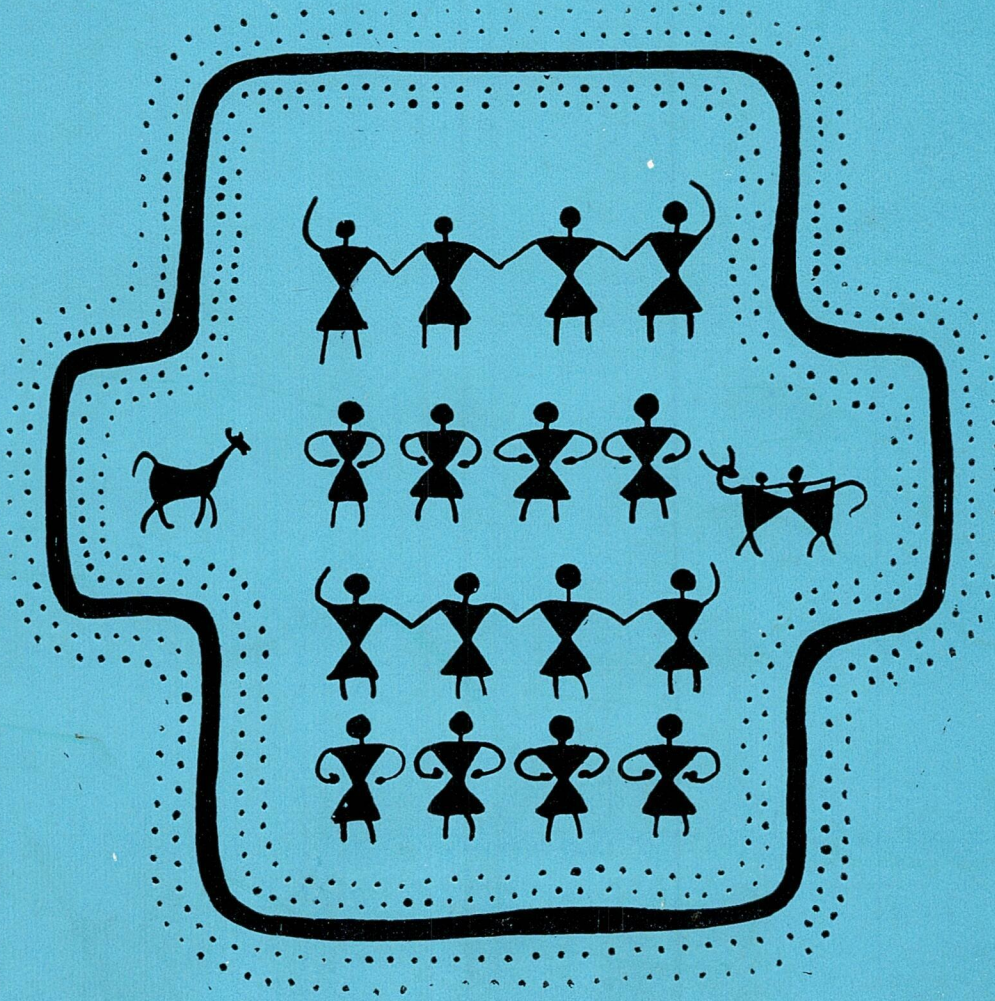




आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिका
TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN



Tribal Research and Training Institute, Pune

Vol. XIII, No. II]

[September, 1991

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TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

VOL. XIII, No. II, September, 1991

EDITORIAL

We have great pleasure in bringing out this issue of the Bulletin. The Tribal Research Bulletin is devoted to provide objective reading material based on first hand field research and observations on various aspects related to tribal life, culture and development.

The concept paper- "Rehabilitation of Tribals" has focussed upon the necessity of adopting a rational approach in the process of rehabilitation of the project affected tribals.

Shri S. K. Reddy traces the cultural background of the disease among the Yerukula and points out that the values and customs of the community strongly influence the technique of treatment of illness.

Smt. Prerana Vaish in her article entitled "Impact of Environmental Pollution on Tribal Population in the Mineral Activity area in the Tribal Sub Plan Region in Rajasthan" narrates the hazards of different types of environmental pollution with special reference to the mineral activity. The impact of environmental pollution is highlighted with the help of case studies and by assessing the responses from the concerned.

Shri A. V. Yadappanvar in his article "Educational Development Among Tribals in Andhra Pradesh" states that the initiative for developmental activities must spring from the local leaders of the masses. He insists that the educational planners and administrators should identify the various types of tribal leaders for the successful implementation of the educational programme for the developments of tribals.

Shri M. N. Dutta has discussed the different genetic traits among the Wancho tribe of Arunachal Pradesh.

In the Marathi section, Advocate Vijay Sathe has discussed constitutional provisions for the safeguards and protection of the tribals.

Prof. Vinayak Tumram in his concluding article on "Adivasi Sahitya Sammelan" has narrated the debates on various aspects related to tribals.

Prof. (Smt.) Suman Muthe has pointed out that the weekly markets in tribal areas serve as meeting places and social gathering for tribal communities.

Shri Sudhir Jog, in his review of the edited volume "Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Tribal Development" has appreciated the relevance of the papers selected for the Volume.

It is hoped that the papers presented in this issue will enable further and deeper insight into the problems and issues which in turn would help in planning and implementation of the relevant programmes for the tribal communities. We hope that the material in this Issue will be of immense help to the Government Administrators and Executives, Social Scientists, Research Scholars and general readers also.

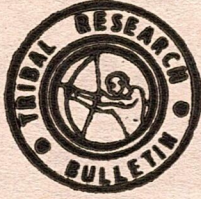
The views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and not necessarily of the Government.

K. K. NAYUDU.

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Rehabilitation of the Tribals

Shri K. K. Nayudu*

All major irrigation projects are located in areas where there is an abundance of forest, the natural habitat of the tribals. Commissioning of these projects necessarily entails large-scale dislocation of the local inhabitants. We do not, even now, have a national policy as regards the rehabilitation of the outless rehabilitation being a State subject.

Lands are acquired under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The Act was comprehensively amended in 1984, providing for a rigorous time-frame and an augmentation of the total package of compensation which is now almost 51 per cent more than what it was under the pre-amended Act.

Constitution of India treats the tribals as a special group, the Land Acquisition Act does not. Though Article 13 of the Constitution provides that all laws in force immediately before the commencement of the Constitution, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provision of Part III of the Constitution, shall to the extent of such inconsistency, be void, the amended Land Acquisition Act continues to treat the tribals on par with the rest. Maharashtra was the first State in the country to have a special enactment for rehabilitation of the oustees, viz. Maharashtra Project Affected Persons (Rehabilitation) Act, 1976. Even this Act does not distinguish between the tribals and the non-tribals.

The process of dislocation of large number of people as an invariable concomitant of

development projects began soon after the country attained independence. Several studies repeatedly pointed out that relocation is not rehabilitation and 'compensation' in terms of the Land Acquisition Act is less than adequate to take care of resettlement. The issue however became the focus of a national debate in the context of the still raging controversy generated by the Sardar Sarovar and Narmada Sagar Projects. A sharp edge was subsequently imparted to the controversy by the spirited stand taken by Dr. B. D. Sharma, the then Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The main thrust of Dr. Sharma's argument, briefly stated is that which is not 'public good' cannot constitute 'public purpose' and the State cannot unilaterally take upon itself the role of being the sole arbiter of the destinies of thousands of families; mostly tribals whose interests, instead of being protected and promoted by the State are being sacrificed on the altar of 'development'.

That all oustees suffer is now acknowledged, though grudgingly, even by the official agencies. What is however not conceded is that the tribals suffer more than others.

The broad frame work of the process is somewhat like this. Acquisition of lands including agricultural lands, hearth and home, community lands and a host of customary rights, privileges and concessions, most of them unrecorded; rehabilitation of the oustees at various

locations which sometimes have very little in common with the environment of which they were a part earlier, discontent at the uneven pattern of resettlement which sometimes spawns confrontation with the State' anxiety caused by the inordinate delay during which a large number of oustees squander away the cash compensation and finally a sullen and bitter mass of people who have no choice but to reconcile themselves with their lot.

The first and foremost question, as far as tribal oustees are concerned is; what is it they stand to lose and what is it that get in lieu thereof. This is the core and kernel of the problem; all other issues are peripheral. To try to quantify the loss sustained, in terms of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 is to mistake the chaff for the grain. Because there is so much more to the tribal life than meets the eye of the Land Acquisition Act.

Land records in Maharashtra as elsewhere in the country are hopelessly outdated. In certain districts settlements undertaken in the nineteenth century are in vogue even today. The concept of Record of Rights was basically the product of the 'raiyatwari' system because the Record of Rights was also a record of liabilities. Curiously enough, it is in the ex-C. P. districts which had a proprietary settlement that the traditional record of rights was wider in scope and richer in content. The three dimensional record of rights with its three

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distinct segments viz. the cultivator's rights in his own land (the basic Record of Right); the cultivators' rights in another's and (the 'wazib-ul-arz') and the village community's rights in the community lands (nistar-pratak') was sought to be incorporated into the Maharashtra Land Revenue Code, 1966 but has remained a dead letter. These provisions have been ignored even during the course of the re-survey of the ex-C. P. districts, currently afoot.

The record of tribals' rights in land is infinitely worse. The picture of uniformly dismal whether in the 'masahati' villages of the former Aheri Zamindari in what is now the Gadchiroli district of the Akrani Mahal where the Forest Department refused to recognise the survey undertaken by the survey department because throughout these operations, the Forest Department was never consulted.

It is difficult to imagine forests without tribals or tribals without the forests. The transition from the yeaster years of customary and extensive right in the forests to privileges giving way eventually to mere concessions in the very forests which have been and continue to be their abode, has been exhaustively documented by several anthropologists and social historians. The advent of free market economy, the concept of private property in land, the emergence of land as a transferrable commodity, the intrusion and subsequent influx of outsiders divesting the tribals of their lands, the consequent uprootment and impoverishment of the tribals from their mooring is by now a familiar leit-motif of contemporary India.

What is however galling is that the State's role has been hardly any better when it comes to acquisition of large tracts of lands held mostly by the tribals, for commissioning various projects. The canvass shrinks

to the limited horizon of the Land Acquisition Act which proceeds on assumptions which actually constitute the sine qua-non of the fallacy that what is being acquired is what has been recorded and all that is being acquired is all recorded. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

It will not be out of place here to recapitulate briefly the recent history of forest management in India with which is intimately linked the destiny of the tribals.

Such is the dependence of the tribals on the forests that they constitute one of the integral components of the forest eco-system. Forests have been the axis around which tribal habitat and life revolved, without let or hindrance, for centuries. Their religio-cultural artifacts, beliefs and practices, technologies and tools have been motivated and shaped by their environment with which they have had and continue to have a symbiotic relationship. The Bhil totem is reflected through worship of certain trees. Some Bhils have their 'Gotras' named after a particular tree, for example the Jamnia Bhils worship the Jamun tree, Semali Bhils worship the Semal tree, Palasia Bhils worship the Palas tree. Worship of these trees is an essential part of the marriage ceremony. Some areas in the West Coast had 'Devaranya' (God's grove) from which only dry twigs and fallen branches could be collected. Customary law in Kumaun and Garhwal dregions forbade the use of sickles and axes in certain areas. Trees considered traditionally sacred are even now beyond man's reach in the Gondwana region.

The tribal economy was forest based. It depended on primitive technology and lacked a surplus and profit motive because it was barter and exchange based. The unit of production, consumption and

labour was the family and in certain, cases, the village. Ownership was generally collective, though individual ownership was not entirely unknown. Innovation or specialisation was lacking but the community, through proper control of consumption ensured the sustenance of every family.

A United Nations report on tribal development points out that tribals derived directly or indirectly a substantial amount of their livelihood from the forests. Though agriculture is the main occupation, agriculture itself is dependent more on forests than is recognised.

Their cattle depend almost entirely on such grazing as is available in the forests.

During the lean season, they subsist on edible leaves, fruits, tubers, roots and gum. They collect honey, wax, medicinal plants and a host of other 'minor' forest produce from the forests mostly for their own consumption and sometimes for sale such as Sal-seeds, Tendu leaves gum, resins lac, bamboo shoots etc. These rights are more tolerated than recognised but none have ever been recorded. There is therefore no question of any compensation being paid. The entire structure of the Land Acquisition, Act 1894 is based on the concept of private ownership of land and takes no cognizance whatsoever of community rights over communal lands which in the case of the tribals, are their natural habitat, the forests. The Act therefore effectively seals the fate of the landless labourers whose number, because of the alienation of tribal lands, is large in all tribal settlements.

Then there are the "encroachers". The advent of British Rule and the introduction of settlements which guaranteed the rate of assessment for a periodicity, generally of thirty years, also recognised the State's inherent authority to raise the

assessment at the next settlement. Since land revenue was the principal source of revenue, assessment was regularly enhanced at each subsequent settlement. The struggle for freedom however, made the land owning class aware of their rights and Government encountered such stiff resistance to any move to increase the levies that revision settlements had to be abandoned throughout Berar in the 1930s. At the lower wrung of the peasantry, such was the incidence of indebtedness that Debt Conciliation Acts had to be enacted in many provinces.

That such a situation had been anticipated by the British Government is obvious from the fact that their forest management policy in India was geared from 1865 onwards to resource utilisation rather than resource conservation. The 1878 amendment to the Forest Act of 1865 led to the creation of reserve, protected and village forests. Forest labour colonies which subsequently became forest villages and were eventually converted into revenue villages were not quite the same thing as tribal settlements who never could come to terms with a system of forest management which treated the tribal as an intruder in his own inhabitation. Village settlements are unlikely to be enduring entities when cultivation itself periodically shifts, the masahati villages of the former Ahiri Zamindari are a classic example of the dichotomy between tribal's rights in the land and its usufruct and the system of survey and settlement adopted by the State uniformly for all areas tribal as well as non-tribal.

The record of rights does not create any rights. It recognises and records of rights as determined during the course of a survey. Though the definition of "Land" includes benefits arising out of the land, that definition is circumscribed by the concept of private owner-

ship of land, it is only in the Ex-C. P. districts that the Nistar-Patrak recorded the village community's rights in the village commons, the classification of village commons in the Berar districts was with reference to user and therefore did not provide for occupational nistar as distinguished from Nistar in general. Under the Berar Settlement Rules of 1865, this was not considered necessary because land was aplenty, holdings were large and availability generally outstripped demand even as late as 1928 when the Berar Land Revenue Code 1928 replaced the earlier Code of 1896.

Rights of the tribals in the usufruct of the forest however remained outside the purview of the record of rights because all lands administered under the Indian Forests Act, 1927 were outside the ambit of the Land Revenue Code. A departure was made under the present Maharashtra Land Revenue Code which came into force on 15th August 1967 which envisaged the forest adjoining the village being included in the village. A forest for the village as distinguished from a forest of the village was already provided for under the Hyderabad Forest Act, 1339 Fasli. Unfortunately Maharashtra Land Revenue Code 1966 is devoid of any detailed plan of action and no attempts were ever made to give effect to the aforesaid provisions.

In brief, what is necessary is to ensure that the rights of the tribals to the usufruct of the forests are recognised and recorded beyond doubt or dispute through a system of survey and settlement designed specifically for the purpose. Such a survey must be a condition precedent to any major project being commissioned, it should as a matter of fact precede the technical investigations of the feasibility of a project so that the cumulative data could

be incorporated in the cost benefit analysis of that project.

A logical sequence to the said proposition is that the tribals must be compensated for what they stand to lose, not in monetary terms but in the form of environment that they are being deprived of. A cash component is of course inevitable and necessary but by itself it does not take the tribal oustee too far.

Green is no longer the colour of envy. It is the colour of an ever receding hope of preserving what is left of the environment and by a strange quirk of fate, the tribals most of whom are prospective oustees are now, if given the opportunity, our only hope.

Parched earth has hopes, scorched earth has none, except perhaps the tribals. If rehabilitation of the tribals is linked with the greening of the bald, bleak and barren hills of the State by drawing up a master-plan under which these hills with the lands appertenant are assigned to a tribal group collectively, without any restrictions on the appropriation of the usufruct, with necessary technical and financial support from the State without waiting for their uprootment from their present moorings, an alternative setting will have been provided before their displacement takes place. This may sound outrageously simple. That is precisely what it is. Now that we have a State Wasteland Development Board and ambitious projects of greening vast tracts with international assistance are on the anvil, perhaps the tribals can look forward to a new deal based on equity and justice.

Cultural Factors Associated With Child Diseases Among The Yerukula's An Anthropological Study

S. Krishna Reddy*

With the progress of civilization from primitive to modern man, the concept of disease also evolved by stages from supernatural and the diestic origin to the natural and multifactorial causation. There are the people in many parts of the World particularly the primitives, aboriginal and tribal people who even now believe that disease is due to supernatural and spiritual forces. These concepts have a great bearing on the maintenance for the health of the people and have been found to be a great barrier in the prevention and control of diseases by modern methods.

From an ecological point of view disease is considered as maladjustment of human organism to the environment! The disease process is initiated by a disturbance of the balance between man and environment. Illness is also a social phenomenon. It occurs in all societies and is defined and fought in terms of the particular cultural factors preventing in a society. Even a distortion of behaviour may be regarded as illness. If we take this into consideration we may have to add to the swelling tide of sick people all those in which they live. The value and customs of a community or a social group strongly influence their perception of these symptoms and their techniques for treatment. Studies have shown that different social classes and different ethnic and religious group differently to illness.

Area of the Study

The present investigation was carried out on Tadikalabayulu village which is situated in Kodur taluka of Cuddapah District in Andhra Pradesh. The village lies 14° 0' latitude north, 79° 20' east. It is about 19 miles to the south-east of Rajampet adjacent to the east of the Madras-Bombay High way. The railway station is about one Kilometer to the east of the Village. The total population of this village is 1,736 out of which 497 are Yerukula's. The village having 247 households. Among these 103 are Yerukula's the remaining are belonging to different castes.

In this village was inhabited, centuries back when population was less and environmental pollution and congestion did not exist. With the successive increase in population in households, without much increase in village settlement area, aggravated environmental problems. In this sample village there is lack of healthy habits minimum amenities as a result the people were suffering from many health people disorders. Living in such a village for long periods, in the absence of transport and communication facilities, social amenities, is not a pleasant experience in this village. There is paucity of research on the cultural factors associated with the child diseases among the Yerukula's. Hence the present study was undertaken on the common diseases of a child, different methods of the treatment preferred and the reac-

tion of the parents towards them in Yerukula' community of Tedikalabayulu Village.

Objectives of the Present Study

The following objectives of the present study were:

1. To examine the various cultural factors influenced the disease.
2. To find out various factors preventing the disease.
3. To study the belief system about diseases among the Yerukula's.

Methodology

The present study was conducted at micro level in this village. The sample was selected by purposive sampling method. The researcher used interview, schedule to collect the primary data about cultural forces associated with diseases. Observation method was also used to study the various cultural factors influenced by the disease of the child. Besides that, group discussions and interviews were carried out to find the cultural belief on diseases of Yerukula's. In addition to that case study method was also used for indepth analysis of the cultural factors for diseases among the Yerukula's.

Undesirable habits, traditions and conditions and living can be equally responsible for the sufferings of an individual and as a consequence the community as whole suffers too because the individual is the primary

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and smallest unit of the community. Yerukula's believe that 'Karma' is the main cause to get a disease. That means one who did bad deeds in his previous janma must suffer with life long non-curable diseases like leprosy, Tuberculous etc. A man who is not having belief in God, or who treats elders or parents mannerlessly or insulting and blaming women may leads him to some trouble some diseases like Cancer, Tuberculous and so on in which one suffers a lot. By violating food taboos or of excess of eating heat or cold foods or due to evil eye or mouth one must suffer for some days. They believe that the rest of the diseases are due to supernatural and spiritual forces. They believe that health is the blessings of God and it will be based on ones 'Punyam' or good deeds and disease is the curse or anger of the God based on one's bad deeds or Papam'.

The traditional Yerukula's believed that disease and calamities may be caused and treated either by natural means or by a number of supernatural means, through with craft and sorcery. Yerukula's were practising sorcery and witch craft. The power of sorcery was a property of certain families and it was inherited. When a man sustain misfortune of any kind he consult the diviners and they find whether the misfortune is done due to fault committed by the sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery.

Children usually are prone for infections and other disorders due to their natural vulnerability and lack of immunity. The immunity state is at much low level soon after birth as the immunity system is not mature and the baby is entirely dependent on the antibodies passively transferred from the mother's milk. The peculiarity of the neonatal infection is that the new born baby gets infected even by the neo-pathogenic strains of the bacteria commonly occurring

in many of the adults. So the proneness for infection is proportionate to the number of normal persons handling the baby. As a natural prophylaxis for this, many cultures provide the customary rites of isolation and taboo till the purification ceremony is over. Like that the methods of prevention and protection from diseases are embodied in many cultures. So also the various types of treatment and the reaction of the parents and others towards the childhood diseases, their expected behaviour, their particular conduct of treatment vary from culture to culture. For example, a crippled child may be a cause of reaction and may be left to death in one community whereas the same crippled child may be a cause of great concern and the child may be provided with artificial limbs, physiotherapy, institutional care, vocational training and declaration of rights by law and constitution in some other culture. In between these two extremes there can be many number of variations. So my specific concern in this study was what were all the common diseases the child had; how they were treated and what was the type of reaction of the parents and the household and what were methods of treatment preferred by them.

Among the new born babies the commonest infection seen is umbilical sepsis. Usually the umbilical sepsis occurs between fifth and seventh day of life. When by chance it does not fall off by seventh day, the women in the household apply a paste of turmeric powder and castor oil or even coconut oil. The way they apply usually dislodges the umbilical stump leaving sometimes a rough area, or bleeding surface or sometime a frank purulent ulcer. To this they usually apply turmeric powder, if there is bleeding they apply Oven Ash (POYYE BUDIDHA) or Talcum powder. They do not consider this as a serious disease. They are not aware that the umbilical sepsis can

lead to serious complications like Tetanus (VAYUVU). Tetanus for them is something different and unconnected with umbilical sepsis. The mothers believe that unless the baby is given a bath on alternative days the umbilicus does not fall. That is why the baby is bathed on third, fifth, seventh ninth and eleventh day. Treatment for umbilical sepsis is not sought unless it leads to complications.

Considering the practice of not maintaining any distance in this community and the frequency of the baby exposed to people it is really wonderful how the babies have not suffered from serious infection.

Contrary to the paucity of reaction when there is diarrhoea. Vomittings makes the entire household alert. Even normal regurgitation of milk is treated as abnormal. As soon as the vomittings start, they take the baby to a magician and the magician tries at least three or five times to expect a complete cure. The actual magical cure (MANTRAM) is not known but there are many people practising this. Sometimes the baby may be taken from one person to the other.

Yerukula's also belief on Shaman (MUSLIM). If the baby is crying continuously without any reason. Yerukula's believe that some evil spirit is the cause for that trouble. Immediately they take the baby to meet the Shaman. Near the Dargha (MOSQUE) at the nearest village every morning and evening number of mother's with their children wait in queues for the Muslim praying in the Mosque to come and blow on the face of the child. They call as VUDUTA (or blowing the air). Anybody and everybody praying there in Mosque can blow the air only during that particular hour after prayer.

If the baby is having persistent vomittings the baby will be worn a ring called 'Kakkulav-ungaram' of a particular design. When all these fail they attend the hospital or some times while taking medicines from the doctor simultaneously they try these methods.

There is a medicine for infant and children to cure cold. They heat a cup of water until it boils, add a teaspoonful of turmeric powder and quarter teaspoonful of ajawain (Bishop's weed) put of the fire and they allow water to cool. They will give an ounce of this decoction, sweetened with a little honey, thrice a day.

Simple and persistant cough are always trated with 'Tadu' (string). A one centimetre diametre thread with five to ten knots in it is tied by the magician after chanting a magical formula (MANTRAM) around the neck of the baby. The string will be kept in the neck of the child for two to three month till that is worn out and fell off.

This string is supposed to be most effective for whooping cough also. When this fail the child will be taken to a doctor. The whooping cough is called 'Kakkuvayuvu daggu' which is associated with vomittings and convulsions. They all believe that Kakkuvayuvu daggu will last for three months and no treatment is effective against this except for the string (Tadu).

Convulsion causes greatest anxiety in the entire household. The child will be immediately made to lie down and the adults will be summoned. Usually they brad the baby on the fore head, or on the epigastric region. Usually with this strong stimulus the child will move or cry. Then the entire family feels happy. and if the child does not cry or wake up they take the baby to the doctor and request for a poke (SUDI MANDU). They believe that nothing work well except the injection.

For children upto three years they make a pad by using cotton cloth dripped in breats milk and keep it on the forehead to bring down fever. The indogenous medicine used by Yerukula's is a decoction made with a few dry ginger pieces, a teaspoonful of turmeric powder, half a teaspoonful of black pepper powder and a teaspoonful of sugar. It is bolied and an ounce, four times is consumed in a day to bring down fever.

If any child is suffering from indigestion, the eldest person in the house prepares a indogenous medicine with juice extracted from a piece of fresth ginger mix this with a teaspoonful of lime juice and sprinkle rock salt powder to remove the sour taste of lime and give the mixture as a immediate cure for indigestion.

Another practices is, they will mix a quarter teaspoonful of pepper powder in the butter milk and give it to the suffering child which is believed that it gives immediate relief to that child.

Failure to thrive not putting on weight or chronic indigestion are called belied to be due to the evil effect of spirits; (BALAGR-AHA DOSHAM) For this they believe no medicine act but for the prescribed magical procedures.

They believe evil-eye when the baby is in inactive and mild. They think it is the cause of evil eye. To over come that, they will consult one of the eldest person who knows the Mantras (WITCH) in this village. She/He will utter some mantras and tie a thread with pendent of Anjaneya Swamy figure (BILLA) around the neck of the baby and make them free.

The children suffering from Kwashikor or Marasmus or Xerophthalmia (NIGHT BLINDNESS). Most of the Yerukula's use two drops of black Tulasi juice into the eyes daily at bed time, and the take a small roll of fresh butter in the morning.

The most elaborate method of averting the evil eye is 'Kunda-penku-Disthi'. For this a new post or a big potsherd is brought without the knowledge of the potter. Cooked rice, green leafy vegetable curry without salt one coin one betel leaf are put in that potsherd and brought round the child while offering the flame of prosperity (HARATHI) Then it is taken to one corner far away from the house, where it is left without the knowledge of anybody at midnight by an old woman. Afterwards the old woman should not come to the house and she has to stay back at somebody else's house to come home in the morning. This type of magical rites are undertaken once in two years from the second year of the child till ten years to prevent evil spirit or balagrahs dosham. All these four days when this evil spirit done, no non-vegetarian food is taken in the house by any of the family members. They also do not offer food or fire to anybody. The child's mother and the old woman who conduct this procedure won't taken bath and do not change their clothing.

Among the childrens the common disease is measles locally called 'Ammavaru'. People believe measles are caused by the wrath of Goddess 'Gangamma' People indentify this disease, by high temperature, pains all over the body, fever followed by headache and subsequently on the second or third day, rashes appears all over the body and eruptions developed particularly on the facial portion. Almost all the Yerukula's used indogenous practices. When they find chickenpox or measles, the patient should not be allowed to come out, and kept within the house. If they have enough rooms, they keep the patient in a separate room. As soon as they recognise measles they insist the patient to wear margosa (Azardictica) leaves. It will help to cure in a short time. No one is allowed to meet him except the house wife. At very first day, after

finding measles one of the family members will go and collect six wild flowers. These flowers will be soaked in a spring water brought very early in the morning without anybody's touching. The soaked water will be sprinkled on the head of the patient daily in the morning. This will continue for nine days, by that time the patient will recover. During that time the patient will be served with only cool and soft foods, like lemon juice, milk and butter, bread. They used the paste made out of neem leaves. Bath will be given every three days.

The attitude towards the hospital is ambiguous. Many people dislike the local government hospital. They take the child usually to the family doctor and when not satisfied they prefer to change the doctors. Along with the treatment and all the rituals they also worship a host of dieties like Ramulavaru, Navagrahalu, etc., and make vows to be fulfilled if the child becomes alright.

Conclusions and Suggestion:

On the basis of the information gathered for the purpose of the present study a few conclusions and suggestions were drawn;

1. Majority of the Yerukula are uneducated proper mobilisation towards various child disease identification is very poor.

2. The Yerukula's recognition of the modern medicine offered by the government hospitals is inadequate.

3. The bad and side effects of the indigenous methods for disease cure were not properly known by the Yerukula's.

4. Some of the Yerukula's are residing nearer to some of the towns their understanding of health workers regarding child diseases was totally neglect.

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Impact of Environmental Pollution on Tribal Population in the Mineral Activity Area of TSP Region: An Evaluation

Pierana Vaish*

Abstract

Mineral Activity creates considerable environment Pollution as any other industry. Environment Pollution is caused by various processes undertaken by the living beings. It is high time to preserve and protect a healthy environment to keep in proper balance in surrounding Eco-system. Dominant Tribal population of TSP Region is not at all aware of harmful effects of environmental pollution which is even causing serious health hazards. This has encouraged private owners of mineral units to exploit the tribals and to destroy the surroundings. There is need for effective environmental legislation for establishing environment safety requirements and halting the environmental deterioration in TSP Region.

Introduction

The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) Region of the Rajasthan covers the southern districts of the state viz. Banswara, Dungarpur, seven tehsils of udaipur district, Pratapgarh tehsil of Chittorgarh district and Abu road tehsil of Sirohi district and has a very high concentration of tribal population while simultaneously this region is endowed with rich mineral wealth. The day by day increase in the mineral sector activities in this region are on one hand contributing handsome amount to the State Exchequer in the form of mineral revenue but on the other hand these activities are causing different types of environmental pollution which is harmful in every aspect.

During the last few years, no other issue has attracted more attention of scientists, industrialists and governments than the need to preserve and protect a healthy environment. The Report on the 'State of Environment in India', prepared by the centre for science and environment, New Delhi (News item, Times of India, New Delhi edition, 25th August, 1985) has warned that if the environment is not managed properly, India will find it difficult even to feed the existing population and the African experience of famine will recur here also. The problem of environment is highly complex and it is often very difficult for a specialist to grasp and understand the concept involved. However the main areas of environment concern that have been identified are given under :—

- (a) Land and Water Resources;
- (b) Natural Living Resources, and
- (c) Environmental Awareness and Education.

Types of Environmental Pollution

Environmental pollution means any type of imbalance in the existing environment. More particularly such pollution is caused when a change in physical, chemical or biological conditions in the environment harmfully affects the quality of human life, flora and fauna and on other cultural and aesthetic assets. In the present context we are mainly concerned about physical and biological environment.

The environmental pollution is caused by various processes undertaken by the living beings¹. The important are—

(i) *Deforestation*.—It is caused by human beings and due to physical processes. The natural forests, pastures and cultivated lands are suffering from serious erosion problems due to deforestation.

(ii) *Rapid Industrialisation*.—Such an act is polluting the surrounding environment. The industrial pollution is characterised by effluents, which are either floating suspended or dissolved in water or air.

(iii) *Population Explosion*.—Infinite resources could support an infinite population. Unfortunately, the earth and its resources are finite, while the population grows at an ever faster pace. Exponential rise in the population in the urban areas have affected the population size and population density due to diversified economic activities. Health hazards are caused due to growth of urban centres beyond their carrying capacity of the existing system of water supply, waste water treatment and water pollution control. Soil pollution is caused by human and animal life.

(iv) *The Air Pollution*.—This is caused by stationary fuel combustion in industrial processes and by mobile sources due to vehicular traffic, railways and air crafts. Air pollution is caused by the various pollutant such as carbon-mono-oxide, hydrocarbons and oxides of Nitrogen.

Mineral Activity and Environment

Amongst the various physical and biological factors mining of natural resources is also one of the major cause which creates considerable

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1. Agarwal Vinod., Mining and Environment, Rajasthan Mineral Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 1, 1987.

environmental pollution³. Whether the mining operation is underground or open cast, it affects the surrounding environment which directly or indirectly affects the crops, animals and human life.

The open cast mining results in a constant decline of cultivated and green areas as it involves the removal of surface soil and overburden to excavate the mineral deposits lying under the surface of the earth. It disturbs the surface land consisting of different layers of soils which maintains ecological balance. The entire eco-system is changed due to the excavation of the land. This also causes deforestation, further resulting in soil erosion, land subsidence, flooding air, water and noise pollutions⁴. Also, pollution is associated with exploitation of the minerals from underground mines. Again, mineral based industrial units pollute the environment through the discharge of their waste materials, noise and stationary combustion of fuel.

The environmental problems associated with the mineral activities are summarized below :—

I. Environmental Pollution due to Mining :—

- (i) Deforestation ;
- (ii) Physical disturbance of natural ground ;
- (iii) Dust ;
- (iv) Noise ;
- (v) Water ;

II. Environmental Pollution due to Mineral Based Industrial Units :

- (1) Water
- (ii) Dust
- (iii) Noise
- (iv) Socio-economic imbalances

Impact of Environmental pollution in TSP Region.

With the discovery of various minerals during the last decade in TSP region, the mineral activities

have been greatly intensified. This is evident from the sale-produce figures of minerals which are on increase since 1980. Such activities along with establishment of various mineral based industrial units have posed a severe problem of environmental pollution the TSP region. The seriousness of the problem is not being realised because the mineral activities are not concentrated at one particular location of the region.

During the course of field survey variety of environmental pollutions are noticed around the locations of mineral activities undertaken in the sample. A detailed description of environmental impact due to various mineral activities in the sampled mineral pockets has been presented in the Annexure 1. It describes pocket-wise mineral activity, nature and severity of pollution the main sources of pollution and approximate geographic area which is getting polluted. An attempt has also been made to indicate various types of environmental pollution in the sampled mineral pockets in the Map 1.

Analytical Investigation.—

In order to correctly weigh the seriousness of the environmental problem in the TSP region due to various mineral activities, few questions on the environmental state and awareness were incorporated in the schedules structured for owners of the mineral units and for the households residing in the close vicinity of such units. The following analysis is based on their responses and also on the basis of personal observations made during the course of survey of the units sampled for the study.

I. Responses from the Owners

In order to assess the exact impact of the environmental pollution caused due to release of waste material, dust, fumes and other

waste materials, following questions related to pollution were asked from the owners. :—

1. Do you feel that your unit pollute the environment in any form ?
2. What type of waste material is released from your mineral unit ?
3. What do you do with such waste materials ?
4. Do you face any problem because of the waste material ?
5. What measures do you adopt to overcome possible air-water pollution from the waste material of your unit ?

(a) Responses from the Private Owners of Mineral Units.

Of the 58 surveyed mineral units under private ownership, 29 units were of mining activities and the remaining 29 units were mineral based industrial units. It is unfortunate state of affairs that none of the owners of these 58 mineral units admitted about any environmental pollution caused by mining or during the processing of minerals by their units. The mining activities undertaken by the 29 units are : Mining of soapstone, asbestos, limestone, marble and building stones.

In fact the mining of above minerals cause various types of environmental pollution. This was evident from the personal observation during the field survey. The pollution caused by mining of these minerals is of following types :—

(i) *Air and Dust Pollution.*—It is caused due to blasting and excavation of the minerals and its intensity is particularly greater in case of mining of soapstone and marble where much overburden (waste material) is to be removed regularly. Such type of pollution is specially observed in near Talwara area, district Banswara, Dewal district Dungarpur, Babarmal, district Udaipur and Bhunga Bhatt, district Udaipur.

3. Keller, Edward., Environmental Geology, U. S. A., 1976.

4. Saifee, Saifudin; Improvement of Environment and Ecology in Mines Reclamation of Land, Rajasthan Mineral Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 2, 1987.

(ii) *Deforestation.*—The Deforestation is caused due to mining and excavation. Such a state of affairs was observed near Talwara, Babarmal, Devpura, district Udaipur where mining of marble and soapstone is being carried in forest areas. This has caused slow depletion of plants and other vegetation and one can observe the naked hills without any vegetation on them.

(iii) *Health Hazards to Human beings.*—The mining of asbestos near Thobwara district Udaipur is causing serious pulmonary diseases to workers. The fine fibres get released in air during mining of asbestos which are harmful to human body. Government has already issued a circular restricting the asbestos mining throughout the TSP region. Such type of disease is also caused by the dust and fine particles released during drilling operations at marble mining. Such pollution was observed around Talwara, district Banswara, Babarmal and in district Udaipur.

On the other hand, 29 mineral based industrial units also cause various pollutions. The owners of these units also denied about any environmental pollution being caused by the release of gases and fumes from their units. These owners also did not admit that the waste material discharged by their units cause any type of environmental pollution. Nevertheless, on personal observation, it was found that fumes and gases emitted by these units do cause much environmental pollution.

Environmental pollution created by different mineral based industrial units is described under following major categories of pollution:—

(i) *Air and Dust Pollution.*—Dust is released from cement plants as observed around village Bari, district Banswara, near Abu-road, district Sirohi during burning of limestone, gypsum, coal and clay. This dust is harmful for human beings and cause asthematic problems. It also affects crops in the neighbouring areas. Similarly, the

cement dust emitted affects the fertility of the land and crop production.

(ii) *Underground Water Pollution.*—This type of pollution is caused by waste material released during processing of minerals. Such waste material pollute the underground water sources and thus affect soil, fertility, crop production and is also harmful to living beings. This type of pollution was observed near village Bari, Thekaria both in district Banswara, near Pratapgarh in district Chittorgarh and around Madri Industrial Area of district Udaipur where underground water sources upto 5 to 8 Sq. km. area got polluted through the release of waste material of mineral based industrial units of the area.

(iii) *Noise Pollution.*—Such type of pollution is caused by operation of machines while processing the minerals. Local noise is harmful for human beings. Such situation prevails near village Bari where noise is generated during manufacture of cement by the boilers and rotation of Kilns. Noise is observed near industrial area of Dungarpur township, in Madri Industrial Area, near Thekaria industrial area and near Kherwara township where mostly marble cutting-polishing, gitty making units and grinding units are in operation.

(b) Responses from State Owned Mineral Units.

The number of mineral units under government ownership surveyed were five. Of these five units, four were mining units and one was beneficiation plant.

It was generally found from the discussions with officers and Engineers that the authorities of these units are fully aware of the ill-effects of the environmental pollution created by their mineral activities in operation in the TSP region.

Unit-wise pollution created and major steps undertaken to control the environmental pollution within legal limits is given under. This is based on the personal discussion with the authorities.

(1) Lime-stone mining at Kalinzara, district Banswara, (RSMDC Unit)

During mining process following type of environmental pollution is created:—

(i) Dust and noise pollution due to excavation, blasting, loading, unloading of limestone; and

(ii) Deforestation due to excavation and mining.

(2) Rockphosphate Mining at Jhamarkotra and at Kanpur of Udaipur district, Rajasthan State Mines and Minerals Ltd. and Rajasthan State Mineral Development Corporation units:—

At Jhamarkotra more than 2000 tonnes of rock phosphate and over burden rock is excavated per day from mining area. This area stretches in more than 16 Km strike. Such a huge rock handling by bulldozers and excavators produce huge dust and create noise pollution. Besides, physical disturbances of natural ground takes place in the nearby areas. The fine dust of rockphosphate is also harmful to human beings working in the mines and residing in the nearby villages. Underground water also gets polluted due to rock phosphate dust.

(3) Lead-zinc Ore mining at Prasad, of Udaipur district; Hindustan Zinc Limited unit.

This mine is underground. Different types of environmental pollution created in this area are:—

(i) Noise pollution due to operation of aircompressors, drilling rigs and during excavations process in the underground mining pits. The moving rail, trollies, moving conveyor belts which are used to uplift the Ore from underground site to the surface also produce considerable noise.

(ii) Dust pollution is observed due to blasting.

(iii) The surface water which passes through mine gets acidic which in turn adversely affects human body and fertility of soil.

Authorities of all these 4 public owned mineral activities are taking adequate measures to control the pollution through following measures :—

(i) Units have installed water treatment plant purifying the water and thus supplying purified water to local inhabitants and to their mine workers ;

(ii) Units are adopting plantation on excavated barren mined pits to restore vegetation ;

(iii) Units are providing masks, glasses, torch, helmets to safeguard mine workers from sudden fall of stones or rock in a underground mine or in a open cast mine and to protect them from noise, dust, pollution, gum boots and gloves are also being provided to safeguard from liquid waste and fine rock. To protect from high intensity noise, minors are provided with ear aids, Furthermore free medical facilities, first aid facilities are being provided by these government agencies to their workers.

(4) Beneficiation plant at Jhamarkotra, district Udaipur ; Rajasthan State Mines and Minerals unit.

This plant is upgrading the low grade rock phosphate. Following types of environmental pollution is created by the plant:—

(i) Air pollution due to release of gases, fumes during treatment of material.

(ii) Noise pollution due to machineries, boilers and compressors.

(iii) Water pollution is due to release of tailings, waste and undigested material from plant. Such type of waste material pollute underground water sources and thus the nearby well water gets polluted and is not safe for drinking.

The authorities of Rajasthan State Mines and Minerals Limited admitted the impact of pollution in the

surrounding areas and therefore several measures are undertaken by them to control such pollution. The authorities dump the waste release from the plant in the remote areas. Workers are provided with masks, gloves to protect their body parts.

II. Responses from the nearby Households.

Generally mineral activities pollute air, water and soil of the area. To know whether the people residing in the close vicinity of 1 to 2 Kms. around the 65 sampled mineral units are aware of such pollution, some questions were specially framed to gather information on pollution from the randomly selected 205 households.

1. Are you aware of any mineral activity in your vicinity ? which one is it ?

2. Do you feel any foul smell in the atmosphere ?

3. Do you observe any change in the colour and taste of the water you drink ?

4. Do you feel that your land has been adversely affected because of the release of waste material from the mineral activity of your area ?

The responses recorded are given under. Generally it was found that—

(i) No one seem to be bothered about such pollution and therefore no one complained though it was our personal observation that area was being slowly polluted due to carelessness of the owners.

(ii) Air pollution : 97 per cent of sampled households residing around mineral units never experienced such pollution. No foul smell in the form of fumes, gases or waste material released from the mineral mining or from mineral processing unit was experienced by these households.

(iii) Water Pollution : 94 per cent of the sampled households also denied of having experienced or

aware of such pollution due to mineral units in the area in which they were residing. 6 per cent of the households who were residing around the mini cement plant or in the vicinity of marble cutting and polishing units did complain about the water and air pollution. Some of the households residing around mining area of lead, zinc-ore and rock phosphate experience water pollution in the drinking water they used. They complained about dysentary, heavyness and indigestion.

(iv) Soil and Agriculture pollution: About 31 per cent of the sampled households residing in the vicinity of the sampled mineral units complained about environmental pollution that effects their agricultural lands and have indicated that the fertility of their lands has been adversely affected. It was observed that these households were specially in the vicinity where the mining of soapstone, marble, limestone and building stones was being undertaken. These households also observed ill effects of the pollution from the mineral units on the growth of plants and trees.

It is thus observed that many of the households in the close surroundings of 1 to 2 Sq. Kms. of the mineral activities are either not aware of the adverse effects of the pollution or do not appear to care about such environmental pollution since it does not directly affect their day to day way of life. Another reason for no complaint against the environmental pollution from these households is that not all mining or mineral based industrial units create serious pollutions. Only those households who are directly hit by the pollutions, specially about water pollution, complained against the establishment of mineral units or mining activity in their area.

Need for Environmental Legislation

The need for environmental legislation emanates from ever increasing population pressure, the trend towards consumerism and tendency to maximise private profits with least or no concern of environmental cost. An ecologically sound, socially acceptable, economically possible and politically feasible environmental legislation is a must in order to ensure proper and balanced use of poor man's real wealth that is 'environment'.

Not that Central Government has shown no interest for such a legislation. A separate ministry has been created already at Centre and State levels to control and protect the environment. Various Acts and legislations are also brought into force from time to time.

Article 47 of the Indian Constitution provides under Directive Principles that "improvement of public health is primary duty of the State". Article 48-A maintains that "State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard forests and wild life."

The Constitution under Article 51-A (G) has also assigned the environmental duty of citizens that is: "to protect and improve natural environment, including forests, lakes rivers and wild life and its have compassion for living creatures." And finally Article 31-A provides immunity to environmental laws from judicial scrutiny.

At the State level, lead in environmental legislation was taken by Orissa in 1953 and Maharashtra in 1969. However these legislation were superseded when the Central Government passed water (Prevention and control of Pollution) Act, 1974. It provides for the Constitution of Central and State Boards for prevention and control of water pollution.

Different Acts were propagated with regards to Air and Forest pollution also. The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981 provides for clean air management. The Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980 was enacted to check any further deforestation. Thus prior approval from Central Government is required for dereservation of reserve forests, and for use of forest land for non-forest purposes.

In addition to the above laws, Indian Penal Code of Criminal Procedure; Code of Civil Procedure and Specific Relief Act contain certain general provisions to protect the environment and punish its polluter. The Factories Act, the Insecticides Act and the Motor Vehicles Act contain various provisions for the protection of environment in general.

State Governments have also passed various legislations in the appropriate areas as prescribed in the VII schedule II (state list) which is applicable in the respective state. There is department of environment or Board in every State which monitor and manage the environmental surroundings.

With all these legislations, it is a commonly observed fact that the environmental considerations are not taken seriously. As the demand for minerals and mineral based industrial units is going to increase during the course of economic development, the only logical approach is to take adequate steps for control of environmental pollution through good engineering and conservation practices. This will raise the cost of production of mineral commodities and other products produced from these materials. Nevertheless, this will yield other returns of equal or higher values to the future generation. Above all, it will never allow disasters such as 'Bhopal Tragedy' to reoccur.

Suggestive Measures

In the face of fast technological developments and high expectations from the mineral sector in the TSP Region, the environmental issues now call for immediate attention. During the course of field survey, it was observed that the environment of the TSP region is least protected and highly exposed to emission of various pollutants of the mineral activity. There is a wilful lack of awareness amongst the owners of the mineral units, there is no district level monitoring and enforcement agencies in relation to environmental requirements. It is high time to awaken the people and government officials to prevent further ecological damage and destruction which is being caused in the name of development and under the shadow of increased earnings from the mineral sector of the region.

On the basis of field survey, I am of the strong opinion that the district level administration shall have to tackle this problem with a firm hand.

I propose following measure which will go long way in establishing the environment safety requirements and halting the environmental deterioration in TSP region:—

(1) All legislative measures and acts pertaining to environmental pollution control should make any default a cognisable offence so that the offenders can be brought to book.

(2) District Administration should arrange for a counter check verification of air and water quality data provided by the mineral units of the region. Prescribed safe limits should be seriously adhered to. It should be made mandatory for the mineral units to monitor data for air and water quality standards and composition of effluents being discharged into air and water.

5. Burman, Roy, J. J., Environment Management in Tribal Areas through Social Forestry", Vanyajati, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, 1990.

(3) Future mineral based industrial units should be sanctioned only after the concerned State Board of environment has made a close scrutiny of the cost benefit analysis in terms of social costs in the context of the pollution hazard dimension. Clearance should be given only after pollution prevention technology is

incorporated in the mine plan and exploitation projects.

(4) Any unauthorised encroachment near industrial area should be demolished and resettlement colonies be suitably planned.

(5) Government/District Administration should develop a proper surveillance over the safety arrange-

ments in all the mineral units of the region.

(6) There should be training programmes for factory workers to educate them about the safety measures and effective control of environmental pollution.

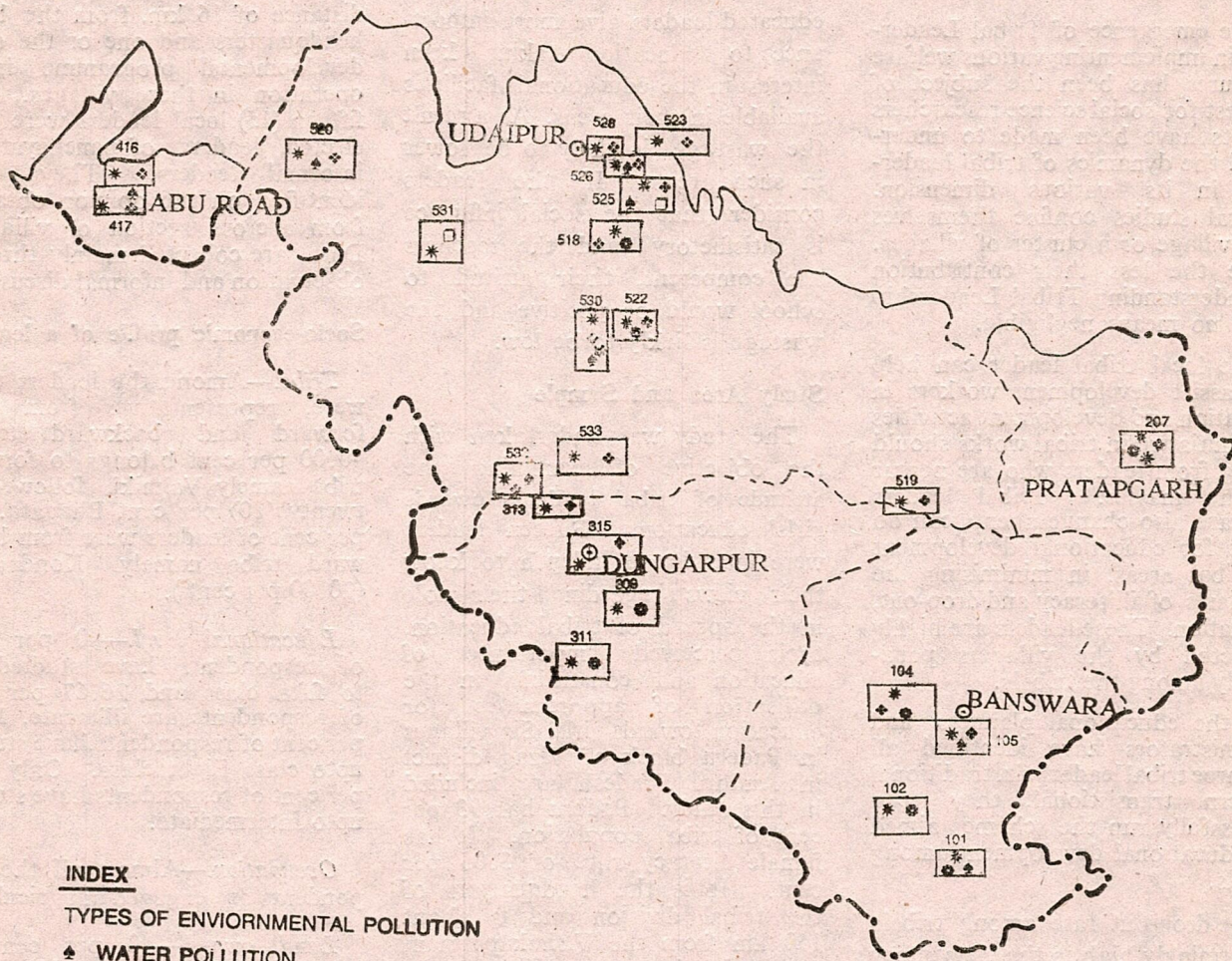
ANNEXURE 1

Environmental Pollution in Surveyed Mineral Pockets

District	Code No. of Mineral Pocket	Nature of Mineral activity		Nature of Pollution	Source of Pollution	Area Affected by Pollution
		Mining Unit	MBI Unit			
1	2		3	4	5	6
Banswara ..	101	—	Mini-cement plant	Dust and noise pollution, soil pollution and water pollution.	Release of fine dust and fumes during burning process.	5 sq.km. area around the Bari Village.
	101, 102	Limestone	—	Air pollution and deforestation.	Blasting, lifting and excavation of mineral.	5 sq.km. area around kalinzara village.
	104	Marble	—	Dust, noise pollution and deforestation.	Release of fine marble dust and particles during blasting and drilling.	3 sq.km. area around Talwara, khema-Talai and Umrai village.
	104, 105	—	Marble cutting polishing units	Noise, air and water pollution.	Operation of Cutting and Polishing Machinery, release of soluble waste during the cutting of marble.	5 sq.km. area around Talwara, Khema-Tala.
	105	—	Soapstone grinding units.	Air and noise pollution	Operation of crushers and grinders.	Local impact around the factory area.
Chittorgarh..	207	Building stone	—	Air and noise pollution	Blasting, excavation, loading and unloading.	Effects such locally in the mining areas.
	207	—	Brick earthen kilns, lime kilns, soapstone grinding unit, slat stone processing units	Air pollution, noise pollution.	Burning of mud, burning of limestone operation of crushing machinery.	1 sq.km. area near Pratappgarh township and local impact around the factory premises.
Dungarpur ..	309, 311	Building stone	—	Air pollution and deforestation.	Mining and excavation processes.	5 sq.km. area around village Balwara, Bellia.
	313	Green marble soapstone	—	Air and noise pollution.	Blasting, excavation, loading.	4 to 6 sq. km. area near and around village Dewal khas, Khanmean
	315	—	Citty crushers, soap stone grinding units	Air and noise pollution.	Opeaction of crushing machinery.	Local impact is and around factory site.
Sironi	416	—	Lime Kilns Mini Cement Plant	Air and noise pollution.	Burning of limestone and operation of machinery.	2 to 5 sq.km. area near village Akra Bhatta and Abu-road township.
	417	—	Soapstone grinding units marble cutting and polishing unit.	Air, noise and water pollution	Release of dust during operation of crushing machinery and release of soluble waste.	2 to 4 sq. km. area polluted.

District	Code No. of Mineral Pocket	Nature of Mineral activity		Nature of pollution	Source of Pollution	Area Affected by Pollution
		Mining units	MBI Unit			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Udaipur	518	Mining of marble	—	Air and noise pollution, deforestation	Blasting and excavation.	2 to 3 sq. km. around village Babamal, Odwas
	533		—			
	519	Soapstone	—	Air and noise pollution.	Blasting, excavation, loading, unloading.	4 sq.km. area near village Bhunga Bhatt, Devpura.
	520	Limestone	—	Air, noise pollution and physical disturbance of natural ground.	Blasting and excavation	Local impact at mining sites.
	523	Building stones	—	Air and noise pollution	Blasting and excavation.	Local impact at mining area.
	525, 526	Rockphosphate	—	Air, noise, water pollution, health-hazards.	Blasting, excavation and soluble phosphatic contents pollute under ground water.	20 sq.km. area near and around villages Kanpur, Matoon, Jhamarkotra.
	525	—	Bene-ficiation plant	Water and Air pollution.	Release of waste material	2 sq. km. area.
	528, 532	—	Grinding units of soapstone and asbestos, marble cutting and polishing units	Air, noise and water pollution	Operation of machinery and release of Soluble-waste.	2 to 3 sq. km. area near village Madri and Bedwas.
	530	Zinc-ore lead-ore	—	Air noise pollution deforestation, water pollution.	Operation of machinery and release of soluble waste.	20 sq km. area near village Prasad, Zawar and Tidi.
	531	Asbestos	—	Air pollution and serious health-hazards	Release of fine asbestos fibers during excavation causing pulmonary diseases.	Impact in 2 sq. km. area near village Thobwara, Vareli.

ENVIORNMENTAL POLLUTION IN MINERAL POCKETS IN THE T S P REGION

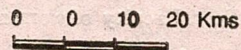


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- HEALTH HAZARDS
- ▭ SAMPLED MINERAL POCKETS

SCALE



Educational Development Among Tribals

A Case Study in Paderu Block of Andhra Pradesh**

A. V. Yadappanvar*

Introduction

The emergence of Tribal Leadership in implementing various welfare measures has been the subject of interest for social science researchers. Efforts have been made to understand the dynamics of tribal leadership in its various dimension. Several studies confine themselves to a village or a cluster of villages. None the less their contribution in understanding Tribal Leadership is by no means negligible.

The local tribal leader can help and assist development workers in education and development activities. The initiative in tribal works should spring from leaders who are nearer to the masses. Tribal leaders who are also change agents can do a lot for educational development in tribal areas, in minimising the problems of illiteracy and drop-out, stagnation. These leaders are highly respected by the villagers particularly among the tribals.

If the educational planners and administrators have identified all the three tribal leaders viz. traditional, modern, transitional, they can successfully run the schemes aimed for educational development among tribals.

The drop-out rate among tribals is alarmingly high in the elementary stage. It is here that leaders can play a vital role by identifying parents of such poor children helping them to get regular and remunerative employment under NREP, RLEGP etc.

It is assumed that the well educated leaders give more importance to education taking keen interest in the educational facilities available in their areas. As a result the wastage is likely to be lower in such areas. If the leaders consider that the social influence is satisfactory and the teachers are competent, their attitude to school would be positive and the wastage is likely to be low.

Study Area and Sample

The study was undertaken with the objective of examining the attitude of tribal leaders towards girls' education. Fifteen leaders were interviewed in depth to know their views regarding their role in the spread of tribal education, their perceived importance of education and constraints in the utilisation of opportunities for education towards girls. Six villages in Paderu block of Vizag district in Andhra Pradesh are included in this study. Paderu has 93 per cent of tribal population. It has female literacy rate of 3.05 per cent. It is the headquarters of the tribal division and is about 150 km from the Vishakapatnam district headquarters. The nearest town is about 74 km. The ITDA has its divisional headquarters at Paderu. The villages selected for the study are Barapalli, Thumpada, Guda, Varthanapalli, Chintalveedhi and Konthilli for intensive study.

All these villages are within a distance of 16 km. from the block headquarters and one or the other developmental programme is in operation in these villages. The fifteen (15) local leaders were both elected leaders of panchayat and informal leaders. They were identified on the opinion obtained from a cross section of villagers. Data are collected mainly through observation and informal discussion.

Socio-economic profile of a leaders

Tribe.—Among the leaders there were, representatives from both forward and backward tribes, 40.00 per cent belongs to forward tribe namely Valmiki, followed by twenty (20) per cent Bhagata. 40 per cent of leaders were from backward tribe namely Kondadora, (20.00 per cent).

Educational level.—40 per cent of respondents have studied up to fifth class and 26.67 per cent of respondents are illiterate, 13.33 per cent of respondents have studied upto class Eight class. Only 6.67 per cent of respondents have studied upto Intermediate.

Occupation.—Almost all the respondents are engaged in agriculture.

Land owned.—40 per cent of respondents have land holding between one to four acres. Another 20 per cent own five to nine acres of land, while 26.67 per cent were the owners of ten to fourteen acres. The remaining respondents (13.33 per cent) have between

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** The present study forms a part of the large project on education and social change undertaken by NIRD.

15 to 20 acres. In short it can be said that majority of leaders had primary level education belong to Forward tribes and on an average own 1.33 per cent of land.

Perception of Parents regarding Education of their Children.

Drop-outs.—In the course of our discussion with leaders as to why parents failed to send their children to school and why students discontinue studies even at primary level, some of the important constraints expressed by them were—

1. Expenses towards education 46.66 per cent.
2. Loss of labour units on their farm, if the children are sent to school 26.66 per cent.
3. Lack of practical utility of the present education 26.66 per cent.
4. Lack of proper accommodation at Ashram School 13.33 per cent.
5. Lack of interest in studies 6.66 per cent among girls.

Preception of leaders regarding educational facilities in the Panchayat Samiti revealed that it will expose youths to out side world. The leaders do not have much to say regarding competence of teachers. Few leaders mentioned that English, Hindi subjects should be introduced at primary level only. Among the perceived problems, negligible percentage of them expressed concern over lack of Degree College and negligible per cent felt unhappy about irregularity of teachers in attending to school work.

Role of the Tribal Leaders in educating parents.

Emphasis is placed on the awareness and their possible contribution and extent of their involvement. They help in persuading tribal parents to enrol their daughters. Their involvement is to the extent of encouraging parents in sending their daughters to schools, providing facilities required.

An interview with the leaders revealed that their interest seems to cease with the function of coasing

parents to send their daughters to schools. They are not very clear about their role. It is felt that the leaders should be more exposed to developmental schemes so that as agents of change they create a better atmosphere. They would thus play a crucial role in implementation and sustenance of the programme.

Perceived Relevance of Education.—It is significant here to observe that in a tribal society formal education for female members had never been a desired goal and in the background of this, majority of respondents wanted their girls to have formal education is certainly a beginning of change in their value pattern. 13.03 per cent of leaders interviewed, exclaimed either 'what is the need for educating girls? Nearly two per cent of leaders opined that education did more harm than good, if a girl is educated who will marry her? And even if they get married and live with their husbands, the education so far received proves no use for the kind of life they are going to lead. 13.03 per cent of leaders opined that, superstition and prejudice acted as, barriers (social factors) in educating girls. Girls turn modern or go astray due to education. Since most of the tribal people are living in abject poverty under subsistence economy it is not easy for most of them to send their girls, to school thus loosing the healthy hands in their struggle for survival. Sri V. Elvin sums up aptly the situation in the following words "For a tribal family to send its grown up girl to school is essentially a matter of division of labour, many parents cannot just afford to send their children to school".

Aspirations for Children.—Relevant questions were put to the respondents in assessing the necessity of educating girls. 6.66 per cent of respondents were content with only primary level education for their female children. As many as 13.4 per cent of them wanted their daughters to reach over to

the matriculation level of education, 33.3 per cent of leaders stood, in favour of college level education for girls.

Suggestions for Improvement.

1. Preference in recruitment of teacher upto school level should be for women, this will create a greater confidence in tribal areas and motivates parents to send their girls to the school.
2. Provision to the girls of all families below the poverty line such as seats of free uniform, free text books. Stationary and attendance incentives.
3. Free transportation in State Road Ways, Bus to children attending elementary schools.
4. Provision of Day Care Centres as support service for universalisation of primary education to enable girls engaged in taking care of siblings to attend school and a support service for working women belonging to the poorer section.
5. It is also suggested that Education Sector as such should be under the control of either ITDA or at Block Level or at District Education Officer and instead of the managing of schools by Zilla Parishad and by department of Tribal Welfares, Social Welfare or and by Samiti.

It is evident that personnel of Educational Department have not taken adequate to involve the tribal leaders who like-wise have remained complacent.

The personnel of Educational, Department have to intensify their efforts if they want the educational programme to be truly successful. The tribal leaders have to be educated so that they can in turn convenience their people about the urgent and important necessity of education.

In order to ensure that Educational Institutions perform their duties satisfactorily it is necessary to remove the hurdles in the way.

Some Genetic Traits Among The Wancho : A Tribe Of Arunachal Pradesh

M. N. Dutta*

Introduction

The Noctes, the Singphos, the Tangsas and the Wanchos are the main tribes of Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh. The Wancho are one of the major Mongoloid Scheduled Tribe population of Arunachal Pradesh. Tirap district lies on the southern corner of Arunachal Pradesh bounded on the north by the Dibrugarh district of Assam and the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh on the East and South by Burma and on the West by Nagaland and Sibsagar district of Assam. The Tirap district is a thinly populated hilly tract lying roughly between the Latitudes 26.28 and 27.33 E and longitudes 95.10 and 97.11 N. The Wanchos have marriage relation with the Konyak Naga of Nagaland. They have their own dialect and socio-cultural practices. They comparatively small stocky stature with round flat face, broad nose and with epicanthic eye fold. In face and figure they show a distinct approximation to what is known as the Mongolid type.

Materials And Method

The data of these traits (blood group, hair whorl, earlobe attachment, MPH, Arm folding and hand clasping, tongue rolling) are collected from different educational institutions and village of Longding subdivision of Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh. The samples are collected at random by observation from unrelated persons. The Present data have been compared with the other population of North-East India.

Result And Discussion

TABLE I

Distribution of ABO blood group among the Wancho and some other Mongoloid population of N. E. India

Population	No.	O %	A %	B %	AB %	p	q	r	Author
Wancho ..	108	52.77	30.55	14.81	1.85	0.1863	0.0956	0.7264	Present study
Angami ..	100	45.00	38.00	11.00	6.00	0.2503	0.0885	0.6612	Bhattacharjee, 1957
Galong ..	400	40.75	32.25	20.75	6.25	0.2158	0.1456	0.6386	Kumar, 1954
Ahom ..	100	41.00	24.00	27.00	8.00	0.174	0.192	0.632	Dutta, 1979
Rabha ...	600	25.50	32.50	29.83	12.17	0.257	0.234	0.505	Das, 1969

The frequency distribution of ABO blood group among the Wancho and some other mongoloid population of North-East India are presented in Table 1. It is observed that among the Wanchos 'O' gene is more frequent than A, B and AB ($O > A > B > AB$). It is clear from the table that the frequency of 'O' gene (52.77 %) is very high among the Wancho than the other population of N. E. India.

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TABLE 2

Percentile frequency of hair whorl among the Wancho and some other Mongoloid population of N. E.

Population	N	Single			Double		Source
		(+)	(-)	(++)	(--)	(+-)	
Wancho ..	95	62.10	30.52	—	1.05	6.31	Present study
Deuri ..	100	82.00	18.00	—	—	—	Sharma, 1967
Miri ..	100	86.00	10.00	3.00	1.00	—	Sharma, 1961
Ahom ..	100	76.00	16.00	1.00	—	7.00	Dutta, 1980
Pati Rabha ..	120	67.50	21.67	4.17	5.83	0.83	Das, 1956

The percentile frequency of hair whorl among the Wancho and some other Mongoloid population of N. E. India are shown in the Table 2. Table show that the single clockwise whorl (62.10 %) is dominated over the single anti-clockwise whorl (30.52 %) among the Wancho and it is more or less shows the same result among the other Mongoloid population of N. E. India.

TABLE 3

Frequency of attached Earlobe among the Wancho and some other Mongoloid population of N. E. India

Population	N	Attached earlobe (%)	Authors
Wancho ..	105	72.38	Present study
Ahom ..	100	62.00	Dutta, 1979
Sema Naga ..	100	63.00	Phookan and Begam, 1976
Garos ..	200	46.50	Das, 1967
Kachari ..	100	34.00	Das, 1967

Frequency of attached earlobe among the Wancho and other Mongoloid population of N. E. India are presented in the Table 3. In this Table the Wancho shows the highest frequency of attached earlobe (72.38 %) is comparison to the other Mongoloid population of N. E. India.

TABLE 4

Incidence of individual without MPH among the Wancho and some other Mongoloid population of N. E. India

Population	N	Without MPH (%)	Author
Wancho ..	100	85.00	Present study
Mihir ..	150	74.00	Mukherjee, D. P. (unpub) *
Khasi ..	301	59.50	"
Lushai ..	125	64.00	"
Nocte Naga ..	111	54.10	Kumar, 1955 *
Riang ..	198	35.90	Kumar and Sastry, 1961 *
Wancho ..	96	69.78	Choudhary and Banerjee, 1977

* Cited from Choudhary and Banerjee 1977.

The incidence of individual without middle phalangeal hair (MPH) among the Wancho and some other Mongoloid population of N. E. India are shown in the Table 4. It is seen that the Wancho have the highest MPH (85 %) in comparison to the other population.

TABLE 5

Frequency of Arm folding and Hand clasping among the Wancho and other population of N. E. India

Population	N	Arm folding (%) R-type	Hand clasping (%) R-type	Authors
Wancho ..	108	64.81	54.63	Present study
Ahom ..	100	59.00	62.00	Dutta, 1984
Sema Naga ..	100	43.00	51.00	Phookan and Begum, 1976
Nepali ..	100	36.00	70.00	„

Table 5 shows the frequency of Arm folding and Hand clasping among the Wancho and other population of N. E. India. Arm folding (R-type) shows the highest frequency among the Wancho (64.81 %) than the other population. In case hand clasping (R-type) the Wancho shows the low frequency in comparison to the other population of N. E. India, except the Sema Naga.

TABLE 6

Frequency of Tongue rolling among the Wancho and other population of N. E. India

Population	N	(+) ve type (%)	Authors
Wancho ..	85	50.59	Present study
Ahom ..	100	48.00	Dutta and Phookan, 1978-79
Sema ..	100	65.00	Phookan and Begum, 1976

The frequency of Tongue rolling among the Wancho and other population of N. E. India are shown in the Table 6. Tongue rolling (+) ve type among the Wancho shows the low frequency (50.59 %) in comparison to Sema Naga (65 %).

Summary :

From the result it may be conclude that the Wancho have the high frequency in all the traits except in hand clasping and tongue rolling.

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आदिवासीसंबंधी महत्वाच्या कायद्यांची तोंडओळख

अॅड. विजय साठे *

पार्श्वभूमी

आदिवासी म्हणजे कोण हे पुढे दिलेल्या सर्वसाधारण व्याख्येवरून लक्षात येईल. आदिवासी जमाती वा लोक वा राष्ट्रे यांच्यावर आक्रमण होण्यापूर्वी स्वतंत्रपणे राहणारी आणि स्वतःला वेगळे मानणारे लोक होते. आजही या विभागातील वस्ती करणाऱ्या इतरांपासून ते आपल्याला वेगळे मानतात. हे लोक सध्या वर्चस्व न गाजवणाऱ्या समाजाच्या सदरात आहेत आणि त्यांचे परंपरागत विभाग आणि स्वतंत्र वांशिक आस्तित्व टिकविण्याचा निर्धार आहे. आपली संस्कृती, सामाजिक संस्था, कायदा व न्याय पद्धती टिकवून धरण्याचा त्यांचा प्रयत्न आहे.

आदिवासी लोकांचे एक मुख्य वैशिष्ट्य म्हणजे त्यांची भूमी व नैसर्गिक साधन संपत्तीविषयक एक स्वतंत्र संकल्पना होय. त्यांच्या दृष्टीने भूमी आणि नैसर्गिक साधनसंपत्ती ही एका पिढीला मिळालेली ठेव आहे. ही देणगी पुर्वीच्या पिढ्यांनी जपली असून प्रत्येक पिढीने तिचा किमान उपभोग घेऊन तिचे रक्षण केले पाहिजे व ती पुढील पिढ्यांच्या हवाली केली पाहिजे. प्रत्येक पिढी ही देणगीची किंवा ठेवीची विश्वस्त आहे.

आदिवासींची जगभरची लोकसंख्या सुमारे २० कोटी म्हणजेच एकंदर लोकसंख्येच्या ४ टक्के आहे. तर जगातील एकूण आदिवासींपैकी अंदाजे ३३ टक्के आदिवासी भारतीय उपखंडात राहतात. भारतात साधारण ७ टक्के आदिवासी आहेत.

वाढते खाणकाम, मध्यम व प्रचंड आकाराची धरणे, व्यापारी जंगलतोड, स्थलांतराच्या सरकारी योजना, लष्करीकरण, वंशहत्या, त्यांच्या वहिवाटीखालच्या जमिनींवर पद्धतशीरपणे होत असलेली

सततची गैरवाजवी अतिक्रमणे अशा नानाविध माध्यमांतून जगभरच्या आदिवासींवर अनन्वित अत्याचार होत आहेत.

ब्रिटिशांनी भारतावर राज्यकारभार करतेवेळी आदिवासी, आदिवासी प्रदेशांची स्वयंत्ता, आदिवासी विभागांबरोबर करार अशा विविध मार्गांनी त्यांचेवर अंकुश ठेवण्याचा प्रयत्न केला व आदिवासींमधील असंतोष दडपण्याचे धोरण अवलंबले होते.

स्वातंत्र्यानंतर आदिवासींना विशेष वागणूक देण्याचे धोरण कायम ठेवण्यात आले. भारतीय घटनेने राष्ट्राच्या राष्ट्रपतींवर व राज्यांच्या गव्हर्नरांवर आदिवासींच्या कल्याणाची जबाबदारी टाकली आणि त्यांच्या संरक्षणासाठी विशेष तरतुदी आखून दिल्या. त्यांच्यासाठी कायद्यांचे समान संरक्षण (१४), धर्म, वंशाच्या आधारावर भेदभाव करण्यास मज्जाव केला (१५-१) अनुसूचित जमाती व इतर मागास वर्गीय यांचेबरोबर आदिवासींचेही कल्याण करण्यास राज्यशासनास प्रतिबंध केला जाणार नाही (१५-४) विधीमंडळ व नोकऱ्यांमध्ये आरक्षण तसेच प्रशासनावर नियंत्रण (३३ अ २) (Sch. V 3) केंद्राकडून सरळ आर्थिक मदत (२९५=१) राष्ट्रपतींना वार्षिक अहवाल सादर करणे. (Sch.V item 3), अनुसूचित क्षेत्रांमध्ये काही कायदे लागू न करण्याचा अधिकार (Sch. V 4) प्रत्येक राज्यामध्ये आदिवासी, आदिवासी क्षेत्र जाहीर करण्याचे राष्ट्रपतींना अधिकार (३४२-१), इ. घटनात्मक तरतुदी करण्यात आल्या.

घटनेच्या मार्गदर्शक तत्वांमध्ये म्हटले आहे की, (४६), "समाजातील कमकुवत वर्गांचे विशेष करून आदिवासी व दलित समाजातील लोकांचे शैक्षणिक व आर्थिक

हितसंबंधांचे राज्य शासन विशेष करून रक्षण करील व सामाजिक अत्याय व शोषण होणार नाही याची काळजी घेईल."

भारताला स्वातंत्र्य मिळाल्यावर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू यांनी पंतप्रधानपदाची सूत्रे हाती घेतल्यावर आदिवासी विकासाची "पंचशिल तत्वे" जाहीर केली.

(१) आदिवासींना स्वतःच्या कलाने विकसित होऊ द्यावे, त्यांच्यावर कोणतीही गोष्ट लादू नये. त्यांच्या परंपरागत कला, संस्कृती यांना जास्तीत जास्त प्रोत्साहन द्यावे.

(२) जमीन व जंगलांवरील आदिवासींच्या अधिकारांचा पूर्णपणे सन्मान करण्यात यावा.

(३) व्यवस्थापन व विकासासाठी आपण त्यांच्यातलेच नेतृत्व उभारले पाहिजे. सुरुवातीच्या काळात बाहेरच्या तज्ञांची गरज लागेल. पण बाहेरच्या लोकांना आदिवासी क्षेत्रात होता होईतो लुडबुड करू देऊ नये.

(४) असंख्य योजनांच्या बोजा खाली त्यांना आपण वाकवू नये. त्यांच्या स्वतःच्या सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक पठडीतूनच त्यांना जास्तीत जास्त मार्गक्रमण करू द्यावे.

(५) माणसांमधील गुणवत्ता किती वाढीस लागली याचे मूल्यमापन केले पाहिजे. किती पैसा खर्च केला किंवा नुसत्या आकडेवारीच्या कसरतीवर यशस्वीता ठरवू नये.

आंध्र प्रदेश, बिहार, गुजरात, कर्नाटक, केरळ, हिमाचल प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, मणीपूर, महाराष्ट्र, ओरीसा, राजस्थान, तामिळनाडू, त्रिपुरा, सिक्कीम, उत्तर प्रदेश, पश्चिम बंगाल, दादरा, नगर हवेली, नागालँड, आसाम, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, लक्षद्वीप, मेघालय, अंदमान निकोबार

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बेटे इ. राज्य व केंद्रशासित प्रदेशांमध्ये भूमीविषयक कायद्यांमध्ये आदिवासींसाठी विशेष तरतुदी केलेल्या आहेत.

महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासींसाठी महत्वाचे कायदे/तरतुदी :

(एक) मुंबई कुळ व्हिवाट व शेत जमीन अधिनियम, १९४८ ला १९५६ मध्ये दुहस्ती करून १ एप्रिल १९५७ हा दिवस कृषक दिन म्हणून—म्हणजेच १ एप्रिल १९५७ रोजी जेवढी कुळे होती ती जमीन मालक झाल्याचे जाहीर करण्यात आले.

या तरतुदीप्रमाणे आदिवासी कुळ जमीन खरेदी करणाऱ्यांना जमिनीची अर्धी रक्कम शासनाने अनुदान म्हणून द्यायची आहे.

(दोन) कमाल जमीन धारणा (सिलींग) कायद्याखाली ज्या जमिनी शासन ताब्यात घेते त्या जमिनी त्या भागातील नजिकच्या भूमिहीन आदिवासींना प्राधान्यक्रमाने शासन देते.

(तीन) २२ मार्च १९६९ च्या शासनाच्या ठरावाप्रमाणे "ज्या जमिनी आदिवासी, दलित एकसाली कराराने करत आहेत, कसत आहेत त्याने त्यांना कायम स्वरूपी द्यायच्या आहेत.

(चार) १४ जानेवारी १९७० व २६ जुलै १९७१ च्या शासकीय आदेशाप्रमाणे दळी जमिनी जे कातकरी आदिवासी वर्षानुवर्षे कसत आहेत, त्या त्यांना कायमस्वरूपी द्यायच्या आहेत.

(पाच) महाराष्ट्र जमीन महसूल संहिता आणि कुळकायदा (दुहस्ती) क्र. ३५/७४ प्रमाणे ६ जुलै १९७४ नंतर कोणत्याही परिस्थितीत शासनाच्या पूर्व परवानगीशिवाय आदिवासींच्या मालकीच्या जमिनी विंगर आदिवासींकडे हस्तांतरीत होणार नाहीत.

(सहा) महाराष्ट्र आदिवासींना जमिनी पुनर्स्थापित करण्याविषयीचा कायदा क्र. १४/७५ प्रमाणे ज्या आदिवासींच्या जमिनी १ एप्रिल १९५७ ते ६ जुलै १९७४ च्या दरम्यान विंगर आदिवासींकडे हस्तांतरीत झालेल्या असतील, त्या जमिनी आदिवासींना शासन परत मिळवून देईल.

(सात) आदिवासींच्या सर्वांगिन आर्थिक उन्नती व विकासासाठी महाराष्ट्र शासनाने १९७६ साली एक विशेष कायदा केला आहे. (महाराष्ट्र आदिवासी आर्थिक स्थिती सुधारणा कायदा १९७६) त्याप्रमाणे आदिवासी विकास महामंडळाची स्थापना, आदिवासी सेवा सहकारी सोसायट्या, एकाधिकार खरेदी इ. मार्फत आदिवासींचे शोषण, पिळवणूक थांबवून आर्थिक उन्नती साधली जाईल.

(आठ) २७ डिसेंबर १९७८ व १२ सप्टेंबर १९७९ च्या ठरावाप्रमाणे ज्या जंगल, गायरान, पडीक जमिनीवर आदिवासी, दलित ३१ मार्च १९७८ पूर्वीपासून कसत आहेत त्या त्यांच्या नावावर करून देण्यात येतील.

(नऊ) महाराष्ट्र जमीन महसूल संहिता १९६६ मधील कलम ८५ प्रमाणे आदिवासींच्या जमिनीची विभागणी (खातेफोड) शासनाने मोफत करून द्यायची आहे.

(दहा) आदिवासी, दलित, कुळे आणि भूमिहीन शेतमजूर यांच्या झोपड्यांना घरनंवर शासनाने देऊन घरपट्टी वसवायची आहे. (शासन संबंधित ग्राम पंचायतींना आदेश देऊन हे काम करवून घेऊ शकते.) तसेच त्यांच्या वस्त्या गावठाण म्हणून जाहीर करणे, गावठाण विस्तार करणे हेही काम शासनाचे आहे.

(अकरा) आदिवासी, दलितांवर होणाऱ्या अत्याचारांना प्रतिबंध करता यावा या हेतूने केंद्र सरकारने १९८९ साली एक कायदा संमत केला आहे. [अनुसूचित जाती व अनुसूचित जमाती (अत्याचारविरोधी) कायदा, १९८९].

या कायद्याप्रमाणे आदिवासी दलितेतर समाजातील लोकांनी आदिवासी दलित समाजातील लोकांना खाण्यास अयोग्य अपायकारक पदार्थ देणे, राहत्या किंवा शेजारच्या परिसरात घाण टाकणे, बळजोरीने नून करणे, चेहरा, शरीर विद्रूप करणे, धिड काढणे, मानवी प्रतिष्ठेला हानीकारक अशी गोष्ट करणे, जमिनीवरून हुसकावून लावणे, जमिनी बळजोरीने ताब्यात घेणे, सक्तीचे श्रम करायला लावणे, त्यांच्याविरुद्ध खोटी साक्ष-पुरावा देणे, निवडणुकीत अमक्यालाच मत

देणे भाग पाडणे, अपमानिक करणे, स्त्रियांचा छळ करणे, त्यांचा वितयभंग, जाण्यायेण्यास अडथळा करणे इत्यादि अनेक गोष्टी "अत्याचार" या सदराखाली मोडतात.

या कायद्याखाली आलेली तक्रार एखाद्या शासकीय कर्मचाऱ्याने नोंदवून घेतली नाही, तर तोही या कायद्याप्रमाणे गुन्हा आहे.

याचप्रमाणे इतर कायद्यातील तरतुदींचाही इतरांप्रमाणे आदिवासींनाही लाभ करवून घेता येतो. बंध विंगर पद्धती (उच्चाटन) अधिनियमाप्रमाणे (१९७६) शासनाला आदिवासी वेढविंगरांना वेढ विंगारातून मुक्त करता येते. रोजगार हमी योजना कायदा १९७२ प्रमाणे ग्रामीण भागातील १८ वर्षे वयाच्या पुढील वेकारांना मागितल्यावर रोजगार मिळू शकतो, निरतिराळे शासकीय उद्योग व सेवांमध्ये आदिवासींसाठी राखीव जागा आहेत इ.

असे असले तरी आतापर्यंत राज्य शासन व केंद्र सरकारला जे वेळोवेळी अहवाल सादर करण्यात आले आहेत त्यामध्ये आदिवासींच्या कल्याणाबद्दल चिंता व्यक्त करण्यात आली आहे.

आपल्या देशात व अन्यत्र आदिवासींमध्ये असतोष खदखदत आहे. मगळीकडचे आदिवासी मुख्यत्वेकरून दोन प्रकारच्या मागण्या करीत आहेत. पहिली मागणी स्वयंनिर्णयाची, राजकीय स्वरूपाची आहे. दुसरी मागणी मुख्यत्वेकरून जमिनीवरील हक्क, रोजगार, शिक्षण यामधील न्याय वाटा अशी आर्थिक व सांस्कृतिक स्वरूपाची आहे. यामागची कारणे स्पष्ट आहेत.

अशा परिस्थितीत आदिवासी लोकांच्या हक्काविषयीच्या जागतिक जाहीरनाम्याच्या मसुद्यामध्ये काय अंतर्भूत केले आहे, हे पाहणे महत्वाचे ठरेल.

आदिवासी लोकांच्या हक्काविषयीच्या जागतिक जाहीरनाम्याचा मसुदा :

संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघाच्या आदिवासी विषयक कार्यगटाच्या अध्यक्ष इरिका-इदिन डायस यांनी या मसुद्याची पहिली सुधारित प्रत बनवली आहे. या मसुद्याचा स्वैर अनुवाद पुढे दिला आहे.

त्यावेळची संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघाची सर्व-साधारण सभा पुढील गोष्टींची नोंद घेत आहे.

आदिवासी लोक स्वतंत्र आणि समान असून त्यांना प्रचलित आंतरराष्ट्रीय नियमानुसार प्रतिष्ठेने जगण्याचा आणि हक्क उपभोगण्याचा अधिकार आहे. व्यक्ती समुहाना इतरांपासून वेगळे राहण्याचा आपण वेगळे आहोत असे मानण्याचा व वेगळे समजले जाण्याचा हक्क आहे.

लोकांच्या वेगवेगळ्या गटांनी मानव समाजाच्या विकासाला आणि संस्कृतीला हातभार लावला असून ह्यातूनच मानव समुदायाचा समान वारसा निर्माण झाला आहे.

आदिवासी लोकांचा इतिहास, जीवन-विषयक परंपरा आणि तत्वज्ञान, सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक संरचना यामधून निर्माण झालेले त्यांचे हक्क व वैशिष्ट्ये जतन करण्याची व पुढे नेण्याची आवश्यकता आहे. यापैकी वरील वैशिष्ट्ये ते परंपरागत वस्ती करित असलेल्या जमिनीशी निगडित आहेत.

अनेक आदिवासी लोकांना त्यांचे मानवी हक्क आणि मुलभूत स्वातंत्र्ये उपभोगता येत नाहीत. त्यांच्याकडे सध्या अपुरी जमीन व साधनसामुग्री आहे आणि त्या समाजात दारिद्र्य आणि दुर्भिक्ष्य मोठ्या प्रमाणावर आहे. त्यांच्याविरुद्ध

होणारा विविधप्रकारचा पक्षपात आणि त्यांच्यावरील जबरदस्ती दूर करावी अशी त्यांची मागणी आहे.

वांशिक, सांस्कृतिक, जातीय श्रेष्ठत्व प्रतिपादन करणारी सर्व तत्वे आणि चालिरीती कायदेशीरदृष्ट्या चुकीच्या आहेत. नैतिक दृष्ट्या निंद्य आहेत आणि सामाजिकदृष्ट्या अन्यायकारक आहेत.

आदिवासी लोकांना त्यांचे हक्क कोणत्याही प्रकारचा पक्षपात न होता, उपभोगता आले पाहिजेत. आदिवासी समाज, त्यांची संस्कृती आणि परंपरा यांचे जतन करण्याची आवश्यकता आहे. त्यांच्या गरजा मूल्यपद्धती लक्षात घेऊन त्यांच्या सर्वंकष सहभागांचे आणि सल्ला मसलतीने त्यांच्या विकासाचे प्रयत्न करणे आवश्यक आहे.

आदिवासी स्त्रिया, मुले यांचे हक्क आणि कौशल्ये याकडे खास लक्ष देण्याची आवश्यकता आहे. आदिवासींना शक्य तितक्या लवकर जास्तीत जास्त प्रमाणात त्यांच्या व्यवहारांचे व्यवस्थापन करता आले पाहिजे आणि त्याचबरोबर देशातील इतर नागरिकांच्या बरोबरीने राजकीय, आर्थिक आणि सामाजिक हक्क उपभोगता आले पाहिजेत. तशी परिस्थिती निर्माण झाली पाहिजे.

आदिवासींना मानवी हक्क विषयक करारनाम्यांच्याद्वारे किंवा आंतरराष्ट्रीय कायदानुसार स्वयंनिर्णयाचा हक्क मिळत

असे. अशा परिस्थितीत या जाहीरनाम्यातील कोणत्याही तरतुदींचा आधार घेऊन असा हक्क नाकारता येणार नाही.

आदिवासींना लागू पडणाऱ्या सर्व आंतरराष्ट्रीय मानवी हक्कविषयक करारनाम्यांची राज्यांनी योग्यरितीने अंमलबजावणी करावी. जगातील विविध भागातील आदिवासींच्या परिस्थितीतील भिन्नता लक्षात घेता त्यांच्यासाठी काही किमान प्रमाण नियम असण्याची आवश्यकता आहे.

वरील सर्व गोष्टी लक्षात घेऊन आदिवासी लोकांच्या हक्काविषयी हा जाहीरनामा प्रगट करण्यात येत आहे. आदिवासी लोकांच्या सहकार्याने त्याची अंमलबजावणी त्वरीत व प्रभावीपणे करावी. वरील सर्व गोष्टी विस्ताराने ६ विभागात ३० कलमांमध्ये मांडण्यात आल्या आहेत.

शेवटी आदिवासी सुद्धा माणसेच आहेत, ढोरं नाहीत. त्यांना माणुसकीचा हक्क मिळालाच पाहिजे. माणुसकीची भिक कोणी त्यांना घालू नये, या भूमिकेतून आदिवासींसाठी असलेले कायदे, धोरणे योजना राबविल्या तरच त्यास अर्थ आहे. अन्यथा याही समाजाला "फुटिरतेच्या रस्त्यापासून" कोणी अडवू शकणार नाही.

पाचवे आदिवासी साहित्य संमेलन : उत्तरार्ध

प्रा. विनायक तुमराम *

संमेलनाचा दुसरा दिवस नवा उत्साह घेऊन उजाडला. या दिवशी सकाळी नऊच्या सुमारास तिसऱ्या परिसंवादाला सुरुवात झाली. “आदिवासी स्त्री-वास्तवातील व नाटक सिनेमातील” हा परिसंवादाचा विषय होता. परिसंवादाच्या अध्यक्षस्थानी होते राजाभाऊ राजगडकर. श्रीमती गीता पागी, सौ. पुष्पाताई आत्राम, सौ. कुसुम आत्राम, सौ. संघजा मेश्राम व कु. उषाकिरण आत्राम इ.नी या परिसंवादात भाग घेतला. श्रीमती गीता पागी यांनी आपल्या भाषणात पुढील विचार व्यक्त केले.

“नाटक सिनेमा प्रत्येकजण पाहता असतो, परंतु त्या चित्रपटातील आदिवासी स्त्रीचे पात्र रंगविणारी नायिका-नटी खऱ्या अर्थाने रंगविता येते काय? तिचा जन्म आदिवासींमध्येच व्हायला पाहिजे. सिनेमात नाटकात जी आदिवासी स्त्री दाखविली जाते, रंगविली जाते तिच्यावर बलात्कार वगैरे होत असल्याचे दाखविण्यात येते हे योग्य नाही.”

भारतीय समाज व्यवस्थेत स्त्रीचे स्थान काय आहे हे सौ. पुष्पाताई आत्राम यांनी उपस्थितांना सोदाहरण पटवून दिले. त्या आपल्या भाषणात म्हणाल्या,

“आदिवासी स्त्री ही पुरुषांच्या खांद्याला खांदा लावून लढते आहे. परंतु मनुवाद्यांनी तिला दूर लोटले आहे. स्त्री हे केवळ उपभोगाचे साधन आहे असा दृष्टीकोन येथे जन्माला आला आहे. आजही तिचे चित्रण विकृत रित्याच केले जाते. सिनेमातील स्त्री भुकेल्या बापाला एकवेळचे जेवण मिळवून देण्यासाठी ठेकेदाराकडे जाते व जेवण आणते, पण त्या मोबदल्यात शरीर देते हे शक्य आहे काय?”

आदिवासी साहित्य हे कसे आहे व हे साहित्य संमेलन कशासाठी याविषयी

देखील त्यांनी आपली बोलकी प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त केली.

आजचे दिग्दर्शन कसे सदोष आहे, हे सौ. कुसुम आत्राम यांनी उपस्थितांना पटवून दिले व काही चित्रपटातील आदिवासी स्त्री चित्रणावर प्रकाश टाकतांना त्या म्हणाल्या,

“स्त्री पती सोडून जाते, तिच्या मनःस्थितीचे वर्णन दिग्दर्शकाने केले पाहिजे तसे दाखवायला हवे. आदिवासी स्त्रीमध्ये प्रतिकारशक्ती जास्त आहे. चित्रपटवाल्यांनी आदिवासी स्त्रीचे भांडवल करून टाकले आहे. केवळ पॅसा कम-विण्यासाठी.”

कु. उषाकिरण आत्राम यांनी कोणत्या चित्रपटात आदिवासी स्त्री जीवनाचे चित्र कसे आहे हे उपस्थितांना सोदाहरण पटवून दिलेल्या चित्रीकरणात कशा व कुठे चुका आहेत हे त्यांनी उपस्थितांना दाखवून दिल्या. त्या आपल्या भाषणात म्हणाल्या,

“आदिवासी स्त्री उघडी नागडी दाखविली जाते. हिरव्या नोटेला भाळून सर्वस्व देते असे दाखविले जाते, सांगितले जाते. विवाहापूर्वी तिला बंधने नसतात असे दाखविले जाते, पण ते तसे नाही. “कसं काय पाटील बरं हाय कां”, गो. नि. दाडेकरांच्या “जंत रे जंत” मध्ये दाखविण्यात आलेली आदिवासी स्त्री ही वास्तवातील नाही. “लहू के फूल” या चित्रपटात अजाणपणा स्वैरपणा दाखविली आहे. आदिवासीचे जीवन मुक्त असल्याचे दाखविले आहे, पण प्रत्यक्षात तसे नाही. जे. पी. सिंघल आदिवासी स्त्री चे उघडे नागडे चित्रण दाखवून आंतरराष्ट्रीय किर्ती मिळवतो. पण त्यासाठी उघडे नागडे दाखविणेच आवश्यक होते काय?”

सौ. संघजा मेश्राम यांनी, “आदिवासी स्त्रियांवर होणाऱ्या बलात्काराचे आणि त्यांच्या दारिद्र्याचेच चित्रण मुख्यत्वे चित्रपटातून केले जाते”, असे आपल्या भाषणातून सांगितले. सामाजिक बांधिलकीचा दृष्टीकोन पुढे ठेवून चित्रपट निर्माण होण्याची गरज त्यांनी बोलून दाखविली.

परिसंवादाचे अध्यक्ष राजाभाऊ राजगडकर यांनी वेळेअभावी आपले अध्यक्षीय भाषण आटोपते घेतले. प्रस्तुत विषय हा तांत्रिक व गंभीर असल्याचे ते म्हणाले. अशा-रितीने संमेलनातील तिसरा परिसंवाद यशस्वीरित्या पार पडला.

यानंतर लगेच चौथ्या परिसंवादाला सुरुवात झाली. “आदिवासी लेखक कलावंताकडून अपेक्षा” हा परिसंवादाचा विषय होता. श्री. सतीश काळसेकर हे परिसंवादाच्या अध्यक्षस्थानी होते. या परिसंवादात सर्वश्री डॉ. शरद कुलकर्णी, प्रा. विनायक तुमराम, जगदिश गोडबोले, लक्ष्मण गायकवाड, काळूराम धांगडा इ अभ्यासक विचारवंतांनी या परिसंवादात भाग घेतला. अत्यंत अभ्यासपूर्ण असे विचार या परिसंवादात वक्त्यांनी मांडले. आजचे साहित्य हे आदिम जीवन संस्कृतीच्या किती दूर आहे या विषयी खंत व्यक्त, करून ते म्हणाले.

निर्वाहाची साधने हरविली जाणे हा आदिवासींच्या आस्तित्वाला फार मोठा धोका आहे. हे साहित्यातून प्रतिबींबीत झाले पाहिजे. आदिवासींना मिळणाऱ्या सवलती बहुसंख्य विंगर आदिवासींच आपल्या पदरात पाडून घेत आहेत. त्यामुळे आदिवासी माणूस आर्थिक व शैक्षणिक क्षेत्रात मागे पडत चालला आहे. त्यांच्या संस्कृतीवरही आक्रमणे होऊ लागली आहेत. त्यामुळे आदिवासी साहित्यकांनी आणि आदिवासीत विविध प्रकारचे काम करणाऱ्या

* मु. पो. मूल, जिल्हा चंद्रपूर.

कार्यकर्त्यांनी या गोष्टींची दखल घेणे आणि त्याविरुद्ध काही उपाय योजणे आवश्यक आहे.”

धरण प्रकल्पांमुळे पर्यावरण कसे नष्ट होत आहे व त्याचा परिणाम आदिवासी जीवन संस्कृतीवर कसा होत आहे यावरही त्यांनी यावेळी प्रकाश टाकला.

आदिवासी कार्यकर्ते श्री. लक्ष्मण गायकवाड यांनी धरण-प्रकल्पांवर कडाडून हल्ला चढविला. “धरणे म्हणजे आदिवासींची कब्रस्थाने होत” अशा शब्दात त्यांनी आपले मत नोंदविले. साहित्यासंबंधी आपली भूमिका विषद करताना ते म्हणाले,

“साहित्य चांगले ते चांगले, वाईट ते वाईट. मग ते कोणत्याही साहित्यिकाने लिहिलेले असो. सहानुभूती डोळ्यात पाणी आणते तर अनुभूती अंगात अंगार आणते. साहित्यात सामाजिक असावा”.

प्रा. विनायक तुमराम यांनी आदिवासी साहित्य म्हणजे काय व आदिवासी साहित्यिक कोण हे स्पष्ट केले. आपल्या भाषणात ते म्हणाले,

“भूतकाळातील स्थिती गतीचा तपशिल सोबत घेऊन, व वर्तमानाचे भान ठेवून आदिम जीवन संस्कृतीशी, प्रश्न समस्यांशी, वेदना विद्रोहाशी, भाव भावनांशी व आशाआकांक्षांशी निगडीत जे जे काही लिहिले जाई ते सर्व आदिवासी साहित्य ठरेल. जगाच्या पाठीवर जेथे जेथे आदिम समूह आजही टोळ्याटोळ्यांनी वावरतात त्यांच्या अस्मितेशी व दुःखाशी जाणीवपूर्वक नाते जोडणारे सर्व साहित्य हे आदिवासी साहित्यातच समाविष्ट होईल. आदिम वेदनेची झिरपण ज्यात आहे आणि आदिम भावनांचे अकृत्रिम उद्रेक ज्यात आहेत ते आदिवासी साहित्य होय. अशा साहित्याचे निमते जातकुळीने, धमनि, वंशाने कोणीही असोत, ते आदिवासी साहित्यिकच ठरतील. ते सर्व आदिवासी साहित्य प्रवाहाचे प्रतिनिधी ठरतील.”

आदिवासी लेखक कलावंतांकडून अपेक्षा व्यक्त करताना ते पुढे म्हणाले,

“आदिवासी समाजानेही प्रतिभा संपन्न कवी, लेखक आणि कलावंत जन्माला घातले आहेत. आजवरच्या साहित्य संमेलनांनी त्यांचे वाङ्मयीन कर्तृत्व व त्यांची कला-भिव्यक्ती यांचे दर्शन घडविले आहे. या

सर्व आदिवासी लेखक कलावंतांनी आपल्या प्रज्ञा प्रतिभेने साहित्य कृतीने व कला-कुसरीने आदिवासींमधला निद्रिस्त माणूस जागविला पाहिजे. आपल्या वेदनांना जपले पाहिजे. आदिवासी प्रतिभेने रानात हिंडून आदिम दुःखाशी संवाद साधला पाहिजे. आदिवासी लेखक कलावंतांनी आपल्या अंगभूत सामर्थ्याने स्वतंत्ररित्या लेखन केले पाहिजे. आपले शब्द कोणत्याही प्रभावाखाली येऊ न देता त्यांना वास्तवाच्या जवळ कसे नेता येईल याचाही विचार झाला पाहिजे. आपला सांस्कृतिक सूर सांभाळून आदिवासी लेखक कलावंतांची आदिवासीचे प्रबोधन केले पाहिजे. आपल्या शब्दांनी आदिमांच्या दुःखाचा ध्यास घ्यायला पाहिजे.”

श्री. जगदिश गोडवोले यांनी स्वानुभव कथन केले. “एका वाजूला ज्यांचा आपण निषेध करतो त्यांचाच दुसऱ्या वाजूने पाठपुरावा करतो हे कसे?” असा रोखठोक सवाल करून उपस्थितांना अंतर्मुख केले. ते आपल्या भाषणात म्हणाले,

“तू जो जंगलास, वाढलास ते लिहिण्याचा तू प्रयत्न कर. आदिवासी जंगलात राहत आहेत हा ग्रहच आज चुकीचा आहे. कारण आज बहुतेक आदिवासी साहित्यिक आता शहरात राहतात. ते अधिकारी आहेत, प्राध्यापक आहेत. मग त्यांनी जे चित्रण केले ते मध्यमवर्गीय कां मानावे?” फार मोठ्या प्रमाणावर सुरु असलेल्या जंगलतोडीबद्दल. “जंगलाचे आज कब्रस्थान झाले आहे” अशी दाहक प्रतिक्रियाही त्यांनी आपल्या भाषणातून व्यक्त केली. काळूराम धांगडा यांनीही आपले दाहक अनुभव आपल्या भाषणातून कथन केले.

परिसंवादाचे अध्यक्ष सतीश काळसेकर यांनी परिसंवादातील एकूणच चर्चेवर समाधान व्यक्त केले. ते आपल्या भाषणात म्हणाले,

“आदिवासींच्या अनेक कला आहेत. त्यांपैकी त्यांची चित्रकला खरोखरच प्रशंसनीय आहे. आदिम जीवनाशी संवाद साधण्याचे सामर्थ्य आदिवासी चित्रकलेतील रेषेतही आहे. आदिवासी लेखक कलावंतांनी खूप लिहावे, पण वास्तवाचे भान ठेवून लिहावे. आदिवासी साहित्यातून जगण्याचा संदर्भ आढळला पाहिजे.” थोड्या विश्रांती-नंतर दुपारी २.०० वाजता “आदिवासी साहित्याचा आदिवासी चळवळीशी संबंध”

या विषयावर अभ्यासपूर्ण परिसंवाद झाला. परिसंवादाच्या अध्यक्षस्थानी प्रा. विर भारत तलवार होते. परिसंवादाचे संचालन प्रा. वामन शेळमाके यांनी केले. सर्वश्री मास्ती कुडमेथे, सुभाष आडे, लहू पासारे, सी. पुष्पाताई आत्राम व डॉ. डगला इ. वक्त्यांनी या परिसंवादात भाग घेतला. आदिवासींच्या किमान गरजा सुद्धा पूर्ण होत नसल्याची खंत मास्ती कुडमेथे यांनी व्यक्त केली. आदिवासींच्या दुःखावर बोलताना ते म्हणाले.

“स्वातंत्र्यापूर्वी आणि स्वातंत्र्यानंतर आदिवासींचा उपयोग करून घेण्यात आलेला आहे. किमान गरजा पूर्ण करण्यासाठी सुद्धा त्यांना संघर्ष करावा लागतो. आदिवासींचे दुःख बोलके करून सहानुभूती मिळविता येते पण त्याने प्रश्न सुटत नाहीत.”

आपल्या अवलोकनातून जाणविलेल्या वास्तवाचे चित्रण सुभाष आडे यांनी आपल्या भाषणातून केले. वहार सोनवणे यांच्या “गोधड” मधील; प्रा. विनायक तुमराम यांच्या “गोंडवन पेटले आहे” मधील व प्रातिनिधीक काव्यसंग्रह “मोहोळ” मधील कवितांचा आदिवासींच्या सामाजिक चळवळीशी कसा संबंध आहे हे त्यांनी सोदाहरण पटवून दिले. या कविता संग्रही-मधील सर्व कविता समाजिक आशयाच्या असल्याचे त्यांनी सांगितले.

श्री. लहू पासारे यांनी आदिवासींच्या लोकसाहित्याकडे उपस्थितांचे लक्ष वेधून घेतले. वारली लोकगीतांचे काही चटकदार नमुने सादर करून त्यात व्यक्त झालेल्या सामाजिक जाणिवेचे स्वरूप कसे आहे हे स्पष्ट केले. सी. पुष्पाताई आत्राम यांनी “कृतीच्या पाठीमागे यश धावत असते” असे सांगून आदिवासी साहित्यिकांनी कृतीशील असले पाहिजे अशी अपेक्षा व्यक्त केली. डॉ. डगला यांनी आपले अनुभव या प्रसंगी भाषणातून कथन केले. परिसंवादाचे अध्यक्ष वीर भारत तलवार यांनी आपल्या भाषणात सांगितले की, “आदिवासी साहित्याचे आदिवासी चळवळीशी नाते असलेच पाहिजे. हे नाते जर नसेल तर या चळवळी मृतप्राय झाल्याशिवाय राहणार नाहीत.” श्री. तलवार यांनी आदिवासींच्या गतकालिन कर्तृत्वाचे अनेक दाखले देऊन वर्तमानात ते कसे प्रेरणादायी आहेत हे पटवून दिले. अशा रितीने पाचव्या परि-

संवादाची सांगता झाली. सामाजिक व्यथा वेदनांनी परिपूर्ण व आक्रस्ताळी स्वरूपाची या परिसंवादातील भाषणे असल्याचे जाणवले.

रात्री ८.०० वाजता आदिवासी कवींचे बहारदार कवी संमेलन झाले कवी संमेलनाच्या अध्यक्षस्थानी प्रा. विनायक तुमराम होते. सूत्र संचालन प्रभु राजगडकर यांनी केले. अनेक श्रोत्यांच्या उपस्थितीत सर्वश्री भुजंग मेश्राम, रवि कुरसंगे, सतीश काळसेकर, वाहरु सोनवणे, सोपान कुरसुले प्रकाश जाधव, एल डी. कुलसंगे गुरुजी, गजानन यादीकर, प्रा. वामन शेळमाके, सुभाष आडे, प्रा. भगवान भोईर, ग्यानोवा केगारे, कुंडलिक केदारी, सुर्यभान नागभीडे, सौ. कुसुम अलाम, कु. उपाकिरण आत्राम, सौ. संघजा मेश्राम व श्रीमती विमल पटेकर इत्यादी नवकवींनी उत्कृष्ट कविता सादर करून रसिकांना मंत्रमुग्ध केले. कवी संमेलन सुरु असताना सुप्रसिद्ध दलित कवी "गोलपीठा" कार नामदेव ढसाळ हे अचानकपणे उपस्थित झाले. त्यांनी गंभीर व अशयधन कविता सादर करून श्रोत्यांना अंतर्मुख केले. अशा तऱ्हेने संमेलनाचा दुसरा दिवस गोड आठवणी सोबत घेऊन पार पडला.

संमेलनाचा तिसरा व शेवटचा दिवस उजाडला. या दिवशी सकाळी ९.०० वाजता प्रा. विनायक तुमराम यांच्या अध्यक्षतेखाली. "कार्यकर्त्यांच्या दृष्टीतून आदिवासींचे मूलभूत प्रश्न" या विषयावर उत्कृष्ट परिसंवाद संपन्न झाला. सर्वश्री डॉ. शरद कुलकर्णी, आनंद ठोकळे, लक्ष्मणराव टोपले, प्रा. वामन शेळमाके, गेल अॅमवेट, प्रतापराव देशमुख, राजेंद्र गावित, वाहरु सोनवणे, प्रा. डॉ. भा. व्यं. गिरीधारी व अॅड. जनार्दन शेलार आदि विचारवंत अभ्यासकांनी या परिसंवादात सहभागी होऊन अभ्यासपूर्ण भाषणे केली.

परिसंवादाच्या प्रारंभी श्री. लक्ष्मण टोपले यांनी आदिवासींच्या काही मूलभूत प्रश्नांची चर्चा करून त्यावर काही उपायही आपल्या भाषणातून सुचविले. आनंद ठोकळे यांनी आदिवासींना प्रबळ नेतृत्व लाभलेले नाही असे सांगून म्हटले,

"समाजाला पुढे नेण्यासाठी कार्यकर्ता नाही. समाजाच्या प्रश्नांची नीट सोडवणूक होत नाही. आदिवासीं मध्ये सामाजिक

अस्मितेचा अभाव आहे. कार्यात नियोजनाचा अभाव आहे".

डॉ. शरद कुलकर्णी यांनी आदिवासींवर होत असलेल्या अन्याय अत्याचाराचे वास्तवचित्र आपल्या भाषणातून उभे केले. ते म्हणाले,

"आदिवासी विभागात आता आदिवासी राहिलेले नाहीत तेथे विंगर आदिवासी येऊन राहू लागले आहेत. तेथे पैशाचा व्यापार सुरु झाला आहे. आदिवासींच्या जमिनी हडप करून त्यांना हुसकावून लावण्याचे प्रयत्न सुरु झाले आहेत. विंगर आदिवासींनी आता आदिवासी होण्याचे सुरु केले आहे." वाघ्या, हिवरा व शिवच्या या आदिवासींच्या देवता म्हणजे हिंदू संस्कृतीतील उत्पत्ती, प्रलय व विनाशाच्या देवता होत, अशी अभिनव कल्पना त्यांनी मांडली. आदिवासींना इतर देवतांची पूजा करण्याची किंवा इतर संस्कृती आत्मसात करण्याची मुळीच गरज नाही. त्यांची स्वतःची संस्कृतीच स्वयंभू आहे असे स्पष्ट मत त्यांनी नोंदविले आणि आदिम संस्कृतीच्या विविध पैलूवर प्रकाश टाकला.

प्रा. वामन शेळमाके यांनी, पूर्वी सर्व आदिवासी जमाती कशा एकदिलाने एकसंघ राहत होत्या, त्यांच्यात रोटी बेटी व्यवहार कसे मुक्तपणे चालत असत आणि नंतर हिंदूंच्या संपर्क प्रभावाने आदिम टोळ्यांमध्ये जातीयता कशी भिन्नत गेली हे पाश्चात्य विद्वान स्टेफन फच यांच्या विधानाच्या आधारे उपस्थितांना पटवून दिले. "वृत्ती आणि कृती यांचा योग जुळून आल्याशिवाय आदिवासींचा विकास होणे शक्य नाही" असे त्यांनी ठामपणे सांगितले. स्वतःचा विकास साधताना आत्मपरिक्षणाची गरज आहे असेही ते म्हणाले.

गेली दहा वर्षे आदिवासींच्या संपर्कात राहून कार्य करीत असलेल्या श्रीमती गेल अॅमवेट यांनी आदिवासींच्या मानसिकतेवर हिंदू देवदेवतांचे महात्म्य कसे लादले जात आहे हे सोदाहरण सांगितले या कार्यात त्यांना आलेले अनेक अनुभव त्यांनी कथन केले. आदिवासी माणूस हा दुसऱ्या धर्मात कसा ओढला जात आहे, हेही त्यांनी सांगितले.

"आदिवासींच्या वस्तू दुकानदार व सेठ साहूकार कवडी मोलाने विकत घेतो व सोने करून विकतो." असे उद्गार प्रतापराव देशमुख यांनी आपल्या भाषणात काढले. केवळ सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक शोषणच आदिवासींचे होते असे नाही तर सांस्कृतिक शोषणही होते असे ते म्हणाले. आदिवासींनी आपला उधार आपणच करावा असे आवाहनही त्यांनी यावेळी केले. आदिवासी समाजातील तरुण कार्यकर्ते राजेंद्र गावित यांनी आदिवासींच्या मोर्चावर व आंदोलनावर कसा गोळीबार केला जातो व त्यांच्या दुःख समस्यांकडे कशी जाणीवपूर्वक डोळेझाक केली जाते हे सोदाहरण कथन केले. श्रोत्यांना गंभीर करणारे त्यांचे अनुभव होते. आदिवासी चळवळ प्रभावी व गतीमान न होण्याला आदिवासी आमदारच जबाबदार आहेत असा जोरदार टोमणाही त्यांनी भाषणाच्या शेवटी हाणला. श्री. विठ्ठलराव कोंढार यांनी राजकारण व समाजकारण यांची गल्लत होऊ देता कामा नये असे सुचविले. संमेलनाध्यक्ष वाहरु सोनवणे यांनी देखील याप्रसंगी आपले विचार व्यक्त केले. ते आपल्या भाषणात म्हणाले,

"आदिवासींना दैनंदिन जीवनात भेडसावणारे प्रश्न म्हणजे मजुरी, रोजगार, आरोग्य व शिक्षण हे होत. आमचा प्रश्न अस्मितेचा आहे. आमचे स्थान काय हा दुसरा प्रश्न आहे. दैनंदिन जीवनातील प्रश्न सोडविण्यासाठी आम्ही कोणते माध्यम वापरणार आहोत याचाही विचार झाला पाहिजे."

जव्हार, जि. ठाणे येथील कला, वाणिज्य महाविद्यालयाचे प्राचार्य डॉ. भा. व्यं. गिरीधारी यांनी पुढील विचार व्यक्त केले,

"भूतकालापेक्षा सांप्रत परिस्थितीचा विचार आदिवासींनी केला पाहिजे. उद्याचा विचार आदिवासी करीत नाही. आदिवासी विद्यार्थी उच्च शिक्षण घेण्याच्या फंदात न पडता झटपट नोकरीच्या मागे लागतात. आदिवासींमध्ये कोकणा, महादेव कोळी या आदिवासी जमाती जास्त पुढारलेल्या दिसतात. इतरांनीही हा विचार केला पाहिजे. शिक्षण घेऊन एकवटले पाहिजे. आदिवासींना समज आहे, पण उमज नाही. परिस्थिती प्रथम जाणून घ्यावी व मगच वाटचाल करावी."

अॅड. जनार्दन शेलार यांनी परखडपणे आपले अनुभव व्यक्त केले. वकिली पेशात वावरताना आदिवासींच्या समस्यांची गुंतागुंत कशी आहे हे त्यांनी सांगितले. आदिवासींच्या विकासाला बाधा आणणाऱ्या घटकांचा विचार मांडताना ते म्हणाले,

“आदिवासी माणूस हा वाजवीपेक्षा अधिक सहनशील आहे, आणि अल्पसंतुष्टही आहे. अन्यायही तो मुकाट्याने सहन करून टाकतो. आदिवासींची ही वाजवीपेक्षा अधिक सहनशीलता आणि अल्पसंतुष्टता त्यांच्या विकासाला मारक ठरल्या आहेत. आदिवासींनी आपल्या अंगी संघर्षक्षमता जपली पाहिजे. परिसवादाचे अध्यक्ष प्रा. विनायक तुमाराम यांनी आदिवासींचे दुःख प्रश्न समस्या व त्यांच्या व्यथा, वेदना स्पष्ट शब्दात मांडून समाजव्यवस्थेवर कडाडून हल्ला केला. ते म्हणाले;

“आदिवासी माणूस आजही जंगल जिल्हा यात लंगोटीतले जगणे मुक्याने जगतो आहे. अनेक प्रकारच्या प्रश्नसमस्यांनी त्याच्या सभोवताली गराडा घातला आहे. तरी सांस्कृतिक वैभवाच्या नशेत तो धुंदपणे जगतो आहे. आर्य-अनार्य यांच्या दीर्घकाल चाललेल्या सांस्कृतिक संघर्षानंतर आदिम टोळ्या जंगला पहाडातच बंदिस्त झाल्या, आणि तेव्हापासून दारिद्र्य त्यांच्या पाठीशी लागले. म्हणून त्यांच्या प्रश्नसमस्यांचा उगम या सांस्कृतिक संघर्षातूनच झाला आहे, असे म्हटले तरी चालेल. या प्रश्नांची सोडवणूक कधी करायची

ते आदिवासी साहित्यिकांनी ठरवायचे आहे. हे सारे प्रश्न घेऊन वनवास मुक्तीचा उद्घोष करीत आदिवासी साहित्यिकांनी या शतकाचा प्रवास आरंभिला पाहिजे.”

यानंतर दुपारी श्री. वामन होवाळ यांच्या अध्यक्षतेखाली कथाकथनाचा कार्यक्रम पार पडला. सूत्रसंचालन मारुती कुळमेथे यांनी केले. श्री. लक्ष्मण टोपले यांनी “रक्तांची नाती”, कुंडलीक केदारी यांनी “धरणप्रस्त” रामकृष्ण कलबुरगे यांनी “चैती”, कु. उषाकिरण आत्राम यांनी “आक्रोश” ही कथा सादर केली. सौ. कुसुम अलाम व श्री. भोये यांनीदेखील कार्यक्रमात भाग घेऊन कथा सादर केल्या.

सायंकाळी खुले अधिवेशन झाले. अधिवेशनास उपस्थित असलेल्यांना संबोधित करताना संमेलनाध्यक्ष वाहरु सोनवणे म्हणाले,

“आदिवासी समाज शहरी जीवनापासून, मुख्य प्रवाहापासून कितीतरी दूर राहतो. त्यांच्या अनेक समस्या आहेत. त्या समस्यांची सोडवणूक स्वतः संघटीत होऊन केली पाहिजे. स्वर्गातून कोणी देवदूत येऊन त्या समस्या सोडविले हा भ्रम आदिवासींनी दूर सारावा. स्वतः संघटीत होऊन लढण्यातच त्यांचा उत्कर्ष सामावला आहे.”

संमेलनातील एकूणच कार्यक्रमांबद्दल त्यांनी समाधान व्यक्त केले, संमेलनाध्यक्षांच्या पत्नी सौ. हिरकणा सोनवणे

यांचा यावेळी हृद्य सत्कार करण्यात आला यावेळी विविध आशयाचे एकूण अकरा ठराव टाळ्यांच्या प्रचंड आवाजात एकमताने संमत करण्यात आले. भारत सरकारने मंडल आयोगाच्या शिफारशीची विनाविलंब अंमलबजावणी करावी, मराठवाडा विद्यापीठाला डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे नाव डॉ. आंबेडकर जन्मशताब्दी वर्षातच देण्यात यावे, महाराष्ट्र राज्य साहित्य संस्कृती मंडळावर सदस्य म्हणून आदिवासींना प्रतिनिधीत्व मिळावे, नर्मदा प्रकल्पासह इतर सर्व प्रकल्पातील परिक्षेसाठी आदिवासींच्या संरक्षणाचा प्राधान्याने विचार करूनच अशा प्रकल्पांची उभारणी करावी हे त्यातील काही महत्वाचे ठराव होत.

अशा रितीने तीन दिवसीय साहित्य संमेलन संपले. काही लुटी, संयोजनातील अव्यवस्थितपणा वगळता संमेलन उत्कृष्टपणे पार पडले. आदिवासीमधल्या प्रतिभासंपन्न कवी लेखकांना या संमेलनाने एक वैचारिक दिशा दिली. आदिवासी संस्कृतीचे दर्शन नंदूरवार प्रमाणे याही संमेलनात घडले. अत्यंत शांत वातावरणात हे संमेलन यशस्वीरित्या पार पडले. या संमेलनातील एकूणच वैचारिक मंथनाने महाराष्ट्राच्या कानाकोपऱ्यातून आलेला आदिवासी माणूस निश्चितच प्रभावी झाल्याचे निदर्शनास आले.

“ आदिवासी जमातींचे सामाजिक व सांपत्तिक परिस्थितीचे दर्शन घडविणारा आठवडे बाजार ”

प्रा. सौ. सुमन मा. मुठे
(नाशिक)

पश्चिम महाराष्ट्रात धुळे, ठाणे, नाशिक, नगर इत्यादि प्रमुख जिल्ह्यांत प्रामुख्याने आदिवासी समाज मोठ्या संख्येने वास्तव्य करून आहेत. आदिवासी समाजात अनेक विविध जमाती व उपशाखा आढळतात. त्यांत प्रामुख्याने भिल्ल, पावरा, कोकणी, कोळी, ठाकूर, वारली, कातकरी यांचा समावेश होतो. प्रत्येक जमातीची खास वैशिष्ट्ये असून प्रत्येकाच्या चालीरिती, व्यवसाय व संस्कृती यात थोड्या बहुत प्रमाणात फरक आढळतो. बहुतांश आदिवासी जमाती दुर्गम भागात वास्तव्य करून आहेत. दळणवळण साधनांचा अभाव, औषधोपचारासाठी कमतरता व खडतर जीवन व खडतर जीवनांत पूर्वीपासूनच गरीबी ही आदिवासी समाजाची ठराविक वैशिष्ट्ये आहेत. पारंपरिकतेनुसार आदिवासी समाजाने कोणत्याही प्रकारच्या यंत्रणेचा वापर न करता आपल्या अत्यावश्यक नित्याच्या गरजा यशस्वीरित्या भागविल्या आहेत. त्यासाठी त्यांनी स्थळ, काळ, सापेक्ष अशी अर्थव्यवस्था तयार केली आहे. परस्परांना वेळप्रसंगी मदत करणे, सामूहिकरित्या प्रयत्न करणे हे या समाजाचे आणखी एक वैशिष्ट्य म्हणावे लागेल. आपल्या व समाजातील इतरांच्या नित्याच्या गरजा लक्षात घेवून ते वस्तुंच्या विनिमयावर इतर आवश्यक वस्तुंची खरेदी-विक्री करीत होते. आजही त्यांची अर्थव्यवस्था सुधारली नसून समाधानकारक नाही. तथापि, किमान गरजा भागविण्यास त्यांची अर्थव्यवस्था समृद्ध आहे, किंबहुना आहे त्यामध्ये समाधान मानण्याची प्रवृत्ती आदिवासी समाजामध्ये प्रकटिते दिसून येते.

आदिवासी समाजातील बहुतांश लोकांचा शेती हा मुख्य व्यवसाय आहे. तथापि, शेतीचे प्रमाण फारच अल्प आहे. शेतीबरोबरच पशुपालन करणे व काही अंशी व्यवसाय उपयुक्त परिस्थिती असल्यास मच्छीमारी व दुग्धव्यवसाय करून कुटुंबाची गरज भागविली

जाते. तथापि, रोकड पैसा मिळविण्याच्या दृष्टिने अल्प प्रमाणात उत्पादित वस्तु घरगुती वापरासाठी ठेवून बाहेर विक्रीसाठी नेल्या जातात. जंगली प्राण्यांची शिकार करणे हा व्यवसाय म्हणून केला जात नाही, परंतु कुटुंबियांना अथवा संपूर्ण गावांसाठी नाविन्यपूर्ण मेजवानी म्हणून साजरी करण्याचा आनंद केव्हातरी उपभोगला जातो. दुष्काळाच्या वेळी शिकार करून व पशुपालन करून तसेच जंगल कंदमुळे काढून उपजीविका केली जाते. सुगीच्या दिवसात एकमेकांना मदत करणे ते आपले कर्तव्य मानतात. ज्या भागात बऱ्यापैकी जंगल संपत्ती आहे, तेथील आदिवासी वनसंपत्तीची उपयुक्त कामे करतात, त्याचबरोबर मद्य व मोहाची फुले गोळा करणे, डिक गोळा करणे व त्यांची विक्री करणे हा अल्प कालावधीसाठी व्यवसाय त्यांना उपलब्ध असतो.

२९ साव्या शतकाकडे जगाची वाटचाल सुरू आहे. राजकीय नेते याचा वारंवार प्रकटिते उल्लेख करीत असतात. स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काळात आजपर्यंत पूर्ण झालेल्या पंचवार्षिक योजनांद्वारे कोट्यावधी रुपये आदिवासी समाजाकरिता त्यांच्या विकासाकरिता व कल्याणाकरिता खर्च करण्यात आलेला आहे. तरीसुद्धा काही आदिवासी बांधव आहे त्याच परिस्थितीत आजही खडतर जीवन जगत आहेत याचा प्रत्यय वारंवार येतो. अनेक बाबतीत पारंपरिकतेचा वारसा त्यांनी पुढे चालू ठेवलेला आहे. त्यापैकी त्यांचे जीवनमान व सांस्कृतिक व्यवसायाचा प्रत्यय आणून देणारा दिवस म्हणजे आठवडे बाजार हा होय. आठवड्यातून एकदाच भरत असलेल्या बाजारात एक प्रकारचा संथपणा दिसून येतो. स्पर्धा, संघर्ष अथवा एकाधिकार ही प्रक्रिया दिसून येत नाही. मात्र आदिवासींची पारंपरिक अर्थव्यवस्था, सामाजिक स्थिती या आठवडे बाजाराच्या स्वरूपात दर्शन घडवीत असते.

पूर्वी तालुक्याच्या ठिकाणी अथवा अन्य एखाद्या दुसऱ्या मोठ्या गावात आठवडे बाजार भरत असे, परंतु अलिकडे तालुक्याचे ठिकाणी वगळता मोठी गावे अथवा खेडी जेथे दळणवळणाची व्यवस्था काही प्रमाणात सुधारलेली आहे अशा ठिकाणीही आठवडे बाजार भरविला जातो. तसेच अतिशय दुर्गम भागातील व दऱ्याखोऱ्यातील पायवाटेने आदिवासी माणूस अंतर्वाणी पायाने चालत तो बाजार पेटेत येतो व आपल्या अत्यावश्यक गरजा भागविण्यासाठी आवश्यक ती खरेदी करून पुन्हा सायंकाळी आपल्या घरी परत जातो. त्यासाठी त्याचा आठवड्यातील एक संपूर्ण दिवस वाया घालवितो. आदिवासी माणूस आजही वस्तुविनिमय पद्धतीने खरेदी-विक्री करण्यात धन्य मानतो. खरेदी करण्याच्या पारंपरिक पद्धतीमध्ये म्हणजेच वस्तुंचा दर्जा व प्रमाण यामध्ये यत्किंचित बदलही झालेला दिसून येत नाही. तथापि, काही सूक्ष्म बदलही आदिवासी समाजामध्ये दिसून येतात. मद्य सेवन करण्याची पारंपरिक प्रवृत्ती अजूनही त्यांच्यामध्ये टिकून आहे बाजारपेठेमध्ये कंत्राटदार व दलाल लोकांनी केलेला प्रवेश ह्या सूक्ष्म परिवर्तनामुळे आदिवासींच्या हलाख्यांच्या परिस्थितीमध्ये भर पडलेली दिसून येते. यापूर्वी वस्तुविनिमय पद्धतीवर भर असल्यामुळे फसवणूक फारशी होत नसे. परंतु चलनी नाणी व नोटा तसेच धन, काटे व्यवहारात व वापरात आल्याने आदिवासींना बुचकळ्यात टाकणारे ठरले. त्यामुळे त्यांची फसवणूक होण्याची शक्यता वाढीस लागली.

दळणवळणाची सोय, साधने असलेली, जास्त लोकसंख्या असलेली तसेच मारवाडी व गुजराथी व अन्य व्यापार करणाऱ्या जातींच्या मोठी लोकसंख्या असलेल्या गावी आठवडे बाजार भरविले जातात. आठवडे बाजाराचे ठिकाण आदिवासी जाती-जमातीचे वस्त्या असलेल्या अनेक गावांचे मध्यवर्ती ठिकाण

निवडले गेले आहे. जे गाव लहान-मोठ्या रस्त्याने अथवा पाऊल वाटांनी जोडले असेल, ज्या रस्त्याने नियमित ये-जाअन्नेल असे रस्ते व पाऊल वाटांनी जोडलेल्या प्रमुख व महत्त्वाच्या गावी बाजार भरतो. बाजाराचा ठराविक दिवस असूनही भर बाजाराची व गर्दीची वेळ दुपारचे काही तासच असून म्हणजेच अल्प वेळेत आठवडे बाजाराची प्रक्रिया संपुष्टात येवून बाजार आटोपला जातो. बाजारासाठी आलेल्या द्याखोऱ्यातील व दूरदूरच्या गावातील आदिवासी लोकांना बाजार आटोपून आप-आपल्या घरी सायंकाळी परत येणे अथवा उशिरात-उशिरा रात्रीपर्यंत पोहोचण्याचे असल्याने अधिक वेळ बाजार पेठेत घालविणे शक्य होत नाही.

आदिवासी भागातील बाजार पेठेची ठेवण व मांडणी ठराविक पद्धतीची असल्याचे आढळून येते. बाजाराचे ठिकाण असलेल्या गावातील कायमचे व स्थानिक दुकाने आहेत त्याच ठिकाणी राहतात. तथापि, दुकानाच्या बाहेरील बाजूस, ओट्यावर व अंगणात येणारे जाणारे आदिवासी बांधवांना विक्रीस ठेवलेल्या वस्तू ठळकपणे दिसतील अशा पद्धतीने दुकानदार दुकानांची मांडणी करतात. स्थलांतरीत व्यापारी आपआपली दुकाने बाजार पेठेत मांडतात. बाहेरगावाहून येणाऱ्या व्यापाऱ्यांची दुकाने लहान आकाराची व ठराविक पद्धतीची असतात. आदिवासी माणसांच्या गरजा अत्यंत अल्प असल्याने बहुतांश कमी प्रतीचा माल विक्रीस ठेवलेला ठिकठिकाणी आढळून येतो. स्थानिक व्यापारी व स्थलांतरीत व्यापारी यांना बाजारासाठी येणाऱ्या आदिवासी लोकांच्या चालीरीति व रितीरिवाज संपूर्ण माहित असतात. आदिवासी लोकांचे अनभिज्ञ, निरक्षर व लाजाळू प्रवृत्तीचा व्यापारी पुरेपूर गैरफायदा घेतात. त्यामुळे नफा मिळविण्याची जिज्ञासा अशा व्यापाऱ्यांकडे वाढीस लागलेली आढळून येते.

बाजार पेठेची विभागणी ढोबळमानाने परंतु सुस्पष्ट अशी निदर्शनास येते. तयार कपड्यांची दुकाने, धान्य खरेदी-विक्री दुकाने, मसाला विक्रीची दुकाने असूनही मासळी व

इतर मासे विक्रीची दुकाने असतात. सुई, दाभणी, बांगड्या इतर किरकोळ वस्तूंची दुकाने एका ठराविक भागात परंतु एकमेकाला लागून अशी मांडली जातात. धान्य खरेदी-विक्रीचा बाजार वेगळा असतो. त्याचप्रमाणे भाजीपाला, फळ-फळावळ विक्रीची दुकाने ठराविक पद्धतीने वेगळ्या भागात लावली जातात. बैल, गायी, म्हशी तसेच शेळ्या व मेंढ्या यांची खरेदी-विक्री गावाच्या बाहेरील एखाद्या मोठ्या परिसरात केली जातात. कोंबड्या व अंडी खरेदी करणारे व्यापारी हे गावाच्या बाहेर एखाद्या पाऊल वाटेवर थांबून घासा-घीस करीत आपला व्यवहार करताना सर्रास आढळतात. आठवडे बाजाराच्या दिवशी स्थानिक हॉटेल, मिष्टान्न गृहे तसेच चहाची दुकाने बरीच भरलेली आढळतात. नेहमीची परंतु विविध पदार्थ मोठ्या प्रमाणावर तयार करू ठेवलेली आढळतात. आदिवासी जनतेला स्पष्ट दिसतील अशा पद्धतीने खाद्य पदार्थांची मांडणी केलेली सर्रास आढळून येते. आदिवासी माणसाची खरेदी करण्याची कुवत लक्षात घेवून खाद्य पदार्थ अतिशय स्वस्त व निकृष्ट प्रतीचा तयार करण्याची प्रवृत्ती दिसून येते. अर्थातच स्वच्छतेच्या दृष्टीने शंका येणे साहजिकच आहे.

आठवडे बाजार ही आदिवासींच्या दृष्टीने एक नित्याची मात्र अत्यावश्यक बाब आहे. जसे लग्नकार्य, सणवार, जन्म अथवा यात्रा तसा आठवडा बाजार. आठवडे बाजाराचे ठिकाण हे एक आदिवासी समाजातील विविध घटकात संपर्क साधण्याचे ठिकाण मानले जाते. विविध गावांतील आप-आपले नातेवाईक, मित्र परिवार यांच्या गाठी-भेटी होवून एकमेकांच्या विचारांचे व घडलेल्या घटनांची महत्त्वाची देवाण-घेवाण होते. एवढेच नव्हेतर बाजार पेठेचे ठिकाण त्यांचे भागातील प्रमुख ठिकाण असल्याकारणाने तेथे तलाठी, पोलीस व इतर शासकीय अधिकारी सर्रास वास्तव्य करीत असल्याचे आढळतात. विविध शासकीय खात्याच्या संदर्भात असलेली प्रलंबित कामे आदिवासी माणसे या आठवडे बाजाराच्या दिवशी पार पाडतात. त्यांना आपली खुशाली कळविण्याकरिता पत्र पाठविण्याची जबाबदारी याच दिवशी पार पाडली जाते. काही

आदिवासी कुटुंबाची मुले अश्याच ठिकाणी शाळेत ठेवली जात असल्याचे निदर्शनास येते. अशा कुटुंबातील माणसे आप-आपल्या मुलांची गाठी-भेटी घेवून समाधान मानतात. आदिवासी माणूस हा अत्यंत दुर्बल व गरीब घटकातील असल्याने त्यास सहकार्य करण्याकरिता कुठलीही यंत्रणा उपलब्ध झालेली नाही अशा वेळी व्याजाने पैसे लावणारे काही मारवाडी कुटुंब बाजार पेठेत मोक्याचे ठिकाणी वास्तव्य करून असतात. आदिवासी माणूस अशा कुटुंबाकडून पैसे व्याजाने घेवून आपली लग्न कार्ये करणे, बैलजोडी विकत घेणे, मुलांच्या शिक्षणासाठी पुस्तके, कपडे घेणे, कुटुंबातील व्यक्तींना आजारपणासाठी औषधोपचार करण्याकरिता लागणारा पैसा व्याजाने घेवून आपली गरज भागवितात. अर्थात अशा प्रकारे व्याजाने घेतलेले पैसे परतफेड करताना त्यांचे अर्धे आयुष्य निघून जाते. बऱ्याच वेळा घरातील वस्तू गहाण ठेवून अथवा आपल्या गावातील माणसास जामीन दाखवून पैसे व्याजाने घ्यावे लागतात.

आदिवासी भागातील भरणारे आठवडे बाजाराची अजूनही काही वैशिष्ट्ये आहेत, त्यात विक्रीस ठेवल्या जाणाऱ्या ठराविक वस्तू व आदिवासी माणसांच्या पारंपरिक गरजा भागविण्यासाठी खरेदी केल्या जाणाऱ्या वस्तू याचा समावेश होतो. सुगीच्या दिवसात आदिवासी माणसांच्या निकृष्ट शोतातून उत्पादित झालेल्या वर्षभराच्या पोषणासाठी पुरे न पडणारे काही धान्य, डाळी हे डोक्यावर ओझे घेवून बाजार पेठेत विक्रीस आणले जातात. हिवाळी व पावसाळी मोसमास तयार होणारा काही भाजीपाला तसेच वनातील अल्प प्रमाणात गोळा होणारा डिक, मध, फळे इत्यादी आठवडे बाजारात विक्री करून इतर अत्यावश्यक वस्तूंची खरेदी केली जाते. गळीताची धान्ये, शेंगदाणे, खिरणी हे अल्प प्रमाणात रोकड पैसे मिळविण्याचे दृष्टीने विकली जातात. एखादेवेळी दोन कोंबड्या व अंडी आठवडे बाजारामध्ये आवश्यकतेनुसार आणून विक्री करण्याची पारंपरिक पद्धत आजही आढळून येते. शेतीच्या कामासाठी लागणारे बैल, दुभती जनावरे, म्हशी तसेच शेळ्या, यांची आवश्यकतेनुसार खरेदी-विक्री याच आठवडे बाजारानून होत असते.

आदिवासी बांधवांची गरज ही अतिशय अल्प असते, त्याचे पारंपरिक दर्शन आठवडे बाजारात घडते. अत्यंत स्वस्त दर्जाच्या वस्तू ब हलक्या प्रतीचा माल आदिवासींच्या बाजारपेठेत सर्रास पहावयास मिळतो. आदिवासी माणूस खरेदी केलेल्या अत्यावश्यक वस्तूंचे लहानसे गाठोडे बांधून आपल्या घरी जातो. हातात एक गोडे तेलाची वाटली व दुसरी रॉकेलची वाटली सर्रास प्रत्येक आदिवासी माणूस घरी नेताना दिसतो. स्वतःसाठी व बायको मुलांसाठी आवश्यकतेनुसार तयार कपडे, मसाल्याचा आवश्यक बाजार उदा. दालचणी, लवंग, मिरी, जिरे, कांदे, हळद, लसून व नित्याची अवजारांचे सुटे भाग, दोरखंड, व शेतीच्या कामासाठी लागणाऱ्या

लहान-लहान वस्तू, आपल्या कुटुंबातील इतरांच्या तल्लप भागविण्यासाठी लागणारी बिडी अथवा तंबाखू व वर्षातून एखादे वेळेस स्थानिक ठिकाणी तयार केलेली चप्पलांची खरेदी तसेच एखादे दुसरे औषध याचा आदिवासींच्या खरेदीमध्ये समावेश होतो. घरातून बाजारास निघताना आपल्या मुलांना आश्वासन दिल्याप्रमाणे थोडासा खाऊ नेण्याची एकदाही चूक करित नाहीत. फार थोडे आदिवासी बांधव चहा पितात, त्यासाठी लागणारी चहा, साखर याचीही खरेदीच्या वस्तूंमध्ये समावेश होतो.

आपल्या दुर्गम भागातून बाजार पेठेत जाताना स्त्री-पुरुष टोळ्यां-टोळ्यांने गप्पा मारीत अथवा शेतीची माहिती देत-घेत अनवाणी चालत जाता-येताना दिसतात.

आपल्या गप्पांमध्ये १०-१० अथवा १५-१५ किलोमिटर अंतर केव्हा कापले गेले याचे त्यांना भान रहात नाही. आदिवासींचा पारंपरिक आठवडे बाजार त्यांचे यथार्थ सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक व सांपत्तिक दर्शन घडविणारा आरसा आहे, असे म्हटल्यास वादगे ठरणार नाही. आठवडे बाजाराद्वारे त्यांची राहणीमानाची व साम्पत्तिक स्थितीची कल्पना आल्याशिवाय रहात नाही. आजही आदिवासी माणसे ८ ते १० रुपयांची वस्तू विकत घेण्याकरिता अथवा १५ ते २० रुपयांचे धान्य व शेतीचे इतर उत्पादन विक्रीसाठी आठवडे बाजाराचा उपयोग करतात.

आदिवासी विकासाच्या गतिशीलतेचे विवेचन

श्री. सुधीर जोग *

सह्याद्री-सातपुड्याच्या दुर्गम दऱ्या खोऱ्यात विदर्भातील यवतमाळ, चंद्रपूर, गडचिरोलीच्या जंगल भागात पिढ्या न पिढ्या वास्तव्य करून असलेल्या विविध आदिवासी जमातींच्या वैशिष्टपूर्ण प्रथा, परंपरा, लोकगीते व नृत्ये, कलाकौशल्ये महाराष्ट्राच्या समृद्ध सांस्कृतिक परंपरेचे एक महत्त्वाचे अंग आहे. महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासी समाज व संस्कृतीचे दर्शन घडविणारे व त्यांच्या विविध सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजकीय समस्यांवर प्रकाश टाकणारे साहित्य महाराष्ट्र शासनाच्या आदिवासी संशोधन संस्थेतर्फे सातत्याने प्रकाशित होत असते. संस्थेने अलिकडेच प्रकाशित केलेला 'Socio Cultural Dynamics of Tribal Development' हा संपादित ग्रंथ हा आणखी एक प्रयत्न.

या ग्रंथात समाविष्ट करण्यात आलेल्या काही अभ्यासपूर्ण निबंधांचा दर्जा व गुणवत्ता निःसंशय उत्तम आहे. आदिवासींच्या विकासाच्या अनेक चांगल्या योजना प्रत्यक्ष अंमलबजावणीच्या पातळीवर कशा अयशस्वी ठरतात याची चर्चा करताना डॉ. देवगावकर यांनी प्रशासकीय पातळीवरील समस्या, आदिवासींच्या सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक स्तरासंबंधी अधिकाऱ्यांचे अपुरे आकलन, आदिवासी-मधील राजकीय जागृतीचा व प्रभावी नेतृत्वाचा अभाव या समस्यांचे अभ्यासपूर्ण विवेचन केले आहे. योजनांच्या यशस्वितेसाठी त्यांचे स्थानिक पातळीवर नियोजन, प्रामाणिक, सुयोग्य व समयोचित अंमलबजावणी, विविध पातळीवरील प्रशासकीय निर्णयातील सुसूचता

विकासाची उद्दिष्ट पूर्तीला प्राधान्य देणारी, संकल्पना बदलून त्याऐवजी आदिवासींच्या दृष्टीकोनात बदल व विकास योजनांचा आदिवासींकडून स्वयंस्फूर्त स्वीकार यांची आवश्यकता यांचे प्रभावीपणे प्रतिपादन केले आहे. पंचवार्षिक योजनांतर्गत आदिवासी विकास-विषयक तरतुदींचा डॉ. नागंबी यांनी तपशीलवार आढावा घेतला आहे. स्वातंत्र्योत्तर आदिवासी विकास प्रशासनाचा आढावा घेताना डॉ. क्षीरे यांनी "कायदा व सुव्यवस्था प्रशासन" व "विकास प्रशासन" यातील गुणात्मक फरक ध्यानात घेऊन संवेदनशील समर्पित व अभ्यासू अधिकाऱ्यांची आवश्यकता प्रतिपादन केली आहे. डॉ. बी. डी. शर्मा व डॉ. भूपिंदरसिंग यांचे निबंध अभ्यासपूर्ण असले तरी त्यातील प्रमुख प्रतिपाद्य विषय अनुक्रमे नियोजन व अर्थकरण हे असल्याने या ग्रंथातील त्यांचा समावेश संयुक्तिक वाटत नाही. डॉ. शर्मा यांचा निबंध हा तर त्यांच्या स्वतंत्र ग्रंथातील एक प्रकरणच आहे पण तसा विशेष उल्लेखही करण्यात आलेला नाही.

आदिवासी व जंगल यांचे अतूट संबंध ध्यानात घेऊन आदिवासींचा सक्रिय सहभाग मिळविण्यात यशस्वी होईल हा श्री. शरद कुलकर्णींचा अभिप्राय मोलाचा आहे. आदिवासी व जंगल यांच्या अन्योन्य संबंधांचा आढावा घेणारा डॉ. मुखोपाध्याय यांचा निबंधही उल्लेखनीय आहे. ब्रिटीशपूर्व तसेच ब्रिटीश काळातील व स्वातंत्र्योत्तर भारत सरकारच्या वननीतीचा आढावा घेऊन नवीन लोकाभिमुख वननीतीची निकड व महत्त्व

प्रतिपादन करणारा डॉ. श्रीमती घाटे यांचा निबंधही अभ्यासपूर्ण आहे.

आपल्या भावी जीवनासंबंधीच्या आदिवासींच्या आकांक्षा व त्यांना अभिप्रेत असलेली औपचारिक व अनौपचारिक शिक्षणाची मूल्ये जाणून घेण्यासाठी त्यांचा सखोल व साकल्याने मानवशास्त्रीय अभ्यास आवश्यकता प्रतिपादन करून आदिवासींसाठी योग्य शैक्षणिक धोरण ठरविण्यासाठी त्याचा उपयोग करून घेता येईल हे प्रा. मुटाटकर यांनी केलेले विवेचन मौलिक आहे.

माडिया गोंडाच्या आरोग्य व पोषण-विषयक समस्यांचे सविस्तर विवेचन करणारा डॉ. गारे यांचा निबंध व धुळे जिल्ह्यातील पावरा जमातीच्या रोगनिदान व उपचार पद्धतीतील शरीर व मन यातील गुंतागुंतीचे अन्योन्य संबंधीचे शास्त्रीय विश्लेषण करणारा श्री. गायकवाड व डॉ. भानू यांचा निबंध उल्लेखनीय आहे.

सरदार सरोवर व नर्मदासागर या दोन मोठ्या धरणप्रकल्पामुळे आदिवासींचे ह्योणारे संभाव्य विस्थापन व ते रोखण्यासाठी विविध स्वयंसेवी संघटनांनी प्रख्यात समाजसेवक बाबा आमटे यांच्या नेतृत्वाखाली उभारलेले तीव्र व व्यापक आंदोलन यामुळे प्रचलित विकासनितीविषयी काही मूलभूत प्रश्न उपस्थित झाले आहेत. या प्रश्नांचे सखोल विवेचन करणारे डॉ. माहेश्वरी व श्री. रेड्डी यांचे अभ्यासपूर्ण निबंध या ग्रंथाची गुणवत्ता व समयोचितता यात निःसंशय भर घालणारे आहेत.

विशेष कृती कार्यक्रमांतर्गत धुळे जिल्ह्यातील धडगाव व अक्कलकुवा तालुक्यात सन १९९१-९२ मध्ये २ नवीन शासकीय आदिवासी आश्रमशाळा उघडण्यास मंजूरीबाबत.

महाराष्ट्र शासन

आदिवासी विकास विभाग

शासन निर्णय क्रमांक: एएससी-१०९१/(१७९३)/का-१३

मंत्रालय विस्तार भवन, मुंबई ४०० ०३२,

दिनांक ३१ ऑगस्ट १९९१

- वाचा: (१) शासन निर्णय, नियोजन विभाग क्रमांक: विक्रुका-१०८९/प्र. ८५/योजना-१२, दिनांक २४ ऑक्टोबर, १९८९.
 (२) शासन निर्णय, आदिवासी विकास विभाग, क्रमांक: एएससी-१०८९/(१४२०)/का-१३, दिनांक १५ नोव्हेंबर, १९८९.
 (३) शासन निर्णय, आदिवासी विकास विभाग क्रमांक: एएससी-१०८९/३३८७३/(१४२९)/का-१३, दिनांक २० जुलै, १९९०.
 (४) जिल्हाधिकारी, धुळे यांनी सचिव, नियोजन विभाग यांना पाठविलेले व या विभागात पृष्ठांकित केलेले पत्र क्रमांक जिनिविम/का-१२/वि.कृ.का/९१-९२/२२९/१९९१, दिनांक २२ एप्रिल, १९९१.

शासन निर्णय: शासन निर्णय, नियोजन विभाग क्रमांक विक्रुका-१०८९/प्र-८५/योजना-१२, दिनांक २४ ऑक्टोबर १९८९ अन्वये धुळे जिल्ह्यातील संपुर्ण धडगाव तालुका व अक्कलकुवा तालुक्यातील निवडक भागाच्या जलद विकासासाठी विशेष कृती कार्यक्रम मंजूर करण्यात आला आहे. सदर कार्यक्रमांतर्गत सन १९८९-९० ते १९९१-९२ पर्यंत सात नवीन आदिवासी आश्रमशाळा मंजूर करण्याचा निर्णय घेण्यात आला आहे. सदर निर्णयानुसार सन १९८९-९० मध्ये ३ व सन १९९०-९१ मध्ये २ मिळून आतापर्यंत ५ नवीन शासकीय आदिवासी आश्रमशाळा मंजूर करण्यात आल्या आहेत. सन १९९१-९२ हा शैक्षणिक वर्षात धुळे जिल्ह्यात खालील ठिकाणी २ नवीन शासकीय आदिवासी आश्रमशाळा सुरू करण्यास शासन या निर्णयान्वये मंजूरी देत आहे.

अ. क्र.	शाळेचे ठिकाण	तालुका	जिल्हा
१	सरी	अक्कलकुवा	धुळे
२	सोनखुर्द	धडगाव	धुळे

२. तसेच उपरोल्लेखित दोन नवीन शासकीय आदिवासी आश्रमशाळासाठी पुढीलप्रमाणे दिनांक २९ फेब्रुवारी, १९९२ पर्यंतच्या कालावधीसाठी पदे मंजूर करण्यात येत आहेत.

अ. क्र.	पदनाम	पदसंख्या	वेतनश्रेणी
१	बालवाडी शिक्षिका	२	१२००-३०-१५६०-विस्तार-४०-२०४०
२	शिक्षक	४	"
३	स्वयंपाकी	२	७७५-१२-९५५-विस्तार-१५-१०३०-२०-११५०.
४	मोलकरीण	२	७५०-१२-८७०-विस्तार-१४-९४०.
५	दाई	२	रु. ५० दरमहा.

एकूण .. १२ पदे

३. ही पदे धारण करणारे नियमानुसार वेळोवेळी मिळणा-या महागाई भन्त्याच्या वाढी व इतर देय भत्ते मिळण्यास पात्र ठरतील.

४. संचालक, आदिवासी विकास, महाराष्ट्र राज्य, नाशिक यांनी वरील पदे (बालवाडी शिक्षिका व दाईची पदे सोडून) तात्काळ भरण्याची कार्यवाही करावी.

५. सदर शाळा निवासी असल्यामुळे तेथील विद्यार्थ्यांना मोफत शिक्षणाव्यतिरिक्त भोजन, निवास, अंथरण-पांघरूण, गणवेश, शैक्षणिक साहित्य इत्यादी सुविधा मोफत पुरवाव्यात.

संचालक, आदिवासी विकास, नाशिक यांनी शासनाने आदेश दिल्याशिवाय बालवाडी सुरू करू नये. तसेच त्यासाठी केलेली तरतूदही खर्च करू नये.

६. सदरहू नवीन शासकीय आदिवासी आश्रमशाळांवरील खर्च "मागणी क्रमांक टी-८, २२२५, अनुसूचित जाती, अनुसूचित जमाती व इतर मागासवर्गीयांचे कल्याण पंचवार्षिक योजनांतर्गत योजना-जनजाती क्षेत्र उपयोजना-०२-अनुसूचित जमातीचे कल्याण-२७७, शिक्षण (४) आश्रमशाळा समूह (ए) राज्य योजनांतर्गत योजना (२२२५ १५८२)" या व्यय शिर्षाखाली खर्ची टाकावा व शासन निर्णय आदिवासी विकास विभाग, क्रमांक टीएसपी-१०९१/बीयुडी-(२८)/का-७, दिनांक ३० एप्रिल १९९१ द्वारे वितरीत झालेल्या निधीमधून रु. ३,४४,००० (सपये तीन लाख चव्वेचाळीस हजार फक्त) भागविण्यात यावा.

७. हा प्रस्ताव "नवीन बाब" होत असल्यामुळे १९९१-९२ चे अर्थ संकल्पात "नवीन बाब" म्हणून विधान मंडळाचे निदर्शनास आणण्यात आला होता.

महाराष्ट्राचे राज्यपाल यांचे आदेशानुसार व नावाने,

(सुगंधा बने)

अधर सचिव.

TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

**Tribal Research and Training Institute,
Maharashtra State, Pune-411 001**

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

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