

DISCOURSE OF DEVELOPMENT

STUDY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH IN TRANSITION

Edited by
Uma Dutta

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE
BOMDILA
ARUNACHAL PRADESH

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STUDY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH IN TRANSITION



Edited by
Uma Dutta
(Principal, Government College, Bomidila)

Sponsored by
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North Eastern Region, Guwahati

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GOVERNMENT COLLEGE
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ARUNACHAL PRADESH

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FOREWORD

Government College, Bomdila was established in the year 1988. Due to many constraints of a very inscrutably complex nature, its permanent site could only be decided in 1999. Notification on the said allotment of land was issued is affiliated granted permanent affiliation to the college in August, 2000. A long cherished hope of the distinguished faculty of the college was to hold UGC sponsored Seminars ect. in this premier institution of higher learning that caters to the immediate and exclusive need of the three districts of West Kameng, East Kameng and Tawang on one hand and the general need of the students coming from all over Arunachal Pradesh and elsewhere on the other.

Seminar on "*Fragmented Discourse of Development, Differentiation and Alienation : Study of Arunachal Pradesh in Transition*" held on 17-18 Oct. 2000 by the College fulfils a long-cherished wish of the college-authority. The present volume being brought out now is the out-come of consistent pursuance of the cause of academic exercises as could be useful to guide the course of developmental initiatives harboured upon by the state of Arunachal Pradesh.

The justification of an institution of higher learning in a backward region of the predominantly tribal state of Arunachal Pradesh covering the expanse of three districts mentioned above is not only in conducting and coordinating jobs of the academic nature prescribed under a University's statutes. Rather, the Institution (Govt. College, Bomdila) seeks to prove its worth in caring for the aspirations of the youth who form our clientele and whose very many potentials are for us to tap under appropriate effective intervention from time to time.

That the youth passing out from its portals prove to be useful for themselves and for their immediate communities that they come from on the first count and contribute in cherishable ways to the over-all development of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in general alongwith the peace, progress and security of the country as a whole has been the constant concern and abiding interest of the dedicated team of lecturers working in this college. Presently, the development of the state has been the immensely engaging theme of discussion and debate in the major thinking circles including the

administration, the planning and the academics. Development initiatives already undertaken have certainly led the state to a point where one can happily say that the proverbial disturbing isolation has come to an end with the net work of communication and transportation facilities linking the many otherwise inaccessible locations. The fruits of education at all levels have started appearing with majority of the key positions in the government offices having come to be occupied by the indigenous Arunachal Pradesh scheduled Tribe people. Even then, much awaits to be accomplished. Fruits of development have to be taken to the door-step of every family in the every corner of the state. Ideally, the point of satisfaction will arrive when, as Gandhiji visualised, every tear from every eye hopefully could be wiped out. For this involvement of the people in the grand project of transformation of their own lot will have to be ensured in a big way. Not only planning at the grass roots will help, but government to people and people to government exchange line will have to be kept open in order to allow every genuine need and grievance of the people everywhere to be adequately satisfactorily addressed and every gift to the people made by the government to be worthily appreciated and further responsibly taken care of as to prevent the said gifts from gathering dust and being consigned untimely to forces of destruction.

In the above direction, the present volume appears to be a reckonable land thinking. A total of fifteen papers received for presentation at the two-day U.G.C. Seminar of 17-18 October, 2000 have been included in this publication. It may not be out of place here to say that the very many strands of thought going to critique or evaluate the developmental activities that have been undertaken ever since the Independence-born planning will go a long way to strike the positive and desirable response in the appropriate circles of planning execution, monitoring, co-ordination, evaluation review and corrective modification.

Inaugurating the Seminar Sri Dera natung, Hon'ble Minister, Education of Arunachal Pradesh expressed his keenest hope that the intellectual exercise heating up the Seminar-venue over the two days would in a fit way serve the purpose of suggesting to the development-minded and business-meaning Government of the State where and how possibly the thrust has to be revisited so that development of the sustainable kind and actually supportive order could be ensured. As I undertake the job of penning the

foreword to the collection of Seminar papers, I feel it pertinent to note that the hope of the Inaugural day stands to a reasonable extent effectively answered. The Hon'ble Ministers Shri Tsering Gyurme and Shri D. K. Thondok who also have encouraged the initiative are herewith gratefully remembered and it is tokens of generousities as shown by them that one feel are ever required to inspire programmes involving interaction of thoughtful minds.

It is worth mentioning that the College had the distinction of co-hosting Seminars of regional nature in the part with the Himalayan Academic Council, Bomdila, on 'Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi these Days' (Jan. 1991), 'customary Laws of Arunachal Pradesh : A Re-evaluation' (Oct. 1992). Also the North East India Forum for English Studies (NEIFEES) had its birth at a Seminar conducted by the College in 23-24 Feb. 1994 on 'Victorian Literature' and 'Problems of English Teaching in North-East India. The Forum latter had one of its annual conferences held in 1996 at the College.

Without dwelling long on the Seminar as an event of my college, I rather find it now proper to put the book into the hands of every body whosoever actually feels rattled about the development thought of Arunachal Pradesh-the state and its people as a whole.

Mr. S. C. Das

Mr. Tsering Naksang

District Research Officer, Bomdila

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the final outcome of the Seminar, Sponsored by the U.G.C., N.E.R., Guwahati Organised by the Government College, Bomdila. I must take the privilege of extending special thanks to the team of my learned colleagues here in the College for the responsibilities they have sincerely discharged in various capacities to make the Seminar the resounding success that it was. Mention may be specially made of **Dr. Amarnath Mohanty**, the **Organising Secretary**, who has not only seen to the success of the Seminar but also to the publication of the Research papers in the present book; and **Mr. Md. A. Salam** and **Dr. B. P. Chaubey** who looked after the finance and its proper utilization. Further for sanctioning the funds for the Seminar and for allowing the publication of the book containing the papers presented, I am very deeply indebted to **Mr. S. C. Ray**, Education Officer, UGC, NER, Guwahati.

U. D.

CONTRIBUTORS

Amarnath Mohanty

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Dr. Amarnath Mohanty | Lecturer in Political Science, Government College, Bomdila |
| Dr. Amerendra Kumar Thakur | Sr. Lecturer in History, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Mr. Asim Ranjan Parhi | Lecturer in English, Indira Gandhi College, Tezu. |
| Mr. A. Basanta Sharma | Lecturer in Political Science, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Mr. Braj Narain Jha | Lecturer in History, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Mr. Deepak Kumar Mishra | Lecturer in Economics, Arunchal University, Itanagar. |
| Dr. Kamal Kishore Mishra | Lecturer in Geography, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Dr. Krushna Chandra Mishra | Sr. Lecturer in English, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Dr. Manish Sharma | Lecturer in Economics, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Mr. Md. Abdus Salam | Sr. Lecturer in Economics, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Mr. Nani Bath | Lecturer in Political Science, Arunachal University, Itanagar. |
| Dr. Prasant Kumar Nayak | Lecturer in History, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Dr. Ramesh Buragohain | Principal, City College, Guwahati. |
| Mr. S. C. Das | Retired Principal, Government College, Bomdila. |
| Mr. Tsering Naksang | District Research Officer, West Kameng, Bomdila. |

INTRODUCTION

Amarnath Mohanty

We are inhabiting a World of unprecedented deprivation, destitution and oppression of various dimensions and magnitude. Checkmating the inordinate and excessive human afflictions (both natural and man-made) is the central objective of the exercise of development planning through rational human engineering process. Planned development has been an exercise in instrumental rationality by a body of experts with scientific and technical knowledge. The 'colonisation of the life-world' by technical, instrumental reason (*techné*) is a necessary consequence of Cartesian rationalisation and modernisation, (Foucault, 1972; Habermas, 1987). The hegemony of instrumental discourse has become a hegemony of technocratic elements of society where deep-theoretical, aesthetic and moral aspects of private and public interests have been obscured. Objectivist discourse appropriates for itself an under-theorized and all engulfing ideal of control establishing a techno-cratic authority that obfuscates its own limit. In the moral vacuum, a technocratic monologism arises in which efficiency legitimates whatever means are suited to the interests of the decision-makers. Thus, the discourse of 'modern development based on 'Scientific' and 'Objective' knowledge, "technological rationality", that has obscured and distorted life-needs, has been subject to scathing criticism and disrepute.

The experience of the success achieved and failures confronted on different fronts by all the countries in recent decades compelled us to acknowledge the relevance of a comprehensive developmental framework. In stead of a compartmentalised view of the process of development, 'an integrated and multifaceted approach is needed, with the object of making simultaneous progress on different fronts, including different institutions, which reinforce each other' (Sen, 1999 : 126-27). The view of development, as suggested by Sen, as an 'integrated process of expansion of substantive freedoms', and of removal of various types of 'substantial unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency', should integrate economic, social and political considerations that 'permits simultaneous appreciation of the vital role of many different institutions, including markets and market-related organisations, governments and local authorities, political parties and others civic institutions, educational arrangements and opprotunities of open

dialogue and debate (including the role of the media and other means of communications)' (Sen, 1999: 8, XII, 9).

Against this conception the process of development in Arunachal Pradesh, a State in its infancy, since independence, calls for a proper evaluation. The trajectory of development in Arunachal Pradesh, since colonial period, has a tessellated and chequered history. After a brief interlude of colonial domination and hegemonisation, the present Arunachal Pradesh entered into a new era of post-independent phase. The sequential pattern of development of Arunachal Pradesh since independence may be divided into three distinct phases the *Frontier phase* (1947-62) the *Interregnum phase* (1963-71) and the *Modern Assimilationist phase* (1972 onwards). In case of Arunachal Pradesh the domains of history, politics, sociology and economics intersect far more than other societies. The political dramas that are being orchestrated and the imaginings that have occurred in Arunachal Pradesh are not just merely concerned with the structuration of political authority and economic development rather they entail attempts to create, shape, define or suppress civil society and deep intricate cultural conflicts, and efforts to transform reality. Thus studies of the fictive elements like *theatrical* and *imaginary* dimensions of politics, which are not always entirely fictive and insubstantial or insignificant in Arunachal Pradesh, can provide very useful telling insights. Paradoxically, all through these years, in Arunachal Pradesh contradictory elements or incongruities in social, cultural, political and economic spheres are inclined to co-exist in strange disequilibrium. Even though the configuration or the incongruous hybrids change shape time to time, they hardly provide space to any enduring synthesis. It has been acknowledged that Arunachal Pradesh is still in the sensitive phase of transition.

The plethora of problems confronted by the infant state (Arunachal Pradesh) in transition as consequences of development initiatives since independence can be enumerated as follows :

- i) The domestic and international resource limitation placed on the role of the state as the main initiator and promoter of interests of the people;
- ii) The persistence of pre-capitalistic modes of production and socio-economic relation with greater capitalistic market penetration;

- iii) The inadequacy and incompleteness of market ingression and revolution (i.e. the expansion and penetration of market forces have not been matched by production and purchasing capacity of large sections of the population);
- iv) The displacement of workers in the rural agrarian economy and certain infrastructural development sector resulting in marginalisation, expansion of migrant seasonal work force, and casualisation of sizeable segments of (especially female) labour;
- v) the growing regional, inter-and intra-tribe disparity causing deterioration of the hitherto existing communal harmony;
- vi) the rising unemployment of the educated youth and the non-feasibility of their absorption due to the shrinking of government sector and non-expansion of the private sector;
- vii) the contradiction between the political-economy of expanding and engulfing poverty and the economic compulsion of liberalisation, globalisation, marketisation and privatisation;
- viii) the political conflicts emerging from the imposition of liberal modern democratic paradigm of governance and its institution without subjectivising the masses adequately and suitable cultural reconstruction;
- ix) the structuration and restructuring of political configuration aggravating the situation further and adding new problems to the old ones;
- x) the partisan role of the state in augmenting pressures on resources and on distribution;
- xi) the growing tension that has developed between the state structures or structures of political power on the one hand, and popular expressions of dissent ranging from protest arising out of the accumulated grievances and resentment of civil society to organised movements of resistance, on the other;
- xii) the momentum provided by certain institutions of governance not matched by the institutional malaise fostered by a lugubrious and complacent bureaucracy;

- xiii) the strange communion of modernity and tradition causing disintegration of harmonious cultural fabric and giving rise to cultural lag, diremption and alienation;
- xiv) the grave problem of locating one's socio-political identity and articulating one's sense of self (since it is fraught with difficulty even a degree of peril in times of transition under conditions of rapid change);
- xv) the dissonance between the unifying and homogenising modern imaginary institution of *official nationalism* (the so-called mainstream) and its exclusive concern with formal structure and prescribed ways in which they are supposed to function on one hand, and the extremely varied, subtly nuanced, richly textured and multi-layered socio-cultural categories derived from the tradition, on the other;
- xvi) the emergence of differentiation and alienation among different sections of people due to the reconstitution of the structure of inequality and fragmentation; and
- xvii) the growing hiatus between the modernisation process and the concomitant heightened expectation of the people, the '*aura of history*' and the incapability of the state to fulfil them.

Despite persistent assertive denial of certain section of scholars the analytic category of *class* has remained more or less indestructible and consistently exercised its presence on both sides of the divide separating the dominant and the dominated. The newly emerged classes in Arunachal Pradesh like-the commercial petit bourgeoisie, the rural proletariat, poor peasantry, landless labour, marginalized workers and the lumpen elements in urban and peri-urban areas have been victims to a process of differentiation, proliferation and fragmentation. The category of class has been a subject of the constant process of formation, transformation, reformation, polarization and fragmentation. The pressures emanated from an economy guided by unbalanced development in the context of growing economic dependence of the state on the west and of the capital on the international capital have militated against a minimum policy of welfare of the vast number living behind the poverty curtain. There is an unmistakable sign of frequent disengagement of the state from the meagre ameliorative

economic policies. The rigours of new economic policy, the brunt of which is felt more intensely by the lower rung of society, indicate in the direction of more anomic urban violence on the one hand, and the systematic ruthless upper and middle class violence against the lower, on the other (accompanied by some retaliation by the latter).

The above mentioned problems indicate the deep-rooted structural contradictions within the discourse of development which has been pursued all through in Arunachal Pradesh. Can the developmental paradigm adopted in case of Arunachal Pradesh be evaluated in isolation without linking it to the broader discourse of development India espoused after independence? There is an undeniable intrinsic relation between the paradigm of development pursued in Arunachal Pradesh and the discourse of development adopted by the post-colonial India. The developmental process carried on in Arunachal Pradesh after independence is wholly guided, directed and dictated by the Indian state. Thus, for a proper understanding of the developmental process and its consequences in Arunachal Pradesh there is a greater need of scrutiny and evaluation of discourse of development India embraced after independence.

The nationalist movement under the leadership of Congress sought to transform the colonial political legacy into a powerful potent state with the aim of establishing a capitalist economic development and just (euphemistically) socialistically inclined civil society capable of 'wiping out tears from every one's eyes'. The conceptual alphabets, terms, categories and semantics as well as semiotics of discourse of development were generated and deployed in a context provided by the dialectical interplay of dynamic factors affecting the then interpenetrating domains-political, economic, social and historical, stretching back to the colonial and pre-colonial era, and within the structural parameters of the post-independence Indian state. The transfer of power from the colonial regime to the Indian nation through *passive revolution* was the resultant end product of specific modern political discourse.

Discourse of development in post-colonial India is predominantly influenced by and based on twin sets of elements borrowed from exogenous sources-liberal capitalistic ideology of the West, and homogenizing scientific paradigm emanated from the Enlightenment. The structural and logical

compulsions on coalition of propertied classes arose in well-recognised ways: (i) the retention of virtually unaltered form of basic structure of administration-civil service, police administration, judicial system, civil and criminal law, armed force; (ii) the incorporation of the Indian economy in the capitalist international market and its division of labour (Patnaik, 1994 and 1997); (iii) the adoption of a capitalist strategy of economic growth through a set of basic legal and institutional form (Kaviraj, 1998; Chatterjee, 1998); (iv) the inherited structure of colonial economic retardation; (v) the received liberal modernist paradigm of development (Kothari, 1983); and (vi) the embracing of a modern homogenizing imaginary institution of 'nationalism' (Anderson, 1991). The historical choice, and also a compulsion in another sense, structured the whole gamut of choices, obviously logical, in the post-colonial phase. Being enamoured by the liberal modern discourse Indian national elites replicated it without being able to develop their own terms of discourse that are authentic, effective, comprehensive and relevant for social understanding of India. The discourse of development in India is a derivative and borrowed one in the sense that its axiomatic propositions and key conceptual categories are basically the product of socio-political experience unknown to Indian reality. All through the years the borrowed discourse has also worked like borrowed discourse. Intractable difficulties have arisen out of the incommensurability of these paradigms; there lies a huge hiatus between India's socio-cultural perception of the self and accepted terms of change.

To rationalise and legitimise the self-rule and the exercise of power in post-colonial phase, the state acquired its representativeness of the historically necessary form of national development by devising a programme and agenda of socio-economic reconstruction and development through planning. The developmental ideology, a historical necessity, then was an integral part of 'self-definition of the post-colonial state' that 'connected the sovereign powers of the state with the economic well being of the people' (Chatterjee, 1998:277). Planning as the concrete embodiment of the rational consciousness of state promoting economic development' and 'the domain of the rational determination and pursuit of the universal developmental goals', proceeded only by functioning in an ambiguous way as an expert technocratic activity outside the arena of politics and 'turning those subjects of power into the objects of a single body of knowledge'.

thus entailing a process of 'self-deception' (Ibid:279, 281, 282). The critical scrutiny of the sequence in which particular planning *institutions* were set up, and by whom, of the manner in which *plan formulations* and *planning techniques* have proceeded and evolved since 1947, and of the unfolding of the historical experience of the vicissitudes of *plan implementation* in all their variety clearly reveal the structural and cumulative nature of some problems and issues which have caused the attrition and ultimately the fragmentation and rupture of the Indian development planning (Byres, 1994; Chakravarty, 1987). The Indian state, the *source, architect, agent* and ultimate *arbiter* of planning, being a bourgeois state could not overcome the structural limitation of its own as a result of which the limited benefits of development planning could not be yielded.

The development process, due to its inherent incongruities at its inception, gave rise to a series of dialectical contradictions. As a consequence of adoption of specific discourse of development Indian state wavers / vacillates between extremes: i.e., between the undemocratic and authoritarian tendencies of the ruling elements representing the vested interests of the dominant classes, and the tenacity and stubbornness of the ordinary people in their continuous struggle for civil liberty and democratic rights; between the political discourse of those at the 'corridor of power' and the discourse of the subaltern; between the ushering of the era of economic liberalism, and the worsening plight of the mass of the people in general and fragmenting of the poor sections in particular; and between the proclaimed and professed objectives of planning (i.e balanced regional development, equality, distributive justice and welfare of all) and the actual strategy followed and the resultant consequences-(i.e., uneven regional development, disparity in distributive effect and the growing sense of deprivation among the unprivileged sections).

It has been argued that the trends from the very inception of planning process are too uneven and weak to redress the spatial/regional imbalances and disparities inherited from the colonial past (Srivastava, 1994). The deep-rooted structural problems have surfaced by giving rise to inter-segmental tensions of a proliferating bourgeoisie in a context of rapidly deepening dependence of the Indian economy on international capital. The divisive role played by region, religion, gender and culture in the articulation of

conflicting interests has further aggravated the divided and fragmented character of Indian society. There have been far-reaching socio-cultural changes in the wake of skewed, unequal and uneven economic and political development. It is argued (Chon, 1987; Srinivas, 1969) that the wide-spread socio-cultural anomie and alienation are the resultant effects of the absent-minded introduction of unscrutinised modernisation process, adoption of skewed and faulty paradigm of development, failure of the state in the front of distributive justice, penetration of new primordial affiliations and loyalties into socio-economic and political structures, and intensification of unequal exchange in a context of uneven development. Being associated with populism, regionalism has created a rupture and conflict of loyalty and identification along two axes: center Vs. the State, and that of the State Vs. sub-regional or nationality identity. Simultaneously issues that appear to be regional are interwoven with issues of ethnic communalism and economic development. Invariably there is tendency to fuse together socio-economic grievances with demands for cultural autonomy. The oniony metaphor is quite appropriate in this context. There is a strong paradox-on the one hand the state is characterised by an enormous concentration of power and has spawned a dense network of political and paramilitary structure (i.e. strong state), and the growing ineffectiveness of the state power is evidenced by demands of greater autonomy in sensitive regions (i.e. Feeble state).

Discourse of development, which takes place at so many thresholds and frontiers, in a variety of social, political and cultural setting, has been joined of late by the emergence of diverse constituencies and representing an assortment of movements. Increasingly, argues Kothari, the plurality and diversity of society that has tended to dissipate along a myriad social and territorial space without providing any basis of an organic and veriegated whole; and the multiplicity of discources from various vantage points and with different axiomatic principles seem to suggest ironically the metaphor of fragments of a discourse. The *fragmented discourse* is a manifestation of the growing fragmentation and shift/drift of the socio-economic and political processes, and of a trend of growing in number and diversity of fora and becoming more resonant and even turbulent by failing to relate each other in any meaningful or sustained way (Kothari, 1997: 38-39). For analytical purposes we can club them together into a single whole but it will

still be so many fragments without an organic totality. The result is more structural hierarchisation, stratification, differentiation and alienation emanating from the system of sharply marginalised segments of the socio-economic and political structure. The voices of anger, frustration, despair and humiliation, alongside assertions of those who are beginning (or compelled) to think of their separate identities and loyalties, add up to the intensity of alienation and estrangement and occasionally disengagement from the mainstredam body politic.

This volume contains topics on variety of themes to cover different dimensions and dynamics of change in Arunachal Pradesh. Though there lies no unamity, much more consensus has been achieved.

S. C. Das (Ch.1) provides a good historical account of the development process and the consequent changes in Arunachal Pradesh. As a keen observer he has also discussed the short-comings and the discrepanceis in the process. Modernity is a highly problematic concept and necessiates a critical evaluation. Furthermore, Modernisation of a traditional society is not a simple and unilinear process rather a complex and intricate one involving contradictions and incongruities. Ramesh Buragohain (Ch.2) has concentrated on the modernisation process in Arunachal Pradesh and the consequent changes. He has argued that modernisation process has not been able to alter the indigenous culture in totality but only some aspects of it. Tsering Naksang (ch.3) examines the socio-cultural changes in Arunachal Pradesh since the colonial period from a sociologist's angle. Being in the research department he provides a comprehensive view of multidimensional changes and the consequences arising due to the initiation of modern developmental process. He is highly critical of the development paradigm, and also highlights the structural contradictions in the paradigm and suggestes some remedies. Md. Abdus Salam, (Ch. 4) highlights the issues of development in Arunachal Pradesh. His findings are based on the empirical observations. According to him the lopsideness in the development, has emerged due to increase in the productive capacity without adequate consumption quantity which eventually leads to under utilization of the created capacity. This is primarily due to the conspicuous gap between the governing elite and the general masses. Deepak Kumar Mishra (ch. 6) analyses the changing production relations

in Arunachal Pradesh. It is an attempt to understand the dynamics of transition in agrarian relations based on the empirical study and the data collected therefrom. He has discovered inequality in the distribution of land, and marginalisation and differentiation as important features of the changing agrarian structure.] Manish Sharma (ch. 5) deals with the role of information technology in general and *e-commerce* in particular to augment the development process of an under-developed region like Arunachal Pradesh. He suggests that in the context of growing awareness of the consumer, increasing literary, and geo-strategic location and importance of the state there is greater prospects for e-commerce in Arunachal Pradesh.

Amarendra Kumar Thakur (ch. 7) examines the role of educated youth in Arunachal Pradesh towards agrarian development by referring to the example of Chaina. He tries to establish a linkage between different socioeconomic practices and the development of agriculture. His empirical observations on peasant formation and the role of the youth have been substantiated with the help of the Marxian and Parsonian model. Braj Narain Jha (Ch. 8) being highly critical of the colonial discourse of tribal societies in general and of Arunachal Pradesh in particular discusses the continuous transformation of the *Nocte* tribal society under the pressures of historical forces (from within and without). In case of *Nocte* the colonial period was proved to be a watershed because of the intervention of capital in different forms, which brought about retrogressive changes in various spheres. Under *pax Britannica* the raids of the *Noctes* and other section of Nagas became very frequent since the shrinking of material base dissolved the political authority among the *Noctes* and ruined their traditional economy.

Asim Ranjan Parhi (Ch.9) stresses the role of English language as a link between different tribal communities and as a viable means of integrating the past with the present modern development process. He asserts the positive side of the English language and its potentiality of enabling the people to assimilate the modern developmental initiatives in a stable way. Krushna Chandra Mishra (ch. 10) argues that any evaluative attempt at studying development in Arunachal Pradesh in transition has to take into account continuity and consistency aspects involved in the developmental processes. For him youth as a vital link responsible for arresting disjunction

in historical sense need be accorded due and deserved significance of role in order to be injected into the developmental trajectory of the state where all-round development is the generally shared grand vision of both the government and the people. Prasant Kumar Nayak (Ch. 11) concentrates on the significance of education as an instrumentality in streamlining the development process specifically in the context of Arunachal Pradesh. His paper offers a microscopic study of the problems of drop-outs at the elementary level of Education in the district of West Kameng and suggests remedies for its prevention. His arguments have been substantiated by the empirical data collected from various sources.

Amarnath Mohanty (Ch. 12) studies democracy by linking it with the development process. He explores the broad trends in Arunachal Pradesh in the post-independence period by positioning it in the broader Indian context. He argues that the democratic experimentation and development initiatives in the State have not been very successful due to unsuitable borrowed paradigm and the faulty execution of the development policies.

A. Basanta Sharma (Ch. 13) evaluates the structure and function of the traditional tribal council of *Monpa* tribe of Arunachal Pradesh within the system of modern statutory panchayat system. After the introduction of modern democratization process the traditional council has lost the effectivity and suitability due to various factors but has not been completely replaced. The modern democracy due to its limitations had not been able to penetrate deep into the society, and it co-exists with the traditional council, of course not without frictions. Nani Bath (Ch. 14) analyses the political process in Arunachal Pradesh which acquired its dynamism not directly from the peoples' direct participation but from external agencies. For him the article 371-H(a) of the Indian Constitution has lost its relevance in the context of changed national and international political scenario. Kamal Kishore Mishra (Ch. 15) contends that the transportation is highly essential for effective utilisation of resources and mobility of the people and goods, and for creating an organized society and space economy. Inadequacy of development in the district of West Kameng of Arunachal Pradesh is primarily due to the under development of comprehensive transportation system. His arguments are substantiated by the empirical data collected from various sources.

Discussions of several topics reflecting different dimensions and unevenness of the experience is equally illuminating. Thematic variety has been made to serve the purpose of unifying, instead of fragmenting, what would otherwise have remained fragmented exercise. This volume is not intended to be self-sufficient rather offers a stimulant and a beginning of such an effort. No claims to completeness in any sense of the term is made. Our objective is provocative rather than definitive.

At this critical conjecture and against this disparaging backdrop discourse of development pursued in Arunachal Pradesh, a sensitive infant State in transition, necessitates a very cautious examination. *Inter-disciplinary approach* has a greater degree of probability of enhancing explanatory effects by combining sound historical, sociological, political, economic and linguistic scholarship on the one hand, and sensitivity to the nuances of multi-directional and-dimensional changes on the other. For the better understanding there is also a need to pay attention to change over time - to the *longue duree*, long term historical background. It is inadequate to focus only on the condition of socio-political, economic and cultural system in short brief phase. It is also apprehended that an established grand deep theory may mask enormous historical, cultural and political variations and specificities of Arunachal Pradesh. In the search of a framework we should think in terms of an unfolding, emerging, evolving and unresolved drama rather than of all encompassing and all inclusive 'deep theory', with its monopolistic claims to truth, to provide totalistic and predictive knowledge (Schwartz, 1989: 454). Given the enormous diversity and unexplored dimensions of Arunachal Pradesh, we have to be satisfied most probably with the statement that 'Arunachal Pradesh is still waiting for a text' (Hawthorn, 1991)

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