

**CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE
DEVELOPMENT OF ARUNACHAL
PRADESH — 1875 TO 1987**

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C E R T I F I C A T E

I have the pleasure to certify that Mr. KANTO BOMJEN, an M.A. student in the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, has pursued his research work and prepared the present dissertation under my supervision and guidance.

This is the result of his own research and to the best of my knowledge, no part earlier comprised any other monograph, dissertation or book. This is being submitted to the University of Delhi for the degree of Master of Arts in lieu of two optional courses in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the said degree.

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P R E F A C E

Due to paucity of adequate literature on Arunachal Pradesh, many of the facts in this work are based on my own observations and assessments as an insider. So, it will invariably be guided by personal bias, which is deeply regretted. Moreover, indepth and more comprehensive studies cannot be undertaken due to time and space constraints.

It would not be too much to say that I owe greatly to my guide, Dr. Bidyut Chakravarty for the completion of this work in time. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to friends like Tojir Kadu, Marge Sora, Yajum Ringu and others for their encouragement. My thanks are due to Dr. Sanjay Dubey and Suparna Bhattacharjee, Lecturers in the Department of Political Science, University of Arunachal Pradesh, for their invaluable suggestions. I am grateful to Mr. O.P. Bhadula, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi for his assistance from time to time. They however, are not in any way responsible for the views expressed in this thesis. All views and faults are mine.

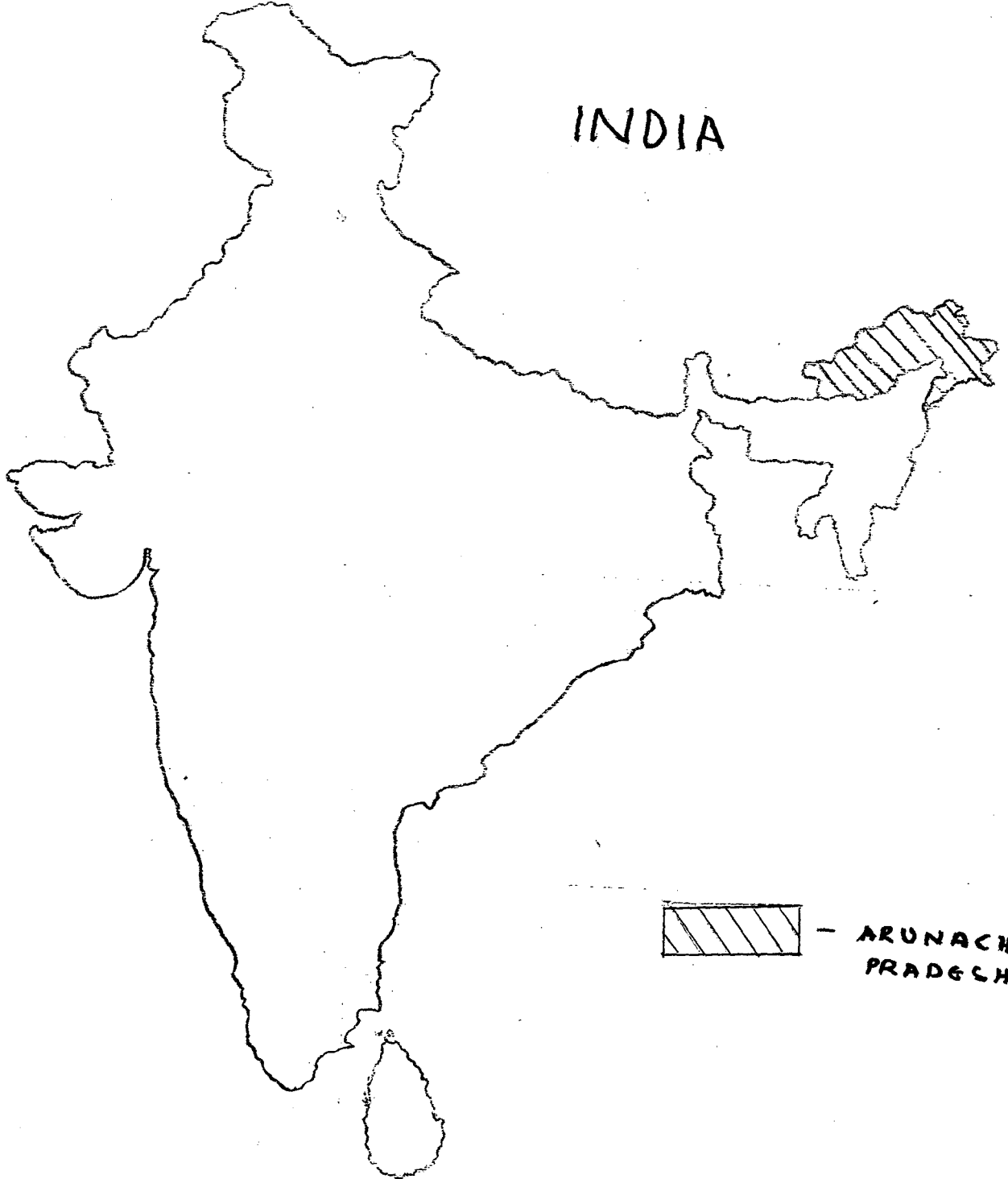
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INDIA



- ARUNACHAL
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C H A P T E R - I

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH - 1875 TO 1987

Situational Profile:

Arunachal Pradesh which is the only hill territory of India that touches the boundaries of China, Tibet, Burma and Bhutan and inhabited by numerous tribes and sub-tribes has always excited the curiosity of the historians and scholars. There was practically no account available about the area and its people prior to its administration by the British Government. Reports of the officers of the British Government throw scanty light on some of the areas visited by the then administrative officers. A more detailed account has however, been available only after the administration of the area was taken over by the Government of India in 1947. This chapter deals with situational profile of Arunachal Pradesh.

Arunachal Pradesh is a picturesque hilly terrain, criss-crossed by a number of mighty rivers and rivulets. The mountaneous and formidable terrain described as a 'Hidden Land' (by U.G.Bower) till very recently has come to limelight and drawn all attention after the Chinese aggression of the country in 1962. The study of the Constitutional and Administrative development of Arunachal

Pradesh further draws special attention from the scholars because of its special characters and conditions.

The Strategic location of the state has added to its importance as it touches the boundaries of China, Tibet, Bhutan and Burma. The construction of a national highway by China which runs through north Burma and Mishmi area of Arunachal Pradesh and upto Nepal is worth mention. The Chinese invasion of 1962 is not unknown. This invasion has made Arunachal Pradesh widely known in India and world also. The policy of the Indian Government towards Arunachal showed a radical change after the Chinese aggression and that is the turning point in the Constitutional and administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh.

Another reason which draws our attention to the administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh is that it is the least developed state of the North-East India and administration came very late as compared to other states. So, the rapid development of the state in this short span of time enable us to make an assessment of the policy of the Government of India towards Arunachal Pradesh.

Arunachal Pradesh is said to be the most heterogenous tribal tract not only in India but in the world also. The following table shows the heterogeneity of the state:

TABLE

DISTRICT	TRIBES AND SUB-TRIBES
Tawang West Kameng	Monpas, Sherdukpens, Akas, Khowas, Mijis
East Kameng Upper Sobansiri Lower Subansiri	Nishi (sub-tribes = Bangni, Bangro, Sulung), Apatanis, Hill Miri, Tagin, Na, Mikir
East Siang West Siang	Adi (sub tribes = Minyong and Galo) Minyong = Pasi, Padam, Karko, Milang, Pangi, Bori, Shimong, Ashing, Tangam, Komkar, Bokar Galo = Bogum, Karka, Pailibo, Ramo, Lodung Also - Membas and Kambas
Lohit Dibang Valley	Mishmi (sub-tribes = Idus, Taraons, Kamans) Khamptis, Singpos, Meyors
Changlang Tirap	Noctes, Wanchos, Tangsas, Lisus, Yobins

* 22 major tribes divided into 110 sub tribes, according to the Himalaya (Bi-annual Magazine of Arunachal Pradesh Socio-cultural Development Society) Vol., No.2 Page 1 (January to June 1992)

So, the successful working of the administrative system in the state is interesting to note. This point is reinforced by the fact that Arunachal Pradesh is the most peaceful state of the North-Eastern India which is least affected by insurgency as compared to other states of the region.(1) This becomes a special reason to look into the Constitutional and Administrative system of Arunachal Pradesh.

(1) Arunachal Newsletter (February 20 1993), Special Issue

Arunachal Pradesh is bigger than any other hill states of North-Eastern India. The existence of Arunachal Pradesh as a single political entity bears the testimony of a healthy administrative system in the state. In other states of the North-east India, there are movements of different ethnic groups for political autonomy or separate states. Mention may be made of Bodo and Karbi movements in Assam, Hmar People's Movement in Mizoram, Naga tribes in Manipur. Tribal movement in Tripura and Kuki movement in the region. But there is no such separatist tendency among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

If we go back to the history of the area, we find that the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh taxed the Britishers. The Akas, Daflas and Abhors received taxes from the Britishers. The POSA system is well known. It was the annual payment of taxes by the Ahoms as well as the Britishers to these tribes. Britishers described these tribes as wild, independent and free.(1) But today these tribes are very much peaceloving. One wonders whether a miracle has happened

(1) W.Robinson, Notes on the Daflas and the Peculiarity of their language, 1851, p.27.

or the credit goes to the policy of the Government of India towards these people. So, the constitutional and administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh can be regarded as a slow process of the conquest of the hearts of these wild and fierce tribes of the erstwhile North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) by the Government of India.

The Geography*:

Arunachal Pradesh is a beautiful mountaneous area with high hills and deep valleys. It is located in between latitude 26.28 N and 29.30 North and longitude 21.30 East and 27.30 East on the extreme nort-east of India. The heights of the mountain peaks show a great variation ranging from 6400 metres to 1829 metres. The highest peak is Kangte (7090 metres) in the Tawang District. The main ridges and spurs of the sub-Himalaya fan out to the plains mostly in transverse direction except in some places where the prominent ridges run more or less parallel to each other from west to east. The high mountain in the northern ridge remains snow clad almost throughout the year. The steepness of the ridges and spurs has prevented natural communication between the tribal communities which indirectly helped in giving rise to a proliferation of dialects. Amidst the

* Source: Directorate of Research Handbook, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

highly rugged terrain there are some beautiful valleys and plateau. There are also some small lakes and large swamps.

The most common feature of the topography of Arunachal Pradesh is that the mountain routes follow the river system excepting in places where the mountain sides are very steep. Five major river - Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap with a large number of tributories have drained the water of this vast area to empty into the Brahmaputra. These rivers besides providing the people protein food in fish have of late provided hydel powers to illuminate the hitherto hidden land. The proposed project in Siang river if could be commissioned will be the largest hydel power source in Asia.

The climatic condition prevailing over the entire area of Arunachal Pradesh is highly influenced by the variable nature of the terrain. The climate is highly humid in the lower elevation and in the valleys covered by swampy dense forest particularly in the eastern region and it becomes extremely cold in the higher altitude. The areas coming within the range of 1524 metres of altitude experience snow falls. Rainfall is very heavy and perhaps it is the heaviest rainfall area in the country. The annual average rainfall is more than 300 cm. The rainfall in Arunachal Pradesh varies from 450 cm. in foothills area to 80cm. in the upper reaches.

The orchids of Arunachal Pradesh deserves special mention because of its abundance in variety and numbers throughout the territory. In the jungles a large variety of medicinal plants are available. The native people utilise these plants for treatment and cure of a wide variety of diseases. Even though modern medicines has gone into the area, use of herbal medicine has not died out completely. Wild banana and bamboo grow abundantly throughout the state. Forests of Arunachal are rich with many variety of useful timbers.

Similar to the plant Kingdom, the animal Kingdom of Arunachal is also interesting, varied and great. All sorts of animals from elephant to wild cat are found in the jungles of the territory. Mask deer is found in the higher elevations. Mithun (*Bosfrontalis*) is the dearest of the animals of Arunachal Pradesh. It is semi-domesticated and has intimate relation with the socio-cultural life of the people. It is used in festival to serve the menu of the community feast, to appease the deity of worship, to pay bride price and also to determine a man's place in the society. A wide variety of birds have their home in the jungles of Arunachal Pradesh.

Arunachal Pradesh is also rich in mineral resources. Several expeditions and survey conducted by Geological Survey of India have brought to light existence of dolomite, graphite, quartzite, lime stone, coal, brine, yellow ochre, marble, oil and natural gasses hidden in the soil of the state. Although large scale extraction of all the mineral deposits has not yet been taken up, yet a crude oil extracting plant at Kharsang by Oil India Limited and Cement Factory near Tezu have been established.

The People:

According to the 1991 census (1) the 83,743 Square Kilometre of land of the state of Arunachal Pradesh is inhabited by a population of 8,58,392, of which 461,242 are males and 397,150 are females. The sex ratio is 861 females per 1000 males. They are scattered over six towns and 3257 villages. Density of population is only 10 persons per Square Kilometre. The decadal growth of the population is 35.68 percent (1981-91). There are some twenty major tribes which constitute the population of Arunachal Pradesh. Again there are many sub-tribes within most of the major tribes.

(1) Statistical handbook of Arunachal Pradesh, 1991

The following are the major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh:(1)

Monpas, Sherdukpens, Akas, Khowas, Mijis, Nishis, Apatanis, Hill Miris, Tagins, Nas, Adis, Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos, Meyors, Noctes, Wanchos, Tangsas, Membas and Khambas.

The MONPAS are simple, gentle and courteous people. They dress well in artistically designed clothes. They follow Buddhist religion and profess Mahayana Buddhism which centre round the Tawang Monastary. Monpas live in Tawang distict which is the western most part of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Sherdukpens live in West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh. They are a small tribe. They are good agriculturists but their main interest is trade. Their religion is an interesting blend of Mahayana Buddhism and Tribal-magico religious beliefs. The Monpas and Sherdukpens together constitute 7.97 percent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh. (2)

- (1) The Himalaya, Bi-annual Magazine of Arunachal Pradesh, Socio-cultural Development Societies - January to June issue - 1992, p.5.
- (2) Percentage Basic distribution of total population from 'Arunachal Panorama', Directorate of Research, Arunachal Pradesh.

The Akas also live in West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh. They have a custom of painting their face with black marks. They are good warriors but also been traders and trade mainly in cloth, blankets, swords etc. They follow Buddhism of Mahayana school.

The Khowas or Buguns are gentle, hospitable and affectionate people. They also live in West Kameng district. They are agriculturists and also believe in a number of rites and ceremonies.

The Apatanis are settled agriculturists inhabiting the valley around ziro - the headquarters of lower Subansiri district. The men-folk tie their hair in top-knots and tattoo the faces. Wearing of circular nose plugs is the most characteristics aspect of Apatani women. They are good cultivators and practice both wet and terrace cultivation. Paddy cum fish culture is very popular among them. Unlike other tribes of Arunachal their economy is stable.

The Nishis are the largest groups of people inhabiting the major part of lower Subansiri and East Kameng district. Their menfolk wear their hair long and tie it in a knot just above their forehead. They are divided into different sub-tribes like Bangnis, Bangras, Subungs etc. They are known in history for their daring raids into the plains of Assam.

The Nishis constitute 27.85 per cent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Tagins constitute about 5.52 percent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh. They are the main inhabitant of upper Subansiri district. Their main occupation is agriculture and cattle rearing.

The Nas are a small tribe living in Taksing area of Upper Subansiri district. They build their houses with stones, wear woollen clothes and live largely on the milk of sheep. They bear some influences of Tibetan culture.

The Adis live in the East Siang, West Siang and Dibang Valley districts of Arunachal Pradesh. They are one of the largest tribal groups constituting 27.24 per cent of the total tribal population of Arunachal Pradesh. The Adis by nature are democratic and have a unique sense of history. They have well organised village council called Kebang. Their traditional dance called Ponung is famous in the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. Adi women are good weavers.

The Khambas and Membas inhabiting northern part of West Siang district are Buddhist by religion. Agricultural activities are popular among them. Millet and maize are

their staple crop. They grow cotton and barley also. Like the Nas, they also build their houses with stones.

The Mishmis form the bulk of the population of Lohit and Dibang valley districts. The Mishmis are divided into three main groups namely - Idus, Digarus and Mijus. Their women are expert weavers and make excellent coats and blouses. Agriculture is their main occupation. By nature they are traders. Since early days, the Mishmis had relations with the plains of Assam. The Chief items of their trade are deer-musk. Wild medicinal plants, animal skins, Mishmi - tita etc. The way of Mishmi dressing is similar to that of the Adis.

The Khamptis are believed to have migrated from Thailand. They are the only tribe in Arunachal Pradesh who have a script of their own and speak the language which is very much similar to Thai language. They are Buddhist (Hinayana Cult) by religion and inhabit Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Singphos represent a section of the Kachin tribe of Burma. They live on the banks of Tenga and Noa Dihing rivers of Lohit district. They are agriculturists and expert blacksmiths. They follow Buddhism but at the same time believe in a host of spirit.

The Meyors or Zakhrings are a small group of people inhabiting the upper reaches of the Lohit valley. They profess Buddhism of Hinayana School. Along with Buddhism they also follow their traditional belief and practices. They are basically agriculturists.

The Wanchos inhabit the western part of Tirap district bordering Nagaland. They are a carefree, cheerful and hard working people. Head hunting was customary with them in the old days, it was connected with many of the social activities of the tribe. Their society is divided into four classes - the Wanghans (Chiefs), the Wangpans, the Wangsus and Wangsas. They have a strict sense of discipline and the law and order of the society is maintained by a village council. The entire tribe is divided into about forty confederation of villages which constitute about 7.76 percent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Noctes inhabit the Central part of Tirap district to the east of the Wanchos. They are organised under powerful chiefs. Each village has its own chief but all the chiefs are again organised under the powerful chiefs of Namsan, Borduria and Laptang. Noctes are famous salt producers which are their chief item of trade and barter.

They are agriculturalists. They also cultivate betel leaves on a commercial scale. The Noctes constitute 6.58 per cent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Tangsas who constitute 3.67 percent of the total tribal population of Arunachal Pradesh live to the east of the Noctes right upto the Burma border. Tangsa is a common name given to a group of Sub-tribes such as Lungchang, Moklums, Yogli, Lungari, Mari, Mosangs, Tiklak, Panthai, Longpi and so on.(1) They have migrated from Burma and many of their Kinsmen are still there on the other side of the Patkai Range.

The Lisus are a small group of people inhabiting the remote easternmost corner of the Tirap district. They are also simple and gentle people having their own culture, religion, faith and beliefs and dialect.

Thus, Arunachal Pradesh is a very heterogeneous tribal area. As stated earlier, there are some 20 major tribes. Again many sub-tribes are found within most of the major tribes. So, it has become very difficult to fix the exact number of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. The various tribes have a rich cultural heritage and the government is making

1. J.N. Chowdhury: Arunachal Pradesh Panorama, Shillong, 1982), p.220.

all round efforts to help in developing their traditional cultural heritage.

The people of Arunachal Pradesh have democratic character. Each tribes has its own organised institutions called variously as Kembang among the Adis. Ngothun among the Noctes, Jung among the Sherdukpens, Meley among the Akas, Buliang among the Apatanis, Wancho-Wangsa among the Wanchos and so on. These village organisations maintain law and order, decide disputes, take up all activities for the welfare of the tribes and the villages. A detailed discussion on these village institutions will be made somewhere else.

The Sociology:

The Society of the people of Arunachal Pradesh is patriarchial and promigeniture is the fundamental law of inheritance though variations are not uncommon. They follow endogamy and strictly observe the rule of clan exogamy. Polygamy is socially sanctioned and practised by most of them. Thus, the various groups of people contributing to the tribal population of Arunachal Pradesh although appears to be heterogeneous apparently, yet some common factors of unity in diversity are noticeable.(1)

(1) Parul Dutta, The People of Arunachal Pradesh, Their Socio-Cultural Heritage and the Changing Scenario (Itanagar, 1992), p.9.

As per racial classification, the people of Arunachal Pradesh are broadly included in the Mongoloid Stock. This is evident mainly from their physical features such as light skin colour, leiotreihons hair, prominent cheek bones, oblique eyes with epicanthic fold, scanty body hair, beard and moustaihes.

Linguistically Arunachal Pradesh may be called the paradise for the linguist. More than twenty major tribes with their sub-groups speak some 100 diabects although they all belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages.(1)

Fairs and Festivals:

Since distant past fairs were known to the people of Arunachal Pradesh. During the colonial regime and even after that fairs were held in the foothills of Arunachal Pradesh at Sadiya and Udalguri where people from beyond the innerline participated. These fair were occasions for the people of Arunachal to trade on local products and also to have provisions for their livelihood. The Sadiya fair has now become extinct but Udalguri, Likabali and Lohit fairs

(1) J.N.Chowdhury: Arunachal Panorama, 1982, p.8.
Directorate of Reseach, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

are still continuing. These fairs help in the intercourse of the hill and plain peoples.

Festivals form an essential aspect of the socio-cultural life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. In fact festivals are the mirrors of the people's culture. Every society of the people of Arunachal Pradesh celebrate a number of festivals - agricultural, religious and socio-cultural, which give them ample opportunities to enjoy freely. These are the occasions for the people to relax, to enjoy, to dance and eat and drink. Agriculture being the basic means of livelihood, the festivals having connection with agriculture are celebrated in bigger scale. While the ritual part of each festival is performed by the priest, other arrangements of the festivals are done by the people on a community basis. Throughout the twelve months of the year festivals are celebrated by one or the other tribes. Not a single month pass off without a festival. From this point of view, Arunachal may also be called the land of festivals. Some of the important festivals are - Losar (Monpas and Sherdukpens), Mopin (Adi), Solung (Adi), Boori-Boot (Hill Miri), Dree (Apatani), Nechi Dau (Aka), Khan (Miji), Kshyat-Sowai (Khowa), Loki (Nocte), Longte Yullo (Nishi), Nyokum (Nishi), Mol (Tangsa), Ojiale (Wancho), Reh (Mishmi), Sanken (Khampti and Singpho), Si-Donyi (Tagin) Tamladu (Mishmi).

The festivals have been firmly blended with the life style of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Animal sacrifice is a common ritual in most of the festivals. In the celebration of all these festivals, the religious part and sacrifices are generally performed by their priests assisted by some selected male members. The woman do not participate directly in the religious part of the festival but they play a significant role in other affairs of the festival like preparation of drinks, singing, dancing etc.

Although there is difference in the method of celebration, the underlying ideas of all the festivals are almost the same - enjoyment, merry making, feasting, dancing, appeasement and propitiation of Gods and Goddess of wealth, prosperity, health and happiness. In certain aspects such as tying of sacred thread, smearing of rice powder, sprinkling of water, community feasting, singing and dancing. Similarities can be traced in the many festivals celebrated in the rest of the country. Here lies the universal characteristics of festivals celebrated by human societies.

Arts and Crafts:

Arunachal Pradesh is a land of beautiful handicrafts comprising wide range in variety. All the people have a

tradition of artistic craftsmanship. A wide variety of crafts such as basketry, wood carving etc. are found among the people of Arunachal Pradesh.

Weaving is the occupation of the womenfolk throughout Arunachal Pradesh. They are very particular about colours and have a beautiful sense of colour combination. Originally they used natural dye but now-a-days they switch over to synthetic dyes available in the market. Today weaving is done on commercial scale.

Cane and bamboo works are famous among the Nishis, Adis, Apatanis, Tangins and Hill-Miris. They make beautiful articles of these materials which speak about their skill in handicrafts. Hats of different shapes and sizes, various kinds of baskets, cane vessels, cane belts, bamboo mugs with carvings, a variety of ornaments and necklaces are some of the products that deserve special mention.

Carpet making is the speciality of the Monpas. They weave lovely colourful carpets with dragon, geometric and floral designs. Though originally they weave carpet for domestic use, it has now become an item of trade and a major occupation for the Monpas.

Wood Carving is a tradition with the Monpas, Khamptis and Wanchos. The Monpa wood carver make beautiful cups, dishes, fruit bowls and magnificent masks for ceremonial dances and pantomimies. The Khamptis make beautiful religious images, figures of dancers, toys and other objects. Wancho wood carving is very advance and in fact the Wancho area is the chief centre of wood carving in Arunachal Pradesh.

Paper makings, smithy work, carpentry, pottery and ivory work are other crafts practised by the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The Adis and Nishis are expert in casting brass. Pottery is the occupation of the women folk. Thus various arts and crafts play an important role in the social and economic life of Arunachal Pradesh.

Economy:

The topographical situation of Arunachal Pradesh has direct influence on the economy of the state. The economy of the people is based mainly on agriculture. The nature of the terrain has compelled the people to follow slash and burn method of cultivation, popularly called 'Jhuming'. Permanent cultivation is however, practised by the Apatanis, Singphos and Khamptis traditionally. Permenent cultivation has now been adopted by some other tribes also where sufficient

suitable wet land is available. Now-a-days, the terraced cultivation of Japanese style is also practiced in many parts of the state. About three-fourths of the cultivated land is under Jhumming.(1) Rice is grown in about 68 per cent of the cultivated land. Rice, Maize and Millet are the main crops. Varieties of vegetables, pulses, potato, ginger and topioca are also cultivated. Modern technology and agricultural aids have helped in the agricultural development of the territory. To encourage better cultivation, crop competition are held periodically. Farmers are taken on conducted tours to important development centres.

Besides agriculture the bulk of the economy of the people of Arunachal is directly or indirectly connected with forest and forest produce. If no drastic change takes place in the way of life of the people, economic dependence on forest and forest produce will continue in Arunachal Pradesh. The rich timbers of Arunachal has become a big source of earning. House are built with timber and bamboos and cottage crafts are practised with local raw materials.

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(1) Directorate of Research Handbook, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Haregar, 1992.



Horticulture has also a great role to play in the economy of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. A large number of horticulture farms growing apple, pineapple, orange and other important fruit trees have come up in many places on commercial scale. Apple is grown mainly in West Kameng and Tawang districts. The apple of Arunachal Pradesh won prizes in the All India Apple Show Competition. West Siang district is famous for pineapples. Orange is grown mostly in East Siang district. Fruit processing plants have been set up in these areas. In other areas also these fruits are grown but not in large quantity. Plantation of the tea, coffee, cardamom, blackpeper etc. has been introduced in some areas of the state.

Other economic avocations include weaving, basketry and other cane and bamboo works. Smithy work, wood carving, carpet making, mask making etc. about which have already mentioned in the foregoing pages. The traditional industry of the people is in the level of cottage industry only. Besides the traditional economic persuits, the people of Arunachal Pradesh have now taken to many avocations, business, industry, Government job and so on. Today there are Cinema Houses, medium and small scale indusdtrial units, Saw Mills, Plywood factories, shops, Hotels and Restaurants

and many such enterprises established and managed by local people. Many of these are owned by well to do individuals, while some are cooperative ventures.

Development:

When the administration of this vast hilly area called Arunachal Pradesh was taken over by the Government of India in 1947, it was an uphill task to take up developmental activities in the area mainly because of non-availability of proper communication facilities. The British Government administered the area from outside following a policy of non-interference and no effort was made to take up developmental schemes. Hence the new government of Independent India had to shoulder a heavy burden of opening up the territory with communication network. The story of 1947 has now become a myth in the face of the present state of development of the territory. Introduction of the Five Year Plan of development has facilitated undertaking of various schemes for all round development.

In the area of communication, Arunachal Pradesh has made significant progress. In 1947, there was only 168 km. of motorable road and it was practically cut from the rest

of the world. Today more than 10,000 motorable road has been constructed in Arunachal Pradesh. (1) Today isolation is a thing of the past and the people are learning each other more and more. Every major centre of population is now connected by regular bus services. The problem of carriage of supplies of the pre-independent period has been solved by these network of motorable roads.

Agricultural development is another scheme of priority taken up for removing the deficiency of food grain. Serious thoughts have been paid to land reclamation and development. Soil conservation, creation of facilities of assured irrigation and popularisation of scientific methods of cultivation accompanied by modern inputs to boost up agricultural production. From the stage of net importer of food grain in 1947 Arunachal today has become self-sufficient in food and also contribute substantially to the Government storage.

Alongwith agriculture, attention is also paid for development of fisheries, horticulture, and livestock to augment the economic condition.

(1) Statistical Handbook, Governement of Arunachal Pradesh, 1991.

In the field of Industry, Forest, Power, Cooperatives and Petroleum also, Arunachal Pradesh has made significant progress. Today many cottage, small scale and medium industries are in operation. A Cement factory has also been established in Tezu.

Forest wealth is the greatest gift, nature has bestowed on the people of Arunachal Pradesh. It is one of the largest revenue earning source. Many Saw-mills and plywood factories are established in the state.

Power for prosperity is the slogan for development of power generation in Arunachal Pradesh. Eleven micro-hydel projects with production capacity varying from 10 Kw. to 2000 Kw. have already been commissioned and thirteen more with almost similar capacity are under operation (1).

The Co-operative movement in Arunachal Pradesh started in 1957-58 has made steady progress over the years. The various societies run factories, ply buses and supply essential commodities even in the far flung areas.

Arunachal Pradesh has come in the petroleum map of India also. Successful extraction of crude oil started in

(1) Statistical Handbook, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 1991.

Kharsang and Noa Dehing area of Arunachal Pradesh in 1987.

Arunachal Pradesh has made quick progress in the field of education and health also. Independence has brought good hope for the people in matters of health and hygiene. Infant mortality has been reduced, malaria, goitre and eye diseases have been controlled. Arunachal today enjoys one of the highest ratios of doctors and indoor beds per thousand population.

Educational facilities have been made available at every level after Independence. According to 1991 Census (1) the literacy percentage of Arunachal Pradesh is 41.22 per cent. This is very promising as compared to 11.29 per cent in 1971. From only three schools and about fifty students only in 1947, today Arunachal Pradesh has a University, Four Colleges and many schools.

Conclusion:

Arunachal Pradesh, the once forbidden and formidable land in the north eastern part of our great country has made

(1) Statistical Handbook, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 1991.

rapid progress. Ever since taking over the administration of the area by the Government of India in 1947 from the British regime, the face of Arunachal Pradesh is changing fast. At the time of the country's independence, the villages surrounding the administrative headquarters of Arunachal Pradesh knew little or nothing of the outside world. But today the scene has changed. The headquarters are growing into flourishing craft centres, agricultural livestock farms, shops and other business establishments have sprung up. New buildings with attractive style of architecture based on local tradition and materials have been constructed. Communication has been improved. Roads have been built connecting even the far-flung areas. Communication development has broken the bye-gone days. The process of urbanisation and modernisation has started working bringing in allround development and progress.

C H A P T E R - I I

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH OF ARUNACHAL
PRADESH DURING BRITISH PERIOD - 1875 - 1946

C H A P T E R - II

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH DURING BRITISH PERIOD (1875 - 1946)

Arunachal Pradesh, which adorns the crest of North East India, is a mountaneous country of steep hills, deep gorges and wandering streams. The knowledge of the region is still limited due to its difficult terrain as well as due to paucity of adequate literature. But there has been a steadily growing awareness and interest in the country about this region, specially after the Chinese aggression in 1962. In this chapter, the genesis of the administration of Arunachal Pradesh (Earlier known as North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) will be discussed. The genesis of administration in Arunachal Pradesh is basically its constitutional and administrative growth during the British rule in India.

The recorded history of Arunachal Pradesh begins from the Ahom Period(1). Before the coming of the Britishers the Ahom Rulers of Assam had some contacts with the Frontier tribes. The Frontier tribes (tribes of Present A.P.) were not under the control of the Ahom Kings. A muslim historian

(1) T. Nyori, The Ahoms and the Ahom Government - A Study, p.53 (Naharlagun, 1993).

Muhammad Kasim wrote that the Daflas were entirely independent of Assam Raja and plundered the country contiguous to their mountains whenever they found the opportunity. (1) This was true of other tribes also.

Neither the Ahom Kings tried to annex the frontier tribe country, nor did they introduce any administrative system. The unsuccessful expeditions into the hills by the Ahom armies could be the reason behind it. These tribes used to raid the nearby Assamese villages. The Ahom Kings were weary of those elusive tribes. So, at last they worked out a plan to deal with the tribes. This can be called the Ahom Policy of North-Eastern Frontier. The Ahom Kings adopted a policy of conciliation towards the tribes, backed by the display of force when occasion demanded it and when it could be employed effectively. (2) The Ahom Rulers appointed officials designated as Gohains (Salal Gohain, Marangi Khava Gohain and Sadiya Khava Gohain) at Salal, Marung and Sadiya respectively to regulate the relations with the Frontier tribes. Their main task was to keep the tribes under control. Posa system was one of the important devices to

(1) E.A. Gait: History of Assam, 3rd Revised ed., p.25, Calcutta, 1963.

(2) Lakshmi Devi, Ahom Tribal Relations, (Guwahati, 1968), p. 273.

keep the tribes in good humour. Posa was a payment of clothes, cattles, salt, cotton and such other commodities by the Assamese people to the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. In return, the tribe would not raid the Assamese villages. After the establishment of the Posa system, usually the hill tribes raided the Assamese villages for non-payment of Posa only.

When the Britishers came, they changed the payment of Posa from Kind to cash amount.

Thus, the Ahom Policy towards the Frontier tribes, according to Bijan Mohanta, were:

- (1) To satisfy the economic needs of the tribesman by enlisting some tribes to the right of Posa and granting land and providing trading facilities to others.
- (2) To punish the offending tribes for the break of agreement by sending punitive expeditions and withdrawing trading facilities; and
- (3) Non-interference with their internal affairs and non-absorptin of the tribal land into the Ahom Kingdom. (1)

(1) Bijan Mohanta, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh - 1875 - 1975, New Delhi, p.50.

But this cannot be regarded as the genesis of the Constitutional and Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh because it was only a policy of the Ahom Rulers to contain the tribes within their hilly domains by which the security of their subjects in the foothill areas could be secured. Nevertheless, the Ahom Policy of conciliation and non-interference towards the Frontier tribes may be appreciated.

While dealing with the Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh during British Period, a brief analysis of the Ahom Policy has been made because this brief analysis will help us understand how the Britishers, with the experience of ruling half of the world, slowly brought the frontier tribes under their imperial administrative umbrella.

The British administration of Arunachal Pradesh can be traced back to 1826. When the British took over the administration of Assam after expelling the Burmese from Assam. Prior to that also, Lord Cornwallis sent Capt. Welsh in 1792 to help King Gaurinath Singh in the Civil War against Maomaria rebels and the Muttocks. But the British troops went back to Bengal after the civil war. But the Britishers were forced to take interest in Assam due to

Burmese invasion in 1819. The first Anglo-Burmese war in Assam took place in 1824 - 1826. Finally, on 24 February 1826, the famous treaty of Yandaboo was signed by virtue of which the Britishers became the ruler of Assam. But with exception of Sadiya and Mattack, upper Assam was put under the rule of Purandar Singh, who was a Ahom Puppet King of the Britishers. In 1835, David Scott was appointed as the Commissioner of Assam and the territory of Purander Singh was annexed in 1838 and made it into a non-regulation province of the British Empire in India. In 1842, Sadiya and Mattak were also annexed.

But the emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a distinct administrative unit from Assam can be traced back to 1875 under the ³provisions of the Inner Line Regulation of 1873, the inner line of Lakhimpur and Darrang districts was specified in 1875. The drawing of Inner line of Lakhimpur and Darrang district automatically carved out the North-East Frontier Area, which was to be under the Inner Line Regulation. The Inner Line Regulation, 1873, empowered the Lt. Governor of Assam to establish an Inner Line according to which no British Subjects could go beyond a certain frontier that was drawn along the foothills of the North-Eastern and South-Eastern borders of the Brahmaputra valley, inhibited by the

hill tribes without a pass or license issued by the authorities of the Government. Thus, Arunachal became a forbidden land. The provision that no "British Subject" could go beyond the line ordinarily, raises our brow as to whether the tribal people beyond the Inner Line were regarded as British subject or not.

Leaving aside all these critical speculations, we are to accept that the Inner Line was introduced for administrative convenience. According to M.L. Bose "it was found inconvenient to administer these tracts inhabited by unsophisticated tribes by applying Regulation and Acts prevailing in the Assam plains." (1) So the tracts beyond the Inner Line were administered by simple codes, in a rude and rough manner by issuing regulations from time to time. The introduction of Inner Line, which is a clear departure from Ahom policy, can be regarded as the first step of administrative adjustment of the Britishers in Arunachal Pradesh. But they continued the payment of Posa which was a continuance of Ahom Policy.

(1) M.L. Bose, Cons. and Hist. Document of North Eastern India (1924 - 1973), p.157. Concept, Delhi.

Dibrugarh Frontier Tract:

The Frontier tribes were under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur District, who was under the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Thus, the Governor General ruled over Assam through the agency of Chief Commissioner till 1921. A major landmark came in 1881-82, when a separate tract was created called the Dibrugarh Frontier Tract. It consisted of the territories of Abhor, Mishmi and Khampti (present Siang, Lohit and Changlang district of Arunachal Pradesh). It was the first tract, which was to be followed by other. Its headquarters was at Sadiya.

It was mainly created to lighten the burden of Deputy Commissioner Lakhimpur. But its significance lies in the appointment of an Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya. He was the administrator and Judge of this newly created tract. The significance of the Office was heightened by the appointment of an efficient administrator like Francis Jack Needham, who was the first Assistant Political Officer of Sadiya. He served in this post from 1882 to 1905. During these years, he contributed lot of informations about the 'Hidden land' which became very valuable during the later years.

Administration of Justice - 1886:

Since the Frontier tribes were under the non-Regulation Tract, the general laws of the country were not applicable to them. Thus, the need for a separate rule for the administration of justice in Frontier area was felt. As a result in 1886, under the authority of the Scheduled District Act, 1874, the Chief Commissioner of Assam passed rules for the administration of justice in the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.

The Justice Regulation of 1886 gave enormous powers to the Deputy Commissioner and his Assistants, who were the agents of the Chief Commissioner of Assam. In the Deputy Commissioner or his Assistant was vested the power to create local authorities and to entrust to them the functions of plain and petty criminal and civil justice. The Deputy Commissioner and their Assistants were both magistrates and judges in the Frontier Tracts to whom lay appeal from the local authorities. The Chief Commissioner of Assam was the highest Court of justice in the Frontier Tracts and the High Court of Calcutta did not have jurisdiction over them. No professional lawyers were allowed to counsel the contesting parties in the Frontier Tracts. (1)

(1) M.L.Bose, Hist. and Cons. Documents of North Eastern India. (1824-1973) p.151. Concept, Delhi.

This rule for justice gave unlimited powers to the Chief Commissioner of Assam and his sub-ordinate officers. The political officers could pass death sentence. No professional lawyers were allowed to the contesting parties. Above all, the High Court of Calcutta had no jurisdiction over these arbitrary courts. Thus, the life and justice of the tribes were at the hand of the political officers. But the irony lies in the fact that the village authorities were expected to act as secret informers of the British officers. "It shall be the duty of the village authorities to report to the political officer or such other officer as may be authorised by him in that behalf at the earliest practicable moment, all crimes, violent deaths and serious accidents occurring within their respective local limits, and all occurrences, whether within or beyond such limits, which may come to their knowledge and which are likely to affect the public peace, and to deliver up offenders as soon as may be to the officer authorised to by them." (Rules for the Adm of Justice in the Dibrugarh Frontier Tract, 1886 Section II, No.4).

On the other hand, we can say that the provision given in (Section II No.4) of the regulation made the local people more acquainted with the British Officers and slowly socialised them the future administrative challenges.

The rules for Administration of Justice in Lakhimpur Frontier Tract laid the foundation of judicial and administrative system in this Frontier Tract. This regulation was later implemented in 1914 in all the three Frontier Tracts, when they were created. Despite the crude provision of judicial administration, the system more or less prevail even today in Arunachal Pradesh. With some modifications, the Deputy Commissioners and his subordinates still wield the administrative as well as judicial powers in Arunachal Pradesh. The people of Arunachal Pradesh are yet to see the clear separation of Executive and Judiciary in their land.

Administrative Changes after the
Great Abhor Expedition - 1911-1912

When Mr. Needham retired in 1905, he was succeeded by Mr. Noel Williamson. He continued the policy of Needham in keeping good relations with the tribes. At the same time, he undertook to tour the interiors of the hilly terrain. But he was mainly concerned with establishing good relations with the Abhors(Adi, who inhabit present Siang district). To quote A.Hamilton "Turned back in 1909, Mr. Noel Williamson made his third tour in the spring of 1911, when accompanied by the late Dr. Gregorson and 47 coolies, he set out in

March with the intension of visiting the Mingang Abhors for whom he carried a number of gifts and medicines ... Unhappily no further advance was to be made for the Williamson at Kansing and Dr. Gregerson at Sisgin were treacherasly murdered by Mingong Abhors in March 30, together with the majority of their party." (1)

The murder of Mr. Williamson, Assistant Political Officer, Sadiya, invited the Great Abhor Expedition in 1911-12 to the Aborland. Major-General Hamilton Bower, who was the Supreme Commander of the expedition team, led a successful expedition against the Abhors. But the significance of the expedition lies in the fact that a programme of topographical survey, exploration and mapping in the northern limit of frontier (Assam bordering with Tibet was undertaken. Abor expedition was a blessing in disguise because it brought many administrative changes in the frontier land.

The first outcome of this Great Expedition is not only important in the context of Arunachal Pradesh but also in the Indian National context. As a result of intensive maping and topographical study of General Bower's team, the much talked about MacMohan Line was drawn in 1912.

(1) A. Hamilton; In Abor Jungles of North-East India, p.40 (Mittal, Delhi 1983).

Another important outcome of the Expedition was the recommendation of Major General Bower, which had far-reaching effects on the British policy towards the Frontier tribes. After the expedition, the General made a survey of this hill country and it may be assumed that his recommendations were made taking into consideration the following three points:

(a) There were reports of Chinese and Tibetan activities in the upper portion of this hilly terrain. To quote Hamilton "As Chinese flags had been reported to be at Waleng, it was thought that the representatives of the Chinese authorities in Rima might be encountered somewhere on the border" and "Mr. Dundas had received orders from the Secretary of State for India to erect a cairn at the spot where the Dragan flag was flying with a view to marking the Tibeto-Mishmi boundary." (1) Thus, the drawing of MacMohan Line in 1912, just after the Abor Expedition is no surprise. Even today, the policy of Indian Government towards Arunachal Pradesh formulated keeping in view the designs of Communist China.

(2) As a result, it was felt necessary to keep the tribes in better control. This could be done only when the administration was properly organised with sufficient resource at the back. Thus, General Bower recommended the division of North East Frontier into three tracts.

(1) A.Hamilton "In Abor Jungles," p.227

(3) General Bower had come into close contact with the tribes. He must have realised the need of special administrative system to suit the local conditions. So, he was in favour of appointing a political officer in each tract.

The then Lt. Governor of Assam, Sr C.S. Bailey was impressed by General Bower's recommendation and immediately in 1912, he suggested that the North East Frontier tribal areas should be bifurcated into three administrative units. His plan for division of the areas are as under:

- (a) The Central Section, comprising of Abor land, with the headquarter at Rotung.
- (b) The Eastern Section, comprising the Mishmi land and the land of the Bor-Khampti, with its headquarter at Sadiya.
- (c) The Western Section, comprising the country between Tawang and Subansiri river and including the eastern watershed of that river.

The proposals of the Lieutenant Governor was recommended by the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India. But the recommendation were not accepted wholly. As a result, the North East Frontier area was divided into two administrative units in 1912:

(1) The first unit was the Western sector, West of Subansiri river, which was the country of Daflas, Akas, Monpas and Sherdukpens. It was placed under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Darrang district of Assam. A political Officer was appointed in this section.

(2) The Dibrugarh Frontier Tract was abolished and Sadiya Frontier Tract was created. Headquarter was established at Sadiya with a political officer and three Assistant Political Officers. One of the Assistant Political Officers was posted at Pasighat in the Abor heartland. Thus, the Abor Expedition of Major General Bower proved to be a blessing in disguise for the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The creation of these two Frontier Tracts, with a political officer each, paved the way for further administrative development. But all these were undertaken by the Britishers only to secure their Indian Empire against Chinese and Tibetan forces which were reported to be active along the so called MacMohan Line.

The North-East Frontier Tract - 1914:

The North-East Frontier Tract, which was created in 1914 can be regarded as a nucleus of the territorial and jurisdictional pattern of present Arunachal Pradesh.

During 1913-14, the British officials visited Tawang and Dzong area, which is very close to the valley from where Chinese intrusion was made in 1986-87 again. This visit was cut short due to the outbreak of the world war I. But during this short visit also, the officials realised the strategic importance of the Frontier country. So, the Chief Commissioner, on the basis of earlier proposal of Lt. Governor of Assam (1912) issued a notification in 1914 for administrative reorganisation of the Frontier tribal areas, by which The Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation, 1880 was extended to the Present Arunachal Pradesh.

The Preamble of this Regulation of 1880 runs as such 'whereas it is expedient to provide for the removal of certain frontiers tracts in Assam inhabited or frequented by barbarous or semi civilised tribes from the operation of enactments in force therein, it is hereby enacted as follows:

Section 3 of the regulation runs as follows:

'3: Wherever any question arises as to the line of boundary between any tract to which the provisions of this Regulation have been extended as aforesaid and the adjoining territory in British India, such officer as the Chief Commissioner of Assam from time to time appoints may consider and determine


such line of boundary; and the order made thereon by such officer, if confirmed, by the said Chief Commissioner shall be conclusive'.

The Government of India by Foreign and Political Department, Notification of 1914, extended the Assam Frontier Tract Regulation of 1880 to the hills "inhabited or frequented by Abors, Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Daflas."

Thus, the North East Frontier Tract (NEFT) was created in 1914, with three administrative units, namely:*

- (a) The Central and Eastern Section
- (b) The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract
- (c) The Western Section

The headquarter of Central and Eastern Section was at Sadiya and the headquarter of the Western Section was at Charduar, each under the administrative charge of a Political Officer. The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract was placed under the charge of the Deputy Commissioner of the Lakhimpur district.

Thus, the recommendation of Major General Bower, the Supreme Commander of the  Abor Expedition in 1911-12 could not be suppressed. This shows that the opinion of the local

* See Map - North East Frontier Tract in 1914 to 1919.

officer, who are in touch with the ground reality should not be ignored. Such opinions should be the guidelines for the Government for better administration.

No major change in the administrative system was made during this period. In 1919, only the nomenclature of the Central and Eastern Section as well as of the Western Section of North East Frontier Tract was changed on the suggestion of the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir Beatson Bell.

The Central and Eastern Section was renamed as the Sadiya Frontier Tract.

The Western Section was renamed as the Balipara Frontier Tract.

The name of the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract remained unchanged.

The change in the nomenclature of the tracts did not bring any change in administrative system or constitutional status but the inclusion of the name of local areas like Sadiya and Balipara shows the slow processes of gaining its own identity by the North East Frontier Tract. Thus, in 1914 the North East Frontier Tract was brought under the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the Hills were administered with the help of political officers.(1)

(1) M.L.Bose, The British Policy in North-East Frontier Agency (Mhi, 1978),

Government of India Act, 1919
NEPT as Backward Tracts:

From the early period, the British Government in India realised that the hill tribes of North-Eastern Region of India differed with the peoples of the plains in many respects. So, every efforts were made to administer them through special regulations and laws, which marked them out for 'museum policy'.(1)

The Government of India Act 1919 made some special provisions for the hill tracts of Assam. The Act said that the Governor General in-council shall declare any territory in British India to be a backward area under Section 52A of the Government of India Act, 1919. In persuance of it, on January 3, 1921, the Governor General-in-council delared the Garo Hills, and the British portion of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills other than the Shillong municipality and cantonment, the Mikir Hills, the North Cachor Hills, the Naga Hills and the Lashai Hills the Sadiya Frontier Tract, the Balipara Frontier Tract and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract as backward tracts.

It was provided that the administration of these areas would be directed by the Governor General-n-Council, that

(1) Bijan Mohanṭa, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh 1875-1975, New Delhi, p.50. Uppal, 1984.

"any Act of the Indian Legislature shall not apply" to these areas and thus, no minister was made responsible for the administration of the Backward Tracts. The Governor was empowered to make any modification in the administration of these Tracts.

The North East Frontier Tract was treated as backward tract along with other backward tracts of Assam. It may be assumed that by declaring the hill tracts of Assam as Backward Tracts excluded them from not only the general administration of India but also from the main current of the Indian nationalism.(1) The present anti-national sentiments of the region proves this opinion.

Government of India Act, 1935
North East Frontier Tract As Excluded Area:

On the visit of the Simon Commission, the Government of Assam submitted a memorandum to the Commission that the typically backward areas should be excluded from Assam for administrative convenience. The Simon Commission accepted the proposal and recommended for the exclusion of backward areas including Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts, from

(1) Chandrika Singh, Emergence of A.P. as a State, p.85. Mittal, Delhi, 1989.

the general administration and to be administered through the Agency of the Governor. One significant recommendation of Simon Commission was the provision for Scheduled and partially Scheduled areas.

The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1935, in which provision for the Scheduled and Partially Scheduled areas were given. The Act authorised that 'His Majesty' may by order in Council declare the areas to be excluded or Partially excluded (Government of India Act, 1935 Part 91 Clause (1)).

Under the authority of the Government of India Act, 1935 (Part 92 Clause 1) the Government of India passed the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. The Part I of the Schedule to the Order consisted of the Excluded Areas and Part II contained the Partially Excluded Areas. The Sadiya Frontier Tract, Balipara Frontier Tract and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract (North East Frontier Tract) was brought under Part I schedule.

The areas included in Part I (Excluded) were very backward areas, to be governed by the Governor himself, where no act of Indian Legislature shall apply. The areas under Part II (Partially Excluded) were not as backward as

the former. The legislative Assembly could discuss matters related to it, but with prior permission of the Governor. Again Governor had the discretion over the implementation of such Act passed by the legislature.

Thus, North East Frontier Tract was placed under excluded areas. This policy of the British Government of India, raises many questions in our mind about the motive behind it. Was it a policy to keep away the tribal people from the national mainstream? Was it a Sinister British design to institute separatist tendency in the mind of the tribal people of North East India? Was it a policy to keep these tribals under their control even if India was freed? Such sensitive questions can be answered in affirmative if we take into account the 'Crown Colony' of Robert Reed, the Governor of Assam and the 'coupland plan' of Mr. Reginald Coupland, an Oxford Professor.

Robert Reed's 'Crown Colancy' proposed to bring the Naga hills, North East Frontier Tract and Chittagong Hill Tract of East Bengal under a single administrative unit of the British crown.(1)

The "Reginld Coupland Plan" aimed at creating a buffer state consisting of all the hill areas in the easternmost part of India, including a slice of northern Burma. The idea behind such schemes was to perpetuate the -----

(1) Chandrika Singh, *Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State*, p.94.

British overlordship at least in these hill areas even if the rest of India became free. But for unknown reasons, the British Parliament did not approve such schemes. (1)

But these plans did not fail altogether. The present separatist movements in North East India shows the presence of the viruses of these plans even today.

Administrative Reorganisation - 1943:

The Japanese conquest of Burma in 1942 and their attempt to enter Assam through the Naga hills alerted the Government of India. The Britishers decided to fill up the administrative vacuum in eastern part of North East Frontier Tract. So, in 1943, certain areas of the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and Sadiya Frontier Tract was created with a new administrative unit, called the Tirap Frontier Tract. Its headquarters was established at Margherita, under the charge of a Political Officer.

Administrative Reorganisation - 1946:

There were reports of Tibetan activities in upper portion of North East Frontier Tract. So, in 1943, Government of India lodged a complaint with the Tibetan authority. Moreover, a military outpost was established at Sela in 1943 itself.

(1) B.Mohanta, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh, p.51.

And in 1946, the Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into two administrative units*. First was the Sela sub-Agency, a military outpost was already established in 1943 there. The second was the Subansiri area, the land of the Daflas. This was done for administrative convenience. Moreover, Sela Sub-Agency was a Buddhist area and Subansiri Area was dominated by the Daflas.

British Administration: Its Structure:

Till 1921, the administration of Assam was run by the Chief Commissioner because till then, it was a Chief Commissioner's Province.

From 1921, Assam was made into a Governor's Province. Thus, the North East Frontier Tract, which was administered along with Assam was under an administration run by the Governor-General through the agency of the Chief Commissioner of Assam or the Governor of Assam.

The Chief Commissioner) 1874 - 1921:

Till 1921, Chief Commissioner was the real administrator of Assam. All the acts passed were executed

* See Map - North East Frontier Tract - 1943-46.

through the office of the Chief Commissioner. He was conferred with a special statutory authority relating to the administration of the Frontier Hill Areas.

Lieutenant-Governor(1905 - 1912:

For a brief period, Lieutenant-Governor was installed for the administration of the new province of 'East Bengal and Assam'. It was abolished shortly. In 1978, the Government of India appointed Sri A.A.Raja as the Lieutenant Governor of Arunachal Pradesh. But this was wholly under a different structure.

The Governor = 1921-1947:

In 1921, Assam was made into a Governor's province. So, apart from the administration of Assam, he was given special powers to administer the frontier areas. Even under the Government of India Act, 1935, Governor was given discretionary powers in the administration of the 'Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.'

Secretary to the Governor of Assam:

The Government of India Act, 1935 made provisions for an office of the Secretary to the Governor of Assam. The

Secretary was to help the Governor in the administration of the 'Excluded' and 'Partially Excluded Areas' and also in the matter of political control on the tribal areas and its relation with state. Thus, 'Governor's Secretariat' was set up in 1937.

Advisor to the Governor of Assam:

For a more efficient administration and deeper penetration into the tribal areas, the post of Advisor to the Governor of Assam was created above the Secretary to the Governor of Assam.

Political Officer:

Political Officer was the all round administrator of a tract or district. He was appointed by Governor or Chief Commissioner in his discretion. All administrative, political and general matters were under his jurisdiction. Only some guidelines for administration, in the form of Regulation, were given to the Political Officers. Under the Rules for Administration of Justice in Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, 1886, Political Officers were given even the power to pass death sentence.

Assistant Political Officers were appointed to help the Political Officers in the administration. Some of the Assistant Political Officers were given independent charges of some administrative units also. Under the Political Officer of Sadiya Frontier Tract, an Assistant Political Officer was posted at Pasighat, who was more or less independent of the Political Officer of Sadiya.

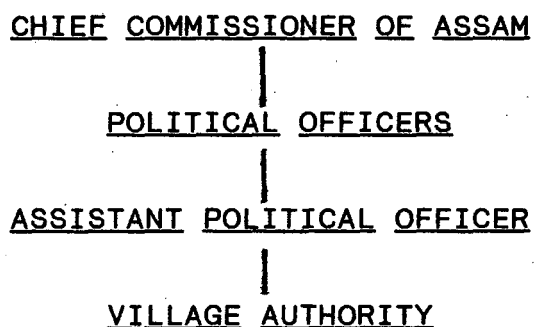
Village Authority:

On the basis of Administrative hierarchy, village authority was at the lowest level. The Britishers gave much importance to the village authorities. They appointed those persons as Village authorities, on whom they could rely on for secret informations. Thus, under the British rule also, the tribal villages of North East Frontier Tract were more or less identical self-governing bodies. It is discussed in detail somewhere else.

Thus, the British administration of the North East Frontier Tract was controlled from above. Political officers had sweeping powers. These power were regarded as 'necessary evil' to deal with the wild and barbaric tribes.

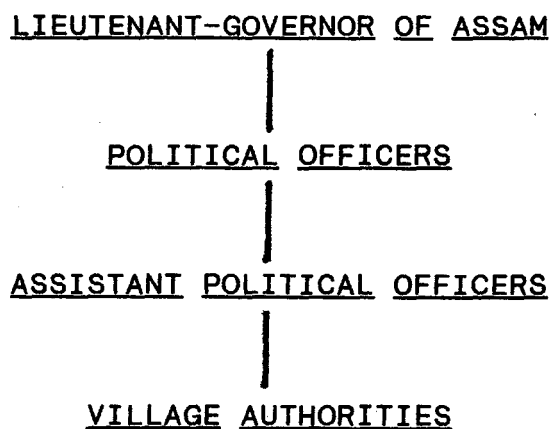
British Administrative Structure of NEFA

(Administrative Structure, 1874 to 1921)

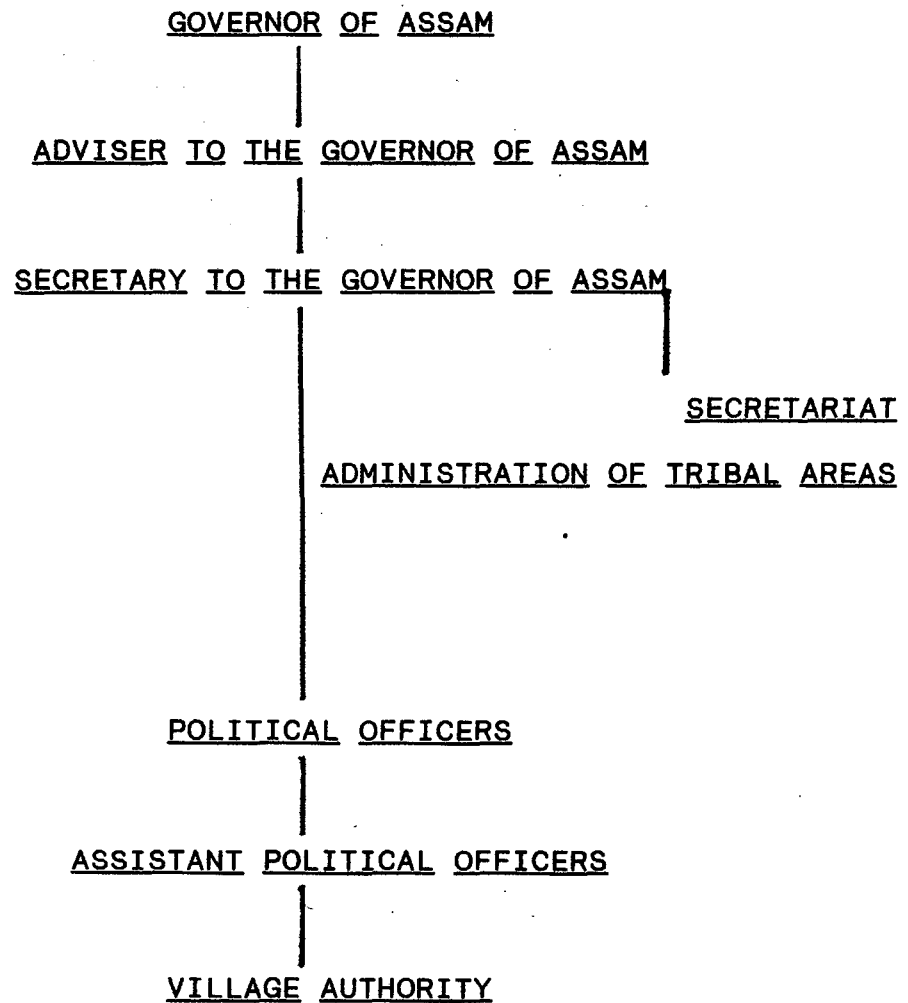


(Administrative Structure - 1905 to 1921)

Under Lord Curzan's policy of partition Bengal, a new Province, known as 'East Bengal and Assam' was created under the administrative control of Dacca. So during this period Chief Commissioner was replaced by Lieutenant-Governor for a short time.



(Administrative Structure - 1921 to 1947)



Conclusion:

After studying the Constitutional and Administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh during the British period, we are in a position to make a brief evaluation of the British policy in this region. The British rulers in India realised very early that the territories under tribal occupation had their specific problems which needed special administrative approach than operating in areas under regular administration. Enforcement of laws unsuited to the primitive conditions and contrary to the spirit of their customs and religion spread disaffection among the tribals leading to sporadic uprisings.

Thus, in Arunachal Pradesh, the Britishers adopted a policy of reconciliation and isolation. First, it began with the introduction of 'Inner Line' by which the British subjects in India were not allowed to enter or visit this tribal country without an Inner Line Pass, issued by a competent authority. It is interesting to note that this 'Inner Line' system is still continued in Arunachal Pradesh.

Secondly, under the Government of India Act, 1935, the North East Frontier Tract (Present Arunachal Pradesh) was included under the Excluded areas. The reason behind giving the status of Excluded Areas to North East Frontier Tract can be summarised as follows:

(1) Security of British India can be regarded as the main motive behind the policy of 'Excluded Areas' status which was given to North East Frontier Tract. It was the only territory in British India which had common boundary with Burma, Tibet, China and Bhutan. Moreover, there were reports of Chinese and Tibetan activities in northern part of the North East Frontier Tract. So, if this region was under the secure administrative control of the Government of India, then the fear of Burmese, Chinese or Tibetan attack on Indian plains were reduced to a great extent.

(2) The Britishers wanted to gain control of these areas without any opposition from the tribes. They feared that any dislocation of the tribal system of administration and imposition of complex rule over them might wound their sentiment and lead to disturbance of peace in this sensitive areas. So, the Britishers refrained from introducing any full scale administration in the North East Frontier Tract.

(3) This territory of hilly terrain yielded no substantial revenue and thus bringing the region under active administration must have been regarded as expensive.

(4) The level of political consciousness of the tribals were low. It might be another reason why the Britishers did not feel any need of introducing an elaborate administrative system in North East Frontier Tract.

(5) The customs, traditions and political culture of the tribes of the North East Frontier Tract were different from those that prevailed in the plains of Assam. So, the Britishers must have realised that the rules which prevailed in Assam plains may not be successful in the tribal areas.

J.C. Johari is of the opinion that when the Indian freedom movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was in full swing, "the British masters designed their intriguing policy of saving the hill people of North-East Frontier Agency, who had been living in their tribal isolation with little contact with the outside world, from the growing impact of freedom movement under the Congress leadership by means of seeking their gradual but steady proselytisation as the best way to make them the loyal members of their misconceived 'Crown Colony'" (1)

But Frontier tribes could not be kept away from the surging currents of rational freedom movement. The people of North-East Frontier Agency took active part in the Quit India movement. Though the consciousness of national movement reached them during the World War II, Mahatma

(1) J.C.Johari, "Creation of Nagaland: Triumph of Embuillient Intra-Nationalism", The Indian Journal of Political Science Association, Vol.XXX,N1,No.1, Jan - March, 1975, pp. 13-14.

Gandhi was highly cherished by the Tribal Freedom Fighters of North-East Frontier Agency. Ligin Bomjen writes, "for the first time I heard about the outbreak of World War II and Gandhiji's struggle against the Britishers." (1) Tribal leaders like Moji Riba, Moje Riba, Rimo Riba and Ligin Bomjen met Sri Lalit Hazarika, Secretary, Dibrugarh Congress and also Gopinath Bordoloi, the then Chief Minister of Assam. With the guidance of Assamese nationalist leaders, the tribal leaders of North-East Frontier Agency mobilised the tribal villages to take part in Quit India movement. Moji Riba and Ligin Bomjen have been awarded Tamra-Patra for Freedom Fighter during British Rule. Thus, the British policy of tribal isolationism has not been successful in Arunachal Pradesh.

(1) Ligin Bomjen, My Congress Life (p.1)
Along Arunachal Pradesh - 1984.

C H A P T E R - I I I

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH OF ARUNACHAL
PRADESH DURING NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY PERIOD

1947 - 1971

CHAPTER - III

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH DURING NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY PERIOD - 1947-1971

The Frontier Tribal area was administered in a different way by framing Rules and Regulations from time to time. In this chapter we shall discuss the Constitutional and Administrative growth of North East Frontier Agency (Present Arunachal Pradesh) after independence. From 1947, there is a steady growth in the political consciousness of Frontier Tribes. This was achieved partly because of a rational tribal policy of the Government of Free India.

Tribal Policy of the Government of Free India:

With independence, the nation witnessed a considerable awakening about the culture of the tribal people. This was reflected in various provisions of the constitution of independent India, adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 26, 1950. It visualises a policy of progressive assimilation of the tribal people in the national mainstream. In order to promote the integration of the tribal people with the rest of their Indian brethren, the

Constitution provided special safeguards for the tribal communities for a period of ten years. This period continues to be extended till now.(1)

The guidelines of the tribal policy has been summed up by Jawaharlal Nehru when he said :

"I am alarmed when I see - not only in this country but in other great countries too - how people are anxious to shape others according to their own image or likeness, and to impose on them their particular way of living. In fact, there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from imposing their way of living on other people and countries."(2)

The tribal policy of the British Indian Government had been reviewed by the Government of Free India and the nation builders pledged to usher in a new era for the tribals. On the suggestion of Stafford Cripps, the Constituent Assembly set up an advisory committee on Tribal Areas under the Chairmanship of Vallabhai Patel to consider the Problems of

- (1) Nadeem Hussain, Tribal India Today (Harnam, Delhi, 1991), p.185. 2nd edition.
- (2) Quoted in V.Elwin's, A Philosophy for North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 2nd edition, 1959.

Assam as well as of the Tribal people. The advisory committee further constituted a sub-committee under the Chairmanship of Gopinath Bordoloi the then Chief Minister of Assam with a view to assessing and advising on the future administration of the tribal and Excluded Areas inhabited by the hill tribals of Assam.

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee made an intensive tour of the North East India to assess the situation of the tribal socio-political condition. It also met a number of tribal leaders and discussed with them about the future constitutional adjustments for their areas. The Sub-Committee also gave a patient ear to the grievances of the tribals. The hill leaders also submitted petitions and memoranda to the Bordoloi Sub-Committee for the immediate upliftment of their land in developmental and educational fields.

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee prepared its report wherein it included several recommendations for constitutional and administrative position of the tribal areas of the North-East Frontier. The Committee recommended that "All the tribes of Provinces other than Assam, whether living in the plains or in the partially Excluded tracts, should as a

whole be treated as minority." The Committee further recommended that the areas of the North-Eastern Frontier should be classified into two regions - autonomous region and non-autonomous region. For the administration of the autonomous region the suggestion was given to form an Autonomous District Council for each Hill District with comprehensive powers and authorities to run the local administration of the Hill District. For the administration of the Non-Autonomous region suggestion was made to form a Regional Council for each region.(1)

The Committee recommended a policy of non-interference in the social and customary life of the hill people. But by observing the strategic importance of the Frontier Tracts, the Bordoloi Sub-Committee recommended to give some extraordinary powers to the Governor of Assam especially during the emergency period.

Constituent Assembly Debates on Frontier Tracts:

The report of the Bordolio Sub-Committee on the future administration of the tribal area evoked mixed response from

(1) C.A. Debates, Vol.II, No.1 Appendix (C), Report of the Sub-Committee of the North-Eastern Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas. Part II (Delhi, 1948), pp.132-33.

the members when it was placed before the Constituent Assembly for discussion. Several members like Rohini Kumar Chowdhury and Lokshmi Narayan Sahu opposed the provision for creation of Autonomous District Councils and Regional Councils. They expressed the views that those provisions would not be good in the interest of the national integrity because these might create separatist feeling among the tribal peoples and the opportunity for the assimilation of these tribes would be missed.(1)

On the other hand, some members of the Constituent Assembly including B.R. Ambedkar, spoke in favour of the Autonomous District Councils and Regional Councils for the tribal people. They argued that the tribal people had been living in prolonged isolation. The British too, who had won over the tribes by force did not like to interfere in their internal affairs. So these members did not want the assimilation of the tribes through drastic steps.

Jawaharlal Nehru who probably gauged the tribal issues more comprehensively than anybody else offered a balance approach when he said "we must give them a measure of

(1) C.A. Debates, Vol.II, No.1, Appendix (C), Report of the Sub-Committee of the North-Eastern Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas, Part II (Delhi, 1978), pp.134-40.

protection in their areas so that no outsider can take possession of their lands and forests or interfere with the in any way except with their consent and goodwill, we must always remember however, that we do not mean to interfere with their way of life but want to help them live in." (1) Though this view of Pt. Nehru was given a printed form much later, yet it was the guidelines of Nehru's Tribal Policy. Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, who was in favour of the creation of Autonomous District Councils and Regional Councils, said that despite such autonomies, there were several measures for controlling these areas. For example, the Governor had the authority to suspend, annul, dissolve or curtail a District Council or Regional Council. Hence it was futile to think that the creation of the Autonomous District Councils and Regional Councils for the Hill Districts and Tracts of Assam would pose danger to the unity and integrity of the nation.

After a great deal of debate, discussions and much thought on the problem of the North East India the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution adopted a policy with respect to the tribal population, which may be summarised as follows:

(1) Jawaharlal Nehru, The Adivasis(New Delhi,1955), p.8.

First, the basic structure of tribal life and authority should be preserved.

Second, their gradual integration with the main stream of India's public life without losing their individuality should be facilitated by enabling them on decision making.

In pursuance of this policy, the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution placed all the tribal areas under Article 244 of the Constitution of India which made provisions for the Fifth and Sixth Schedules.(1) The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution laid down a number of provisions for the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes other than in the State of Assam. The Sixth Schedule included provisions for the administration of the Tribal areas in Assam. The Sixth Schedule was further divided into two parts - A and B. Part A dealt with the Hill Districts of Assam such as United Khasi - Jaintia Hills, the Lushai Hills and the Naga Hills. Part B dealt with the North East Frontier Tracts, which was the present Arunachal Pradesh.

(1) Constitution of India (Allahabad, 1965), Part Six of the Constitution, Art. 244(1), p.68.

The North-East Frontier Tract specified in Part B of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India was treated as an area where the Central rule was extended though it was not a union territory. The President of India, acting under provisions of Art. 240 of the Constitution of India could make regulations for the peace, progress and good government of the frontier tribal areas. (1) And when such regulation was made, it would have the same force and effect as that of a Parliamentary Act and could repeal or amend any Act made by Parliament or any existing law in force there.

The North East Frontier Tract had a special position as compared to other tribal areas of Assam. In the North East Frontier Tract, the law enacted by the Assam Legislative Assembly was not applicable. It was a centrally administered area within the Province of Assam. The Indian Parliament legislated for the area and the law enacted by Parliament would automatically apply to the area unless the Governor of Assam, acting as Agent of the President of India, by a public notification, provided otherwise. Thus, the makers of the Indian Constitution made such arrangements for the North East Frontier Area that neither the tribes lost their autonomies nor the integrity of the nation was affected. It was a middle path or Golden mean arrangement. Pt. Jawaharlal

(1) Luthra, P.N. *Constitutional and Administrative Growth of North-East Frontier Agency* (Shillong 1971), p.17.

Nehru was the prophet behind this policy and so, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh give high honour to the name of this prophet today.

So far, we have discussed briefly the Tribal Policy and Constitutional arrangement for the North East Frontier area. Now we shall look into other administrative arrangements in the area from 1947.

Administration by the Government of Assam:

When the Britishers left India in 1947, the discretionary power of the Governor of Assam in respect of North East Frontier Tract temporarily lapsed. So, to fill up this vacuum, the administrative jurisdiction was passed on to the Government of Assam by the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. During the British rule, this tract was placed under the administrative jurisdiction of the Governor of Assam. But from the day of Indian Independence, it was placed under the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of Assam. Keeping this in view, the North East Frontier Tract (Internal Administration) Regulation was passed in 1948 which had retrospective effect from 15th August 1947. According to this Regulation, the Governor of Assam was to carry and the administration of the tract on

the advice of the Prime Minister of Assam (At that time, the Chief Minister of Assam was called the Prime Minister) till 25th January 1950. Thus, the Governor of Assam was divested of his discretionary powers in respect of the administration of the Excluded Areas.

Administration Under the Ministry of External Affairs:

From 26th January 1950, the administration of the North East Frontier Tract, hitherto known as 'Excluded Areas' were brought under the direct charge of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Although, the territory was constitutionally a part of Assam, but it was administered by the President of India through the Governor of Assam acting in his discretion, under the general supervision and control of the Ministry of External Affairs. So this area had no representation in the Provincial Legislature of Assam.

The reason for placing the administration of North East Frontier Tract under the Ministry of External Affairs cannot be understood unless we take into account the emergence of a strong communist China in 1949. The Government of India, as a successor government, inherited the legacy of the British Government in so far as its international agreements and commitments were concerned, including of course the much

talked about McMahon Line. India declared her adherence to the recognition of Tibet as an autonomous region of China. In view of this changed geo-political situation on the northern border, the administration of the frontier areas was placed directly under the charge of the External Affairs Ministry.

The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954:

A very important and far-reaching decision was taken in 1954 with a view to consolidating the Administration over the entire area of the Frontier tracts. The Promulgation of the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954, installed a full scale and integrated administration over the entire territory of North-East Frontier. Thus, it was a major landmark in the administrative history of Arunachal Pradesh.

Secondly, the North East Frontier Tract was renamed as North East Frontier Agency, which was popularly abbreviated into NEFA. Afterwards, it became a famous term in India as well as World because of the Indo-Chinese war of 1962.

Thirdly, the former frontier tracts were redesignated as Frontier Divisions. Balipara Frontier Tract was divided

into Kameng Frontier Division and Subansiri Frontier Division. Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into Siang Frontier Division and Lohit Frontier Division. The Tirap Frontier Tract remained as Tirap Frontier Division and the former Naga Tribal Area was renamed as Tuensang Frontier Division.

Thus, the Regulation of 1954 divided the former frontier tracts into six divisions, namely,(1)

- (1) Kameng Frontier Division
- (2) Subansiri Frontier Division
- (3) Lohit Frontier Division
- (4) Siang Frontier Division
- (5) Tirap Frontier Division; and
- (6) Tuensang Frontier Division

Lastly, the headquarters of these divisions which were primarily located either in the plains or near the foothills were pushed ahead to the interior of the Divisions in the Centrally situated places. This was one of the most important steps taken after 1954 for better administration of the North East Frontier Agency.

(1) The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration Regulation) 954, cited in M.L.Bose's Historical and Constitutional Documents of North-East India (New Delhi, 1979), p.186.

<u>Division</u>	<u>Headquarters</u>
Kameng Division	Bomdila
Subansiri Division	Ziro
Siang Division	Along
Lohit Division	Tezu
Tirap Division	Khonsa
Tuensang Division	Tuensang

These divisions were further divided into several administrative subdivisions and circles. The Government of India adopted several schemes and plans to cope the areas with the pace of other states in India.

In 1957, a major change was made in the territorial adjustment of the North East Frontier Agency. The Tuensang Frontier Division of North-East Frontier Agency was added to the Naga Hills when it was granted a new administrative unit known as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area on December 1, 1957. Thus, the Naga Hills Tuensang Area Act, 1957 amalgamated the Tuensang Frontier Division of North-East Frontier Agency with the Naga Hills. This arrangement was made keeping in view the persistent demand of the Naga leaders who had been pressing the Government of India for inclusion of the contiguous Naga tribes into a separate administrative unit for the Naga people.

North-East Frontier Agency after Chinese Aggression:

We must note in passing that, while the Administration was engaged in consolidating the gains of modernisation and uplifting the quality of life of the tribal population of North-East Frontier Agency, an ominous cloud was hovering over our northern horizon. Since the occupation of Tibet by China in 1950, the situation on our northern border took a turn for the worst, which was further complicated by the flight of Dalai Lama into India through the border of the Kameng Frontier Division in 1959. Then, without any warning, and when least expected, came the fateful day of 20th October, 1962, when China launched a massive attack across our northern frontier laying extravagant claim to large chunks of Indian territory South of the McMahon Line. But due to international pressure and her own unexplained motives in invading Indian territory, China unilaterally withdrew her forces from India. It is a great credit to the North-East Frontier Agency administration that it lost no time in restoring civil administration to the areas overrun by the Chinese troops. And it who must be acknowledged that the people of North-East Frontier Agency gave their fullest cooperation for the reconstruction of the territory and its administration which was ravaged by the Chinese attack.

After the Indo-Chinese war in 1962, a change in the administrative system of the frontier tribal area was contemplated. The Government of India made a thorough introspection of its earlier tribal policy. The Government realised the strategic importance of this snowy interior occupied by the Semi-civilized tribes who were scattered on different ridges. The main reason of the defeat in the war, as said, was due mainly to want of road and development of mountaneous area. Thus, the Government of India thought of making rapid economic development of the areas by constructing new roads, bridges, installing more military and police posts and establishing better administration. But the most important step taken by the Government was the appointment of Daying Ering Committee in 1964.

In 1963, late Daying Ering, who was a nominated Member of Parliament from North-East Frontier Agency, and eventually rose to the position of a Deputy Minister in the Union Government, undertook extensive tour of the North-East Frontier Agency to gauge the feelings of the people on the question of improvement of the administrative machinery. The people of North-East Frontier Agency were impatient to accelerate the pace of progress and the Government of India was also keen to bring about 'democratic decentralisation'

of power as there was no representative institution in North-East Frontier Agency till then. In the words of V.Venkata Rao, "there was no legislative assembly to make laws for the good government of North-East Frontier Agency. North-East Frontier Agency was represented by one member in the Lok Sabha, nominated by the President, Laws made by Assam Legislative Assembly were not applicable to North-East Frontier Agency. Laws made by Parliament were automatically applicable unless there were specific orders against the application." (1) Thus, except the village councils which existed from time immemorial, there was no representative institutions in North-East Frontier Agency.

So, the Ering Commission was appointed in April 1964 to explore the possibilities of extension of local self-governments and administrative improvement in North-East Frontier Agency. The Commission submitted its report to the Government in early 1965. The report of the Ering Commission has been discussed somewhere else.

The immediate outcome of the Ering Committee Report was the North-East Frontier Agency (Administation) Regulation, 1965. This regulation brought many changes in the Constitutional and Administrative pattern of the North-East Frontier Agency.

(1) V.Venkata Rao, A Century of Tribal Politics in North-East India, 1874 to 1974

(1) The Regulation brought change in the names of the administrative divisions. Accordingly, the hitherto known divisions of the North-East Frontier Agency were formed as districts, which particulars are mentioned below:

<u>Old Names</u>	<u>New Names</u>
1. Kameng Frontier Division	Kameng District
2. Subansiri Frontier Division	Subansiri District
3. Siang Frontier Division	Siang District
4. Lohit Frontier Division	Lohit District
5. Tirap Frontier Division	Tirap District

The significance of the change in the name of the Divisions into Districts lies in the fact that the North-East Frontier Agency was slowly moving towards a status which will be at par with other states of India.

(2) The change in the designations of the administrative officer of the North-East Frontier Agency was also made which are given below:

<u>Old Designation</u>	<u>New Designation</u>
1. Political Officer	Deputy Commissioner
2. Additional Political Officer	Additional Deputy Commissioner
3. Assistant Political Officer	Assistant Commissioner

Thus, all the districts in the North-East Frontier Agency was put under control of the Deputy Commissioners like other districts of the State of Assam.

(3) The most significant change after 1965 was the transfer of the charge of North-East Frontier Agency administration from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India.

This change of Ministry for the administration of North-East Frontier Agency from the External Affairs to the Home Affairs signifies that North-East Frontier Agency is an integral part of India. It was a natural development since the continuance of North-East Frontier Agency under the External Affairs Ministry was untenable and highly anomalous. It seems that before the Chinese aggression, nobody seriously thought about the shaky position of the North-East Frontier Agency as a part of India because of its administration under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.

Further, there was a demand for the shifting of the North-East Frontier Agency Secretariat from Shillong to the interior of North-East Frontier Agency or somewhere in the foothills. Thus, the capital of the North-East Frontier Agency was transferred from Shillong to Itanagar in the Subansiri District of Present Arunachal Pradesh for administrative convenience as it is centrally located in Arunachal Pradesh.

Another significant outcome of recommendations made by the Ering Commission was the North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967. The Regulation envisaged a four tier scheme with an Agency Council at the apex. This was the genesis of 'Democratic Decentralisation' in the North-East Frontier Agency. The North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation of 1967 has been discussed somewhere else.

The Ering Committee Report help the Government of India to bring about many changes in the Constitutional status and administrative pattern of the North-East Frontier Agency. The Government regarded the Ering Committee Report as a primary source of administrative guideline for the Frontier Agency. Moreover, Mr. Daying Ering himself was an indigenous tribal of North-East Frontier Agency. So, he was well aware of the ground realities and this may be the reason for the success of the present administrative pattern in Arunachal Pradesh.

Administrative Pattern (From 1947 to 1971):

The North-East Frontier Agency was classified under Part B Tribal Area as provided in paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. So, the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency was conducted on the lines of a Union Territory though it was not a Union Territory till 1971.

The Britishers ruled the Frontier tribal areas with a policy of conciliation and non-interference, which resulted in Isolation. But after Indian Independence, specially under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, a new administrative policy was adopted. He enunciated five fundamental principles for the guidance of the Administration of the Frontier Tribal Area. These principles are: (1)

"(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture."

"(ii) Tribals rights in land and forests should be respected."

"(iii) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory."

"(iv) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions."

(1) Quoted in Verrier Elwin: A Philosophy for North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong 1965).

"(v) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved."

Pandit Nehru not only enunciated these principles, but as the Prime Minister of India, he visited the interiors of North-East Frontier Agency and cultivated close contacts with the tribes. Thus, it was a policy of "Integration, Prosperity and Security".

After a brief discussion on the administrative guidelines for North-East Frontier Agency, we shall now look into the Administrative Set-up of North-East Frontier Agency from 1947 to 1971.

Constitutional Position of the Governor of Assam in relation to the Administration of Part B Tribal Areas:

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee had recommended for the administration of the Frontier Tribal areas under jurisdiction of the Government of Assam. But from 26th January 1950, the administration of the Tract was entrusted to the President of India, who since then acted through the Governor of Assam, as his Agent. The Governor of Assam as reinvested with an authority to exercise discretion in respect of the administration of the Tract.

The Governor could apply any law of Parliament in the Part B Tribal Area with such exceptions and modifications as

he would deem fit, but subject to approval of the President of India. He was also authorised to apply to this areas whenever he thought fit, with the approval of the President of India, any of the provisions that were applicable to the Autonomous Districts of Assam. He could also exclude any territory from Part B Tribal Areas, but subject to the approval of the President of India. Thus, the Governor of Assam, as an agent of the President of India enjoyed vast discretionary powers in the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency.

But the other side of the story is that the North-East Frontier Agency, which was classified under Part B Tribal Areas, was under the administrative charges of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India from 1950 to 1965 and again under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India after it took over the charge of administration from the former in 1965. In both the cases, these ministries were the actual policy makers in regard to the administration of Part B Tribal Areas. Thus, in the exercise of his discretions, the Governor of Assam was to go with the policies and programmes of the Union Government only to that extent of an adjustment with the local needs.

The Governor exercised his administrative powers and functions through his Adviser, who was designated as Adviser to the Governor of Assam.

Adviser to the Governor of Assam:

The office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam was created in 1943. After Independence in 1947 to 1950, when the Interim Government of Assam was functioning, under the leadership of Gopinath Bordoloi, the Adviser to the Governor of Assam Tribal Area was made an Adviser to the Government of Assam as the Administrative responsibility of the Tribal Area were temporarily vested in the Government of Assam. The last British Adviser was G.E.D. Walker and the first Indian Adviser to the Governor/Government of Assam was N.R.Rustomji.

After 26th January 1950, the Adviser to the Government of Assam became the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for the Part B Tribal Areas with all its administrative charges. Moreover, the Governor of Assam was again invested with his discretionary power and functions in regard to the administration of the Part B Tribal Areas. Thus, the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for the Part B Tribal Areas

became the real executive in the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency as Part B Tribal Areas were none other than the North-East Frontier Agency.

For the efficient administration, a separate Secretariat for the Adviser was created in 1950. This was carved out from the Secretariat of the Tribal Affairs Department of the Government of Assam at Shillong, the then capital of the United Assam. The Adviser was controlled by the Ministry of External Affairs/the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India, as the case might be. He was assisted by a Legal Adviser, an Adviser for Tribal Affairs, a Financial Adviser and the Heads of Departments for Health Services, Engineering, Education, Agriculture and Forests, whose work was coordinated by a Development Commissioner. The Adviser was also responsible for the unified and coordinated control of the Assam Rifles to the Ministry of External Affairs or Ministry of Home Affairs through the Governor of Assam. (1)

As stated earlier, the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency was run on the line of a Union Territory as provided in Paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule to the

(1) V.Elwin, A Philosophy for North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1964), p.4.

Constitution of India. The Ministry of External Affairs or the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, as the case might be, delegated powers to the Governor of Assam who again delegated financial and cognate powers to the Adviser as and when necessary (1). Thus, the Adviser was virtually the administrative head. There was no chief secretary and so the Adviser performed the coordinating function of the office, though he was not in charge of any Secretariat Department.

Single Line Administration:

The North-East Frontier Agency has its own peculiarities. So to suit the administration to the local conditions, a special administrative machinery was worked out. With the expansion of the administrative machinery for the frontier tribal area, a kind of administrative system known as 'Single Line Administration' was set up in the middle of 1954. Varrier Elwin has appreciated this system as very efficient and greatly increased the spirit of cooperation between its officers. He further wrote:

(1) P.N. Luthra, Constitutional and Administrative Growth the North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1971), p.27.

"In Shillong, the Heads of Departments are integrated with the Secretariat, with the result that schemes can be examined and implemented expeditiously; the duplication of files is avoided, and any kind of narrow departmentalism eliminated. In the Decisions, the Political Officer is assisted by the representatives of the technical departments who act as his advisers and frame plans in consultation with him, and thus, he becomes the leader of a team who is responsible for their implementation and coordination. This means that there is no conflict between the development and political departments. It is now the custom that when a political officer goes on tour he takes a number of technical officers with him so that at the same time, many different types of activity can be implemented.(1)

At the Sub-divisions and circle level also, the same pattern was followed. The functions of the Circle Officer, Extra Assistant Commissioners etc. embraced a multi-purpose list in that they acted as local heads for all subjects affecting their jurisdictions such as development work, maintenance of law and order, revenue work, community development schemes, socio-cultural affairs of the people

(1) Verier Elwin, A Philosophy for North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1964), p.5.

and the exercise of authority over the various installations and schemes of various technical departments such as schools, hospitals, roads, agriculture and so on. This last function enables the executive functionaries to maintain an overall integrated outlook in their jurisdictions in various spheres. It also suits the convenience of the people in that they can appeal to a single authority on any subject.(1)

District Administration:

Till 1965, the districts were called 'Divisions'. The districts are in charge of Deputy Commissioners (Earlier called Political Officers), whose rank is that of an I.A.S. Officer. Till 1969, Deputy Commissioners were recruited through Indian Frontier Administrative Service(IFAS). He is assisted by officers of all the Technical Departments such as the Divisional Medical Officer, the Divisional Agricultural Officer, District Education Officer and so on. The Deputy Commissioner is the overall incharge of the District administration and he examines and implements development schemes relating to various departments and also coordinate government activities. He has both civil and

(1) P.N.Luthra, Constitutional and Administrative Growth of North-East Frontier Agency(Shillong), p.22.

criminal jurisdiction in matters of trials. Arunachal Pradesh is yet to see the separation of Executive and Judicial powers, though the District Administration work through the self-governing institutions like the Local Tribal Councils. Since the very start of administration in the area, it always had encouraged the increasing association of the tribal democratic institutions at village or higher levels with development programmes.

Sub-Divisions:

Creation of Sub-divisions within districts was considered only after 1962. It was considered expedient to develop the area at a faster pace. Hence, the districts were further divided in sub-divisions. Still today this pattern is followed. Usually, a district was divided into three sub-divisions. From the point of view of importance, the sub-divisions were classified in three categories:

- (i) Those under Additional Deputy Commissioners;
- (ii) Those under Assistant Deputy Commissioners;
- (iii) Those under Extra Assistant Commissioners.

The Sub-divisions near the international borders were put under Additional Deputy Commissioners. They had

independent charges owing to their contiguity with international borders and as such the authority may deal directly with the administration. In such sub-divisions, the Additional Deputy Commissioners concerned may endorse copies of their important communication dealing with border affairs, questions relating to the overall integrity of a District, intelligence, inter-tribal affairs, all to the Deputy Commissioner of District.

Nevertheless, the officers in charge of sub-divisions were under the control of the Deputy Commissioner, who was the head of the district. Base Superintendents and Area Superintendents assisted the sub-division Commissioners in the administration. But the designation 'Sub-Divisional Officer' was not used though it has been commonly used in the neighbouring state of Assam.

Circles:

The sub-divisions were further divided into a number of circles. With this, the administrative gap between the District administration and the village authority was filled up. A circle covers a number of villagers. The circles were usually put under a Circle Officer, who was to keep close contact with the village administration. Sometimes,

Assistant Commissioners and Extra-Assistant Commissioners were also put in charge of a circle. But this arrangement was worked out because various circles were segregated and cut off from the Sub-divisions and Districts due to lack of communications. 'The administrative status of a circle does not change with the rank of officer posted to take its charge. Thus if an Assistant Commissioner is placed in charge of a circle, it does not mean that he becomes a sub-divisional officer simply because of his rank as Assistant Commissioner or an extra Assistant Commissioner.'

The administrative pattern of Districts, sub-divisions and circles are almost same as those obtained to other parts of India, but the powers and functions allotted to the officers-in-Charge are in strict conformity with the diverse conditions prevailing in Arunachal Pradesh today.

The 'Single Line Administration' is operating in Arunachal Pradesh at present also.

Interpreter System:

The Interpreter system is one of the novel features of the North-East Frontier Agency Administration. Earlier, the tribes were in pre-literate stage. There was communication

gap between the Government and the village masses. The tribes could not understand the programmes and policies of the government fully. This posed as a great hindrance to the penetration and participation in the administration of North-East Frontier Agency. So, the need of middleman to interpret the programmes and policies of the Government to the tribes was felt. In this way, the interpreter system was evolved. Interpreters were appointed during the British rule also. But it became an established institution only after the Indian independence. The functions of the Interpreters are two fold - Firstly, to interpret the Administrator's policies to the people and this particularly in all remoter areas which were not always within the frequent touring beat of the administrators and secondly, to provide a representative of the administration at the discussions held by rival parties to adjudicate local disputes and crimes and to help disposal of criminal and civil suits in accordance with the judicial powers to the local bodies.(1)

(1) Luthra, P.N., Constitutional and Administrative Growth of North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1971), p.20.

Today, Interpreter system is an established institution in Arunachal Pradesh. They are called political Interpreter and is popularly known in its abbreviated form - P.I. Appointed by the Government, they are also regular government employees. The main criteria for appointment to this post is that the person should be well versed in the traditional customary laws and also be a man of age and reason. He also must be an indigeneous tribal of Arunachal Pradesh. All the village and inter-village disputes are first discussed in the community hall, presided over by P.I. Usually most of the disputes are settled at this stage. If the case is not resolved, it is referred to the Deputy Commissioner for his adjudication. When an individual or village or inter-village dispute is brought directly before the Deputy Commissioner, he refers the case to the P.I. Only the cases of critical and serious nature are directly heard by the Deputy Commissioner. Murder and Election disputes are the cases of such nature.

P.I. system is organised at village, circle, sub-division and district level. No court fees are to be paid by the disputing parties. No professional lawyers are allowed to counsel the disputing parties. Thus, it is regarded as simple, cheap and effective way of adjudication according to tribal laws and customs.

Personnel Administration:

Arunachal Pradesh has a poor history of Personnel Administration. Till 1950, there was no separate service cadre for the North-East Frontier Agency. Political Officers and Assistant Political Officers were mainly drawn from the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the Indian Army. In some cases, officers from the Assam Service cadre were also appointed as Political Officers and Assistant Political Officers or other lower officials.

Little progress was made after 1950 when the charge of the North-East Frontier Agency Administration was handed over to the Governor of Assam. A separate Secretariat for the Adviser to the Governor of Assam on North-East Frontier Agency administration was created. It initiated a process of replacement of civil servants of the Assam Cadre with respect to the administration of North-East Frontier Agency. A major breakthrough was made in 1953 when the Indian Frontier Administration Service (IFAS) was created. It was formed to provide a body of senior officers who have a special aptitude for serving in the frontier areas and are prepared to make a lifelong career of it.(1) The Indian Frontier Administrative Service (IFAS) personnel were drawn

(1) Elwin Verrier, A Philosophy for North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1965), p.5.

through special recruitment by inviting applications from officers of all services as also the All India Services.

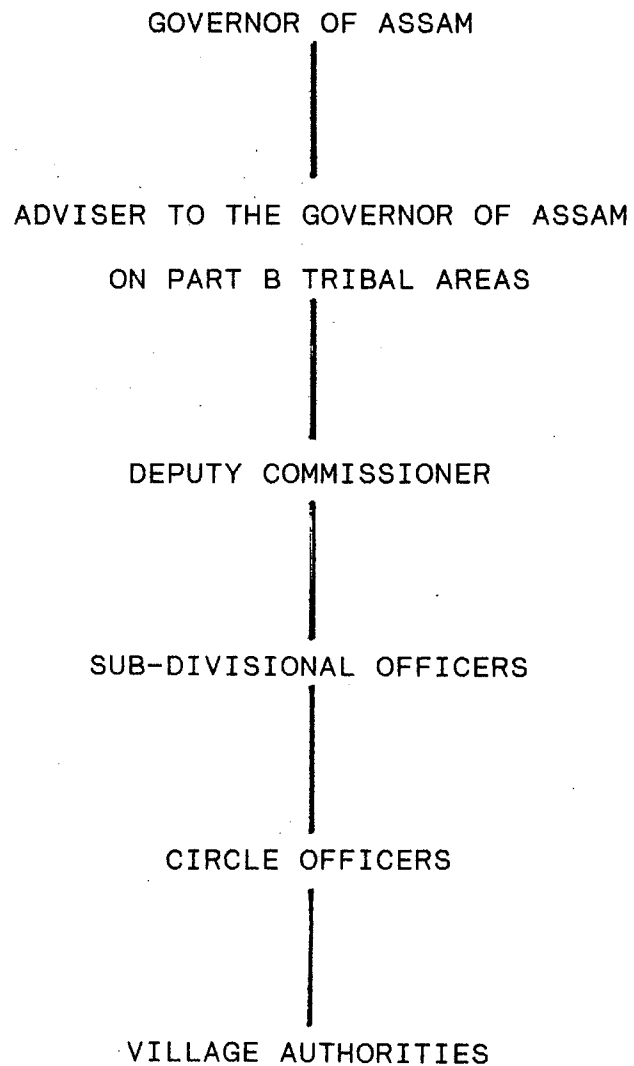
For about fifteen years, the IFAS system was in force. But it was not very successful. So, the Government of India decided to set up a Union Territory Cadre of the Indian Administrative Service encompassing North-East Frontier Agency also. From January 1, 1968, a separate cadre of I.A.S. for the Union Territories and North-East Frontier Agency was put into operation. Since then the appointment of Deputy Commissioners, Additional Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners in Arunachal Pradesh have been made from the Union Territory cadre of the Indian Administrative Service.

Till 1972, there was no separate Police Service for North-East Frontier Agency. The CRPF and armed police hired from other states performed the police duties. Today, the Police Service is well established. There are three police training centres in the state. It gives training to both Civil Police and Armed Police force.

Personnel and Administrative system came to a full round in 1987, when the State Public Service Commission of Arunachal Pradesh was created. It was constituted under the provisions of Article 315 of the Constitution of India, consisting of a Chairman and two members.(1)

(1) Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar, 1989.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER
AGENCY AFTER 1947



Conclusion:

We have traced the growth of Administration and Constitutional status of Arunachal Pradesh from 1947 to 1971. The Growth, however, was not without hurdles. The hilly terrain was the strongest enemy in this regard. This has kept the tribes from coming together before the dawn of administration also. Another problem was the communication gap between the tribes and the administrators. The tribes could not understand the language spoken by the officers. Moreover, the policies formulated for North-East Frontier Agency were sometimes divorced from the ground realities. Above all, the lack of sufficient fund for rapid developmental works also stood on the way.

Inspite of obstacles, the North-East Frontier Agency Administration did a Yeoman's service to this part of the country. Rapid progress was made in road construction, education, health services and other rural development works. The isolationist policy of the Britishers were replaced by a rational approach of assimilation along with self-determination by the Government of India. The Constitutional aim in North-East Frontier Agency was to set out a process of building increasingly a representative government of the people so that they, in keeping with the advance in education, may manage their own affairs and have freedom in developing →

their social and economic condition. Within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The Panchayati Raj Regulation of 1967 can be regarded as a concrete step towards the fulfilment of this aim. The success of the administrative aim of 'Integration', 'Prosperity' and 'Security' in North-East Frontier Agency has added richness to the diverse wealth of India.

C H A P T E R - I V

ARUNACHAL PRADESH FROM UNION TERRITORY TO A STATE

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ARUNACHAL PRADESH FROM UNION TERRITORY TO A STATE

In the foregoing pages, an attempt has been made to trace the Constitutional and Administrative development of the North East Frontier Agency, now called Arunachal Pradesh from 1947 to 1971. The year 1971 saw many changes in the political set up of North-East India: It was a year, full of activities and changes in Arunachal Pradesh also. So, a study of the Constitutional and Administrative development of Arunachal Pradesh after 1971 will be made in this chapter.

Till 1971, Arunachal Pradesh was constitutionally a part of Assam. The general feeling was that the North East Frontier Agency would be gradually merged with Assam. When a comprehensive scheme for the reorganisation of North-Eastern Region was undertaken in 1971, the Government of India reviewed the idea of the merger of North-East Frontier Agency with Assam, keeping in view the State of mind of the people of North-East Frontier Agency. The opinion of the North-East Frontier Agency people was against any merger with Assam. North-East Frontier Agency had a tradition of being isolated and people imbibed a socio-cultural feeling distinct from those of the plains. So, the merger of the

territory with Assam was sure to wound the sentiments of the people of North-East Frontier Agency. Moreover, when other hill areas of the country especially in the neighbourhood of North-East Frontier Agency were granted statehood in consideration of the racial characteristics of the people, denial of similar rights and status of North-East Frontier Agency would only be a denial of natural justice to its people. Under these circumstances, the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation/Bill 1971) was passed by the Parliament which gave the status of Union Territory to Arunachal Pradesh, alongwith the reorganisation of other North-Eastern States.

Another factor which contributed to the emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a separate political unit was its strategic importance concerning the security of the border area.(1) To have effective control over North-East Frontier Agency, its administration was transferred from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Government of India gave special attention for stable administration in North-East Frontier Agency. So, the creation of North East Frontier Agency into a separate political unit was regarded as another step towards stable administration in the region.

(1) Suparna Bhattacharjee, Politics of a Frontier State, North Eastern Hill University, (Shillong, 1990), Unpublished work, p.86.

The North-Eastern Area (Reorganisation) Act - 1971:

When Nagaland was made a state in 1962, the Mizo National Front and Khasi-Jaintia Hills people also demanded for separate statehood. The Mizo National Front took up arms to secure their demands for a separate Mizoram. The Khasi-Jaintia Hills People also pressurized the Government of India for creation of the present state of Meghalaya. Though the people of North-East Frontier Agency did not apply any hostile attitudes like the Mizos, their desire to have a separate state of their own under the Union of India was not less than other hill people of the North East India.

The hill leaders of the North-East India actively organised themselves for forming such a separate political unit within Indian Union which would include all the hill tribes and their areas of North-East India under a single political unit. To achieve their goal, they had also formed the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference which used to meet occasionally and discussed plans and devices to achieve their aims. They repeatedly requested the Government of India to reorganise their areas according to their proposals. As a result, the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi informed the members of the Lok Sabha in

November 1971 that the Government had decided to grant full-fledged statehood to Meghalaya and reorganise the rest of the hill areas of Assam.(1) So, the Government introduced the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Bill, 1971 in the Lok Sabha. The main purpose of the North Eastern Areas (Reorgaisation) Bill was "to provide for the establishment of the States of Manipur and Tripura and to provide for the formation of the state of Meghalaya and the Union Territory of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh by reorganising the existing state of Assam and for matters connected therewith." (2).

The North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971 brought several changes in the territorial and political structure of the North-Eastern Hill areas. So far the changes in the North-East Frontier Agency are concerned, early in 1971, the Agency Council recommended a change of nomenclature of North-East Frontier Agency in favour of Arunachal Pradesh. According to Professor S.K.Chaube, it

(1) The Times of India, November 11, 1971.

(2) The North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971, as cited in M.L.Bose's Historical and Constitutional Documents of North East India (Concept, Delhi), p.260.

was during the fourth meeting of the Agency Council that members were informed that a new political set-up for the area was in the offing, and the government of India was considering the proposal of giving the status of a Union Territory to the North-East Frontier Agency. Consequently, the North-Eastern Areas(Reorganisation) Act, 1971, separated the North-East Frontier Agency from Assam and converted it into a Union Territory to be called as Arunachal Pradesh. Part II Section 7 of the Act provided that "on and from the appointed day there shall be formed a new Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh comprising the Tribal areas specified in Part B of the Table appended to paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, and known as the North-East Frontier Agency and thereupon the said territories shall cease to form the part of the existing state of Assam." (1)

Thus, Arunachal Pradesh became a Union Territory under the control of a Chief Commissioner. Sri K.A.A.Raja, who was holding the post of Adviser to the Governor of Assam, was elevated to the position of the Chief Commissioner by the order of the President of India on 21st January 1971. Raja had adequate knowledge of the tribal people of the North East India. He served as political officer also in

(1) The North-Eastern Area (Reorganisation) Act 1971 (in M.L.Bose: Constitutional and Historical Document of North East India)

the North-East Frontier Agency. He contributed a lot to the political, social and economic development of Arunachal Pradesh. He may be called the architect of present Arunachal Pradesh.

The North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971, made several changes for Arunachal Pradesh. One of the significant developments from this Act was the provision for one seat in the Rajya Sabha and one in the Lok Sabha. The President of India was authorised to nominate the members of Parliament to represent the people of Arunachal Pradesh. But in practice, the nomination by the President was not direct. The President nominated the candidate who was firstly nominated by the Agency Council of Arunachal Pradesh to be the member of the Rajya Sabha. Thus, Agency Council nominated the member of Rajya Sabha from Arunachal Pradesh. There was different provision for Lok Sabha member nomination by the President. It was basically a invention of Sri K.A.A. Raja, who was the then Chief Commissioner of Arunachal Pradesh. For the Lok Sabha seat the provision had been made to fill in the seat by an Electoral College and not by nomination as laid down in the Act of 1971. The Electoral College consisted of all the members of all the Zilla Parishad of Arunachal Pradesh. The first Lok Sabha

election was fought keenly. Though it was not a popular election, the number of the candidates for the membership of the Lok Sabha seat was five and there were altogether 118 voters of the Zilla Parishad which constituted the electoral college for the election.

The North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971 provided some provisions for the modification of the North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967. As per the provision of the Act of 1971, the Agency Council of Arunachal Pradesh was converted into the Pradesh Council. The Pradesh Council consisted of the members of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha representing Arunachal Pradesh, all the Vice/Presidents of all Zilla Parishads as well as three more representatives of the Zilla Parishads and three persons to be nominated by the administrator to represent those tribes which had no representatives in the Zilla Parishads. The Chief Commissioner of Arunachal Pradesh being the Chairman of the Pradesh Council was given power to summon, prorogue, preside, adjourn and dissolve the Pradesh Council. But the dissolution of the Pradesh Council could be done only with the approval of the President of India.

Another improvement made by the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, over the North-East Frontier

Agency Panchayati Raj Regulation of 1967, was the creation of a body of five counsellors above the Pradesh Council. The Chief Commissioner was authorised to constitute a body of five counsellors appointing them from the members of the Pradesh Council. But K.A.A. Raja, the first and the only Chief Commissioner of Arunachal Pradesh, introduced the system of election for the appointment of the Counsellors. The Counsellors were elected by a process of filtration at five stages. This process provided that to become a Counsellor, one must be a member of a village panchayat. The village Panchayats elected members to the Anchal Samiti. The Anchal Samiti further elected members to the Zilla Parishad, again the Zilla Parishad elected members to the Pradesh Council, which finally elected the Counsellors. Thus, the Counsellors constituted the 5th tier in the administrative set up of Arunachal Pradesh till 1975 when the Pradesh Council was converted into a provincial legislature. Prof. V.V.Rao has put it in a more clear way. "Each district had one representative as Counsellor elected by the Pradesh Council. Actually, it was not the Pradesh Council that elected the Counsellors. The representatives of the district concerned in the Pradesh Council, came together and elected one of their members as a Counsellor. The

person elected by the group was placed before the Pradesh Council, which automatically appointed the election." (1) In this way the list of the Counsellors approved by the Pradesh Council was placed before the Chief Commissioner who simply accepted the list of the Counsellors. It was claimed that this newly innovated process by Sri K.A.A.Raja brought harmony between the Council, Counsellors and the Chief Commissioner.

The Regulation provided that the Body of the Counsellors would be a recommendatory body to help the Chief Commissioner in the administration of Arunachal Pradesh. ✓ But in practice, the Chief Commissioner fully relied upon the Counsels given by the Counsellors in any matter while governing Arunachal Pradesh. Whenever, he differed in opinion from them, he invited them for discussion and he used to accept the view unanimously adopted in the course of the discussion. Sri K.A.A.Raja went further and transferred ✓ all the developmental departments to the control of the Counsellors by which they got an opportunity to share ✓ responsibility in administration. The significance of this act of the Chief Commissioner lies in the fact that the Regulation of 1971 did not make any such provision by which ✓ all the developmental departments could be transferred to -----

(1) V.V. Rao: A Century of Tribal Politics in North-East India 1874-1974 (New Delhi 1976), p.328.

the Counsellors. The credit of this innovation goes to Sri K.A.A.Raja, the then Chief Commissioner of Arunachal Pradesh. Thus, he not only introduced a democratic process in Arunachal Pradesh but also maintained very good and mutual relations with the Counsellors which enabled smooth transition of this once hidden land from gerantocracy to democracy.

<u>Name of Counsellor</u>	<u>Department Transferred</u>
1. Prem Khandu Thungon	Transport and Power
2. Tomo Riba	Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries
3. Sobeng Tayeng	Forests, Industries and Cooperation
4. Tadar Jang	Health, Manpower and Planning
5. Wangpha Lowang	Community Development, Panchayat Raj and Education

After 1971 events moved very fast. Adult franchise was introduced for the first time in 1972 by which the Gram Panchayat and other panchayat bodies were made elective. The North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 did not provide adult franchise for the panchayat bodies. This regulation constituted the 'Gram Panchayat' under the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 which provided that "The political officer

shall appoint such person or persons as he considers desirable to be the members of a village authority for such village or villages as he may specify, and may modify or cancel any such order of appointment, and may dismiss any person so appointed." Representation of Arunachal Pradesh to the Lok Sabha was also raised to two members, which were also made fully elective by the Government of Union Territories (Amendment) Act, 1975.

Provisional Legislative Assembly:

After the composition of the Pradesh Council and the Body of Counsellors, the democratic processes got fertile field for their further speedy and healthy growth. The demand for the establishment of a full-fledged Legislative Assembly in Arunachal Pradesh was expressed by the Pradesh Council. At its Sixth session, held at Itanagar, the Pradesh Council adopted a unanimous resolution which demanded installation of a full-fledge Legislative Assembly for Arunachal Pradesh as early as possible. It also further held that 'till such time an Assembly is set up interim arrangement be made declaring the existing Pradesh Council as an Assembly.

In 1975, Parliament passed the 37th Constitutional Amendment Bill unanimously by which the aspiration of the

people of Arunachal Pradesh was fulfilled. It was a landmark in the Politico-Administrative history of Arunachal Pradesh as it gave the Territory the privilege of having a 30-member elected Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers. The Act converted the existing Pradesh Council into a 30-member Provisional Legislative Assembly as an interim arrangement till the election of a new popular legislative assembly. Five Counsellors were automatically reconstituted as the Council of Minister of Arunachal Pradesh as the interim arrangement till election were held. On June 12, 1975 in its eighth session held at Itanagar, the members of the Pradesh Council formally elected Mr. P.K.Thungon as the leader of the proposed Legislative Assembly. (1)

28th Anniversary Day of India's Independence was a historic day for Arunachal Pradesh. On this day (15th August 1975), the post of Chief Commissioner of Arunachal Pradesh was elevated to the status of Lieutenant Governor, Shri K.A.A. Raja was appointed as the Lt. Governor of Arunachal Pradesh. The Chief Justice of Guwahati High Court M.K.Pathak swore in Raja as the Lieutenant Governor.

(1) J.N. Chowdhury, Arunachal Panorama (1982)

respectively of the first-ever formed Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly at Hanagar on August 18, 1975. Lt.Governor Sri K.A.A.Raja characterised the occasion as a landmark in the Constitutional evolution of Arunachal Pradesh. He also hoped that under the new dispensation the territory would look forward with Confidence to a new era of progress and prosperity.

Elections in Arunachal Pradesh:

The Provisional Legislative Assembly which was constituted in 1975 was an interim arrangement. After the parliamentary election of 1977, a new political party was formed in Arunachal Pradesh. This new regional party was called the Peoples' Party of Arunachal (PPA). It is interesting to note that a unit of the Indian National Congress was founded in October 1972 in Arunachal Pradesh when adult franchise was introduced for the first time in the territory. So, till 1977 Congress(I) was the only political party in the territory. But with the foundation of the People's Party of Arunachal, the State politics became a bi-party system.

The People's Party of Arunachal Pradesh was formed in March 1977 under the leadership of Mr. Tomo Riba, who was

the Agriculture Minister in the interim government of 1975. It is interesting to note that as the Agriculture Minister in the Provisional Council of Ministers, he resigned from the Congress party and formed the PPA but did not resign from the P.K. Thungon Cabinet on the ground that the Government of the Territory was an 'ad hoc' one and he had become a Minister by virtue of his being a Counsellor when the Pradesh Council was converted into an Assembly in 1975. But the Chief Minister asked him to resign from the Cabinet and later advised the President of India for removing Mr. Riba from the Cabinet. The President by a notification dropped Mr. Riba from the Cabinet and approved the appointment of Mr. Gegong Apang, M.L.A., as Minister in the place of Tomo Riba. Again, it is interesting to note that Mr. Apang, who was made a Minister in place of Mr. Tomo Riba, became the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh in 1980 and today he is the Chief Minister for the Third Consecutive terms since then.

As stated earlier, till 1977, there was no active political party because the political consciousness and political activities of the people were in the way of making. Moreover, no efforts were made to form any regional political party, nor any other national party except the

Congress had pain to set up any branch or cell of their party because the politics of Arunachal Pradesh was not so much attractive for the national parties. When the PPA was formed in 1977, it immediately adopted a unanimous resolution which demanded immediate resignation of the Chief Minister and his Cabinet on the ground that the present government is not a popularly elected government. The resolution further demanded the immediate dissolution of the provisional Legislative Assembly in favour of a popularly elected Legislative Assembly.

The first ever general election on the basis of universal adult franchise was held in Arunachal Pradesh in March 1977 for the two seats for Arunachal Pradesh in the Lok Sabha. The territory was divided into East Parliamentary Constituency and West Parliamentary Constituency. But the election was held only in East Parliamentary Constituency which comprised 13 Assembly Constituencies as the West Parliamentary Constituency which comprised 17 Assembly Constituencies returned a member uncontested. Mr. Rinchin Khandu Khriemey, a Congress Candidate was returned unopposed. But the Congress suffered defeat in the East Parliamentary Constituency. Mr. Bakin Pertin, an independent candidate defeated his nearest rival

of the Congress(I) Mr. Nyodek Yonggam, by a margin of seven thousand six hundred fortyeight votes. The third candidate, Mr. Oken Lego, also an independent forfeited his deposit. It is interesting to note that all the three candidates of the East Parliamentary Constituency were from the Adi Tribe through the Adis are not in majority in this Constituency. Thus the Constitutional development of the territory of Arunachal Pradesh took another forward step with the first ever general election of the territory to the Union Legislature.

The first ever Assembly election in Arunachal Pradesh was held on February 25, 1978, which provided a first ever opportunity to all the people of Arunachal Pradesh to exercise one of the important basic rights - the right to vote. In March 1977, Parliamentary election, as already noted, the people of the Arunachal Pradesh west Parliamentary Constituency had no opportunity to exercise their franchise as the candidate was returned unopposed. The Assembly election of February 1978 was a memorable occasion to the people of the Territory as a whole. The tribes who had always yielded to the wishes of his close-knit community, expressed through the village headman, was faced with a new situation where individuals had gone

against the will of the community to enjoy the glory of public life.

For the 28 Assembly seats, two main political parties, namely the Janata Party and the regional peoples party of Arunachal Pradesh (PPA) set up candidates between them. Earlier in May 1977, Mr P.K.Thungon, the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh changed his political coat and joined the Janata Party with his followers. Thus, the Janata Party gained ground in the Territory while the participation of the Congress(I) was only a token, as it set up one candidate. The Janata Party contested for 29 seats against PPA's 20, while there were 36 independent candidates in the prey. The total number of electorate was 2,39,293 of whom 1,29,919 were males and 1,17,374 were females.(1) After final withdrawal of nominations, 84 candidates were left in the field, including two women. Mr. P.K.Thungon and Mr. Nokeong Boham were declared elected unopposed from Dirang-Kalaktang and Niauxa Kanubari Constituencies respectively. An important feature of the election was that, in 12 out of remaining 28 constituencies, female voters outnumbered male voters. The Janata Party won 17 seats, the PPA won 8 seats and the remaining 5 seats went in favour of Independent candidates. The results of the election installed a Janata Ministry in the Union Territory. Headed by Mr. P.K.Thungon,

(1) Data from Directorate of Research Arunachal Pradesh Handbook.

the Council of Ministers were Mr. Tadar Tang, Mr. Soben Tayeng, Mr. Gegong Apang and Mr. Nokmey Namati. Sri K.A.A.Raja, the Lt.Governor of Arunachal Pradesh administered the oath of office and Secrecy to the members of the Council of Ministers on the 14th March 1978.

The first representative Government in Arunachal Pradesh was short-lived. The ministry lasted barely for two years. Mr. Thungon was obliged to bow out of office due to defection from the rank of his party. He submitted his resignation on the 6th September 1979. Mr. Tomo Riba who headed the PPA and hailed from the Adi tribe, got his chance of forming an alternative ministry. He was sworn on September 18, 1979 but it also went the way of Thungon Ministry again due to defection from the rank. It collapsed within barely two months of its installation. Mr. Gegong Apang, also an Adi, who was a Minister in Thungon Cabinet, staked his claim for forming a ministry. But the Lt.Governor, R.N.Haldipur who took over the office from Sri K.A.A.Raja on the 18th January 1979 took a different view and recommended dissolution of the Legislature to the President of India. The Union Territory thus, had its first experience of President's rule though for a short spell until a mid-term poll was held on January 1980.

It may be mentioned here that meanwhile, there was quick change of political fortune on the national scene which saw the end of the Janata rule at the Centre. Arunachal went to the poll with the rest of the nation on January 1980. Now, the fight was between the PPA and the Congress(I). Election to the Parliament was held simultaneously with the Assembly election. The results of the election once again proved the tremendous enthusiasm it generated in the people who had only recently graduated to Parliamentary democracy. All the seats were keenly contested. The West Parliamentary Constituency with a total electorate of 1,51,450 returned the former Chief Minister, Mr. P.K.Thungon, a Congress(I). Mr. Thungon defeated his nearest rival Mr. Kuru Hassang of PPA. East Parliamentary Constituency with a total electorate of 1,14,616 also chose a Congress(I) candidate in the person of Mr. Soben Tayeng who was a minister in the First Thungon Cabinet. He defeated Mr. Bakin Pertin of PPA. It may be recalled that Mr. Pertin was a successful candidate in the first Parliamentary election in 1977 when he won as an independent candidate.

When the results of the Legislative Assembly were declared it was found that both the parties - Congress() and the PPA had secured equal number of seats. In a house of 30

members, both the parties secured thirteen seats each while the rest four seats went in favour of independent candidates. Later on, Mr. Gegong Apang, who was in the PPA defected to the Congress(I) with the result that a Congress(I) ministry headed by Mr. Gegong Apang was installed in Arunachal Pradesh. The oath of office and survey was administered in a formal ceremony at Itanagar on January 18, 1980, by the Lt. Governor Mr. R.N. Haldipur. In the beginning, it was a small Cabinet consisting of the Chief Minister, Mr. Apang, Mr. Tengam Ngemu and Mr. Khapriso Krong. Eventually, the Council of Ministers was expanded which included Mr. Tengam Ngemu, Mr. Khapriso Krong, Mr. Tadak Dulom, Mr. Tsering Tashi, Mr. Tadar Tang, Mr. Haijen Ponglaham and Mr. Kameng Polo.

Mr. T.L. Rajkumar and Mr. Pasang Wanchuk were elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively of the new Legislative Assembly.

The people of Arunachal Pradesh once more went to polls in 1985 to constitute new Legislative Assembly, since the term of the ministry Legislative Assembly became over. This time also there was direct contest between the Congress(I) and the People's Party of Arunachal Pradesh (PPA). The special feature of this election was that

the Bharatiya Janata Party also installed four of its candidates. The polls remained quite peaceful. This time the results of the election went in favour of the Congress(I). It secured absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly of 30 members. The Congress(I) secured as many as 21 seats while only 4 seats went to the pockets of the PPA. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) obtained only one seat and the rest five seats went to the lots of the Independent candidates. The Council of Ministers was again formed under the leadership of Gegong Apang. After the 1985 Assembly election, dominance of Mr. Apang in the politics of Arunachal Pradesh became deep rooted. He became the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh for the third consecutive term in 1990.

In the 1985 Parliamentary election also, Congress(I) emerged victorious in Arunachal Pradesh. From the Arunachal East Parliamentary Constituency, Mr. Sobeng Tayeng, a Congress(I) candidate was returned defeating his nearest rival of PPA, Mr. Bakin Pertin. Mr. P.K.Thungon was elected for the second time from Arunachal West Parliamentary Constituency who defeated Mr. Tomo Riba of PPA.*

* All Election Dates from Parul Dutta's: Arunachal - An Overview, Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

The elections of 1989 and 1990 also showed the continued dominance of Congress(I) in the electoral politics of Arunachal Pradesh. In 1989 Parliamentary election, Mr. P.K.Thungon was again elected unopposed from the Arunachal West Parliamentary Constituency as the candidature of Mr. Kuru Hasang of PPA was rejected in the scrutiny. From Arunachal East Parliamentary Constituency, Mr. Laeta Umbrey, a Congress(I) candidate was returned who defeated Mr. Bakin Pertin of PPA. The defeat of a veteran politician like Bakin Pertin by Laeta Umbrey, who had recently entered politics and also a youngman of 29 years is worth mention.

The Legislative Assembly of 1990 in Arunachal Pradesh again brought the Congress(I) into power. But the dominance of the Congress(I) in the Assembly was reduced. It won 37 seats in the 60 member Legislative Assembly. In this election, the PPA was merged with Janata Dal which secured 11 seats. The Independents could still have their sway over 11 seats while the remaining 1 seat went in favour of Janata Party. The success of independent candidates is one of the special feature of electoral politics in Arunachal Pradesh.

In the 1991 Parliamentary election, the two Lok Sabha seats of Arunachal Pradesh went in favour of Congress(I), Mr. P.K.Thungon was returned from Arunachal West

Parliamentary Constituency, who defeated Tomo Riba of Janata Dal. Laeta Umbrey was again returned from Arunachal East Parliamentary Constituency. He defeated Bakin Pertin (Janata Dal) for the second time.

It is interesting to note ^{that} we do not see new faces in the Parliamentary election in Arunachal Pradesh. P.K.Thungon has been elected consecutively for the four times in the Lok Sabha in which he defeated Kuru Hassang and Tomo Riba twice. Bakin Pertin was elected to Lok Sabha in 1977. But he lost once to Soben Tayeng and twice to Laeta Umbrey. The success of independent candidates in the Legislative Assembly elections in Arunachal Pradesh can also be regarded a sign of fragile democratic tradition. Moreover, the role of money in the election in Arunachal Pradesh is also increasing. This calls for enlightenment of the masses about their rights and to fight the increasing role of money in elections. The political leaders are also exploiting the sentiments of the masses because of their illitracy and also partly due to the continued dominance of the traditional leaders, most of whom are uneducated. But the ray of hope lie with the new generation who are educated and have broader outlook in terms of state and national interest.

Arunachal Pradesh Towards Statehood:

The idea of a full statehood for the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh had been mooted since it attained the status of a Union Territory. The people of Arunachal Pradesh had been rapidly moving towards economic and political growth. When their faith in the Constitutional parliamentary Government under the provisions of the Indian Constitution became firm, and they found themselves to be able to run the Government of their own, independently under the Indian Republic, their desire to have a full-fledged state got strength. The Provisional Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh had earlier, in its Budget Session adopted unanimously a Private member's resolution on March 24, 1977 calling for grant of full statehood to the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh. The main arguments behind the demand as highlighted were that "If Nagaland could be given statehood, there is no justification as to why Arunachal Pradesh cannot get the status of a full statehood state.:

(1)

A Delegation of Arunachal Pradesh Legislators headed by the then Chief Minister, P.K.Thungon called on the former

(1) Eastern Panorama: Minority Policy in the North East, September 1992.

Prime Minister, Morarji Desai in New Delhi in the first week of April 1977 and pressed their demand for statehood. Desai told the Delegation that the demand for statehood for Arunachal Pradesh was premature as it has become a Union Territory recently. He, however, assured them that it could be accepted if they could work for the speedy development of the Union Territory to make it stand on its own feet and march on its own stomach.

Since the Government of India was satisfied with the performances and behaviours of the people of Arunachal Pradesh, it decided to grant statehood to their territory. Moreover, the people of Arunachal Pradesh acquired enough political maturity by the successful working of the Council of Ministers and Legislative Assembly of Arunachal during its tenure of Union Territory. Consequently, two bills were introduced in the Parliament of India in 1986 in this regard. The first bill was the State of Arunachal Pradesh Bill, 1986, the purpose of which was to make political provisions for the state of Arunachal Pradesh. The second bill was the 55th Constitutional Amendment Bill, 1986 which was to make constitutional adjustment for the proposed state of Arunachal Pradesh. The former Bill provided the people of Arunachal Pradesh with a Unicameral Legislative Assembly

consisting of 60 members and a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature. While special powers were given to the Governor by the Second Bill, keeping in view the strategic importance of Arunachal Pradesh. Nevertheless, provisions for special autonomies to the people of Arunachal Pradesh with respect to their religious, social and customary practices were also made.

When the State of Arunachal Pradesh Bill and the Constitution (fiftyfifth Amendment) Bill were discussed in Lok Sabha, some of the members from the opposition bench raised the objection regarding the special power given to Governor of Arunachal Pradesh. They feared it as an encroachment upon the State autonomy by the Central Government.* The then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, assuring the members of the House, said that the special powers conferred on the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh had no meaning other than to meet the emergent and unexpected need of the area. He further said that this provisions was made because of 'very sensitive' and 'strategic' location of the territory. Again he assured the house that the special powers of the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh would not be used unless "expressly required"* So it does not amount to the encroachment of state autonomy.

* Lok Sabha Debates (Assam Tribune, Guwahati, Dec.9,1986.

Discussion on the bill for creation of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in Rajya Sabha was much longer and heated. Mustafa Bin Quasim, the CPI(M) member, initiating the debate, expressed the view that the provision of especial powers for the Governor was 'totally unjustified' because these would enable the Governor to interfere in the affairs of the state government.* Kadharsa, a member of the AIADMK party expressed the same view. But the strongest critic was Puttapaga Radhakrishana, the Telugu Desam member, who expressed doubt about the autonomy of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in view of the special powers of the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh. He was afraid that this provision might also set a precedent in other states of India.

The special powers conferred on the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh was defended by the members from the Treasury Bench. P.M.Sukul, Congress(I) said that the especial powers of the Governor were necessary as China still laid claim to the parts of Arunachal Pradesh. Dharanidhar Basumatari, Congress(I) favoured the continuation of 'Inner Line' restriction for entry and settlement of non-Arunachalees in the State. Discussion on

* Rajya Sabha Debates (Assam Tribune, Guwahati, December 10, 1986.

the special powers of the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh became long and critical. So, observing the doubts of the opposition members, former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi personally assured the members that the Centre would withdraw the special powers envisaged for the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh when the situation along the international border normalised. He said that such powers had been given to the Governor not with any intention to hamper the autonomy of the State or to interfere in its affairs but it was for the historical necessity due to the political situation in the area. Citing the example of Nagaland, he further said that similar powers were given to the Nagaland Governor due to disturbed political situation of the State of Nagaland. But the Governor of Nagaland never used such powers against the State Government.

After getting clearance of the state of Arunachal Pradesh Bill from both the Houses of the Parliament it was sent to the President of India for his final assent. The President also accorded his assent to the Bill as early as possible with the result that Arunachal Pradesh emerged as twentyfourth state of the Indian Republic. It fulfilled the long cherished aspiration of the people of Arunachal Pradesh.

Administrative Structure:

There is no significant change in the Administrative Pattern of Arunachal Pradesh after it attained statehood. The basic administrative structure is almost the same as it was during the Union Territory Period. During the North-East Frontier Agency period, the area was administered by the Governor of Assam through his Adviser of the Part B Tribal Areas. Today Arunachal Pradesh has its own Governor who is the administrative head of the State. The post of Adviser to the Governor has been replaced by the Chief Secretary and other Secretaries as in other States of India. The Chief Secretary, as an agent of the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh control all other departments headed by Secretaries and Directors. These Secretaries and Directors are usually recruited from the Union Territory Cadre of the members of the Indian Administrative Service. It is almost a convention that the Senior most IAS Officer of the State becomes the Chief Secretary of Arunachal Pradesh. Single Line Administration which existed during the North-East Frontier Agency period is still operating. The District, Sub-divisional and Circle administration are also the same as it was during the North-East Frontier Agency and the Union Territory period. The village authorities are still functioning effectively and the 'Interpreter System' has become an integral part of administrative system in Arunachal Pradesh. The State is yet to see the clear separation of the Executive and Judicial powers.

Administrative Structure of Arunachal Pradesh

GOVERNOR OF ARUNANCHAL PRADESH

|
THE CHIEF SECRETARY

AND

OTHER SECRETARIES

|
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER|
SUB-DIVISIONAL OFFICERS|
CIRCLE OFFICERS|
VILLAGE AUTHORITIES

Conclusion:

Arunachal Pradesh has come a long way of Constitutional and Administrative growth to evolve into her present political status. Today it is a full-fledged state. Arunachal Pradesh with its separate identity, with its own legislature and a representative Government has become a part and parcel of the Indian Republic. The genesis of this administrative development may be traced back to 1873 when the Inner Line Regulation came into existence. But the existence of Arunachal Pradesh as a distinct political and administrative unit came with the creation of the North-East Frontier Tract in 1914 by the Government of India, Foreign and Political Departments Notification of 1914 extending the jurisdiction of the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation 1880 to the Frontier Hills which was the present Arunachal Pradesh.

From then Arunachal Pradesh has passed through various stages of Constitutional and Administrative growth. In 1937 it was collectively known as the Excluded Area of the province of Assam under the Provision of the Government of India Act, 1935. In 1954, the North East Frontier Tract was renamed as the North-East Frontier Agency and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Again in 1965, the North-East Frontier Agency Administration was →

transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs. In 1967, Panchayat Raj was introduced by the provisions of the North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967. North-East Frontier Agency became a Union Territory with the new name of Arunachal Pradesh.

Today, Arunachal Pradesh is the twenty-fourth State of the Indian Republic. This hill state has its representatives in the Lok Sabha as well as in the Rajya Sabha. Four Assembly elections have taken place in Arunachal Pradesh and people have openly taken part in the political activities without fear or compulsion. Arunachal Pradesh, the land of dawn-lit mountains is an example of peace in the trouble-torn states of North-East India. Unlike the Creation of the States of Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh which stands as Sentinel of our country's North-East Border facing Bhutan, Tibet, China, and Burma became a full-fledged state of India without shedding even a drop of blood and without any agitational approach.

C H A P T E R - V

TRIBAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION
OF NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY

C H A P T E R - V

TRIBAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION OF NORTH EAST FRONTIER AGENCY

The art of local administration was not unknown to the tribals of Arunachal Pradesh. Village Council, was a part of their community life. Different types of village councils existed before the dawn of civil administration also. Democratic, theocratic and chieftaincy system are the main forms of local government. Each village and each tribal community has its own village council, which function as an effective village government. These village councils existed from times immemorial. But the introduction of Panchayati Raj and representative institutions through the North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967

gave a new life to these old, rustic, village councils. For a better analysis of this Regulation, a brief study of traditional tribal self-Government will be undertaken in the following pages.

Traditional Tribal Self-Government:

The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh did not know any State and Government other than their villages and village councils. Their state was their village which had its own natural boundary. The only government they know was their village council, which preserved their happiness and culture. Nature and environment was their sovereign ruler and policy maker. Mountains, rivers, trees, stones etc. was mark of their territorial demarcation of the state which provided compactness and political cohesiveness to each of them, village was their city-state.

Village Councils of different tribes has certain differences. But at the same time, many similarities are also found. As a whole, village council was the government, which enjoyed some sort of sovereignty since times immemorial. Tribes have evolved a set of traditional laws to deal with criminal and civil affairs. Thus, there is an established form of jurisprudence and law. Usually, the

Village Council is headed by Village Chief, the local priest and elderly influential persons of the village. They are the upholders of customs, which were derived out of supernatural beliefs. These are some of the most common features of the Village Councils. But as stated earlier, there are different types of Village Council, which can be broadly classified into Democratic, Theocratic and Chieftaincy Systems. This classification cannot be water-tight Compartment classification, because some of the Tribal Councils are of mixed type also. Moreover, there are some Councils which do not fall under the above mentioned classifications.

Democratic System:

The so-called Democratic Tribal Council may not be strictly according to the democratic ideals of the modern states. But the presence of some democratic traits which have secretly crept into these tribal system of government and state, make us give them the above term. The ADIS and AKAS have democratic tribal councils. Dr. Bijan Mohanta classify the Monpa Council also as democratic. But I take the liberty not to classify the Monpa Council under democratic system, which will be explained in the classifications that follows:

Adi Keba or Kebang:

The tribal Council of ADIS is called Keba or Kebang. They are most advanced in their methods of democratic evolution of tribal administrator. Keba is the most powerful and effective system among all the tribal councils of Arunachal. Every male reaching the age of reason by right becomes an active member of Keba (Assembly). Father Krick, Missionary and explorer, noted in 1853 that "each village is self-governing and independent. It has its own administration both legislative and executive." (1) The origin of the Kebang is not known specifically. Moreover, it seems that the Adis are not very curious to know about the origin of their Assembly. Its origin is lost in the misty mountains of Adi country. Nevertheless, Kebang is the most democratic and impartial political structure among the tribal councils of Arunachal. A traditional speech recorded by Sachin Roy, which is recited by the leaders of the Kebang goes like this:

'Oh! Villagers and bretheren, let us strengthen our customs and our council, let us improve our regulations, let us make the laws straight and equal for all. Let the

(1) J.V.Elwin, Democracy in North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong

leaders who can speak best stand up and speak out for our betterment, let them speak out in a bold voice unabashed and undoubted like a cock crowing. Let our laws be uniform, let our customs be the same for all. Let us not decide different for different persons, let us be guided by reason and see that justice is done and a compromise reached that is acceptable to both the parties." (1)

This recorded speech illustrate the high ideals that guide the functioning of the Kebang. But it may also be mentioned here that women normally do not attend Kebang session except for purposes of giving evidence or lodging a complain. But women participation is not a taboo. The Kebang directs all village activities and Adi village revolves round this. Its decisions are based on traditional values of the community and customary laws, which are rarely questioned. But it does not mean autocracy. To quote J.N.Chowdhury "They (Adis) are perhaps, the most forward, looking, and people of very independent character." (2)

- (1) Sachin Roy, Aspects of Padam-Minyang Culture (Shillong, 1960), p.223. V.Elwin, Democracy in North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong, 1965, p.17.
- (2) J.N.Chowdhury, Arunachal Panorama (Shillong, 1982), p. 146.

The Assembly house of Keba is called the Moshup or Dere. It is usually built in the middle of the village. Dere is the place where all the activities of the Kebang revolves around. The explorer Wilcox, who visited the Adi country in 1825, described the Dere where the Kebang meet as the "hall of audience and debate." Generally, the Senior members present are given precedence in speaking. Any member can speak for whatever length of time he chooses to speak. So, the present educated class of Adis called it by the nick name of 'Senate', where the Senators can speak for an unspecified length. But the decisions in the Kebang are not taken by a formal vote but discussion continues until general unanimity is achieved. (1) This crude system might be the most refined way to pass a decision in the legislature.

According to Varrier Elwin, the Adi Kebang, originally was largely dominated by preists and Shamas and derived their authority from supernational sanctions that they were able to invoke. It was formally rooted in custom and tradition and wide wideauthority over every aspect of Adi life. But the administrative structure of the Adis is essentially democratic. To quote Sahin Roy, "autocracy in any form has not been known to them and in the absence of a

 (1) V.Elwin, Democracy in North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1965), p.18.

distinct class of nobility, oligarchy has remained equally unknown. Theirs' is, in a true sense, a government by the people and for the people." (1)

Thus E.T. Dalton, the renowned author of the 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' has called the Adi village as a 'Republic' (2) During British days it was to some extent transformed. Official headman, called the Gam were appointed in every village.

Today, Kebang, recognised by Government gained a certain amount of authority. The appointment of Gams has changed the Kebang to some extent, for they naturally became members and caused the authority of the priests to decline. They introduced official element which was previously absent But the Adi Kebang still remains a very important body which can be attended by any person of influence. It is in fact, essentially a court of the people. Laws are framed by the people. Every decision is supposed to come from the people, the chiefs or Gams have no rights but to approve and enforce it.

(1) Sachin Roy, Aspects of Padam-Minyong Culture (Shillong, 1960), p.222.

(2) V.Elvin, Democracy in North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1965), p.103.

Thus Sachin Roy argued that the political structure of the Adis is essentially democratic. To quote Bijan Mohanta, "of all the Tribal Councils, the Adi village council was more developed." (1) Kebang in true sense represents government of the people by the people and for the people. It is pyramid like structure starting from village council to inter-village council and to all village council which is described below.

Bane Kebang

At village level, there exists Bane Kebang. It is a regular village council body where meeting of all men takes place at regular intervals. Women are not allowed and Gam takes a leading role. Such Kebang can take decision on peace, war, agriculture, communication, education or any problem pertaining to the village. Even governmental plans of development are discussed here and government also takes cognizance of such decisions.

Bango Kebang:

Bango Kebang is the inter-village council. Even before Independence, an elaborate institution known as the 'BANGO' was there. It is rather more fully organised than the -----

(1) B.Mohanta, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh (Uppal, Delhi, 1984), p.130.

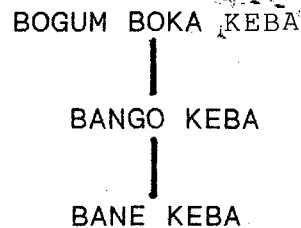
village Kebang. Today it is a much larger unit acting like the 'Adi Parliament'. All villages are divided into several groups for determining the jurisdiction of each Bango Kebang. The Kebang works in terms of welfare of the member villages and makes people to think in terms of a larger commitment above the village level.

Bogum Bokang Kebang:

Bogum Bokang Keba is the highest and supreme agency of all Kebangs. It has its jurisdiction over all the Adi village Kebangs. Thus, it can be called the 'supreme parliament' of the Adi country. It is the confederacy of all village republics and its session is temporarily initiated for consideration of a particular case of high importance concerning Adi society. Modern Bogum Boka are more sophisticated than older Bogum Boka. Office bearers are elected minutes of all sessions are kept and resolutions are typed out in English and forwarded to the administration. This Adi Parliament enacts the laws of Adi society, formulates policies, discuss matters relating to war, peace, culture, religion, language and development. The decision of this Parliament is taken seriously by the government.

An elaborate description of Adi Kebang has been made here because, the North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Regulation, 1967 is based on the Adi Kebang hierarchical system. Moreover, it is very interesting to note that the Adi Kebang is a unique miniature of Mahatma Gandhi's Panchayat RAJ system. Gandhiji's principle of decentralisation can be found in these tribal councils. So, it is not unnatural that Gandhiji is a loved and cherished national figure today among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

KEBANG STRUCTURES



The Aka Mele:

The Aka village council is also constituted on a democratic basis. The village council in local language is called 'Melley' or 'Mele'. Today's democratic form of Mele has evolved from Chieftaincy. Earlier the Akas had chiefs and Queens. The Aka Queens, who used to wield vast powers are now almost non-existent. The Akas have developed a kind of democratic form of village council today.

The village council represent the village as a whole. All villagers act as Village Council members. Membership

is not hereditary and is given to any person of knowledge and experience. Importance is given not so much to wealth or property as to age in Aka Society.

The Village Council is headed by 'Nuggu', who is the noblest among all elders. The 'Borak' or 'Giba' are Nuggu's junior associates. The meeting of the village council usually takes place in any open place and the villagers freely participate in it. A decision is taken by consensus or by Majority vote. All matters relating to village community, family or individual disputes are discussed and resolved here. Thus, the ultimate authority of the village council is the people of the Village as a whole who form the General Assembly.

The similarity between the Akas and the Adis organisation of village council is that like that of the Adis, the Akas who have the system of inter-village council meeting which perform the duty of the Adi Bango Kebang. This may be the reason why the people of Arunachal could easily adjust with the Gandhian Principle of 'Decentralisation' when it was introduced in their land in 1967, because many of the tribal councils have democratic character though they can be classified as Theocratic or Chieftainship.

Theocratic System:

Since the village councils in Arunachal Pradesh are not well developed, a clear cut classification of these councils is not possible. But an attempt will be made to classify them according to their more leanings towards a particular system. So, the village council of the Monpas, Sherdukpens and Khamptis can be classified as 'Theocratic System' though they have certain democratic characters.

The Monpa Tsorgens:

The Monpas have one of the most well organised village council. The organisational structure of the 'Mangjombana' (Village Council) shows a strong democratic and republic character. The Monpas have a strong sense of protocol. From the panel of names of suitable persons, who is considered most fit to become village chief (Tsorgon) is elected through deliberation. Sometimes, the election is done by use of secret ballots also. The Tsorgon is recognised by the Deputy Commissioners. The Thumis or Tsoblas who assist the Tsorgen in day to day administration are also elected for a period of three years. Tsorgen is elected for a period of three years but he is generally re-elected every three years. In exceptional cases, Tsorgen

can be removed from his office earlier, if he is impeached for any of his wrong actions. Thus Dr. Bijan Mohanta says the Republican type is found among the Monpas.(1)

Tsorgen administers village in every respect. He, with his village council enjoys executive, judicial, financial, developmental and legislative powers and runs a responsible form of village government. Appeal against his decision lies only in Tso-Tsangzon (General Assembly and Government's **competent** officers respectively).

Thus, the traditional village council of Monpas were organised on republican pattern. But it has been called a theocratic form of council because the villages which were autonomous in their internal affairs were knit together under one theocratic government with a supreme Monastic authority, the Governor of Tawang.

The Sherdukpen Jung:

The Sherdukpen village council is called Jung. It is basically a democratic institution, as it is an elected body whose members are the elders elected by the villagers. The head of every family is expected to participate in the

(1) Bijan Mohanta, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh (Uppal, New Delhi, 1984), p.128

proceedings of the village councils. But the undemocratic trait in Sherdukpen society is that it is divided into the royal and the subject class. The royal class are called 'Thongs' and the subject class are called 'Chaos.'

Despite class distinctions, however, hereditary principles are not applied in village council body. It consists of a headman (Thik Akhao), village members (Jung Mo), Courier (Kacheng) and Watchman. Thik Akhao is the executive head, but he can be removed if he loses the confidence of the villagers.

The Sherdukpens and the Monpas hold their council meetings in the courtyard of the Gompa (Buddhist temple). The council meetings are guided by the monastic rules. The Monpa and Shurdukpen councils were subordinate to the Governor of Tawang, who is the supreme monastic authority of Tawang valley.(1) Thus, the village council of Monpas and Sherdukpens were basically theocratic system despite their strong democratic tendencies and characters.

Chieftaincy System:

Most of the tribal councils are under a chief or village headman. But the tribal councils of Adis,

(1) Foreign Proceedings (Assam), March 1988, No.40, Quoted in M.L. Bose, British Policy in North-East Frontier Agency, Concept, New Delhi, 1979.

Akas Monpas and Sherdukpens have not been classified under this Category because the chiefs do not have autocratic powers. He is a republican chief. But the chiefs of the Noctes, Wanchos, Singphos and Tansas are autocratic chiefs. So, the tribal self-Government of these tribes have been classified as Chieftaincy system.

The Nocte Ngothun:

The Village Councils of the Noctes is called Ngothun. The ngothun is headed by a chief. The chief has important officials called, Ngongba-Chief-Adviser, Rambo-public relation officer, Janba-special messenger and Noktang or Kampas, who are the representatives of each clan in the village. The chief is called Lowang.

The institutions of village chief is hereditary. Again there are higher chiefs above the village chiefs. These chiefs control a number of villages. The powerful chiefs of Namsang, Borduriah and Laptang are well known. The chiefs get handsome tributes from his subjects. An appeal against the decision of Ngothun lies with the chief under whose jurisdiction the village falls.

The traditional chiefs, by their advantageous position in the society have captured high political posts in the modern political set up.

The Wanchu-Wangcha (Wancho):

The Wancho village council is called Wanchu-Wancha. The head of the village council is called Wangham. Each class nominates a member to the council. There are village officials like that of the noctes. The council maintains law and order, resolves disputes and welfare and developmental activities.

The Wanchos have great chiefs, each controlling a number of villages. The chiefs are very powerful. The council meets at the Chiefs house. Inter-Village disputes are taken for consideration by the respective village councils and the decision is conveyed through a messenger to the concerned villages. In case the dispute is not resolved, the chief will give the final verdict, which is binding on both the parties.

The Singpho Tra:

The Singphos have no well organised village council. The society is divided into several small classes, each under a chief. The chiefs are independent of each other and very powerful. Chieftaincy is hereditary but the council of elders dominates the society if the chief is weak. The

disputes are generally resolved with the help of elders. Each family operates as an independent political unit while paying regard to the chief. Singpo village council is called 'TRA'.

The KHAMpti Mok Chup:

The village council of the Khamptis is under the control of the chief. The council, called Mokchup is convened by the Chief at his will or when a dispute arise in the village. The political authority vests in the chief who is from royal class and his office is hereditary. The chief and his council administers justice on the principles of their Buddhism "a sacred text known as Thamasat."(1) Thus the Kampti traditional self-government is chieftainship as well as theocratic.

Individualistic and other patterns:

There are other types of village councils or tribal administrative systems. These cannot be called councils or systems in strict sense of the term because there is no proper organisation in it. It can be broadly divided into Individualistic and Arbiter system. The Nishis are generally individualistic by nature and lack any kind of

(1) V.Elwin, Democracy in North-East Frontier Agency (Shillong, 1965), p.167.

central organisation to obey. The Mishmis are also individualistics like Nishis. So, both these tribes have a kind of arbiter system. The arbiter is Nishi is called 'Gingdungs' and Mishmis call it 'Abbala'. The arbiter negotiate between the two disputing parties on arbitrary principles. The Apatanis have large village segmented into clan sectors, each administered by its own clan council. The village though compact, was without the integrated cohesion of the Adi or Monpa type. It is also basically an individualistic society. The Tangsas have better organised council of elders.

The traditional tribal self-government pattern of a tribe influencesthe political culture of that tribe in modern political system. In Arunachal Pradesh, the tribes having democratic and progrssive traditional village council are more advanced than the others those who do not have proper village council. The Adis, who have an advanced traditional Kebang are dominant in the state politics today. The Monpas, who have well organised councils are still very much law abiding. Due to their theocratic system of the past and influence of Buddhism, no serious effort has been made by this tribe to capture the political reins of the state. Thus, a study of the past political system of a tribe

gives ample idea about the state of political system. Moreover, the Panchayat Raj Regulation of 1967 had different levels of success in different tribes, which show that past political culture of a tribe goes a long way to make democratic decentralisation successful or unsuccessful in that particular tribe.

TABLE
(STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SELF-GOVERNMENT)

NATURE	TRIBE	COUNCIL	HEAD OF COUNCIL
DEMOCRATIC	ADI	KEBANG	VILLAGE ELDERS
	AKA	MELE	NUGGU
THEOCRATIC	MONPA	MANGJOMBANA	TSORGEN
	SHERDOKPEN	JUNG	THIK AKAO
	KHAMPTI	MOKSHUP	VILLAGE CHIEF
CHIEFTAINCY	NOCTE	NGOTHUN	LOWANG
	WANCHO	WANCHO-WANGSA	WANGHAM
	SINGPHO	TRATUNGDAI	TRA
	KHAMPTI	Self Government Structure can also be classified as Chieftaincy.	
Individualist and Arbiter System	NISHI	YALLO	GINGDUNG
	IDU	ABBALA	
	KAMAN (MISHMI)	PARAI	
	APA TANI	BULIANG	
	TANGSA	KAPHUA	WANG

North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967:

Although the tribal councils of Arunachal Pradesh were mostly democratic bodies, yet they lacked many qualities of a self-governing local body. For instance, the idea of adult franchise was not popular among the traditional village council. The limited role of women in the council was conspicuous. Many of the tribal self-government were under autocratic chiefs. Others were individualistic and loosely organised. So, to give a new life to these tribal councils, the study team of the committee on plan projects in North-East Frontier Agency, constituted by the Government of India, under the Chairmanship of Daying Ering, recommended the introduction of Panchayat Raj in North-East Frontier Agency.

Though the Chinese aggression of 1962 was an unfortunate event, yet it was a blessing in disguise for the people of North-East Frontier Agency (Arunachal Pradesh). Because after 1962 only, the Government of India took interest in the administration of North-East Frontier Agency. From 1962 only the Government of India fully understood the needs and aspirations of the North-East Frontier Agency tribes and also tried to introduce a pattern of administration that would suit the local condition as well as strengthen the security of this border state. The creation of Daying Ering Committee on 11th April, 1964 was a major step in this direction.

Daying Ering Committee:

This Committee was headed by Mr. Daying Ering, the then Parliamentary Secretary. It also included Sri B.D.Pandey, the then Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Brigadier D.M. Sen, Former Legal Adviser and Mr. L.Thanga, the then Development Commissioner, in North-East Frontier Agency.

The committee was requested to propose regarding:

- 1) The type of democratic bodies suitable at the village level and above.
- 2) The extent and nature of jurisdiction of these bodies
- 3) The phases in which the recommendations of the committee might be put into force having regard to the varying stages of development of the different tribal group.

The Committee started its work in May 1964 and submitted its report on 4th January 1965. The committee suggested some drastic changes in existing administrative structure and in traditional village councils. It had also recommended that non-external and indigenous system should be retained and that elections to the councils should be conducted according to tribal customs. The chapter-wise details of the Daying Ering committee report are as follows:

Chapter I: Historical background, constitutional position, present administration and people's organisations.

Chapter 2: Details of Tour, visits, views of people contacted, tribes, meet etc.

Chapter 3: Recommendations. About fifty recommendations have been made.

The Ering Committee recommended a four tier local self-government in North-East Frontier Agency because it had no state legislature during that time. So, the fourth tier (i.e. Agency Council) was to be territorial body which would play the role of state legislature. Its objective was to perpetuate through the Agency Council a People's forum of territorial structure for the first time. Following are the main recommendations:

(1) Village Councils: At the lowest level, there should be village council called Gram Panchayat. The village should be made geographically compact and a viable unit. The council should be composed of all the tribal groups residing within its territory. Election or selection of the village headman should be according to the prevailing tribal customs. Three functions of the village councils namely judicial, developmental and general was recognised by the committee. The committee also proposed that each village council should appoint a paid secretary to maintain the records of the council meetings for future reference and examination.

Nowhere the committee recommended the replacement of the traditional village councils, but suggested only a few changes in its composition and functioning.

(2) Regional Councils: Above village councils, there should be regional councils called Anchal Samiti at every block or circle level. The representative of the Regional Council should be from the village councils and representation of other tribes be adequately provided.

The Regional Councils major function should be in the field of development. This body should not have any judicial function to perform except for adjudication of inter-village disputes referred to it.

The officer-in-Charge of the Sub-division should be the ex-officio Chairman of this council, which should meet at least four times a year.

(3) District Council: There should be a District Council called the Zilla Parishad at district level. The Committee envisaged a representative body similar to that of Adi Bango Kebang.

The district council should comprise of one to three elected members from each Regional Council and six members

will be nominated in the initial stages to secure representation to unrepresented tribes if considered necessary. The membership of the district council should be about 24 to 30 persons depending upon the number of circles in each district.

The Zilla Parishad should be an advisory body and should be consulted in administrative and developmental activities. Deputy Commissioner should be the Chairman of the District Council which should meet at least three times a year.

(4) Agency Council: At the top, there should be an Agency Council. This will be a territorial level council. Agency Council should consist of 20 members, which will be four elected members from each of the five district councils. The member of Parliament from North-East Frontier Agency would be its ex-officio member. The council would meet once or twice a year either at Shillong (the Administrative Headquarter of North-East Frontier Agency) or any other convenient place as selected from time to time. The council would discuss in detail, the Five Year Plan for North-East Frontier Agency, the annual budget, tax proposals and the allocation of funds.

Thus, Agency Advisory Council was to be something like that of Adi Bogum Bokang Kebang. A four tier self-Government was envisaged.

Other recommendations of the Ering Committee was -

- 1) The creation of a body like municipal committee in the towns.
- 2) The administration of North-East Frontier Agency should be transferred from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs.
- 3) The members of Parliament from North-East Frontier Agency should be elected in some other way, rather than being wholly nominated.
- 4) The system of Political Interpreter (PI) should be discontinued.
- 5) The Indian Frontier Administrative Service (IFAS) cadre of Service which was created for the North-East Frontier Agency should be absorbed into the IAS Cadre, with a special pool for service in these areas.
- 6) The nomenclature of the officers should be changed from Political Officer and Assistant Political Officer to Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner respectively.
- 7) The committee also suggested for the creation of North-East Frontier Agency police cadre drawn up from among North-East Frontier Agency people.
- 8) The committee favoured the three language formula in North-East Frontier Agency.
- 9) The committee suggested for electric generation and improved communication of the territory also.

The Ering Committee report ushered an era of all round development. The report was a first hand social survey of the then North-East Frontier Agency people and their polity. The epoch making political changes proposed by the Ering Committee was the 'Democratic Decentralisation' on national pattern, while integrating all indigenous tribal councils with a uniform system. The North-East Frontier Agency panchayat Raj Regulation 1967 which introduced a new political and administrative structure in Arunachal Pradesh was the direct outcome of the Ering Committee report.

The North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967:

The Panchayat Raj Regulation of 1967 constitute an important chapter in the history of the administration of Arunachal Pradesh. Panchayat Raj introduced in North-East Frontier Agency follows the All India pattern. It was the beginning of democratic processes in Arunachal Pradesh. It was primarily an administrative arrangement. So, it did not necessarily bring any constitutional change in the status of the territory. But it was the beginning of democratic decentralisation in this once hidden and forbidden land.

The recommendations of Ering Committee were accepted by the Government of India. The President of India promulgated the North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation

(Regulation 3 of 1967) with effect from 2nd October 1968, incorporating the scheme of Ering Committee with minor modifications. This regulation envisaged a four tier system with Gram Panchayat at Village level, Anchalsamiti at block level, Zilla Parishad at district level and Agency Council at the Apex, which was a kind of state legislature. In brief, the composition, powers and functions of each tier are as follows:

Gram Panchayat:

The indigenous village councils were given the status of Gram Panchayat. As per the regulation of 1967, the "Gram Panchayat" means a village authority constituted under the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945. But the North-East Frontier (Administration) Supplementary Regulation, 1971 made the Village Panchayats elective. Thus it ended the era of Chiefs hereditary leadership.

The Regulation of 1967 fixed the ratio between the number of the Gram Panchayat and the population of village or a group of villages as one Gram Panchayat member to each 100 population. The ratio of member shall be two in case the population is more than 150 in a particular village, as per Panchayat Raj Amendment 1987. The minimum age for a voter of Gram Panchayat is same as that of General election

voter's age. But the person contesting for the post of Gram Panchayat Member must be 25 years of age. All adults who are ordinarily resident in the area of Gram Panchayat can vote as well as contest, provided he satisfies the age qualification. The list of all the eligible adults of each village are prepared and published in the respective offices of the Deputy Commissioners or his subordinate officers.

Though the Gram Panchayat performs some important developmental works at the grassroot level, yet it is generally regarded as an electoral college for the election of Anchal Samiti.

Anchal Samiti:

Section 4(1) of the Regulation 3 of 1967 provides that "The Governor may, by notification, constitute an Anchal Samiti for a Block with effect from such date as may be specified therein."(1)

Composition and Constitution:

An Anchal Samiti consists of the following members:

(1) P.N.Luthra, Constitutional and Administrative Growth of North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong, 1971 (The North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967), p.125.

(1) One representative elected by the members of each Gram Panchayat , falling within the jurisdiction in a block. An Anchal Samiti comprises a specified number of Gram Panchayats - usually not above 25.

(2) One representative from the cooperative societies situated within the block as ex-officio member.

(3) Five persons nominated by the Deputy Commissioner from the members of the unrepresented tribes.

(4) The sub-divisional officer of the sub-division in which the block is situated, as ex-officio members.

Besides the above members, the Deputy Commissioner may appoint such officers as ex-officio members of an Anchal Samiti without the right of vote as may be deemed necessary.

The members of Gram Panchayat and the number of members of an Anchal Samiti in a block area, are restricted to 25 in both the cases.

Membership of Anchal Samiti:

A person would be disqualified from being elected or selected as a member of an Anchal Samiti if he -

- (1) is not a citizen of India;
- (2) is not twenty-five years of age;

(3) has been dismissed from the service of Government or an Anchal Samiti or any other local authority for misconduct unless a period of five years has elapsed from such dismissal, or

(4) holds any office of profit under Government or an Anchal Samiti or any other local authority; or

(5) has directly or indirectly any share or monetary interest in any work done by or to, the Anchal Samiti or in any contract or employment with, under, or by or on behalf of the Anchal Samiti; or

(6) is an undischarged insolvent; or

(7) is of unsound mind and stand so declared by a competent court; or

(8) has been convicted by a criminal court of any offence involving moral turpitude and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than six months and five years have not elapsed since his release.

Provided that the disqualifications specified in clauses (4) and (5) shall not apply to an ex-officio member.

The term of the members of the Anchal Samiti has been fixed at three years, but in special cases, the Governor may

extend the term for another two years at the maximum. Any member other than an ex-officio member, loses his office if he remained absent, for three consecutive ordinary meetings of the Samiti without sufficient cause. The members are eligible for re-election or re-nomination.

President, Vice-President and other officers of Anchal Samiti:

The Regulation provides that "The Sub-divisional officer who is a member of an Anchal Samiti shall be its President".

Also "In the first meeting of an Anchal Samiti, the members shall elect from among themselves, a Vice-President in the manner prescribed:"

Other junior officers, not below the rank of circle officer, is appointed as executive officer, who is also the secretary of Anchal Samiti. The President continues to hold his office so long as he holds the office of Sub-divisional officer and ex-officio membership of the Samiti. But the Vice-President can be removed from the office by a no confidence motion passed by not less than 2/3rd of the Vice-Presidents or by the Governor.

Powers and Functions of Anchal Samities:

Since Anchal Samities are the main base for the developmental activities, enormous powers and functions are given to it. The second schedule of the Regulation 3 of 1967 provides a long list of the powers and functions of the Anchal Samities. A brief summary of it is as follows:

(1) In sphere of sanitation, and public health-cleaning up the area, supplying drinking water, sanitation, preventing public nuisance, medical relief, preventing infectious diseases, maternity and child welfare.

(2) The Public Works include:

- Construction, maintenance and repair of buildings, waterways, public roads, drains, embankments, culverts bunds and bridges.

- construction and maintenance of minor irrigation works, land managements, regulating huts, bazars and fairs.

(3) In the sphere of education and culture:

- Establishment and maintenance of library, school, reading room, club or other places of recreation and games.

- Spread of education to middle english and middle vernacular standards and also above it.

- Organising celebration of native and public festivals

- Popularisation of village sports.

(4) Self-defence and village defence duties

(5) In the sphere of Administration:

- Maintenance of records, relating to agricultural produce, census of village industries, population, cattle, spinning wheels and weaving machine, unemployed persons or such other statistics as may be necessary.

- Registration of births, deaths, marriages and maintenance of registers for the purpose.

- Distribution of reliefs

- Drawing up of programmes for increasing the output of agricultural and non-agricultural produce in the village

- Preparation of a statement showing the requirement of the supplies and finances needed for carrying out rural development schemes.

- Acting as agent for the government for developmental works within the area where funds for the specific purposes are provided.

- Reporting to proper authorities complains which are not removable by Anchal Samiti.

(6) In the sphere of welfare of the people:

Propogation of ideas connected with improved housing

- Organisation of welfare activities among women and children and among illiterate sections of the community and welfare of backward classes.

- Organising voluntary labour for community works and works for the upliftment of the village.

(7) In the sphere of agriculture and preservation of forests:

- Improvement of agriculture and horticulture resources

- Establishment of granaries

- Ensuring conservation of manurial resources

- Production and use of improved seeds

- Promotion of cooperative farming

- Crop experiments and crop protection

(8) In the sphere of breeding and protecting cattle

(9) In the sphere of village industries

Promoton, improvement and encouragement of cottage and village industries.

The functions of the Anchal Samiti is enormous. It is doubtful whether they will be able to carry out these functions properly. Thus, there is provision that an Anchal Samiti may assign to any Gram Panchayat falling within its jurisdiction some of the specified functions.

Financial Resources of Anchal Samiti:

For any institution to function effectively, financial strength is a must. The Regulation 3 of 1967 provides for a fund for each Anchal Samiti. It lays down that the following shall be credited to form the part of the Anchal Samiti funds -

- (1) The proceeds of any tax, license fees, cess and surcharge levied under this regulation
- (2) The collection charges of tax or revenues due to Government
- (3) Any grants and contributions made by the Governor or any local authority or other persons
- (4) All sums received by way of loan or gift
- (5) The income from or the sale proceeds of any property of Anchal Samiti
- (6) The sale proceeds of all dust, dirt, dung or refuse collected by the Anchal Samiti

(7) All sums received in aid of or for expenditure on, any institution or service, managed or financed by the Anchal Samiti.

(8) Any other sums paid to the Anchal Samiti.

Besides all these, the Anchal Samitis are empowered to raise loans for discharging its functions properly and to make repayment of such loans from Sinking fund and also to levy taxes on certain specified items prescribed under Section 40 of the Regulation after obtaining approval from the Governor.

The Anchal Samiti prepare an estimate annual budget and submit it to the Deputy Commissioner.

Control of Gram Panchayat and Anchal Samities:

The Governor and Such officers appointed by him in this behalf control the Gram Panchayats and the Anchal Samities. This is provided in Chapter V, under Section 60 of the Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967. Governor can also appoint one officer to act as inspector of local works for one or more sub-divisions, who can also advise in regard to the construction or repairs of any property under control and administration of any property under control and administration of any Gram Panchayat or Anchal Samiti.

With regard to control by the Governor, it is provided as follows:

(1) If in the opinion of the Governor, an Anchal Samiti

(a) exceeds or abuses its powers; or

(b) is incompetent to perform or makes willful and persistent default in the discharge of the functions imposed on it by, or under, this Regulation or any other law for the time being in force; or

(c) persistently disobeys the orders of the Deputy Commissioner or the officer under sub-section (1) of Section 63, the Governor may, by order in writing, dissolve the Anchal Samiti and direct that it shall be reconstituted in the manner provided in this Regulation.

In such case, the Governor can appoint any person or persons as the administrator on his behalf, to discharge the functions of the Anchal Samiti.

If any dispute arises between two or more Anchal Samities or between an Anchal Samiti and a Gram Panchayat or between two or more Gram Panchayats, it shall be referred to the Governor and his decision thereon shall be final.

Thus, the Governor is given unlimited powers to control the Anchal Samities and Gram Panchayat. Rather, these two

bodies are at the mercy of the Governor. But till now, the unwritten law of human relationship has prevented the Governor from taking up such an autocratic step.

Zilla Parishad:

Chapter III, section 51 of the Regulation 3 of 1967 provides for a Zilla Parishad. It is the highest unit of local self-government at the district level and each Zilla Parishad for each district is to be constituted by the notification of the Governor. The Zilla Parishad consists of the following members:

- (1) The Vice-Presidents of all the Anchal Samiti in the district as ex-officio members
- (2) One representative of every Anchal Samities in the district who is elected by the members of Anchal Samiti from amongst themselves.
- (3) Not more than six persons to be nominated by the Governor on the recommendations of the Deputy Commissioner from out of the tribes which have not secured any representation to the Zilla Parishad.
- (4) The Deputy Commissioner in charge of the district as ex-officio President of the Zilla Parishad.

President and Vice-President:

Section 53 of the Regulation provides that:

- (1) The Deputy Commissioner shall be the President of the Zilla Parishad
- (2) As soon as may be after a Zilla Parishad is constituted, the Zilla Parishad shall elect in the prescribed manner from amongst members a Vice-President who shall, subject to the other provisions of this Regulation, hold office for a period of three years.

Powers and functions:

Zilla Parishad is the supreme body in finalising the plans and programmes of district. All the heads of departments of development are taken as ex-officio members of the Zilla Parishad for sponsoring the scheme on a resolution adopted in the Zilla Parishad meeting.

Section 55 of the Regulation provides that 'The Zilla Parishad shall advise the Governor on all matters concerning the activities of the Gram Panchayats and Anchal Samities situated within the District.

In particular, it shall be the duty of the Zilla Parishad:

- (a) to make recommendations to the Governor in respect of
- (1) the distribution and allocation of funds and grants to the Anchal Samities.
 - (2) the budget estimates of the Anchal Samities.
 - (3) the coordination and consolidation of the plan proposed by the Anchal Samities and drawing up of the district plan.
 - (4) the coordination of the work of the Gram Panchayat and Anchal Samities; and
 - (5) land settlement and raising of revenues for the Anchal Samities.
- (b) To review the working of Anchal Samities from time to time
- (c) To advise on such other matters as may be referred to it by the Governor.

Meetings:

It has been provided that the Zilla Parishad shall meet as often as necessary to transact its business. But there should not be a gap of more than six months between two meetings of Zilla Parishad. In the absence of both President and Vice-President, any member nominated by the President presides over the meetings. All decisions should

be taken by majority of votes of the members. In case of tie, the decision is taken by the second or casting vote of the President of the meeting. But the 1987 amendment of the Arunachal Pradesh, Panchayat Raj 1972 Act provided that the Presiding Officer shall have no right to cast his vote in case of a tie. In the event of a tie, there shall be re-election and if again there is a tie, then it shall be decided by toss. Thus, the Presiding Officer has been deprived of his casting vote.

Agency Council:

At the top of the Pachayat structure, there was to be an Agency Council. It was an advisory body for the entire territory of North-East Frontier Agency. It was something like Bogum Bokang Kebang of the Adis. ~~DAYING ERING~~ Committee also recommended for the creation of an Agency Advisory Council. The Agency Council consisted of the following members:

- (1) The President
- (2) The Member of Parliament representing North-East Frontier Agency
- (3) The Vice-Presidents of the Zilla Parishads.
- (4) Three representatives from each of the Zilla Parishads to be elected by its members from amongst themselves in the prescribed manner.
- (5) The Adviser to the Governor, ex-officio.

Powers and functions:

Regarding the Powers and functions of the Agency Council, section 58 of the Regulation provides that :

The Agency Council may be consulted by the Governor in regard to:

(1) Matters of administration involving general questions of policy relating to the North-East Frontier Agency in the state field;

(2) The five year plan and the annual plan proposals for the development of the North-East Frontier Agency.

(3) The estimated receipts and expenditure pertaining to the North-East Frontier Agency to be credited, to and to be made from the consolidated fund of India.

(4) Proposals for undertaking legislation with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the state list in the Seventh schedule to the Constitution.

(5) Any other matters which the Governor may refer to it for advice.

The Agency Council was basically an advisory body.

Meeting of Agency Council:

Section 59 of the Regulation 3 of 1967 provides that:

(1) The Agency Council shall meet as often as may be necessary and not more than one year shall elapse between one meeting of the Agency Council and another meeting

(2) The Governor shall preside at the meetings of the Agency Council

(3) Meetings of the Agency Council shall be regulated by such procedure as may be prescribed

(4) Subject to rules regulating the procedure of the Agency Council and subject to the discretion of the Governor to refuse to give information or to allow discussion or any subject in the public interest, a member of the Agency Council shall have the right to ask questions as matters of public interest relating to the North-East Frontier Agency.

Conclusion:

Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh has heralded a new era in its political development. It has revitalised the traditional tribal self-government into a fully democratic structure. The value of Panchayat Raj lay in the fact that it laid the political infrastructure in the area. The implementation of the Panchayat Raj Regulation in 1967 was the first step towards democratisation of power in this once hidden land.

But the Panchayat Raj introduced in Arunachal Pradesh is not without drawbacks :

First, the powers and functions of the Gram Panchayat and Anchal Samities are so vast which they are not capable of discharging.(1)

Secondly, there is too much administrative control over Anchal Samiti and Zilla Parishad. The President of the Anchal Samiti happened to be the S.D.O. and the Deputy Commissioner that of the Zilla Parishad.

Thirdly, the role of the Governor jeopardise the democratic character of the Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh. The Governor can dissolve the Panchayat bodies at any time.

Fourthly, the Agency Council was a territorial body. So it was not within the general framework of Panchayat system, rather it was not a panchayat institution. Moreover, the role of Agency Council was only advisory. Above all, Agency Council was converted into Provisional Legislature and five councillors were made the first Cabinet ministry of the state. This gave undue advantages to certain sections of the people in State political system. So today there is a tendency of division of society into two classes, one at the top and the other class at the lower level, leaving the place of middle class as vacuum.

(1) Bijan Mohanta, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh (Uppal, New Delhi, 1984), p.165.

Finally, the objectives of Panchayat Raj are decentralisation, development and social change, and they have not been realised in Arunachal Pradesh. More and more concentration of political powers are seen because the Panchayat bodies are made elective which give chances to political leaders to interfere in the local affairs. In developmental sphere also, the political elites are the main beneficiaries of the Government schemes of development. So in Arunachal Pradesh, virtually there is no middle class. Society is divided into upper and lower classes only. It is a poor political culture. Moreover, another chief aim of Panchayat Raj is socio-political change. But such changes have led to some adverse effects and problems.

There is degeneration of local political institutions in regard to their authority and jurisdiction. With the result, the traditional set up is crumbling and tribal class loyalties are breaking up. Political solidarity of the village is breaking down.(1)

A feeling is developing among tribes to develop their separate political identity and to emerge as a powerful gainer group. There is a slackening in the tribal ethos of corporate and communal life. It is gradually replaced by individualistic tendencies. Social control is loosening.

To give democracy to 'noble savages', is like putting some 'disquieting elements' into their society. This may be the reason why verrier Elwin was all for the retention of tribal councils. Moreover, the Panchayat Raj Regulation was passed in 1967, but it was not introduced till 1969. It was feared that it would upset the age old political equilibrium in the society.

All said and done, it is a fact that every body loves and desire democracy. If we open the windows to let in fresh air into the room, it is obvious that some flies will also come in. But in any way, it does not engulf the merits of democratic decentralisation. This highly cherished principle of democratic decentralisation is bound to overcome the obstacles in the long run. So, the problems which the society of Arunachal Pradesh is facing at the initial stage of its decentralisation process today, can be regarded as a 'pain of growth' and not a malady. Moreover, the Panchayat Raj system of 1967 introduced in Arunachal Pradesh can be regarded as the realisation of Gandhian Principle of 'Decentralisation' to the most possible extent because the whole territory was administered by Panchayat bodies. Even the highest panchayat body 'the Agency Council' had similar

- (1) B.B.Pandey, Cultural Pattern Among the people of Siang and Trends of Development Research, Volume 3, No.4, Oct. 1977, p.14.

functions as that of the state legislature. There was no state legislature, so the Agency Council was the highest legislative body in the state.

Under the Panchayat Raj System, Arunachal Pradesh has made commendable progress in rural and cottage industries. This can be regarded as an attempt to put into practice the Gandhian principle of rural development. Today, the development of such industries is one of the major developmental programmes before the policy makers in Arunachal Pradesh. So, the state is yet to see the establishment of heavy industries.

Thus, the Panchayat Raj Regulation of 1967 has brought this once hidden and forbidden land much closer to the national mainstream. Arunachal Pradesh is the only state in North-East India which can claim to practice the Gandhian principles of Panchayat Raj. Today, it has a three tier panchayat Raj system which is functioning effectively. The process of decentralisation has undermined the feudal authorities of the old village chiefs. A new day has thus dawned in this land of rising sun.

C H A P T E R - VI

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

C H A P T E R - VI

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Ever since taking over the administration of the area by the Government of India in 1947 from the British regime, Arunachal Pradesh is changing gradually. At the time of the country's Independence, the villages surrounding the administrative headquarters knew little or nothing of the outside world. Today Arunachal Pradesh has made significant achievements in political, social and economic fields and it is a full-fledged state with a popular Legislative Assembly. Administration has reached all the corners of the state. People are slowly gaining social and political consciousness. They also have the adequate share in the economy of the country. But despite all these achievements, there are several problems in Arunachal Pradesh with which the people of this land are confronting. The path of their progress and prosperity is not smooth until the satisfactory solution to the problems are sought as early as possible. We shall briefly discuss some of the major problems of Arunachal Pradesh.

Racial, Cultural and Linguistic Diversity:

It is a fact that all hill states of the North-East have racial, cultural and linguistic diversities. But this

problem of Arunachal Pradesh is more sharp and acute as compared to other states. It is regarded as the most heterogenous tribal area of the world. There are some 110 tribes and subtribes which speak different dialects and have different culture. Each major tribe of Arunachal Pradesh such as the Adi, Aka, Nishi, Singpo, Mishmi etc. have been divided into several clans. These clans also differ among themselves in respect of their customary laws, beliefs, culture, behaviours and dialects. Besides these tribes and clans there are a number of small tribes which do not belong to any of the larger tribes. The Lisus, Ngas and Yobins are such small tribes. Peculiarity is that these small tribes too maintain their own separate cultures, dialects, traditions and socio-political set up.(1) So it is no surprise when we find different villages speaking different dialects of their own. This is the greatest barrier for the people of Arunachal Pradesh to evolve a common language and also a common platform to fight their cause.

Thus the social and cultural diversities of the people of Arunachal pose a serious threat to the unity of the state. No group is ready to merge its identity into the group of others. However, some sign of change in their traditional and parochial attitude can be seen. The process of unity and mutual cooperation is now taking place slowly.

(1) See Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf: Tribes in India, The Struggle for Survival (Delhi, 1989), p.35.

The educated Arunachalees of the present generation are much liberal in their outlook and have accepted the idea of mutual cooperation as a better way of life.

Illitracy:

Mass illitracy is another problem of Arunachal Pradesh. Most of its people, in the age group of 50 and above are illiterate, with the result that they do not understand the importance of modernity and progress. As a result, most of the developmental schemes undertaken by the Government become ineffective the moment it reaches the grassroot level. This can be regarded as one of the main cause of the economic backwardness of Arunachal Pradesh.

Today the Government is taking several steps to improve the literacy in Arunachal Pradesh. A number of schools have been opened in the villages also. In these schools not only education is imparted free of cost but scholarships and stipends are also given to the students with a view to encourage them. As a result, Arunachal now has one University, four colleges and many schools. The increase in the literacy percentage is also very much encouraging. The literacy rate in 1971 census was 11.29% and in 1981 census it shot up to 20.09%. But today the literacy percentage of

Arunachal Pradesh is 41.22 (According to 1991 census)*. Thus Arunachal has been given a new direction towards modern education. Today Arunachal is effectively fighting the problem of illitracy.

Communication Problem:

Third major and perplexing problem of Arunachal Pradesh is its poor communication system. Road construction in Arunachal Pradesh is very hard because of the nature of the terrain. The area is mountaneous and covered with dense forests. Villages are scattered and situated at great heights. The hills are high and steep and rivers are turbulent. Lack of good communication system in Arunachal was one of the most responsible factors for the defeat of India in the Chino-Indian war of 1962.**.

Inspite of these difficulties, more than 10,000 Km. of motorable roads have been constructed today. This figure is definitely encouraging in comparison to 179 Km. of motorable road in Arunachal in 1947.*** That day is not far when Arunachal shall see a good communication system.

* Sources: Statistical Notebook, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 1971, 1981 and 1991

** Maxwell, Neville: India's China War, p.301, Jaico Publishing House, Bomnay, 1970

*** Statistical Handbook, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 1991.

Economic Backwardness:

Economic backwardness is another problem of Arunachal Pradesh. Many factors contribute to its economic backwardness. But the poor communication system may be regarded as the main cause of this problem. Due to poor communication system, the prices of goods and services becomes very high. Moreover, the sources of income of the people of Arunachal are very limited. Their cultivating method is still traditional. But cultivation still remain as the main occupation of the people in the state. No doubt, some small scale industries are coming up in Arunachal Pradesh with the help of the Government, but these are not sufficient to rescue the masses from poverty.

The prospect of the economic development of Arunachal Pradesh lie in the new and improved methods of cultivation. The people should be trained in the science of small scale industries, fisheries, bee-keeping, knitting etc. They should also be given sufficient monetary assistance to start different professions. Special schemes should also be prepared after making thorough survey of the areas for their economic development. But the most important step in this direction would be to discover and properly utilise the natural resources of the area. Since Arunachal Pradesh

occupy a significant position in the petroleum map of India, it should be rationally exploited for the benefit of Arunachal in particular and India in general. The Government of Arunachal Pradesh is already earning more than Rs.2,00,000 annually as Licence fee from the Oil India Limited. In this way, the people of Arunachal Pradesh should be taught and encouraged that they can also get rid of poverty with strong determination and hard labour.

Problem of Human Resources:

The peasants of Arunachal Pradesh are not landless nor is there any exploiting class of landlords. Both males and females are workers. But the production of food is not enough for the state. Arunachal has rich forests, hydel and mineral resources. But these resources are still unexploited properly and consequently it leads to general backwardness. But it is interesting to note that economic disparity is not so intense.

So if immediate and effective steps are taken for human resources development in Arunachal Pradesh at this stage, it can make leaps and bounds in developmental spheres to stand at par with other states of Indian Republic.

Problem of Security:

One of the vital problems of Arunachal Pradesh is its security and defence from the foreign aggression. The Chinese invasion of 1962 has made it clear. The Chinese sinister design to subjugate the territory of Arunachal is the most serious threat to the safety and security of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Moreover, the state is situated in the frontier line of which strategic importance can never be denied.

The most alarming development was the Chinese objection to statehood for Arunachal Pradesh. The Government of China declared that the Bill passed by the Indian Parliament for the creation of the Arunachal Pradesh state is illegal and China will never grant recognition to Arunachal Pradesh which is most controversial and disputed land near the Chinese boundary. (1) Not only this, China even occupied the Chu Valley of Arunachal Pradesh in later part of 1986.

Thus, it is crystal clear that the fear of the people of Arunachal Pradesh about their safety and security from China has valid ground. People of Arunachal hope that

(1) Aaz (a Hindi Newspaper published from Patna), cited in C.Singh, Emergence of Arunachal As a State), June 8, 1987, Delhi, 1983.

Government of India will do everything possible and necessary to meet any possible threat from China to the unity and integrity of India.

Boundary Conflict With Assam:

One more serious problem of Arunachal Pradesh is its boundary conflict with Assam. The boundary line between these two states has not been settled with the result that there is chances of clashes between the people of Arunachal and Assam. In fact, the boundary problem of the states of the North-East India is a serious problem because of two factors. Firstly, all the Hill States of North-East India which were previously the hill districts of the Province of Assam have their origin in the State of Assam. The existing boundary lines of these states were fixed by the British authorities for their administrative conveniences. While fixing the boundary line, the British officials did not take care of the traditional territorial claims of different tribal people which they maintained before the arrival of the British in their lands. That is why the tribes of these hill states are claiming their traditional territories from Assam. Secondly, when the especial administrative units or statehood were granted to these hill districts of Assam by

the Government of India after independence, the question of their traditional boundary claim was not considered seriously. Perhaps the Government of India was of the view that the boundary issue would be mutually solved by these states after mutual and peaceful negotiation among themselves. But the expectation of the Government of India could not result into reality.

In case of boundary conflict between Arunachal and Assam, Arunachal Pradesh claims an area of 1033 squarekilometers inside Assam boundary while the latter complain that the people of Arunachal have ençroached more than 300 square kilometers land inside the boundary of Assam. The present governments of Arunachal and Assam are negotiating this long standing problem through several grounds of talks. It is hoped that before the Assam-Arunachal boundary dispute becomes explosive, serious efforts would be made to find out immediate solution to this problem.

Conclusion:

Arunachal Pradesh, the 'Land of Rising Sun' of India's North East Frontier was unknown to the outside world till the last century. Its myraid tribal folk had a cultural

solitude evolved throughout the ages in a process of the Darwinian struggle for existence and survival of the fittest in the midst of dense hilly terrain, isolated from the historical and cultural cross currents of the neighbouring Kingdoms. The traditional village institutions were instrumental in sustaining the tribal life and culture. In the process of political evolution, Arunachal Pradesh, till the last century was in a state of Marxian Primitivism.

Significant changes took place only with the arrival of the East India Company in the vicinity of Arunachal's frontier in the year 1826 A.D. and onwards. What followed next was various efforts for the consolidation of the British Power in the region. The first Anglo-Burmese war followed by the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 A.D. brought the British imperialism close to the borders of Arunachal Pradesh. In the year 1873, the British Government passed the Inner Line Regulation for Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Lakhimpur frontier of Assam to prevent the free entry and exit of British citizens into the tribal areas. In 1882, J.F. Needham was appointed at Sadiya as the first Assistant Political Officer to cultivate friendly relations with the different tribal groups of Arunachal Pradesh. After the Abor Expedition of 1911-12, for administrative convenience the whole of Arunachal was divided into three

sections: the western section, Central Section and Eastern Section. Such political control and administrative management by the Britishers continued till 1947.

In 1954, Arunachal Pradesh was reorganised into six frontier divisions: Kameng Frontier Division, Subansiri Frontier Division, Siang Frontier Division, Lohit Frontier Division, Tirap Frontier Division and Tuensang Frontier Division. The Indo-Chinese war of 1962 and its consequences left a strong impact in the political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh. North-East Frontier Agency administration was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1965 from the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. Panchayat Raj was introduced in 1967. The North Eastern Reorganisation Act of 1971 paved the way towards the rise of Arunachal Pradesh as a Union Territory in 1972. The ongoing political process gained further momentum in 1987 when Arunachal Pradesh became a full-fledged state.

Political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh has been peaceful. Among the trouble-torn state of North Eastern India, Arunachal stands as the Island of peace. The birth of Nagaland state in 1962 encouraged other hill districts of Assam to come ahead with similar aspirations. Consequently,

Assam, which once comprised all the hill districts, was ultimately divided into as many as five political units viz. Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. Still today, there are demands for separate state by ethnic minorities in North-East India as well as other parts of India such as Khalistan Movement in Punjab, Jharkhand Movement in Eastern India, Bodoland in Assam etc. These apparently separatist movements may have gained momentum, due to genuine socio-economic and political grievances which on occasion however, engineered by vested interests for narrow benefits. Whatever, the aims of the movements for greater autonomy, the arguments in their favour may not always be defensible unless it is viewed in the perspectives of nation building in India.

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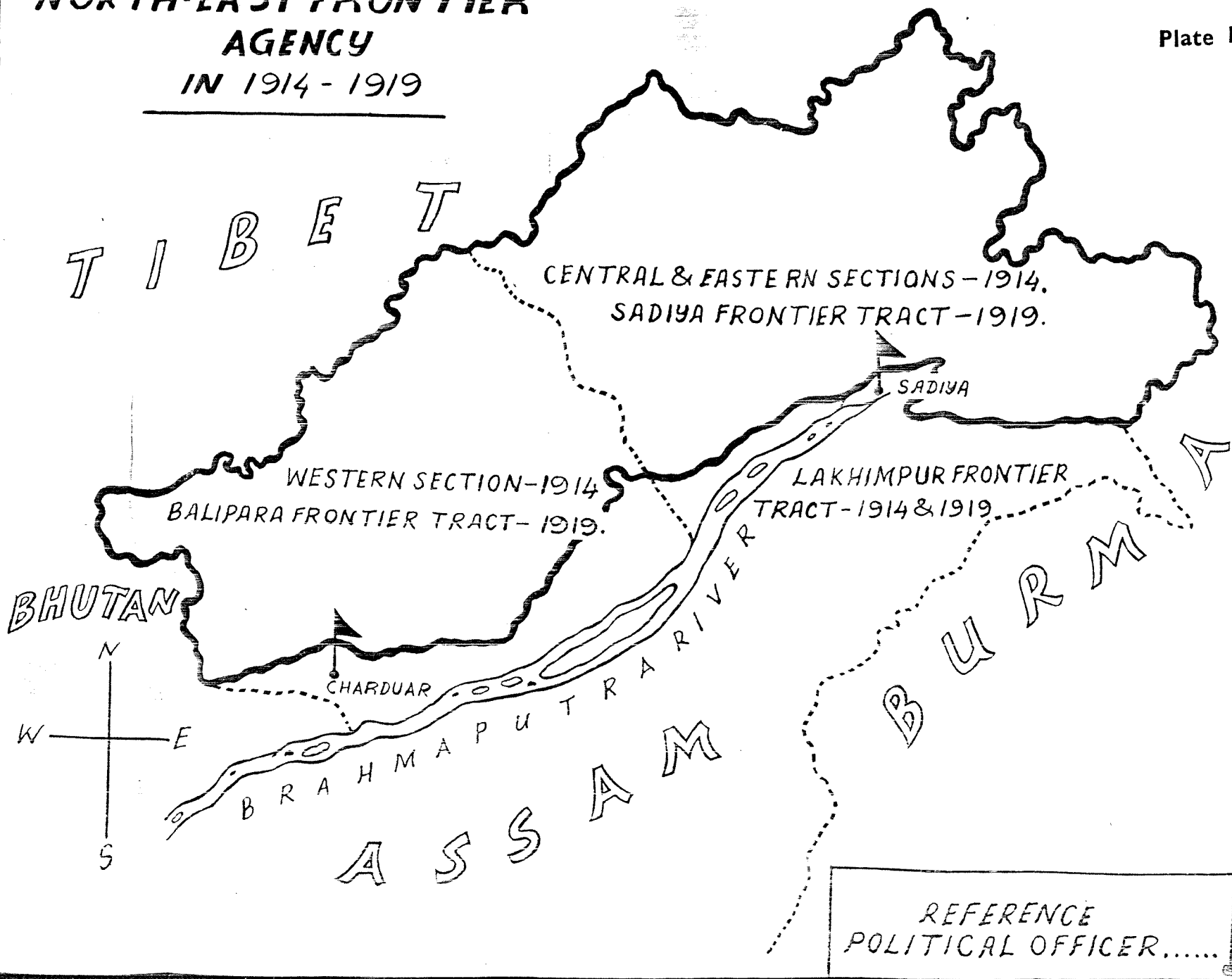
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**NORTH-EAST FRONTIER
AGENCY
IN 1914 - 1919**

Plate I



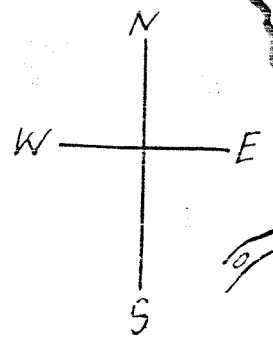
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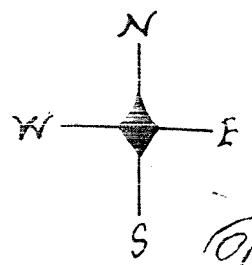
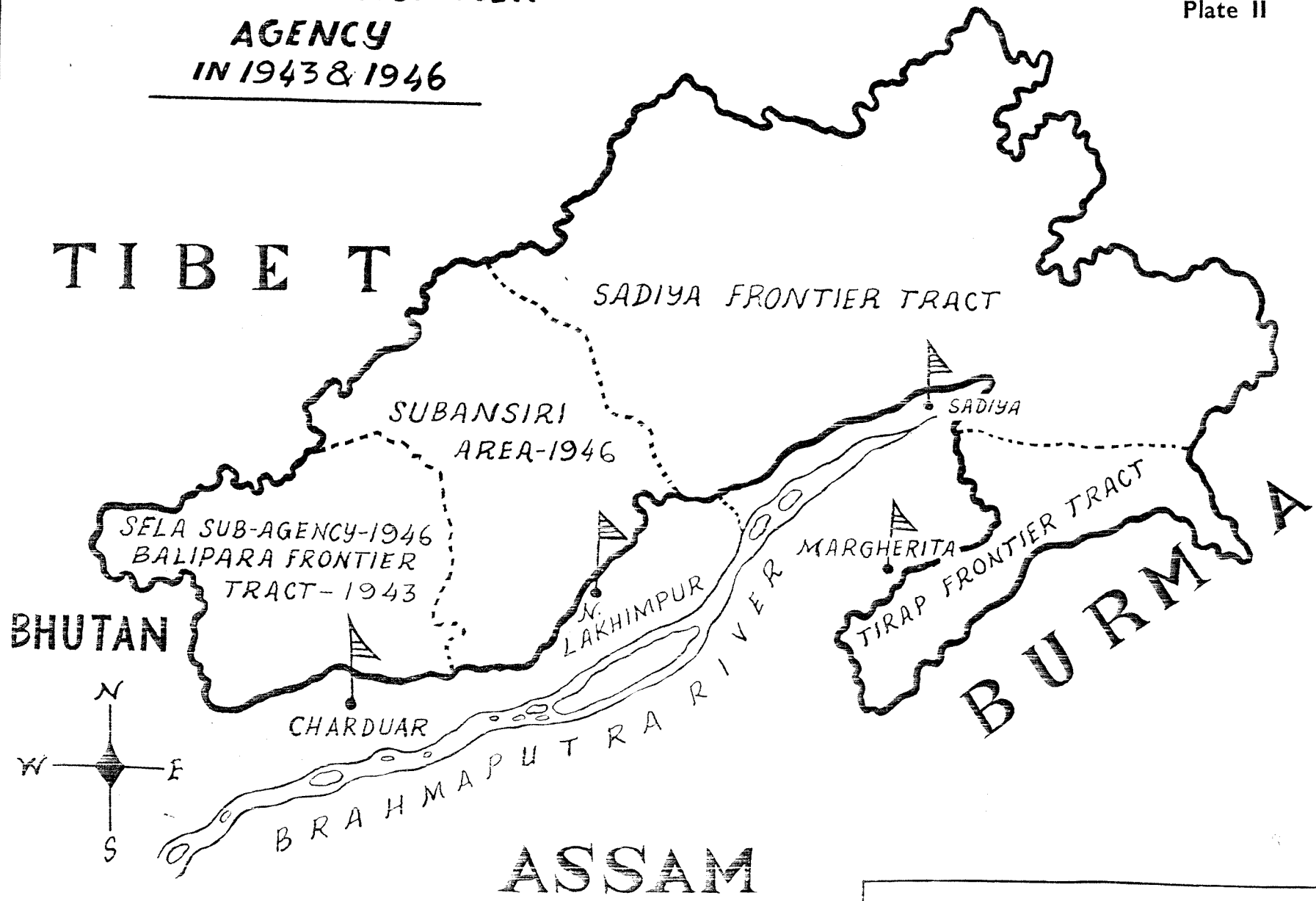



CHARDUAR
BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER
ASSAM

SADIYA
BURMA

REFERENCE
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**NORTH-EAST FRONTIER
AGENCY
IN 1943 & 1946**

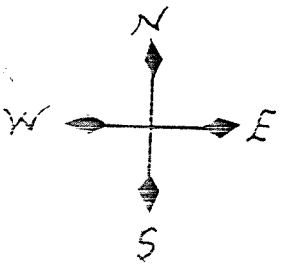
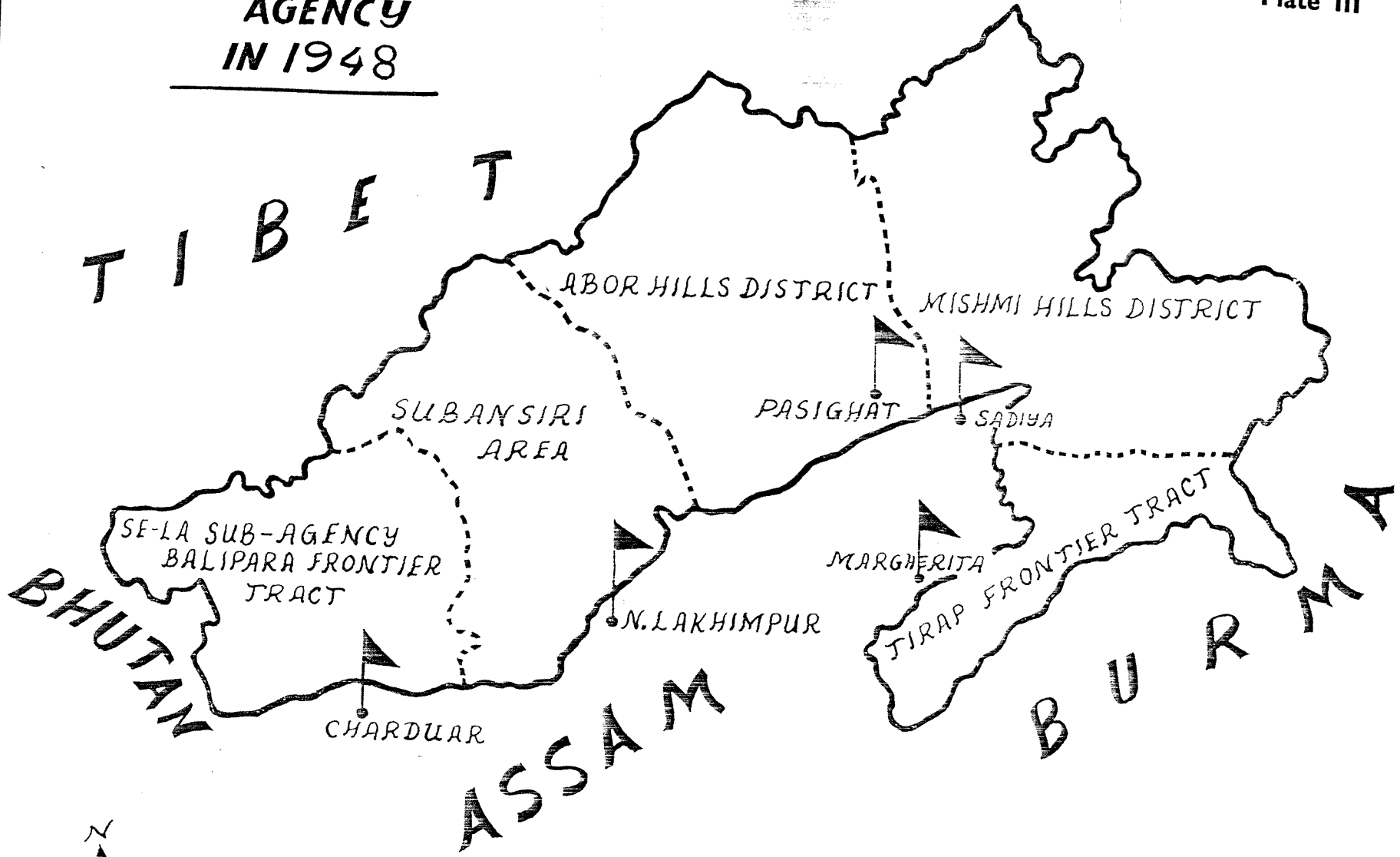



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NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY

IN 1948

Plate III

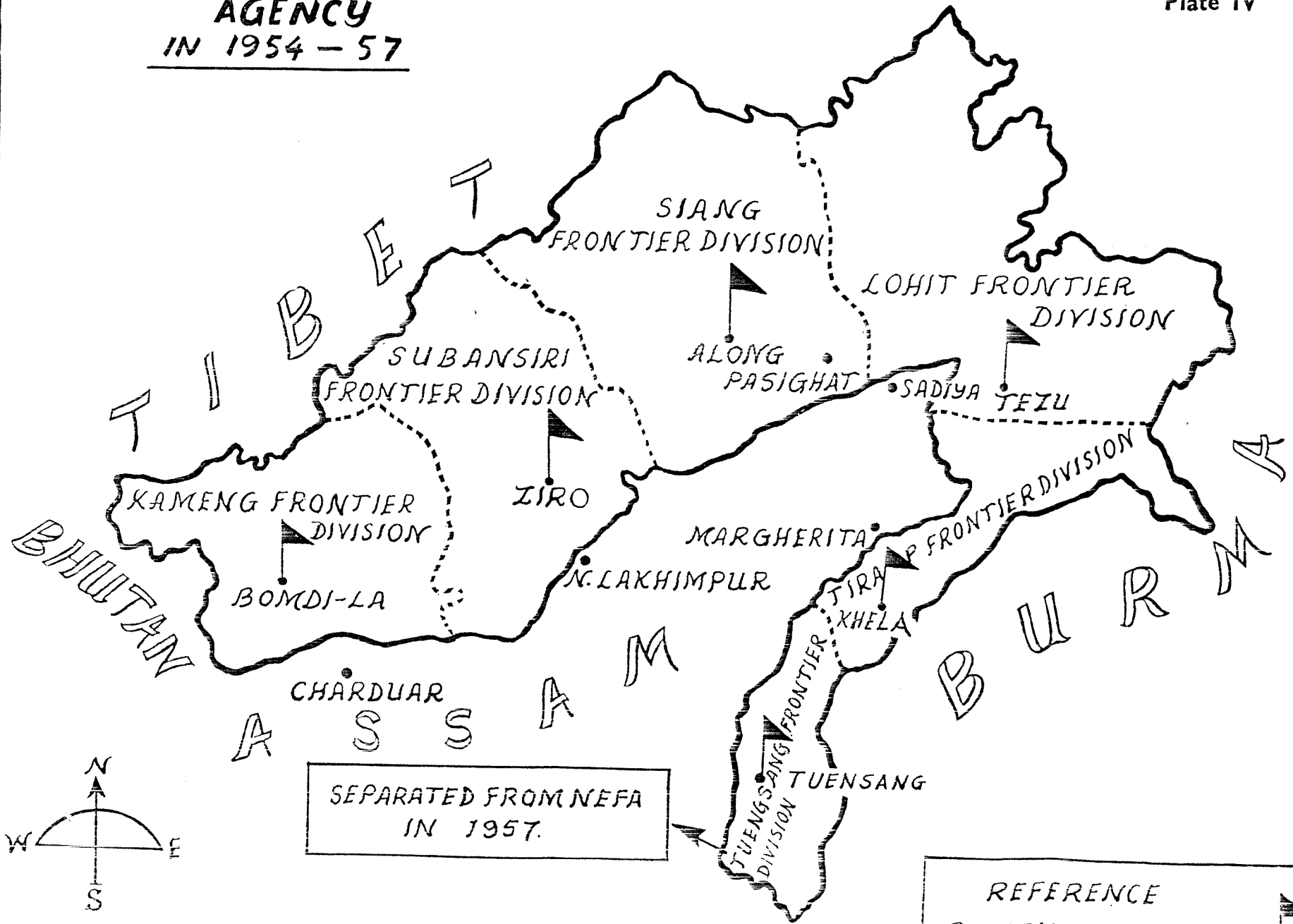


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