuaded to look at science as a friend. During the entire tour of NEFA we came across no one who had any doubt about the genuineness of this

approach. If anything, some people wanted the Government to go faster in relation to development in the field of industries and in relation to representative Government. At Tezu some non-officials suggested that they would like to have the same system of administration that is prevailing in the plains and a properly elected representative in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha with an Assembly in NEFA for effective representation of their grievances. Not that this demand was very widespread but it expresses the amount of change that has come over these people both in the direction of their security and confidence and also in their desire for speedier changes.

48.7. There is something distinctive about the Administration in NEFA. In the first instance it is what is called the single-line administration. The Political Officer of the Division, who stands more or less on a footing of equality with the District Magistrate or Collector, is vested with full powers of control over the entire staff of the division with full responsibility of executing plans and schemes of development in the division. This, in our opinion, is a very correct approach if things are to be moved according to schedule or timetable in such far-flung areas where the headquarters are cut off for many months in the year from direct line of communications.

One of the things that has undoubtedly hampered both development and the cause of integration has been the frequent transfer of officials at all levels. In Subansiri Division we understand that there have been seven different Political Officers in seven years. The same is the case in other Divisions also. When we were in Ziro we were told by an unsophisticated tribal leader that they did not like frequent changes of Political Officers. No sooner, he said, a Political Officer began to know them and learned their language than he was moved away and some one else came in his place. We feel that this is really a very important problem for the Administration and we hope that, not only in regard to Political Officers but also for all other officers, unless there is very good reason, they should normally be left for 3 years.

During our discussion with the officials as well as non-officials we were given to understand that due to the remoteness of the areas very few people wish to go there. There are no facilities for the education of the children of the officers in NEFA, with the result that the officers on duty have to maintain two establishments. The climatic conditions also affect the officers who are accustomed to plains climate. We feel that two things are required to be immediately looked into: first, suitable residential accommodation for the officers having regard to the climatic conditions and their habits of life and secondly, arrangements for the education of children at suitable places outside NEFA.

48.8. The general approach, along with a great many suggestions for the programme of development, are contained in the book "A Philosophy for NEFA", which is a sort of manual for the NEFA officials. Not all the officials, however, are taking this approach and in actual accomplishment there is a considerable gap between the book and the reality. Particularly in the cultural programme NEFA is lagging behind. For example, cultural centres were suggested and approved several years ago for every Divisional Headquarters, but

in only one place, Tezu, has such a centre been established. We visited the Museum-cum-Library at Tezu and saw a very fine collection of textiles, wood-carvings and other objects. We hope that there will be no further delay in the putting up of these centres in the other Headquarters also. Similarly, the suggestions for schools in Kameng in the Monpa style and the re-building of the Hansen's Disease Sanatorium at Tawang, although approved three or four years ago, are still, we understand, hanging fire. When we visited the remote outpost of Mechhuka, not far from the Tibetan border, the tribals expressed their regret that work for the cultural centre here, though it had been approved four years ago, had not even been started.

We were glad that there was an attempt not only to build up and develop the tribal culture but to acquaint the people with the culture of India as a whole. Songs, dances and dramas, both tribal and from all over India, are given at variety shows; the museums are to contain examples of Indian art in general along with tribal art in particular. A book on Gandhiji has been specially written in a way calculated to appeal to the tribal mind and has so far been translated into Abor, Ao Naga, Hindi and Assamese. National Days, including the birthdays of Gandhiji and the Prime Minister, are observed enthusiastically. Some of the tribes have composed songs about the national leaders. There is thus no cultural vacuum in NEFA. The two types of culture are advancing side by side to the benefit of both.

48.9. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people. Shifting cultivation is in vogue everywhere. In some places the tribals are now giving up the same for settled cultivation and horticulture but their numbers are very few. The NEFA Administration is adopting a scientific approach and we think, in course of time, settled cultivation will be taken up by the tribals, in the meantime it will be desirable to allow them to continue shifting cultivation. The tribals have started growing vegetables and some have even in small patches undertaken coffee and tea plantations. Coffee, we were told, is doing very well. It will be desirable to popularise coffee, pineapples and, wherever possible, tea plantations. The Border Area Scheme under which seedlings are given in border areas may also be intensified.

48.10. We understand that land records have not been prepared yet. We would suggest that land records should be completed immediately so as to enable the tribals to take to horticulture and plantations.

48.11. In relation to agriculture there is a great demand for irrigation wherever it is possible. The question may have to be studied because there appears to be no basic data available for propagating minor and medium irrigation. Perhaps a survey party with the necessary technical advisers may be able to do the work of exploring the possibilities of minor and medium irrigation.

48.12. Terracing in NEFA will, in our opinion, play an important part. Some effort has commenced already. As much help as can be given for terracing will be welcome to the tribals and useful also. *A plan may be prepared wherever terracing is possible.*

18.13. For the area now under reserve forests and the area which may be included under reserve forests hereafter, working plans should be drawn up. This is also original work and *we would suggest that directly a team may be set up to prepare working plans.* This team,

in keeping with the NEFA traditions, should work in cooperation with the village councils as the people may otherwise feel that they are being deprived of their forests. A working plan will enable them to begin thinking about the need for afforestation and also enable the Government to think about the best manner of utilising the existing and the future forests. There is a tradition in NEFA to have forest in every village. They preserve it very carefully also. This tradition should be utilised to enlarge the area of the village forest having regard to the increasing population and increasing demand. Now that the roads are being constructed, there will be a natural tendency to export timber. If a tradition is established, as it is the case in Pasighat, whereby the timber is polished and sawed in the forest areas it will add to their economy. In every such case village council, of course, has to be taken into confidence.

48.14 Education in NEFA is following a broad national approach. Every effort is being made to give the tribal children primary education in their mother tongue in Devanagari or Roman scripts. Education everywhere emphasises the craft and agriculture. In relation to medium of instruction from Class IV onwards, sometimes it is Assamese, sometimes it is Hindi. A settled policy should be adopted. We were glad to notice that the tribals have no objection to either. The only thing that they want is that it should be fixed once for all. Because of the proximity of Assam, it would be an advantage to have Assamese written in Devanagari script so that the children may not be compelled to learn two scripts at that age. Once they get proficient in Assamese, they themselves will pick up the Assamese script. Thus neither the tribal children will be put under any additional strain nor the Assamese will have any ground for complaint. There are 120 lower primary schools, 12 middle schools, 4 high schools and 3 technical institutions. The number of students in the lower primary schools is about 5,000, of which 10 per cent are girls. Enrolment in secondary classes has reached 600 but the number of girl students is very small. There is an insistent demand that in the secondary stage there should be separate schools for girls with separate hostels. This demand appears to be reasonable because the NEFA boys and girls seem to begin their education rather at a late age. There is also a demand that lady teachers be appointed for girls schools. This will also remove the complaint of the tribals that there is lack of adequate facility for girl students. A couple of cases appear to have taken place where unmarried teachers married the students which the tribals naturally resent. *We, therefore, recommend that there should be separate schools and hostels for girls with lady teachers as far as possible. If possible, married couples can be employed as teachers. Perhaps that would facilitate enrolment of girls even without having separate schools though separate hostels will be necessary.*

48.15 The drop of 90 per cent in the secondary stage from the primary stage shows the extent of wastage. There is no ostensible reason for it except that the boys begin their education late and there are not enough facilities for residential schools. This requires to be examined by the Administration and if necessary additional residential schools may be started. With a craft-based education, the cost per student can be partially met from the crafts if they are really useful.

48.16. Another good thing that we noticed in the schools is the timing of school hours and vacations. The experiment of inter-village

schools where boys coming from distant villages get free meals is proving attractive. This would reduce the overhead costs in having too many schools.

48.17. The main diseases among the tribals are goitre, syphilis, yaws, leprosy, malaria and T.B. Before Independence, medical relief was available only in a few official centres and that too was only curative. There are now 78 hospitals, dispensaries and mobile health units which provide both curative and preventive services. In addition, three leper colonies have been established. Health training and research centres have been started at Pasighat to train tribal junior nurses and rural health workers. During our visit to the area we were told that tribals suffer from a disease for which no medicine has yet been found. We suggest that an attempt should be made to diagnose the disease and to find out curative and preventive medicines for it.

48.18. There is a great deal of co-operation still amongst villagers in the same village. They function as a unit whether it is agriculture ceremonies or inter-village quarrels and today it is development.

48.19. Practically every village has a village council. All adult members of the village can join and participate in the discussions. The councils are very powerful and command respect. They deal with social as well as judicial problems of the village. Areas for jhum cultivation are selected by them. These councils decide the crop to be cultivated, time for hunting etc. The question of Panchayats has been discussed in a separate chapter. We suggest that in NEFA the Traditional Panchayats should not be disturbed.

48.20. During the Assam earthquake 10 years back, about 3,000 plains tribals from Assam were settled in NEFA (Linking Area) which is on river banks and is flooded area. Nothing has been done for these persons so far. The nearest school is one and a half miles which is intercepted by 3 big nullahs. We recommend that the earthquake affected people may be rehabilitated permanently and facilities for education, health, drinking water etc. may be provided to them.

48.21. In some areas cotton is also grown but it is perhaps not of good quality. The tribals produce their own cloth but generally use imported yarn. We suggest that some training in spinning should be given to the tribals especially to spin on Ambar Charkha so that they may produce their own yarn and weave cloth out of it for their own consumption.

48.22. The Commission also received a complaint in regard to salt. Tribals were told that the salt supplied by Government is fit for human consumption only and not suited for cattle, with the result that milk yield has decreased. They have, therefore, demanded that rock salt may be supplied to them. We would like the Government to consider this demand, and if possible, rock salt may be supplied in the area.

48.23. The task of husking and grinding grain lays a heavy burden on the womenfolk. Some of the tribes, whose villages lie near streams and rivers, have solved this problem by erecting ingenious water-mills. These do not require the use of imported materials or of fuel, and are easy to repair. Some years ago it was proposed to erect these on a wide scale, but we regret that this has not yet been done. We hope it will be taken up without further delay.

48.24. Complaints were also received that payment of bills for construction work done for the P.W.D. were not received regularly and that some bills are pending for three years. This should be examined and payment of bills should be made without delay as this causes frustration.

48.25. During our visit the Commissioner, NEFA, told us that so far as slavery was concerned, Government did not recognise it, but at Bomdila one Base Superintendent informed the Commission that slavery is in existence among the Akas and Daflas, and that there are about 700 slaves at present in his area out of the total population of 2,576. The children of slaves do not go to schools nor there is transfer in existence. They do not get any of the benefits admissible to other tribals but they are required to work as porters. The Superintendent further added that they had taken up propoganda work against the practice of slavery but are actually going slow in this direction as there is apprehension of some political troubles. Slavery is perhaps due to the century old inter-tribal feuds. Government pays Rs. 500/- to the master for the release of his slave but some persons, due to their hereditary prestige, do not like to release their slaves. This is, however, a most undesirable practice in the present era. *We recommend that special measures should be taken and slavery be abolished during the Third Plan.*

48.26. Weaving is the major industry in NEFA. The Administration is trying to encourage the people to make their own designs. Every village has got a small weaving school. Wood carving, blacksmithy, carpentry, cane work, etc. have also been introduced. The Commissioner, NEFA, stated that at present the cottage industries programme is confined to giving training and that a good number of trainees come only for the sake of stipends. *We recommend that the Administration should arrange for the supply of raw material to the various trainees so that after the training they can follow the profession and produce goods. The Village Level Officers should follow this up.*

48.27. During the Second Plan, a provision of Rs. 509.56 lakhs (excluding Rs. 344.00 lakhs for approach roads by Army Engineers) was made. The total expenditure during the Second Plan was anticipated to be Rs. 374.54 lakhs.

48.28. During the Third Plan a provision of Rs. 738.27 lakhs was proposed by the Administration as detailed below:—

	(Rs. in lakhs)
Engineering	... 248.00
Agriculture	... 96.44
Forest	... 42.80
Medical & Public Health	... 140.00
Education	... 87.85
Community Development & NES Blocks	... 93.10
Industries	... 11.64
Publicity	... 3.69
Cooperation	... 11.00
Statistics	... 3.75

48.29. Twenty Tribal Development Blocks have been opened in NEFA which cover 40 percent of the total area. During the Third Plan it is proposed to cover the entire Agency area with Blocks. The Blocks have done very good work all over and the tribals are very much satisfied with the work. We suggest that the entire Agency area should be covered by Blocks during the Third Plan.

40.30. The NEFA Administration has laid down the following priorities for the development of the area and welfare of Scheduled Tribes:—

- (1) Communications
- (2) Minor Irrigation
- (3) Agriculture & Horticulture
- (4) Medical & Public Health

It is no doubt true that communication is most important for the development of an area; but the welfare of the tribes much depends on their awakening and consciousness which can be developed only through the medium of education. We suggest that in fixing the priorities education should also have equal weight.



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CHAPTER 49

TRIPURA

The population of Tripura according to 1961 Census is 11,41,764 of which the Scheduled Tribes population is 3,61,754 i.e., 31.68 per cent. Its area is 4,116 sq. miles. It is practically surrounded by East Pakistan. The members of Scheduled Tribes belong to as many as 18 different tribes, of which Tripuri, Reang, Noatia, Halam, Jamatia and Chakma are the major tribes.

Administrative Set-up

49.2. The Chief Commissioner is the Head of the Administration. In all development and welfare matters, he is assisted by the Development Commissioner, who is in overall charge of the Tribal Welfare and other development departments. In the field, an Additional District Magistrate is looking after the work of the Tribal Welfare programme in addition to his other duties. Certain schemes are executed through the technical heads of departments such as, Director of Agriculture, Director of Education, Director of Industries and other technical heads in the Territorial Council.

Tribal Advisory Committee

49.3. In 1956, a Tribal Advisory Committee, consisting of the Chief Commissioner as Chairman, four non-officials and one official was constituted to advise the Administration. The Committee's term was two years. In 1959, it was reconstituted to include two more non-official members. The present term of the Committee will expire in June 1962. The non-official members of the Committee are nominated. They include Members of Parliament and the Territorial Council and also a prominent social worker.

First Plan

49.4. The total allotment in the First Plan was Rs. 21.12 lakhs and the expenditure was Rs. 21.04 lakhs. The programme included economic rehabilitation of the jhumias (shifting cultivators) by settling them on land for permanent cultivation, construction of tanks and bunds for irrigation and pisciculture, distribution of pedigree birds and animals, setting up of demonstration farms, organisation of Co-operative Societies and development of cottage industries including training programme.

Second Plan

49.5. In the Second Plan, a sum of Rs. 121.24 lakhs including Rs. 47.00 lakhs under the Centrally sponsored Schemes was allocated. The actual expenditure during the Second Plan was Rs. 107.897 lakhs. During this period, the schemes initiated in the First Plan were continued. In addition, new schemes, such as, land reclamation, terrace cultivation, contour bunding, soil conservation and settlement of landless non-jhumia tribals, were also undertaken. One Tribal Development Block was started at Amarapur which is a predominantly tribal area.

Third Plan

49.6. The Tribal Welfare programme for the Third Plan follows broadly the pattern of the First and Second Plans. A total outlay of Rs. 215.936 lakhs including Rs. 25 lakhs for the Tribal Development Blocks was proposed. An amount of Rs. 130.40 lakhs including Rs. 17 lakhs for Tribal Development Blocks has been approved by the Planning Commission. For the Third Plan, the Administration proposed additional Tribal Development Blocks for the remaining predominantly tribal areas of Kanchanpur, Chaumanu, Teliamara and Sabroom. Only one additional Block has been approved by the Planning Commission.

Scheduled Areas

49.7. At present there is no Scheduled Area in this Territory. The Chief Commissioner has suggested that the areas of Kanchanpur, Chaumanu, Amarpur and Teliamura Blocks and some of the areas under Sadr, Belonia and Sabroom Sub-divisions, which are contiguous to Amarpur and Teliamura Blocks and have a preponderance of tribal population, may be declared Scheduled Areas. *Alternatively, the tribal areas stated above should be grouped under Tribal Development Blocks so that the bulk of the tribal population is brought under intensive development programme.*

49.8. The influx of displaced persons from Pakistan to Tripura has been enormous and has upset the local economy. It has greatly affected the tribals and has made the land problem acute. The rights of the tribals in land should be safeguarded. Section 187 of the Tripura Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act recently introduced prohibits transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals unless the written permission of the Collector is obtained or is by way of mortgage to a Co-operative Society. This may check alienation of land by the tribals but in many cases, the land changes hands without any deed of registration.

Indebtedness

49.9. From times immemorial, the tribal people are under the clutches of Mahajans. Since the First Plan, a number of Purchase and Sales Co-operative Societies, Service and Multi-purpose Societies have been formed amongst the tribals. The Bombay Money-lenders Act has been extended to this Territory and a Land Mortgage Bank has also been established. It is, however, found that a good number of the tribal population still go to the Mahajans. They also find it still easier to market their produce through the Mahajans and not through the Co-operative Societies. *We would suggest the establishment of a Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation for the Scheduled Tribes on the lines of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation.* This Corporation will collect the various agricultural produce and cottage industry products of the tribals and arrange for their marketing. It will also finance and issue loan to them on easy and simplified procedure and will generally strengthen the economy of the tribal people. Such a Corporation will also help in spreading the co-operative movement among the tribals. Without the assistance of such a Corporation it will not be possible to make any impression on the indebtedness of the tribals to the Mahajans.

Horticulture

49.10. There is a great scope for horticulture in Tripura and the Administration is trying to develop it further. This Territory is famous for its oranges, pine-apples, etc. and before partition, it had easy market for its perishable cash crops at Calcutta and in the adjoining areas which now form part of Pakistan. With partition, the people of Tripura experience great difficulty in disposing of their cash crops. The proposed Finance and Development Corporation may be helpful in arranging export of horticulture products of the tribals.

Communications

49.11. Tripura with an area of 4,116 sq. miles is a pocket surrounded on three sides by East Pakistan, having geographical continuity with India only on its northern border. Before the partition of the country, there were practically no roads for internal communication within the Territory, but its capital Agartala, and some of its sub-divisional towns, viz., Khowai, Kailashahar, Dharmanagar, Belonia and Sabroom had railway connections nearby which now fall in East Pakistan. There was also a road from Agartala to Shillong via Sylhet. There was, therefore, considerable intercourse in trade etc. with the people of Chittagong hill tracts, Sylhet and Comilla Districts of East Pakistan. Partition left the territory completely isolated with no road or rail-link with other parts of Indian Union. The construction of 126 miles Assam-Agartala road which now forms a link with India was, therefore, taken up as early as 1948 and has since been completed. It is metalled, black-topped and is fit for vehicular traffic all the year round. In spite of this, the only practical way to reach Tripura is by air from Calcutta or Gauhati. The land route via Assam is very long. There is a programme for extension of railways from Kalkalighat, the last rail head in Assam to Dharmanagar, the northern-most sub-divisional town in this Territory. The rail link should be extended further upto Sabroom, the southern-most sub-divisional town within the shortest possible time.

In the Third Plan, the Administration proposed a sum of Rs. 870 lakhs for improvement of communications, out of which Rs. 371.70 lakhs were set apart for construction of village roads which are to connect the various important places in the distant interiors. The Planning Commission has, however, approved an outlay of Rs. 481.29 lakhs, out of which Rs. 41.65 lakhs have been earmarked for village roads. For development of tribal areas, it is necessary that greater attention be paid to the village roads so that in the course of the Third Plan, the Administration could connect the more important places in the interior with major district roads. This is vital to ensure fair prices to the tribals for their agricultural and other products and thereby strengthen their economy.

Jhum Cultivation

49.12. Scheme for the economic rehabilitation of the tribal people practising shifting cultivation by settling them on land suitable for permanent cultivation was undertaken in the First Plan period and a total sum of Rs. 59,330 lakhs has been spent by the end of the Second Plan. As the tribals are accustomed to jhumming for centuries and are conservative by nature, slow to adopt new methods

there is need for creating a desire for change to settled cultivation through a subtle and persuasive propaganda. In many areas, loss of good forests has already made them realise the limited scope of jhuming in future. But till such time as they are not weaned away completely from shifting cultivation, we suggest that jhuming be permitted wherever possible and jhum cultivation on scientific basis be introduced. Simultaneously, the scheme for permanent settlement may be pursued with greater vigour. Owing to influx of refugees, the pressure on land in Tripura has increased considerably and it is becoming more and more difficult to find new paddy land for settling jhumia tribals. The only lands available are tillas. The tillas are, however, not rocky and our experience shows that they can be used for raising certain crops like ground-nuts and horticulture even without irrigation. But for effective utilisation, it is necessary to develop these by terracing or contour bunding and providing irrigation facilities.

Forest

49.13. The tribal people living in reserved forests have many problems to face. Jhuming is prohibited in reserved forests. The tribals living therein are either expected to take up, provided suitable land is available, settled cultivation and live as forest villagers or leave the reserved forest areas. It is suggested that the tribals living continuously for over 40 years or more in an area subsequently declared as reserved forest, should be allowed to remain in their old habital and the area of reserved forest suitably redefined. In other cases also, the inherent right so long enjoyed by the tribals in respect of extraction of limited quantity of minor forest product and timber for construction of their houses should continue to be recognised.

Panchayat

49.14. Traditional village councils/bodies which are found in the tribal areas of other parts of India are no longer in existence amongst all the tribals of this Territory. Except in case of a few tribes namely, Jamatia, Lushai, Kukis, the other tribes no longer have any well organised village councils. Wherever such village bodies are in existence, full support must be given to them by the Government. As Statutory Panchayats have not come into existence in Tripura, it is suggested that a suitable procedure be devised to associate the Traditional Panchayats with the development activities of the Administration in their areas.

Geological Survey

49.15. A Geological survey of Tripura is also necessary. One such survey was attempted before integration during Maharaja's regime but not with much success. The problem of land in Tripura has become difficult owing to increase in population and it has now become necessary to explore minerals or other resources to find greater employment for the people.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of our long survey. It is now time to look back and summarise the philosophy that has inspired us and the fundamental ideas from which our recommendations have stemmed. Our aim has been that of India's Constitution itself, to secure to the tribal people, along with all the people of India, a social order based upon justice in all fields of life, liberty of person and property, equality of status and opportunity and a fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

2. The most important fact that we have to face is the effect of changes of every kind that are sweeping across the hills and forests in India—changes initiated by people, by Government and by the tribals themselves. Tribal people today are faced by an unprecedented evolutionary crisis in their history. The Commission has gone into this aspect very carefully basing its thinking on Gandhiji's famous quotation—

“I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.”

3. The tribal people have been awakened from their centuries-old slumber. The urgent needs of border defence are affecting even the most secluded villages of the sub-Himalayan mountains. Great schemes for development are bringing and, by the end of the Third Plan, will have brought to every tribal village new ideas, new techniques and new contacts. Roads are everywhere surging their way into places which have hitherto been virtually inaccessible. Education, as it spreads, is revolutionising even the social and economic conditions of the tribal villages and is creating new demands as it generates new skills. In many of the hills and forests where the tribals live, there are vast resources of minerals, industrial raw materials and hydraulic power. The demands of the industrial age cannot be refused. At the same time they must not be permitted to push out the tribal or allow him to be overwhelmed. In other tribal areas great changes are taking place as a result of industrial development. The short-term and the long-term consequences of the industrial invasion of the tribal areas, at any rate in the central belt, have, of course, an enormous significance. They raise the issue of rehabilitation, land possession, education, training and equipment. If the tribals are to be absorbed, it must be at a proper level. They may be poor, but they are persons of dignity and self-respect: each has his place in his own society. We must fulfil the ideal of the Constitution in ensuring him continued dignity with equality of opportunity. Other aspects of industrialisation will affect the aims and standards of the people who will now be residing in the tribal areas along with the tribals.

4. All this will make demands for extensive psychological and physiological adjustments. They will affect the code of tribal life, and specially social discipline, the integrity of the family, the integrity of the village community (may even in some places cause the disappearance of the village community), the general culture and spiritual and aesthetic values. The new way of life may lead also to the spread of certain social vices which generally accompany urbanisation.

5. We must accept these changes and bear the burden of the perplexities they bring. The tribals themselves are not afraid of them. Indeed many demand a speedy entrance into the modern world. The doors and windows can no longer be kept shut. Change is inevitable whether among tribals or non-tribals generally as in the rest of the world. But whatever the demands of the changes, we have come to the conclusion that the moral and cultural foundations of the society must be safeguarded if the society has not to be rootless. A tribal's home and family is the precious and fundamental basis on which the future edifice of his welfare is to be built. A freedom that does not guarantee him the freedom to decide how he will mould his destiny, official programmes that do not give him the choice of how he will organise his own development and to what end, will be sad impositions on him, materially poor but spiritually rich and independent as he is.

6. We have quoted Gandhiji's great conception of the winds of the whole world going freely about a house with a strong and secure foundation. This seems to be the view of the tribal people themselves, whose own desires for the future, in these days of democracy, must obviously have the supreme consideration. Happily we find that their emphasis on the preservation of the best in their way of life is not inconsistent with a desire for change. Change and adjustment are in fact the two indispensable conditions of human survival. It is a challenge to the leadership engaged in this great sociological process, to ensure that the best of the old does not vanish in the excitement of the new. The instrument of democracy is a guarantee also that nothing will happen which is not acceptable to a substantial section of the tribals. What is best and worth preserving in the final analysis can be determined only by themselves.

7. We must, side by side, also ensure to him all the facilities of life to which as a citizen and human being he is entitled, and provide him with everything necessary to fight successfully against the privations of poverty and ignorance, unemployment and disease, exploitation and neglect. We must also ensure that the tribal people are not overwhelmed by the technological superiority of the invaders of their hills and forests and do not lose their moorings in the industrial age.

8. As we have suggested in this ferment of new ideals and new possibilities of life there is a danger that the foundations of the tribal house may be impaired. This has happened in other countries. We should do all we can to ensure that it does not happen here. Mere economic advance will have little value if the discipline and standards of society are destroyed and the spiritual ideas of life are lost. In other words, we should strike a balance between stability and change.

In any balance that we strike, the most important way of safeguarding even the spiritual and psychological stability of the people in the background that the tribals possess, is through land. It is for this reason that throughout our report we have laid the utmost stress on the subject of protection of the rights of the tribals in land. The tribals will never feel fully integrated with India unless they have a stake in the land to which they belong. Many of them, under the impact of change, may leave their villages and go in search of other ways of life; many may feel lost and bewildered. But so long as they have their own land at home there will always be something at their back to reassure them and to which they can return. We have proposed legislative and administrative measures to put a halt to the widespread and tragic diversion of land out of tribal hands throughout the country. What we need now are officials and social workers who will make it their mission and responsibility to see that these plans are implemented, who will be inspired with a passion for economic justice. It will mean an enormous amount of rather dull and tedious labour in offices and courts. But the result will be the smiling faces of the poorest of the poor enjoying a new life on land that is really theirs. We have to reconcile our duty to the new age and to the tribal people and in some cases the tribesmen will have to move from their ancestral lands in the interest of great national projects. Men with a sense of mission and inspired by love will have to ensure that they are given other lands instead.

9. Almost equally important is the establishment of the Tribal Councils in every tribal village. It is through these Councils that for centuries the people have maintained their moral and social standards and their religious ideas. If these weaken, the whole fabric of tribal life may weaken and decay. They must not, and need not be swept away by the new Statutory Panchayats but should co-exist with them. Here again are needed men and women with a sense of mission to build up afresh what has been lost in some places and has declined in many.

10. There will, of course, be a great many tribals who, for years to come, will be unaffected by industrialisation and will continue to live in the hills and the forests. Lest anyone may think that such habitation does not contribute to the strength of the country, we would like to be clear that it is important that these interior and border lands of our country continue to remain inhabited. It is only then that it would be possible for their wealth to be developed in the interest of the country. It is only then shall we be able to assure a permanent vigil on our frontiers. Only the hardy tribals will be willing to live in them. It is necessary that they should be considered to be the essential part of the forests and it is essential therefore that the forest rights of these people should be preserved. Indeed we have suggested a policy of friendship and alliance between forest officials and forest dwellers which would be to the advantage of both.

11. A third matter of great importance is the attitude of the official or social worker, indeed of every kind of non-tribal, to the tribal people. For their attitude will influence the attitude of the tribals themselves towards their own foundations. All changing and developing societies must come to terms with their past. It is common for very simple peoples, who have always lived in isolation, when

they come in contact with the modern world, to throw away everything in their old life and to despise their past, however, good and valuable it may have been. The important thing of course, is to build on the past and to grow out of it by a natural process of evolution. By their correct attitude non-tribals can greatly assist in this. If they approach tribal institutions with humility and respect, the tribals themselves will be less inclined to forget them; they will not develop a sense of inferiority: they will retain their self-respect and dignity.

12. We are not alone in our views and we will quote three fine statements of the kind of approach that should be made. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has said of the tribals that:

"They are our own people and our work does not end with the opening of so many schools and so many dispensaries and hospitals. Of course, we want schools and hospitals and dispensaries and roads and all that, but to stop there is rather a dead way of looking at things. What we ought to do is to develop a sense of oneness with these people, a sense of unity and understanding. That involves a psychological approach."

"As I have said, we must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them. That is the kind of psychological integration India needs. If, on the other hand, they feel you have come to impose yourselves upon them or that we go to them in order to try and change their methods of living, to take away their land and to encourage our businessmen to exploit them, then the fault is ours, for it only means that our approach to the tribal people is wholly wrong."

"Avenues of development", he has said elsewhere, "should be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

- "(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- "(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.
- "(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- "(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions.
- "(5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved".

13. The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has said, "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".

14. And a third statement of policy, which stresses the part which must be played by the tribals themselves in schemes for their own development, comes from the report which sets out the proposals of the Planning Commission for the Second Plan.

"Welfare programmes for tribal people have to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions and an appreciation of the social, psychological and economic problems with which they are faced. The welfare and development programmes in tribal areas inevitably involve a measure of disturbance in relation to traditional beliefs and practices. In their implementation, therefore, the confidence of the people and, in particular, the understanding and goodwill of the elders of tribal communities are of the highest importance. It is, therefore, necessary that welfare extension workers of all kinds should be found as far as possible from amongst the educated youth in tribal communities. In commending the adoption of new techniques, tribal leadership should have a major role and any suggestion of imposition from without should be avoided, and for each step the ground should be carefully prepared in advance. The anthropologist, the administrator, the specialist and the social worker have to work together as a team, approaching the problems of the tribal people with sympathy, understanding and knowledge of the social psychology and needs of tribal communities. Tribal people have to be assisted largely through their own institutions. Details of development programmes should be formulated in consultation with members of Advisory Councils, leaders of tribal opinion and institutes engaged in the study of tribal problems. The tribal people should feel that these programmes are, in a real sense, a response to their own urge for better standards of living and the development of their culture. If the programmes are implemented with popular support, they will give the tribal people in all parts of the country a sense of partnership and integration with the Nation as a whole".

15. Translated into practical terminology this approach means:—

- (i) The tribal should be made to feel confident that no one will tamper with his way of life or his beliefs and customs. It is for him to decide how he will adjust himself in future set-up.
- (ii) He should be assured that his rights in land are safe. If, for the requirements of the Nation he has to be dispossessed, the State will, as a part of the scheme which leads to his shifting, see to it that he is fully rehabilitated.

- (iii) He should be also assured that his rights in forests are equally safe. If there is any change in the forest policy leading to any curtailment of his rights, he will be given satisfaction in other ways. It will be better still if forest development is integrated with his own economic betterment.
- (iv) He should be assured that Government and society are there to protect him from all forms of exploitation.
- (v) He should recognise that changes are indispensable, without which no development is possible. The development is intended to secure for him and his family greater opportunities of life along with the rest of the country of which he is an inseparable part.
- (vi) As a part of this process of change which is implied in any development activity, while we should ensure that all help in rehabilitation, education, training and equipment is given, he should be prepared for the necessary adjustment.
- (vii) It is understandable that he would wish that the very process of change should be accompanied by schemes for rehabilitation, education, training and equipment. This is undeniably an obligation which the society has to fulfil.
- (viii) Till this happens, he should not be disturbed from the moorings of his agricultural-cum-forest economy.
- (ix) All this demands research and sympathetic study. This side of the problem has so far received scanty attention at the hands of Government, and social organisations. The State Governments should begin thinking about these problems without delay. The main responsibility for this will rest upon the Centre.

16. Last but not least there is the problem of healthy, co-operative and fruitful contact with the rest of the country. This cannot be left to chance. It can be achieved partly through education, partly by care in the selection of officials and others sent into tribal territory. The whole approach to the tribal problem should be to promote integration.

17. These are the problems attendant on the question of approach. They cannot all be tackled simultaneously. The time concept is fundamental in the development of all human beings, whether they are tribals or others. These problems can be tackled only gradually. Gradualness is not the enemy of progress if it is purposeful and does not lead to complacency. Therefore, the progress may appear slow but it is only a scientific rational approach to the question of progress that can pave the way for a speed that would astound even the planners.

18. We have outlined our idea of a correct approach to the tribal problem and the philosophy that should inspire us. We would, however, like to briefly summarise a few of our practical suggestions

which, in our opinion, form the kernel of our recommendations for the solution of this problem and on which we would like to lay the strongest emphasis.

The Criteria

19. One of our terms of reference requires us to suggest criteria for declaring any new area as Scheduled Area. We have come to the conclusion that four factors are essential for this purpose:

- (1) That there should be a preponderance of tribals in the population;
- (2) That the area should be compact and of a reasonable size;
- (3) That it should be undeveloped; and
- (4) That there should be a marked disparity in the economic standards of the people in the area as compared to those of their neighbours.

We have in chapter 8 indicated more elaborately these criteria.

The Alternative Approach

20. As we have said in the body of the Report, we believe that the application of these criteria will involve much labour and time and will result in diverting the minds of the people from the main task of expediting the processes of development which are still comparatively slow. We have, therefore, evolved an alternative programme. If the arguments given by us in support of this programme are not acceptable to Government or if it is otherwise considered unsuitable, or constitutional difficulties are likely to arise in giving effect to it, then the only course will be to declare those areas which fulfil our criteria as Scheduled Areas. For the purposes of declaring areas as Scheduled Areas we have not considered it advisable or proper to draw any distinction between the States and the Union Territories. On our part we feel that there is no constitutional difficulty in giving effect to the alternative programme suggested by us which we regard as simpler and more practicable.

21. The formula of Scheduled Areas was conceived by the framers of the Constitution from the awareness of the need for special care and welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Since the Constitution was adopted there has been increasing consciousness in the country and as a result of that consciousness concentrated efforts are being made for the development of the country as a whole on the basis of a planned approach. We have seen the functioning of the Fifth Schedule and while some progress has certainly been made, we have found that the object with which the Scheduled Areas were formed has been realised only partially. With the change in the approach of the people and the Government and with the increase in the consciousness in the country, we feel it is possible, without losing time in ascertaining which areas fulfil the criteria, to go forward with the main task of development.

22. For the purpose, we have divided the problem of the Scheduled Tribes into two parts, namely, protection and development. In both the cases, we have suggested specific programmes specifying the targets to be achieved and suggesting a time limit within which

they should be achieved. We have also suggested a change in the institutional set up to see that this is done. In our opinion if this scheme is accepted the need for the creation of more Scheduled Areas or expansion of their existing boundaries would not arise.

Protection

23. The framers of the Constitution, while they were clear that the Scheduled Tribes should be brought out from the age old isolation and intensive efforts should be undertaken for their development, were also clear that in the process their existing rights, customs and way of life should not be jeopardised. The first aim, therefore, of the Constitution has been to give the tribals protection against exploitation in general and particularly in regard to their interests in land and forest and to save them from exploitation by money-lenders. We have in the preceding paragraphs in this chapter explained our approach in that connection. The rapid changes that are coming about in the tribal areas cast a responsibility upon the people and the government to see that the tribal interests in these vital matters are not jeopardised nor are they subjected to any kind of exploitation. Since the powers given to the Governor under the Fifth Schedule to make regulations for this purpose have not been fully utilised, we suggest that this should be done without further loss of time and early steps be also taken to implement them. We consider it necessary to specify a time limit within which such regulations should be passed and we have suggested that this should be done at the latest by the end of 1962.

24. The Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee had also felt that some sort of protection was required by the tribals residing in other parts not declared as Scheduled Areas which had a concentration of Scheduled Tribes population. Our reading of the Constitution also is that it is the aim and the intention of the Constitution to offer to them such protection. The demand for declaration of additional areas as Scheduled Areas is really the outcome of this desire on the part of the tribals to secure protection. We think that protection should be extended uniformly to all the members of the Scheduled Tribes through general legislation. Where regulations have been issued the protective provisions of the regulations can be embodied in the general legislation to extend the benefit of these provisions to tribal people residing outside the Scheduled Areas. This will eliminate the suspicion that the protection is possible only within the Scheduled Areas. It will have the additional advantage of facilitating the process of de-scheduling when the time is ripe for it and thus facilitating the process of integration.

25. Legislation or regulation for the protection of the interest of the tribal in land should include and provide for grants of land, land tenure, land reforms, tenancy rights, record of rights, survey and settlement and special conditions for acquisition of land belonging to the tribals. Legislation or regulation relating to the protection of rights of the tribals in forests, if it cannot be done through executive instructions, should include and provide for grants of land for horticulture, agriculture and grazing and also for participation in forest activities including exploitation of major and minor forest

produce and the processing of such produce. Legislation or regulation for the protection of tribals from exploitation by money-lenders should include and provide for—

- (1) prohibition of bonded labour of any kind;
- (2) automatic discharge from agreements in the nature of bonded labour without compensation;
- (3) scaling down of the past debts—application of the principle of Damdupat, placing an obligation on the creditors of filing their claims within a period and producing all their books and documents along with the claims, declaring usufructuary mortgages beyond a certain period to be automatically discharged and for restoration of the lands to the original owner; and
- (4) adequate alternative credit through simple procedure.

Development

26. In regard to the second aim of development of the Scheduled Tribes and the administration of the Scheduled Areas, we have suggested that the programme of Tribal Development Blocks should cover all the Scheduled Areas and all other areas with a concentration of tribal population exceeding fifty per cent. This will need regrouping of the areas and the delimitation of the boundaries of the Tribal Development Blocks whether they are in the Scheduled Areas or outside. Our purpose is that the bulk of the tribal population should be brought under the scheme of community development so that it would be possible to concentrate on their development.

27. The Blocks should concentrate upon the following four activities:—

- (1) Economic development
- (2) Education
- (3) Health
- (4) Communications.

Other activities may also be undertaken but precedence in the matter of time and expenditure should be given to these. That will avoid multiplicity of schemes, conserve the resources and avoid crowding the areas with unnecessary personnel from outside.

28. The Tribal Development Blocks should lay down specific targets to be achieved under these programmes; the broad objective should be that the tribal people in these Blocks should attain by the end of the Fourth Plan at least the stage of development reached by the people in the neighbouring areas by the end of the Third Plan. Even in relation to tribals, the programmes should be so organised that the benefits flow first to the most needy.

Economic Development

29. In the field of economic development, the objective should be to ensure employment for everyone seeking it for 300 days. We have suggested a scheme of integrated development by co-ordinating the activities of agriculture, forest, animal husbandry and cottage

and small scale industries. It should be possible to link other programmes of development under other departments of the Government as well. A time schedule can be framed and tribals who want work should be intimated about it in advance so that whoever is willing to work can take advantage of it.

30. The machinery for economic development should consist of two agencies—one to promote co-operation in the various activities relating to agriculture, animal husbandry, forest and cottage industries including credit, marketing and processing modelled on the lines of Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation Limited and the other to mobilise and organise labour on the lines of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies of Gujarat and Maharashtra.

31. The programmes of agriculture should emphasise measures for soil conservation, irrigation and improvement in techniques of cultivation. The programmes of co-operation should stress the ultimate realisation of the objective of farming-cum-dairying, poultry and piggery included. The programmes of work through forest should include employment to the tribals at all stages of forest activities beginning from protection to exploitation. The middle men should be eliminated. The Forest Department and the tribal community should both develop a partnership approach. The programmes of rural industries should lead to the maximum utilisation of all available agricultural, forest and animal husbandry resources for conversion into processed materials. The guiding principle of economic development should be work, credit and market and not charity, subsidy and waste.

Education

32. In the field of education the programme should aim at (1) vocational or craft-based education, (2) bringing up the level of girls' education on a par with the neighbouring areas in the plains, (3) reduction of the percentage of wastage and stagnation and (4) follow-up programme for those receiving technical education to secure employment for them. The Block agencies should also prepare conditions for the introduction of compulsory primary education in the Fourth Plan period.

Health and Housing

33. In the field of health, the programme should aim at having facilities for drinking water within half a mile range for all villages and a maternity-service centre at least within a radius of 10—15 miles from every village by the end of the Fourth Plan. Public Health Department should undertake campaigns to combat T.B., yaws, leprosy, V.D. and goitre and make provision for medical facilities up to the standard of medical facilities available in the neighbouring areas. In the matter of distributing house sites and houses, preference should invariably be given to the weaker sections amongst the tribals.

Communications

34. The Block agencies should aim at all the year round tracks from village to market, village to forest and village to school with foot bridges wherever necessary within a period of 10 years. The

administrative links up to the tehsil level and with the development centres should also be completed.

Target and Time Limit

35. The accomplishment of targets laid down above both in regard to protection and development within a period of 10 years should justify the de-scheduling of the areas where the targets have been achieved. On the fulfilment of the targets in the Tribal Development Blocks and on the completion of the implementation of the regulatory or legislative measures for protection, the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution could conveniently be abrogated. The problem of the development of the tribal, thereafter can be dealt with as a part of the general scheme of development of the people of India. There shall be need for continuous emphasis, even thereafter lest remoteness may lead to complacency. The State Governments and the Centre can be trusted to do it.

Institutional Set-up

36. On the institutional side also we have made certain important recommendations. In the first instance, we consider it necessary to have a separate Commissioner for the Scheduled Tribes, for the problem of Scheduled Tribes stands on its own footing. We have also suggested that he should be a person of sufficient stature, so that he could deal directly with the Ministers at the Centre and in the States, guide and inspire the officials, the public and non-official agencies and bring to bear upon the subject an independent and a direct approach. His functions should include among other things, making suggestions for the reorientation of the machinery at the Centre and in the States for the purpose of fulfilling the targets mentioned above. His work will be completed on the de-scheduling of 3/4ths of the Scheduled Areas and the accomplishment of the targets in 3/4ths of the Tribal Development Blocks. Thereafter the normal machinery of Government can attend to the problem without much difficulty.

37. At the ministerial level at the Centre, Scheduled Tribes should continue to be the concern of the Ministry of Home Affairs as at present. But we consider it necessary that for a period of 10 years there should be a separate Minister under the Home Minister who should be exclusively in charge of the tribal programme and responsible for its implementation. We have no doubt that there will be a Minister from the Scheduled Tribes at the Centre. Along with other considerations, the governing consideration, however, in the case of allocation of this portfolio should be the capacity for the fulfilment of the task and not the fold to which he belongs.

38. There should be a separate department in the Ministry of Home Affairs in charge of the Scheduled Tribes. This department should attend to the constitutional functions devolving upon the Union Government under the Constitution and also attend to the administrative, technical and financial needs of the States as well as to the organisation of surveys, research, co-ordination and evaluation. The Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare should be enabled to function more effectively than at present.

39. At the State level, we have suggested similar re-organisation. There should be a separate Minister in charge of the portfolio of Scheduled Tribes, not necessarily a tribal, wherever the tribal population exceeds a million. Such a Minister should be responsible for effective execution of the programmes undertaken by the State. There should be a separate department for tribal welfare at the Secretariat level wherever the tribal population exceeds a million and a separate Director. The portfolio of Scheduled Tribes should be separated from Social Welfare for a period of 10 years. The State should have well-organised research sections with sufficient funds to undertake surveys.

40. In our opinion the district and the field organisation requires to be tightened up more than anything else. At the district and the field level the executive agencies for protection, and for economic development, education, health as well as communications should be under the direct charge of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector, who should be held responsible for the fulfilment of the objectives and targets. Necessary financial and supervisory and controlling powers should be delegated to the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector for this purpose. We have suggested in the chapter on Education that it is the responsibility of the State to lay down a regular policy for education, prescribe curriculum and texts. This is very vital from the point of view of integration. The Deputy Commissioner should be responsible also for enforcing the policies of the Government in relation to education.

41. There should be Tribes Advisory Councils in all the States so long as special representation for the Scheduled Tribes lasts. These Councils should be made more effective and should have supervisory functions.

42. The Governors' reports should not be merely formal documents. They should give information about the progress achieved in the various fields in the light of the targets and also give an idea of the impact upon the tribal people of the various programmes.

Non-official agencies should be encouraged to take over a share of the responsibility wherever they show the capacity and it is felt they can do the work better. It should not be forgotten that after the abrogation of the Fifth Schedule and the termination of the programmes of Tribal Development Blocks, they will be the only agencies functioning in the midst of the tribals in the non-Scheduled areas. Non-official agencies have a distinct role to play as the conditions of the tribals are sometimes more difficult in the non-Scheduled Areas than in the Scheduled Areas.

43. Thus ends our long quest for the solution of one of the most important and vexed problems that confronts the country. As we have said in the earlier portion of the Report the problem emanates from centuries of isolation. Only to this extent it is different from the problems facing the other sections of the Indian society. Nevertheless or because of the very reason it has its specialities. The great hopeful feature is that the tribal himself has awakened to the need for finding a solution and is responding. The aim of the

country is to secure the advancement of the tribals without disturbing the essential harmony of their life and securing their integration without imposition. We have viewed the tribal problem from this wider angle of the interest of the tribals, need for maintaining harmony and of integration. We hope and trust that our recommendations conform to that objective and will be helpful in fulfilling it.

U. N. Dhebar, Chairman

D. J. Naik, Member

Jaipal Singh Member

H. C. Heda, Member

Manikyalal Verma, Member

N. M. Wadiwa Member

Dharam Dev Shastri, Member

D. Basumatari, Member

Subodh Hansda, Member

T. Sanganna, Member

Verrier Elwin Member

S. Narayanswamy,
Secretary

October 14, 1961.



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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 5—The Scheduled Areas.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	<p>Scheduled Areas have been constituted with two clear and straightforward objectives—one is to assist the tribals in enjoying their existing rights unhindered by others and the second is to develop the areas and promote economic, educational and social progress among Scheduled Tribes. In this scheme protection of the interests of the tribals in land, protection against exploitation by money-lenders and priority in the allotment of land come first. The Constitution has vested powers in the Governor to make regulations for the protection of the tribals but this power has been used very sparingly. This appears to be due to certain vagueness about the law making powers of the Governor and the absence of suitable directions. It is felt that without some directions from the Centre the State Governments may not realise the scope of the law making and rule making powers and their importance for the general development programme. The State Governments may be advised to utilise to the full the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule within a given period. The legislation that may thus be promoted should take into account the harm caused in the interim period and also to what extent it is possible to remedy it. The Union Government should state a time limit and pursue the matter with the State Governments so that the necessary legislation is completed within the given period.</p>	5·13 & 5·20	39, 40 & 41
2	<p>There has been as much vagueness about the approach, priorities and methods of application in developmental activities, but in spite of the deficiencies considerable progress has been made in the field of education, health and community development and these have made an impact on the tribals.</p>	5·16 & 5·23	40 & 42
3	<p>Figures of developmental expenditure are maintained districtwise and unless the Scheduled Area is itself a district, it is impossible to get a picture of the physical and financial targets, achieved in the Scheduled Areas. The State Governments should be required to maintain figures of development expenditure separately for the Scheduled Areas, giving physical and financial targets achieved.</p>	5·21	

CHAPTER 6—Governor's powers under the Fifth Schedule.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The Governor's reports are intended to enable the Union Government to discharge their responsibilities to the tribes. It is only a medium on which further action is to be taken. No instructions have been issued by the Union Government about the formal contents of these reports with the result that State Governments have come to look upon them as departmental reports. The main purpose is thus not fulfilled. There is plenty of material available for the preparation of these reports. A proper use of this material can give a coordinated picture of the position in the tribal areas. The preparation of the annual report should not be left to the Tribal Welfare Directorate, but should be the responsibility of the Secretariat, who should collect the data from the Director and the staff in the field. The views expressed by the Members of Legislative Assemblies, Members of the Tribes Advisory Councils, non-official organisations and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should also be incorporated. The actual conditions in the tribal areas can provide a review of the reactions of a cross section of the people living or working on them. The State Governments as well as the President will thus have a carefully prepared document which can be of real use to the Union Government.	6·9	47
2	The preparation of this report can be better handled by the Chief Secretary who may have a small section to assist him for a couple of months in a year. After the report is prepared it should invariably go to the Council of Ministers and only then be forwarded to the Governor and through him to the President.	6·10	47
3	The Tribes Advisory Council should also be invited to make suggestions for inclusion in the report on any matter of importance.	6·11	48
4	There is no special machinery in the States to consider the possible effect on the tribals of legislation proposed in Parliament or in the State Legislatures. The past ten years have witnessed phenomenal, economic and social changes, many of which have been brought about through legislation. The application of these laws to the Scheduled Areas without any machinery to look into their possible consequences on the tribals is, in our opinion, a sad omission. It is recommended that— (a) At the State level a section should be created in the Legal Department to undertake a study of the Central and State laws relating to (i) social matters, (ii) rights in land including tenancy laws, (iii) allotment of land and setting apart land for village purposes, (iv) private money-lending and village management including establishment of village Panchayats, and to suggest modifications to protect the rights of the tribals in regard to these matters. This should be undertaken without any further loss of time.	6·40	52

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- (b) A survey should be undertaken in each State with a view to ascertain to what extent the interests of the tribals have suffered, which require restoration or retrospective legislative assistance.
- (c) The Union Government should take up with the State Governments the necessity of having a definite and consistent policy of protection in relation to subjects mentioned in the Fifth Schedule.
- (d) Early steps should be taken by the Union Government to evolve in consultation with the State Governments concerned a definite and consistent policy in relation to allotment of lands to the tribals.



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CHAPTER 7—Tribes Advisory Council

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	In the Punjab, Bihar and other States, the Chief Minister is the Chairman of the Tribes Advisory Council. This practice has been very helpful. The Chairman of a Tribes Advisory Council should accordingly be a person who has influence beyond the immediate department concerned, for he is expected to deal with problems that concern all the departments.	7·5	55
2	Since the maximum number of non-tribals that can be appointed to the Tribes Advisory Council is five, the representation of officials should be limited to one at the most so as to leave scope for the nomination of non-officials. It would be sufficient if the Chief Secretary is a member. He as the coordinating medium of the entire administration will be able to guide and control other Departmental Heads or Secretaries.	7·6	55
3	It is desirable to have on the Council persons who are non-tribals working in the field. This will provide a common forum for discussion and be a source of encouragement to them.	7·9	55
4	As regards the representation of tribal legislators, there is need for caution in the States where there is a large tribal population as in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Government should try to ensure that all shades of opinion are given representation.	7·10	55
5	(i) The rules regarding the composition of the Councils should be changed in the case of those States which include a number of officials and where there is only notional representation for non-official agencies. (ii) The Rules of Business should be amended so as to define properly the functions of the Council and should include provisions enabling the members to initiate and bring up for discussion any matter concerning the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes or development of the Scheduled Areas. (iii) In almost all the States, Tribes Advisory Councils have been given an opportunity to discuss the draft Third Five Year Plan. Annual discussion on the progress of the Plan will be helpful in generating interest of the tribals in a planned approach, besides making them more and more development-conscious. Simultaneously, it will enable them to understand their responsibility in making the plan a success. (iv) There is need for consultation with regard to legislation. There may be some laws which do not warrant any detailed discussion. At the same time there will certainly be others which, under the Fifth Schedule, do warrant such a discussion.	7·24	58—59

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- (v) There should be a periodical review of the work done in the Tribal Development Blocks and in other fields of development activity. Members of the Tribes Advisory Council should be given facilities to go round the state and visit important projects.
- (vi) The Council should have a staff of its own with a Secretary who can do the follow-up work.
- (vii) There should, in all the States and Union Territories, whether they have Scheduled Areas or not, be Tribes Advisory Councils to advise on the protection and development of the Scheduled Tribes.
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CHAPTER 8—Criteria for Scheduled Areas.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The criteria for determining a Scheduled Area should be related to the objectives of the Fifth Schedule. These are—(i) protection of the Scheduled Tribes; and (ii) raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas. In determining the criteria those factors which promote the objectives of the Schedule should invariably be present; others may or may not be.	8·8	62
2	The most important factor is the concentration of tribal population. The percentage of tribal concentration in any area proposed for declaration as a Scheduled Area should not be less than fifty per cent. This is particularly necessary when intensive efforts for protection and large-scale development are contemplated.	8·9	62
3	The compactness of the area is an important consideration since scheduling involves special administration. A sub-tehsil should be the unit. Wherever there is a Tribal Development Block, the size of the sub-tehsil should correspond with it. Elsewhere sub-tehsils should be formed which could conveniently be converted into Tribal Development Blocks.	8·10	62—63
4	The area should be under-developed. It is possible to apply tests to assess the degree of under-development, e.g., the extent of cultivated and uncultivated land against the total land available, extent of irrigation, the mileage of roads in the area, the percentage of literacy and the number of dispensaries.		
5	There should be marked disparity in the economic standards of the tribals living in the areas compared to the people in the surrounding areas. Areas where shifting cultivation is still in vogue or the size of holdings is less than 50 acres per capita (standard acre) and the per capita incomes are lower than half of the all-India incomes and the quantum of under-employment is severe that the people do not get work for more than 200 days in a year, should be reckoned as fulfilling this factor in the criteria.	8·12	63
6	All these four factors— (1) preponderance of tribals in the population, (2) compact and reasonable size, (3) under-developed nature of the area, and (4) marked disparity in economic standards of the people must invariably be present before any area can be considered eligible for declaration as a Scheduled Area. Other factors such as the primitive or distinctive way of life or the practice of shifting cultivation seem to relate to the condition of the people and not to the area and would be covered by the criteria stated above.	8·13	63
7	For the purpose of scheduling areas, no distinction should be drawn between the States and the Union Territories.	8·14	64

1	2	3	4
8	No existing area can be de-scheduled unless the government, after examination of all available data, is satisfied that it fulfils a certain standard and has developed economically and educationally and in point of health, communications and services to the limit when it can no longer remain scheduled. In the Commission's view no Schedule d Area has yet reached the state where de-scheduling can be considered.	8-17	64
9	In view of the changes that have taken place since the inception of the Constitution, we feel that it is no longer necessary to pursue the question whether a tribal area should be declared scheduled or a Scheduled Area should be descheduled. The Fifth Schedule was conceived as a temporary expedient and its objectives can be achieved by our alternative approach, which is simply that government should undertake a plan which would protect the Scheduled Tribes and ensure development of the tribal areas within a stated period. The State Governments should undertake general legislation applicable throughout the Scheduled and non-Scheduled Areas for protection of the rights of tribals in land and forests, and protection from exploitation by money-lenders* and this legislation should be implemented with a period of ten years. Pending enactment of such general legislation, the regulatory powers of the Governor under paragraph 5(2) of the Fifth Schedule may be utilised for the promulgation of corresponding regulations for the Scheduled Areas. Simultaneously all tribal areas should be grouped under Tribal Development Blocks so that the bulk of the tribal population is brought under intensive development schemes. The blocks should concentrate on the following four activities—economic development, education, health and communications and should have specific targets. With the fulfilment of the targets in all Tribal Development Blocks and the passing and implementation of protective legislation, the objects of the Fifth Schedule would have been achieved and it could conveniently be abrogated.	8-22—28	66—68
10	If Government is unable to accept this programme, there is no alternative to declaring those areas, which after enquiry satisfy the criteria suggested by us, as Scheduled Areas despite the complications involved.	8-31	69

CHAPTER 9--Article 275 of the Constitution and responsibility of States.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The grants-in-aid under Article 275 are intended to supplement the general welfare programmes which are directed to the entire community including the Scheduled Tribes. The Andhra Pradesh Government has issued instructions to all heads of departments that 3 per cent of the total provision of each department should be earmarked for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes during the Third Five Year Plan period. The other State Governments may consider the issue of similar instructions.	9-12	74-75
2	The distribution of grants-in-aid only on the basis of population will not be fair. There is no doubt that the criterion of population is a safe and easy one. But since the grant is intended also to develop the area the relative under-development of an area and its present problems should be assessed. In the allocation of funds under Article 275, the following criteria may be followed:— (a) Population; (b) Level of development reached by the State in welfare activity for Scheduled Tribes and level of administration in the Scheduled Areas; (c) Financial position of the State.	9-18	78
3	In addition to these three factors the position of the border States in the north and north-eastern regions which have suffered a serious dislocation of their economy and trade due to change in the international atmosphere be taken into consideration in deciding the outlay for tribal welfare in all such areas.	9-19	78
4	Beyond allocating funds to the States, Union Government have no adequate machinery for ensuring that the funds given have been properly spent and for the purposes intended. It is suggested that the proposed Department of Tribal Welfare to be set up in the Ministry of Home Affairs should contain an Accounts Cell exclusively for the purpose of maintaining accounts of the funds disbursed to the State Governments, Union Territories and non-official organisations.	9-30(I)	82
5	As the grants are specially intended to raise the tribal areas to the level of the surrounding areas, the large amounts that invariably lapse at the end of each financial year should be available for re-allotment for the same purpose. The machinery at the Centre to ensure such re-allocation is totally inadequate and to solve this problem, following alternatives are suggested:— (a) A procedure may be devised by which the grants sanctioned during a particular year are available for expenditure even in the succeeding year, thus giving the administration twelve months to implement the schemes in full.	9-30(II)	82

1	2	3	4
	(b) A non-lapsable Tribal Welfare Fund may be created on the lines of the Central Road Reserve Fund.		
	(c) The financial year may be changed from April-March to July-June.		
6	A separate entry be made in the budget and accounts so that it becomes easier to obtain figures of provision, expenditure and balance left for purposes of re-allocation in subsequent years.	9·30(III)	82
7	Delay appears to lie with the State Governments whose Finance Departments are reported to scrutinise the schemes further even after approval is given by the Union Government on the basis of their inclusion in the annual plans. The State Governments should devise a suitable procedure which would obviate reference to their Finance Departments of cases where the increase in the outlay does not exceed a particular per centage, say 5 per cent.	9·30(V)	82—83
8	Six-monthly progress reports of the State Governments should be despatched promptly within three months after the lapse of the six-monthly report period; this should be made a condition of the grant.	9·30(VI)	83
9	As Article 275 does not envisage loans to the State Governments, the Union Government or the Reserve Bank should give loans to the State Governments for disbursement to the tribal people for economic development such as agriculture, industries, rehabilitation in a trade or even construction of houses.	9·30(VIII)	83—84
10	It is recommended that all expenditure on the employment of additional staff in the field and at the headquarters and their training should be met out of funds given to the States.	9·30(IX)	84
11	In view of the constitutional obligations in regard to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, the programme for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes should be kept separate from the general programme of social welfare and given a higher priority to these schemes at the time of annual plan discussions.	9·30(X)	84
12	As the responsibility for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and raising the level of administration on the Scheduled Areas is primarily that of the State Governments, we feel that there is need for a change in their attitude. They should come forward more enthusiastically and liberally to shoulder the responsibility.	9·30(XI)	84
13	Schemes with high priority such as economic development, health, drinking water supply, training of personnel, research and evaluation should be included under the Central sector whereas schemes for education, housing etc. should come under the State sector.	9·30(XII)	84

CHAPTER 10—Assessment

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The achievements in the positive field of development during the first and second plan periods are also limited. This has been due to diffusion of effort and lack of an integrated and planned approach which would give employment at least for 300 days a year on reasonable ages and food all the year round. The problem of economic development for the bulk of the tribals cannot be solved unless the resources of land, forests, cattle wealth, cottage and village industries are all mobilised in service. In other words improvement of techniques and an integrated approach in relation to all the four avenues of employment available in the tribal areas is the only answer.	10·23 & 10·24	97
2	Education has made an unmistakable impact upon the tribal mind and there is no place in India which is not demanding primary, middle and high schools. There is outstanding contribution in regard to malaria control and eradication. The other diseases like yaws, V.D. and T.B. have yet to be tackled properly. The communications in the tribal areas have not been properly developed. The development plans have left a mixed impression on the minds of the people. There have been serious shortfalls in financial and physical targets and some of the State Governments, notably Madhya Pradesh, have explained to us the reasons for the shortfall. One of the reasons given by the State Governments is that since Tribal Welfare is dealt with as part of the bigger subject 'Social Services' they feel embarrassed in giving a higher priority to tribal welfare. It is recommended that Tribal Welfare should be separated from Social Welfare and given its own importance and priority.	10·25, 10·32 & 10·37	97—98 & 102
3	In some of the tribal areas, the working season does not exceed three or four months. Even in the easier districts it does not exceed eight or nine. Once snow begins to fall or the rainy season sets in, no work is possible. The rules (financial) should take into consideration these special conditions.	10·39	102
4	One of the most important lessons that the shortfalls have to teach us is that there should be a constant watch upon expenditure and achievement in tribal areas. Decisions have, therefore, to be taken well in advance. A periodical examination of such vital questions at the time of the annual appraisal of the Plan is necessary at the Union Government level. This appraisal would enable the Union Government to step in as and when the situation required.	10·40 & 10·42	103

CHAPTER 11—Land and the Scheduled Tribes

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
	2	3	4
	<i>Prevention of Land Alienation</i>		
1	All existing Acts and Regulations affecting tribals' lands be examined by a Committee in each State and Union Territory with the ultimate object of completely preventing transfers of tribals' lands to non-tribals. It may be necessary in many cases to amend the present laws drastically. If this is likely to take time, the Governors may, in exercise of the powers conferred to them under the Fifth Schedule, issue the necessary Regulations without delay.	11·42 and 11·68(ii)	114 & 122
2	There should be a general prohibition of all transfers, whether by sale, mortgage, gift or lease under any kind of agreement or contract affecting the tribals' lands entered into by tribals in favour of non-tribals without the permission of the Deputy Commissioners or the Collectors. The government should make rules in consultation with the Tribes Advisory Council governing the grant of permission by the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector after ascertaining the conditions prevailing in each area.	11·43 and 11·68(iii)	114 & 122
3	There should be a bar against suits or applications against any such order made by a Deputy Commissioner or a Collector and the courts of law should be precluded from taking cognisance of all transfers of land, gift or lease or any other agreement or contract and from passing decree thereon unless arrangement has been entered into with the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector.	11·44 and 11·68(iv)	114 & 122
4	The Deputy Commissioners or Collectors should have powers <i>suo moto</i> or at the instance of the aggrieved tribal land holder within a period of 12 years to institute enquiries and restore possession of the land with or without payment of any compensation to the transferee. This provision should have retrospective effect from the 26th January, 1950. Adequate machinery should be created to implement these provisions.	11·45 and 11·68(v)	114 & 122
5	All surrenders of lands should be only to the State, which should hold the surrendered land as a trustee for the tribals.	11·46 and 11·68(vi)	114 & 122
6	Non-official agencies should educate the tribals regarding the laws or regulations made for their benefit and render them necessary financial and legal assistance.	11·47 and 11·68(vii)	114 & 122
	<i>Impact of Industrialisation</i>		
7	The scheme of rehabilitation of persons likely to be displaced as a result of any project should form a part of the project and adequate financial provision should be made for it as a part of the project expenditure.	11·52 and 11·68(viii)	116 & 122

1	2	3	4
8	In selecting alternative sites for their rehabilitation, the acquiring authorities should consult the tribals and their representatives.	11·52 and 11·68(ix)	116 & 122
9	So long as uncultivated land is available in the neighbourhood, land under cultivation should not be acquired for any project.	11·52 and 11·68(x)	116 & 122
10	In following the principle of compensation of giving land for land and house for house, if the value of land allotted is less than the value of land acquired for any project, the difference should be made good by payment in cash.	11·52 and 11·68(xi)	116 & 122—123
11	Development of colonies for displaced persons should be completed before they are asked to vacate their lands and houses acquired for any project.	11·52 and 11·68(xii)	116 & 123
12	Persons likely to be affected as a result of a project should have preference in employment on the project work, subject to the consideration of technical qualifications where they are needed.	11·52 and 11·68(xiii)	116 & 123
<i>Land Allotment</i>			
13	In the Scheduled Areas and in the areas where there is a predominantly tribal population first priority for land allotment should be given to the tribal people. In other areas they should rank for this purpose with the Scheduled Castes.	11·57 and 11·67(xv)	119 & 123
14	There should be a regular plan drawn up for every Scheduled Area and the areas where the Scheduled Tribes are in considerable numbers, for allotment of cultivable waste-land. A certain portion of the cultivable waste-land may be set apart for the future needs of the State, the general public or the villagers, other lands being distributed without any further delay. Only such number of families may be accommodated there as can maintain themselves upon the land.	11·58 (1) and 11·68 (xvi)	119 & 123
15	The scheme for the allotment of land should also incorporate the following facilities for land allottees—	11·58 (2) and 11·68 (xvii)	119 & 123
	(a) Irrigation.		
	(b) Credit—not on some mechanical basis, but having regard to the tribals' need to clear the area, construct houses, dig wells and maintain themselves till the new harvesting season.		
	(c) Housing—the taste, tradition and needs of the tribals should be borne in mind. They should be permitted to build their houses from locally available material.		
16	Surplus land that will be available in tribal areas as a result of legislations prescribing ceilings on holdings should be allotted to tribals on a preferential basis.	11·59 and 11·68(xviii)	119 & 123
17	While allotting surplus or cultivable waste-land, the tribal cooperatives may have precedence but the land should not be tied up with any such condition.	11·60 and 11·68(xix)	120 & 123
<i>Record of Rights</i>			
18	The work of preparing the record of rights, as far as the tribals are concerned, should be completed as early as possible. Since most of the tribals are illiterate and ignorant of the implications of various enactments, the approach to this work should be human rather than legalistic and should take full note of tribals' custom and tradition. Possession of a certain piece of land should be regarded as a <i>prima facie</i> proof of warrant recording of that land in favour of a tribal unless there are circumstances to show that it is illegally acquired.	11·66 and 11·68(xx)	121 & 124

CHAPTER 12—Tribals and Forest Policy

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para. No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
<i>Forest Policy</i>			
1	The forest policy as laid down in the Resolution of 1952 should be reviewed and the departures made by this policy in relation to release of forest lands for cultivation, supply of villagers' needs from the outlying areas in the reserved forests, village forests, grazing and shifting cultivation should be reconsidered. Government should accept in relation to the rights of the tribals in forests at any rate the position that obtained prior to Independence. The needs of the village communities should be kept in view and the present approach of government towards the tribal villages in forest areas be revised.	12·4 to 12·24 12·61 (a)(i)	125 to 131 & 140
2	Government should take steps to eliminate the middlemen between the inhabitants of the forests and the Forest Department in relation to the exploitation of the forest. The system of monopoly should in any case be ended.	12·25 & 12·26 12·61 (a) (ii)	131 & 140
3	Settlers in the forest villages should be granted security of tenure. These settlers should not be required to work except on payment of wages at rates not lower than the wages payable under the Minimum Wages Act. These villages should be provided with all amenities including drinking water supply, education and health. The settlers should receive credit facilities both from the State as well as from the Cooperative Societies.	12·31 to 12·35 12·61 (a) (iii)	132 & 133, 140-141
4	The right of individuals in the private forest be immediately abolished in those areas in the country, where it has not been abolished so far.	12·38 & 12·61 (a)(iv)	134 & 141
5	The Forest Department should be deemed to be charged as a branch of the government with the responsibility of participating in the betterment of tribals' side by side with the development of forests.	12·43 & 12·61 (a)(v)	135 & 141
<i>In Relation to Execution</i>			
6	Steps should be taken to implement the policy decision of the government in regard to the village forests. There should be coordination between the Forest, Revenue and Development authorities for this work. The management of the village forests should be vested in village Panchayats and all revenue from these forests should go to them.	12·36 & 12·37 12·61 (b)(i)	133—134 & 141
7	Suitable areas reserved for afforestation may be handed over to the local Panchayats, the Forest Department providing the necessary technical guidance. The Panchayats should not only have the responsibility of managing them but should also be given a right to appropriate the forest produce in a certain proportion subject to the rules and regulations of the Forest Department for the benefit of the village.	12·39 12·61(b)(ii)	134 & 141

1	2	3	4
8	The Forest Department should promote growth of improved varieties of grass in forest areas especially in areas where afforestation is in progress and should also participate in the preparation of hay and silage-making. Grazing fees should be regulated.	12·40 12·61 (b)(iii)	134 & 141
9	The Minimum Wages Act should be scrupulously enforced in relation to the employees of the Forest Department and those of contractors and middlemen.	12·41 12·61 (b)(iv)	134 & 141
10	The Forest Department in consultation with Agriculture, Industries and Development Departments in each region should prepare a time schedule so as to provide work for the tribals all the year round. Such work should include services in the Forest Department as Forest Guards and for protection, conservation, regeneration and exploitation of forest and forest produce. It should include work on land utilisation schemes, collection of forest produce, processing of minor forest produce and exploitation of major forest produce.	12·43 to 12·53 12·61 (b) (v)	135 to 137 & 141
11	The tribals residing in and around the forests should be organised into permanent labour corps for the purposes of obtaining labour of the right type for forest operations.	12·61 (b) (vi)	141
12	The Forest Department should assist in organising the Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies. A time limit should be fixed to cover the entire forest area with such societies and all work pertaining to the exploitation of forest produce should be entrusted to them.	12·55 & 12·61 (b) (vii)	137 & 142
13	The State Governments should organise Cooperative Finance and Development Corporations on the model of the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation, with such modifications as circumstances may require, with a view to consolidate and develop the economy of the tribals, particularly in relation to purchase of minor forest produce, supply of requirements of the members, processing and grading of forest produce for the benefit of the tribals, discharge prior debts and to act as an agent of the government for procurement, supply and distribution of agricultural and other produce. The programme should cover all the tribal areas by primary cooperatives which should function as agents of the Central institution.	12·56 to 12·59 12·61 (b) (viii)	138—139 & 142

CHAPTER 13—Agriculture

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	In the tribal areas, agricultural production suffers from small holdings, fragmentation, poor quality of soil and elementary methods of cultivation. Improvement of agriculture for the tribes, therefore, has to follow the same principles of intensive cultivation introduced in other parts of the country. This can only come with security of land tenure, irrigation, scientific jhumming, soil conservation and the promotion of animal husbandry.	13-3	143
2	One of the major problems in the tribal areas is that of shifting cultivation. Everyone agrees that shifting cultivation is not an ideal method. The total replacement of this system, if it comes at all, will be a long-term process.	13-11	147
3	Shifting cultivation is a mixed problem, partly connected with the physical conditions of the land and partly with social customs, traditions and beliefs. Any hurried departure may create complications.	13-11	147
4	An attractive solution of the problem is to convert shifting cultivation into terraced cultivation. Wherever the hill slopes permit and the soils sufficiently deep, this holds out immense possibility of improvement, and in many places throughout the tribal areas, it has already been taken up with enthusiasm. It involves heavy initial expenditure of money.	13-18	148
5	The most reasonable policy is to regulate shifting cultivation on scientific lines so as to limit its disadvantages and promote the fertility of the soil. For this purpose we recommend the undertaking of research in every area where jhumming cultivation exists on a wide scale. This is a very large and expensive programme.	13-23	149
6	The transfer of population from the shifting cultivation area to the lower regions down below does not appear to be a practical proposition that would yield results in the immediate future. It may well have to be phased over a period of 50 years.	13-21	149
7	In any land colonisation scheme, we suggest that special attention be paid to the following points even if this involves reduction in the number of families that can be accommodated : <i>(i)</i> There should be adequate land. It should be properly demarcated and distributed, with title deeds. <i>(ii)</i> Irrigation facilities should be available and provided. <i>(iii)</i> The settlers should be provided necessary employment in clearing the land, constructing the houses, wells, approach roads and irrigation work immediately after their agreeing to be members of the colony.	13-28	150—51

1	2	3	4
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (iv) The rates of labour should be fair. There should not be a contractor in between nor should there be any question of expecting the people to do the work on an <i>ad hoc</i> basis or on loan. (v) They should be provided with bullocks, seeds and maintenance allowance for the period they work on the fields till they get the harvest. (vi) Horticulture, depending on the soil, climate and irrigation facilities, should be encouraged. (vii) The colony should be self-sufficient in every respect. There should be proper arrangements for drinking water, a school and a co-operative society. 			
8 The terrain which the tribals cultivate is mostly undulating. Continuous cultivation has considerably eroded the soil and reduced its fertility. The process is increased by winds, snow and turbulent water-courses in the hills. Soil conservation on a large and scientific scale is essential for these areas.		13-29	151
9 Regarding soil conservation, it is recommended that—		13-32	152
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) A phased programme of conservation, including contour bunding, gully-plugging, terracing and field bunding, should be prepared for every Tribal Development Block. (ii) In preparing the schemes, those areas which have a tribal concentration should be given precedence. (iii) Subsidies should be given for soil conservation measures on individual as well as community holdings. The tribals' contribution should be in the form of labour only. (iv) Afforestation work should be taken up simultaneously. If necessary, research on local problems should be undertaken to find out— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) suitable grass and legumes for the locality; (b) suitable techniques for gully-plugging (reclamation); (c) fruit trees suitable for eroded soils. <p>Fruit trees, grass and legumes selected after research which would prove useful for erosion control should be multiplied in government nurseries and then distributed to the tribals free of cost.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (v) Construction of irrigation wells should be encouraged in these areas where there is scarcity of rain. (vi) Expenditure from tribal funds on schemes that predominantly benefit others should not be permitted. 			
10 Since for some time to come agriculture will be the mainstay of tribal economy and since their holdings are small, cultivation is the only way to build up their economy. Intensive cultivation is not possible without irrigation.		13-35	154

1	2	3	4
11	The approach to this problem of irrigation in a Tribal Development Block should be as follows :—	13-36	154
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) First a survey should be made of the tribals' land and the possible sources of irrigation. (ii) Those schemes of irrigation should get priority which would ensure irrigation of the lands of the tribals and other under-developed groups. (iii) If there are schemes which can irrigate the lands, but not necessarily those of the tribals, they should be undertaken on condition that if they irrigate lands which have been acquired by individuals from the tribals, such lands should be redistributed and irrigation facilities provided to all. (iv) In the areas where irrigation is not possible, if there are already irrigated lands which once belonged to the tribals, such lands should be redistributed. 		
12	The demand for irrigation is universal. The achievements so far bear no relation to the people's needs. It is recommended that :—	13-38	155
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) A special division with a Superintending Engineer at the top for survey and execution of minor and medium irrigation projects should be set up in each State. (ii) State Government should fix targets for minor and medium irrigation works in tribal areas and earmark a substantial amount from its normal budget for these projects. (iii) The rules in relation to returns be reviewed and revised. The question of return should be considered in the light of the condition of the people. (iv) All existing irrigation sources—walls and tanks should be repaired and improved. (v) Irrigation wells should be constructed on full subsidy basis. (vi) Improvement and extension of channels, installation of electric and diesel pumps and Persian wheels and boring of tube-wells should be taken up wherever possible. 		
13	There is considerable scope for development of horticulture and cash crops in the tribal areas. To encourage horticulture it is recommended that :—	13-43	156
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) suitable lands including lands now classified under forest but without trees should, wherever they are available and there is a demand, be transferred to individuals and Panchayats for the development of horticulture; (b) the holder of land should have full rights over the trees and fruits; (c) arrangements should be made to supply plants, seeds, manure and fertilizers; (d) arrangements should also be made to supply insecticides and plant protection equipment; 		

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- (e) technical assistance and guidance should be given by the Agriculture and Forest Departments free of cost;
- (f) fruit preservation units should be established where necessary, and
- (g) transport and marketing facilities should be provided.
- 14 The major need of the tribal as soon as he gets irrigation water will be bullocks. The early establishment in each region of a suitable cattle-breeding farm is desirable. For this purpose it will be necessary that the type of the animal needed for each region should be fixed first. The Indian Council of Agriculture Research and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture may be asked to examine this question further. 13·50 158
- 15 For the development of animal husbandry the following measures are suggested :— 13·52 159
- (i) Establishment of proper unit for development of the animal husbandry to guide and direct Tribal Development Block agencies in the work of survey and development.
- (ii) Establishment of a nucleus cattle farm in each region for developing a drought breed.
- (iii) Survey of the milk and other dietetic need of the tribals and the people of the area, assessment of the possibilities in the areas to meet these needs and the steps to be taken to do so.
- (iv) Supply of veterinary services to the area for the protection and development of their stock.
- (v) Arrangement for breeding, feeding and weeding of the cattle in tribal areas.
- (vi) Training on a mass scale for spreading the knowledge about improvement of the stock and economic utilisation.
- (vii) Training for Certificate, Diploma and Degree courses in animal husbandry of tribal students.
- (viii) Developing facilities for credit and marketing the stock as well as its produce.
- (ix) Rearing of goats, sheep, horses, mithons, yaks and chorus and development of poultry and piggery.
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CHAPTER 14—Village and Cottage Industries

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The problem of destitution and the sub-normal standard of living in the tribal areas owing to the low potential of agriculture can be mitigated through development of village and cottage industries. Cottage industries can utilise and develop the creative faculties of the tribal people, provide gainful employment to them and offer an avenue for converting the raw materials into processed articles.	14·1 and 14·6	160 and 161
2	The problem of village and cottage industries is one of proper direction and of large-scale organisation. Owing to the lack of an organisation and absence of a clear-cut policy, the efforts at spreading village and cottage industries have been mostly superficial. There is very little of preliminary survey of the scope of such industries which are marketable.	14·7, 14·8 and 14·9	162—163
3	The village industries in the tribal areas can be divided into three categories:— (i) consumer goods industries; (ii) processing industries; and (iii) handicrafts and art pieces. Taking consumer goods industries first there will not be much of a market for articles manufactured in tribal villages. Similarly handicrafts and art pieces which depend on outside markets require survey or assessment of the potential markets. Where such an industry has a prospect a pilot project can be started with adequate financial investment and with training facilities. The prospects for processing industries, however, are bright and efforts have been made to organise such industries e.g., adda leaves in Andhra Pradesh, brooms and baskets and many other major and minor forest produce.	14·12, 14·13 and 14·14	168
4	Wherever there is raw material available and there is a market available locally or outside, the principle should be that the raw materials should not go in the form of raw material but should go as a processed article unless the cost is uneconomic or it involves technical or transport problems beyond the reach of administration in tribal areas.	14·15	169
5	The basic thing, however, is the need for an effective organisation for all the three types of village and cottage industries. It is only when there is an organisation solely devoted to the task of survey, study, piloting, and organisation that there will be any appreciable change in the situation.	14·16	169
6	It is clear that Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the All India Handicrafts Board are the proper agencies to undertake a large share of responsibility. What remains can be attended to by an organisation modelled according to their advice.	14·17	169

1	2	3	4
7	There shall be attached to each State institution representing them, a special section, to assist the field agencies with guidance, technical assistance, training facilities and financial help. The Tribal Welfare Department with the assistance of the State Boards should set up a field organisation for the purpose.	14-18	169
8	A number of production-cum-training centres for cottage industries have started. In some places the other youths outnumbered the tribals and that too in centres opened by the Tribal Development Blocks. It was noticed that selection of tribals was not carefully done having regard to the needs of the area and also the psychology of the people. Tannery should not be introduced in tribal areas so long as it carries the social stigma amongst the tribals. Satisfactory records have not been maintained of the follow-up efforts made to rehabilitate the trainees on completion of their course.	14-21	170
9	There is scope for expansion of cottage industries in Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Bihar, etc. Orissa has a large scope for handloom, spinning, bamboo work and rope-making. Lahaul and Spiti and Himachal Pradesh can supply all types of woollen fabrics, if adequate quantities of wool are supplied to maintain industry.	14-22, 14-23, 14-24 and 14-26	170-171
10	Madhya Pradesh and Orissa are dominating the Indian scene in bidi manufacture. There is no reason why processing of tobacco and preparation of bidi cannot be taken over by the tribals. Pilot schemes can be undertaken.	14-25	170



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CHAPTER 15—Community Development and Tribal Development Blocks.

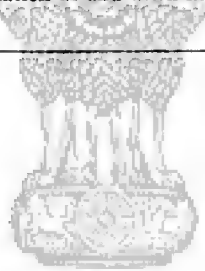
Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	As far as the coverage of the tribal areas by the Tribal Development Blocks is concerned, the criterion of 66·6 per cent tribal population in the selected area, as fixed by the Ministry of Home Affairs, is quite arbitrary and will lead to discrimination. The original proposal made by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks in this connection was a sound one. All the areas where there is a concentration of Scheduled Tribes should be grouped together for the purpose of coverage under the Tribal Development Blocks and an intensive effort should be undertaken to raise the level in the spheres of economic development, education, health, housing and communications, to that of the neighbouring areas with a gap not exceeding five years. The question of coverage should, therefore, be revised and necessary regrouping be made. The Ministries of Community Development and Home Affairs will have to work out the details. The area of Tribal Development Block should in that case be between 150 to 200 sq. miles and the population approximately 25,000. Where these limits have been crossed, the Block should be reorganised.	15·14, 15·17 and 15·54(i)	177-178 and 193
2	There should be a pre-extension stage even for a Tribal Development Block.	15·19 and 15·54 (ii)	178 and 193
3	The term "schematic budget" should be substituted by some other term which is flexible. It may be called "model budget" or "illustrative budget". The budget for each Block should be prepared by the Block Development Committee in consultation with the local officers of the Tribal Development Block. The Collector may give them such guidance as he considers suitable.	15·31 and 15·54 (iii)	181-82 and 193
4	The funds available under the Block Programme for education should be administered by the Education Department. The State should also allocate more funds from the general revenues for expenditure on education bearing in mind the relative backwardness in the Tribal Areas.	15·39 and 15·54 (iv)	183 and 193
5	(a) Before the commencement of the Block activities, it is necessary to have a preliminary socio-economic survey of the area. (b) On the basis of this survey, the State Government, in consultation with the District Development Committee, should indicate the general priorities in respect of important items such as economic development, communications, health, education and drinking water supply. The priorities suggested by the State Government would be for guidance of the project staff and the local people. They shall, however have the option to change the order of priority.	15·40 & 15·54(v)	184 and 193

1	2	3	4
(c) While doing this, care should be taken to avoid multiplicity of schemes, emphasis being laid on a few selected schemes in relation to matters for which there is a recognised felt need. In relation to schemes of economic development, emphasis should be on the provision of productive employment. Integrated developmental programme in the field of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and industries should be undertaken.			
(d) Responsibility for the successful implementation of this programme by activating the project staff and rendering necessary assistance and advice to the Block Development Committee should be that of the Collector. The Collector should be in a position to accord sanction or order modification on behalf of the State Government in respect of all schemes.			194
6 There should be a Forest Extension Officer attached to the Tribal Development Block.		15-42 and 15-54(vi)	186 & 194
7 The charge of a Gram Sevak should be reasonable. He should be in a position to pay a visit to every village at least once in a fortnight in an agricultural season. Knowledge of the local language should be an essential qualification for a Gram Sevak.		15-42 and 15-54(vii)	186 & 194
8 With a view to introducing the staff gradually, a Block should start with the minimum staff, viz Project Executive Officer, Agricultural Extension Officer, Soil Conservation Officer, Medical Officer and Assistant Engineer. With the progress of the programme as drawn up, the other officers like Extension Officer for Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Officer, etc. may be introduced.		15-42 and 15-54 (viii)	186 & 194

CHAPTER 16—The Problem of Indebtedness.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	In the absence of reliable figures of the extent of indebtedness and the rates of interest charged, the magnitude of the problem cannot be fully assessed nor can the remedies proposed be determined as adequate. We would, therefore, suggest that as a first step the State Governments should undertake forthwith sample surveys in the tribal areas to ascertain the quantum of indebtedness, the nature of violation of the provisions of the laws now in force and the extent of exploitative element in moneylending transactions.	16·44	203
2	It is also necessary for the State Government to undertake an enquiry into the existence of bonded labour. In the case of indebtedness accompanied by oral, customary or written agreements for bonded labour, legislation should be passed forthwith treating the agreements as void; the debt as discharged and the labour as released. The tribal will not be in a position to stand up against the creditor if the burden of debt survives. An agreement of this nature should be declared not only illegal but an offence punishable severely.	16·45 & 16·47	204
3	Having regard to the handicaps under which the tribal operates, while the Commission does not wish to do away with his credit, it desires and recommends that effective control be exercised by licensing the moneylender, making it obligatory upon him to enter his transactions in certified books of account and by periodical examination of his books.	16·49	204
4	As regards the past debts, the Commission recommends the following steps:—	16·49	204—205
	(i) The creditor should be required by legislation to file all his claims against all his tribal debtors within a prescribed time after which the right of action should be carried and the debt should be deemed as discharged.		
	(ii) The creditor should be required to produce all his books or other proofs and deposit them in the court along with his claims.		
	(iii) No books of account or document or written proof not deposited in the court along with the claim should be admitted in evidence thereafter.		
	(iv) The onus of proving the loan and the amount received should be on the creditor. Verbal evidence, unsupported by books of account kept in regular course of business, should not be considered as sufficient. Promissory notes alone should not be deemed to be adequate proof of the loan in the case of tribals.		

1	2	3	4
	<p>(v) The rate of interest should be fixed. All payments should be credited first against interest and the balance against the loans. The principle of 'Dam Dupat' should be applied. The account should be prepared on the basis of simple interest where there is no provision for compound interest. Where, however, there is such a provision, the compound interest should be calculated on the basis of yearly rests. If payments by the debtor as a result of preparation of such accounts exceed the loan and interest, a decree should be passed in favour of the debtor for the excess amount.</p> <p>(vi) Any amount due to the creditor should be made payable by instalments at a nominal rate of interest. The government should not take over the responsibility of discharging these debts from its funds.</p>		
5	Non-official agencies should undertake the responsibility of educating the tribals about the harm borrowing does not only to themselves but to their future generations also and also the new legislation as and when introduced.	16-51	205



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CHAPTER 17—Co-operation

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The cooperative movement, if it is to thrive in the tribal areas, has to concern itself with— (i) the discharge of outstanding debts, (ii) the day-to-day needs of the tribals including non-productive requirements, and (iii) the needs for development.	17·1	206
2	In regard to outstanding debts, a scheme for scaling down such debts and repayment by instalments has been suggested. In the question of current needs the Union Government must take a firm decision on the provision of adequate alternative credit with a view to eliminating all sources of exploitation existing in the Scheduled Areas. Till the tribals gather some experience in economic functioning in the modern world and attain maturity, arrangements will have to be made for giving loans for social purposes. There is no provision in the Cooperative Societies Act or Rules which debars a society from lending money for social customs or other obligations. This may, however, be gradually discontinued as the economic status of the tribals improves. The ratio between the productive and unproductive loans may be fixed carefully in the light of conditions obtaining in the various States. There is no reason why this approach cannot succeed if a cooperative society has an effective charge on the produce.	17·3 & 17·6	206—207 & 208
3	The cooperative law will have to be amended to meet the needs of the tribals who own land in common as members of the tribals or in the name of their headman. In the case of those whose lands are hypothecated as security or who are cultivating as tenants, what were one time their own lands, the money can be advanced on the security of their produce, the cooperative society getting an effective charge thereon.	17·9 & 17·10	209
4	There has been a persistent demand for grain golas from the tribals. It is necessary to increase the number of grain golas and reduce the area of operation of each of them. At the same time, the stocks of grain should be sufficiently raised so as to meet the full requirements of the members who at present have to meet their requirements partly from the grain golas and partly from other sources, generally the money-lender. Proper check, control and supervision from time to time require to be exercised in order to make the scheme effective. It is desirable that the grain golas should develop a cash wing for advancing money on credit.	17·19	212
5	The Committee on Cooperative Credit has suggested various measures for revitalising the existing societies, the training of management, accounting and clerical personnel, the pattern of organisation and participation of government. These recommendations may be adopted for developing the cooperative movement in the tribal areas with suitable modifications.	17·24	213

1	2	3	4
6	There should be a separate department in the Reserve Bank of India dealing with the problem of tribal economy, on the lines of the Agricultural Credit Department set up in the Reserve Bank of India in 1935.	17-25	214
7	There should be, in each State, promoting or sponsoring agencies for spreading a network of cooperatives. The sponsoring body should begin by undertaking the work of purchasing the articles the tribals produce, selling to them their needs and providing them credit with a view to replacing the middleman in that field. The exact relationship between the sponsoring agency and the government can be worked out by the government, but the responsibility for organisation, trade and finance in the initial stages should be on the government.	17-26 & 17-27	214
8	Education in cooperation should be imparted to tribals in general and the Committee members of the societies in particular.	17-28 (a)	214
9	Every village should be served by a Cooperative Society with at least one member from each family as a member.	17-28 (b)	214
10	The society should embrace all the avenues of economic development such as agriculture, animal husbandry, forests and processing, consumers' goods as well as other village industries and handicrafts as a part of an integrated programme of economic development.	17-28 (c)	214
11	The Cooperative Societies' Act should be amended for creating an effective charge on the produce of its members.	17-28 (d)	215
12	Minimum credit of a member should be fixed on his capacity to raise crops in his land and not on the acreage of his holdings or multiple of rental assessment.	17-28 (e)	215
13	Steps should be taken to link credit with marketing.	17-28 (f)	215
14	The procedure for advance of loans should be simplified in keeping with the condition of the tribal areas.	17-28 (g)	215
15	A thrift fund may be created for meeting demands for loans on account of social obligations, particularly of landless tribals.	17-28 (h)	215
16	The cooperative should pay special attention to the sale and marketing of the produce and supply of the tribals' requirements at reasonable prices. In areas, where there is the problem of storage and marketing of perishable goods like fruits, etc., marketing societies should set up processing and preservation units.	17-28 (i)	215
17	Care should be taken to see that the rich or the influential sections of the people do not dominate the cooperatives and monopolise their benefits.	17-28 (j)	215

CHAPTER 18—Educational Development.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The education of the tribal children is, and should be, the concern of the Education Ministry to the same extent as the education of non-tribals. The Ministry of Home Affairs should be associated at the thinking level. We recommend that a Board of Committee be established to study this question and formulate procedures that would ensure smooth and efficient functioning.	18·3	216
2	There should be one system, one policy making body and one operating channel in the tribal areas and since primary and secondary education is the responsibility of the State Governments they must take over the sole responsibility.	18·52	231
3	In granting recognition to schools and giving them grants-in-aid, the State Government should satisfy itself that no institution which receives a grant from the government or is recognised by it, practises discrimination either in the recruitment of teachers or in the admission of students on the ground of caste, community or religion.	18·51	231
4	We realise that it is difficult to set up schools and hostels in small villages which are little more than hamlets and situated so far apart. Nevertheless, where 30 children of school-going age are available in one locality the school should not be located at a distance of more than one mile. In no case should a child be required to walk for more than two miles to go to school. In other cases there should be schools with hostels attached.	18·18	224
5	Vacations and holidays should coincide with agricultural and forest operations and social festivities in the locality. Reasonable hours and school timing should bear in mind the requirements of the people.	18·19	224
6	The emphasis in education should be on a craft or technical bias and as far as possible the idea of a residential school should be encouraged.	18·22	225
7	The teaching of drawing and art should be a part of the school curriculum and tribal children should be given full opportunity to satisfy their creative urge through school activities.	18·24	225
8	The teaching of folk songs, stories and riddles should not be ignored. The tribal games and archery as well as tribal music and dances should be organised as a part of the curriculum.	18·25	225
9	Even after primary education is over, facilities will have to be provided to the tribals in the form of night schools to undertake further studies.	18·19	224

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10	It is necessary that discrimination between ordinary schools, basic schools and other types of schools should be kept down as low as possible. In no case should a Scheduled Tribe student be placed in a position where he cannot get admission at higher levels simply because he has gone to a school of a particular type.	18-21	225
11	Equipment in primary schools should continuously be improved. With a view to giving a touch of homeliness, the class-rooms should display pictures of vegetation, birds and animals common in the locality. The structure and decoration in the school building should be in the tribal style. The class room should give a feeling of cheer and should not be shabby.	18-23	225
12	There should be a considerable expansion of technical education. The courses should include the certificate course, diploma course and degree course—including Agricultural Engineering. As far as possible there should be at least one technical education centre in every district. The expansion of the certificate course is an urgent necessity.	18-54	232
13	Arrangements should also be made for sample workshop training to the boys as motor mechanics, motor drivers, fitters, for irrigation pumps and such other jobs. There is a great demand everywhere for these artisans and a workshop type of course, while cheap in running, will offer a solution of mass employment of trained personnel.	18-56	232
14	As regards the medium of instruction in the schools in the first two years the lessons should be imparted verbally in the tribal dialect to make the tribal boys and girls follow the lessons. The teachers should invariably know the tribal language. Lessons can be taught in the regional language from the third year.	18-28 and 18-29	226
15	This solution should not result in forgetting the major tribal languages. Under Article 305-A of the Constitution, every State and every local authority within the State has to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.	18-30	226
16	To say that it is impossible to prepare text books in the tribal language—there are so many of them—may not be a justifiable matter. There is no need to prepare books in the dialect of any small tribal group. Attention should be directed to the larger tribal languages which are spoken by a sufficient number of people.	18-30	226
17	The question of text books has to be viewed from two angles <i>viz.</i> , script and content. As regards the content of the text books, the objective of integration should not be lost sight of. The tribal students are expected today to read the common text books for the State. The common text books should also include lessons depicting the life of the tribals, their folklore, songs, history and the lives of important personalities in the social, religious and political fields. These subjects should be woven into the text-books.	18-32	227

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18 A growing number of educated tribals are beginning to write books, pamphlets and articles in magazines. This new literature is always in the people's old mother-tongue. This is another argument in favour of emphasising the tribal languages at the school level. This movement may well provide us with many treasures and may prove an invaluable means of helping the tribals to attain self-expression. It should be encouraged in every possible way.		18-63	233—234
19 Adequate provision for midday meals, clothing, a small amount of pocket money, say Rs. 2 a month for the girls, the supply of free books, slates and stationery would surely attract tribal boys and girls to schools in sufficient numbers.		18-17	223—224
20 It is suggested that where the progress in education is below the First Plan level in any region, approximately of the size of a Tribal Development Block, the number of scholarships be increased.		18-59	233
21 There have been complaints regarding irregularity and delay in payment of scholarships. To ensure that the scholarship amount reaches the student every month in time, it may be sent along with the salary of the teachers.		18-60	233
22 A teacher in the tribal areas must have a thorough knowledge of tribal life and culture.		18-41	229
23 It is of the greatest importance that teachers should be provided with houses and should have a fixed tenure in their schools. Over and above residential accommodation some additional inducement should be given.		18-42 and 18-43	229
24 There should be a separate cadre in the States for teachers in these areas for a period of 20 years. As the areas develop, and as communications develop and as the situation reaches the normal level, the cadre may ultimately be wound up.		18-43	229
25 Tribal boys and girls who pass out VII and VIII standards should be trained as teachers and posted to schools in tribal areas. To that extent, ordinary rules and conditions should be relaxed. There should be special provisions for a short-term training course for such students.		18-44	230
26 According to the scheme of the Teachers' Training Centre at Sudimalla in Andhra Pradesh, candidates are selected from village schools who have studied upto 4th standard, and are taught in the Centre upto the 6th standard. The special teachers' training is given for one year and successful candidates are appointed as village teachers. During the training period, a candidate is paid Rs. 20 p.m. as stipend. This is a good experiment and should be carefully studied.		18-44	230
27 More effective inspection and supervising machinery should be provided and stern disciplinary action should be taken in case of recalcitrant teachers. Teachers may be placed under the administrative control of the Block or Project Officers who will have a far more direct contact with them than the other officers..		18-40	229

1	2	3	4
28	Before introducing compulsory primary education the authorities should make sure about the availability of well qualified and experienced teachers who know the local language; and they should have the necessary text books ready, apart from other facilities referred to earlier.	18·49	231
29	Midday meals, supply of free books, slates and stationery will have to be provided, if compulsory education is to be introduced in the tribal areas. An intensive propaganda campaign will have to be organised.	18·48	231
30	The tribal students experience some difficulty in securing admission in the secondary and collegiate courses. While there should be no lowering of standard it is felt that there should be a period of coaching before the tests are taken. The tribal students should be admitted in the institution on their showing the minimum educational qualifications for admission. Necessary facilities can be provided to them for coaching, after which they may appear for the test.	18·62	233
31	Audio-visual education cannot be introduced in tribal areas. There is lack of transport and lack of adequate finance to cover all the principal tribal dialects. A beginning may be made with silent visual demonstration accompanied by explanation of the subjects in local dialect verbally.	18·64	234
32	There are groups of tribals who are comparatively speaking in the most undeveloped condition. They are not conscious of the benefits of education. In case of such groups special efforts should be made by the State Governments by undertaking special approaches. Nomadic tribes will also come in this category. The ordinary school will not be adequate to raise the level of education among these sects. The responsibility of supplying books, meals, clothing, etc., in such cases should be undertaken by government.	18·65	234

CHAPTER 1C—Health.

Serial No. 1	Summary of Recommendations 2	Reference to	
		Para. No. 3	Page No. 4
1	There are four principal reasons for the shortfall in the adequate provision of medical and health facilities for the tribals: (a) the need for a correct approach; (b) the problem of personnel; (c) adequacy of communications and (d) rules regarding supply of medicines.	19·7	237—238
2	One of the major difficulties is in persuading the tribals to take medical treatment in preference to their own doctors and herbal medicine. The essential thing is that the medical staff should take the right attitude to tribal medicine and the tribal priest. The most successful doctors have been those who have interested themselves in what we may call medical sociology, in such things as the tribal pharmacopoeia, the tribal theory of the influence of dreams on health, tribal methods of diagnosis to win the confidence of the people.	19·8 and 19·12	238 and 239
3	The doctors are working against heavy odds in the tribal areas and simple rules and procedures should be devised to make their task easy so that they may extend their work more widely. The present method of indenting for medical supplies in the interior areas is very frustrating.	19·19	240
4	There is a great shortage of medical personnel and qualified nurses and for some time to come this position will continue. It has not been possible to attract men and women of the medical profession to work in tribal areas. There are difficulties of housing, education for the children, contact with the world outside; these cannot be calculated in terms of money. Leave rules and rules relating to service generally will have to be modified. The question has to be studied from two angles; sympathy towards the personnel posted in the tribal areas and consciousness of the urgency of the problem. The solution lies in having a special cadre for a period of twenty years for medical personnel required for the tribal areas. We do not think that it will be possible for the State Governments to secure the services of the requisite personnel on the terms offered in the plain areas. Except perhaps for 'dais' we think that this is the only practical approach.	19·16	239—240
5	Effort must be made to train the local people. A time will come when they will be able to staff their own hospitals and this will be in 20 years. While there should be no difference in their emoluments, on the expiry of a period of 20 years, the tribal recruits will be absorbed in the general cadre on such terms and conditions as the government may then consider fit.	19·17	240
6	It would be advisable to have a large number of peripatetic dispensaries and mobile health units rather than the static dispensaries and hospitals for the tribal areas. It will be possible to cover in this way a large area and a larger number of people.	19·20	240

1	2	3	4
7	The mobile medical units should be adequately increased and must have an equally important preventive section which should work on such items as malaria control through spraying of D.D.T., tuberculosis control through B.C.G. vaccination, control of epidemics like cholera, etc., by proper inoculation and supply of milk and vitamins to children and expectant mothers.	19-22	241
8	The mobile units must also have a propaganda section fully equipped with projector, film and literature. The unit must carry all the necessary medicines, ayurvedic, allopathic and homeopathic. Thus, the multi-purpose mobile medical units will go very far in meeting the medical needs of the tribal people.	19-22	241
9	In view of the shortage of allopathic doctors, State Governments may set up increased number of ayurvedic dispensaries to meet the need for treatment of diseases on scientific lines. The tribals are used to herbal remedies and tried and tested herbal medicines can be made available to them.	19-18	240
10	Medicine chests should be provided at all Panchayats, primary schools, middle schools, dormitories, etc. These chests should be kept under the charge of the Headmasters or the Panch or the Village Level Worker. Arrangement to refill them should be ensured. These chests should contain simple, harmless and patent medicines. A doctor should be put in charge of a certain number of these medical chests and tour from time to time to inspect and supervise their working.	19-23	241
11	Health education is very necessary in the tribal areas. A systematic programme with audio-visual equipment should be undertaken.	19-24	241
12	The recommendation of the Study Team on Social Welfare regarding drinking water facilities is accepted. (a) A phased programme should be undertaken for providing drinking water wells or clean water supply to all the villages. Priority should be given on the basis of population and distances and no person should be required to go for water more than four furlongs from his place of residence. (b) Such wells should be sanitary and properly looked after. (c) People's contribution should not be insisted upon in this programme. (d) In the hills, the springs should be connected with pipes and clean drinking water provided.	19-26 19-31	242 244
13	A phased programme of maternity and child welfare centres should be taken up. An extensive programme for training 'dais' is also necessary, since the 'dais' are in contact with the tribals and will be in a better position to make maternity services more easily available. Best of all, tribal women themselves should be trained. These 'dais' should be given refresher courses continuously through a peripatetic arrangement and their standards raised to the level of midwife.	19-32	244
14	There should be a Maternity Home in each Panchayat Samiti with propaganda arrangements for sanitation, the care of children and the care of expectant mothers.	19-32 sub-para (i)	244
15	In the goitre affected areas, the medical section, with the assistance of the Revenue or the Community Development Department, should make arrangements for the distribution of iodized salt at concessional rates.	19-33	245

CHAPTER 20—Housing

Serial No. 1	Summary of Recommendations 2	Reference to	
		Para No. 3	Page No. 4
1	<p>Housing for the tribal people should be viewed from the following four aspects—</p> <p>(i) Shelter (ii) Sanitation (iii) Aesthetic tastes of the tribes and (iv) Comparative cost.</p> <p>Considering the great variety, extensive research should be conducted to ensure that the right people receive help, the houses are adapted to the climate and that, wherever possible, the style of building, evolved through centuries of experience, is followed.</p>	20-1 and 20-8	251 & 253
2	<p>There is very little reason why any normal tribal family who lives in a forest area should not have a really good home. Provided the Forest Departments of the States are more liberal in allowing the extraction of building materials without permits, the tribals can go ahead with making roomy, well-ventilated and water-proof homes if they are given a little guidance and encouragement.</p>	20-10	253
3	<p>In most tribal areas, there is no need to change the architecture of the buildings. Small windows, double-roofing or ventilators may be introduced to take away the smoke and let in more air. The need is to make the house more sanitary.</p>	20-11 (sub-para)	254
4	<p>The housing schemes should benefit those who are in real need of houses. The aim should be to meet needs of the poorest and the needs of the dispossessed. Housing schemes for small and impoverished groups, as the Yerukulas, Yenadis and Sugalis of Andhra Pradesh, the Khatkaris of Maharashtra, the Dublas and Naiks of Gujarat, the Gnjars of Himachal Pradesh, the Paniyans of Kerala and the Kurubas of Mysore, should have priority. The houses need not be costly nor built with imported materials.</p>	20-12 and 20-20(2)	254 & 258
5	<p>The staff from the plains, ignorant of the local conditions, gives buildings to the tribals which are neither to their taste nor add to their comforts. It is essential that the P.W.D. specifications should be liberalised to permit of modification in the light of local conditions. The question of building cattle-sheds, pig-sties and poultry-runs is also important.</p>	20-12 (sub-para)	254
6	<p>Housing colonies should not be undertaken unless it is possible to provide employment.</p>	20-20 (3)	258
7	<p>Instead of providing houses to all and sundry which will involve considerable expenditure and divert funds from programmes of greater priority, the limited funds available for housing should be used for the weaker groups who are really in need of better houses. In other cases funds should be utilised for improving the existing houses. Since the improvement of rural housing is more an educational than a constructional programme, much could be done by persuasion and propaganda and the funds could be used for improvements, such as providing windows, drains, and sanitation facilities.</p>	20-19	258

1	2	3	4
8	Full advantage should be taken of the tribals' own advice before and during the construction of a colony.	20-20(5)	259
9	In Lahaul, Spiti and Himachal Pradesh, the Harijan and Hanses live under conditions of overcrowding. They should be helped to get more rooms.	20-20(8)	259
10	The Spitiens preserve the night soil for manure. A little technical assistance may go a long way in improving sanitation. In Assam tribal areas, the NEFA approach to housing sanitation should be adopted.	20-20(10)	259
11	In areas where for 4-5 months in a year people have to live indoors and keep their fires burning continuously, smokeless "Chulha" or the system of "Chimney" should be introduced.	20-20(12)	259
12	A proper grain gola in every village should be organised to relieve the congestion and to enable the tribals to preserve their food-stuff properly.	20-20(11)	259
13	In the Santal Parganas and many other places, we should not get away from the beautiful housing models that the tribals themselves follow. The existing pattern should be improved by giving them some technical advice. In all places, the basic architecture and village lay-out, which has evolved through centuries, should be followed with suitable improvements.	20-20(4)	258
14	One great impediment to tribal housing is the attitude of the Forest Department in imposing great restrictions on the use of timber. The rules should be considerably liberalised to enable every tribal family to obtain easily and without delay their requirements of timber for house-building purposes.	20-18	257
15	Hurried programmes for housing with a view to fulfil the targets are not at all advisable and should be avoided.	20-20(6)	259

CHAPTER 21—Communications

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	<p>Communications will spread in the tribal areas much more speedily than we imagine. In a majority of cases, the development of the Tribal consciousness may not keep pace with the development of communications. A balance will have to be struck so that this unprecedented expansion does not place an inordinate strain on the tribals and wherever the new roads go, the State will have to protect them against exploitation.</p>	21-5	260-261
2	<p>The problem of communications may be considered from five aspects—</p> <p>(i) roads and other communications indispensable for national needs and defence;</p> <p>(ii) roads and other communications indispensable for industrial development;</p> <p>(iii) roads and other communications necessary for administration;</p> <p>(iv) roads and other communications needed from the point of view of trade and commercial interests;</p> <p>(v) roads and other communications needed in the interests of the tribals.</p> <p>A correct approach will be to give the highest priority to (i) and (v) above; second priority to (ii) and (iii) and in relation to (iv) decide after close study on the basis of the trade and commercial data available and the relative advantage to the tribal population.</p>	21-6	261
3	<p>The present All-India average length of roads per 100 square miles of area is 28½ miles whereas the average length in many tribal areas is not even twelve miles. Thus, there is considerable leeway to be made up.</p>	21-11	264
4	<p>The government should undertake a programme of roads fulfilling the needs of the tribals. The tribal is more concerned in connecting his village with the forest or the weekly market or the school for his children. These roads should be planned in such a manner that they could be used all the year round and could be widened for purposes of cars and jeeps as occasion arises or funds permit. Similarly, if it is possible to link up a village with a hospital or dispensary, that also would be useful. A priority worked out on this basis will offset any feeling that the tribal interests are being given the lowest place in the matter of communications.</p>	21-15	265
5	<p>The majority of these roads should not be very expensive. Careful planning is, of course, necessary to spread their benefit to the largest possible number of people.</p>	21-16	265

1	2	3	4
6	In fixing the relative priorities, consultation with the local people should be the rule.	21-17	265
7	Local material should be used unless the use of imported material is unavoidable.	21-17	265
8	A beginning should be made with foot-tracks or bridle paths. They should be so planned that the alignment, soiling, earth-work and culvert will be suitable for the use of carts, jeeps and trucks when widened.	21-18	265—266
9	The work should be undertaken in the off-season whenever possible when the tribals have comparatively little to do.	21-19	266
10	There are some special problems needing attention at the national level. One of these is the need for communications in the Assam Hills, especially in those areas which used to depend for their markets on places which are now a part of Pakistan. Partition destroyed the profitable trade in fruits, especially oranges and pine-apples. The Hill people and the country at large will be greatly benefited if the necessary communications are established quickly.	21-20	266
11	Paddy and rice in Manipur have always been purchased from tribals at extremely low prices and the tribal farmers of this territory have suffered exploitation by merchants of the foothills, who have taken full advantage of the lack of adequate communications. Communications should be established quickly.	21-21	266
12	The forest and the Public Works Department roads should be planned as part of a single coordinated system of communications with proper regard to the protection and development of forests.	21-23	266
13	The possibilities of developing traffic on rivers and inland waters by boats may be explored. A small section in each State where there are perennial rivers should carefully study the question.	21-24	266
14	There have been complaints that tribal welfare funds have been utilised for arterial roads. The best thing is for the Union Government to specify what part of its grants for communications will be used in the States for arterial roads. The rest should be spent in village roads, bridle paths and inter-village communications. This will keep the position of the States and Centre clear before the public.	21-25	266—267
15	Regarding construction of roads, the P.W.D. should encourage cooperatives among the tribal labourers. Where this is not feasible, the department should see that the tribals get fair wages.	21-26	267
16	There are constant complaints about the shortage of field staff. Encouragement should be given to the local people to equip themselves through work and practice for the work of mistries, sub-overseers and so on. Educational qualifications need not be regarded as essential. The devotion and courage of the tribals, their vitality and stamina are famous and should be used to the full.	21-27	267

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17	In some parts of the country roads have to be built under tremendous risks and difficulties. To this heroic effort, a human approach and some consideration for the tribals are necessary. In such risky operations the States should not only be considerate but prompt in meeting the claims of the living and helping the relations of the dead. Women and men should be paid according to the risk of the operations they are involved in, and not just as women or men. In these far-off places there should be proper arrangement for shelter, water, medicine and education and arrangements for some training for higher jobs. Discrimination between local labour and imported labour in the matter of wages should be brought down as much as possible.	21-28	267-268
18	The telephone and wireless services of the Defence and Police Forces should be thrown open to the public on payment, subject of course to official work getting the necessary precedence. The linking of the tribal and forest areas of India, through the telephone or wireless service, as is done in NEFA and Nagaland, will bring about their earlier integration.	21-29	268
19	For the remote tribal regions the norms and rules of the Posts and Telegraphs must be different.	21-30	268

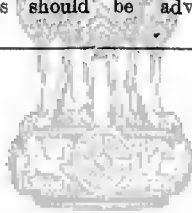


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CHAPTER 22—Impact of Industrialisation.

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	There has been very scant research on the question of the impact of industrialisation on the socio-economy of the tribal people which would have given a greater insight into the steps to be taken. It is the responsibility of the Union Government, as a corollary to the Central planning of industries, to undertake this research. Bihar, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa will come under intensive industrialisation and though no data is available at the moment, there is room for confidence that as soon as research studies are conducted, adequate provision will be made to assist the tribal people to adapt themselves. By industrial impact is meant not only the impact of large-scale industries, but also that of mining, the immigration of labour and the entry of outside interests in the tribal areas. Surveys in specific areas of the various States will give a precise idea of the rehabilitation programmes necessary.	22-21(1) & 22-21(2)	275-276
2	It is necessary to set up a permanent machinery which will study every individual project and its impact upon tribal interests. This machinery should, besides following up the proper rehabilitation of tribal families through welfare schemes, be responsible for integrated planning right from the inception of the project. For instance, a multipurpose river valley project should, from the very beginning, take into consideration the proper rehabilitation without disturbance in the life of all the families affected. It should be accepted that such projects are intended to improve the existing condition of the families affected and not disturb them as to deprive them of their livelihood. We, therefore, consider it necessary that the scheme of rehabilitation should be part of the project itself; if this could be done, the time-lag between the actual displacement and rehabilitation could be avoided. By planning the project and phasing the programme of rehabilitation in advance, it would be possible to bring about simultaneously displacement with minimum inconvenience and rehabilitation.	22-21(2)	276
3	Schemes for rehabilitation should include programmes for education, training and equipment of the displaced people.	22-21(3)	276
4	To increase the employability of the tribal families affected by the projects, the establishment of industrial training institutes within the project areas is recommended. In the Interim Report, greater emphasis on technical education in such areas was recommended. It was proposed for Bihar, that one more technical institution in the Scheduled Areas of Singhbhum District and ten industrial workshops in the other Scheduled Areas to train as large a number of tribal boys as possible in industrial work should be established. On the lines of the Industrial Training Institute of Korba in Madhya Pradesh, the setting up of similar institutes in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar should be taken up to help the tribal youths to keep pace with the rapid advance of industrialisation.	22-21(4)	276

1	2	3	4
5	In the case of families displaced by industrial or development projects, government should also consider establishing the tribals in the new economic set-up, not necessarily as landless labourers, but as producers of the primary needs of the township dwellers and factory workers. These needs include foodgrains, milk, eggs, meat and other requirements of the people.	22·21(5)	276
6	The incentives offered by government or the project authorities in the colonies should be sufficiently attractive. It should be the responsibility of the project authorities to provide water supply, sanitation, provision for schools and medical relief. Facilities for open-air life and the amenities offered should be such as to make the tribal people feel at home. They should not feel that they have been uprooted from their natural surroundings.	22·21(6)	276
7	In the case of families receiving cash compensation, every effort should be made to rehabilitate them in some suitable employment within the project itself. We consider that the highest preference should be given in absorbing the tribal people in permanent employment. The Employment Exchanges should arrange to give preference to local tribals over outsiders, even though this may involve a relaxation in the prescribed qualifications. The heads of factories and employing departments should be advised accordingly.	22·21(7)	277



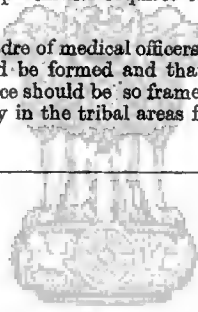
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CHAPTER 23—Administration

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	It is felt that in the context of the specific targets fixed and the time limit of ten years for their fulfilment, the existing arrangements in the Ministry of Home Affairs for dealing with tribal problems may not be adequate. A separate Ministry for this purpose is not suggested but a separate department devoted exclusively to tribal problems would be sufficient. This department may be placed under the exclusive charge of a Minister under the Home Minister. Its functions will include examination of the Governors' Reports, implementation of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule, functioning of the Tribes Advisory Council, progress of Plan, general administration of welfare schemes, training of personnel and coordination. Its actual set-up is a matter of administrative detail.	23·4	282
2	Evaluation in terms of physical and financial targets is the function of the Planning Commission and it may be improved and perfected. Again the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be charged with the responsibility of qualitative evaluation and the impact upon the tribals. The coordination of all further branches of tribal interests whether social, economic or cultural should be the function of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which will also be the competent agency to evaluate the work of the research institutes. A vast programme of continuous evaluation can only be undertaken by the Ministry of Home Affairs.	23·8	283
3	The Ministry of Home Affairs should arrange for periodical research through a cell or cells specifically for the examination of various subjects in relation to tribals. Special cells in the Ministry to follow up actively the progress of work in the Tribal Development Blocks which constitute the largest single programme under the Tribal Welfare Programme and the development of weaker sections of the tribes should be constituted.	23·9	283
4	Schemes received from States are referred to the Ministries concerned and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This leads to duplication. The technical and financial examination by the States should be sufficient and the Ministry of Home Affairs should give its approval, without referring it to other Ministries and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes unless on account of the nature of the scheme, the finances involved or other important reasons, it feels that it should have further advice.	23·10	283—284

1	2	3	4
5	In the States with a tribal population of one million and above, there should be a Minister exclusively in charge of the portfolio of tribal welfare and responsible for the fulfilment of tribal policies and programme. He need not necessarily be a tribal.	23·12	284
6	There should be a separate Department for Tribal Welfare in the States where the tribal population is more than a million, viz. Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Assam is not mentioned here because the Sixth Schedule is in force and the constitutional arrangement is different.	23·17	285
7	States should have a section under the Chief Secretary to evaluate qualitatively and quantitatively the tribal welfare programmes.	23·19	286
8	State Governments may bring about the required administrative flexibility by reorganising the procedures and methods of the Directorates dealing with tribal affairs. A small committee of officials from the Tribal Welfare, Agriculture, Veterinary, Forest, Irrigation and Roads and Medical and Public Health Departments should be set up at the State level for coordination and effective implementation of tribal welfare programmes both in the Scheduled Areas and other tribal areas. The committee may also be charged with the function of scrutinising the development programmes of these departments to ensure that their schemes also cover the Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas.	23·21	286-287
9	There would be an improvement in the administration as well as in the tempo of development if contiguous Scheduled Areas of different districts are formed into separate districts or if unwidely large districts are divided into two or more districts each under a separate Collector. The Collectors of these districts should be given greater powers.	23·22	287
10	To ensure more speedy and effective implementation of the developmental activities in the Scheduled Areas, the following scheme is suggested for the consideration of the State Governments—	23·31	289.
	(i) The Collector should be in overall charge of not only the revenue and judicial administration but also of developmental activities.		
	(ii) He should have the power to alter priorities of development schemes for the tribal areas and sanction schemes up to a limit prescribed by government.		
	(iii) All the heads of the departments in the districts and their subordinates to, whatever departments they belong, concerned with the work of the Scheduled Tribes will function under his supervision, guidance and control.		
	(iv) He should have powers to punish erring class III and IV staff after proper investigation and write confidential records of Class I and II officers.		

1	2	3	4
11	Above the Collectors in each of the States having Scheduled Areas, there should be an officer of the status of a Commissioner in overall charge of the tribal districts and all the powers of the State Governments should be delegated to him subject to the condition that he should consult the State Government on all matters involving a question of policy.	23-32	289
12	The field staff for work in tribal areas should be carefully selected and placed under the control of the Collector. As far as possible, trained staff with a background of tribal culture and way of life should be posted so that they may be able to handle the situation sympathetically and not try to overwhelm the tribals with too many schemes. The number of the officers should be kept to the minimum.	23-34	290
13	There should be greater provision of inspecting staff in Cooperation and Education Departments to go round, examine the working of the cooperative societies and schools and make suggestions for their improvement. The extension staff of the Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Engineering Departments requires to be strengthened.	23-35	290
14	We suggest that a separate cadre of medical officers for service in these areas should be formed and that its terms and conditions of service should be so framed as to induce the doctors to stay in the tribal areas for a period of time.	23-36	290



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CHAPTER 24—Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The Commissioner's functions are to investigate and report on the working of the safeguards. This is done by an annual report to the President. This report is intended to assist the President, the Parliament and the Union Government to discharge their responsibilities under the Constitution. The report enters into a host of matters and the substance occasionally gets lost in a forest of details. The sense of urgency and priority, which should be the real concern at the Union Government and Parliament level, is lost.	24·9	293—294
2	The essential thing about the Commissioner's reports should be an assessment of the way the constitutional safeguards are being implemented in the States; justification or of lack of it, whenever there is remissness; the progress achieved in raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas; fields in which direction is required from the Centre; a qualitative evaluation of welfare work and the impact of all this on the tribal people.	24·10	294
3	The Commissioner should focus his attention on certain items of strategic importance and ensure that the States and the Centre work them out in accordance with a time schedule.	24·11	294
4	The office of the Commissioner should be given a status and rank that would attract a person of high status, calibre and wideinfluence.	24·13	294-295
5	The non-statutory functions of the Commissioner, namely, representation in the managing committee of non-official organisations, examination of the accounts of such organisations, advising the Union Government on schemes received from the State Governments, be withdrawn from him. These are not an essential part of his duty and in making this arrangement the Ministry has reduced the status of the Commissioner to that of a departmental head thereby prejudicing the discharge of his constitutional responsibility.	24·19	296
6	There should be a separate Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes.	24·22	297
7	The State Governments are not impressed with the present arrangement of Assistant Commissioners. It will be necessary to consider whether the present arrangement should continue or how they should function with reference to the separate Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes suggested above. This is an administrative matter and should be examined in greater detail. It is doubtful if the present set up will be needed, if the Special Officer for Scheduled Tribes is relieved of his non-statutory functions.	24·23	299

1	2	3	4
8	If a senior officer with sufficient administrative background is selected for the post of Regional Assistant Commissioner, work should be considerably facilitated. He should preferably be an officer of the status of a Collector so that he may be able to pull his weight with the Collectors and the Commissioner.	24·29	299
9	The revision of the present set up of the Commissioner's Office both from the point of utility as well as compactness is recommended.	24·30	300
10	It is felt that Commissioner's report should have the status of the reports of the Estimates Committee and Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha. Whenever his comments are adverse on the working of the State or Union Government, particularly in relation to the protective measures, the report should be accompanied by the explanations of the Government concerned which may be considered along with the reports in the Legislatures.	24·31	300



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CHAPTER 25—Non-Official Agencies

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	Non-official agencies are working mainly in the field of education and public health. They command the services of workers who have given their lives to the cause and have been able to create a n impact on the tribals. They are slowly extending their work to cooperation, cottage and village industries, cultural activities, animal husbandry, legal assistance and prohibition.	25·19 & 25·2	306-307
2	Non-official organisations are necessary for the active participation of the people in the welfare activities both in planning and implementation. A certain measure of constructive activity should be done under non-official auspices. These agencies have the 'human touch' and can harness the latent energies of the masses into useful channels for their development. The scope of these organisations should, however, be clearly defined to avoid duplication of effort.	25·21—25·25	307-308
3	Accountant General's offices in each State should maintain a list of qualified accountants who can be made available to non-official institutions in receipt of assistance on any substantial scale. The allowance or salary paid to the accountant should be given to the institution as an additional grant.	25·26	308
4	Some machinery to evaluate the true value of the work of non-official organisations will go a long way in infusing new vigour and new ideas in them. Such evaluation can be done at the instance of the non-official agency itself by any local research institute.	25·27 & 25·28	309
5	The Governor in his report to the President should invariably give an assessment of the work of every institution which is receiving a grant of more than Rs. 25,000 in a year.	25·28	309

CHAPTER 26—Training Programmes

Serial No.	Summary of Recommendations	Reference to	
		Para No.	Page No.
1	2	3	4
1	The administrative officers working at and above the district levels should have an orientation course in tribal welfare at the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development at Mussoorie at the time they receive training in the Community Development programme.	26·12	313
2	The method of training will, as hitherto, be through seminars, study groups, syndicates. A detailed syllabus for this category of officers is not necessary but the subjects should include— (a) Applied Anthropology; (b) Psychology of Tribal people; (c) Constitution and the Scheduled Tribes; (d) Tribal economy with special reference to— (i) land, (ii) forest, (iii) industries, and (iv) finance. (e) Study of problems pertaining to health, education, communications etc. (f) Study of various schemes implemented by the Union Government and the State Governments for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes; and (g) Socio-economic surveys.	26·13	313.
3	The training proposed for Collectors/Commissioners, who are directly concerned with planning and implementation of tribal welfare programmes, should also be extended to other heads of departments and Divisional Officers, e.g., the Chief Conservator of Forests, Director of Education, Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Chief Engineers, Roads and Buildings and Irrigation, Director of Agriculture, Director of Land Records, Director of Public Health-Director of Veterinary Services, Director of Industries, Director of Cottage Industries.	26·14	313
4	Supervisory Officers at and below the district level should, as at present, be trained at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. The capacity of this Institute should be expanded or similar facilities should be provided at one or other similar institutes. The training should be improved to make it more "problem-centred", and practical training and visits to Tribal areas should be arranged.	26·15 & 26·16	314
5	The Ministry of Community Development may be asked to earmark one of their Orientation and Study Centres exclusively for the training of the supervisory staff at the Block level and district officers of other Departments operating in the tribal areas.	26·17	314

1	2	3	4
6	Training should be confined to those officers who are likely to serve in the tribal areas for a period of at least three years. This training will embrace all the departments including Revenue, Forests, Public Works, Police, Agriculture etc. and if it is possible, the training can also be arranged along with the supervisory staff working at or below the district level either at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences or other institutes that may be selected for the purpose. The training should be curtailed to three months.	26-19	315
7	We suggest that the content of training and its duration be worked out for each category of personnel. These are technical matters and the representatives of the Ministries of Home Affairs, Education, and Community Development and Cooperation, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and Research Institutes, should work out an appropriate syllabus for the purpose.	26-20	315
8	The training of field staff is as important as the training of the supervisory administrative personnel. This should be impressed on the State Governments and they should be asked to assess their requirements of field staff, arrange for their recruitment or selection well in time and complete the training before they are actually posted for working in the tribal areas. Those who are actually in the field now will have to be given either an in-service training or sent to the training centres for a short refresher course.	26-21	315
9	We should suggest that the existing training institutions run by government should, when they have capacity, undertake the training of the field workers of non-official voluntary agencies and similarly the centres established by the non-official agencies should undertake the training of government field staff, wherever possible. This will remove the existing barriers between official and non-official workers, and facilitate understanding of each other's point of view. There has been some difficulty in training women field workers such as Gram Sevikas. The State Governments have training facilities as well as non-official agencies like the Kasturba-Gandhi National Memorial Trust. The facilities for training at the institutions conducted by the non-official agencies should be utilised to the maximum extent by the State Governments. The non-official voluntary agencies should be encouraged to establish additional training centres in selected areas through substantial subsidy from the Centre.	26-22	316
10	Institutes on the lines of Gram Sevak Training Centres may be opened at suitable areas for training of technical field staff in suitable areas. These training centres should be located in tribal areas so that facilities are readily available for practical training. As in the existing conditions the number of non-tribals among the field staff will be quite considerable, arrangements should also be made at the training centres to teach them the tribal dialects.	26-23	316

1	2	3	4
11 Training of office-bearers of non-official voluntary agencies should be arranged along with the officials at the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development.		26-24	316
12 For technical personnel of the non-official agencies-training may be arranged along with the supervisory government technical personnel either at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences or at the Research Institutes run by the Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa.		26-24	317
13 It will be necessary to give training to office-bearers and employees of the Panchayats and Cooperatives, so that they may adjust themselves to the tribal conditions and way of life. This training in the case of office-bearers who are tribals can be in-service training by holding camps in the villages as is being done by the various Community Development Blocks. Paid employees, however, will have to be trained at the institutions mentioned for the supervisory and field staff.		26-25	317
14 A programme of training of the tribal leaders will in the long run be advantageous to government and the tribals.		26-27	317
15 Tribal bias should be given to all training programmes and tribals should be recruited for some of the jobs at village and Block levels. In case they do not possess the prescribed qualifications, a longer period of training may be arranged.		26-28	317-318
16 It is most important that adequate incentives should be provided to tribal candidates to join professional and technical training institutions so that eventually we will have a larger number of tribals working in the tribal areas.		26-29	318
17 We recommend that—			
(i) as far as possible local tribals should be selected, the qualifications being relaxed, if necessary.		26-31	319
(ii) if outsiders are recruited, special arrangements should be made to teach them the local dialect before they are posted and			
(iii) while under training they should make themselves familiar with the tribal way of life and culture.			
18 The training programme outlined will necessitate the expansion of facilities available at the existing institutions or the establishment of new institutes. These institutes will have to be staffed with teachers and instructors. Provision should be made for training these teachers. This aspect of the training programme be examined further by the Union Government in consultation with the State Governments and Research Institutes and suitable steps taken to ensure that the required number of additional teachers and instructors will be forthcoming.		26-32	319

CHAPTER 27—Representation in Services.

Serial No. 1	Summary of Recommendations 2	Reference to	
		Para No. 3	Page No. 4
1	The All India and Central Services for which recruitment is made on an all-India basis require higher educational qualifications and until education has progressed sufficiently amongst the tribals, it will not be possible for them to take full advantage of the reservation in their favour in these Services. There is gradual improvement and if the policy is pursued further with speed and vigour, representation of the Scheduled Tribes will improve appreciably in the next ten years.	27·27	336
2	In the other branches of the Services both under the Union and State Governments the position is not reassuring. The progress in the implementation of order is slow. There has been slackness on the part of the government to devise a proper procedure which would ensure adequate intake of tribal candidates.	27·28	336
3	In Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madras, Punjab and to a certain extent Maharashtra, there is a combined percentage of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which is prejudicial to the tribal candidates. State Governments should be requested to fix a separate percentage for Scheduled Tribes for all the State Services.	27·29 & 27·31	336—337
4	The quality of public service is important in recruitment to Class I and Class II services and posts. In regard to Class III and Class IV, where the work is mechanical and routine, it should be possible to recruit tribal candidates and arrange for their in-service training.	27·32	337
5	It is necessary to fix the percentage of reservation differently for different services and posts. In regard to Class I and technical posts, tribal candidates with the requisite qualifications may not be available and it will take a long time before they can fill up the percentage in Class I and Class II services and posts. If the quota is to be made up in the initial stages, the percentage of reservation in Class III and Class IV services and posts will have to be proportionately higher. The Orissa Government has fixed the quota for Scheduled Tribes proportionately higher in Class III and Class IV services, namely, 50 per cent. This experiment is commended for the other States.	27·33	337-338
6	It is suggested that while the overall percentage of reservation should continue at the figure already fixed, the State Governments may study the question with reference to local conditions, so that a higher percentage of reservation in certain categories of services and in certain departments may be fixed. This will go a long way in ensuring that the tribals get adequate representation in the services within the shortest possible time.	27·34	338

1	2	3	4
7.	State Governments should instruct all the local authorities like the Municipalities, Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads to follow the policy laid down by them in regard to representation of Scheduled Tribes in Services.	27-35	338
8	Suitable instructions be issued to Central and State undertakings in public sector to give adequate representation to Scheduled Tribes.	27-26	336
9	We would suggest that State Governments may take steps to issue instructions on the lines of instructions of the Union Government in regard to promotion and review of cases of supersession of officers belonging to Scheduled Tribes.	27-38	539-340
10	The following further suggestions in regard to the representation of Scheduled Tribes in the Services may be considered for implementation—	27-39	340-341
	(i) At the moment, if a vacancy reserved for a Scheduled Tribe is not filled owing to the non-availability of a suitable candidate, the vacancy is kept open for a period of two years. It is suggested that, whatever the period for which the vacancy may be kept open, if the State Government can get a candidate who is near enough the prescribed qualification, he may be given coaching for a time, re-examined and recruited if he is found to have made satisfactory progress.		
	(ii) The existing orders of the Union Government which permit the appointment of Scheduled Caste candidates in the vacancies reserved for Scheduled Tribes, where suitable qualified candidates are not available, should be rescinded. The presence of such a permissible order brings about complacency. The recruiting authorities should make all possible efforts to find the Scheduled Tribe candidates.		
	(iii) The relaxation of the age-limit in regard to Gazetted and non-Gazetted posts is quite sufficient but there are States where this has not been done. This rule should be made applicable uniformly throughout the States.		
	(iv) In the case of local recruitment, there should be on the Selection Committee somebody who can look after the interests of the tribals. The Tribal Welfare Officers in the district or the sub-division can be associated with the Selection Board.		
	(v) Adequate publicity should be given in the tribal areas about reserved vacancies. Social agencies could be used to spread this information. Publicity should not be confined merely to newspapers as many of the tribals live in inaccessible areas. Other means of publicity should be devised and checked periodically.		
	(vi) The rule that a name must be registered with the Employment Exchange before appointments are made, should not be binding in the case of the tribal candidates because they cannot be expected to maintain contact with it.		

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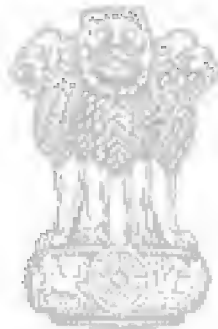
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(vii) Arrangements should be made to pay some allowance to a tribal candidate, who is expected to appear before the recruiting authority at his headquarters if this is at a distance from his normal place of residence. This has been done in Orissa and might be followed by other States.

(viii) It is necessary that a roster of appointments on the Bihar model or on the lines of the instructions issued by the Union Government should be maintained and this should be made obligatory for all categories of services and in all the departments. Periodical checks should be made to find out, if, at every stage, proper care is being taken to ensure recruitment of Scheduled Tribe candidates against posts reserved for them.



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CHAPTER 28—Role of Traditional Tribal Councils.

Serial No. 1	Summary of Recommendations 2	Reference to	
		Para No. 3	Page No. 4
1	One of the functions of the Statutory Panchayats in the tribal areas or the Tribal Councils should be in relation to forests.	28·24	345
2	In areas where the population is mixed and where the tribal people do not preponderate and the tribal councils have virtually fallen into disuse or have little authority, every effort should be made to revive them so that they can work alongside the Statutory Panchayats and settle their own religious and social affairs.	28·28 (i)	346
3	In all homogeneous tribal areas such as Nagaland, NEFA, the autonomous Hills districts of Assam, the hill areas of Manipur and suitable areas which are already Scheduled, where the Tribal Councils are strong and alive, advantage may be taken of the provisions in the Panchayat Acts whereby the Governor can exempt a specific area or areas from the operation of the Act. It will not be necessary to introduce new Statutory Panchayats in such places but a serious attempt should be made to develop the existing Councils and gradually transfer to them all the powers of the Statutory Panchayats, ultimately recognising them as such.	28·28 (ii)	346
4	In other tribal areas, where there is a mixed population, wherever tribal councils are active and have some authority among the tribal people, they should be encouraged and developed to function side by side with the Statutory Panchayats. Here the traditional Councils will be concerned mainly with social and religious matters, and the Statutory Panchayats with administration and development.	28·28 (iii)	346-347
5	The principle of election has to be explained to the tribals. They should be free to moderate the principle of election with a view to avoid internal frictions.	28·28 (v)	347
6	The Statutory Panchayats should take advantage of the influence of the traditional Councils in the matter of development activity. The village development programmes should always be prepared by the Statutory Panchayats in consultation with the tribal councils.	28·28 (vi)	347
7	Wherever the Statutory Panchayats and the Tribal Councils exist side by side the Panchayat may entrust to the Council various aspects of development work, management of ordinary or forest cooperatives, and they should be encouraged to settle village and inter-village disputes without having resort to the ordinary courts.	28·28 (ix)	347
8	Wherever a Statutory Panchayat is constituted in a tribal village, the rules should provide that fair proportion of members comes from the tribal groups.	28·28 (viii)	347
9	It will not be possible for either the traditional Councils or the Statutory Panchayats to raise revenues or levy cesses and taxes for some time. No hurried effort should be made to earn revenues. By and by as the economy and the consciousness develops, cesses and taxes may be gradually introduced.	28·28 (x)	347

CHAPTER 29—Survey Research and Evaluation.

Serial No. 1	Summary of Recommendations 2	Reference to	
		Para. No. 3	Page No. 4
1	Special arrangements should be made for rapid sample surveys of selected representative tribal areas to be completed within a reasonable time. Such surveys should concentrate on certain items, collect data in relation to them and also find out the conveniences available locally which would enable the government to carry out the programme within the time limit fixed.	29·2	348
2	A similar survey should be conducted in a selected adjoining non-Scheduled area so as to assess the disparity existing between the tribals and the non-tribals and the comparative backwardness of the tribal area.	29·3	348
3	In addition to the surveys mentioned above, the State Governments should conduct specific surveys in relation to specific problems faced in specific areas. These surveys should, as far as possible, be carried out through the Bureaus of Economics and Statistics, Universities, Tribal Research Institutes and Institutes like the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and similar other non-official agencies qualified to do this work. The State Governments should render them all possible help and financial assistance.	29·6	349
4	The functions of the Tribal Research Institutes should be redefined to include: (i) collection of basic socio-economic data for the use of Tribal Welfare Department in formulation and implementation of schemes for the economic development of the tribals; (ii) research on craft and industries which will be of immediate value for the economic development of the tribals by the utilisation of their skill and local materials and resources; (iii) examination of tribal welfare schemes with special reference to— (a) the impact on their attitudes, skills and knowledge; (b) the social and economic changes brought about by them; (c) improvement of the programme; (iv) assistance to the State Governments, etc., in their training programme; (v) research in tribal philology with a view to preparing text-books and primers in tribal languages, collection of folk songs, folk-lore, stories of tribal heroes, etc; (vi) teaching of tribal languages or dialects to the field staff of the Tribal Welfare Department.	29·18	353-354
5	A Central Institute of Tribal Welfare may be set up to coordinate research on an all-India level and take up studies of special problems which extend beyond the territorial limits of any one State, as for example, shifting cultivation, impact of industrialisation on tribal society, etc.	29·19	354
6	A beginning may be made with a coordinating body in the Ministry of Home Affairs to guide, supervise and coordinate the work of Research Institutes. For this purpose, a separate cell may be attached to the proposed Department of Tribal Welfare in the Ministry.	29·20	354



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- 16 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1958-59, Part I—page 144.

CHAPTER 20

- 1 (a) Figures in column 3 of the table are taken from the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1956-57, Part II, page 122.
- (b) Figures in column 4 of the table are taken from the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1956-57, Part II, page 122.
- (c) Figures in columns 5, 6 and 9 are taken from the information supplied by State Governments.
- (d) Figures in column 8 are based on information given in the—
- (i) Report to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1956-57, Part I, page 64; and
- (ii) Estimates Committee, 1958-59, Forty-eighth Report, Ministry of Home Affairs, page 57.

CHAPTER 21

- 1 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1956-57, Part II—pages 130-131.
- 2 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1956-57, Part II—pages 131-132.
- 3 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1956-57, Part II—pages 131-132.
- 4 Estimates Committee, 1958-59, Forty-eighth Report, Ministry of Home Affairs—page 65.
- 5 Based on information supplied by State Governments/Union Territories.
- 6 India 1960, The Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- 7 Basic Statistics, Rajasthan, 1960, published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Rajasthan Government, Pages 4 and 98.
- 8 Statistical Abstract of Madhya Pradesh 1958-59, issued by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Madhya Pradesh, pages 636-639.
- 9 From information supplied by the State Government of Madhya Pradesh.

CHAPTER 25

- 1 Report of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh for 1959-60—inside cover page.
- 2 Report of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh for 1959-60—pages 52, 54, 63, 65, 67, 74, 78, 80, 89, 116 and 118 and other information supplied by the Sangh.

CHAPTER 28

- 1 'Capital' by Karl Marx—page 350.