

# **Rourkela and after**

**50 years of industrial development  
and social responsibility  
in Indo-German cooperation**

**Papers presented in a conference  
at Königswinter (near Bonn), Germany,  
22nd to 24th September, 2006**

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## List of Abbreviations or Local Names

Ac./ac./acr.	acre(s) (1 ac. = 0.4071 hectares/1 hectare = 2.471 acres)
ADM	Additional District Magistrate
BAIF	Bharatiya Agro Industries Foundation
CNT	Chotanagpur Tenancy Act
crore	10 million (= 100 lakhs)
dalal	"middleman"
DEG	Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft (a member of KfW Group)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DGM	Deputy General Manager
DIG	Deputy Inspector General (of Police)
diku	"alien", "stranger" ("exploiter")
FC	Financial Cooperation
GTZ	Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit
HSL	Hindustan Steel Limited
HSM	Hot Strip Mill
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPS	Indian Police Service
ITI	Industrial Training Institute
J.M.A.C.C.	Jharkhand Mines Areas Coordination Committee, Ranchi
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (German Development Bank)
lakh	100,000
lathi	baton, long stick used by police
LDP	Local Displaced Person(s)
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MTA	million tons per annum
N.G.O.	Non-Governmental organisation
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
OAS	Orissa Administrative Service
patta	land record papers
PDP	Peripheral Development Programme
PESA	Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
P.O.	Post Office
P.S.	Police Station
R & R	Rehabilitation and Resettlement
rayati	revenue land, settled land
RDA	Rourkela Development Authority
RDC	Revenue Divisional Commissioner
RKL	Rourkela
RS	Resettlement Colony
RSP	Rourkela Steel Plant
RRIT	Rourkela Rural Improvement Trust
SAIL	Steel Authority of India Limited
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer
SNG	Sundargarh (District)
SP	Superintendent of Police
ST	Scheduled Tribe(s)
U.N.	United Nations

## Preface

The present publication is meant as an annexe to the earlier publication: Adivasis of Rourkela - Looking back on 50 Years of Indo-German Economic Cooperation. (*sarini* Occasional Papers, No. 4), Bhubaneswar 2006. It contains the papers read in a conference at Königswinter, Germany, 22-24 September, 2006, which had the same theme that is now adopted as the title of this publication. This conference was organised by Adivasi-Koordination in Germany in collaboration with Südasiensbüro at Bonn and Arbeitnehmerzentrum Königswinter (an adult education centre).

### Background

Based on German planning, one of the most advanced steel plants of the world at that time was constructed at Rourkela, Orissa, from the mid 1950s. In 1953, the Government of India held consultations with German steel companies. In 1954, the first notifications for acquisition of the land required for the steel plant and the new township were issued. In 1955, German planners and engineers visited the site. In 1957, notifications for vacation of the Mandira Dam site were issued. From 1958 onwards, the German Government gave loans to secure this undertaking which was originally started by the private sector. In 1959, the first blast furnace of Rourkela Steel Plant was inaugurated in the presence of the then President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. By 1961 the construction activities were completed. Much later, during the 1980s, the modernization of the steel plant was again made possible with loans from Germany.

The area around Rourkela - having mostly tribal or Adivasi population - was considered as most backward and, therefore, a priority area for development. But the majority of the Adivasi population had no share in the economic growth of the region. Many of them are till date complaining about their forced eviction and unsatisfactory rehabilitation.

### The Rourkela Conference at Königswinter, 2006

Thus, there is a history of round about 50 years of this Indo-German development project, which has been the biggest project ever in German deve-

lopment assistance. Against this backdrop, the conference held at Königswinter near Bonn, the former German capital, undertook a first step to critically reviewing 'Project Rourkela'. Beyond acknowledging the successes of this project, it also considered the aspects of social responsibility and the lessons that could be learned from the Rourkela experience for future industrial projects. To that extent, the conference may be rated as an historical event. The main idea of this conference was to bring face to face: representatives of the German institutions responsible for Project Rourkela (then and now) and speakers of the displaced Adivasis. Probably for the first time, a dialogue on parallel level was held.

Adivasi-Koordination in Germany - with support from two German developmental agencies (MISEREOR and Bread for the World) and a generous grant from an individual person - had been able to invite four Adivasi speakers for this conference. Unfortunately however, even repeated invitations to the management of Rourkela Steel Plant were ignored by them. The research library of Alfred Krupp Foundation at Essen in Germany - where many documents are kept which could be used for deeper research - was unable to send a staff member to attend the conference. Two German official participants - one from the Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and one from KfW Development Bank - attended the conference, but only for half a day.

The conference was also attended by some German "veterans" - workers and other staff who had been in Rourkela during the construction phase or who were engaged in developmental activities in the Rourkela region then and later. The organisers of the conference had also prepared a photo exhibition on the theme: "India's industrial development and the survival of Adivasi cultures", in which historical and present day photographs of Rourkela and Adivasi life in the resettlement colonies had a prominent place.

Towards the end of the conference, a work schedule and action plan for the next 2 - 3 years was proposed focussing on three major areas:

- In Rourkela and India: to be in touch with the displaced communities and their organisations, but also with the administration and the authorities of RSP; possibly a second conference could be held at Rourkela itself.
- In Germany: to continue advocacy work and lobbying with German authorities (KfW, Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, political parties). Towards this, support will also be sought from civil society institutions like the media and developmental organisations, including German Rourkela “veterans” or senior experts.
- In the international context: by linking up with international human rights organisations and human rights wings of international bodies (ILO, UN).

The conference papers are printed here in the originally proposed sequence:

- PART I deals with the planning, economic and socio-political aspects from the German side;
- PART II presents the Adivasi perspective.

These papers will also be published in German within a few months. Further publications in Germany on Project Rourkela and related issues are expected as an outcome of this conference.

### **Further dialogues and contacts**

After the conference, the Indian guests - accompanied by members of Adivasi-Koordination in Germany - had more detailed discussions with a few German developmental agencies and the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. They also met Members of the German Federal Parliament in Berlin, who belong to different parties, and who are also active in committees on human rights and developmental issues. For the MP's, the inputs from the Indian guests were quite revealing, and they offered to support in different ways the cause of the industry affected and displaced people of Rourkela and beyond.

Adivasi-Koordination in Germany will continue to follow up the developments in Rourkela and will be in continuous dialogue with German authorities, developmental agencies, the political institutions, and with the local organisations, activists and the affected people of Rourkela. This is being done with a perspective to help bring future industrial developments in consonance with national and international law, fundamental human rights and the pursuance of ethics in the respective projects.

*sarini* is an informal network of social and human rights activists in India and Germany. Adivasi-Koordination in Germany is a (registered) civil society organisation and network of NGOs engaged in human rights and developmental activities, working with the indigenous or Adivasi communities in India.

## 50 Years of Indo-German Development Cooperation

By **Gottfried von Gemmingen**

Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

### Introduction

In preparing for this conference, I realised that there is already a 50-year history of Indo-German development cooperation. In the Ministry, somehow, we missed this anniversary. When reading the conference documents, I became rather humbled because it seemed impossible to me to get a comprehensive overview about why and how certain parties involved in the project acted in a certain way at a certain time. One tends to forget that - then as now - the persons in charge acted to the best of their knowledge and belief. Therefore, I tend to be rather cautious about making quick judgements from today's point of view.

Within these limits, I hope to provide you with a very brief and non-comprehensive sketch of Indo-German development cooperation in the past fifty years, the German role in this particular cooperation project and an assessment of its impact on German development cooperation from today's point of view. My colleague Mr. Pischke will elaborate more on financial cooperation.

### A brief sketch of Indo-German bilateral cooperation (not comprehensive)

#### 1950s until early 1990s

During this time the focus was mainly on industrial development in the public sector, on transfer of technical know-how, and on some activities in so-called soft sectors dealing with health, rural development, etc. There were high annual commitments during the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. Particularly in the beginning, the Rourkela project played a prominent role in this cooperation, along with the Indo-German Institute of Technology in Madras.

#### Early 1990s - 1998

The year 1992 was marked by the OECD consensus on untying aid. This led to increased focus on poverty alleviation, mainstreaming of cross-sectoral criteria in development cooperation and gradually reduced annual commitments.

#### 1998 - 2001

During these years the intergovernmental dialogue was interrupted because of the Indian nuclear tests (Pokhran II).

#### From 2001 until today

After re-commencement of cooperation there was a concentration on new priority areas: environment, energy, economic reforms (and health). At the same time portfolios were streamlined, which meant:

- drawing together projects to form programmes;
- cooperation between various development partners;
- contributions to important Indian reform programmes;
- new financing instruments.

Today industrial development is no longer a priority area of Indo-German development.

From the 1950s until today, India has received about 8 billion EUROS from the German development cooperation budget. India is thus the biggest recipient of German development cooperation.

### The role of the Rourkela Steel Plant project in Indo-German development cooperation

The Rourkela project was announced by the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1953. Many individual contracts were awarded to German companies without official German involvement. It was only after organisational and financial problems had occurred, that the German government became involved in the project at the request of the Government of India in 1955. It was asked to provide funding and expertise in building up the steel plant with the assistance of the German industry. The project was implemented according to the knowledge and experience available at that time - also with regard to the handling of social issues.

For a long time, this industry project was a landmark of Indo-German cooperation. Including the

modernisation of the plant in the 1990s, around 650 million EUROS were provided as loans from the German Federal Budget. The success of the project - particularly regarding its economic and technical aims - is exemplified by SAIL's impressive financial result last year, with an overall net profit of around EURO 1.28 billion. My colleague from the KfW will further elaborate on the details of the project.

The Rourkela project provided a multitude of very important learning experiences for the further development of strategies and criteria for German development cooperation, also in the social sector. Since then, these have been continuously adapted to take account of new insights. Nowadays, these include a variety of cross-sectoral topics such as participation, human rights, good governance, gender and environment. So one could say that German development cooperation used the project to further develop its policies.

With the help of these cross-sectoral criteria, German development cooperation for example also assessed social issues during the design of the Rourkela modernisation project. As a result, KfW agreed with SAIL that the latter should establish a "Peripheral Development Fund", aimed at improving the livelihood of the population in the vicinity of the steel plant, including Adivasis. Since it is funded from what are known as "interest differential funds", this scheme is funded

until the loan is repaid and thus hopefully much longer than the cooperation itself, which is already completed.

Even now that Indo-German development cooperation in Rourkela and in Orissa has come to an end, the German government is still observing with interest the policy development processes in Orissa, dealing particularly with the acknowledgement of tribal land use rights, mitigation of the impacts of mining and industrial development and assistance to vulnerable groups. In this respect, we welcome the fact that related policy reform programmes in Orissa are being substantially and effectively supported by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID) and the World Bank. We regard this as a meaningful follow-up to our completed cooperation at Rourkela which supports Orissa in solving these important policy issues.

Before concluding, I would like to express my regret that neither a representative of the Government of India - e.g. from the Indian Embassy in Berlin - nor from SAIL is attending this conference. I deem the participation of these main actors in the discussion as critical, since one goal of the conference is to discuss such a complex issue as responsibilities with regard to social developments dating back 50 years. To discuss this without the main parties involved seems to me to be a challenging task.

## 50 Years of Indo-German Financial Cooperation

By Klaus-Peter Pischke  
KfW Development Bank

The author is presently heading the Energy Sector and Policy Division Asia; until 2002 he had been working as head of the India Team

### I. Introduction

KfW Development Bank is part of KfW Bankengruppe, a public finance institution, wholly owned by the German Federal Government and the state governments. It is one of the major implementing agencies of German development cooperation. On behalf of the German Federal Government it finances investments and advisory services in developing countries. It typically works together with governmental institutions in the countries concerned. Its aim is to build up and to expand a social and economic infrastructure and to create efficient financial institutions while protecting resources and ensuring a healthy environment. Since 1995, KfW Development Bank has an office in New Delhi, sharing its premises there with GTZ and DEG (a member of KfW Group).

### II. More than four decades of German financial cooperation with India

Indo-German financial cooperation started with the Rourkela project in the late fifties. Up to now, around 7.5 billion EUROS were committed to India in the framework of Indo-German financial cooperation. This amounts to 140 million EUROS per annum on average. This figure includes roughly one billion EUROS of KfW funds in the form of mixed and composite loans. Although today the average yearly commitments of German budget funds are much lower than before - in the range of 40-50 million EUROS per year -, India still is one of the priority countries of German bilateral development cooperation.

The cooperation always reflected the prevailing pattern of German development policy, which takes into account the changing priorities in India as well as the worldwide discussion on development. The sixties were the time of projects in industry and infrastructure - with the main emphasis on transport, energy supply and irrigation.

If we look at the sector-wise composition of the overall India portfolio, the industry projects of

the early days of cooperation still have a share of 26 per cent of the total commitments, energy projects come second with 20 per cent. Progress in industry and infrastructure was seen as a major prerequisite for economic growth, and thus it would help to overcome the bottlenecks in development.

In the following years, direct poverty alleviation and addressing the needs of the weaker sections of the population were at the centre of the efforts of German development cooperation. The financing instruments of the KfW Development Bank were further elaborated and more differentiated. In this context, projects in social sectors, projects concentrating on income generation, and projects on environmental protection had been given priority. For example, watershed development programmes were introduced with the aim to improve the living conditions in rural areas. Among the projects are also Adivasi development programmes in Gujarat and Maharashtra, which are implemented by the non-governmental organisation Bharatiya Agro Industries Foundation (BAIF) as implementing agency. The projects mainly promoted commercial fruit growing to improve income generation.

Considering the actual economic situation in India and the topics on the Indian agenda of economic reforms, the Indian development policy has to follow a twin-fold strategy: on the one side it has to be oriented towards efficiency and growth to create employment and income opportunities, and on the other side it has to directly invest in health and education of its people. India - by size and population - has a decisive importance for the solution of global issues. Simultaneously, due to its economic successes and its increasing geo-strategic significance, India is emancipating from the role of a developing country, though we all know that the issue of widespread poverty remains on the agenda.

India and Germany are both interested in a dialogue to contribute - through their development cooperation - to reaching the Millennium Development Goals. At present and in the near future,

the German development cooperation with India concentrates on priority areas like:

- energy (especially energy efficiency and renewable energy),
- environmental policy, protection and sustainable use of natural resources,
- sustainable economic development (financial systems and services, enterprise development).

### III. Rourkela Steel Plant

In the 1950s, in accordance with expectations expressed not only by the USA but also by important developing countries like India and Egypt, the then still young Federal Republic of Germany joined the worldwide development assistance efforts in a way of burden sharing. At the same time the state owned bank KfW took over a specific role in the German development assistance concept. Since then, there is a clear allocation of responsibilities between the German government and KfW:

- the overall planning and political issues are handled by the government,
- the technical, financial and socio-economic assessment as well as the monitoring of the project implementation are the tasks of KfW.

The fundamental principles of Financial Cooperation (FC) include:

- enhancing the partner countries' sense of responsibility and ownership, and
- aligning operations with their national development strategies and structures.

The partner countries propose the FC projects and programmes and are responsible for their preparation and implementation. KfW, however, is usually involved in the individual projects right from the beginning:

- We discuss the project idea and project concept together with our partners who propose them,
- we support them during preparation,
- we appraise the project and accompany the project-executing agency during the whole implementation process.

The first commitment of KfW in Rourkela was, nevertheless, not typical for the handling of project aid under German financial assistance. In the 1950s, the public sector corporation Hindustan Steel Limited (HSL) had purchased a complete steel plant from 36 German companies (among them such leading German companies like Mannesmann and Krupp) with roughly 3,000 subcontractors, but without sufficient coordination of the numerous supplies. During the construc-

tion period, a large number of German experts were present at the project site, partly living together with their families in this fairly remote place. All this led to a number of problems; but also some lessons could be learned. Unfortunately, the Indian side was not able to pay in cash as was originally considered, so that in 1958 KfW - with the support of the German Federal Government - took over the promissory notes to prolong the Indian obligations to pay.

The lack of experience on the side of HSL in handling such a technically complex project, the inappropriate project concept (too many suppliers, no turn-key contractor) and weaknesses in operating and maintaining the plant - all this resulted in severe technical and organisational problems already during the project implementation as well as the start-up phase. But with sizeable amounts of German financial assistance, very intensive advisory work of KfW and considerable deployment of German experts - and in spite of some setbacks - Rourkela developed into a productive steel plant in the sixties.

### IV. The modernisation of Rourkela Steel Plant

In the second half of the eighties it became obvious that this steel plant was in urgent need of modernisation: the existing production capacities could not be used in a satisfactory manner. This was due to meanwhile technically outdated and not sufficiently maintained equipments as well as to an inadequate quality of the raw materials used, and also due to weaknesses in staff qualification.

Since Indo-German cooperation had played an important role in this plant when it was set up, the Government of India asked the German Government - under the financial cooperation between both the countries - to render support for the proposed modernisation scheme and thus to overcome these bottlenecks. This led to the second involvement of KfW in Rourkela.

The German financial support in the range of 145 million EUROS was concentrated on a part of the modernisation programme including mainly a new sintering plant, a new steel mill, modernisation and extension of the plate mill and the hot strip mill. After a public international tender, German companies like Mannesmann-Demag and Schloemann-Siemag were awarded the contract for this. Based on the experiences made in the first project, KfW assisted RSP in reducing interface

problems and clarifying liability issues through an acceptable coordination concept. With the objective to improve product quality, the RSP management followed the recommendations made by external experts while planning and implementing the modernisation scheme.

In addition, advanced training measures for the qualification of management and staff were supported through a grant. From the German perspective, the comprehensive environmental protection measures to reduce the unacceptably high pollution in the Rourkela region were very important. This was partly financed by special funds accruing from the German loans to India.

When KfW appraised the modernisation project on behalf of the German Government in 1992, the socio-economic situation in the Rourkela region also had to be analysed according to the applicable procedures for German Development Cooperation. German grant funds were made available for a feasibility study for peripheral development. On the basis of this feasibility study the Peripheral Development Programme was developed by RSP. The main objectives are coverage of basic social needs in the urban slums and rural outskirts of Rourkela, income creating measures, training and basic health. For the implementation of these measures, KfW reached an agreement with the Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL, the successor of HSL) that special funds accruing from the German FC loan are made available by SAIL ("Zinsspaltungsgegenwertmittel"). The Peripheral Development Programme finally started in the year 2000, up to now around 30 projects have been identified, funds for more are available. In the framework of these activities, the "Institute for Peripheral Development" was founded. In 2005, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed with BAIF to further develop and implement the Peripheral Development Programme.

## **V. Is the modernisation of Rourkela Steel Plant a successful Indo-German development project?**

When decisions for the modernisation of Rourkela Steel Plant were taken in the late eighties, a shortage of steel supplies for the Indian economy was regarded as a risk for the economic growth in India. The objective of the modernisation project basically was to increase the utilisation of the installed production capacities, inter alia, through good maintenance and improved operation procedures for the modernized steel plant.

Given this objective, the project clearly can be regarded as successful. The production of crude steel increased from 1.2 million tons per annum (MTA) in 2000 to 1.6 MTA in 2005. For 2006, production is expected to exceed 1.67 MTA. With a capacity utilization of 87.4 per cent, a good level has been reached. As a result of the modernisation, energy efficiency in all parts of the steel plant has increased. The environmental impact of the steel plant meets the current Indian environmental standards. The state owned SAIL, the holding company of RSP, has grown into a profitable and continuously expanding company. While being an unprofitable enterprise in 2000, it is generating profits since 2003. By now SAIL has a market share of 35 per cent in India, and with this it is the major steel producer in India.

The fifty year old association between Rourkela and German development cooperation has been clearly a rewarding one for both sides, with a rich history. Many people in Germany had heard of Rourkela, because local German engineers had gone there on assignment. Now, of course, SAIL is a globally competitive company and has graduated beyond development cooperation. This achievement, we believe, reflects the success of German development cooperation.

## Technical and Human Challenges in Industrial Cooperation An Experience from the Modernisation of Bokaro Steel Plant

By Thorsten Kroes

The author is a Project Manager of SMS Demag and was working from June 1997 until October 2000 as Deputy General Site Manager and Head of Consortium for SAIL for the modernisation and technical assistance of Bokaro Hot Strip Mill.

### Introduction

SMS Demag is one of the world's leading designers, manufacturers and suppliers of iron and steel plants including so-called Continuous Casting Machines, Hot and Cold Rolling Mills, CSP Mini Mills, Strip Processing Lines and associated equipment.

Bokaro Steel City - originally in Bihar state, now in Jharkhand which was separated from Bihar in the year 2000 - is approximately 250 km north-east of Rourkela and 320 km west of Kolkata. It is in some ways comparable to Rourkela.

I would like to present in brief, under which conditions and in which environment an industrial order, namely the modernisation of HSM Bokaro Steel Plant, was carried out recently by a German enterprise, and what will be the trends for the future.

The modernisation of HSM Bokaro Steel Plant formed part of the overall modernisation programmes of the SAIL production units, which analogously at the same time also took place at Rourkela, Durgapur and Bhilai.

### Scope of supply

The task given was: Modernisation of the 2000 mm Hot Strip Mill at Bokaro Steel Plant, originally delivered by NLMK/Russia, during the years 1973-1974. Its capacity was to be enhanced to approximately 3.3 million tons per annum (MTA) of Hot Rolled Coils and Plates. Towards this, supply of mechanical machineries and media systems was agreed. The order was granted to SMS Schloemann-Siemag AG (SMS) under considerable competition with Mannesmann Demag Sack (MDS) who in the meantime have merged into SMS Demag AG. The contract was signed on 14.08.1994 and came into force on 29.09.1994. The main shut-down was planned for 21 days, beginning in 14.08.1996, but actually took place on 09.06.1998 and lasted for 37 days.

As for the Contractual Constellation, there was a consortium of

- a) foreign contractors consisting of:
  - SMS Schloemann-Siemag AG, Hilchenbach und Düsseldorf (as "Principal Contractor"): engineering, know-how transfer, training, supply of descaling system, pumps, HGC F9-F12, laminar cooling, down coiler 1-4, hydraulic-, grease- and oil systems.
  - GFA Gesellschaft für Anlagenbau, Hilchenbach und Düsseldorf: supervision of erection and commissioning.
  - VAI, Linz Austria: electric and automation, level 1 + 2.
- and
- b) local contractors consisting of:
  - ABB India, Bangalore (a subsidiary of ABB Sweden and Switzerland): electrical installation, motors, drives, load cells.
  - TCPL Tata Construction Company, Jamshedpur: execution of erection and commissioning (local).
  - TGS Tata Growth Shop, Jamshedpur: descaler, pinch rolls.
  - SMS India, Kolkata (a subsidiary of SMS): water treatment and filter houses, civil foundation.
  - Simplex Engineering, Kolkata: run out roller table, KSB pumps, AC and ventilation systems.

The consultant of the customer was Mecon, Ranchi.

The contract constellation was SAIL Standard. The foreign principal contractor had the main responsibility. The principle contractor was solely responsible for the timely supply, erection and commissioning of the mechanical equipment and media systems, as well as to reach the guarantee performance of the plant according to the production parameters in the contract.

The customer would release payments to the consortium members by separate indigenous contracts, not through the principal contractor (foreign portion). The principal contractor, however,

had the overall guarantee parameter responsibilities. This is equivalent to a turn key character of the contract.

Therefore the main commercial problem was that the principal contractor had no real monetary power to manage its consortium members. The most important critical technical point was that the Hot Strip Mill was revamped during production (there was only one shut down as per contract which was shifted for two years) and no one could foresee, in which bad condition the rolling mill really was.

### **Living conditions and working conditions**

Undivided Bihar had more than 80 million inhabitants which is similar to reunited Germany but on less space, that means with higher population density. It is the state with the biggest poverty and lowest literacy.

According to a survey of 'Business India', only 3 per cent of the interviewed companies plan to invest in Bihar (against 6 per cent in Orissa and 64 per cent Maharashtra). This is rank number 27 out of 27.

The reasons for this are: poor infrastructure in general, diseases, bad skill (there are no trained workers), insufficient energy supply and subsequent power cuts, critical law and order situation, riots (with shoot at sight orders), strikes, inefficient bureaucracy, corruption scandals, hard climate (up to 49 degree Celsius heat waves during pre-monsoon, monsoon floods, cyclones).

This stands in opposition to the capacities of this particular area. Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa are holding the major (about 40 per cent and more) deposits of metal and mineral resources. They constitute the "Iron and Coal Belt" of India.

The area, however, has the lowest per head income which results into cheap labour. The performance of the Indian subcontractors was very poor. TCPL, the erection company, hired many different local companies at low cost.

Our job on the site was to supervise the local talents during the phase of erection and commissioning of the revamped plant until final acceptance. They generally had no education or working experience. The provision of tools and tackles was insufficient, they had no protective cloths. The Indian personnel which we trained were

leaving soon after to get well paid jobs and in better environments to live in than Bihar .

### **Contractual difficulties**

The major difficulties from our experience were with regard to the "Completion" clause for the complete package, although this was beyond our control. A principal difficulty concerns the environment for high-tech while modernising an old worn out rolling mill. Machines have been cannibalized due to a lack of spare parts. Robots and automatic machines ("manless machines") were sabotaged. There was no "Latest" clause and, therefore, no "Delay of acceptance" certificates.

SAIL experienced high losses due to deviations in the exchange rates (1:18 up to 1:25), which made up for approximately 40 per cent.

The "Third Party" clause was problematic in so far as dismissal of bad contractors was mandatory in the contract, but not practical because of the personal ties between customer and local erection companies.

The biggest monetary crisis came with the low steel prices in the years 1998-2000 and subsequent low cash flow of SAIL and low payment moral (e.g., payment with finished products such as steel coils).

### **Mentality of the customer**

SAIL belongs to the public (government) sector. Employees have a permanent job, which is a big benefit, but not usual in India. Nevertheless, the higher employees tend to have tight relationships with the local erection companies. Frequent changes of our counterparts as Executive Director, General Manager, etc. (because of the rotation and promotion system in the government sector) made it more difficult to develop a good relationship to the customer.

There was only a commercial, but no technical interest from the customer side. All were mainly involved in the commercial details of the contract, not in technical solutions. This was found even with the technical people on the site (like chief engineers, etc.). The commercial interests of the contract outvoted suggestive technical requirements on site. The consultant of SAIL for Bokaro Steel Plant, Mecon Ranchi - which is another company of the public (government) sector with

similar structures as SAIL - was working on technical standards of 30 years ago.

When a decision was required, a file was opened and circulated throughout all divisions including the Managing Director and sometimes even the Managing Board in Delhi. No decision was taken, unless all queries had been solved and the file cleared. In this way, extremely large bureaucratic hierarchies were found at work.

The Russian design Rolling Mill was in a very bad condition, it had huge dimensions and was not state of the art. Almost all parts were worn out, old and rotten, and thus dangerous for the people working there. Repairs were carried out under the motto "trial and error" and maintained only until further break downs occurred. No spare parts were available. The indigenous supply parts and components did not match to the minimum quality standard. Materials and servicing procurement were carried out under the "Lowest Cost Principle", even with simple parts. There was insufficient quality control in the work shops of the sub-suppliers. Examples for this are the descaling pumps with 400 bar system, where the KSB India shafts broke and were re-supplied from KSB Germany. The stainless steel from India was found to be carbon steel, which yielded insufficient piping material resulting in many leakages and high oil losses, which in turn had an impact on the people and the environment.

### German supervision personnel

At the project peak during the main repair and shut-down of the mill, there were maximum 40 German supervisors at site, which is comparatively much less than at the time of the construction at Rourkela. There was a high grade of solidarity of the team at site which was also due to high isolation (camp like situation) and insufficient opportunities for spare time activities, social communication, etc. Staying together after the day's work has led to lasting relations between the families. While executing their day-to-day job, no one was aware about Adivasi people, or about

what had happened to their land and where these people had gone...

There were many shortcomings, e.g. diseases, problems with energy rationing ("power cuts"), etc. Most of the foreign supervisors got the so-called cultural shock, which led to extreme physical and mental stress. A special critical situation arose at Bokaro: There were personal threats towards the German supervisors like shooting into a window of a German supervisor, car bomb threats and killing orders. This was because the local mafia dons felt that the employment of their work gangs was at risk ("Bokaro has 52 unions"). Special Forces were deployed from the Home Ministry at Patna. Cars went in convoy to the steel plant with military cars in front and at the back. Personal body guards were provided, and the camp was manned with soldiers to protect the foreigners.

### Summary

The trend is that the cost pressure and, subsequently, the local (indigenous) portion of supply of plant equipment and machines is steadily increasing. Dispatching of foreign personnel for supervision of erection and commissioning is on decrease, and therefore also the responsibility or influence of the foreign enterprise. It is now limited to the scope of the contract. This shows that the Indian industry, especially RSP, is able to run its steel plant almost without German assistance to serve its markets. But RSP will need Germany to obtain new technology and innovation in order to save energy, for production of sophisticated steel grades, for more efficient production routes, for training, etc. India has stepped into the global world, where it is facing severe competition. With regard to its steel industry, however, it should not longer be considered as a Third World country.

I have great respect for Indians and the Adivasi people of India and hope, that there will be a happy and harmonic agreement which enables both to exist side by side.

## Socio-Economic Issues Over the Last 50 Years

By Dr. Jan-Bodo Sperling

The author is a social scientist with a background of practical work in craft, commerce and industry. He was sent to Rourkela in 1958 in order to safeguard the well-being of the thousands of Germans involved in the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant.

### Personal experience in Rourkela

For me, Rourkela began as a physical adventure in 1958 and ended after four years as an exceptional intellectual challenge which resulted in

- three subsequent years of additional sociological and political studies at the universities of Aachen and Harvard;
- a book on the human dimension of technical assistance based on the experience of thousands of German technical personnel at Rourkela (this book was published in German and in English in the U.S.A.);
- a book describing the situation of the Adivasi population that had to give room to the industrialisation taking place on their hereditary territory;
- an experts' report on the accompanying phenomena to be observed in the social field as a consequence of industrialisation in the area of Rourkela, prepared by order of the German Federal Government.

The extended learning I took home from the Rourkela experience, later on I succeeded in successfully investing into a 15 years' assignment with the United Nations in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as an expert on intercultural training. Again much later, I founded an international consultancy company in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland chiefly concerned with intercultural problems of organisations and industrial enterprises.

### The German cultural shock of Rourkela

An analysis of the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant can be summarised as follows:

- **technologically** the planning of the whole project was excellent;
- **technically** and organisationally the erection period produced a good number of shortcomings as well as unforeseen mishaps most of which were successfully overcome;
- **politically** the project was highly problematic. Since nobody had thought of the necessity to support the process by public relation mea-

asures, the German authorities woke up to all kinds of public criticism in the Indian press, particularly to well-placed anti-reports triggered by competing parties like the Russian and the British steel plants, being erected in India at the same time;

- as far as the **human resources** factor of the project is concerned, with one or two exceptions, the planning as well as the execution was a disaster.

Let me pick up this last point and explain it in more detail:

- **positive** I would rate the fact that during the planning phase of several years a good number of Indian engineers were recruited for specialised training in Germany by German companies subsequently engaged in the erection process at Rourkela;
- **positive** I would rate the fact that the German planners thought of creating a social services centre at Rourkela for German staff in order to help them to cope with potential hardships and problems caused by the foreign environment of Orissa and its tropical climate;
- **mildly negative** I would rate the fact that the German companies were unable to agree on standard contracts for their personnel at site. As a consequence considerable differences in their conditions on work, housing and pay made German fitters and engineers (including their families) bicker amongst each other and thus created an unhealthy climate of life and work at Rourkela;
- **extremely negative** I would rate the fact that German industry over a period of several years sent men and women into an assignment in a foreign far away country under unknown working and living conditions without any guidance and preparation for a fruitful and successful adaptation vis-à-vis India and its people. (For details see my book "The Human Dimension of Technical Assistance - The German Experience at Rourkela, India", Ithaca/London (Cornell) 1969);
- **extremely negative** I would also rate the fact that the planning of Germans and Indians did not include sufficient provisions for effectively

assisting the local population - mainly the Adivasis - as to their resettlement and long range development with a prospect for improving their economic conditions. (For details see my book: ROURKELA, *Sozio-Ökonomische Probleme eines Entwicklungsprojektes*, Bonn (Eichholz) 1963).

### The Adivasi problem

While for a good number of years I was personally actively involved in what I have presented above, the Adivasi problem remained largely outside of my scope of work. Whatever I can say in this respect is either largely based on mere random observation during the years 1958 to 1962 or on facts and information collected after my active period at Rourkela, when I returned to Orissa in 1964 on behalf of the German Government with a team of social scientists and practitioners in order to assess the Indian human resources situation in the environment of Rourkela Steel Plant (For details, please read: Bericht über Begleiterscheinungen der Industrialisierung im sozialen Bereich im Raume Rourkela/Indien. Vorgelegt von Franz Lepinski, Dr. Krista Rauhut, Dr. Erna Seller, J. Bodo Sperling. Angefertigt im Auftrage des Bundesministeriums für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit im Februar 1964).

My analysis of the Adivasi problem as I have described it in my book in 1963 as well as in the experts' report submitted to the German Government in 1964 can be summarised as follows:

- The Indian Government including the then state owned steel company "Hindustan Steel Ltd." has done little or next to nothing to assist the local population to master the consequences of displacement and drastic change of environment. Obviously compensation in cash or kind - as it is claimed to have been done - is useless in a situation where alone medium and long range measures of education, training, social assistance and change support would have had the required effect.
- As far as the German planners are concerned it is difficult to judge today whether they had the experience and/or an opportunity at all to offer assistance as to the needs of the local population. In this regard, one must take into consideration, that (a) at that time Germany had no or little experience and know-how in this kind of field, and (b) the Indian partner was highly touchy in accepting foreign advice beyond purely technological and technical matters.

- However, in 1964 the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation apparently realised that things had gone terribly wrong as to the human resources situation in Rourkela's immediate environment - why else would they have sent a group of experts to investigate and to make proposals for remedy and improvements? On the other hand, the answer to the question still remains to be given:
- Why did the German Government not follow-up on the experts' proposals recommending to send a group of specialists in social work to Rourkela? Did they not agree with the proposals? Did they not have the funds? Were they afraid to discuss these problems with their Indian partners? I have no explanations.

### Conclusions

We know that the Adivasi situation of the Rourkela area is still an unsolved problem.

Today, 50 years after the Rourkela project was launched, it is no longer a question of know-how - neither on the German nor on the Indian side. There is sufficient knowledge accumulated by experienced change agents, social scientists and adult educators to tackle the cross-cultural problems identified in the human resources field of Rourkela Steel Plant and its environment. Obviously this holds true for Germans as well as Indians.

What is not clear, however, is whether the amount of awareness and the realisation of the importance concerning the cross-cultural difficulties that need to be overcome are available amongst those who are supposed to be decision makers in this respect.

Personally I am extremely pessimistic. Even today, after 50 years have elapsed, there still seem to exist two different cultures that need to be merged: the people of the steel plant and the Adivasis. Although those experts whom I mentioned before know very well that merging people of two different cultures is a difficult task that requires specific skills, patience and a lot of time, unfortunately this expert knowledge is rarely made use of by managers, decision makers, and politicians.

As part of the famed globalisation, we all live in a world of mergers. Large as well as small industrial enterprises on all continents are more and more trying to come together, to form even larger companies by means of mergers. And despite our know-how, despite our experience: decision

makers of all colours and nations continue to neglect experiences made everywhere over and over a hundred times. They seem to be blind to cultural differences with all their consequences. In their endeavour to enlarge their power play and their profit making they forget the people involved, they overlook the enormous gaps that exist between cultures of different groups of personnel: with the result that today world-wide two thirds of mergers go bust, they are not successful!

We constantly read about these failures in the press.

How can we expect that decision makers in the Rourkela situation will prove themselves to have more foresight, more empathy, more understanding for the prevailing human problems than anywhere else in our modern world?

I have reason to be pessimistic.

## German Trade Union Perspectives on International Steel Business

By Friedhelm Matic\*

German Metal Workers' Union (IG Metall), Branch Office at Düsseldorf

The Branch Office of IG Metall deals with international aspects of steel production. It was founded at about the same time during the 1950s when Krupp Company (later merged into Thyssen-Krupp) decided to invest in India. In those days, nobody could foresee that once Europe would be facing a major crisis in the steel sector. Thus they built up huge production capacities for the Indian market. This development of the steel sector had nothing but economic reasons. Social aspects in this development were totally neglected. Mr. Matic himself, in his role as a Trade Union representative on the management board of Krupp Company, visited India twice and made some observations on the working conditions there. As a result of this, IG Metall - through the management board of Krupp Company - achieved an agreement saying that future investments of this dimension should not be made without due consideration of social aspects.

Looking back on 50 years of Rourkela from the Trade Union perspective, one is left with ambivalent impressions. On the one hand, it is true: The steel sector provides excellent opportunities for developing countries who are interested in industrialisation. By appropriate investments, it is possible to generate employment. Steel is a basic industrial sector, and to that extent it is indispensable for the overall development in developing countries. On the other hand, there are problems with working conditions, with the excessive labour available, and with the social conditions of the workers in general. The steel sector is also a high-tech industry. Trade Unions, however, would expect that - compared to European conditions - in the case of investments in such countries more jobs per ton of steel will be created. In India, for example, five to six times higher employment rates could thus be achieved.

The steel business has always been an international business. In recent years, this has grown even further. Now we have investments in China, Brasil, Russia, Turkey, etc. Considering the social

conditions in these countries, the fact of a booming demand for steel could very well be utilized by Trade Unions to push forward their social concerns. Unfortunately, however, the structures of Trade Unions in these countries - including India - are quite unlike those in Western Europe. Trade Unions in those countries are more serving particular, clan-like concerns, rather than the concerns of all workers. There is hardly any organisational structure of workers that would be capable of negotiating better conditions for the workers of an entire steel plant site or even the entire steel sector. At the same time, employment as such is not very stabilized.

IG Metall, the German Metal Workers' Union, has a seat in the management board of Arcelor Company, and through this also in that of Mittal Steel Company. It was only in 2005 that the Union presented to the management board of Arcelor a memorandum on the socio-political orientation of the company. This also addressed the issue of industrial development in Europe and world-wide as well as employment perspectives. It became possible to secure employment in Western Europe and to make suggestions for investments in other areas. Each country has its own specific experiences in the field of labour. So the point is not to transplant the western type of workers' participation in company management to other countries and cultural spheres. However, a general consensus is certainly that capital investments should not only result in profits for the shareholders, but also provide for participation of the people and the workers in those countries.

The agreements made with Arcelor in 2005 also mention how the company should look after its employees all over the world. And the same should be applicable for Arcelor's business partners. In India and many other countries, industrial companies operate with a comparatively low number of permanent workers, but with a number of subcontractors. This is a problem. Therefore, also the local managements should be made

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\* This text is a summary prepared by the editors, as no written paper of Mr. Matic was available.

to follow certain norms and rules. In principle, these are the basic norms of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which prohibit child labour, forced labour, discrimination, and puts stress on freedom to form unions and to negotiate payments, on health and safety of the work place, on avenues for further qualification, etc. Another important aspect is communication between the management and the workers, a kind of social dialogue with those affected by management decisions. This concerns issues like environmental protection and its costs and also long term planning, especially with regard to future investments: "What does a company having its headquarters at Luxembourg plan for India?" It was also agreed that the above agreements made in 2005 should

be reviewed and audited after two years with participation of the company's European or international Trade Union representatives. This would include local visits and detailed reports on all the international plant sites. If found necessary, the Trade Union representatives in the company management would take up specific issues and press for further improvements.

Mittal is planning to construct a new steel plant in India during the next few years, with a production capacity of 10 million tons per annum. A judgement on this venture is again ambivalent: It will generate employment. But it may also lead to over capacities which may ultimately affect also the European steel market.

## Legal Issues Unsolved After 50 Years\*

By Celestine Xaxa

Advocate and human rights activist, Rourkela, Orissa, India

### BACKGROUND

#### A. Constitutional provisions and safeguards for Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) in India

India is a secular and democratic country. There are many provisions and safeguards to protect the interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The constitutional provisions for Scheduled Tribes (STs) are generally divided into four headings, namely :

1. Protective provisions  
The Articles 15, 16, 19, 23, 29, 46, 164, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 342, 371, (A) (B) and (C) of the Indian Constitution deal with protective provisions for Scheduled Tribes.
2. Developmental provisions  
The Articles 15, 16, 19, 46, 275, and 399, deal with developmental provisions for Scheduled Tribes.
3. Administrative provisions  
Articles 244 and 244 (A) under Part-X of the Constitution provide for the administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas. The Scheduled Areas are governed by the provisions contained in the Fifth Schedule. These may also be called the Fifth Schedule Areas whereas the Tribal Areas are governed by the provisions of the Sixth Schedule. Specifically, the Governor of a State having Scheduled Areas has been vested with special powers.
4. Reservational provisions  
There are provisions for reservation to STs for their overall upliftment in the Constitution of India. There are other provisions to provide reservations to STs in admission to educational institutions, government jobs, Parliament and State Assemblies.

#### B. Orissa Regulation (2) of 1956

On the basis of the protective and administrative provisions, the Government of Orissa has made the Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (By Scheduled Tribes), Regulation, 1956, which is known as Orissa Regulation (2) of 1956.

It was further amended by the Orissa Government in the year 2000.

#### C. The Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA Act, 1996)

This Act provides for the extension of the provisions of Part-IX of the Constitution relating to the Panchayats to Scheduled Areas: In Scheduled Areas, the Gram Sabha of a village has been empowered to have control over natural resources like land, water and forest.

#### D. International Law

India has also ratified International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No. 107 of 1957 "Concerning the protection and Integration of Indigenous and other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Population in Independent Countries", and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

### DEVELOPMENTS IN ROURKELA DURING THE LAST 50 YEARS

For the establishment of Rourkela Steel Plant, the Government of Orissa acquired 19,722.69 acres of land, and 2,465 families of 32 villages were displaced. Similarly in the year 1957-58, Mandira Dam was constructed by Hirakud Dam Organisation on the river Sankha to facilitate water supply to Rourkela Steel Plant. For Mandira Dam Project, 11,923.98 acres of most fertile land were acquired, and 941 families of 31 villages were uprooted. They were allotted small pieces of rocky land that gave them sustenance of life hardly for three months. Thus a total area of more than 30,000 acres of tribal land has been acquired for the purpose of Rourkela Steel Plant, Steel Township, Railway Lines, Fertilizer Township and Mandira Dam Project.

The Government of Orissa intentionally ignored

\* Many details of constitutional and other legal provisions have already been given in the author's earlier publication "The Life and Struggles of the Displaced Adivasis of Sundargarh District" (2002). This and also more details of displacement can be found in "Adivasis of Rourkela", Bhubaneswar 2006, sarini Occ. Papers, No. 4.

the Executive Instructions issued by the Board of Revenue, Bihar and Orissa under Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (Act I of 1894) as amended from time to time and incorporated in Bihar and Orissa, Land Acquisition Manual, 1928 issued on date 11.3.1928 and adopted from Madras Law Acquisition Manual.

It is pertinent to mention here that for the acquisition of lands for Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam, Government of Orissa made an independent legislation, i.e. "The Orissa Development of Industries, Irrigations, Capital Construction and Resettlement of Displaced Persons (Land Acquisition) Bill, 1948", in short term herein after referred to as Act XVIII of 1948. For the purpose of the acquisition of Adivasi land for Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Project, the Government of Orissa established an office known as 'Rourkela Land Organisation' headed by an officer of the rank of Additional District Magistrate (ADM) who has been entrusted to look into the matter of land acquisition and resettlement of displaced families. Adequate provisions were supposed to have been made under the Land Acquisition Act for requisition, acquisition, taking over possession and payment of compensation.

What exactly has happened in the last 50 years with regard to the establishment of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam?

1. The notice of acquisition of land as required under Section-3 of the Act XVIII of 1948 was published but no notice was served on the owner or occupier affected by the notice of acquisition in view of Section-4 of the said Act. By invoking the power under Section-5 of the Act XVIII of 1948, the District Administration forcibly took over the possession of the land and houses of the illiterate and innocent scheduled tribe persons of the affected villages.
2. As per the given assurance, the Government of Orissa gave a plot of land measuring 60' x 40' in the resettlement colonies of Jalda, Jhirpani (and later Bondamunda) free of cost for construction of house to some of the displaced persons, but none of the displaced families was given the cultivable land in proportion to their possession of landed property nor paid the land reclamation subsidy of Rs.100/-. Only a nominal amount has been given to some of the displaced persons towards the loss of crops for the year of acquisition, but no compensation has been paid.
3. After the construction of Mandira Dam, a vast area of rayati agricultural lands of 8 villages, i.e. the upper side of Mandira Dam, were badly affected by sand cast due to stagnation of water in the Mandira Dam Reservoir. A map showing the land acquired and affected areas has been marked by Pillar No. 690 and 698 which has been constructed by the engineers of Hirakud Dam.
4. The HSL, RSP occupied 15.15 acres of land in the Air Strip, although possession of this area has not been handed over by the State Government.
5. In the year 1962, the State Government has allotted 647.82 acres of HSL land in village Kantajhar and Uparbahal for establishment of the Regional Engineering College at Rourkela with the understanding that they would give an equivalent area to HSL in exchange. The Deputy Commissioner in his Letter No.1683, dated 19.11.1963 agreed to include this area in the exchange proposal.
6. In the year 1966, the Agriculture Department of the State Government required land for establishment of a vegetable farm and a poultry farm at Rourkela. So, an area of 120.70 acres was handed over to the Agriculture Department and Animal Husbandry Department on 29.6.1966.
7. As per the copy of Letter No.2374/ Rev.(A) dated 23/08/1972 from Sri. J.N. Naik, OAS (I) Secretary to Commissioner, Addressed to the Deputy Commissioner L.A. &R. Rourkela at Sundargarh in reference to the Government decision communicated in memo no. 45532, dated 10.8.1972, it is stated that the allotment of the land surrendered by the HSL had to be finalized in favour of the original tenants. But till now it is not ascertained whether the said surrendered lands have been finalized in favour of the genuine displaced persons or not.
8. The State Government have requested to HSL, RSP for surrender of some lands, but on the contrary, the RSP authorities have leased out 29.70 acres of land to the following organizations –
  - i. Bastia Memorial, Sector-6, Village Purnapani – Ac. 2.00.
  - ii. Adarsa Pathagara, Sector-5, Village Purnapani – Ac. 3.20.
  - iii. GEL Church, Sector-18, Village Purnapani – Ac. 0.27.

- iv. Ispat Anjuman, Sector-15, Village Tumkela – Ac. 0.23.
  - v. Sri Aurobindo Yoga Mandir, Sector5, Village Purnapani – Ac. 5.00.
  - vi. Vivekananda Education Society, Sector-6, Village Purnapani – Ac. 8.00.
  - vii. Satyasai Seva Samiti, Village Chhend – Ac. 11.00.
9. A large area has been unauthorizedly occupied by employees and key supporting populations. The area under encroachment as revealed from the present settlement records comes to Ac. 3,769.32 which includes an area of Ac. 3,517.70 unauthorizedly occupied for cultivation purpose. An area of about Ac. 135.00 though not encroached, cannot be utilized because of congestion and slum life situation.
  10. So many encroachments have been developed owing to the callousness of the Revenue and RSP authorities. Construction of Basanti Colony, Chhend Housing Colony, Kalinga Vihar, Durgapur Foot Hill Housing Scheme, 7 & 8 Area land allotment, Balughat area, Koelnagar, LIC Colony, and all sector areas are full of encroachments. The above mentioned colonies are constructed on the land acquired for Rourkela Steel Plant. That is to say that the colonies are set up to give en-masse settlements to non-tribals and outsiders by evicting the indigenous people. So it is very clear that the Government of Orissa has undemocratically, illegally and unconstitutionally authorized to set up these colonies for outsiders and non-tribals.
  11. The State Government of Orissa has framed a rule, vide Revenue Department Notification No. 22333/ R.G.E., Sundargarh, 1 of 68 on 12.1.1968 in the name and style 'SPECIAL RULES FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVT. LAND IN CIVIL TOWNSHIP AREA AT ROURKELA.' This civil township area is named as 7 & 8 Developed Area. About 300 acres of land acquired by the State Government from the local Adivasis are being allotted from 1971 to non-tribals particularly to influential prospective lessees such as bureaucrats (IAS officers & IPS officers), political leaders, ministers, high officials of the state, big business persons of the state, revenue authorities and industrialists at exorbitant rates by way of lease, allotment, auction, sale, which is beyond the reach of the poor displaced persons. The action of the State Government as mentioned above is contrary to the provisions of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. It is also in violation of the provisions of Orissa Regulation (2) of 1956.
  12. Land Transfer Agreement and Settlement of Account  
Surprisingly, the Land Transfer Agreement between the State Government and HSL has not been concluded even after 20 years of handing over formal possession of land by the State Government for establishment of Rourkela Steel Plant and its allied units.  
On 19.5.1973 a meeting was held between the officers of the State Government and HSL and it was decided that final figures for settlement of accounts will be worked out by the Collector, Sundargarh, and the Town Administrator, Rourkela Steel Plant. The Industries Department of the State of Orissa in their letter dated 14.9.1973 have finalized that the lease deed will be finalized incorporating the agreed terms and conditions of the draft agreement and lease deed will be signed only after full payment of the dues of the Government outstanding, i.e. Rs.16,46,23,234.27 against HSL up to 1972-73.
  13. On 3.4.1974 the State Government sent a draft lease deed for acceptance and execution (vide Letter No. 8580 dated 3.4.1974, I.D. Dept. On 28.5.1974, the General Manager, HSL suggested certain modifications to the draft lease deed for consideration of the State Government on the points mentioned, but the said agreement has not been executed till 1991. In the year 1954, land was acquired for establishment of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam from the Adivasis, but the Government machinery made agreement only for 15,714.21 acres of land because of strong protest by the affected tribals in the year 1993. The authorities left the rest of the land so acquired for agreement till date. This is highly illegal and unlawful.
  14. The HSL authority without prior approval of the Central Government or State Government authorities illegally leased out valuable lands to so many unauthorized persons destroying the main objectives for which the land was primarily acquired from the local Adivasis for establishment of the steel plant. The steel plant authority brought a novel but illegal plan to lease out under different types and forms, such as 99 years lease, 30 years lease, 10 years lease and 5 years lease to different persons on payment of a huge amount of premium and monthly rents per acre, such as Rs. 37,230/- as

ground rent, which will be increased at the rate of 20 per cent after completion of every 10 years of occupation, Rs. 50,000/- as premium respectively. And in this process from 1955 till 1991 they are collecting a huge amount of money.

15. As per the extract copy of letter No. BC/7101/69, dated 8.2.1972 of Mr. R.K. Kanagat, Administrative Officer, addressed to the Land Officer, Rourkela Steel Plant, the land transfer deed - with which the proposal has a direct link - has not yet been finalized between the Government of Orissa and HSL, and the scheme may clash with the non-company housing scheme. The details of the lease case may come to Rs. 5,43,42,390/- approximately.
16. Dhebar Commission Report (1961)  
The Dhebar Commission has categorically reported in favour of the displaced persons regarding employment, education, payment of adequate compensation, refund of surplus land, periphery development, subsidy payment for construction of houses, house site and providing facilities for development of settlement of colonies, but due to half hearted interest of the government and RSP authorities, the recommendations of the Commission were never complied.
17. The details of displaced families - compensation paid or not, if paid, how much, if not, how much due - should be worked out honestly. This is a vast question. But it is not impossible on the part of the government to make a comprehensive study to calculate the unpaid compensation. In the year 1955, when the rates of compensation fixed were Rs. 200/-, Rs. 400/-, Rs. 600/- and Rs. 900/- per acre, the unpaid compensation was Rs. 1,47,20,565.51 which has gone up to Rs. 16,46,23,234.27 without interest. It should be calculated 40 times in 36 years.
18. The promises, press notes and agreements made by the government and SAIL authorities to the local Adivasis from 1955 till date, have not been fulfilled even up to 25 per cent of what they promised. Such as,
  - grant of cultivable agricultural land in lieu of acquired cultivable land free of cost up to a maximum of 33 acres to each recorded tenant,
  - employments for them in special quotas as Displaced Persons in HSL and other connected industries,
  - refund of unutilized vacant land (an area of about 15,000 acres of land),
19. The Adivasis were treated by the government authorities and HSL authorities as if they are the encroachers in their rayati land and they have been forcibly ousted under threat, for example
  - (i) in Sector-18, and
  - (ii) in Bhagamunda,there were two firings on the tribals in order to throw them out from their lands unlawfully - just in the same way as it took place at Kalinga Nagar in Orissa on 2.1.2006. Due to this unwanted brutal firings, on fear, the tribals of the said two places left their lands and houses. It is pertinent to mention here that the administrative authorities by putting the false and fabricated thumb impressions of the Scheduled Tribe persons have misappropriated the compensation awarded in favour of the tribals, who were actual owners of land. Till date substantial amounts of compensation, which could not be misappropriated by the state administration are lying in the Civil Deposit.
20. It is also very clear that without giving employment from out of the list so prepared by the district administration and authorities of Rourkela Steel Plant, both connived with each other and have appointed a large number of fake persons who were neither affected by the construction of the Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam nor have they been displaced for the aforesaid purpose. Even some outsiders have been appointed in the Rourkela Steel Plant in the name of the displaced persons, though they are not the actual displaced persons.
21. After a long gap of 50 years of establishment of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam, the State Government by Resolution dated 13.5.2005 formed a High Level Committee under the chairmanship of the Principal Secretary to Government of Orissa, Revenue Department, to look into the matter of rehabilitation and resettlement of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Project in the District of Sundargarh. But so far the said committee has not taken any sincere steps to find out solutions of such serious and sensitive issues.

22. This high power committee presided, over by Mr. Tarunkanti Mishra, IAS, Principal Secretary to Government of Orissa, Revenue Department, conducted its meeting and drew up a Proceedings on 4.7.2005. In the said Proceedings, it has been specifically mentioned:

- (i) To provide employment to at least one person from each displaced family in adoption of erstwhile T.N. Singh formula and inclusion of persons in the list of displaced persons who were adversely affected due to coming up mines and railway lines with the project.
- (ii) To find out such persons who have been provided employment on the basis of fake displacement certificates.

In para 3 of the Proceedings, it is mentioned that records of the district administration and Rourkela Steel Plant should be cross-checked to verify complaints of getting employment on the basis of fraudulent certificates. In the said Proceedings it is mentioned that in a reply to a question put by the Hon'ble M.P. of Sundargarh on 21.12. 2004, the then Hon'ble Minister for Steel and Mines had specifically stated that, "the number of displaced persons for any project is determined on the basis of report of the concerned State Government. If State Government has given any report on number regarding displaced families and they have not been provided with employment on the basis of such report, the Government will not only see that such report is implemented, but also initiate suitable action against defaulting authorities."

In the said Proceedings it is mentioned that in the matter of rehabilitation and resettlement, the decision of the State Government is final and binding and the present case of RSP shall be no exception to it. In the aforesaid meeting, the Managing Director, Rourkela Steel Plant raised a point that REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT IS THE BASIC RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT. INDUSTRY CONCERNED IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS PROPER IMPLEMENTATION. It proves that the authorities of Rourkela Steel Plant are indifferent with regard to the rehabilitation and resettlement of the actual displaced persons, i.e. mostly the local tribals affected by the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam.

23. A comprehensive Affidavit has been filed by Shri Tarunkanti Mishra, IAS, Principal Secretary to Government of Orissa, Revenue Department in Writ Petition bearing W.P. © No.

43388/04 Augustine Kujur & 36 others vs. State of Orissa and others, where he has solemnly mentioned in his Counter Affidavit dated 16th January, 2006 that "AS REGARDS EMPLOYMENT IN ROURKELA STEEL PLANT, NO RECORD IS AVAILABLE WITH GOVERNMENT IN REVENUE DEPARTMENT AND THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO RELIABLE RECORD TO SHOW ANY SYSTEMATIC PROCEDURE FOLLOWED FOR PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT TO ALL THE DISPLACED FAMILIES."

Further, he has mentioned in his Counter Affidavit that when they were requested to comply with the decisions of government level, they (i.e. RSP authorities) came up with replies stating that they cannot provide employment to such displaced persons. It has also been stated that the list of names of 453 persons prepared in the year 1979 and 1,327 persons prepared, in the year 1981 has been supplied to the Rourkela Steel Plant. A document has been attached to the said Counter Affidavit which is none-else than the letter dated 11. 1.2006 of the Hon'ble Chief Minister, Orissa addressed to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India. In the said letter it has been stated by Shri Navin Patnaik, Hon'ble Chief Minister, Orissa that during the year 1992-93 a joint verification was done by the district authorities and Rourkela Steel Plant authorities and 1,098 persons eligible for employment had been identified. The Revenue Department of the State Government has been consistently pursuing the matter with Rourkela Steel Plant authorities but they are not taking any positive steps in this direction. It was requested in the said letter to take immediate steps in directing the steel plant authorities to initiate the process of recruitment to the displaced families, as per the joint list prepared, so that the continuing agitation can be amicably withdrawn.

24. The original list of displaced persons by the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Project has been deliberately and intentionally kept by both the authorities of State Government and the Rourkela Steel Plant. Despite repeated request and order, the original list has not been produced by the aforesaid authorities. A large number of outsiders have been working in the Rourkela Steel Plant in the name of the displaced persons. Those outsiders (dikus) have been appointed in a clandestine manner in collusion with the State Government and Rourkela Steel Plant authorities. More over, Rourkela Steel Plant autho-

rities are avoiding to produce the list of persons to whom they have given appointments as displaced persons.

25. The Principal Secretary in his Counter Affidavit has stated that the lists of 453 and 1,327 displaced persons were prepared in 1979 and 1981 respectively. But a list has been filed in the Hon'ble Court, which contains the names of 1,406 displaced persons. This proves that either the State Government is not sincerely maintaining the government record or the government authorities are playing foul with the displaced persons and making dilly-dally tactics to avoid dire consequences. Whatever may be the case, if the Orissa Government does not produce the list of displaced persons of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Project and the list of the persons to whom they have given appointments in the place of actual displaced persons, definitely, unpleasant situations are likely to arise in future.

26. It is also to be noted here that when the Koel Housing Complex was under construction at Rourkela by HSL, the Government of Orissa in Revenue Department in their Letter No. 57099 – R dated 1.10.1981 has given assurance to give priority in accommodation, allotment, employment and other facilities to the local displaced persons, but the government has failed to fulfil the norms of the above letter till date.

27. With the amount of compensation in the matter of acquisition of land and selling, leasing, transferring land by the HSL, RRIT (Rourkela Regional Improvement Trust, now renamed as RDA or Rourkela Development Authority), Government of Orissa are leaving far reaching gaps of lakhs of Rupees per acre of land originally acquired from the local Adivasis. The Government of Orissa has withdrawn from the acquisition of about 600 acres of acquired land which were not required by the Government, especially of village Bandposh, Pradhanpali, Luakera and Tumkela, vide Govt. of Orissa Political and Services Department Notification No. 1229-RKL-30/59-P, dated 27th February, 1959.

28. It may be mentioned here that section 7 of the Act XVIII of 1948 provides for the method of determination of compensation. It says that the compensation can be fixed by agreement between the parties and if no such agreement can be reached the State Government shall appoint

an arbitrator who is a person qualified for appointment as a Judge of a High Court to determine the said compensation. But neither any agreement has been made between the displaced persons and the state authorities in view of section 7 (a) of the Act nor the State Government has appointed any arbitrator in the rank of Judge of a High Court for determination of such compensation till date.

29. The authorities of the State Government as well as RSP have grossly violated the provisions under section 4 of Land Acquisition (Orissa Amendment and Validation) Act, 1959, wherein it has been expressly directed by adding words "SHALL" that within six months of acquisition, execution of documents with the persons or company concerned for where the land has been acquired, and it shall publish the same according to section 42 of Land Acquisition Act, 1894.

30. Under the provisions of Section 4 of Act I of 1894 as amended by Act XXXVIII of 1923 and under the provisions of sub-section (1) of Section 3 of Orissa Act XVIII of 1948 with regard to the acquisition of tribal land, the Government of Orissa circumvented the provisions of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India as to check and control the immovable properties of tribals in Scheduled Areas as provided in sub-paragraph (2) of Paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule.

It is pertinent to mention here that prior to the acquisition of lands for RSP and Mandira Dam, the Orissa Government had not made any law for the protection of tribal land. On the other hand only after the acquisition of land for the above projects, "The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property by Scheduled Tribes, Regulation, 1956", i.e. Orissa Regulation (2) of 1956, was introduced to control and check the transfer of immovable property by Scheduled Tribes in the Scheduled Areas of the State of Orissa. The Government of Orissa and the Steel Authority of India or Rourkela Steel Plant never bothered for the protection of the tribal land. In the name of the public purpose, the tribals have been massively alienated from their century-old landed property.

31. The local displaced persons strongly feel that they have sacrificed their ancestral landed properties only for the public purpose and not for any private business which is contrary to the law of the land. But about 15,000 acres of unutilized land have been sub-letted to dif-

ferent private persons, and with the passage of time innumerable unauthorized constructions, illegal transfers, auctions, leases with the help of the implication of false litigations, strong arm tactics, engagement of dalals adopted by the mafia group. All such steps have been directed against the main purpose of setting up of Rourkela Steel plant. There was no concept of "multiple uses for public purpose" with regard to the acquisition of tribal land.

32. The displaced persons of Sundargarh District had moved several writ petitions before the Hon'ble High Court of Orissa from time to time for redress of their grievances. Recently another writ petition, W.P.© No. 4388 of 2004, has been filed by the displaced persons of Mandira Dam which is subjudiced before the Hon'ble High Court of Orissa. After careful scrutiny, it has been observed, that in the above cases the aforesaid constitutional provisions and statutory laws mentioned above have not been taken into consideration, for which the local displaced persons have been deprived of their human rights and legal justice.

## CONCLUSIONS

Now it is being 50 years after the establishment of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Project. After a survey made by the fact finding human rights group 'ASHRA', it is discovered that the displaced persons of resettlement colonies of Lachda, Kendro, Silikata, Hathidharsa, Champajharan (Jhirpani), Laing, Ushra, Banki Bahal, Jaidega, Dhuankata, Jhandapahar, Jalda, Jhirpani, Bondamunda, Ulandajharan and Gahami etc. have been badly cheated and they have been deprived of their basic amenities of life. They have also not been given adequate compensations. About 90 per cent of displaced persons who have been rehabilitated in the above mentioned resettlement colonies belong to the tribal community. The periphery development programmes or schemes of Rourkela Steel Plant have not reached in or covered most of the resettlement colonies till date.

So, the displaced persons are not in a mood to compromise with both the authorities of the Government of Orissa and Rourkela Steel Plant. An ill feeling is gradually developing against the State Government, steel plant authorities, RRIT and other persons dealing with land. So far the movements and agitations of the displaced persons were by and large within the control of ad-

ministrative authorities through their suppressive and oppressive methods. In fact, the victims, particularly Adivasis of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Projects, are struggling for their survival. They are fighting for their inalienable rights and justice, because they have been forcibly and unjustly evicted from their hearth and home. They have been systematically and methodically dispossessed of their ancestral lands. Land, water and forests are the basic natural resources of their means of livelihood. They have a symbiotic relationship with these resources. By tradition, they are agriculturists. The Adivasis cannot survive without their lands and forests.

In the name of public purpose, the Government of Orissa has acquired excess lands of the Adivasis at random without having any specific pre-plan. As a result, a major influx of non-tribals, outsiders, exploiters and land grabbers, businessmen, corrupt government officials have destroyed the socio-economic, political, cultural life of the local tribals. Now the Adivasis of Rourkela have become slaves and refugees in their own home land. Their social, economic and community life has been completely shattered. They are now living in a starving and wretched condition. They are languishing due to economic distress. They are living from hand to mouth. The majority of the Adivasi population have no share in the economic growth of the region.

The government officials and RSP authorities are giving priority to the productivity of the steel plant. The Government of Orissa has been strongly pursuing industrialisation and exploitation of the mineral resources in the State. Hence, the Government of Orissa and RSP authorities do not bother about the legal issues of Adivasi land, their protests and their struggle for survival. There have been severe demographic changes as mostly outsiders occupy the creamy jobs in the industries. The tribal population of Rourkela Steel City approximately has been reduced from 85 per cent to 10 per cent within a span of 50 years in and around the vicinity of industrial complex. Grabbing of land is a big threat to the tribal community for their survival.

Sundargarh District is a scheduled district and the Governor of Orissa is the real authority of such Scheduled Area. So in this matter, the Governor only can intervene and take necessary steps to protect and promote the interests of the Scheduled Tribes. Because the Governor has been empowered to make regulations for peace and good governance in Scheduled Areas, especially for the

solution of the long standing problems of the displaced persons of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam Project. Hence, for the end of justice, the displaced persons of the affected areas have finally submitted a memorandum to His Eminence, the Governor of Orissa for the redressal of their grievances, to look into the matter personally and pass necessary appropriate order keeping in mind with the following points:

- (i) Stay order ought to be given to further construction, alienation, mortgage, transfer, sale, lease in any way dealing with the land acquired for public purpose. In this regard, the guidance of a Judge of High Court or Supreme Court ought to be taken.
- (ii) Thorough enquiry ought to be made whether compensation was paid or not for the land acquired. Government should take appropriate measures whether displaced persons were rehabilitated or not.
- (iii) The money illegally collected by HSL and State Government by their illegal acts, to a tune of Rupees two hundred crores should be disbursed to the persons whose lands were used in that fashion.
- (iv) Stay order ought to be issued on further construction of any permanent structure in and around Rourkela till the finalization of this dispute and specific orders be

passed to the SAIL authorities and/or State Government, who should execute the order in true sense.

- (v) Land already surrendered by HSL to Government of Orissa be returned back to original tenants or the difference value of the land received by way of lease, sale, transfer etc. in all the above areas be paid to the displaced persons along with the interest.
- (vi) The lands allotted, leased out, sold to private persons out of the land acquired by the Government for the purpose of HSL ought to be cancelled. Strict order ought to be given to the State Government not to sell, lease or sub-let to private persons.

Indiscriminate large-scale, economically damaging and socially harmful transfer of fertile agriculture land for non-agricultural use should be stopped forthwith, because in so doing the Government is throwing away the rice bowls of the farmers.

The Government of India is spending crores of Rupees for the victims of FLOODS, EARTHQUAKES AND TSUNAMI. But in this case, it is found that the prosperous farmers, mostly tribals, are made have-nots and beggars due to SAIL, Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam.

## The Destruction of Adivasi Culture in the Industrial Age

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### INTRODUCTION

Industrialisation is perceived to be a boon to the people of a given area. It is believed to enhance the economic status, leading to an improved quality of life. Establishment of industries provides economic opportunities, opens up communication networks, enhances educational as well as health facilities and ultimately links the area with the external world. Industrialisation thus is a symbol of prosperity.

For the Adivasi world, industrialization has a different meaning. The process destabilizes the Adivasi world, uproots them from their land, natural resources, spiritual world, demolishes their political systems, and above all, destroys their culture, which includes every reality of their life. Culture here would mean every reality that governs their life.

Placing the Adivasis in the center of our discourse, we can divide the entire population in to two groups: (i) the Non-Adivasis, and (ii) the Adivasis. The Non-Adivasis, who are the decision makers, establish industries in the Adivasi inhabited areas and derive all the benefit. The Adivasis, who are the indigenous people and the original inhabitants of the area, are the victims of the process, which has been imposed up on them.

### THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL TRIBAL OR ADIVASI SCENARIO

#### Population characteristics

Oraons, Kisans, Mundas, Kharias, Bhuiyans and Gonds are the major Adivasi groups that inhabit Sundargarh District, the area of our concern. They have got their ancestral, social, cultural and spiritual links with the Adivasis of Chotanagpur. While the Oraons and Kisans form the part of the Dravidian linguistic family, the Munda and the Kharias belong to the Kolarian linguistic group.

#### Settlement pattern

Each of the Adivasi groups had individual homogeneous villages. The villages were away from

the Non-Adivasi mass, located in the hills and jungles. Care was taken that the water sources, i.e. hill or forest streams, and deep land with possible water sites, were close to the village. In some places, mainly close to the hills and jungles, one noticed scattered villages, with the houses located mostly close to the land. The reason behind this was that the land reclaimed by the families from the forests was not located in a single patch, but was distributed over a large geographical area. The houses grouped in twos and threes, sometimes more, were located close to the fields. Sometimes one found such villages occupying more than two to three square kilometres as their territory. The villages, though scattered, kept up their other attributes, i.e. social, cultural, spiritual, political and economic solidarity.

In the Non-Christian Adivasi villages, one noticed the village deity which was responsible for the protection of the village. The Christian Adivasi village invariably had a common village chapel, located mostly in a central or otherwise convenient place. The houses mostly were erected of forest timbers, some times with manually processed mud. Timber walls were mud plastered.

#### Socio-spiritual practices of the life cycle

Birth, puberty, marriage and death are associated with specific rituals. Each ritual has a scientific reason. Elaboration of the practices associated with birth could throw a light on the reasons.

With the birth of the new baby, the family becomes impure. The mother, the baby and the entire family for about seven days are in the state of impurity. Normally on the 9th or 10th day, and after the umbilical chord has fallen, the purification ceremony is conducted. This ceremony is called as 'Chatti'. Bathing of the baby and the mother with turmeric water, marks the 'Chatti'. Once the purification ceremony is over, the baby, the mother and the entire family is declared as touchable and normal visits can take place. Separation of the family for these days is to provide a time for the mother and the baby to gain immunity from external contacts.

Death too brings impurity to the family. Once death occurs in a family, the family is considered as impure till a purification ceremony is conducted after ten days. On this day everybody present at the ceremony takes a ritual bath, they rub with turmeric paste on their hands and bodies. Once all the rituals are over, the family is considered to be pure and worthy of visits. The concept of pollution in this case is to prevent people from touching the corpse and visiting the family unnecessarily, since the cause of death is unknown. After 9 or 10 days, the family becomes free from the harmful germs and hence becomes worthy of visits.

Both birth and death rituals and also marriage ceremonies invariably brought the people together. In all these occasions, the relatives far and near and the neighbours shared the joys and sorrows with the family. Joyous occasions, i.e. birth and marriage ceremonies, are accompanied by feasting, singing and dancing. Collective grieving is commonly observed during death. All these occasions expressed solidarity and cemented the social bond of the Adivasis.

### **Cultural Life**

#### **Language**

Single tribe inhabited villages invariably talked their own Adivasi language. While the Kharias and the Mundas belong to the Proto-Australoid or Kolarian linguistic group, the Oraons and the Kisans spoke Kurukh, which falls in the Dravidian group of languages. In the mixed Adivasi villages, 'Sadri' was the common dialect of the village, while the individual families spoke their own Adivasi language at home. The language played a cementing role in the society.

#### **Songs and dances**

Music forms a part and parcel of the life of the Adivasis. One cannot imagine life of the Adivasis without music. Songs and dances not only provide entertainment to the Adivasis, but also provide avenues for encoding and transmitting various messages through them.

Every lean period created an avenue for songs and dances. The Adivasis therefore have songs and dances for every season. The themes normally include the activities and various events that have taken place, and they may include forecasted problems as well. The instrumental rhythms and dances differ from season to season. During marriage and spiritual festivals, the songs, rhythms and steps are different. During religious festivals the themes relate to the occasion and are mostly

spiritual by character. Marriage ceremonies have different themes. Themes here also include narrations of the occasion, various rituals, history of the tribe, problems as well as prospects and so on. The singers also compose on the spot, which the others join in singing. Marriage, which has a series of feasts and rituals, has another form of music. While in the former form only young boys and girls are the participants, in the latter form mostly the elderly people are the singers. The songs popularly known as 'Durang' are slow by tempo, melodious and meaningful. Here themes play the prime role. The tune re-emphasizes the meaning of the song. The elderly men and women sit together in the courtyard under the leaf-thatched canopy, and sing alternately. One group starts and the other repeats it. With the completion of one song, the latter group becomes the beginner and the former then follows. This goes on for the whole night. The songs contain themes of history, migration, agrarian situation, problems and also the theme of the occasion.

The Adivasi dancers hold each others' hands behind the waist and form a circle while dancing. The first in the file is the one responsible for the management of the session that includes initiating songs, controlling the steps of the dance, maintaining the size of the circle, etc. The leader is assumed to be the best dancer. Anyone, however, can become the leader, if he or she is able to initiate the dance and manage a session with appropriate songs. No outsider willing to dance is rejected, but if the new entrant is unable to synchronize with the others, the rhythm gets disturbed and the flow breaks. The new entrants, therefore, if unable to dance, move out of the circle voluntarily. There has to be a perfect synchrony in the Adivasi dance.

The instrumentalists beat the drums to the rhythm of the song that has been initiated by the leader of the dancers. There is a leader among the drummers. The leader is assumed to be the best drummer of the group and normally initiates the rhythms and manages a particular session. Anyone can become a leader, provided he is able to initiate a rhythm and manage a particular dancing session.

A dancing session does not only consist of songs, dance and drumming. It has a continuous process of communication elements in it. The songs have specific messages. The themes could be amorous or even contain messages of appreciation, narrate history, bravery, morality and so on. In between the songs and dances, the non-verbal symbols,

i.e. smiles, intentional gaze, pitches of songs or even stress on a rhythm, etc., have specific communication elements. The singers through the songs and non-verbal symbols encode various other messages, which the target receives with utmost accuracy. The transmitter and the receiver understand each other, respect the position of the other, and hence there is a parallel and perfect communication.

### Feasts and festivals

The Adivasis have their special feasts and festivals. All of them have special purposes, meanings and modes of celebration. A glimpse of a few of them is as follows:

**Sarhul:** The Sarhul festival is celebrated during April-May. It unfolds not only the tribe's cultural beauty, but also their deep philosophical concept of God, the Creator, Mother Earth and the Lady of the Environment. This festival is celebrated specifically by the Oraons, but the Kharias and Mundas also observe it. They celebrate it as a feast of fertility. According to tribal/Adivasi belief, God ('Dharmes' or 'Singbonga') is especially pleased to bestow upon them his blessings of fertility and prosperity through the 'Sal' tree, which is therefore very significant in Adivasi life and culture. Their worship place is the holy grove of 'Sal' trees.

**Karam:** While Sarhul is a festival that begins with hunting and ends with the hopes of good agricultural production, Karam is a festival related purely to cultivation: involving sowing, sprouting and growth of crops. Along with its association with expectations of good crops, it has become an occasion for the sisters to wish for their brothers' successful life. Karam is celebrated in the middle of the period of five months from Asadh to Kartik, i.e. some time in August/September, which are especially devoted to cultivation. The main activities are: (a) ceremonially placing different kinds of grains in baskets for germination, (b) fasting and offering prayers, and (c) the final event of music and dance.

**Sohrai - the cattle festival:** Among the agriculture-centred festivals, Sohrai is the second most important festival. Basically it is an observance of honour to the cattle, which assist in cultivation operations, and in this festival they are symbolically placed at the level of gods. This feast is celebrated mostly in the month of October-November. Once the rituals are completed, mixed gruels of rice and lentils - prepared in honour of the cattle - is served to the cattle and to the people of the house as well. On the second day, which is the

day of eating and drinking, the people get together and dance with a few decorated bulls and oxen tied on to a strong pole, and turn by turn they dance and make the cattle dance also with them to the music played at that time. The combined dance of the people and the cattle continues till sunset. In the evening, after meals, young people get together at the dancing ground again and their dance continues till morning.

**Annual hunt:** The Adivasis end the year with the celebration of the annual hunt. This normally culminates on the full moon day of February-March. On the day of the festival, after the rituals and prayers to the forest deity have been duly performed, the group sets out to the forest with bows and arrows. Upon their return, the hunters are received at the entrance of the village by washing their feet. Amidst music and dance, they are taken to the place of the forest deity, where the meat of the game is divided keeping in mind the role the people have played in this expedition. The man with whose weapon the animal was hit first, is given a hind leg as token of bravery. The recipient, after formally receiving the prize, politely returns it in the interest of the village. Share is given even to the dogs, which helped in catching the animal at the expedition. Portions are made out also for persons who could not participate due to illness or for those households where there are no men. At times the game is so small that a member gets only a piece or two, but it does not make any difference in excitement. The main element behind the expedition is the joy of cooperation.

### Social communication

Communication among the Adivasis of Sundargarh District is very much influenced and guided by the ethnic characteristics of the Adivasi society. Based on the fact that the traditional Adivasi society of the area is very much community centred and egalitarian by character, that it is having an element of simplicity, truthfulness, and that it is hospitable and altruistic, their dominant form of communication is complementary by character. This implies understanding of the other, respecting the overall status of the other and considering him/her as the equal partner. The communication most of the time therefore is direct, straightforward - except when the communicator does not want to offend the receiver. Messages are simple and encoded either in words, phrases, songs, and non-verbal symbols. The objectives of communication among the Adivasis, therefore, used to be maintenance of inter-personal relationship, family harmony, tribe and sub-tribe harmony, conflict

resolution, inter-tribe relationship, maintenance of the Adivasi world-view, maintenance of the spiritual relationship with the supernatural world, social control, controlling deviances, and consolidation of Adivasi solidarity, motivating and entertaining.

### Economy

The distinguishing feature of the Adivasi informal society was that it was community based as against the individual based formal system. Secondly, it was oral tradition based as against the written words of the present system. The community accepted the oral undertaking of the individual in trust. In this system, truth was unanimous - not evidential as in the litigation based formal system. Thirdly, the informal Adivasi economy did not have the concept of property as it is understood today.

**(a) Land ownership:** The Adivasis since ages have a special relationship with the land they own. They do not consider land simply as an economic asset. In the first place, ownership of land was vested in the community. No individual had the right to permanently alienate it from the community. The community or the tribe includes not only the living members but also the ancestors and future generations.

**(b) Subsistence agriculture:** Adivasi agriculture was subsistent by character. An Adivasi person produced for his day-to-day consumption, and not for the market. Hence extra products were often shared among the neighbours.

**(c) Common ownership of natural resources:** Water resources, i.e. rivers, tanks, ponds, etc. were communally owned. All the water products, i.e. fish, etc., were shared by the people. An individual Adivasi person owning a private tank with fish shared the product with others. There were community fishing days.

**(d) Work-cooperation:** The Adivasis had a system of collective work or work cooperatives. They call this cooperation as 'Pancha', literally meaning the cooperation of five members. According to this system, all the members of the cooperation work in a family on a fixed day every week. The work could be of any category ranging from ploughing to wood chopping or house repair, construction, digging and levelling. The host family provided them with a token drink of 'Handia' (the traditional rice beer) and a nominal amount of cash fixed by the group, which went to the collective fund. Difficult tasks were performed through 'Pancha'.

### Ethnic characteristics

The traditional ethnic characteristics of the Adivasis may be summarized in this way:

- **Straightforwardness:** They said whatever they felt.
- **Faithfulness:** They felt bound by the assigned responsibility.
- **Simplicity:** They meant what they said. They did not say one thing and then did another.
- **Bound by oral promises:** What was once orally said had to be fulfilled at any cost.
- **Self-discipline in community life:** They could not imagine life without a community.
- **Courageous/brave in adversity:** They were brave enough to survive in a hostile natural environment.
- **Hospitable:** Hospitality was one of their greatest wealth. They treated a guest without expecting a return.
- **Truthful:** By nature, they were truthful. They believed the same characteristics to be present in everyone (and hence got deceived).
- **Peace loving:** Unless disturbed, they loved to live in a peaceful environment. One could, therefore, see smiles radiating from their faces.
- **Disciplined:** This was reflected in their disciplined behaviour in every place, ceremonies, meetings and group dances.
- **High sense of morality:** They had their own moral norm codes. Once moral norm was defined, they adhered to that to the fullest extent. Deviants were taken to task.
- **Egalitarian by character:** Equality was given prime importance, and hence sharing was one of their characteristics. They helped each other in work and adverse conditions.

## THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SCENARIO

### Population characteristics and settlement pattern

The Adivasi villages close to the towns and industrial areas are large in size and heterogeneous by character. This is a result of displacement and immigration of Non-Adivasis into the area for jobs. Though most of these villages now are Christian, they also have Non-Christian population in them.

The Adivasi families that traditionally opted for constructing their houses close to their land cannot do so now due to the population pressure and scarcity of virgin plain and forest land. The existing Adivasi villages now have been forced to accept people from other Adivasi groups or even Non-Adivasi communities. The homogeneous characteristics of their villages have thus gone.

Due to the heterogeneity of the villages, the existence of a single village deity is not possible. Therefore, one could find different deities among the Non-Christian Adivasis located at different places. The Christians, however, have a common village chapel, where Sunday services are mostly conducted in 'Sadri', a common dialect in the area.

### **The social scenario**

#### **Family characteristics**

In the industrial areas, there are more tendencies towards nuclearisation of the families. There are also joint families up to the first generation of lineage. The families, however, are patriarchal and patrilocal by character. Widows can remain as the head of the family as long as the sons are not of age and are working in the field or elsewhere.

As a result of industrialisation, distances between the nuclearized families (from the joint families), have widened. One brother having a job in the industrial set-up or town is economically far better off than his own brother who stays in the village and engages in agriculture. It is not only an economic difference, but there are also social and psychological differences between them, resulting in further destruction of family solidarity. Within the same village, there are differences between such families who are dependent on agriculture and the ones who have members working in the industries and town. The housing pattern, therefore, is not uniform. The ownership of assets ranges widely, leading to huge economic, social and psychological gaps between different families. There are also unfair competitions between different families, resulting in the weakening of village solidarity.

#### **Social practices and rituals**

There is a tendency to undervalue and disrespect the rituals and traditions that carried different meanings during the past. Rituals and traditions that brought the village and community together have started becoming diluted and no more hold the same meanings. This results in less participation of people and - in some places - even in undervaluing of their meanings. There are tendencies to imitate rituals and practices during birth, marriage and death ceremonies from the other neighbouring communities, which are perceived to be higher than their own. The ones working in the urban areas even have the tendency to imitate practices from the Non-Adivasi communities of the urban areas. The erection of modern canopies in the manner of the urban areas during various ceremonies, the use of Non-Adivasi sacrificial elements, the drastic changes of

rituals by individuals in the manner of the urban areas: All these are the consequences of industrialisation.

In several places, there have been cases to imitate the dowry system, in the direct or indirect manner, which goes totally against the Adivasi system. There are also cases where the Adivasis from the urban centres have refused to recognize their social, spiritual and political leaders and tried to impose their own views. Traditionally, the Kharias led the bride to the groom's house for marriage, but now they follow 'Barat' or the groom's festive journey as the other groups do.

#### **The spiritual scenario**

Among the Non-Christian Adivasis in the industrial areas, there is tendency to imitate the Non-Adivasi practices. Hinduism is day-by-day influencing the Adivasis in this area. They even have started denouncing their traditional Adivasi religions, and have started calling themselves as Hindus. Popular Hindu festivals, i.e. Durgapuja, Dipavali, Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja, Holi, Raja, Rath Yatra, etc., are being observed by them. Their traditional deities, ancestral spirits, family deities and feasts as well as festivals have started being pushed to the backgrounds. Sarhul, Sohrai, Karam, their former grand feasts have lost their fervours in these areas. Hindu activists and preachers are very active and popular in such areas.

#### **The cultural scenario**

##### **Social communication**

As against 'simple message' and 'straight communication', the Adivasis in the industrial and urban areas no more retain the 'simple' characteristic of the message. They have learned how to have an 'ulterior' communication. This was as a result of the people frequently getting deceived by the outsiders in work places and markets. They have been constantly observing people telling one thing and doing another. Similarly, having dual meaning in words has become a part of the communication system among the Adivasis of the area.

Since the Adivasis in the industrial areas grow vegetables as cash crops, they do the marketing in the industrial towns themselves. This has made them to learn market communication, i.e. hiding the real value of a product and extracting as much as possible from the buyers. This implies having dual meaning in verbal and non-verbal communication.

Since altruism in the industrial areas is vanishing, the people are less concerned about the others and

hence people do not bother about the type of interpersonal transactions. While traditionally most of the interpersonal transactions were complementary, now they have started crossing people indiscriminately and also engaging in ulterior transaction. This is resulting in further deterioration of the Adivasi society.

#### **At the basic group/family level**

Social drinks among the Adivasis were a social affair. Drinking sessions brought the Adivasi groups together, where they shared their day-to-day problems, ideas and even planned for the future. 'Handia' (rice beer) was the traditional Adivasi drink. Today drinking has become an individual affair. And it is no more the traditional 'Handia'. But the non-indigenous distilled liquor or foreign liquor are the stuffs consumed by the Adivasis going to the industries and mines for work. Coming back drunk in the evening is a common occurrence among the Adivasis of the industrial areas. This results in quarrels, wife and child beating and an overall disturbed family.

Family communication, therefore, is no more a 'complementary' one, but crossed and ulterior transactions are the common characteristics of the day. The days of harmonious interaction between the husband, wife and children have more or less gone. There are families that still maintain harmonious communication. Such families feel the threat of being dragged any time into such kind of environment.

#### **At the village level**

With the changes in the village structure and the socio-economic and political environment, there is a change in the communication system. In the industrial areas, with the emergence of multi-tribe villages, the traditional village head is no more a caste based head, but he now is a purely political head. In such areas, the ward members have become the political leaders, not the traditional caste heads. The caste heads have gone to the backyards, dealing only with caste affairs.

In the Village Council matters relating to external linkages, i.e. village development programmes, schemes for the village, school, work contract, etc. are discussed. All these activities are concerned with external development agencies, i.e. the Panchayat Head Office, block and district offices, non-governmental developmental agencies and different political parties. The meeting, therefore, is no longer a traditional Village Council, but at the primary level - the Palli Sabha and the Gram Sabha - the ward member, i.e. the one elected from

different political groups, takes the lead. The issues, therefore, naturally create cliques and groups in the villages, where people go in the party line. Some of the issues like disputes on social issues are also discussed. In serious disputes the cases invariably have to be referred to the police.

Given the above background, the communication within the village is not parallel or complementary as traditionally it used to be. Presentation of facts does not have the same sanctity, but political affiliations here seem to take over. The ward member is supported by his/her political group, but gets critically questioned and even obstructed in proceedings by the rival factions. Cross communications are very much prevalent in such situations.

In case of displacement and perceived feelings of oppression by the industries, the Adivasis seem to be united to a great extent. They discuss together since they have been experiencing the impacts irrespective of the caste groups or political affiliations. Here also one finds changes nowadays. Where there was an absolute unanimity, some deviants with outside links are found in the influenced villages that try to subvert the proceedings. The outside agencies, i.e. the industries and the concerned political parties, try to catch hold of such persons, to bring a division in the village community. These individuals might also manage to influence a few others, and hence the subversive elements around the villages close to the industries and urban centres become a common feature.

#### **Cultural communication**

Traditionally 'Durangs' (slow tempo songs) played an important role in the wedding ceremonies. They encoded messages of love, appreciation, narrated history, tradition, valour, etc. They, however, have more or less vanished in the industrial areas. The young people no more give importance to the 'Durangs'. The elderly people, for whom 'Durangs' used to be the means of entertainment, have more or less given themselves up to the whims and wishes of the young people, who have already experienced the taste of modernization. The elderly people today in the industrial areas have become onlookers in the entertainment activities during marriages and other social feasts.

'Dholki', 'Nagada' and 'Mandar', constituted the musical instruments of the Adivasis. Though 'Dholki' is hard to play, everybody in the village

knew how to play it. Similarly 'Mandar' and 'Nagada', which need a sense of musical timing, were the instruments of everybody. Today many of the urban-based youths and the ones residing in far away school hostels hardly know how to play these instruments. The educated youths and even the elderly people, who are based in the industrial areas, hesitate to touch such instruments.

Songs constituted an invariable component of entertainment among the Adivasis. Young and old, irrespective of social or economic status, knew the melodious tunes and got the messages of different kinds. Today the youths and the jobholders in the industrial areas do not hesitate to undervalue the traditional tunes and modes.

The dance steps are fast changing. The youths in the industrial areas learn different other dance steps, devise new steps and incorporate them into the Adivasi dance. The dances, therefore, become complicated and the rhythms are not exactly conforming to the Adivasi dance steps. The elderly people of the villages find it difficult to follow such steps.

There is an increasing tendency of the urban youths to follow disco steps in the dancing circle. Formerly, only the drummers were in the middle of the dancing circle, while the rest, irrespective of sex, joined the circle. Only a few, who did not join the circle, stayed in the centre, but went round with the drummers singing the same song that the dancers sang. Today the youths, especially boys who do not join the dancing circle, stay in the middle, do not sing along with the dancers or follow in any manner the dance steps, but try to imitate disco steps. This disturbs the synchrony during the dance.

In traditional religious feasts, i.e. Sarhul, Karam, etc., though they still continue possessing the traditional themes, the music including songs and dances are no more the same. Traditionally these feasts had specific rhythms, songs and dances. Except in the remote areas, the Adivasis in the industrial areas have more or less forgotten Sarhul and Karam songs. Both these songs had seasonal rhythms as well as songs, and the youths of today do not know them. During Karam celebrations in the interior areas, the dancers imitate Karam tunes and dances, but immediately switch over to some other steps since many are not familiar with the traditional steps. Besides, the urban youths insist that different steps should be initiated. The traditional Karam and Sarhul steps, therefore, are dying out.

The greatest danger in the cultural forms of the Adivasis of the area is the advent of the modern form of music. The urban youths and people going frequently to the industrial and urban areas for work regularly see different marriages and religious ceremonies being performed. In religious ceremonies, like Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja, Durga Puja, etc., they have seen microphones being used and non-religious modern music being played there. The Adivasis back home have started to imitate the same. In place of traditional dance and songs, the families in this area have started using microphones during religious and social ceremonies. This disturbs the dancing group. Traditionally the Adivasis were never the onlookers, but participants in social ceremonies, songs and dances. The use of microphones has reduced the Adivasis to dumb spectators. This trend is increasing day by day, and specifically the youths of the urban areas are insisting on it and take pride in hiring microphone sets and playing non-indigenous songs. Not only that, the youths have started disco dancing to the tune of such music.

An Adivasi reception always consisted of traditional songs and dances. Adivasis sang and danced for the person who was being received and the guest also participated in the dance. Now in such occasions modern songs are sung and non-indigenous musical instruments are utilized to felicitate a person. Very recently in one of the weddings, there was a band party that played modern music after the completion of the wedding rituals. The people, who were eager to dance their traditional steps, got disgusted and even complained to the host. The host, however, took pride in organizing the band party since it showed his economic status.

'Barat' (the groom's party) - as it used to be celebrated by some of the Adivasi communities in the traditional way - was a journey full of joy. The party covered several kilometres crossing forests, hills, streams, and plateaus, etc., and enjoyed at each place. It consisted of singing and dancing on the route. Today in the urban areas, like the outsiders, the Adivasis have started hiring vehicles, buses or smaller four wheelers for 'Barat'. This reduces the time on journey and the entire joyous feast en route is missing. The trip that provided enormous joy to the group and kept up the solidarity as well as the culture of the people has gone into the backyards. Even for a short distance, people today hire a vehicle and take pride in doing so. Enjoyment is not the objective of such trips, but the show of status.

### **Influence of modern media**

In the industrial areas and especially in the peripheral Adivasi villages, the media has a great role in changing the life styles of the Adivasis. Since the people have access to money, they have modern communication equipments, i.e. radio and television. Through radio the Adivasi youths get associated with modern music, specifically film songs. News is not an important item in radio, but the songs. These songs have greatly changed the musical taste of the Adivasi youths. They have started giving more importance to modern songs rather than to their traditional tunes.

The Adivasis residing in the cities and other urban areas have television sets for their entertainment. Where traditionally songs and dances constituted their main source of entertainment, today they have been substituted by television. Films, serials, sports items and advertisements have become the main source of entertainment for the Adivasis of such areas. Not only that, the Adivasis are also adopting the values and life styles that they have been seeing in the television. Many of them do not distinguish between the reality and fiction, and thus all the things presented in the screen are taken as realities, and it is thus totally influencing their lives. The harmonious communication system that was the traditional characteristic of an Adivasi family is no more there in such areas. The family is getting further nuclearized with the children of different age groups, the elders and parents having different tastes, fighting for their share in the screen. This has started breaking the families.

### **Economic life**

The traditional informal society that was community based has become individual based in the industrial age. The oral tradition based society now is totally dependent on written words. Oral undertakings during economic transactions have now been replaced by written documents.

Land traditionally was not just an economic asset. In the pre-industrial era, there was the system of community ownership and no individual had the right to permanently alienate it from the community. Now land has become an individual asset and the owner can use or dispose of it as he wishes.

Subsistence agriculture and food cropping has become now cash cropping in the industrial areas. Since the surplus products go to the market, the sharing of extra produces has vanished from the culture in these areas.

Water resources, tanks and ponds, etc., were communally owned and all the products in it belonged to the community. Now the fish of a pond is an asset of the individual owner, which he sells for profit. Community fishing has vanished from these areas.

Work cooperation, which cemented the social and economic relationship of the people, is more or less dead. An individual Adivasi now in order to get a work done, has to hire labour or appoint fellow Adivasis on payment.

### **Ethnic characteristics**

As a result of imposed and rapid industrialisation of Adivasi areas, several of their valuable ethnic characteristics have been changed or are changing further. The Adivasis living close to the industrial areas and working in them seem to adopt such characteristics, which traditionally were not theirs. The Adivasis in such areas have started becoming individualistic and adopt unfair means of competition. Many of them have lost their simplicity, truthfulness, straightforwardness, and peace loving characteristics and have been diluting their original moral thinking. Hospitality towards guests also has started becoming purpose oriented. Oral promises no more hold good in such areas and the Adivasis have started giving more importance to individual achievements rather than showing egalitarian behaviour and community centredness. Self-dignity is no more a valued characteristic for such people.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

There is a difference between forced rapid change and gradual change through an evolutionary process. Evolutionary changes - that enable a society to perceive the incoming change, to understand its consequences, to accept and to welcome it - are desirable. The imposed and rapid changes which mostly are caused by industrialisation and a rapid modernisation process, throw the society into chaos: The Adivasis are not ready for that and also are not welcome in this process. This destroys the society, breaks its social fabric, its economic strength, its moral strength, the spiritual as well as the political life, and ultimately the overall ethnic characteristics.

For these reasons, the Adivasi societies all over the world have been opposing such processes. It is, therefore, necessary that the indigenous communities are to be completely associated in the decision making process, so that they are aware

of the forthcoming changes, and are suitably prepared for that. Any imposition of such changes by external agencies is a violation of the human rights of the indigenous people.

## Experiences in Displacement

By Suchita Bilung

The author is from a displaced family and presently works in a bank in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India

### Introduction

My grandfather was a displaced person. He along with his two brothers was a resident of Katabeda village, which now is submerged in the water of Mandira Dam. The dam was constructed during 1957 to 1959, and the entire village was asked to vacate. My grandfather's two brothers migrated to the jungles of Bonai along with others. My own grandfather was in the army and was somewhere in Europe during World War II. He had some money and hence did not move to Bonai but bought some land in Jaidega, close to the rehabilitation colony and settled there. My grandfather, my own father and all the uncles are dead and only alive are my mother and one of my aunts. The descendants of the brothers of my grandfather are lost in the jungles of Bonai. My father had the direct experience of displacement and hence was a Jharkhand activist for a pretty long time before he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Orissa. He could manage to educate us since by profession he was a school teacher before joining politics, and today what we are is because of his hard labour and struggle.

I do not have the direct experience of displacement, but the things I am sharing with you, reflect my direct experience with the people who have been displaced. The people who were displaced from Mandira Dam established my village Jaidega. Jaidega is a rehabilitation colony, but the people residing in my hamlet are the ones who refused to stay in the colony but moved out and cleared the virgin forest on their own. Also people like my grandfather, who had some money, acquired some agricultural land. The experience I am sharing now is the result of my regular and year long dialogue with the people who have been displaced.

I have taken a few dimensions that are directly related to displacement. They are: (i) the geographical dimension, (ii) the psychological dimension, (iii) the economic dimension, (iv) the social dimension, (v) the political dimension, and (vi) the spiritual dimension.

### I. The geographical dimension

Displacement caused total geographical dislocation. The people had to leave their familiar geographical environment, which provided them with everything. The jungle, hills, streams, even trees, that were familiar to them, had to be left behind. Each component of the nature provided them with joy and fulfilment. All these had to be abandoned.

The rehabilitation and reclamation colonies were located far away. Lachda and Kendro in Bonai, where my ancestors migrated, were about 150 kilometres away from Katabeda, the displaced village. Moving away to such a far place was as good as dying. In no way they could come back to visit their relatives during feasts, festivals, marriages, deaths and necessities. My ancestors could not recover from this shock and many of them died in early age.

### The mode of physical displacement

Our elders say that the displacement was sudden. Notice was given barely a week before, and before they could understand as to what was happening they were asked to vacate the village. When the people refused to move or were slow in moving, bulldozers came in and razed their houses. The trucks stood in the village asking the people to load their belongings and move. The people could gather whatever was possible, but not everything they had. Animals, i.e. cattle, buffaloes, goats and pigs, which are the valuable possessions of the Adivasis, could not be loaded. The trucks then drove them to unknown far away places and unloaded them in the jungle or near some unknown villages.

For example, in Bhaluburh, close to the village now I am married to, which is about 130 kilometres away from my village, families, who had been taken by a truck from the Mandira Dam riverbed, were unloaded in the jungle close to the village. The families cried there continuously. The Adivasi people of the village, who happened to be Christians, gave them shelter in their houses. The families stayed in those houses till they erect-

ed their own huts and shifted. Out of those families, two families have further migrated elsewhere, and all the first migrants, including their children are no more. Their grandchildren are living in those houses.

## II. The psychological dimension

There was a psychological shock due to forced dislodgement. The pain of detachment from all familiar surroundings, things and natural environments including forest, hills, streams as well as trees, relatives, friends, etc., could not be imagined. They fully knew that there were only remote possibilities of coming back to their friends and that they were losing their natural environment. The pain was not only for moving away from them, but also from the perception that all these were going to be submerged under the water.

The people who were the masters of their own environment were powerless in front of the forced situation. They were powerless in front of the displacing agencies, and in front of the new social, political, economic as well as geographical environment. All these experiences have been responsible for the development of some defensive behaviours in the shape of aggressive behaviour towards the displacing agents and agencies.

## III. The economic dimension

Agricultural lands both recorded and unrecorded were alienated. Unrecorded ones included the forest patches where the people grew minor millets, pulses and oilseeds. These could never be recorded in the normal procedure. Homestead land included the land around the house. In several cases houses were located on the hill slopes and hence these homestead lands could never be recorded according to the normal revenue and forest rules. The people lost such lands, which were never counted as land lost, and hence no compensation was considered.

The traditional economic activity of the people included cultivation of deep land, shallow land as well as forest land, gathering from the forest, minor forest collections, fishing in the rivulets or tanks, animal husbandry, etc. The economy of the people was self-sufficient, though subsistent by character. There were cooperatives for labour, agriculture, etc. The people shared the extra produces. Producing for the market was a rare concept.

The government promised to pay compensation for the loss of land, but since many people had unregistered forest patches under cultivation, they were not considered for compensation. The compensation for the properly registered land was also not paid in several cases, and the people till today complain of not receiving it. Mr. Livinus Kindo, a senior bureaucrat now retired from the Indian Administrative Service, mentions that he himself had distributed 'Patta' (land record papers) only in 2002, when he was in the Revenue Department.

The promise of job provision lacked vision. Since the people at that time were mostly illiterate, they got jobs as labourers during the construction period. Once the construction was over, the industry needed technical persons and the educated. The displaced people did not have such qualifications and hence were not in a position to demand permanent jobs. Besides, they felt helpless and deficient in front of the authorities, and hence refrained from demanding jobs. Though the people, who once lived independently in the forest, got engaged as construction labourers, it was against their wish, and they considered this as degrading to them. The Adivasis considered labour as a degrading concept since, traditionally, work was shared among them. And working as labourers in the industry was quite degrading.

Dislodged from the traditional self-sufficient economic system, the people had to yield to a new economic system. They had to create a new economic environment, clear the forest again, dig, level and make cultivable land, again get acquainted with the new geographical environment and find out possibilities of an economic life in the new forests. Since the rehabilitation colonies included people of different castes and tribes, there were undue competitions for portions of the land, forest and other natural resources for survival. The people, who traditionally had a culture of sharing their surplus products or forest products, became individualistic, selfish and non-altruistic. Individual ownership and gains became the culture in the new environment.

People in the process of getting acquainted with the new marketing environments, got deceived. The new markets became oppressive. In the villages, the people had a system of exchange of good for good. In the new markets, money invariably was the means of exchange, and the people did not know the proper use of money - nor did they have money. Forest products had different rates and their uses were different. For everything

the people had to depend on others. They, therefore, were forced to move from self-sufficiency to dependency.

#### IV. The social dimension

The forced dislocation broke the cohesive society. The relatives got scattered. In my family's case, our relatives are now located more than 150 kilometres away in the inaccessible jungles, with no communication facilities. These relatives in every practical sense are lost since we cannot visit each other. Our traditionally homogeneous villages have become heterogeneous by character. More than one tribe or caste now lives in the new environment. Community sharing which was the core of the social fabric is less prominent now. Now we do not have blood relatives in the villages and thus intimate relationship and sharing is absent.

The relatives, who had migrated to Bonai area, face great difficulty in establishing marital relationships. Since all the blood relations and Adivasi men are located more than hundred kilometres away and the new settlements are heterogeneous in terms of caste and faith, they find it difficult to find marital partners. Inter-tribe marriages - which is against the community norms - thus have started coming into the picture.

Relationship with the ancestral world is a key component in the Adivasi life. The displaced people lost their relationship with their ancestral world. The community graveyards, where the dear ones had been buried, were submerged under water. In our Adivasi society, ancestors are part of the living community. Displacement broke the relationship with the ancestral world, and others could not understand the pain of it.

#### V. The political dimension

Traditionally there were Village Councils in each village, and it was easy to decide things in it, since the villages were homogeneous by character. Each one knew the problem very well, there was no siding of anyone and decisions were impartial and very much genuine. These councils of homogeneous villages were demolished due to displacement. In the rehabilitation colonies and villages of new category, such impartial councils are not possible since they are heterogeneous by

character, and frequently there are instances of individuals supporting and favouring their own caste men.

Among various Adivasi groups there are regional and apex tribal councils. Regional councils decided the caste problems of the region, while the Apex Tribal Council formulated as well as amended laws and monitored the discipline of the Adivasis. The displaced villages do not have regional councils, and the leaders of the apex council are located far away. The people, therefore, cannot place their cases in the apex council. They are thus more or less outside the entire Adivasi political system. They now have become part of the new system.

#### VI. The spiritual dimension

Besides losing ancestral relationships, displacement has caused the disintegration of feasts and festivals. Our traditional feasts and festivals, which had a spiritual origin, are no more observed in the rehabilitation colonies located far away. An individual Adivasi group in a rehabilitation colony does not feel at home to celebrate its own festival, since many other groups inhabit the village. The entire meaning, fervour and pomp of the ceremonies are lost. Traditional dances, therefore, are more or less gone from the new areas. Cultural forms, which were linked with spiritual ceremonies have been very much diluted, as a result the Adivasi communities in these areas are at the brink of destruction.

#### Suggestions

Neither our people were informed about the forthcoming industrialisation process, nor had the authorities held a discussion with them. This has made the people feel humiliated and rendered them powerless. The people, therefore, suggest that the authorities in future should have a dialogue with the people before displacing them and never take them for granted.

The loss cannot be compensated in any manner, hence the authorities should not think of only monetary or material compensations, but understand all the dimensions of an established society involved. This can be possible only when the people and the displacing authorities sit at parallel level and engage in a dialogue.

## Democracy and Self-Determination vs. Industrialisation and Globalisation

By Shanti Sawaiyan

Activist and convenor of Jharkhand Mines Area Coordination Committee - J.M.A.C.C., Ranchi, Jharkhand, India

It is "Destination India" for most corporate giants worldwide. Business is either shrinking or almost stagnating elsewhere, but the possibilities of a boom in India are written large and clear on the wall. And no one wants to miss the bus - especially when India is ready to open in a big way every sector of its economy.

Currently, India is producing 36 million tons per annum (MTA) of steel. To cater to the needs of the fast growing Indian economy, India needs more steel than it is producing presently. There is a huge gap between the demand for steel and its supply. According to the government's own assessment, by the year 2020 India will need 110 MTA to maintain the momentum of the development. To enhance the production level, the government is inviting Indian and foreign companies in the steel sector and is giving them many incentives. Thus for foreign companies, it is time to fix up their travel plan. Because for them: it is "Destination India".

But wait....

The environment within which the industry operates, is growing more and more turbulent: particularly in the central geographical belt which is the Adivasi heartland. Why are Adivasis opposing industry? What can be done about this issue? Is globalisation multiplying the problem for the Adivasis - or do they have a role in solving this problem? These are questions, which deserve a serious consideration.

### Understanding Adivasi resistance

In fact, the victims of industrialisation and modernisation are communicating a message through their resistance. We must try to decode this message as sincerely as possible. If we do not grasp the meaning, the communication gap will only be widened. But it must be bridged as soon as possible. Let us first discuss the message in time and space, and then analyse its content.

Industries are like double edged swords with regard to the Adivasis and Dalits of India. It is

destroying our land, water, forest, and it is also damaging our community life and culture.

The term Adivasi signifies 'first dwellers'. Resistance is not new in the Adivasi heartland, a look at the history of this region shows that the present unrests are similar in nature with the movements against the British regime. In the 19th century, the area was rocked by the several Adivasi uprisings. The cause for these revolts was the 'invasion of our land' - or colonisation. When the British established their rule, the Adivasis were subjected to increasing alienation. We lost our land to the new invaders, our assets to the moneylenders, our cash to the traders. Our traditional administration system, which can be duly termed as the first democratic system, lost its power to the courts. The Adivasi languages fought losing battles against Persian, Urdu, Hindi and English. This alienation accompanied the process of modernisation.

As they were not ready to hear us, and as they did not even accept us as human beings, our forefathers took up their arms against the colonial power. The revolts were put down with a heavy hand. It took the British a long time to understand the true nature of these revolts and to address the root causes. However, a communication gap started separating the Adivasi people from the administration. It was only in the beginning of the 20th century that the British acknowledged the land ownership rights of the Adivasis, culminating in the so-called Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908, and the problem was solved to some extent. This Act was drafted by a German Catholic missionary: Father John Hoffmann. Much later - in 1949 only - Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act was made. At least, there is a legal framework to stem the problem, but land continues to pass into the hands of Non-Adivasis.

### Developments in independent India

Independence in 1947 changed the whole political climate of the country, and a new hope for better life was aroused in the Adivasi people: that exploitation and other problems would be a thing

of the past, that the government will respect our customs and cultures. But in a very short span of time the Adivasis realized that only the regime has changed, but the basic character of the administration is not changed.

Because after Independence - in the process of rapid development - the Government of India choose the same economic model which their western counter part, or in other words: the colonial power, had adopted, which was exploitive in nature and had nothing to do with the welfare of the people. It is the biggest failure of our government that it could not create an economic model that can cater to the needs of our country. In fact, the Indian Government forgot that in the western economic model, successes are dependant on the availability of cheap labour and the minerals from the colonies. And India has no colonies. So it should have developed its own economic model. But still, the approach towards development and towards the people - particularly the Adivasis and Dalits - whose lives and cultures are continuously under threat, has not changed.

India is referred to as the biggest democracy of the world. Our Constitution provides fundamental and other rights to every citizen of the country. In paper at least, the Adivasis enjoy some special safeguards to protect their socio-economic rights and cultures. In 1996, a milestone bill on Panchayati Raj has been passed by the Indian Parliament to de-centralize the democratic system and bring it to the grassroot level. In this progressive Bill special arrangements have been made for the weaker sections of the society, i.e. Adivasis, Dalits and women. It has a clear provision that in the Scheduled Areas no land can be taken without the permission of the Gram Sabhas (rural bodies).

But in practice, whenever the government needs land to establish the factories, mines and for other purposes, they never take the affected people into confidence at the planning stage. Only when the construction work is started, the affected people are informed by the local authority, "You have to leave this land in the name of 'National Development'." For smooth land acquisition, they create middlemen from the community. Adivasis without land, however, is like a tree without roots or a base to stand upon.

In this respect, we Adivasis are more intimately linked with the land than the more recent population groups. If we people are deprived of our land, our hunting and grazing grounds and forest, we cannot survive as distinct ethnic groups.

According to a study, from 1950 to 1990, 30 million people have been displaced. Out of it, 40 per cent are Adivasis and 20 per cent are Dalits. Of the total number only 25 per cent have been rehabilitated, and the rest are still waiting for compensation and rehabilitation, Now you can understand the true nature of the present movement of people displaced by Rourkela Steel Plant and their pain and misery after 50 years of the steel plant's existence.

The real focus of economic reforms, that started in the early Nineties, is reflected in the series of recommendations to the industrial policy. And the push for amendments in Acts, which are related to industrial activities - like the Labour Laws, the Mineral Policy, the Fifth Schedule, the Land Acquisition Act, the Forest Conservation Act, the Environment Protection Act, the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, and other laws and policies - shows an increasing disrespect of the State towards the rights of the weaker sections of society.

### **Impact on women**

In this situation, the women's role in the society is decreasing. Earlier, Adivasi women enjoyed a greater social status with regard to control over resources, which ensured their active participation in decision making, in land utilisation and power over cash flow in any Adivasi economy. In contrast, women displaced by industries have lost the rights to cultivate their traditional crops. When the forest is being cut down to establish industries, they are unable to collect forest produce for food, fodder, medicines, ceremonial needs or for sale. The cash flow that Adivasis women have been enjoying by the sale of forest produce and by breeding livestock has disappeared.

Rehabilitation is only for men, either in cash or as employment, which has led to complete 'idleness' in the economic sphere for women.

In such a situation, women from land owning communities have been forced into wage labour, which is a socially and economically humiliating shift. Women are also forced into petty trades or into other business. But the social taboos of participation in these sectors, their lack of literacy or lack of skills expose them to further exploitation in these trades.

Industry related pollution is a worldwide phenomenon, and its worst sufferers are women. Wo-

men and children are constantly exposed to a high risk of death and terminal illness due to constant exposure to dust and pollution. Studies have proved that their exposures to hazardous pollutants have been far above the permissible levels. Yet, no company has ever been held legally responsible for this mass abuse of such vulnerable groups.

Displacement caused by the industries is also eroding the family system and harmony in the Adivasi society and is creating social conflicts among them. During rehabilitation, the jobs given are inadequate to sustain the whole family. Unfortunately, compensation is given only to one male member of the family, and no options exist to others. This results in families getting disintegrated and an erosion of the whole family system.

After the liberalisation of economy, it is observed that women's employment in low paid manual work is increasing. Women are employed in areas where the labour value is low while the workload is high.

### **Industrialisation and democratic rights**

With globalisation and the entry of foreign companies - particularly in the mining industry -, the mineral exploitation for exports is increasing. With global markets shrinking, the world players are eyeing for the limited market opportunities. In this highly capitalist set-up with vested interests, the global markets are bound to exploit the Third World nations. The rich natural resources which are tapped, however, are not used for the domestic consumption, but for export to earn foreign revenue. And this takes place at the cost of the Adivasi people.

We, the Adivasis and Dalits, in no way reap the benefits of industrialisation in our land. We are sacrificing our lives, livelihoods and cultures for the economic development of the Indian Nation, but the benefits of development do not reach us.

In India, theoretically, we have democracy in every level of administration, we have free press, we have a judicial system, and we have the right to express our grievances through memorandums, meetings, appeals, etc. But in practice, the situation has reached to the breaking point. How much, in reality, we have the right to express our grievances, is reflected in the Kalinganagar massacre. There, on 2nd of January 2006, 13 Adivasis were killed by the Orissa Police, administration and the Tata Steel Company, when villagers were

opposing the acquisition of their land for the proposed 12 MTA steel plant. Relatives of the victims are yet to get justice from the government and the administration of Tata Steel.

In a democratic country, how can we let the organs of the state be the champions of the agents of market and interest of capital? This is happening in the backward regions under liberalisation. But a democratic civil society and strong people's awareness have not developed yet to confront this selling over of the State to the brutal industrialisation.

In fact, our government and, in other words, the democratic institutions of our country are paving the way for national and multi-national companies by amending concerned laws: the attempts at the Samata Judgement and the PESA Act are some of the examples.

The fourth pillar of democracy, the media, also is not supporting our cause. They allege that voluntary organisations are instigating the 'innocent Adivasis' to resist the industrialisation process. For them, voluntary organisations are working against the interest of the nation. But whose interest do these advocates have in mind? Do they have in their mind the plight of the Adivasis and Dalits who, for ages, have been dying a slow death? However, this is not surprising us, as the media are owned by the same capitalist and fascist forces that have been administering genocide against the Adivasis and Dalits in India.

### **Conclusion**

Adivasis of this region have been exploited by the government and private companies from the beginning of industrialisation of the region. But in this era of 'Global Village', the pace of exploitation has been increased. Foreign companies are coming with advanced technology and equipments. Now there is no place for the manual work.

This is why employment opportunities are shrinking. Permanent jobs have become things of the past. Some people are fortunate to get jobs, but only as contract labour.

I do not want to conclude my paper with suggestions regarding rehabilitation. I think, this is a duty of "armchair thinkers". But I would like to assure you that the violence and the attitude of our politicians in the government, of bureaucrats and so-called experts in the decision making

bodies, who presently seem to be riding over a wave of euphoria over faster and faster growth: all this cannot deter us from our struggle. We have become more determined in the process. We can be destroyed, but we will not be defeated. We shall struggle hand in hand till the better end.

**Solidarity Action Research & Information Network International**  
(*sarini*)

Towards a non-violent & non-oppressive society

*sarini* is a word from Sanskrit language. It means “the one that moves on steadily (like a creeper)”. It is the female form.

*sarini* is an informal, voluntary network of like-minded people sharing in the view that the present political structure, social, economic and environmental conditions require a radical transformation, which, however, is unlikely to be achieved and wanted by those in power and through their traditional top-down planning approach.

*sarini* takes on a radical bottom-up approach that is responsible to the community in every respect.

*sarini* is coordinated in a strictly non-hierarchical manner. Individuals, action groups or support groups sharing in the above view and intention may at any time join *sarini* and establish themselves as autonomous local or regional groups. They may also opt out of *sarini* at any time. No *sarini* member or group shall ever dominate any other member or group.

*sarini* operates entirely through the voluntarism of her members.

*sarini* makes relevant informations, consistent with her intentions, accessible at local, regional, national and international levels by providing for translations into local regional, national and international languages.

*sarini* may function also in the way of a news agency, supplying informations researched and/or communicated by *sarini* members to news papers, journals and research journals. Multiplicity of publication is intended. Informations rejected or ignored by such media may be published by *sarini* in her own way.

*sarini* tries to obtain funds for carrying out her activities.

*sarini* research projects are to be formulated, carried out and evaluated in a participatory process of all the involved, especially the beneficiaries.

*sarini* will be accountable to funding agencies only through the voice of the beneficiaries of *sarini* engagements, and that, too, in a non-formalized manner.

*sarini* has been functioning already in many ways through individual contacts, and she will continue to do so. Yet, for her further growth and spreading, communications beyond *sarini* may be attached with this leaflet. So any recipient of such communications will get the idea, and communicating further automatically helps in expanding *sarini* without any obligations.

**Adivasi-Koordination in Germany (reg. soc.)**

Adivasi-Koordination is a network of NGOs and individuals engaged in human rights and development work. Since its inception in 1993 - the International Year of the Indigenous Peoples - the main thrust of Adivasi-Koordination's activities has been:

- to support the Adivasi in their struggle for survival and for their human rights (e.g. participation in protest campaigns);
- to document recent developments in the political, social and cultural context, with special focus on human rights violations;
- to provide information to a wider audience through publications, seminars and other means;
- to support Adivasi delegates in their contacts with funding agencies, governments and international organisations;
- to be in dialogue with Adivasi organisations and supporters in India.

Other activities of Adivasi-Koordination are:

- to publish an Adivasi Newsletter (in German, 2-3 issues per year);
- to build up an archive of audio-visual media (tapes, slides, videos, films);
- to build up a newspaper clippings archive and service.

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