

## Unit 19

# Elwin and Ghurye's Perspectives on Tribes

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### Contents

- 19.1 The framing of the tribal question: Elwin and Ghurye
- 19.2 A History of the tribal voice
- 19.3 Nationalist freedom struggle and tribals
- 19.4 Constituent Assembly debate and tribal people
- 19.5 Conclusion
- 19.6 Further Reading

### Learning objectives

After studying this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- The framework of tribal question;
- Historical background of tribal voice;
- Nationalist freedom struggle and tribals; and
- Constituent Assembly debate on tribal affairs.

## 19.1 The Framing of the Tribal Question: Elwin and Ghurye

The autonomy and independence of tribal people in India is circumscribed by the legal regime laid out in the fifth and the sixth schedules of the Constitution of India. Their population is distributed over all states, except Chandigarh, Delhi, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Laccadive, and Pondichery. A large percentage inhabits a large contiguous geographical belt that divides India into the Northern and Southern parts. This belt extends from the North East Frontier region into the Santal Parganas and the Chotanagpur plateau in West Bengal and Bihar into Orissa and Andhra Pradesh in the Southeast into Madhya Pradesh in Central India up to Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra in Western India. Outside this belt there are pockets inhabited by tribal people in North and South India.<sup>1</sup>

The tribal population is socially, culturally, economically and politically differentiated on account of the different histories of interaction between them and the non-tribal people. There are only a few places where tribal people dwell in deep-forest, and continue to practice shifting cultivation for instance, in Abujmarh in Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) and in Koraput and Phulbani (in Orissa). A majority of them however, live on wastelands, in settled agriculture regions, in towns and cities. Their mode of earning livelihood varies from teaching in schools and colleges to white collar jobs to running small shops to industrial entrepreneurs. Economically, a large number are poor because either they are landless labour or they are cultivators with small unproductive land holdings. Some are rich and some belong to the middle class.<sup>2</sup> The tribal workforce is distributed over the following categories: cultivators, agricultural workers, livestock, forestry workers, mining and quarry workers, construction workers, workers in the trade and commerce sector, workers in the transport, storage and communications sector, and workers in other services (this includes white collar jobs, schoolteachers, etc.).

Culturally, the tribal languages of India can be grouped into four major families: the Austric, the Tibeto-Chinese, the Dravidian, and the Indo-Aryan.<sup>3</sup> Grigson's *Linguistic Survey Of India* recorded 179 languages and 544 dialects. Of the 179 languages 116 were enumerated as tribal languages and dialects, the tribes of

Nagaland alone spoke 55 dialects.<sup>4</sup> As regards their linguistic skills are concerned they are bilingual if not multi-lingual. Over years of interaction with the non-tribal people a large majority has converted either to Hinduism or Christianity or Buddhism or Islam and have also moved away from their tradition of work. This has influenced not only their linguistic ability but also their thought patterns. Modern development has created conditions on the one hand that discourage the use of their mother tongue and on the other hand to use the mother tongue as a medium of education. It is not uncommon to observe that converted tribal people use their mother tongue to communicate the content of religions they have adopted. Only those, who live in deep-forest continue to practice their own religion. Unlike those who have converted, their mother tongue is also the language of their thought.

The legal regime laid out in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> schedules has its origins in the Act of 1935, which created, excluded and partially excluded areas where a different set of laws will govern the life of tribal people. Elwin pointed out:

“Section 52 and 92 of the Act provided for the reservation of certain predominantly aboriginal areas (to be known as Excluded or Partially excluded areas) from operation of Provincial legislature. The executive of authority of provinces extends to ‘excluded’ and partially excluded areas therein’, but the administration of excluded areas is under the governor at his discretion and partially excluded areas are administered by the ministers subject to the special responsibility for their peace and good government imposed on the governor by the section 52(e) of the Art. Thus the governor is given the power to control the application of legislation whether of the Federal or Provincial Legislature, and make regulations in both these areas.”<sup>5</sup>

After the Act Ghurye formulated the tribal question. There are three views on the tribal situation: no change and revivalism; isolation and preservation; and finally assimilation.<sup>6</sup> This was a reflection of how he saw the tribal situation in 1943. He saw them divided into three classes:

“First, such as the Raj Gonds and others who have successfully fought the battle, and are recognized as members of a fairly high status within Hindu society; second the large mass that has been partially Hinduized and has come into closer contact with Hindus; and third the Hill sections, which “have exhibited the greatest power of resistance to alien cultures that have pressed upon their border.”<sup>7</sup>

In this classification he missed out on Christian influence.

In Elwin’s view, “The second class has suffered moral depression and decay as a result of contacts from which the third has been largely free.”<sup>8</sup>

Elwin was anti-missionary and pro Hindu as regards the future of the tribal people.

**In 1944 he wrote:**

“Missionaries should be withdrawn from the Partially Excluded areas; we insist that all education in these areas should be taken over by the Government. We demand that the Government should do twice as much as the missionaries have achieved. We have no interest in keeping these people backward. If they are to take their place as Kshatriyas in the Hindu social system then they must be trained in the arts of liberal thinking and educated to courage and traditions of honor.”<sup>9</sup>

**Like him Ghurye said:**

“To enable the so called aborigines to live their lives according to their traditions and customs without active interference from non-aborigines is certainly a desirable end as natural as the grant of responsibility in their administration

to other people. But to exclude these tracts from the operation of the full institution for this purpose implies that the facilities for such a life are likely to be denied by a general community, if the so called aborigines are placed under the same administrative and political machinery. This is not borne out by history."<sup>10</sup>

It is clear that both Elwin and Ghurye argued for assimilation into the Hindu fold.

In 1950 after debate in the constituent assembly the partially excluded and the excluded areas became the fifth and the sixth scheduled areas. Tribal development programs were initiated and the Ghurye-Elwin position remained unquestioned. On the ground, tribal people has no choice other than to become part of the mainstream and get assimilated into the Hindu fold or become part of Christianity.

Today for NGOs and political activists primarily in the fifth schedule areas the Bhuria Committee Report and the subsequent Act of 1996 is an important step towards the realization of self-rule for tribal people in India. These concerns resonate the demand for Tribal autonomy in the sixth schedule areas in the Northeastern frontier regions of India. The Act of 1996 emphasized that "Traditional tribal conventions and laws should continue to hold validity. Harmonisation with modern systems should be consistent herewith. The committee felt that while shaping the new Panchayati Raj structure in tribal areas it is desirable to blend the traditional with the modern by treating the traditional institutions as the foundation on which the modern suprastructure should be built."<sup>11</sup>

To what extent does this legal regime equip the tribal people to move towards self-rule? What does self-rule mean when there are only few tribal people who have not become what they are not, that is have not adopted non-tribal religions and cultures? What part of their tradition remains that can harmonize with modern systems?

Perhaps the answer to these questions is not possible with the Elwin-Ghurye framework. Because, firstly, the tribal people are classified into three mutually exclusive classes, Secondly, the tribal relation with the non-tribal people is looked at from the point of view of the state. Finally, there is no effort to hear the voice of tribal peoples as it is articulated through their struggles before the Act of 1935 was passed. In other words, Gharry's view gives legitimacy to the legal regime set up by the State. It in fact is a form of counter- insurgency because it upholds the value of tradition but takes away its existential ground of sustainability- the forest life world.

Tribal forest-dwellers and other communities have been part of contiguous geographical space and their interaction has enriched the civilization culture of the sub-continent. For instance, the cult of the mother goddess and of Shiva was enriched, and knowledge of medicinal plants was gathered and compiled. With the historical beginnings of Hinduism in medieval India there emerged a notion of ritual hierarchy between man and god, between individual and collective, between self and society, between being in the world and being in the presence of god, between reason and religious belief.

This hierarchy was a feature of sedentary agricultural communities, amongst both Hindu and Muslim. Tribal societies in contrast were pastoral and nomadic in their movement. The nature and frequency of interaction between them was not frequent. The sedentary and pastoral people were distributed over three different kinds of human settlements: the plains, the cities and towns, and the forests. In the plains and in the cities dwelt the Muslims and the Hindus, and in the forests lived the tribal people. There was no notion of the

center and the frontiers. There was no notion either of the dominant and the mainstream, nor the marginal and the peripheral. This latter notion developed on account of colonialism.

**Box 19.1: Western view of tribal situation**

People in Europe and Great Britain lived in cold temperate areas; the forest dwellers lived in distant tropical areas. Accordingly, the nature of social distance between the forest dwellers and the outsiders was conditioned by the geographical proximity in case of India, and by geographical distance in the case of Europe and Great Britain. This contributed to difference in the way the strangeness of the tribal forest dwellers was viewed by the non-tribal people. This had a methodological implication. It determined the selection of the categories and perspectives deployed to understand the forest dwellers.

When the British and the Europeans discovered the aborigines in Australia, the Pacific in the 16th century, it presented the problem of cultural discontinuity to the Western conscience in a sudden and dramatic manner. By the 18th century "the problem was set in purely historical and sociological terms... authors agreed ... that it is possible to compare those societies which would today be called primitive with Western civilization... moreover, they doubted that cultural discontinuity exists as the apparent witness and last vestige of a once common development."<sup>12</sup>

This view of historical development emerged at a particular point in the history of Europe<sup>13</sup> (Uberoi, 1978). From the 17th and 18th century onwards natural sciences determined thinking about 'nature' and about man's place in the world.

The natural science methodologies were mechanically adopted by social sciences. For instance, this led to "anthropology... establishing its claim to be regarded as a study which has an immediate practical value in connection with the administration and education of backward peoples". This raised the question: "What sort of anthropological investigations are of practical value in connection with such problems of administration? What is the "historical and functional interpretation of culture in relation to the practical application of anthropology to the Control of Native Peoples."<sup>14</sup>

Colonial rule in conformity with this thinking compared forest dwellers in India with the aborigines in Australia Africa and the Pacific islands and were described as 'backward', 'primitive' and 'uncivilised' tribal people. After India became independent, this colonial understanding continued the debates and discussions in the center. Nehru's 'Panchsheel' was formulated around this understanding. It stays with us even today.

These discontinuities have so far been arranged and understood in the framework of linear historical development and in conformity with the normative order of industrial production. Accordingly social formations progress from simple to complex, from primitive to modern technologies; from savage to civilized social life, and from irrational to rational and reasonable modes of thinking and codes of conduct.

## 19.2 A History of the Tribal Voice

There is another way of understanding the tribal situation. They were the first to protest against British encroachment into their life. There were two important consequences of these long years of resistance to pressures from the Hindus and Christians, and from the state to adopt their development programs. A class structure developed within the tribal people. Ghurye's class differentiation can be read to understand the different responses to the non-tribal world and the State evolved its instruments of governance.

The first class of tribals like the Raj Gonds and others joined mainstream and were assimilated. They got recognized as members of a fairly high status within mainstream society and have had a tendency towards revivalism and preservation. They over time became the tribal elite.

In contrast the third class the Hill sections according to Ghurye exhibited the greatest power of resistance to alien cultures that have pressed upon their border and were marginalized. Today they dwell in deep-forest, and continue to practice shifting cultivation for instance, in Abujmahar in Bastar, Madhya Pradesh, in Koraput and Phulbani in Orissa.

The large mass of second-class tribal peoples, some Hindu and some Christians suffered from development. A majority of them are the middle class with the little or no land. A larger number became poor.

A brief history of the development of State instruments of governance begins when the East India Company established its first factory in 1650-1.<sup>15</sup> A flourishing trade soon developed. Until 1757 the year of the battle of Plassey "India went on receiving silver supplies on an increasing scale (the East India Company's treasure exports in 1750 amounted to £1.10 million) but now these stopped altogether, as the English Company financed its purchases from revenue raised from here..."<sup>16</sup> In 1765 they acquired from the Mughals the right of diwani (revenue collection) in Bengal.<sup>17</sup> Four years later the Bengal famine of 1769-70 "destroyed one third of the population including artisans and cultivators and one third of land was rendered waste. This hurried on the financial crisis of 1772, which led to state interference in the Company's affairs."<sup>18</sup>

Warren Hastings came to India (for the second time) in 1772 as Governor General. In 1773, parliament passed Regulating Acts, "which helped the Company avert bankruptcy and a council was formed to assist him."<sup>19</sup> He was to deal with a situation created by "a generation of rapacious Company servants, known as the Clive generation, who in search of quick profits had unabashedly ravaged Bengal and left the once fertile province a confused heap as wild as the chaos itself."<sup>20</sup>

He developed a cultural policy aimed at "creating an Orientalised service elite competent in Indian languages and responsive to Indian traditions.... not only at the level of social intercourse but also on that of intellectual exchange. That is, Indian culture as the basis of sound Indian Administration as Percival Spear said."<sup>21</sup> In this year the first contact with the tribal people was also made when "Captain Camac, an officer of the company's army, exchanged turbans with the ruler of Chotanagpur... who acknowledged the suzerainty of the British."<sup>22</sup>

This step was taken to lay down a strong cultural-intellectual foundation for governance.<sup>23</sup> It led to the setting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784-1838 and later College Fort William in 1800-1813. The former promoted research in the area of Indology and the latter introduced universal education. The education system created a middle class that was utilized by the British to run the administration. The Asiatic society prepared the ground for research and writing the settlement reports that were the basis for settling tax. The people who benefited were people of the reading and writing tradition- the twice born caste Hindus and the rich Muslims. A large section of the population who were people of the oral tradition-the occupational castes was excluded.

These steps were taken to overcome the crises resulted in formulation of the intellectual-cultural framework for the States to position and interpret the tribal voices that were expressed through their struggles that followed.

After the formulation of the cultural policy, the Pahariyas revolted in 1778 against the "company's attempt at charting postal route, which was viewed



by them as act of encroachment."<sup>24</sup> This was followed by the Koli disturbance (1784-1785), the revolt in Tamar of Chotanagpur (1789-; 1794-1795). To earn revenue the British undertook land and revenue settlements in the form of Permanent Settlement (1793). It transformed subsistence agriculture into commercial agriculture for growing cotton and indigo for textile mills in Manchester. There after there were at least forty recorded events of confrontation-acts of minor protest and major revolts- by tribal people in different parts of India until 1857, which was the year of the Great Santhal rebellion in 1857<sup>25</sup> and the Indian Mutiny.<sup>26</sup>

The state responded on the one hand with a separate Santhal district, prohibition of intermediaries between the Santhals and the Government, abolition of the Kamitai bonded labour system...and on the other by formulating the Queens Proclamation of 1858, which granted each community a right to its own culture oblivious of bilingual attributes that is the history of interaction between communities.

It defined non-interference, with regard to cultural differences, as the principle of governance. It was stated,

(i) All people in India shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of law; (ii) all subjects of whatever *caste, tribe, race or creed* shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in British services; (iii) in framing and administering the law, due regard will be paid to the ancient rights, usage and customs of people belonging to different castes, tribes and races in India; and (iv) the British Government will not interfere with the religious belief or worship of any of the British subjects (highlights are my emphasis).<sup>27</sup>

This was the first political expression of the cultural policy. The underlying social theory on diversity can be read from 'the 1880s books on India- 'there is not and never was an India or even a country like India, possessing, according to European ideas any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious. There were only natural regions that people of these regions should ever think of themselves as Indians, that they should feel they belong to one great nation.'" It was further said' India was a creation of the British imperial power and that it was essentially artificial with its existence dependent on careful exercise of power.<sup>28</sup> It laid the framework for a mode of self-determination one that was not possible without State patronage.

Between 1858 and 1935 there were twenty-eight recorded events of confrontation.<sup>29</sup> During this period the Forest Act 1858 created reserved forest and forest villages were allowed within the reserved areas. By 1895 several forest villages were established. The acquisition Act 1894 prepared ground for the next stage. The stopping of shifting began in 1890 when "the forest village regulations were issued" (Prasad, 1994). There was compensation for the land taken over by the state- by 1895 the permanence of these villages was sufficiently established to settle them as ryotwari tracts (Prasad 1994:147).

Various orders were passed for ameliorating the conditions of tribals of the East Godavari Agency population were ultimately consolidated in law known as the Agency Tract's Interest and Land Transfer Act 1917. It formed a model for similar legislation in other tribal areas. The most important feature of this Act was that it restricted transfer of land from tribals to outsiders.<sup>30</sup>

The need for special protection of aboriginal tribes was not confined to the areas notified by the agencies, and in 1919 an act known as the Government of India Act 1919, provided "that the Governor General in Council may declare any territory in British India to be a 'Backward Tract' and that any act of the Indian Legislature should apply to such Backward Tracts only if the Governor-General so directed". This legislation of 1919 was a forerunner to the

Government of India Act, 1935, and the government of India (excluded and partially excluded areas) order, 1936. "Excluded Areas" were backward regions inhabited by tribal population to which acts of the Dominion legislature or the provincial legislature were to apply only with the governor of the province. The intention of this provision was to prevent the extension of legislation designed for advanced areas to backward areas where primitive tribes may be adversely affected by laws unsuitable to their special condition.<sup>31</sup> All uprisings were the last resort of tribesmen driven to despair by the encroachment of outsiders on their lands and economic resources.

In the mode of colonial governance illegal extortions and the oppressiveness of corrupt police were the immediate cause of Rampa Rebellion, which started in March 1873 in the East Godavari district.

The most significant ones were the Birsa Munda (1895-1900) and the Tana Bhagat Movement (1913-21). "The amendments made by the government consequent upon the Santhal Rebellion in 1856-57 were not extended to the Mundas, although they were facing similar problems.... The consequent alienation of land dealt a cruel blow to all that the tribals cherished in their life. The Birsa movement aimed at complete independence. The Tana Bhagat movement was anti missionary and anti British.... They sought to rid the tribal people of vices and weaknesses, and they refused to pay rent on the ground that they had cleared the forest and as such were the masters of the land. They demanded self-government, abolition of kingship, no rent payment, perfect equality between man and man." <sup>32</sup>

As a consequence of these movements came into being tribal improvement societies, institutions designed to introduce reform and stimulate development.<sup>33</sup> These movements have been characterized as revivalist-backward looking as it were.<sup>34</sup> "The Simon commission and the government sought solution to the tribal problem within the existing political structure. The policies framed were unrealistic... Most funds meant for tribals were cornered by the non-tribals. Thus the government failed to assuage the feelings of the tribals." <sup>35</sup>

The government responded with the Government of India Act of 1935, which prepared the legal foundation of the coming to being of the modern State in India and its structure of Governance. In keeping with the spirit of the Queens Proclamation (which as pointed out earlier was in consonance with Warren Hastings Cultural policy) it constituted the excluded and partially excluded areas for forest dwellers and tribals setting them apart from the mainstream.

#### 19.01 Action and Reflection

Discuss the various tribal assertions and the response of the British-India government?

The character of the tribal movement changed under the Government of India Act of 1935 and the first ever elections held in 1936. Pan-tribal organizations emerged to make their voice heard. For instance, the Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha, Chotanagpur Adivasi Mahasabha. In 1949 this Mahasabha was wound up and the (Jharkhand Party) new regional party created.<sup>36</sup>

### 19.3 Nationalist freedom struggle and tribals

The nationalist freedom struggle was not rooted in the tribal and peasant movements. The Indian National Congress questioned neither the repressive legislation nor the cultural policy. It could not draw upon the heritage of these movements because it had internalised this cultural policy: it did not reject the way tribals were being thought of and talked about, as backward and

primitive people. Nor was any question asked as to whether regulative state control was absolutely necessary. Congress justified protection and criticised exclusion. This, it was observed, later prepared the way for development programmes. It was expected that these would enable the tribal people to absorb the normative order of industrial modernisation.

The Congress clarified its position on the exclusion of forest communities in its 1936 Faizpur Resolution:

"This Congress is of the opinion that the separation of excluded and partially excluded areas is intended to leave out of the larger control, disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas and keep their inhabitants apart from India for their career exploitation and suppression."<sup>37</sup>

In accordance with the spirit of this exclusion policy it was further stated that,

"... The adivasis' interest would be best served through their exposure to modern influences (like education) and the implementation of conservation laws. The industrialisation of forest produce may be considered essential for the progress of *adivasi* society."<sup>38</sup>

Tribal protest was considered an indication of their inability to adjust, adapt and change. Those who argued for their assimilation subscribed to the norms of mainstream development under the British regime. They were unaware of the contribution the tribal forest dwellers could make to the struggle for freedom and independence. Questions concerning their knowledge and its relation to their way of life were ignored even though they were highlighted by tribal protests.

This was in agreement with what Jawaharlal Nehru thought on the tribal position. He said at the opening of the first session of the 'Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas' Conference in 1952:

"For half a century or more we have struggled for freedom and achieved it. That struggle, apart from anything else, was a great liberating force. It raised us above ourselves... We must remember that this experience of hundreds of millions of Indians was not shared by the tribal folk."<sup>39</sup>

It is clear that they struggled and protested against British domination but there was no pathway to exchange their experience with other Indians, because on one hand, they were politically marginalised in excluded areas and on the other, they were social outcasts of the so-called dominant societies. They were thus outsiders. The position of the tribals cannot any longer be understood from the standpoint of this mainstream mode of governance.

## 19.4 Constituent Assembly Debates and Tribal people

The Constituent Assembly debates too did not question the validity of both 'excluded' and 'partially excluded areas', or the view that tribals were backward. Nor did they draw upon the traditions of tribal and peasant movements to find out their mode of participation in the making of Independent India. They sought to deal with a problem that arises from a situation where cultural pluralism and politico-economic inequality are co-present and co-exist, namely, of social justice in an iniquitous social structure without re-examining the secularist policy of non-interference on questions of social and cultural differences. Article 16(4) and Article 335 were formulated to deal with this problem (this will be discussed later). The debates on this and other related issues were within the theoretical framework of the liberal political tradition of governance left behind by the British.



The constitutional provisions for tribal people were formulated as a part of this debate. It was argued that the principles of political and economic democracy would create appropriate conditions for justice. These were incorporated in the Directive Principles of State Policy. In the discussion on the Directive Principles Dr B.R.Ambedkar said:

As I stated, our Constitution as a piece of mechanism lays down what is parliamentary democracy. By parliamentary democracy we mean 'one man one vote'... The reason why we have established in this Constitution a political democracy is because we do not want to install by any means whatsoever a perpetual dictatorship of any particular body of people. While we have established political democracy, it is also the desire that we should lay down our ideal of economic democracy. We do not want merely to lay down a mechanism to enable people to come and capture power. The Constitution also wishes to lay down an ideal before those who would be forming the government. That ideal is economic democracy, whereby, so far as I am concerned, I understand to mean 'one man one vote'. The question is: Have we got any fixed idea as to how we should bring about economic democracy? There are various ways in which people believe economic democracy can be brought about; there are those who believe in individualism as the best form of economic democracy; there are those who believe in having a socialistic state as the best form of economic democracy; there are those who believe in the communist idea as the most perfect of economic democracy.

Now, having regard to the fact that there are various ways by which economic democracy may be brought about, we have deliberately introduced in the language that we have used, in the directive principles, something which is not fixed or rigid.<sup>40</sup>

One-man one vote is the principle underlying political and economic democracy. A vote, therefore, is an instrument to assert and define the political right to economic equality. This is described in the right to property (Article 300A). Together they determine the economic and the political infrastructure of the industrial production process and the productive capacities for modern industrial work and enterprise. The democratic character of this infrastructure and of the process can be judged from its attitude to other traditions of work: they had no space for the coexistence and enrichment of plural modes of earning a livelihood with which people were familiar. In fact it prescribes its annihilation.

The nature of economy defined by this principle is not based on the work culture and the productive capacities of people. Does this enrich the skills to be productive and ensure a minimum subsistence? This principle thus needs to be recast. Productive capacity is not just the capability to do a job and be employed. It is the preparedness to cope with the traumas of alienation, anomie in the social sphere and with the uncertainties of living in the modern world of free liberal markets, without either subjugating anybody or being subjugated. Such preparedness is the most essential requirement of self-rule. The political and economic dimension of democracy is more than just 'one man one vote'. It is concerned with a condition for such preparedness. To understand their larger meaning we need to consider the link between the political and economic rights and the productive capacity on one hand and the capacity to work and plural ways of life on the other. It is these links that constitute the idea of common good.

Seen from this perspective the directive principles do not resolve the contradiction between Article 16(4) and Article 335. The former Article upholds equality of opportunity for all citizens in an iniquitous social structure where power and goods are concentrated in the hands of a few. The latter supports the claim of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts. Debates on Article 335 focused on whether or not there should be job

reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Some *excerpts* are reproduced here.

*Shri Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:* ...There is absolutely no provision for reservation so far as members of the Scheduled Castes And Scheduled Tribes are concerned. The safeguard given by law to this class is contained in article 335 which says: "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State." Therefore, one thing is absolutely clear, that no reservation was meant to be made for the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as such. I remember that in the Sub-Committee of the Minorities Committee, this matter came up and then we decided that there should be no reservations at all. Now, as if by the backdoor, by smuggling, this reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is being inserted in clause (4) of Article 320. My submission is when there is a positive command of the Constitution to the members of the Public Service Commission which they must obey that the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must be considered consistently with the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration, this provision would be useless, and also, in a manner, I should say, this takes away the effect of article 335 to an extent. I am, therefore, anxious that so far as the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are concerned, their claims must be considered with regard to all appointments and not only with regard to reserved appointments. Because, if they are reserved, it means that their claim will be considered. The livelihood is that their claims will be confined only to the reserved posts and in regard to other posts, their claims will not be considered.

Now as the House knows, the provision contained in article 16 clause (4) is a sort of a negative provision to counterpoise the equality of opportunity for all citizens, some of whom are very much developed and others not so developed, and provision is made that the State is not prevented from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts. Supposing no posts are reserved, the provision will neither benefit the backward classes nor any other class. When the House has not decided reservation of post, I do not think we are justified in having in this clause (4) a contingency for which reservation could be made. When the House has decided once for all that no reservation is to be made, then these words (clause 4) give rise to the impression that reservation is possible.<sup>41</sup>

*Shri T.T. Krishnamachari:* Will the honourable member please say how article 335 could be implemented?

*Shri Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:* Can it only be implemented by reservation? If that is so, why did we not so decide?<sup>42</sup>

*Shri R .K. Sidhva:* Mr President, ... I have had the view that if anybody deserves protection or special rights or privileges, it is the Scheduled Castes only ... for the reason that I frequently stated that we have done certain injustice to that class and for the purpose of undoing that injustice, we specially gave them this protection.... I do not approve of my friend Deshmukh's proposal to introduce the words 'backward class', ... I strongly oppose it... Although the words 'backward class' are there, I am obliged to reluctantly accept it, and if I had my way, I would have said that there shall be no such thing as "backward classes."<sup>43</sup>

*Shri Mahavir Tyagi:* Why introduce the communal virus into another article... That representation of the Scheduled Castes shall be so and so, the manner of giving it shall be such and such, that the rules of giving this representation in the services or posts to the Scheduled castes shall not be made in

consultation with the Public Service and so on. All this, I say is absolutely unnecessary, and surely it does not benefit the Scheduled Caste people at all. Some of us felt that the special reservation was forced against their wishes. But then we were told that it was only a directive article, and that it directs the policy of future governments.<sup>44</sup>

In these debates the question of protection was addressed without reference to the larger question of the nature of the economy and the place of the marginalized people in it. There was no stocktaking of either the state of the economy that the British rulers left behind or of the reserves of material and cultural capital with the people. For this reason it was not possible to discuss the path of self-reliant development and progress India was to follow. The welfare that the directive principles seek to promote defines individual and collective well being without considering its relation to the work culture and productive capacities of people.

For instance, laws that prevent the alienation of land amongst tribals are not sufficient for economic and political democracy. In addition what is required is the freedom to define land and other means of production in accordance with their tradition of work and in the context of the industrial production system. Accordingly, tribal protest can be seen as an assertion of their right not only to land but also to the universe of the forest as their living space, to their work culture, an important component of which is shifting cultivation, and to their world-view. These rights are a precondition for a sense of belonging, which is most essential for their democratic participation in constructing a future. It is not dependent on whether this mode of cultivation conforms to standards of scientific rationality and development.

The idea of welfare and social justice is premised on the right to property, which cannot ensure a sense of belonging. It is thus of crucial importance to understand the form and content of the notion of political and economic democracy itself. In pursuance of the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' Article 300A says that the State can acquire land to promote public interest:

**Persons not to be deprived of property save by authority of law.** No Person shall be deprived of his property save by law.

In the 'draft constitution' this was Article 24. In the discussion around this Article the justification and implications of this Article were spelt out:

*Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:* If property is required for public use it is a well established law that it should be acquired by the State, by compulsion if necessary and compensation is paid and the law has laid down methods of judging that compensation... But more and more today the community has to deal with large schemes of social reform, social engineering etc., which can hardly be considered from the point of view of that individual acquisition of a small bit of land or structure. Difficulties arise — apart from every other difficulty, the question of time. Here is a piece of legislation that the community, as presented in its chosen representatives, considers quite essential for the progress and safety of the State and it is a piece of legislation which affects millions of people. Obviously you cannot leave that piece of legislation too long, widespread and continuous litigation in the courts of law. Otherwise the future of millions may be affected; otherwise the whole structure of the State may be shaken to its foundations... We are passing through a tremendous age of transition... How are you going to protect the individual? I began by saying that there are two approaches — the approach of the individual and the approach of the community. But how are we to protect the individual today except the few who are strong enough to protect themselves? They have become fewer and fewer. In such a state of affairs, the State has to protect the individual right to property. He may possess property, but it may mean

nothing to him, because some monopoly comes in the way and prevents him from the enjoyment of his property. The subject therefore is not a simple one... because the individual may lose that right completely by the functioning of various forces both in the capitalist direction and in the socialist direction<sup>45</sup>...

*Shri Damodar Swarup Seth:* It is not clear whether the words "acquisition of property for the public purpose" includes socialisation of land and Industries or compulsory transfer of property from one set of persons to the other. It may well be argued that these words mean acquisition of property only for the general use of Government, local self-governing bodies and other charitable and public institutions and cannot be allowed to be stretched to nationalisation or socialisation. The subject therefore needs clarification, and that clarification in my humble opinion, is not possible unless we discard the idea or I should say the theory, that man has natural rights in property and also the idea that property is a projection of personality. And any invasion on property is an interference with the personality itself... Man has no natural right in property. Claim to property is acquired by law recognised by community. The community... has always reserved to itself the right to modify laws with respect to property and acquire it from its owners in the common, social and economic interest of the people. Property is a social institution and like all other social institutions, it is subject to regulations and claim of common interests.

...The property of the entire people, it must be understood, is the mainstay of the State in the development of national economy and the right to private property cannot be allowed to stand in the way or used to the detriment of the community. The State must have the full right to regulate, limit and expropriate property by means of law in the common interests of the people. The doctrine of compensation as a condition for expropriation cannot be accepted as a Gospel truth. Death duty is a form of partial expropriation without compensation and it forms an essential feature of financial systems of many a progressive country in the world...

It is almost universally recognised that full compensation to the owners of properties will make impossible any large project of social and economic amelioration to be materialised. It is impossible for the State to pay owners of property in all classes and at market value for the property requisitioned or acquired in times of emergency or for the purpose of socialisation of big industries with a view to eliminate exploitation and promoting general economic welfare. Partial compensation is, therefore, suggested... as a *via media* which will neither hinder socialisation nor at the same time will it deprive a large number of persons of means of livelihood.<sup>46</sup>

*Prof. T.K.Shah:*.... Acquisition of lands for public purpose, acquisition of any form of property, movable or immovable, for any public purpose including the working of that enterprise for the benefit of the public is, I think, an inherent right of the sovereign community which should not be subject to any exception...

I have therefore, suggested that any such property to be acquired can be acquired for public purpose without defining what is exactly meant by 'public purpose' subject to such compensation if any... Not all property is deserving of compensation nor should the Constitution recognise categorically without qualification or modification the right to compensation as appears to be the case<sup>47</sup>...

The congress did not question the way tribals were being talked about, as backward and primitive, neither was any question asked as to whether regulative state control was absolutely necessary and whether 'excluded' areas was the way to do so? The debate got involved with justifying or criticizing exclusion,

having lost sight of the fact 'exclusion was a consequence of protest against British rule.

'Exclusion' was an expression of a social and cultural attitude towards people who lived in a forest. Those who argued for assimilation either upheld the norms of mainstream development under colonial regime and they were unaware of the forest-dwellers contribution to the struggle for freedom and independence.

#### 19.02 Action and Reflection

Bring out the salient features of the constituent assembly debates on tribal affairs.

Today there are three positions left, center and the right. All are agreed that as forest dwellers, a people living in a state of nature, tribal people had no future. The difference between them was with regards to the process of becoming a part of the mainstream and their place and position in it. Correspondingly their definitions of the key terms differ.

## 19.5 Conclusion

Today all tribal people are not forest dwellers. They are a microcosm of the macrocosm that is India. DD Kosambi has described the larger social context in which the tribal people are located in India. "Cultural differences between Indians even in the same province, district or city are as wide as the physical differences between various parts of the country. Modern India produced an outstanding figure of world literature in Tagore. Within easy reach of Tagore's final residence may be found other illiterate primitive peoples still unaware of Tagore's existence. *Some of them are hardly out of the food-gathering stage.* (Emphasis mine) An imposing modern city building such as a bank, government office, factories or scientific institute may have been designed by some European architect or by his Indian pupil. The wretched workmen, who actually built it generally, use the crudest tools... The very idea of science (*the dominant one*) is beyond the mental reach of human beings who have lived in misery on the margin of over cultivated lands or in the forest. Most of them have been driven by famine conditions in the jungle to become the cheapest form of drudge labour in city."<sup>48</sup>

Protection under the fifth and sixth schedules seeks to safeguard forest-dwellers rights as citizens of India. The totality of rights that individual-citizen derive from the description of sovereignty of the Indian-Nation-State. These derive substance from the land acquisition Act of 1894. The rights of citizen cannot transgress the rights that the Sovereign state has over the citizen. In other words the powers to direct its social and cultural rights make the state sovereign and an individual its citizen.

The act 1894 prevents/stands in the way of creations appropriate condition. For instance, land acquired under this was most cases people 'commons'. In the way cultural rights are annulled for the commons are not only replenishable reservoirs of materials necessary for subsistence, they are also inscribed with a set of 'meanings' which replenish the processes of social and cultural reproduction. Sacred groves, grazing grounds, waterways, rivers, hills, are some instances of such 'commons'. A question arises here! What cultural rights remain when the right to commons is always under threat of being annulled? And what is the significance of these 'remaining cultural rights for the political rights? This is described in the constitution under articles on 'Fundamental Rights': These are derived from the way the Indian nation-state is defined article/this definition provides legitimacy to the act 1894 and this act in turns executes one aspect of this definition-namely territorial unity and



sovereignty over the geographical area which is also the territory over which the state has its jurisdiction. In other words this act shows the character uniformly. That is it allows differences only in so far as it does not undermine uniformity.

The land acquisition Act of 1894 is crucial. While on the one hand the act is premised on a notion of good defined as public interest, on the other hand it is itself the premise of a particular interpretation of Nation-State and of who is a citizen.

According to the Eight Report of the "standing committee on Urban and Rural Development (1994-95) of the Tenth Lok Sabha on land Acquisition Act, 1894, "For the acquisition of land needed for public purpose, developmental work and public institutions and for determining the amount of compensation to be made on account of acquisition the first land Acquisition Act was promulgated on the first day of March, 1894'. However, it has been amended from time to time to suit the needs of post-independence era. It extends to the whole of India except the state of Jammu and Kashmir. While in Nagaland the assembly has not adopted it for its empowerment in the state."

The land acquisition Act requires him to sacrifice land for the sake of the well-being of the collective. Accordingly 'territoriality' which is what makes the Nation-State is to be understood as that area (has) protected by the state machinery over which the State has sovereign rights' in the name of public good, and the State's exercise of this right is sanctioned by the 'land acquisition of 1894.' In other words a citizen is one from whom land can be taken and to whom land can be given. This is an obligation and a duty of being born within the boundaries of nation-state.

The 1894 land Acquisition Act created a political environment that transformed the cultural and social processes of acculturation of forest-dwellers, into a political arena. This act is of crucial importance for defining the Nation-State as a territorial unit. Accordingly, a Nation-State covers contiguous geographical area over which it has control. Within this territory the government has the right to take any land for the sake of public interest, provided it gives equivalent compensation (in lands). The declaration of areas inhabited by forest-dwellers as 'protected Areas', the declaration that all forest that does not yield revenue as Wasteland, and the promotion of permanent settlement by encourage plough settled cultivation in place of shifting cultivation are instances of political activities encouraged by the 1894 land acquisition Act.

A more telling example of the conflict of the political and the cultural is the land Acquisition of 1894. Public interest which this act seeks to uphold is defined very clearly in schedule of the constitution. The land acquired for activities listed in this schedule have more often than not been commons or common property for a particular commonly or a group of people. Here, there are two nations of 'good'- one defined by the state and the other defined by the commonly- the identity of a 'nation state' is premised on sacrifice of cultural rights of commonly, for the sake of constitution a political entity-the nation state. However from the standpoint of commonly rights in commons, it can be argued that the political identity of a nation-state stand firm provided commons and community right/cultural rights are strengthened and diversified. Historical experience has shown that the list of activities, in fact have done more harm than good to people at large. In the light of this experience it can be argued that the identity of Nation-State which is expressed through the land acquisition Act 1894 and which, this act seeks to strengthen, in fact produces results to the contrary: it corrodes the ground on which a Nation-State stands-this ground is its people, their culture and their community.

It is therefore, necessary to reexamine the act 1894 such that it becomes possible to create conditions for the political and cultural nation of good to define complimentary political and cultural rights. One way is to see that cultural rights become the basis for political rights. So far political 'right' has determined cultural rights. This is a necessary condition for 'self-rule'.

The unfolding of these assumptions and implications of the 1894 act took place right through the Nationalist struggle, through the constituent assembly debates up to the present times right through this unfolding the cultural notion of good was subservient to the political notion. Power is a function of meaningfulness; ideas are meaningful only when they generate a sense of certitude.

**Box 19.2: Understanding forest dwellers vis-à-vis mainstream**

The position of forest-dwellers cannot be understood with reference to the mainstream any longer. Accordingly, the question of a uniform civil code needs to be replaced with a notion of civil society. The assumptions of this suggestion are: so far the idea of a uniform civil code has been derived from contrast between the mainstream and the forest-dwellers and that a uniform civil code does not constitute a civil society; on the contrary it promotes the normative order of the mainstream.

To demonstrate the ground assumptions it will suffice to say that in article of the constitution of India, tribes are not even mentioned in the list of peoples of India; they are clubbed as 'minorities. Further Articles 25, 30(i), 25(2) read in this sequence suggests: "All minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice [Art 30 (i)]". However, on the one hand nothing prevents the state from regulating or restricting any economic, financial or other secular activity, which may be associated with religious practices [Art 25(2)]. On the other hand the state would provide for "social welfare and reform and throw open Hindu religious institutions of public interest to all classes and sections [art 252(b)]."

In other words, the Hindu religion is unquestioned; it serves public interest in the same way as acquisition of land by state serves public interest. It is therefore, the norm that promotes public interest and is therefore the duty of the state to make it uniformly accessible. From here derives the content of the uniform civil code. In criticism of the tendency of this civil code towards Hindu normative order, it may be said that it partakes of the colonial asymmetry between the cultural and the political aspect of right; that for these reasons it overlooks the relation between religion and a work culture and that instead of facilitating a process of exchange and cooperation to generate civil society where a plurality of cultural and social traditions are coextensive with political and economic inequality on the contrary it accentuates differences and generates conditions of violence and terror in social lives of people.

The problem is: what social arrangements enable the emergence of such cultural norms that would promote cooperation and exchange amongst people who, by the logics of the social positions they occupy, are torn apart by conflicting forces that emanate from cultural and social differences in a politically and an economically unequal world. Such social arrangements are an important part of the structure of civil society.

## 19.6 Further Reading

Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph. 1992. *Tribes of India-The Struggle for Survival*. Delhi: Oxford University Press,1992.

Ghurye, G S. 1963. *The Scheduled Tribes*, 3rd edition (First Published as 'The Aborigines so-called and their Future' 1943). Bombay: Popular Press.

Vashum, R. 2005 (2000). *Nagas' Right to Self-determination: An Anthropological-Historical Perspective*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition).

## End Notes

1 For details see Moonis Raza and Aijazuddin Ahmad. 1990. An Atlas of Tribal India. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company.

2 In as many as 92 districts, more than 95 per cent of the tribal workers are engaged in primary economic activities such as cultivation, agricultural labour, fishing, hunting and other allied activities and mining and quarrying. They form a contiguous cluster over the mid-Indian tribal belt. This region includes 11 districts each in Rajasthan and Maharashtra, 28 adjoining districts in Madhya Pradesh, 6 districts each in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, 3 districts in West Bengal and 1 in Orissa. (Moonis Raza 1990: 381-82)

3 The linguistic regions can be divided as follows: The Austro-Asiatic Family Region has two divisions, the Mon-Khmer and the Munda. The Tibeto-Chinese has two divisions, the Tibeto-Himalayan and the Tibeto-Burmese. The third is the Dravidian family region. The fourth is the Dravido-Munda region. The fifth is the Indo-Aryan region and the sixth is the Aryo-Dravidian region. (Moonis Raza 1990:40-42)

4 Moonis Raza 1990:226.

5 Elwin: Loss of Nerve (0).

6 G S Ghurye. The Scheduled Tribes 3rd edition (First Published as The Aborigines so-called and their Future 1943). Popular Press, Bombay 1963 (p173)

7 G S Ghurye. The Scheduled Tribes 3rd edition (First Published as The Aborigines so-called and their Future 1943). Popular Press, Bombay 1963 (p 24)

8 G S Ghurye. The Scheduled Tribes 3rd edition (First Published as The Aborigines so-called and their Future 1943). Popular Press, Bombay 1963 (p 23)

9 Archana Prasad Against Ecological Romanticism-Verrier Elwin and the Making of Anti-Modern Tribal Identity, Delhi Three Essays Collective 2003 (p 91-92)

10 (Ghurye 1944 Aborigines-so called and their future).

11 Does the Bhuria Committee report address the life-situation of forest tribal forest dwellers? The Bhuria Committee Report seeks to argue that the extension of the Panchayati Raj Act 1992 (the 73rd amendment of the Indian Constitution) to tribal scheduled areas will strengthen the ground for and promote self-rule. The question here is not whether the 73rd amendment (Panchayati Raj Act 1992) can with suitable modifications as suggested by the Bhuria Committee, create appropriate and adequate conditions for the promotion of self-government and self-rule amongst tribal forest dwellers in various parts of India. The more important question is whether the Constitutional framework, which Bhuria Committee calls to attention is, appropriate and adequate for this purpose under the changed conditions of their life.

The report suggests that the following principles be used to extend the 73rd Amendment to scheduled areas

a) "Traditional tribal conventions and laws should continue to hold validity. Harmonisation with modern systems should be consistent herewith. The committee felt that while shaping the new Panchayati Raj structure in tribal areas it is desirable to blend the traditional with the modern by treating the traditional institutions as the foundation on which the modern superstructure should be built [Report: p 6 (13.1)]".

An example of this blending according to the report is as follows:

b) "The land acquisition Act 1894 is premised on unrealistic ground. The basic lacunae in the Act have to be removed. The consent of the local village community should be obligatory. The rehabilitation package should be operated with the consent of the local village community.[Report: p9(v)]".

c) "The Gram Sabha should exercise different functions as traditionally prescribed. More specifically management of land, forest, water, air ..etc., resources should be vested in it. This right should be deemed as axiomatic, in the functioning of Gram Panchayats [Report: p8 (21.ii)]".

This Report on the one hand seeks to give Gram Sabha axiomatic rights over natural resources and on the other hand it allows for displacement of tribal people by not questioning the land Acquisition Act of 1894. This contradiction shows that the participation of tribal people sought through giving powers to Gram Sabha is rhetorical, meaningless and without any substance. The variety of functions and powers described by the Report will lead to more bureaucratisation. This, historical experience has shown will only accentuate their marginalized position. It also draws attention to the larger political framework of a Nation-State which legitimises this Report. The act 1894 operationalises one aspect of this framework, namely, territoriality and sovereignty. This will be examined in a separate section of this essay.

The 'tradition' being referred to, is neither clearly defined nor is it described. Several studies have shown the deforestation, impoverishment and acculturations define the social context of forest-dwellers. A comparison of their life situation when the Constituent Assembly framed the constitution with what it is now shows clearly that forest-dwellers traditions of work have increasingly come under pressure of modernization: on the one hand there is deforestation, a politically centralized industrial production process which speedily depletes natural endowments and in the process undermines their access to nature and on the other hand there is sanskritization and westernization which depletes the social and cultural capital.

12 Claude Levi-Strauss. 1977. *Structural Anthropology Vol II*. Translated from French by Monique Layton. Great Britain: Allen Lane. (p313)

13 J P S Uberoi. 1978. *Science and Culture*. Delhi: Oxford University Press

14 A.R Radcliffe-Brown. 1958. *Method in Social Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.( p 39-41)

15 Vincent Smith. *The Oxford History of India 4th ed* Edited by Percival Spear. Delhi, Oxford University Press 1981(12th impression) (p465).

16 Shireen Moosvi , *The India Economic Experience 1600-1900: A Quantitative Study*. In K N Pannikar, Terence J Byres and Utsa Patnaik ed *Making of History Essays Presented to Irfan Habib*. Delhi, Tulika, 2000 (p343).

17 Romila Thapar and Majid Hayat Siddiqi, *Chotanagpur: The Pre-colonial and the colonial Situation*. In R D Munda and Sanjay Bosu Mullick. *Jharkhand Movement-Indigenous Peoples Struggle for Autonomy in India*, IWGIA Document No. 108. Copenhagen, 2003 (p 44).

18 Vincent Smith. *The Oxford History of India 4th ed* Edited by Percival Spear. Delhi, Oxford University Press 1981(12th impression) (p502).

19 David Kopf. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance-The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835*. Berkeley, University Press, 1969 (p 16).

20 David Kopf. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance-The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835*. Berkeley, University Press, 1969 (p 13).

21 David Kopf. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance-The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835*. Berkeley, University Press, 1969 (p 17).

22 Romila Thapar and Majid Hayat Siddiqi. *Chota nagpur: The Pre-colonial and the colonial Situation*. In R D Munda and Sanjay Bosu Mullick. *Jharkhand Movement-Indigenous Peoples Struggle for Autonomy in India*, IWGIA Document No. 108. Copenhagen, 2003 (p 44).

23 The steps taken to over come these problems drew upon British orientalism, utilitarianism and enlightenment social theory.

24 Shachi Arya. *Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest*. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p -138).

25 Shachi Arya. *Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest*. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 137-167; 216).

26 Shachi Arya. *Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest*. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 151-152).

27 (quoted in Mehta 1991: 73).

28 (John Stracthey. *India London 1888* in Embree 1989:9-13) Another expression of the idea was "the cause of the innumerable political Sub divisions which characterized the history of the subcontinent before the unification brought about by the British power was obviously the variety of races, languages, religions manners and customs only rarely had a paramount power ever seceded in creating political unity and then only for a few years 'when no such power existed, the states, hundreds in member might be likened to a Swarm of free, mutually repellent molecules in a state of incessant movement. How could such bewildering diversity movement be made intelligible as a history of India, rather them as histories of ephemeral regional principalities (Embree 1989:11)"

29 Shachi Arya. *Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest*. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 216).

30 ( Furer-Haimendosf 1992:38-39)

31 Furer-Haimendorf, 1992:39

32 Shachi Arya. *Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest*. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 144-146)

- 33 Shachi Arya. Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 150)
- 34 Shachi Arya. Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 149).
- 35 Shachi Arya. Tribal Activism-Voices of Protest. Rawat Publications. Jaipur and New Delhi, 1998 (p 151)
- 36 K S Singh. Tribal Autonomy Movements in Chotanagpur in R D & S Bosu Mullick. The Jharkhand Movement-Indigenous Peoples' Struggle for Autonomy in India, .IWIGIA Document No. 108, Copenhagen 2003 (p 91)
- 37 Prasad 1994: 249-250.
- 38 Prasad 1994 250-251.
- 39 (Prasad 1994: 256-257)
- 40 CAD Vol VII 19 Nov 1948: 494.
- 41 CAD Vol X 14 Nov. 1949: 495.
- 42 CAD: ibid 496.
- 43 CAD: ibid 498.
- 44 CAD: ibid 499.
- 45 CAD Vol. IX 10 Sept 1949: 1192, 1194-95.
- 46 CAD Vol IX 10 Sept 1949: 1200.
- 47 CAD ibid 1218.
- 48 Kosambi 1986:2.