

under sub-section (2) of section 7 of the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952, publishing the Employees' Provident Funds (Fifth Amendment) Scheme, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-253/62.]

(i) MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT RESOLUTIONS.

(ii) ANNUAL REPORT (1961-62) OF THE COAL MINES RESCUE STATIONS COMMITTEE (DHANBAD).

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table—

(a) A copy each of the following Resolutions:—

(i) Ministry of Labour and Employment Resolution No. WB-3 (34) /62, dated the 7th July, 1962, regarding an interim wage increase for the Tea Plantation workers in Assam and West Bengal. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-273/62.]

(ii) Ministry of Labour and Employment Resolution No. WB-3 (43) /62, dated the 19th July, 1962, regarding an interim wage increase for the Tea Plantation workers in Tripura. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-274/62.]

(b) A copy of the Annual Report of the Coal Mines Rescue Stations Committee (Dhanbad) for the year 1961-62. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-275/62.]

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE DISPLACED PERSONS (COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION) ACT, 1954.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS, HOUSING AND SUPPLY (SHRI P. S. NASKAR): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 40 of the Displaced persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1954, a copy each of the following Notifications of the

Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (Department of Rehabilitation):—

(i) Notification G.S.R. No. 845/R. Amdt./LXni, dated the 16th June, 1962, publishing the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Third Amendment Rules, 1962.

(ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 884/R. Amdt./LXIV, dated the 19th June, 1962, publishing the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Fourth Amendment Rules, 1962.

(iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 952/R. Amdt./LXV, dated the 9th July, 1962, publishing the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Fifth Amendment Rules, 1962.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-255/62 for (i) to (iii).]

#### STATEMENT RE POWER SITUATION IN CALCUTTA AREA.

THE MINISTER OF IRRIGATION AND POWER (HAFIZ MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement regarding the power situation in the Calcutta area. [See Appendix XL, Annexure No. 24.]

#### [THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

MOTION *RE* REPORT OF THE SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES COMMISSION—continued.

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I share the sense of disappointment which has been expressed generally by hon. Members in this House during the consideration of the Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission which was placed before this House. After the very heart-searching speech of the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, who with his usual frankness admitted that our

[Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao.] efforts in the direction of ameliorating the condition of the tribal people have not succeeded as well as we desired, I thought that the discussion on the subject would not be prolonged very much. But it is a matter of gratification that hon. Members on both sides of this House showed their keen interest in the matter and were critical of the efforts that had been made in this direction, and also expressed their disappointment. As I said, I share that feeling of disappointment.

This Report which has been presented to the House is neither a picture of abject and total failure of our efforts as was characterised by an hon. Member, nor is it in any way a glorification of our achievements. It presents an objective assessment of the work done in this behalf and I am happy that there has been no mincing of matters so far as our failures are concerned. The Report is very exhaustive, thought-provoking and needs serious thought and heart-searching not only among those responsible for the administration of tribal welfare, but also among all the people connected with the matter and interested in the subject.

The problems of the tribals are very peculiar and complicated. Their long isolation from the rest of the people makes their problems very difficult and it is even difficult to have a proper understanding of those problems by those who are in charge of their solution. In olden days it was all right when the forest lands were occupied by these people. They were, more or less, masters of the forests. They used to live there, mostly isolated from the rest of the people, particularly due to the lack of means of communication. The lands there and the forest produce there were considered by them to belong to them exclusively without much intervention from the government under which they lived. From time immemorial, they seem to have had considerable autonomy in the ma-

nagement of their forest wealth and in the enjoyment of their forest wealth they were left alone by the rajas and others of those olden days. But when times changed and when we came to the British time, we find that there was intensive study of the customs and manners of these people, their costumes and habits and other things. The aboriginals or the tribals became the subject matter of curious study and of scientific study. The policy was to maintain their peculiarities, their manners and customs and to preserve their way of life as it stood then. That was the main consideration at that time and sometimes we wondered whether if their lives were maintained in the same manner, we would ever be able to make any headway in transforming them into civilized citizens. Of course, there are two sides to this question. But the fact remains that mostly the tribals were considered to be a sort of curious specimens of humanity, who had their own peculiar manners and customs and who should be looked at sometimes with admiration and sometimes with derision.

And then a new situation came up and our revenue and forest laws were applied to the areas in which the tribals lived and certainly this introduction of our laws and the extension of governmental activities into these areas made a real inroad into their social and economic life. It could not be otherwise. If those laws had to be implemented, then the rights of the tribals over the land which they occupied without anybody's permission, probably for ages, and enjoyment of the forest produce by them had to be restricted. They came to be restricted and these people really suffered on account of this. Agriculture spread and when forest contracts were given, deforestation took place on a large scale. On account of these and various other conditions, the tribals came into contact with the sophisticated people of the plains and perhaps changed their own habits of life, sometimes for the better and

sometimes for the worse. The conception of the ownership of the land and the forest vesting with the Government had to be implemented even at the expense of the welfare of the tribals and money-lending and land grabbing, etc. began and continued. Therefore, attempts had to be made to introduce rules and regulations to protect the rights of the people by creating what were called "excluded areas" which are now called "scheduled areas" under the Constitution. As a result of the action taken after the coming into force of our Constitution and in pursuance of the recommendations of a special Sub-Committee, the total area covered by these "scheduled areas" came to be reduced somewhat, about which a point was made by one of the hon. Members here.

I do not know what exactly is the reason for the reduction of the area covered by the Scheduled Areas. There may be other reasons. Perhaps it is the result of the changed conditions due to migration of non-Scheduled Tribe people to these areas and also migration of tribal people out of these areas. It is just possible but I entirely agree with the view of the Commission that many Scheduled Tribes are being excluded from the operation of these rules and they are not being entered in the list of the Scheduled Tribes which has deprived them of the advantages that accrue to them on being enlisted. On page 7 of the Report those important omissions have been pointed out and I do hope that the Government will take immediate steps to correct that mistake and to see that all those tribal groups which have not been entered in the list are entered properly so that whatever limited benefits we are able to reach them through our plans and schemes may also reach them properly. On page 69 of this Report certain recommendations have been made which I entirely agree. They relate to a review of the whole situation and the Report makes recommen-

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dations as to the criteria on which certain areas may be taken out and certain others may be added and the factors that are put down as the criteria for this revision are indeed very proper. Preponderance of tribal population, compactness and size of the area, the underdeveloped nature of the area and the disparity in economic standards are the principal criteria which have been laid down in order to decide upon the advisability of taking away some areas or adding some areas in the list of Scheduled Areas.

I would like to refer to a few points and make some general observations. I do not think it is necessary for me to refer to the recommendations made by the Commission on all the points which they have touched. It is refreshing to note that most of the chief Ministers who were present at the Conference called by the Minister for Home Affairs agreed to accept the recommendations. The Home Minister was good enough to tell us that excepting for a few of them all the recommendations have been accepted and the question now is only of their implementation. After the Constitution came into force, there was some change in the aims and objectives of the direction of our work in the matter of amelioration of the tribal people. Before that, the Government of the day restricted these activities to the preservation of the existing rights of the tribals but after the Constitution we thought it our duty to expand our activities in other directions and special measures were enacted and directed to be enacted regarding the welfare of the tribals in order to protect their economic interests, in order also to safeguard their special way of life and, more than all these, to ensure their future development so that they may take their own legitimate share in the general life of the country. This is a further advance in the outlook of the Government of India in the matter of the welfare of the tribal people. Of course, as has been remarked by various speakers, land and forest are the two things

*liyhxi a. Kamakxishna Kao.]*

on which the whole development of the tribal people and the existence of their social and economic life is based. There is no doubt that so far as land is concerned there was an inroad into their economic life. When land legislation and land revenue codes were applied to them, they came to suffer on account of that but at the same time it must be remembered that various rules and regulations were framed by the Central and the State Governments in order to see that the lands of the tribals are not alienated or transferred in favour of money lenders and land grabbers. Of course, it could not be prevented completely but in almost all the States legislation was passed to that effect. I think except in Kerala, Mysore, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, there are legislative enactments prohibiting the alienation of land by tribals to non-tribals without the permission of the Revenue Divisional Officer or the Collector. The provisions of these enactments or the rules and regulations differ from State to State—they vary widely according to the nature of the land tenure—but the main principle has been conceded and I think those State Governments which have not yet introduced any such legislation in this behalf will "take action immediately and try to see that these enactments prohibiting alienation of land by tribals to non-tribals without restrictions are made soon. In fact, there is necessity for some kind of uniformity to be introduced in this matter.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not wish to prolong my speech. In fact, I have some more points to refer to but I think many hon. Members of this House are anxious to speak today unlike yesterday . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Therefore time will have to be restricted for that reason.

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO: I shall refer to only one or two points before I close. Yesterday, some hon. Members made special reference in

regard to the powers of the Governors so far as tribal welfare matters are concerned. I do not think the hon. Members had, at the back of their minds, the idea that any special responsibility vests in the Governors according to the Constitution in regard to the administration of the tribals. The relevant article of the Constitution does mention the Governor but as everybody knows, the Governors act under the advice of the Government under article 163 and I do not think they have any initiative in the matter. Of course, so far as the preparation of a report and submission of that report to the President is concerned, certain responsibility attaches to them, but even that responsibility is discharged by the Governments and probably all that the Governors could do was to remind the Governments that they might prepare the report as required by the Constitution and submit the report to them for onward transmission to the President. That is all that lies in the power of the Governors and I see, according to this Report, that these reports were also not submitted in due time to the President. We<sup>1</sup>!, the Governors could also be held responsible for some kind of negligence in performing their duties but there is one thing in their defence and that is that they are not actually the implementors of the directives of the Constitution or the rules laid down by it.

Then again there is one thing which I would say. One hon. Member referred to a certain peculiar kind of conception of ownership which is prized by the tribal people. They have been so contaminated during recent decades that I do not think that that conception of common ownership of land to which my friend, Mr. Ramamurti, referred still exists among the tribals. I do not think, except in Jaunsar-Bawar area of Uttar Pradesh where there are some relics of both joint and common ownership of land, the tribals in the country do not stick to the old concep-

tion of common ownership of land. They have turned round to individual ownership and from what little experience I had as the Chief Minister of the old Hyderabad State, I can say that they are as keen on individual ownership as any of the oth

er agriculturists in India. I made an experiment in the direction of establishing co-operative farming for the tribals, particularly. All the expenses were borne by the Government but I may say that I utterly failed in convincing the tribal people, who were members of that co-operative, of the advantages of common ownership and of co-operative farming. In five years' time I had to divide up the farm and distribute the land to individual owners. So these are the bitter experiences which come in the way of implementation of our Plans. The Minister of Home Affairs has frankly admitted these failures. But now that the Chief Ministers of all States have accepted the recommendations of the Commission, let us hope that there will be better implementation. The first thing is better co-ordination among the various Departments of the Government. Whether the Ministers are appointed from the tribal people themselves or not, whether officers are appointed from the tribal people themselves or not, what is exactly necessary for the successful implementation of our plans in regard to these tribal people is some kind of a missionary zeal. I was very much impressed by the sincerity of Members who gave examples of people who did not understand tribal problems being placed in charge of their solution. It is quite true. I suggest that there should be some kind of a special class of officers trained particularly for this purpose who should be put in charge of tribal welfare. And each State should have a Directorate of Tribal Welfare separately. Some of the States have already got them but I think some other States do not have such separate Directorates of Tribal Welfare. In Madhya Pradesh with which I came into contact very recently, there is also a Minister for Tribal

Welfare, a Cabinet Minister. But these

things are unimportant. What is important is really the steps that we take in order to ameliorate their condition.

The forest laws are particularly very hard and I found in Madhya Pradesh that the tribal people in the area were extremely dissatisfied with the forest policy of the Government. There is what is called in Madhya Pradesh a policy of *nisthar*. Rules had been framed in order to permit the tribal people to take away cut wood for their agricultural purposes and so on but I found that that policy was not being implemented well and properly mainly due to the corruption of the lower staff and so on. These things have got to be remedied and further attempts have got to be made in the direction of the amelioration of the tribal people.

Madam, I welcome the Report and the recommendations made by the Commission and I do hope that they will receive the support of all concerned.

Thank you.

SHRI GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, we have been frequently hearing about the unrest and discontent among the tribal people throughout India and in spite of all that we were doing it was a matter of concern for all of us that this discontent and unrest was growing among the tribal people. And in this context this Report which throws some light on the condition of the tribals and also on the reasons that led to such conditions is extremely useful.

Now, I want to concentrate only on one or two points. You know, these tribals entirely depend upon our forest for their existence. Whether it be by agriculture or by hunting or by collecting forest produce, they entirely depend on the forests and if you want to know why we have failed in spite of all that we have done to better their condition, you have to examine the forest policy pursued by our Government. And in this context I shall just

I read out to you what has been said about it in this Report. I would request every hon. Member of this House to go through the entire chapter on this forest policy. This is what they say on page 129.

"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."

Here the Report mentions the changes that have been made after 1952. In 1894 Britishers had laid down a policy and in 1952 we changed that policy and the change unfortunately was against the interests of the tribals:

"The old policy envisaged the release of forest land for cultivation subject to certain safeguards. The new policy withdrew this concession.

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.

The old policy did not touch the private forests of the tribals. The new policy applied the same controls to them.

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.

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."

Now, these tribals formerly used to cultivate forest lands and they did not stick on to any particular area. They had a kind of shifting cultivation and in the NEFA area the Government have conceded them that right but it was restricted in other areas. All lands which any member or members of a village or community had a customary right to cultivate by means of shifting cultivation or to utilise by clearing jungle or grazing livestock, provided that such village or community is in a permanent location. A village or community is considered to be in a permanent location if it always remains within a specific area, although the whole or part of it may migrate from time to time to different locations within the area. The Regulations also provide customary rights to *jhum* land in favour of any village community which has cultivated or utilised it for a certain period. So this was the kind of right which the tribals were enjoying and this right was completely negated. How that was changed has been very well brought out in this Report. In this area they were driven out of the land which they had. In the matter of giving new lands, what is the policy that is being pursued? There also it is revealing. The Report says:

"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."

So, not only they were driven out of forests, but the Forest Department had objected to giving them land in nearby places where there were not even trees. You should remember that ninety per cent, of the tribals live on agriculture and the rest ten per cent, of the tribals live as agricultural labourers. To such people even the

land was completely denied. How can you expect them to improve their conditions? This is what you have done after 1952. With regard to other ways of making a living, this is what the Commission says:

"The system of permits, licences 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 Multipurpose Tribal Blocks."

Then, they have said:

"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."

So, agriculture is denied. Other ways of making a living are also denied. And what else can they do? There are a large number of forest villages consisting of these tribals and on page 133 they have said how these forest villages work:

"The Madhya Pradesh rules, for example, provide *inter alia* that \_\_\_\_\_,"

I shall read a little earlier:

"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 demar-

cation, 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."

So, you deny them all the means of livelihood by which they were living formerly and for this purpose you bring them together in a village. How do you make them work? It says:

"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."

The market rate, of course, will be decided by the contractors and the Forest Department will not have any say. Then, it goes on to say:

"(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."

This is how you are treating them and all of us should feel ashamed for allowing this condition to continue like this.

Here yesterday while some friends were speaking on this, they referred to the reservation given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They also directly mentioned that this policy was adversely affecting the efficiency. I want every one of us to look into the real facts of the matter, because the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has given certain figures which are very revealing and which epitomise our work among these people-

[Shri Govindan Nair:] In 1956, Class I permanent employees in the Central Government were 0-11 per cent. You should remember that five per cent. has been reserved for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. In 1960, it is 0-10 per cent. It is not on the increase, but it is on the decrease. In 1956, Class II employees were 0-06 per cent. It was 0-23 per cent. in 1960. In 1956, Class III employees were 0-43 per cent. In 1956 it was 0-77 per cent. In 1956 Class IV employees were 2-59 per cent. In 1960, it was 3-39 per cent. The whole list is given. I say that this is very revealing. During the last ten or fifteen years we have been talking that a large number of scholarships were given to these tribals and Scheduled Caste people for their education. Reservations were made in Government Departments. We have been saying all this and today in the country there is a general impression that so much has been done for these people that it is time now to stop these things and accept some other criterion for Government scholarships, etc. Is it true? Is it correct? In spite of all that we have done during the last fourteen years, if this is the percentage of appointments that they got in Government, we have to think seriously why this is happening. Now one argument brought forward is, what we can do, there are no competent hands. It is all right for the Commissioner to say that competent hands are not available, but when we discuss this, after fifteen years why is it that we are not having competent hands from among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes to take up posts? It is a very serious matter to which we have to pay some attention. And what is the fate of those people who get into service? They will never get promotion. Yesterday we heard about efficiency. Yes, efficiency counts, efficiency in pulling the strings counts, efficiency in putting pressure counts, efficiency in pleasing the officers counts. But for the poor Scheduled Caste people they have no pull, they have no pressure, and wherever they are placed some

meal reason may be found to see that they do not get proper promotion, etc. This is what is actually happening, and in this context to say that they do not deserve serious and better treatment at our hands will be wrong. You evict them from their former land which they have held for generations. You deny them all jobs, and you do not give them enough facilities to study or to take to some other work and exist. Under such conditions, what happened in Nagaland and what is happening in the Hill State of Assam will spread to other regions until and unless you take this question seriously, understand their problem seriously and find a proper solution. In revealing all these facts I have just touched on one or two points, but this Report is full of such facts which will convince anybody how callous we are in the treatment of these tribals, and we as a civilised people should feel ashamed that such conditions exist even today under the auspices of the Government. That is why I said that the Madhya Pradesh Government rules are completely throwing out people of entire villages for disobeying to work on conditions that have been imposed by the Forest Department or by the contractor. Is a conference necessary for that? I am glad that the whole thing is entrusted to the maternal care of the Deputy Minister. Formerly also this Department and all these tribals were under the material care of another woman Deputy Minister. So whatever it is, there are many things which are revealed in these reports which show the criminal negligence on the part of the Central Government, which show the criminal negligence on the part of the State Governments. Why is it that they are behaving like this? I am not blaming a particular Party or the administration. We have developed a psychology where we have a contempt for these people. You go to Manipur, you go to any place where these people are to be found, you will see that the other sections of people have a kind of prejudice or contempt for them.



Whether it is the ruling Party or whether it is the opposition parties, we have to take this question up in a serious way and campaign among the people so that they may get a fair deal at the hands of the Government and at the hands of the people.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are still 12 speakers. There will be no break for lunch, and the time limit should be restricted to 10 minutes each. If it is less, better still. The Minister will reply at 2.30 P.M. Mr. Kuthnaswamy.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam, before I make my observations on the Report, may I register a protest against the continuance of the titles given to these two communities, "Scheduled Castes" and "Scheduled Tribes"? These are human beings. They are aborigines as well as untouchables. They are human beings and do not deserve to be put in a Schedule as if they are animals or some commodities. Mahatma Gandhi gave a very dignified name to the Scheduled Castes, "Harijans", and I do not see why this Government should not take up that name rather than the name of the title of "Scheduled Castes". Similarly the Scheduled Tribes have their own name, Adibasis, the aborigines of India. Why should they not be called Adibasis instead of being called Scheduled Tribes? These form large communities, and according to the Census of 1951 there are 22.5 million Adibasis and 10.5 Harijans.

I must congratulate the Government on the financial provision they have made for the improvement of the lot of these communities. In the Second Plan the Adibasis got Rs. 43 crores and the Harijans got Rs. 27 crores. In the Third Plan the financial provision is even better. Adibasis get Rs. 60 crores and Harijans get Rs. 40 crores. But while congratulating the Central Government on these generous financial provisions, I cannot congratulate the State Governments on their per-

formance in regard to their policies and programmes for the improvement of the lot of these communities. The Report reports shortfalls of expenditure by the States in the case of Adibasis of Rs. 10 crores, and in the case of Harijans Rs. 2 crores. With regard to the policy and programme also for the untouchables we find it reported that a list of villages where untouchability still operates has not been kept by a number of State Governments. The reason is obvious, because they have taken no steps to remove untouchability from these villages. Again, forced or bonded labour still continues in five States of which Madras, I am ashamed to say, is one. I thought, Madam, that forced labour or bonded labour has been declared unlawful and unconstitutional by our Constitution, but still forced labour or bonded labour is being imposed upon these communities. Alienation of lands of tribals still goes on on a large scale. That is the finding of the Dhebar Commission Report. Rights in forests of the tribals are interfered with. The forest policy of 1952 is a reactionary policy. It is true that forests have rights of their own, that they should not be denuded, that they should not be treated unethically, that care should be taken that forests should be preserved for the protection of agriculture. At the same time the rights of forests could have been reconciled with the traditional rights of tribals in the use of the forests. With regard to land and agriculture I am glad to note that increasing provision is made for the allotment of agricultural land to the tribals. But I hope that fragmentation of holdings will not be allowed to creep into the agricultural lands held by the tribals.

In this connection, I should like to say that the customs and usages of these tribals should be respected as far as possible provided they do not offend the requirements of civilisation and progress. The Hindu Law should not be indiscriminately introduced and applied among these tribals. It is more a result of one provision of the Hindu Law in regard to inheritance of suc-

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.] cession that fragmentation of agricultural holdings goes on at such a ruinous pace and at least the tribal land should be freed from this curse of fragmented holdings.

With regard to the financial provision, I see that the bulk of it goes to education. That is no doubt a good thing. A sum of Rs. 47 crores is allotted to education. An equal provision should have been made for economic uplift which gets only Rs. 27 crores. Health and housing each gets only Rs. 25 crores. In regard to education, I hope that stress will be laid upon the promotion of the literacy of the tribals. Especially the primary education of the girls should receive urgent and important attention. Care should be taken that large numbers of unemployed and employable graduates do not become the curse of the tribal community as they have become the curse of other communities in this country. Therefore, a provision should be made for their agricultural education and for their technical education. Junior technical schools should be provided in large numbers for them. In regard to their housing, the needs and tastes of these tribals should be consulted. Their housing should be improved no doubt but their tastes should be consulted. In regard to this matter of housing, I hope that the folly committed in the programme of housing by the Madras Government for the fishermen of Madras will not be followed. They built houses for these fishermen in two storeys without previously consulting the tastes and requirements of the fishermen. The fishermen want their houses to be on a level with the seashore so that they can spread out their nets, dry their nets and repair their nets. Instead of that, they were to be sent to an upper storey from which they could not do any of these things for the benefit of their netp. The result is that this housing colony which does not satisfy the tastes and requirements of the fishermen has now been allotted to the low-income clerical groups. I hope

that similar follies will not be committed in regard to the housing of the tribals.

I am glad to hear from Mr. Rama-krishna Rao that some tribals have resisted co-operative farming, while yesterday the Home Minister hoped that co-operative farming would be expended among the tribals. The tribals themselves, as Mr. Ramakrishna Rao has pointed out, do not want cooperative farming. They know in what direction progress lies. It is only in the growth of individualism and in the growth of individual farming that agriculture and the general progress of a community lie. The tribals instinctively feel that and I hope that this artificial policy on agriculture—what I might call a policy due rather to intellectual celebration than one based upon facts and circumstances of agriculture—will not be followed in regard to the farming methods of these tribals and that co-operative farming will not be imposed upon them.

In regard to the Tribal Development Blocks, I hope the Minister will take the precaution of waiting till the Community Development Blocks prove a success, before introducing this system among the tribals.

As for industrialisation, that again ought not to be forced upon them. The tribals should be first introduced to agriculture. If lands are not available, the landless tribals should be taught some petty industries so that they become industrial workmen. In this connection, in regard to the tribals living in the forests I might recommend the industry of sawing timber which might be taught and which might be introduced among them, instead of the contractors being given the right of felling and sawing timber. That is an industry which has been introduced in America among the American Indians.

But these are not the only backward classes in our country; there are other backward classes. For in-

stance, the fishing communities which number about a million have been continuously and consistently neglected by our Government just because they live on the seacoast far away from the centres of life, and nothing is being done either for their education in the fishing industry or in improving their technique of fishing or in making them better fishermen or in finding employment for them in the navy and in the merchant marine. They may be given the occupation of coast guards. You know, Madam Deputy Chairman, that in England and other countries there are, at a number of centres on the seacoast, what are called the coast guards who perform two services to the State. They look after life preservation work on the seacoast and on the sea and they also serve as intelligence service to the navy. Through a question I found that these coast guards had not at all been thought of by the Central Government. I think that in order to improve the lot of the fishermen community this organisation of coast guards might be considered and introduced.

I am glad that an appeal has been made to voluntary agencies to supplement the work of the official agencies because it is only the voluntary agencies that can give the human touch that is necessary in all social welfare works. There should be no conflict or competition between the official agencies and the voluntary agencies. In this connection, I am sorry to note a very unfortunate paragraph in the Report of the Dhebar Commission where they have cast all kinds of aspersions on the missionaries in regard to their work among the tribals. Although the first paragraph pays a tribute to the work done by them for the social progress of these tribal communities, in the second paragraph they refer in very harsh terms to the proselytising activities of these missionaries. If proselytisation is done by force or by offering temptation, that ought to be condemned but religious conversion

stands on the same plane as pomikai conversion. When parties are engaged every day of their lives in trying to convert other people to their political point of view, why should not religious denominations be allowed to convert people to their religious point of view? In fact, the right to propagate one's religion is one of the fundamental rights granted by the Constitution.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): But, Professor, the difficulty is that it excites passions and creates troubles.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: That has to be proved. The Constitution provides for the propagation of one's religion and these Christian missionaries should be allowed to do that, especially as they were the pioneers in social welfare work among these tribals.

1 P.M.

Lastly, Madam, as between State Governments and Central Government, the State Governments have a very bad record in regard to the promotion of the welfare of tribals. While they have a good record in regard to the promotion of the welfare of untouchables they have a very poor record in regard to the promotion of the welfare of tribals. If one analyses the motives of this difference in policy, one can see that the Harijans have considerable voting strength in several States while the tribals are concentrated only in a few States like Madhya Pradesh, Assam and others. They are not prominent in States like Madras or Andhra Pradesh, and that is why the welfare of the tribal communities is neglected by the State Governments, and therefore I would like that more and more the Central Government should take under its sponsorship the promotion of the welfare of the tribal communities. Large amounts of money have remained unspent by the State Governments. They have a very poor record in regard to the promotion of the welfare

[Shri M. Kuthnaswamy.] of the tribals, and it is time, I think, that the Central Government, even to the point of using their own local agents, their own local directors of Tribal Welfare, should take up a major portion of this responsibility of promoting the welfare of the Adivasis. They have a precedent for that in the Constitution of the U.S.A. where all the Red Indians—the American Indians—are the special responsibility of the Federal Government. There is an office—Indian Office it is called—for the promotion of the welfare of Indians, and such an office should be opened in the Central Government, and the Central Government should be largely, if not wholly, responsible, for the promotion of the welfare of these tribal communities.

In conclusion, Madam, let me say that this report is a sign and proof of the political conscience of the major communities in India, that has been roused, and of the political consciousness of these communities, namely the Harijans and the Adivasis, proof of the political conscience of the major communities, of the plains-men being roused and the political consciousness of the Harijans and the tribal communities being roused. And if the Central Government takes the main, if not the whole, responsibility for the promotion of the welfare of the tribal communities, the tribal communities may look to a prosperous future, for, in their prosperity lies not only all prospects of the prosperity of the country but all prospects, especially of the unity and integrity of the country with which we are so much concerned today.

**श्रीमती उमा नेहरू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
उपसभापति जी, मैं इस रिपोर्ट का स्वागत करती हूँ। इस रिपोर्ट को देख कर मालूम होता है कि बहुत मेहनत से यह लिखी गई है। लेकिन एक बात जरूर है कि उसके सारे पन्नों को पढ़ डालिये फिर भी मालूम नहीं क्यों कुछ उत्साह नहीं होता, कोई दिलचस्पी

नहीं होती कि इसमें कोई चीज है। मेहनत जरूर दिखाई देती है।

ट्राइबल और शिड्यूल्ड क्लासेज का प्रश्न ऐसा है कि हमें काफ़ी संजीदगी से और ठंडे दिल से इसको समझना चाहिये। उनका इतिहास हमको अच्छी तरह से समझना है। जो इतिहास हम उनका बनाते हैं या जो तरीका हम उनके लिये बनाते हैं उसको देखकर कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि कुछ आर्टिफिशियल सा है। लेकिन असली बात यह है कि जब तक हम उनके कानून और कायदे को नहीं समझेंगे और उन कानूनों और कायदों के साथ हम उनके साथ मिल कर बरतेंगे नहीं तब तक हमको असली तसवीर और असली सूरत उनके बारे में मालूम नहीं हो सकती है।

[THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA in the Chair.)]

मैंने यह भी देखा कि ट्राइबल और शिड्यूल्ड एरियाज में जो काम हो रहा है वह एक मिशनरी स्पिरिट से नहीं हो रहा है। जो ये ट्राइबल्स, हरिजन, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और बैकवर्ड एरियाज के लोग हमारे मुल्क में हैं, इनका काम तभी पूरा हो सकता है जब हम सब में मिशनरी स्पिरिट होवे। जब तक हम में मिशनरी स्पिरिट नहीं होती है तब तक उनका आगे बढ़ना मुश्किल ही है।

यहां कुछ भाइयों ने जिक्र किया कि इन लोगों की हालत कैसी है। जमीन उनके पास नहीं है, दरअसल यह बात है। इन गरीबों के पास से जमीन ले ली गई है। इनमें से जो लोग जंगलों में बसते हैं वहां फारेस्ट आफिसर का कब्जा है। हमने देखा है कि अगर जमीन पर इनको मुसीबत आई और ये जंगलों की तरफ गये तो वहां भी फारेस्ट रूल्स के मुताबिक वे निकाल दिये जाते हैं और अगर न निकलें तो उनकी झोंपड़ियां फूंक दी जाती हैं। यह सब

नक्शा हमारे सामने आज दिन भी है। इसलिये हमें सबसे पहली चीज जो करनी है वह यह है कि उनको रोजगार मिले, जिन्दा रहने के वास्ते हम उनको जमीन दें। ऐसे लोगों को जमीन देना बहुत जरूरी होता है, उनकी गुजर जमीन पर ही होती है। और जमीन के इन्सान की गुजर, हम देखते हैं, हो भी नहीं सकती है। अगर जमीन उनसे ली गई है तो उनकी जमीन उनको वापिस मिलनी चाहिये। इसके साथ ही शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य की जरूरतें जो कि एक इन्सान को इन्सान बनाती हैं उनको मुहय्या करना हमारे लिये जरूरी है। ये सब चीजें किताब में हैं तो जरूर लेकिन उसको बतायेगा कौन, उसको इम्प्लीमेंट कौन करेगा, यह देखने की बात है। जो लोग इसको इम्प्लीमेंट करें वे इमानदार हों, सच्चे हों और दरअसल उनके दिल में उनके साथ दर्द हो, तब तो कामयाबी हो सकती है।

इन चीजों के अलावा हमको उनको कुछ रोजगार देना है। हमारा फर्ज है कि उनके लिये हम छोटी-छोटी काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज कायम करें मगर इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि हम वहां ऐसी इंडस्ट्रीज कायम करें कि हम वहां जायें, मुश्किलें करें, उनको पेटनाइज करें, यह भाव नहीं होना चाहिये। हमारा भाव ऐसा होना चाहिये कि ऐसे उद्योग खोलें जिनसे उनकी दरअसल आर्थिक उन्नति हो सके। उनकी उन्नति में ही हमारी भी उन्नति है। इस भाव से हमें आगे जाना है। इसी प्रकार से हरिजनों के साथ भी हमारा दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिये। लेकिन अब तक हम उनके लिये पूरी व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाये हैं।

इसके अलावा मैंने खुद चारों तरफ घूम कर देखा है कि बैकवर्ड क्लासेज जहां हैं वहां उनके लिये स्कूल नहीं हैं, तालीम का बन्दोबस्त नहीं है, सड़कें नहीं हैं, घर नहीं हैं। इन सब चीजों को हमें करना है। हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने जिस वक्त यह रिपोर्ट यहां पेश की थी उस वक्त बताया कि जितनी भी रुपये की कमी होगी वह भी पूरी कर दी जायेगी। मुझे

इतना ही कहना है कि आप रुपया कितना भी खर्च लेकिन जब तक हम दिल से न सोचें और काम करें तब तक अपने को पूरा नहीं कह सकते। जब तक ट्राइबल क्लास, शिड्यूलड कास्ट या हरिजन क्लास के लोगों को हम ऊपर नहीं उठा सकते तब तक भारत का नक्शा पूरा नहीं है। आज हमारी हालत यह है कि हम चाहे जो भी कहें, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि आधा जिस्म हमारा फालिज से पड़ा हुआ है और हमको मालूम नहीं है, हमको इसका ज्ञान नहीं है कि आधे जिस्म में फालिज गिरा हुआ है। जो मुल्क हमारा इतना शानदार माना जाता है, उसके अन्दर अगर हम बारीकी से देखें तो कोई भूखा, कोई नंगा, कोई छोटा, कोई बड़ा और कोई अनटचेबल दिखाई देता है। इन सबको जब तक हम मिटायेगे नहीं तब तक इस भारत का कल्याण भी नहीं होगा, ऐसा मेरा विचार है।

तो मैं समझती हूं कि ज्यादा न कहकर मुस्तसूर में दो तीन बातें कह दूं। और वे यह हैं कि जब तक दिल से मिशनरी सिरिट से, इस काम में आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे, तब तक जो उन्नति इस काम में हो चुकी है वह आर्टिफिशियल दिखावाई देगी और दरअसल वह उन्नति नहीं होगी।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि इन लोगों के लिये सरकार की ओर से जितना रुपया दिया जाता है वह पूरा का पूरा खर्च किया जाना चाहिये। जंगलों से ये हट गये हैं और हमने इनको घर से बेघर कर दिया है लेकिन अब हमारा यह फर्ज और धर्म हो जाता है कि सब से पहले हमें उनके घर का इंतजाम करना चाहिये और बाद में अपने लिये करना चाहिये। जब तक हम इस सिरिट से काम नहीं करेंगे, मिशनरी भावना से काम नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम इस काम में अच्छी तरह से काम-याब नहीं हो सकते हैं। जब हम इस तरह से काम करेंगे तो वह समय जल्दी आ जायेगा जब हमारी तरह ये लोग भी साथ-साथ आगे बढ़ सकेंगे।

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

ज्यादा न कहकर मैं इतना ही कहूंगी कि  
इन सब बातों पर जरूर विचार किया जाये  
और इन गरीबों की जो जमीन और कारोबार  
वै वत्र सब इनको वापिस कर दिया जाये ।

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Dhebar Commission has to be congratulated for the elaborate report it had written and

its approach to the subject of tribal welfare. It is necessary for me to direct the attention of the Ministry to the fact that there is a great difference between questions affecting the Scheduled Tribes and those affecting the Scheduled Castes. The case of the Scheduled Tribes is a peculiar one. They have peculiar modes of living. They have peculiar ways and means of carrying on their trade. They have their many dialects. They are practically separate from the Scheduled Castes and from the general public. So their problem is not an easy one. It is one of the most difficult problems. Allotting money, laying out schemes is necessary of course but the implementation of the schemes is more necessary. They live in hilly areas. They live far away and I am afraid, with the little experience that I have, I can say that very few people take the trouble of going to places which are not easily accessible and therefore the advantage and comfort that they should derive from those employed to look after them is not what it should be. My submission is that this problem really does require particular attention and the first thing on which I whole-heartedly concur with the Commission's Report is that there should be a separate Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes. As I have said before, the problems of the Scheduled Castes and those of the Tribes are different. The Scheduled Castes are backward. They have been suffering from a number of disadvantages but they are very much similar to these backward people of our own country. But these Scheduled Tribes are very much different. They have their own customs, ways and manners and the-y

have their own laws. The greatest difficulty is the dialect. In an area of about 100 miles 20 different dialects are spoken and one cannot carry on conversation with the other. So a separate Commissioner is absolutely essential. Again, a separate department for t

tribal welfare is also necessary in all the States where a large number of the Scheduled Tribes people stay. In addition there should be periodical checking of the work done. What happens is, money is not spent. It is left over and the places are not visited. Periodical checking of these things is necessary because the implementation of schemes are more essential than the planning of schemes. Therefore, this aspect of the question has to be kept in view. There should be a scheme by which the people of the Scheduled Tribes should mix with the others. We should not make a pocket of the Scheduled Tribes. They feel absolutely cut off. They are confined at one place and they hardly meet the people of the plains. I am talking of the people of the hill areas. Even the Government officials are not very helpful to them because they live far-off. Therefore I had made a suggestion previously that in pockets where there are enough Scheduled Tribes, there should be an office of the Government. Some sort of office should be there and it should look after the comforts of these people. Then there should be an effort to have a common dialect because the language is a great difficulty and I would suggest that in the Tribal areas Hindi should be taught because that is the language of the State, so that they may have conversation with the non-scheduled tribal people also. They feel having been kept apart, absolutely separate from the other people and if this goes on all the money that we could spend will not be properly utilised because we will have a pocket which may become a headache later.

In the Tribal Advisory Councils non-officials should predominate. Those who are not tribals should belong to that area and then alone should

they be members. They should at least in the beginning know the language of the tribals when they are in the Council because it would be necessary for them to have contacts with them. They should also tour about and give periodical reports so that the people in Parliament and the Government might know the progress made.

Now the education of the tribals should be different from the general education. They are good at some arts. *Some* can make small carts, some can make things from ropei, others can make things from bamboos. Therefore a little elementary education is necessary but more attention has to be paid to things which they can easi<sup>T</sup>y learn. It is no use giving them the old stereotyped education. That will take them nowhere. They should be given the education which suits their temperament to which *thsy* can easily respond and so my submission is that this aspect should be considered and kept in view.

Again in the tribal areas there is great scope for the development of horticulture and cash crops. Only the growing of wheat, rice etc. will not help. It is absolutely necessary that attention should be directed to the fact that some cash crops are things which are easily produced there and they fetch enough money for the people to sustain themselves with. When you take to horticulture and other things, there must be a scheme for carrying on fruit preservation schemes which are necessary and if we do this, we will find slowly that there is good progress in the tribal areas and the people are happier and a bit richer than before.

Now the housing of the tribals should be very much different from the ordinary housing in the villages. They have peculiar ways and ideas about housing. I saw certain houses in Tripura and they were patterned on the one that I saw of tribals who believed in shifting cultivation. They used to make houses and throw grains and get the crops out of it and later

on they removed those huts and went to other places. Similar huts were made for these people who used to do shifting cultivation and they were asked to stay at one place, have land and carry on cultivation. This programme has really made progress in some places in Tripura and also in some places in Manipur. How many minutes more have I please?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You can take another three minutes.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Now I will take up the question of the people who are appointed to look after this work of tribal welfare. The teachers engaged in this work must be of a quality different from the others. There must be some missionary zeal in them. There must be an idea of service and that is only possible if we are very carefui about selecting these teachers. Similarly, the same is true with the officials. The ordinary lazy people will not be able to do any good to the tribal people. Therefore, it is necessary that in addition to these people being really efficient, of a generous temperament and a'l that, their emoluments also must be more than the emoluments of others. If we have only the same scale of emoluments for these teachers and officials who are in the tribal areas also, then I am sure there will not be the necessary incentive in them. Therefore, it is necessary that the Home Ministry must consider this aspect of the question carefully and see that these people who are employed to serve the people in tribal areas are satisfied.

Then again there is the difficulty of housing in these places. The housing of teachers and officials is a problem in these hilly areas and elsewhere in the tribal areas. But unless the man is fairly comfortable where he is, unless he has a place to live in and unless he can have his family with him, it will be impossible for him to give whole-hearted service.

AN HON. MEMBER: Send bachelors there.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: You cannot have so many bachelors. Therefore, all these aspects have to be seen and efforts have to be made to improve the lot of the tribals. Much has been done, I know. But much still remains to be done and it is a problem which must engage the serious attention of the Home Ministry. We should so manage things that after about ten years the Scheduled Tribes become mixed up with the other people in the country and there is no feeling of aloofness or separateness in them and if this is done, the work will be done well and the people will thank the Home Ministry for having taken up the cause of these people.

SHRI BAIRAGI DWIBEDY (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the very outset I would like to congratulate the Dhebar Commission for bringing out the bare facts of the Government's failures in ameliorating the condition of these tribal people. I may say that this Report is an authoritative document and a documentary evidence against the Government which is deliberately violating the Constitution. In fact, the total failure of the Government and its machinery that has been ably brought out by the Commission would have been more pathetic had the Commission been able to visit the Paudi area and the Kansar area of Sambalpur District and the Khamar-bar and Laimura areas of the ex-State of Bamra. Their programme was rather upset by heavy rains. The Report still can be taken as an evaluation of the past performance of this Government.

I will refer to page 24 of the Report where the Commission has tried to give the background of the condition of these tribal people and the basis of the policy that the British Government were following. They say:

"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."

Sir, the Dhebar Commission, headed by its Chairman, Shri Dhebar who is a Congressman, failed to compare this policy of the British with the present Congress policy, and in this quotation that I just now read out, I say, the word "British" wherever it occurs can conveniently be substituted by the word "Congress".

Regarding the economic condition of these tribal people, the Commission with specific reference to cottage industries have stated that the restrictions imposed by the forest authorities had denied these people the various forest materials needed for their crafts and this has led to the decline of their industry and that this is still a major obstacle to its development. Here on page 26 they have stated:

"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." Well, we are crying for the development of cottage industries and the Government is spending so much

money for this purpose. Still I do not know why these tribals should be suffering like this and have a set-back in their cottage industry. This is a question which has to be answered. In this context I would like to suggest that these restrictions imposed by the forest authorities of the different States which have denied these raw materials to these people for their arts and crafts should be lifted as early as possible.



Again, I would like to refer to the Report of the Commission where on page 28 they have mentioned the excise policy during the British administration. Apart from other developmental activities that the Government may be pursuing, I think that nothing will impress the tribals more than if this excise policy of the Government is properly changed for the benefit of the tribals. In this Report, on page 28, it is stated:

"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."

I completely agree with this view and even now this is going on. Nothing in the world can satisfy these tribals unless they have a belly-full of *Pach-uai* or fermented rice after vigorous field work. The present sentimental approach of the Government to the question of prohibition should go where there is a 30 per cent, population of the tribals. In such places the free manufacture of this *Pach-uai* or fermented rice, should be allowed freely for their use. They use it as a food and as a beverage and it gives them strength for better field work. Sir, in spite of the Constitutional power vested in the Governors to modify State and Central laws and to make regulations for peace and good government, may I ask the Home Minister as to in how many States Governors used this power while administering the Scheduled Areas? Had there been any such attempts, the Commission would have not failed to mention it. Rather, the silence of the Governors in this respect is a cause for disturbance in such areas like Koraput in our State and I shall speak separately on the causes of these disturbances. The Governor has to submit a periodical report to the President. I think it is not a confidential report. My suggestion is that all such periodical reports be combined toge-

ther and be distributed amongst the MLAs and the MPs for enabling them to probe into these matters.

I would now like to refer to the Commission's suggestions on page 35 where they have said:

"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."

I think the Commission has mentioned this rightly and as for Shastriji, the Home Minister, willingness to admit a fault is a habit with him. Even if the Constitutional rights are given again for another ten years, can the present Government give an assurance to do away with the deficiencies in performance? According to Mr. Shastri, measures have been devised recently which would improve matters. This was done in a conference of Chief Ministers. May I now suggest that the Home Minister should not confine these matters only to the conference of Chief Ministers of the States but that they may be circulated amongst the MLAs and the MPs and be discussed in the Assemblies and Parliament? I think this is the only procedure which will be helpful to the Ministry in improving matters. I should like to say that this idea of confining such matters at the top level is the root cause of failure of this noble cause. Let this process be decentralised even in matters of policy also.

I would now like to refer to page 39 wherein the Commission has rather pointedly referred to the Constitutional provision which gives powers to the

[Shri Bairagi Dwibedy.] Governors to frame regulations for the peace and good government of the tribals and in particular, for the protection of the rights of tribals in land, the allotment of waste land and their protection from money-lenders. I am rather forced to mention this thing because recently the Government of Orissa have attempted to levy a premium or salami on the forest waste-land that is to be granted to the *Adivasis* for converting them into cultivable land and due to this there is restlessness amongst the tribes. As I mentioned earlier, there was an uprising in Koraput and the Government of Orissa was rather forced to do away with imprisonment of the tribals. Before going into the details of this, I should like to draw the attention of the Home Ministry to another fact. I would like to know whether any such report was received in the Home Ministry from the Governor of Orissa regarding the imposition of a premium. I should like to point out here that even when the British were ruling, even when the Rulers were the masters of the States<sup>^</sup>, such sort of premium was not there. Rather, these landless tribals were encouraged by the gift of free forest land for converting it into cultivable land in addition to other assistance. I would like to know as to what made the Government of Orissa to impose this undesirable *salami* on the tribals. I request the Home Ministry to ask the Governor of Orissa to throw light on the fact whether such premium or *salami* was in existence even under British rule or under the Rulers' regime or even after independence till 1960. I do not agree even if this premium is imposed only to augment the internal resources of the State for meeting the Plan expenditure. This is sheer foolishness, I say, and this ought to be done away with in order to avoid untoward events.

I would now like to say a few words in regard to the progress of development. On page 41, para 5.19,

the Commission have stated as follows:

"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."

By making these observations, the Commission have given a rude shock to the Government and I hope this rude shock will lift the Government from the grave and enable it to prepare specific and effective programmes in future so that things would not go on in this way.

The Commission is very critical about the submission of reports by the Governors. It is stated that that the report for 1959 had not been submitted till 1961. Is there no government machinery in the Centre to pursue this and get the report from the respective States? This attitude of the Home Ministry is a clear indication of the fact that they do not attach any importance to these affairs. I fully agree with the suggestion made in the Report on page 66, para 6.7 to 7.11. The State Government have failed to make adequate laws to safeguard the interests of the people. Rather, they are making adverse rules and regulations that affect the interests of the people. The imposition of *salami* or premium is one small incident that I should like to give. I give my full support to the recommendation made by the Commission at page 52, para 6.14.

There is one more thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : There are other speakers, Mr. Dwibedy. Please wind up.

SHRI BAIRAGI DWIBEDY; The Commission has made a pointed recommendation regarding tribal deve-

lopment blocks. They have started i the recommendation on page 69 and ended it on page 70 wherein they hare said :

"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."

In this respect I should like to give one instance to show the Government of Orissa's approach to this problem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): There is no time. You have already consumed all your time.

SHRI BAIRAGI DWIBEDY: I am finishing; just one minute. The Government of Orissa is rather very serious about separating compact areas of scheduled tribes, areas having 42 per cent concentration of tribal people. They are detaching these areas and attaching them to different Development Blocks. The areas are Kansar, Laimura, Khamarbar and Paudi in Sambhalpur District. I therefore request the Home Minister, Shri Shastriji, to use his good offices and ask the Government of Orissa to readjust the Block—Deogarh-Barkot— and see that the tribals in Kansar, Laimura, Khamarbar and Paudi are brought together under one tribal Block instead of keeping them in two different General Blocks. As I have no scope to voice this to the concerned Government and as the Government there is busy capitalising this activity for political gains I make this special but genuine demand here. Thank you.

555 R.S.—6.

SHRI J. H. JOSHI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate the Chairman and Members of this Commission for bringing forth such a valuable Report. It is a document prepared after a thorough enquiry into the working and living conditions of the tribal people throughout India. This document will also serve as a guide to those who would like to strive for the uplift of the tribal people.

Sir, at the outset I should like to say that we have been under the impression that the tribal people are at the lowest rung of our society but even amongst the tribal people, as the Report says, there seem to be four layers. Therefore the Commission suggests:

"Among the tribals also we have been able to notice four different layers. At one stage we were thinking of preparing a list."

Then they further say :

"We feel that at the base of these four layers is a class of tribals which is in an extremely under-developed stage and at the topmost level amongst the tribals is a layer that can very well afford to forego any further help."

This shows how tremendous and how much more difficult the task is.

Sir, while considering this Report, I am reminded of the very valuable services the late Thakkar Bapa rendered to the cause of the tribal people. He was one of the pioneer workers who at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi took up this work at a very late stage after his retirement from Government service and did it with such great devotion that he created a larger number of social workers rendering selfless service in the cause of the amelioration of these tribal people. Sir, he Conducted tours in those days

[Shri J. H. Joshi.] in 1920, 1930 and 1940, with meagre resources at His command and created an army of workers. He set up a number of institutions and educational ashrams, for teaching handicrafts and other industries. He had set up schools which would serve as models for those who take up such good and noble work.

Sir, it has been stated that there are about 57,000 persons in the service of the Government of all ranks in the Community Development Blocks, village level workers, gram sewaks, etc. What we find is a lack of the missionary spirit. What is that spirit and how can it be created we should look at the missionary activities that are being carried on by the Christian missions. What do they do? They send out missionaries to foreign countries. If some of them were to come to India or if some of them were to go to Africa to serve the people there, these missionaries are equipped with certain things. They have to learn the language or the dialects of the tribal people they have to serve. They have got to know about their customs, their habits, their codes, their religious susceptibilities, their entertainment, everything. The second thing they are equipped with is in the matter of facilities. They are given all facilities. What do we do here? I do not think we can offer all those facilities, all those amenities that are given to the Christian missionaries who come to serve, six thousand miles away from their country. I therefore suggest that a separate cadre should be set up who should be given necessary training before the assignment and their amenities should also be on a liberal scale. They should be paid high salaries; they should have more emoluments and allowances and they should have facilities for medical treatment, for the schooling of their children and also for their conveyance. How can this be done? I think we should concentrate on less work but more concentrated work, deep work, so that it may spread thereafter into bigger areas.

I should say that most of these-tribals are illiterate. It is stated in the Report that literacy among them is 0.7 per cent. Now after 15 years of independence when we have spent so much for the spread of education if this is the condition, then it may take many more decades to bring them up to the general level. I suggest therefore that more emphasis should be laid on education.

So long as people continue to remain illiterate, there are many chances of their economic and other benefits being taken away, because all those benefits are temporary. I, therefore, suggest again that more emphasis should be laid on the spread of education among the tribal people and at the same time they should be given training in some sort of craft, so that soon after their education is over they may stand on their own legs and maintain their families. Now, I also suggest that the educational institutions should be set up within a radius of, say, about thirty or forty miles and they should serve as a colony, where the children would come for education or for training of crafts. And the adults may come forgetting their wages, so that they may not have to depend upon others.

Now, coming to the other part of the problem, there is some reference to the work of the Christian Missions. Now, on page 304, it is stated:

"We have already referred to the excellent and pioneering work done by the Christian Missions."

On page 301 also the work of the missionaries has been mentioned. Now, I think the use of the word 'excellent' may lead to many evil effects. It is a sort of certificate to the work of the Christian missionaries. It will encourage them to carry on the proselytising activities among the tribal people. About this activity, the Commission's Report states that the missionaries insist on proselytising and this has always been abhorrent to the tolerant Indian mind. Now, what is

the effect of this conversion policy? In many places the effect of their teaching has been to break up families and divide villages. They further state:

"The attitude of some missionaries has been completely destructive of the tribal culture."

The Commission is still, modest in the writing. I should say that the attitude of the missionaries is to disrupt the nationality or to create an anti-nationalist spirit amongst the tribals. We see what is happening in the North East Frontier Agency area. The commotion or the political Agitation that is going on for a separate Naga State or the demand for carving out another State is the result of the "excellent" and pioneering work that has been done by the Christian Missionaries.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I would, therefore, like the Home Ministry to go into this question and see how far this has been responsible for the spread of such types of agitation.

Now, there is a table giving the names of the non-official organisations. In that table there are eleven non-official organisation. But it does not give the names of the Christian missionary organisations carrying on their activities in India.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): They are not doing social work, but they are doing religious' work.

SHRI J. H. JOSHI: It may be that they may not be receiving grants from the Government or the Central Social Welfare Board or from any other source. They may be raising the amount themselves. Anyway, we are concerned with their activities and we should know the names of those organisations which are working in India, also the amounts that they spend and the sources from which the amounts are received.

Now, I had an occasion to visit a tribal area very recently. I wanted to see for myself their living conditions. The chief of the tribals had been away and I just peeped into his house. It was a mud house, a very small house, with nothing in it, no kit in it, except one or two earthenwares. The children had about one pair of shorts and nothing else. There were no mattresses, nothing to spread on the floor, no cot. I enquired what he was receiving by way of privy purse.

I was told that he was receiving Rs. 1,200/- per month. That is almost equivalent to the amount which our District Collectors are receiving monthly. Look at the living conditions of the Collectors, how they live. And here is a person who has nothing in his house. What is the reason for this? I was told that, it was the grip of the moneylender that was responsible for this. There may be many other factors. It may be due to addiction to drinking or such things. But what I was told was that he was never free from the grip of the moneylender. I would like the Government to look into this.

Thank you.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, the debate on the subject has naturally evoked widespread interest because the country and this House in particular are very much interested in viewing this problem not only as one of social and economic uplift of a large sector of the country, but also as a problem affecting the country's integrity. As I had occasion to point out, our

2 P.M. country abounds in extremes.

We see the co-existence of centuries in several fields. Here in society we have the most primitive people and the most advanced, two extremes. We have the same state of affairs perhaps in the economic field, in the educational field and in other fields. So, the problem is one of bridging this gulf in the standards in which different sectors of society are living. To my mind, Madam, of the several remedies recommended by the Commission the

[Shri N. M. Lingam.]

most important should be education, because I feel that, however desirable the other measures may be, education is the panacea for the ills from which not only this particular sector known as the Scheduled Tribes suffer but also the society as a whole is labouring under. The reason is this. Madam, if you give education, you raise the culture of the people and they are able to solve their own problems. What is the power of the higher classes, what is the power of the economically advanced classes? It is their education, it is their culture. If we want to solve this problem on a permanent basis, education should permeate every pore of this sector known as the Scheduled Tribes. No amount of developmental activity, no amount of organisation of Co-operatives and other forms of getting them together will be of any avail. Indeed even for co-operation, without this background of education, there will be no prospect of success. Co-operation, as we know, is not very successful even in the advanced sectors of society. So, to repeat these clichés like co-operation and bring them under developmental blocks and things like that is only invoking the charm of empty slogans. They will not go a long way in solving the problem of these Scheduled Tribes.

Madam, I have personal experience of the progress made by this community under two sets of circumstances. Some of them in my place have been converted to Christianity by some enterprising Missionaries. The other set is being pampered by Government. Government is giving them seed, is giving them some kind of education also, giving subsidies, giving all kinds of help for their economic and educational advancement. The former are brought in a colony, their children are educated, they are in close touch with the higher Castes, are brought in a colony, their day-to-day life in the course of their Intercommunal with others. The progress of the sector under the Missionaries is remarkable. The reason is that they

have been quick to give them education and they have been quick to remove barriers, social or any other kind. Not that, Madam, I advocate conversion as a remedy or a solution of this problem. The lesson to be drawn from the state of affairs is—because although they are living cheek by jowl with others, one sector is definitely more advanced, definitely more self-confident than the other in spite of all kinds of help being given by Government to the latter—I refer to the community called the Todas, a very ancient tribe in the Nilgiris—the lesson to be drawn, as I said, is that education should precede every other activity with regard to the amelioration of these people. By all means let us try to organise them on a co-operative basis and bring them under Blocks. Let us give them housing, let us give them employment opportunities. These things are common to society as a whole. Indeed the J. P. Narayan Committee which went into the question of the weaker classes of society said that 80 per cent, of the people came under the weaker sections. So, these drawbacks are common practically to the Indian society as a whole, because of villagers live in squalor and ignorance. So, Madam, we have to give the primacy of place to education in any scheme of upliftment of this sector. That will bring out their self-confidence, that will enable them to exert themselves and eventually will enable these people to solve their own problems. No imposition of a solution will be necessary. They know their problems, they know their heritage. they know their traditions, they know how to harmonise their way of life with modern conditions. Now we say that we should not disturb their traditional mode of living, that we should develop them along certain lines according to certain anthropologists and other social reformers. But with all respect to these reformers and other experts in this line of work I say that ultimately it will be agreed that these people are themselves the masters of their own destiny and that they should be

given every facility to shape their destiny.

Coming to one or two practical matters, Madam, the Harijan Welfare Department or the Tribal Welfare Department in the Madras State is extending education, is building houses within its limited resources and is trying to provide certain amenities to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. I found in some remote parts of the State neat little houses built, some educational institutions started with hostels attached, but I found the people without any means of livelihood. There is plenty of lands available all round, but I saw these tribals living on leaves and roots. This is extraordinary. Unless they have first been settled in some occupation, houses should not be built. I am glad that the Commission has drawn pointed attention to this state of affairs. Unless they are engaged in some definite occupation, a colony should not be built for them. Similarly with regard to education, if they are not to relapse into illiteracy, the primary and the higher stage of education should be followed by technical education of some kind which will enable them to fit themselves into some occupation or industry. In other words, unless there are polytechnics suited to the temperament and the environment, of these people, there is no use wasting money on the hostels and on primary and higher education.

Another aspect is this. Communications should precede any other scheme of developmental activity because without communications in the first place they do not come into contact with civilised society, and the officers concerned and others do not have easy access to the remote parts in which these people are living.

Madam, I know you are very impatient. I am very grateful for the time given to me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do I look impatient?

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Because you want to accommodate as many Members as possible. That was the impression I got.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You should hurry up with your point. You may take another half a minute.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: I would reciprocate your generosity and give the half minute to you, Madam. Thank you.

SHRI T. M. DASGUPTA (Tripura): Madam, Deputy Chairman, first of all I congratulate the Chairman and the members of the Commission who have produced such a valuable Report on the tribal areas and the tribal people. And I am also glad that the hon. Minister has accepted the major recommendations and hope that he will try to implement them. The Report in itself has revealed the whole fact regarding the tribals and the tribal areas and has placed before us the fact as to how the work has been done. They have given their valuable recommendations which have been accepted by the Government.

In this connection, I like to make my observation that though the Government has accepted the recommendations, the work will still be done through officials and social workers who are still working or who are going to be appointed. So, much of the work will depend upon these officers and social workers. The Commission has also mentioned that from time to time evaluation and assessment of the work done will have to be made, and they have also placed a target for that. What strikes my mind is that these officers and social workers deserve training from time to time. And in my opinion, training and other facilities should be given to these officers or social workers or the other persons connected with the work in the area in which they are working. Trainers or officers who are experts in the line should come to their places.

ISHN T. M. Dasgupta. J In the training officers, revenue officers, who work in the area should also be associated because in this developmental training their share of work is no less than others. In the field of revenues, the difficulties which the tribal people confront with and their clashes with the forest people have been clearly mentioned in the Report and the Commission have also put forth their viewpoints.

The Commission has rightly stressed that economic uplift should be given top priority; economic development should be given the first priority, then education, then health and then communications. In this connection, I like to make a special reference to Tripura. The Commission has taken pains to look into the details of the weaknesses of the tribal people. There 31 per cent, of the population comprises tribal people and with the influx of refugees, the land problem has become acute, and the Commission has opined that:

"The problem of land in Tripura has become difficult owing to the increase in the population, and it has now become necessary to explore minerals or other resources to find greater employment for the people."

I think that they have rightly struck the point when they say that unless their economic development is on a par with the progress in health, education and communication, actual progress of the people will not be made because everything depends upon their economic development. The land problem is becoming acute as the population among the tribal people is increasing. The per-head quota of land is also diminishing. So, other forms of employment or other sorts of work should be given to them. As the Commission has also said, in the tribal areas at least 300 days' work should be given to these tribal people. If we are to give them work for 300 days, simple cultivation of the land will not serve the purpose and *otYw mi.wi*

occupations are necessary. So far as Tripura is concerned, they have seen their difficulties. They have stressed that for their economic development, the rail link should be extended further up to Sabroom, the southern most sub-division, within the shortest possible time. I think that this recommendation of the Commission should be given effect to as early as possible. They have rightly pointed out that Tripura is situated on the border of Pakistan and there is no direct rail connection up till now though a railway is being constructed up to Dharamnagar which is the northern-most sub-division of the State. They have rightly pointed out that for the development of the tribal people in Tripura, it is essential that this railway line should be extended up to Sabroom, the southern-most sub division. I would request the hon. Home Minister to see that this recommendation is given effect to within the shortest possible time as desired by the Commission.

As regards the other points, I like to talk about the Panchayat system of Tripura of which some mention has been made by the Commission. At that time the Panchayat system was not introduced into Tripura but now the Panchayat Act of U.P. has been extended to Tripura. In the U.P. Panchayat, there is no scope for conciliation or other things and there is also no scope for Panchayat Samitis or for the formation of District Panchayats. The recommendation is that these tribal people should be given opportunities to develop according to their culture and conventions and it is desirable that some scope should immediately be given in the Panchayats so that Conciliation Boards which are prevalent in Himachal Pradesh and also, if I remember right, in Bhopal are formed. This sort of Conciliation Boards should be introduced immediately in the Panchayat system of Tripura because the Nyaya Panchayats which are given shape to in the Act are



difficult and complicated for these tribal people most of whom are not educated and they will find more difficulties, and this system will save the tribal people from many complications. So, I would request the Ministry to see to its possibilities so that before the formation of Nyaya Panchayats, these Panchayat Conciliation Boards can be introduced in Tripura.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, superlative encomiums have been showered from all sections of this House upon this Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. And going through this Report, I feel that the Chairman, Shri U. N. Dhebar, and his colleagues have brought to bear upon this problem the accumulated treasures of their mature experience and I should for one feel that this realisation, this growing awareness, that the tribals are also part and parcel of our society, indeed the flesh of our flesh, the blood of our blood and the bone of our bones, has been amply borne out by this Report which, to be candid with you Madam Deputy Chairman, conceals more than reveals the plight of these tribal communities all over the country. I feel—and I should agree with many Members who have expressed this view—that education holds the key to this problem. I know from my experience; I should now recollect my memory of what I had experienced some twenty years ago when as a District Educational Officer I had the opportunity to come into contact with the tribal community while inspecting their schools, and really, as a student of anthropology, I had been able to understand what really accounted for their backwardness.

I found, man for man, woman for woman, these tribals are not a whit behind any of us. Indeed, their intelligence coefficient cannot be misconstrued as infra-marginal. On the contrary, given the opportunity—

and after all, it must be, as I should think, and rightly too—given a two—dimensional approach through space and time—and we have got to give them this opportunity in point of time and in point of a wide base in every walk of life to see that these tribals do come up and try to make good the opportunities that have been lost through centuries. Believe me, Deputy Chairman, I do myself realize that these tribals, when they have been given this opportunity sometimes, have been able to discharge their responsibility and realize their potentiality to a degree that I could myself wonder. For instance, in the State of Madras which I have the honour to represent here, we have got certain criminal tribes that over an efflux of some twenty or thirty years now, have come to be rulers of society, and equally so I must say that there are certain areas where the tribals have responded marvellously well, and where the Christian missionaries have penetrated these neglected areas of our country I found, not because of the mercenaries but because of the missionaries, these tribals have been won over through love, through affection, through service and sacrifice, not by platitudes that we are uttering from the platforms, which are now so much a part of our hypocrisy, but because of their missionary zeal. I have been able to see that these tribals have seized the opportunity. Some of them have been here.

In the other House we have got specimens of how they can develop themselves into beautiful spokesmen of their community and also leaders of this country. After all I must say that these tribals have got innate talents which we have got to bring forth to the fullest extent possible in a spirit of dedication.

As I went through this report, chapter and verse, I see how so many responsibilities have been taken over by the States but nevertheless, even as the Home Minister revealed, and very unfortunately so, most of our State

[Shri N. M. Anwar.]

Governments have not discharged their responsibility even as it has been imposed upon them by our Constitution, and it was a very sad running commentary on the plight of these tribal communities that even at the Chief Ministers' Conference they had only to accept these recommendations, and our Home Minister himself is not very sure of the degree of implementation that will follow these recommendations but then, Madam Deputy Chairman, I feel it was a very excellent observation made in the course of this debate by that learned friend, Prof. M. B. Lai, as to how the Ministries in charge of Forest Departments in ever so many States, where these tribal communities live,

have come to be at loggerheads with regard to tribal welfare and have brought about evictions, have brought about ever so many difficulties and disabilities for these tribal communities. But believe me, Madam Deputy Chairman, when I say that we have got to see that these people who have been neglected through centuries, not because of any fault on their side, but because of the fault on our side—I must say here that I am not speaking in any fault-finding spirit but in a fact-finding spirit—we must see that these tribals must have to be brought up, and even such impediments as are now being experienced in the execution of our policies with regard to forest departments are removed by administrative adjustments. That should be possible. Where there is a will there is a way, and if only our Government is imbued with the ideas which this Commission has brought to bear upon this report, and also by the Directive Principles and the spirit of our Constitution, if we want to see that these tribals form part and parcel of our society, let us be honest unto ourselves before we are honest unto these tribal communities; let us discharge our responsibility and see that these tribals come up, as my good friend Mr. N. M. Lingam has rightly said, through educational activity, by the provision

of technical education of a standard that will be applicable to their requirements, by the provision of polytechnics, and things of that kind. Let us see that these people are now having a void. Let that void be filled. There is paralysis of administration and there is a parenthesis in development, and we have got naturally to see that if they should be merged and if they have got to be construed as part of our society, then we should approach them not in a spirit of sympathy and patronage, as has been suggested by some of the Members in this House, but in a spirit of devotion, in a spirit of duty. After all, we have got to atone for the sins that we committed through centuries and therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, I for one feel that these tribals have got to be afforded educational facilities, and now that we are carrying on this literacy drive, let us give high priority for areas where these Scheduled Tribes reside.

I do not wish to take more of the time of the House except to say one point which is of immediate and very urgent importance, and that is this<sup>1</sup>. We have got, in my district, North Arcot, in the State of Madras, certain areas where these tribals had been, for years, owning pattas of some lands from which they have been evicted and where these have not been allowed to cut down trees, because these trees have come to be recognised as precious trees, I mean the sandal-wood trees, while in certain other areas in another district these tribals have been allowed to make use of these things. So in the case of my district there has been some discriminatory treatment, and there was an agitation. The Central Government might themselves be aware of it. The Tribal Advisory Council might have brought the matter to the notice of the powers that be. I only wish that there should not be any distinction made between tribals and tribals, but in one area they are subjected to a discriminatory

treatment even in matters where others are entitled to equal opportunity.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Deokinandan Narayan. Just Ave minutes.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN (Maharashtra): I am afraid, Madam, I cannot finish within five minute\*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then take seven minutes.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN:

Thank you. आदरणीय सभानेत्री जी, कई सदियों से इस देश के वाशिनदों के तीन हिस्से हैं—एक गिरिजन हैं, दूसरे हरिजन हैं, तीसरे सवर्ण हैं और सैंकड़ों वर्षों से सवर्ण गिरिजनों के ऊपर, हरिजनों के ऊपर जुल्म करते आ रहे हैं, शोषण करते रहे हैं, उनकी पीठ पर बैठे रहे हैं और आज तक यही होता रहा। महात्मा गांधी ने हमको जगाया, इन्सानियत का सबक दिया और कहा कि जब तक आप इन गिरिजनों को, हरिजनों को, अपनाओगे नहीं तब तक स्वराज्य बहुत दूर है। हमने कुछ सबक सीखा आजादी मिलने के बाद, कुछ उनके लिये करना भी सोचा, परन्तु हमारा यह ख्याल बना रहा कि ये तो कनिष्ठ हैं। अभी मेरे एक पड़ोसी भाई ने कहा, ये सिविलाइज्ड वर्ल्ड से बहुत दूर हैं। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि सिविलाइज्ड हम कहां तक हैं? ईश्वर जाने, पर मैं आपसे दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि ये गिरिजन हमसे बहुत कुछ सिविलाइज्ड हैं—उनमें भलमनसाहत हम से अधिक है, प्रमाणिकता हमसे अधिक है, नैतिकता हमसे अधिक है। परन्तु हम खुद को उनसे ऊंचा मानते हैं और उनको कनिष्ठ कहते हैं और उनके ऊपर हावी बने हुये हैं।

कल एक भाई ने कहा कि ये जोष भूत पिशाच की पूजा करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहूंगा हमारे शहरों और गांवों में रहने वाले कितने

पढ़े लिखे हिन्दू इन भूत पिशाचों की पूजा नहीं करते हैं? दूसरों को नाम रखना, दूसरों को दोष देना तो सहज होता है, खुद का दोष दिखाई नहीं देता।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश): मैंने तो न अच्छा कहा है न बुरा कहा है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण: क्यों नहीं। Don't interfere my friend, I know you very well.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया: मैं आपको उससे अधिक जानता हूं सरकार मेरी।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण: मैं आपको खूब अच्छी तरह जानता हूं और यह बीमारी भी आपकी ही फैलायी हुई है, जन संघ की।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया: तो जनसंघ का भूत भी आपके सर पर आ गया है।

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Madam I have little time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You go on, you do not have much time.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: That is what I say. You do not allow him to interrupt.

मैं आप से यह कहना चाह रहा था कि यदि आपको गिरिजनों के साथ न्याय करना है तो सबसे पहले सवर्णों को अपनी मनोवृत्ति बदलती होगी। जब तक सवर्ण यह मानते रहेंगे कि हम ऊंचे हैं और बे निष्कृष्ट हैं तब तक वे उनकी कोई सेवा नहीं कर सकते हैं। जब तक हम भिन्न के नाते उनके पास नहीं पहुंचेंगे तब तक हम से उनकी सेवा होने वाली नहीं है।

[ श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण ]

गिरिजन भाईयों की खासकर दो समस्याएँ हैं। एक तो शिक्षा के संबंध में सामाजिक समस्या है और दूसरी आर्थिक समस्या है। जहाँ तक शिक्षा का सवाल है, मैं नम्रतापूर्वक यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जिन शिक्षकों को आप उनको पढ़ाने के लिये भेजना चाहते हैं उन्हें बहुत सोच समझकर और होशियारी के साथ भेजना चाहिये। इन शिक्षकों के लिये स्पेशल ट्रेनिंग कालेज होने चाहियें जहाँ पर वे इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग पा सकें कि उन्हें गिरिजनों की बोलियों की बकिंग नालेज हो जाय और उनके रहन सहन के बारे में ज्ञान हो जाय। इसके साथ ही साथ उन्हें उनकी धार्मिक भावनाओं का भी ज्ञान होना चाहिये। उनकी शिक्षा के अनुकूल ट्रेनिंग कालेज आपको इन शिक्षकों के लिये स्वतंत्र खोलना चाहिये ताकि वे इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग पाकर वहाँ पढ़ाने के लिये जा सकें। जब तक उनके टीचर्स के लिये स्पेशल ट्रेनिंग की व्यवस्था नहीं होगी तब तक हम शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर पायेंगे।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब हम प्राथमिक शिक्षा कम्पलसरी करने जा रहे हैं तो आपको यह सोचना होगा कि गिरिजनों के बच्चों को मिड डे मीलस दिये बगैर हम कैसे कम्पलशन कर सकते हैं। आप लड़कियों को अधिक शिक्षा देना चाहते हैं तो आपको इन गिरिजनों की लड़कियों के लिये कपड़े की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। बगैर कपड़े पहिने इनकी लड़कियाँ स्कूल नहीं जा सकती हैं।

(Time bell rings.)

जब तक आप मिड डे मीलस की और कपड़े की व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप गिरिजनों के बच्चों को प्राथमिक शिक्षा तक नहीं दे सकेंगे।

दूसरा सवाल हेल्थ का है। आज हम देखते हैं कि जब शहरों में डाक्टरों का इंतजाम नहीं हो पा रहा है तो गांवों में कैसे हो सकता है। आज गांवों में जाने के लिये डाक्टर

नहीं मिल रहे हैं। हमारे गिरिजन भाई तो पहाड़ों और जंगलों में रहते हैं। इसलिये मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप उनके लिये आयुर्वेदिक पद्धति के अस्पताल की व्यवस्था करें जहाँ पर उनका आयुर्वेद पद्धति द्वारा इलाज हो सके। मैं यह बात इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि हमारे गिरिजन भाई इस पद्धति से परिचित होते हैं और बहुत सी दवाइयाँ उनके जंगलों में ही पंदा होती हैं और वहीं पर बनाई जा सकती हैं। यदि गिरिजन भाईयों के लिये वैद्य को भेजोगे तो वह ज्यादा अच्छा होगा और इससे उन्हें ज्यादा लाभ भी होगा। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहूंगा कि कीमती दवाइयाँ आप वहाँ पर न भेजें बल्कि होम्योपैथिक जैसी कम कीमत की दवाइयाँ भेजी जानी चाहियें जिससे गिरिजन भाईयों को बहुत कुछ फायदा हो सकता है।

श्री मिलरुमार मन्नालालजी और शिवाः  
आप तो विलिंगडन अस्पताल में जाते रहे।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : मैं विलिंगडन अस्पताल में कभी नहीं जाता हूँ।

अब रहा आर्थिक सवाल। आप जानते ही हैं कि कुछ दिन हुए श्री जय प्रकाश जी के नेतृत्व में एक स्टडी ग्रुप की स्थापना हुई थी। उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में ये बातें लिखी हैं :-

"The entire Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be regarded as forming part of the weaker sections and no means test is necessary in their case"

यानी सब से गिरी हुई अवस्था हमारे देश में किसी की है तो वह हमारे गिरिजन भाईयों की है। यदि इस अवस्था से उन्हें बाहर निकालना है तो उनके लिये खास उद्योग की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। ये उद्योग इस तरह के होने चाहियें जो कि वे अपने घरों में कर सकें, अपने गांवों में कर सकें। आपको मालूम होगा कि साल में तीन चार महीने ही बहुरों के पास काम होता है और बाकी महीने वे

खाली बैठे रहते हैं। खेती न होने के कारण, बरसात के कारण और बाढ़ के कारण उनके पास साल में सात आठ महीने काम नहीं रहता। इसलिये उनके लिये ऐसे उद्योगों की तजवीज होनी चाहिये जो वे अपने घरों में ही कर सकें। पहाड़ों में जो चीजें पैदा होती हैं उनको एकत्रित करके उनको प्रोसेज करने की वहां ही तजवीज होनी चाहिये। पहाड़ों में जो चीजें पैदा होती हैं उन्हें कन्ट्रेक्टर सस्ते में ले जाता है और गिरिजनों को कोई फायदा नहीं मिलता। यदि आप उन्हें प्रोसेसिंग का काम सिखलायेंगे तो जो चीज वे पैदा करते हैं, जो चीज वहां पर होती है उसका फायदा वे खुद उठा सकेंगे। अगर आप वहां पर माइनर और मेजर कारखाने फारेस्ट प्रोडक्ट्स के लिये खोलते हैं तो इससे उन्हें उद्योग मिलेगा और उनकी स्थिति भी सुधरेगी।

इसके बाद मुझे एक दो बातें और कहनी हैं। आपने शिड्यूल्ड एरियाज कायम किये हैं, बहुत अच्छी बात है लेकिन उनको सदा के लिये बनाये रखना अच्छा नहीं है। जैसा कि रिपोर्ट के पेज ३४२ में लिखा है :

"It is high time to ensure that back-wardness does not reach a stage of becoming vested interest with some beneficiaries who are enjoying and monopolising to themselves the special privileges granted to backward classes under the excuse of safeguards provided for them in the Constitution. Therefore, the list of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will have to be scientifically scrutinised from this point of view, rather urgently and any case after the feverish activity of the coming election".

इसमें भी कुछ वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट पैदा हो गये हैं। जो उनको अलग रखना चाहते हैं यानी शिड्यूल्ड एरियाज में  
These things should be avoided as far as possible.

इसके बाद मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गिरिजन भाई बड़े टची होते हैं। जब तक आप उन के मित्र नहीं बनेंगे, उनकी धार्मिक भावनाओं को नहीं समझेंगे तब तक आप उन के अन्तःकरण तक नहीं पहुँच सकेंगे। अगर आप उन के अन्तःकरण तक पहुँच जायेंगे तो इस से हमारा बहुत लाभ होगा और उनकी दशा भी सुधरेगी।

(Time bell rings.)

मैंने यह सारी रिपोर्ट पढ़ी। आप सब लोग जानते हैं कि इस रिपोर्ट में जो कुछ सिफारिश की गई है और जो कुछ मुझाव दिये गये हैं उन में से बहुत से मुझाव और सिफारिशें हर साल हमारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के कमिशनर करते आये हैं। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है और इस तरह की सिफारिशें हम हर साल देखते आये हैं। जहां तक मेरा दस वर्षों का अनुभव है उस से मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि पिछले सात आठ वर्षों से हर साल शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिशनर की रिपोर्ट पर यहां चर्चा हुई है और हम ने देखा है कि किस जहन्नियत, निष्ठा से और श्रद्धापूर्वक हमारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के कमिशनर साहब काम करते आये हैं। मुझे खेद है कि इस बड़ी रिपोर्ट में उन के काम का कोई खास जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। परन्तु जिस तरह से उनकी कुछ और बातों का उल्लेख किया गया है वह हमारे लिए प्रशंसा की बात नहीं है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Last sentence I am adding.

AN HON MEMBER: How long is it?

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: You knew it better.

जहां तक इस देश की उन्नति और प्रगति का सवाल है उस के बारे में मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि जब तक गिरिजन-

[श्री देवकी नन्दन नारामण]  
हरिजनों की उन्नति नहीं होगी जो  
आखिरी सीढ़ी पर बैठे हैं तब तक  
इस देश की प्रगति होना मुश्किल है। जब  
तक हम इस काम को पूरा नहीं करेंगे तब  
तक इस देश का प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त होने  
वाली नहीं है। यही मुझे आप से आखिरी  
प्रार्थना करनी है।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI  
MAHAGATHAM CHANDRASEKHAR) : Madam,  
Deputy Chairman, we have had a very useful  
discussion on this valuable Report. I am  
grateful to the hon. Members of this House for  
the interest they had shown in the problem  
connected with the underprivileged sections of  
our community. We are also thankful to Shri  
Dhebar Bhai and his colleagues who spared no  
pains to place in this Report the following  
aspects.

They had reviewed the policy pursued  
towards the welfare of the Scheduled Castes  
and Scheduled Tribes and the development of  
scheduled areas during the last ten years. The  
report also gives an idea of the schemes drawn  
up and implemented by the Union and State  
Governments for the welfare of the Scheduled  
Tribes and the progress achieved during the  
period. Finally, they have also suggested the  
policy, objectives and priorities for the  
development of scheduled areas and the  
welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the next ten  
years.

Yesterday, while initiating the discussion,  
the hon. the Home Minister placed before this  
honourable House a clear account of the  
recommendations we have accepted at the  
State Ministers' Conference held recently. He  
gave an assurance that we will go ahead with  
the recommendations made in the Report and  
implement them as early as possible after the  
Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha have  
expressed their views. It was also

admitted that the amount of cooperation and  
coordination needed for proper implementat  
on was not achieved and that it is proposed to  
take certain steps to bring about better  
coordination and cooperation both at the Cen-  
tral and the State levels. The hon the Home  
Minister has made my task easy, and I have  
very few points to deal with now.

I shall now deal with some of the points ra-  
sed during the discussion. Madam Deputy  
Chairman, it was mentioned that there have  
been huge shortfalls in the Second Five Year  
Plan. We are conscious of this and the  
conference of the Stat.<sup>1</sup> Mi listers has made  
detailed recom-nendation on how to avoid  
shortfalls. Different problems like shortage of  
personnel, delay in issues of sanctions,  
absence of provision in the Backward Classes  
Sectors for grant of loans, delay in. getting  
progress reports which are an-aid to planning,  
and inadequate staff, have been discussed.  
Every effort will be made to implement the  
recommendations. This, we believe, would  
help us in avoiding shortfalls in the current  
Plan.

It was mentioned that the scope of  
deliberations of the Tribes Advisory Council  
is restricted to matters referred to it by the  
Governor. With regard to 'this, the conference  
of State Ministers has recommended that a  
narrow construction should not be put on the  
wording of paragraph 4(2) and at the same  
thne, we also find that free discussion is  
allowed at the Tribes Advisory Council  
meetings.

The recommendation of the Commission  
relating to home-made beverages was  
considered to be dubious. Here I would like to  
say that all that the Dhebar Commission have  
said is that drinking is widely prevalent  
among the tribals. Moreover, the liquor is  
used by the tribals on certain social and  
ceremonial occasions. Actually the  
Commission has recommended prohibition of  
distilled liquor

in the tribal areas and condemned the harmful effects of smuggled liquor that is taking the place of the homemade beverages. In this connection, I would like to say that in the rural areas it is not the practice to have the home-made beverages which are intoxicating. The beverage which is mentioned in the Commission's Report is said to be invigorating and it is supposed to have some food value and is not an intoxicating drink. It is also stated that these will be done away with as soon as the people are educated.

It was also pointed out that though reservations had been extended to these people in the public sector projects, the intake of Scheduled Tribes persons has not been considerable. This would appear natural because persons having technical qualifications are not readily available from Scheduled Tribes in sufficient numbers. But we are not keeping quiet. We have instructed the State Governments to take every step to train tribal boys in the training institutions in order to give them the necessary qualifications to man these appointments. We place great emphasis on technical training institutions to train tribal boys. In this connection, I would say that the tribal boys who have passed the 7th and 8th standards should be trained as teachers and posted in tribal areas, was one of the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission and this was agreed to by the State Ministers.

The State Governments should also fix a separate percentage of reservation in the services for the Scheduled Tribes wherever there is at present a combined reservation for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. This was also agreed to by the State Ministers. This will surely help the situation and help these Scheduled Tribes people to get more jobs in the public sector projects.

The recommendation of the Commission relating to major industries was that they should be located in tribal areas so as to encourage employment of tribals. Primarily, location of industries is decided with reference to the availability of raw material, communications, power etc. However, it would be noted that vast areas inhabited predominantly by Scheduled Tribes are coming under industrialisation recently. It was also agreed that efforts should be made to see that considerable benefits from these projects are given to the tribals.

It was also felt that there should be intensification of the developmental programme at the level of the jurisdiction of the *gramsewak*s consisting of ten to fifteen villages. The block is an accepted unit of administration of planning and it is the minimum level at which technical personnel of all departments would be available. The *gramsewak* is himself a multi-purpose worker doing extensive work in agriculture, animal husbandry and cooperation. A management block for ten or fifteen villages is not an acceptable unit of administration among other things, precisely from practical considerations.

Regarding annual reviews, we know, Madam Deputy Chairman, that the Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes makes an exhaustive review in his annual reports. In addition, there is discussion at the official level during the annual Plan meetings. Further, we receive regular periodic progress reports which keep the Government of India informed of the progress from time to time. This gives us a chance to review annually the progress in the Plan schemes.

Many hon. Members felt strongly about the problems relating to lands, forests, money-lending and so on. These should be tackled more seriously than at present. I may venture to say that it will be seen that the-

[Shrimati Maragatham Chandra-sekhar.] recent Conference has accepted all the recommendations with one or two minor changes in the relevant chapters of the Commission's Report. Action will be taken to implement these to the maximum extent.

About laws relating to tribal rights on lands, a section in the Legal Department, as mentioned by the hon. Home Minister, will go into this question. To tackle the problem of bonded labour and semi-serfdom which prevails in the forest villages, the Commission have made detailed recommendations in their chapter on Tribals and Forests. Most of them are under consideration at present.

The conference recently held has accepted all the recommendations and with their implementation, we have every reason to hope that material improvement of the Scheduled Tribes will come about. It was also pointed out during the discussions that the conference was silent regarding the Forest Policy Resolution of 1952. It will be seen that this is not a matter relating only to the States. It is a matter for the Government of India in the Food and Agriculture Ministry to decide. The State Ministers are generally in favour of the Commission's recommendation. We have not yet taken any decision and it is under consideration.

However, the State Ministers Conference was generally in favour of the relevant recommendation made by the Commission. The matter will be further examined. We entirely agree with the views held by Members on the importance of the officers concerned having general sympathy for the tribals. It was decided at the Conference that the staff serving in the tribal areas should be picked men having a requisite understanding of the lot of, and sympathy for the tribals. In addition, Madam, orientation training is being arranged to the staff in Tribal Development Blocks in order to bring about a better understanding of the problem of tribals. It is the desire of the House that the National

Development Council should give highest priority to the problems of Scheduled Tribes. Of course, we endorse this view. However, the whole question will have to be examined with reference to its relevant merits as compared to other sections of the Plan. The Conference of the State Ministers discussed matters lying primarily within the sphere of action of the State Government. The list of recommendations referred to by the Home Minister in his opening speech was illustrative. Besides, many other recommendations have been made by the Commission which are under examination and action will be taken there on.

Some hon. Members seem to be under the impression that it is proposed to place some sort of restriction on the discretion of voluntary organisations which will have the result of curtailing the liberty and freedom of voluntary organisations. What the Home Minister meant was that it would be in the interests of the organisations themselves to employ a qualified accountant who would be able to prepare the accounts in such form as would be readily acceptable to Government and which in turn would make it acceptable to audit. The recommendation of the Commission which has been accepted is that the Accountants-General in the States will maintain a list of qualified accountants whose services can be made available to non-official organisations. We desire that these accountants should be appointed in consultation with the Government at the appropriate level.

Reference was made to the rural industries programme. In his speech yesterday, the Home Minister was referring to the different programmes directly administered by the Planning Commission on which, the total allocation during the current Plan would be of the order of Rs. 260 crores and from which considerable benefits could accrue to the Scheduled Tribes if the State Governments are vigilant and send properly surveyed and techni-



cali sound schemes. It may be clarified that these do not form part of the Backward Classes sector of the Plan and therefore, have not been discussed either by the Dhebar Commission or by the recent Conference. We shall take an early opportunity of placing before the House a summary of the recommendations made at the State Ministers' Conference which will give an idea our attitude towards the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission.

The Commission have also recommended that in each State there should be promoting and sponsoring agencies for spreading a network, of co-operatives. The responsibility for organising, trade and finance in the initial stages should be on the Government. This has been accepted by, the State Governments.

It was mentioned that the number of post-matric scholarships given to boys belonging to the Scheduled Tribes was too low. I should now like to say that it was 84 in 1948-49 which has risen to 6871 in 1960-61. During the Third Five Year Plan, post-metric scholarship will be given to every student belonging to the Scheduled Tribe\* without any test. This large-scale growth of education is sure to result in a good future for them. The effects are already being felt. Their representation in the services is steadily rising. In the latest I.A.S., etc., combined competitive examinations, out of 112 appointed, 26 belonged to the Scheduled Castes and 8 to the Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Tribes form about 5 per cent, of the total population and hence this is really not very bad.

Madam, with these words I would like to conclude. With the interest that the Members have shown towards the uplift and the welfare of the down-trodden and the underprivileged people, we are sure to achieve the best results within these five years, as was expressed and desired by the Home Minister.

# **ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR CON- SIDERATION OF THE REPORT OF THE IMPORT AND EXPORT POLICY COMMITTEE**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform hon. Members that under rule 153 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, the Chairman has allotted two hours for the consideration of the Motion regarding the Report of the Import and Export Policy Committee.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madras): We discussed this in the morning, the possibility of extending the time limit.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have here about eight names and if the House desires, we may extend the time-limit and go on up to 5 30 P.M.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Why not have it for tomorrow?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): This is an important subject.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, the House can sit till 6 P.M., if you have no objection.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): This is a very important subject and Members should be given an opportunity to discuss it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Have it for tomorrow between 12 P.M. and 1 P.M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow there is an important debate, Report of the Union Public Service Commission.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHLINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): This is also important.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is why I am suggesting that the House should sit this evening for an hour more.

# **MOTION *RE.* REPORT OF THE IMPORT AND EXPORT POLICY COMMITTEE**

SHRI T. S. AVINASHLINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, I beg to move: