

ADMINISTRATIVE
DEVELOPMENT
OF
ARUNACHAL
PRADESH
1875 - 1975

BIJAN MOHANTA

The book is a systematic study of the politico-administrative developments that took place during a century (1875-1975) in a territory, now called Arunachal Pradesh. It encompasses a detailed study of Arunachal Pradesh, its land and people, geographical features of the territory, mode of living of the people and their socio-economic background which formed the basis for the development of its administration.

The extension of British authority and the motive forces that played role in gaining control of the areas in various stages are vividly dealt with. Tracing the origin of administration in the territory, the author has highlighted the tribal policy of the Britishers, their administration and its objectives, the condition of the tribals before the advent of the British in the area, and the impact of the administration on the frontier tribals.

The post-independent administrative machinery, devised for the realisation of the aims and objectives of the Constitution of India in respect of the tribals of the area are neatly discussed in the book. It gives an interesting account of how the indigenous tribal self-government-through which the administration worked during both pre-and post-independence era and the Panchayat Raj system that later came to replace the indigenous method of village self-government, are taken into account. The author finally deals with the installation of a democratic government in Arunachal Pradesh in recent years.

The work is thorough, scientific and systematic and the conclusions and suggestions of the author are sure to prove useful to those who are interested in the field.

Born in 1946, Dr. Bijan Mohanta graduated with honours in Political Science in 1966. He took his M.A. degree in the subject from the University of Gauhati in 1968. He was a researcher from 1977 to 1979 in the Gauhati University under the supervision of Dr. V. Venkata Rao, Professor-Emeritus, Department of Political Science, and was admitted to the Degree of Ph.D. in 1981.

Dr. Mohanta has served various degree colleges for the last fifteen years and is now an Assistant Professor of Political Science, Bir Bikram Evening (Govt.) College at Agartala. He is also a Guest Lecturer in the Department of Modern History, Calcutta University Post-Graduate Centre at Agartala, Tripura and teaches the paper on 'North-East India'.

Another of his works, *Government and Politics in Tripura*, is now under preparation.

Rs. 150.00

**ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF
ARUNACHAL PRADESH 1875-1975**

UPPAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
3, Ansari Road, New Delhi-11002

Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh 1875—1975



1984
BIJAN MOHANTA



PRINTED IN INDIA
Published by R.S. Uppal, Uppal Publishing House, New
UPPAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
New Delhi-110002

UPPAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
3, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi—110002

Administrative Development of
Archival Pradesh 1875-1975

NEHU
Acc. No. 161436
Acc. by 4P
Date 28/3/89
Class by
Sub Heading by
Cata by
Transcribed by A. Narghoom
7.4.89

© BIJAN MOHANTA
1984

BIJAN MOHANTA

NE
954.163035
MOH; 2



PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by B.S. Uppal, Uppal Publishing House, New
Delhi-110002 and Printed by Latika Printers Maujpur,
Delhi-110153

241
1499

DEDICATED

**to the memory of my father
Late Jogendra Chandra Mhoanta**

The history of the Government of Orissa is a story of a gradual
evolution of a modern form of administration. The Orissal
Pradesh (1876) was the first step towards this process,
which was a direct result of the British policy of the
degree of development of the country. This
is one of the few books that deal with the history of Orissa.
The author made every effort to bring out the various
lying in several places of the country and
substantiated them by the records of the Government of
Orissal Pradesh. He has also given a list of the
Officers of the Government concerned. The author traced all
the customs and conventions that were established from time
to time by the administrators. Conventions of all kinds
of the written constitution. A perfect model of any
constitution requires an understanding of the
The cabinet system, the division of members of the
and the organization of the various departments of the
Administrators were established by the author in a
constructive and completed manner. A.A.A. The
author also brought to broad daylight the role of the
servant in the development of administration in Orissal
Pradesh. Orissal Pradesh was the first step towards a
dedicated and devoted civil service and a free and
part of the country.

Orissal Pradesh is an interesting experiment in federalism.
It is interesting to note that Orissal Pradesh consists
of five districts. Each district is inhabited by various tribes.
Yet each district is treated as an equal to all others. It gets
equal treatment in regard to representation in the legislature.

FOREWORD

The book is adapted from Dr. Mohanta's Doctoral thesis 'A Century of Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh, 1875-1975'. The thesis based on original sources, which have not been touched, so far I know was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Gauhati University. This is one of the best thesis that Gauhati University produced.

The author made every effort to collect all relevant materials lying in several places, and write a comprehensive and authentic account of the administrative development of Arunachal Pradesh. Besides records available in the Record Offices of the Government concerned, the author collected all the customs and conventions that were established from time to time by the administrators. Conventions fill up the crevices of the written constitutions. A perfect understanding of any constitution requires an understanding of the conventions. The cabinet system, the elections of members of Lok Sabha and the allocation of portfolios among Advisers to the Administrators were established by conventions by that constructive and committed civil servant K.A.A. Raja. The author also brought to broad day light the role of the civil servant in the development of administration in Arunachal Pradesh. Arunachal Pradesh was fortunate enough to have dedicated and devoted civil servants, recruited from different parts of the country.

Arunachal Pradesh is an interesting experiment in federalism. It is interesting to note that Arunachal Pradesh consists of five districts. Each district is inhabited by various tribes. Yet each district is treated as an equal to all others. It gets equal treatment in regard to representation in the legislature

and executive. Area, population and revenue are not taken into account in regard to these matters. It is just possible some kind of federal form of government may be brought into existence.

The work is divided into eight chapters. The original work consisted of seven chapters. One more chapter has been added, the content has been improved and several portions of the thesis have been rewritten so that it may be fit-for publication. The entire work is eminently readable. One who wants to have an understanding of North-East India must consult this work. It has no rival.

6 DECEMBER, 1983

V. VENKATA RAO

M.A. (And), M.A. (Allad),

M. Litt, Ph.D., D. Litt.

Professor-Emeritus,

Department of Political Science

Gauhati University

Formerly

Professor and Head

Department of Political Science

Gauhati University

PREFACE

The book *Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh, 1875-1975* is based on my thesis accepted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Gauhati in 1981. It is an attempt at a systematic study and evaluation of the politico-administrative development of a vast territory lying at the north-east periphery of India, called Arunachal Pradesh at present.

The study covers a period of one hundred years beginning with the year 1875 when the British Indian Government started drawing an 'Inner Line' in the eastern frontier of Bengal (now comprises Arunachal Pradesh) with certain purpose to keep the area isolated from rest of the country and ending with the year 1975 when the Government of India passed the 37th Constitutional Amendment Act to give the area a new but a higher status of a Union Territory, with a view to integrating it with the mainstream of public life of the country. Without going into the administrative development of the area after its formation into a Union Territory in 1975 I have only included in this book two appendices depicting reorganisation of districts in 1980 and also district-wise population figures for Arunachal Pradesh according to 1981 census (Provisional).

The Territory, now called Arunachal Pradesh entered into the era of administration in 1875 with the Britishers having designed an administrative machinery for the area with the purpose to preserve only their overlordship in it. The administrative machinery was loose probably because of the low political consciousness of the tribal people inhabiting the tract. The British policy in respect of the tribals was a policy

isolation. The closed-door tribal policy of the imperialist Britishers, with a strategy of 'divide and rule', sealed off the tribal areas from all nationalist influences. All these have led to the growth of a psychology of separatism among the tribesmen.

During the post-independent period the tribal policy of the Government of India took a new turn and aimed at bringing the tribals to the levels of other advanced sections of the people of the country. The Constitution of India provided for a special administrative arrangement and legislative safeguards for the north-east frontier area.

The policy of the Government of India with respect to the tribals had undergone a change but it is interesting to note that in the territory, now called Arunachal Pradesh, much of the pattern of British administration was retained for many years after Independence. As a result, there was no political development of the area till 1967 when neither representative institutions, nor adult franchise was available. In 1967, an Agency Council was established and in 1969, a three-tier Panchayat system laying the political infra-structure in the area replaced the indigenous village self-government. Adult franchise was introduced in 1971 and Pradesh Council came into existence in 1972 culminating finally in its transformation as a Provisional Legislative Assembly of the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh in 1975. Thus, political growth of the territory was rather fairly rapid from 1976 only.

For convenience of the study, the book is divided into eight chapters. Every effort has been made to arrange all data scientifically and present them in a systematic way. Wherever needed, all statements of facts and figures have been supported by authentic notes indicating their sources.

I beg to be excused if my use of any word especially the word 'tribal' wounds anybody in any way. My attempt is to study the situation from an academic angle without any prejudice to anybody's likings or dislikings. In this book, the word 'tribal' is used on number of occasions and, of course, very reluctantly because no recognised term is found to denominate the people of Arunachal Pradesh as a whole. Again, some of the Tribes at present prefer to be known by new appellations,

as for example, the *Abors* are now known as the *Adis*, the *Daflas* as the *Nissis* or *Nishangs* and their western branch are known as the *Bangins*, the *Akas* call themselves in their own language *Hrusso*. *Aka* in Assamese connotation means painter. But to depict a historical situation, I cannot but use the terminologies by which the tribes appeared at the time. I, therefore, crave their indulgence and hope to be pardoned.

Sources of materials for the study were both primary and secondary. The primary sources were the official records and the government Notifications which were collected from the offices of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam and West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta.

The National Library, Calcutta was of immense help as a secondary source of the study. Other Libraries, I had consulted were the Gauhati University Library, Gauhati; Calcutta University Library, Calcutta; B.B. Evening (Government) College Library, Agartala. I am thankful to all those Library Officers who permitted me to have an access to their stacks.

I am also thankful to the Director of Information and Public Relations, Government Arunachal Pradesh, Director of Census Operation, Arunachal Pradesh for making available to me some materials.

I express my sense of gratitude to the authors whose books, as mentioned in the bibliography, I had consulted as secondary sources of materials. Sincerest thanks are also due to Dr. B.P. Mukhopadhyay of English Department, M.B.B. College, Agartala, Dr. J. Gonchaudhuri of Political Science Department, B.B. Evening College, Agartala and Shri O.P. Ray of Economics Department, Women's College, Agartala for their help and suggestion rendered in connection with the preparation of this work.

I am aware of all other who helped me in preparation of this book. I am thankful to them and hope to be excused for not mentioning their names individually. But it shall be unobliging on my part if I do not refer to my wife Shrimati Sumitra Mohanta without whose cooperation and shouldering singly the responsibilities of family burden it would not have been possible for me to make any research pursuits.

Thanks is also due to Shri Dhirenera Chandra Bhowmik of the office of the Director of Fisheries, Government of Tripura, Agartala for typing the manuscript correctly and expeditiously at his leisure hours.

Above all, one sympathetic soul of great scholarship without whose guidance and advice this work would not have been completed is my revered teacher, Dr. V. Venkata Rao (Padmasri), formerly Professor and Head and at present Professor—Emeritus, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University. To him my indebtedness is incalculable. He is also kind enough to adorn this book with a Foreword to it for which I am grateful to him. But he cannot be blamed for any of the observations arrived at in this book, which are necessarily mine.

I am thankful to Mr. B.S. Uppa of Uppal Publishing House for accepting the manuscript for publication and bringing it out within a short time.

BIJAN MOHANTA

ABBREVIATIONS

APCC	Arunachal Pradesh Congress Committee
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.D. Block	Community Development Block
C.R.P.F.	Central Reserve Police Force
D.C.	Deputy Commissioner
E.A.C.	Extra Assistant Commissioner
F.T.	Frontier Tract
I.A.S.	Indian Administrative Service
I.F.A.S.	Indian Frontier Administrative Service
I.C.A.R.	Indian Council of Agriculture Research
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
Kg.	Kilogram
Kms.	Kilometres
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.N.F.	Mizo National Front
M.P.	Member of Parliament
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
N.N.C.	Naga National Council
P.P.A.	Peoples' Party of Arunachal Pradesh
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
S.D.O.	Subdivisional Officer
Sq. Kms.	Square Kilometres

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Arunachal Administration** : Arunachal Pradesh Administration of North-East Frontier Area which later comes to be called Arunachal Pradesh.
- Goan bura** : Village headman.
- Posa** : A system by which some Tribes of the North-East Frontier Areas were granted a right to a share of produce of the land below the hills, in exchange of a promise that the tribes would refrain from committing intermittent raids and plunders in the area below their hills.
- Jhum** : Shifting or nomadic cultivation, an age-old method of hill cultivation.
- Agency** : 'Agency' means the North-East Frontier Agency as defined in the Regulation I of 1954 : The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.
- Government of India, Foreign & Political Department, Notifications of 1914.** : It means the Notification Nos. 977-EB and 978-EB and 979-EB, dated the 25th September, 1914.
- North-East Frontier Tract** : It means the North-East Frontier Tract of Assam defined in item 1 in Part B of the Table, Paragraph

20 of the Sixth Scheduled to the Constitution.

Agent to the Governor-General : It refers to the Governor of Assam or Government of Assam acting as Agent of the Governor-General under the Government of India Act, 1935.

Agency functions : It signifies the function of the Central Government vested in the Governor or the Provincial Government under the Provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Govt. : Government.

Congress (I) : Indian National Congress (Indira).

Governor : Governor of Assam.

President : President of India.

Parliament : Parliament of India.

... bills in exchange of a promise that the tribes would refrain from committing intermittent raids and plundering in the area below their hills.

Shifting or nomadic cultivation, an age-old method of hill cultivation.

'Agency' means the North-East Frontier Agency as defined in the Regulation I of 1954; The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.

It means the Notification Nos. 977-EB and 978-EB and 979-EB, dated the 25th September, 1914.

It means the North-East Frontier Tract of Assam defined in item 1 in Part B of the Table, Paragraph

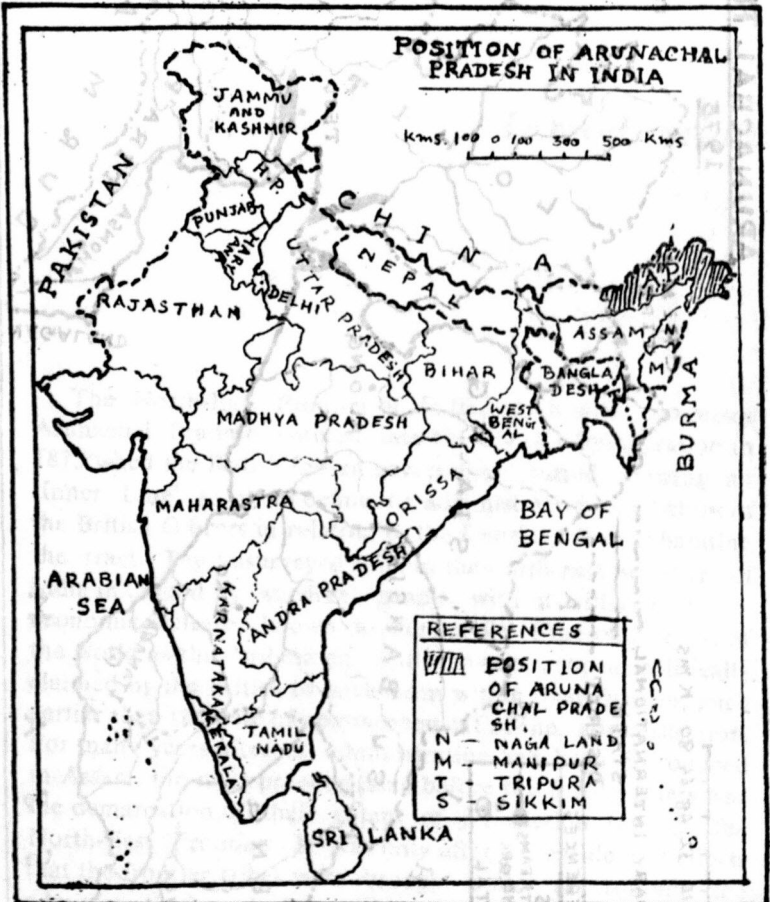
Thum
Agency
Government of India,
Foreign & Political
Department, Notifi-
cations of 1914.
North-East Frontier
Tract

CONTENTS

Chapters	Pages
Foreword	vii
Preface	ix
Abbreviations	xiii
Glossary of Terms	xv
1. Introduction	1
2. The Advent of the British in the North-East Frontier Region	31
3. The British Administration in the North-East Frontier Area	45
4. Administration of the North-East Frontier Area after 1947	85
5. Tribal Self-Government in NEFA	127
6. Panchayat Raj in NEFA	147
7. The Birth of Arunachal Pradesh	169
8. Conclusion	197
Appendix—A	205
Appendix—B	207
Bibliography	209
Index	213

POSITION OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH IN INDIA

Kms. 100 0 100 300 500 Kms

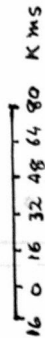


REFERENCES	
	POSITION OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH.
N	NAGA LAND
M	MANIPUR
T	TRIPURA
S	SIKKIM

Scale 1:50,000

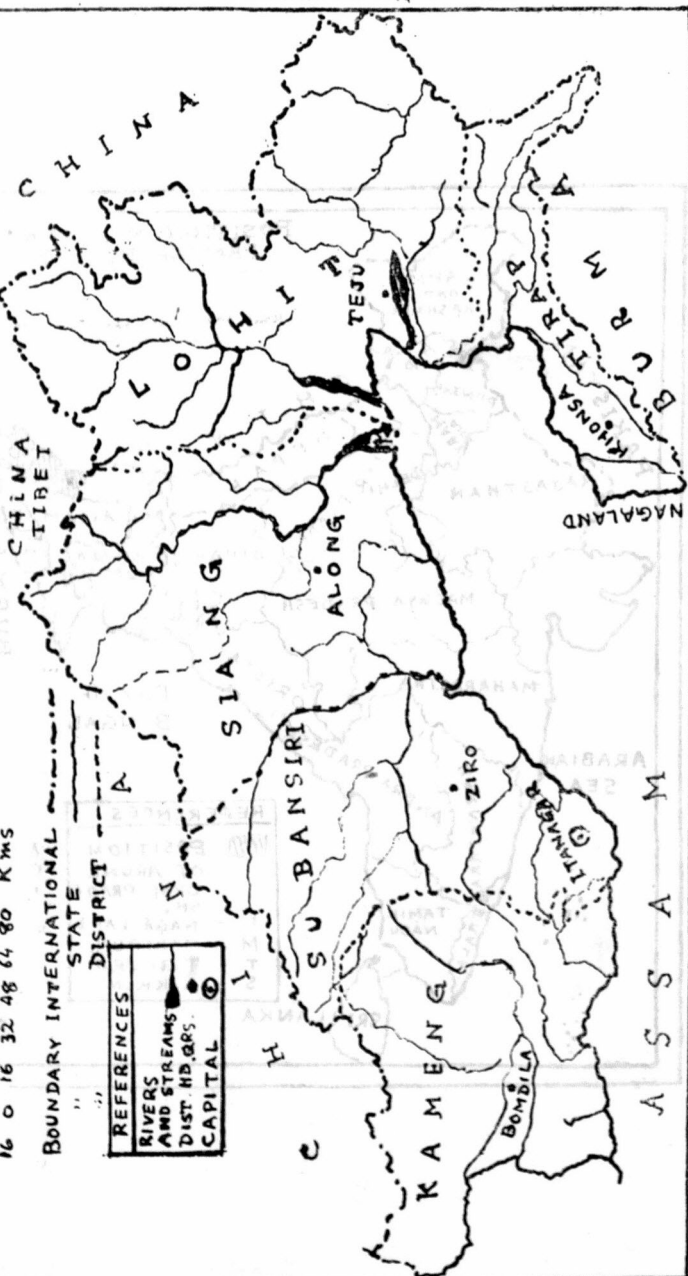
ARUNACHAL PRADESH

1975



BOUNDARY INTERNATIONAL
" STATE
" DISTRICT

REFERENCES	
RIVERS AND STREAMS	
DIST. HDQRS.	
CAPITAL	



The study of geographical distribution, languages and other cultural, population, tribal and social environment and the history of the land that provides substance to the study. It is more important than the method of administration to be applied on him, the study on the subject. It is a study of his social and habitat, his mode of living, his way of earning livelihood and the like. The background knowledge is necessary to understand the

Introduction

Arunachal Pradesh is a land of mountains and valleys lying roughly between the latitudes 26.28' N and 29.30' N and the longitudes 92.30' E and 97.30' E. The north-east extremity of India—covers an area of roughly 83,578 sq. km., bounded by with lush green hills of the Himalayas. It is bounded by

The North-East Frontier of India, which now comprises Arunachal Pradesh entered into the era of administration in 1875 when the British Indian government started drawing an 'Inner Line' in it to define the administrative jurisdiction of the British Officers in relation to the frontier tribes inhabiting the tract. The unsurveyed tract in the north-east periphery of India inhabited by 'war-like' people with a different socio-economic culture, known to the people of the other parts of the world as the 'tribesmen' had, however, been politically claimed by the British to have been within their domain much earlier than the date of commencement of the administration. For many years after an administration had been introduced in Assam, the most pressing issue before the British rulers was the demarcation of their extent of jurisdiction towards the North-East Frontier. It was only after a great deal of efforts that the frontier tribes were brought under control and the administration gradually made inroads into their lands. The early administrative history of the territory was, thus, a history of annexation of the tribal lands to the British empire.

Before we study the administrative development of Arunachal Pradesh, we shall have a profile view of Arunachal

2 ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Pradesh, its geography, ethnic composition, languages or dialects spoken, population, religious, social environment and the economy of the land that provides subsistence to the people. Since man is more important than the method of administration to be applied on him, the study on the subject presupposes a study of man in his aboriginal habitat, his mode of living, his way of earning livelihood and the like. The background knowledge is necessary to understand the administrative development.

The land

Arunachal Pradesh—a land of mountains and valleys lying roughly between the latitudes 26.28' N and 29.30' N and the longitudes 91.30' E and 97.30' E on the north east extremity of India—covers an area of roughly 83,578 sq. kms., dotted with lofty green hills of the Himalayas. It is bounded by Bhutan on the west, the Tibetan and Sikang region of China on the north and east, Burma on the south-east, and the plains of the Brahmaputra on the south.

History

About the distant past of the region, now called Arunachal Pradesh, obscurity reigns supreme. From myths and legends what is known is only a glimpse of the mythological history of Arunachal Pradesh. Tradition suggests the country round Sadiya as the ancient Vidarbha. Mahabharata refers to the region to be within the domain of Bhagadatta and his successors. "A legend of the Aka tribes tells us that the fort now in ruins, near Bhalukpung in the Kameng region is the home of Bhaluka, a grandson of Raja Bana of Mahabharata. The Yogini Tranta, an ancient religious book of Assam, refers to the Manasa lake as the northern boundary of Saumara. The Copper Plate inscriptions of the Pala Kings (11th century) speak of an Aryan Colony in the north-east regions. The archaeological findings of the Ita hills in the Subansiri region suggests that the Kalita Kingdom extended over this area between 16th and 18th century. The ruins of the Copper

Temple, Tamreswari, and the Brahmakund, where Parsurama is supposed to have cleft the rocks with one blow of his axe to make a passage through, further go to show that the NEFA hills were regarded as important religious centres from ancient times."¹

Of the vast hinterland, the annals that come to limelight reveal that the North-East Frontier area was inhabited by some tribes over whom the Ahom Kings of Assam (from 13th to 18th century) exercised their political authority as a mark of Ahom sovereignty over their lands. The tribal lands were not absorbed in the Ahom Kingdom. The Ahom rulers maintained cordial relations with the Tribal Chiefs by adopting a policy of conciliation and exercised their authority backed it by a display of force only when the question of law and order in the areas demanded.

Evolution of territorial and jurisdictional pattern

What is called Arunachal Pradesh today had remain unsurveyed and undefined till the Britishers came into this region. It was only after the advent of the Britishers that certain geo-political entity came into being for Arunachal Pradesh, though for many years after the beginning of the British rule, the area was included within the region and known by a term of wider spectrum as the North-East Frontier of Bengal, a term using 'sometimes to denote a boundary line, and sometimes more generally to describe a Tract.' 'In the latter sense', Mackenzie pointed out, 'it embraces the whole of the hill ranges north, east and south of the Assam Valley, as well as the western slopes of the great mountain system lying between Bengal and independent Burma, with its outlying spurs and ridges'.

So during the early years of the British rule, the territorial and jurisdictional pattern for the territory, which is now called Arunachal Pradesh, was vague. It was, first, in 1914 that some of the hill areas of north-east frontier of Bengal were made into a separate 'Tract' and called the 'North-East Frontier Tract' by a Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, Notifications of 1914.² The 'Tract'

might well be considered as nucleus of present Arunachal Pradesh. Geo-political entity became more well defined in 1954 when some portions of the 'Tract' were made over to Assam and the remaining portions were named 'North-East Frontier Agency' (NEFA). The Agency had, at first, six frontier Divisions and later in 1957 one of its Divisions, namely the Tuengsung Frontier Division was transferred to Nagaland. In 1972 under the provisions of the North-East Frontier Areas (Reorganisation) Act (81 of 1971), NEFA was declared a Union Territory and came to be known as 'Arunachal Pradesh' in the political map of India.

Area of Arunachal Pradesh and Districts

Location Code	Arunachal Pradesh/ Districts	Area in 1971 Census (Km ²)
—	Arunachal Pradesh	83,578
1	Kameng	13,724
2	Subansiri	14,797
3	Siang	23,723
4	Lohit	24,427
5	Tirap	6,907

Note: Area figures are provisional.

Source : Census of India, 1971, Arunachal Pradesh.

The name 'Arunachal Pradesh' was, at first, recommended in early 1971 by the Agency Council of the territory and later approved by the Government of India for its having significance both from geographical and religious point of view. The territory lies in the north-eastern corner of India and greets the rising sun first of all ; obviously it is called the land of rising sun. Again, a large bulk of the inhabitants are chiefly the worshippers of 'Anne Duini' (The Sun mother²) and the territory is appropriately termed 'Arunachal' meaning the abode of the sun.

Geographical Features

Geographical configuration with the territory intersected by mountain ranges and bounded by the mighty Brahmaputra in the south and the invincible Himalayas in the north with communication made difficult by rugged hills and deep gorges has served for a natural barrier isolating Arunachal Pradesh for centuries. Almost whole of Arunachal Pradesh, with the exception of a small portion of the territory adjoining the Brahmaputra Valley, is full of uneven terrain and dense forest. Series of spur of mountains, in this and that directions, cover almost the entire area. The hill ranges standing in an echelon each one higher than the other is a characteristic features of the land. There are flat lands only in riverine tract which provide human habitations.

The Pradesh is situated on the eastern side of the Himalayas and as a result, much of its western part is snow-capped during winter. On the east, the hill ranges present a formidable barrier on account of its steepness, height and impregnability. The area except the snow bound high ranges is ever green.

The Pradesh has mountains and ranges of high altitude varying from 4,000 feet to 21,450 feet above the sea level. Gorichen is among the highest peaks in the territory. The Apa-Tani plateau in the Subansiri District with an altitude of about 5,000 feet and a breadth of two miles and length of seven and a half mile and an area of 20 sq. miles is a spectacular feature of the territory. Between Tawang and Dirang-Dzong in the Kameng district prominently situated is the Sela range with its pass at 14,000 feet. Orkhale range stands in the further west. The Poshingla pass is in the north and formerly it had served a trade route to Tibet. The Patkai range in Tirap with a height of about 7,000 feet is a natural boundary on the east with Burma.

The Pradesh is striped with several rivers. About fifty rivers, big and small, apart from streams and waterfalls meander through the territory. The majority of the rivers of the western portion flow from east to west. In the Kameng district, almost all the rivers run from north to south and they

are the tributaries of the Brahmaputra. The Tirap district has no big rivers. The smaller rivers of the district are generally east-west, or north-east or north-west. The rivers of the territory mostly originating from precipitous and snow bound hills feed the Brahmaputra, the high waterways of the eastern region, with water all the year round and help internal navigation.

The territory experiences generally heavy rainfall, frequent flood and landslides. The rainfall varies from 40 inches at Bomdila to 200 inches at Pasighat. The northern portion of the territory receive the full force of monsoon from Bay of Bengal.

The temperature of the territory varies from below freezing point in winter to over 80 F (26.7°C) in summer. The lower region experiences climatic conditions almost similar to that of plains of Assam.

The west belt of Arunachal is comparatively developed, and the southern belt has close economic ties with Assam, but the middle belt situated at a high altitude, is the most backward due to its inaccessibility.

The Pradesh is rich for its flora and fauna, power and mineral potential, which if properly explored will earn a substantial sum to the state exchequer.

The People

Arunachal Pradesh with its people of diverse races, habit and culture presents a picture of great variety. The aboriginal people of the high-land is known to the people of the outer world as the 'tribesmen'.³ The tribes are fascinating in their variety of rich culture and folklore. The difference between the tribes is marked for their variations in racial affinities, in their customs, usages and institutions which even make difference between clans in the same tribe. The geographical location of the territory in a far-flung region makes its people exclusive and they have developed economic, social, cultural and political characteristics of their own. The tribes are tradition minded and apathetic to accepting changes in

behavioural norms as is the case with all other close and exclusive groups of people.'

No standard term has yet been coined to denote the tribal people of Arunachal Pradesh as a whole. Even the Constitution of India has not defined them except by saying that the people of tribal origin may by public notification be declared by the President of India as the 'Scheduled Tribes' (Art 342). In exercise of this power, the President of India by his Order in 1956 on 'the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' declared all the tribes of NEFA including the following as Scheduled Tribes :

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| (1) Abor | (5) Galong | (9) Momba |
| (2) Aka | (6) Khampti | (10) Any Naga Tribes |
| (3) Apatani | (7) Khowa | (11) Sherdukpen |
| (4) Dafla | (8) Mishmi | (12) Singpho |

With respect to the tribes of NEFA, the Presidential Order was illustrative and not exhaustive. At the time of passing the Order, NEFA was constitutionally a part of the State of Assam. It was, therefore, specifically noted that no tribe other than the tribes of NEFA were to be treated as Scheduled Tribe in the North-East Frontier Agency. The tribes which were scheduled in the Autonomous District of Assam (including present Nagaland) and the State of Assam excluding the tribal area other than the Autonomous Districts of Assam were to be treated as members of Scheduled Tribes in NEFA.

As regards the exact number of tribes and sub-tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, there is still a confusion. The Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (1961-62) noted that there were as many as twenty-nine main tribes and forty-one sub-tribes in NEFA.⁴ But the first ever Census operation done in NEFA in 1961 revealed the names of as many as eighty tribes and sub-tribes. The list of Scheduled Tribes was again far from being exhaustive. The Census of 1971 indicated the number of Scheduled Tribes to have been 110.

The variations in the number of tribes may be due to some reasons. Some tribes might earlier prefer to remain

under the fold of one or the other major tribes but thereafter adopted new names or sought real identity or it might be due to notional categorisation by the non-tribal enumerators. Notion varies from person to person and hence the variation in the number of tribes and sub-tribes from time to time. It is, therefore, wise that utmost care should be taken while discerning the linkage of any community with any tribes or in the enumeration of tribal names.

Distribution of Tribes

All the tribes live in some given areas which are separated from each other. Districtwise break up of the main tribes indicates that the Sherdukpens, Akas, Monpas, Mijis, Khawas, Daflas are the important tribal communities of the district of Kameng. The Daflas, Apatanis, Tagins, Hill Miris are the four important tribes living in Subansiri district. The Adis, Khamas; Membas, Mishmis are the important tribes of Siang district; the numerical strength of the tribes other than the Adis in relation to total population in this district is very insignificant. The Padam, Idus (chulikatas), Taoran (Digarus), Kamons (Mijis) and the Kamptis are important tribal communities of Lohit. The Wanchos, Tangsas and the Singphos are the dominant tribes of Tirap district. A good number of sub-tribal communities besides the major tribes are living in each district.

Formerly some of the tribes had been within the territorial jurisdiction of another tribe or tribes. In that case, the former had to pay tributes to the latter. Thus, the Sherdukpens used to pay tributes to Akas, Mijis and Monpas. At one time, the Sherdukpens complained about high-handed activities of the Akas who claimed them as their subjects and exacted heavy tolls from them. The Mijis also visited the Sherdukpen country occasionally to realise tribute. The amount of tribute thus realised by the Mijis depended on their sweet will as there was nothing settled about it. Of course, they also gave something to the Sherdukpens in return.⁵

In the bygone days, the relation between the tribes, were not always cordial. There were inter-tribal feuds among some tribes which seemed to be never ending. Old grudge sometimes led to inter-tribal killings. The causes of the feud were many. Sometimes it started out of a simple incident like stealing of an article belonging to a member of one community by any one of another community, sometimes out of an act of kidnapping and sometimes out of boundry disputes of jhumland. The nature in which the tribesmen behave speaks of their intra-tribal solidarity. But the primitive inter-tribal warfare and also the mountainous character of their country and linguistic variations impeded political unity and the growth of an established form of government amongst the tribal people of the North-East Frontier until recently.

Population

The total population of Arunachal Pradesh as per census of 1971 was 4,67,511 out of which 2,51,231 were males and 2,16,280 females. Again, out of its population 78.8 per cent were scheduled tribes. The density of population per sq. kilometre was 6. The percentage of literacy at the time of Indian Independence was nil but in 1971 census it was found that the literacy rate swelled to 9.3 per cent with a spectacular highest literacy rate being observed in the Lohit district.

Ethnic origin

The tribes are Indo-Mongloid by origin.⁶ The ethnic origin of most of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh points to their having migrated long ago from either Tibet or Burma to their present homeland. The reason of their migration is not clearly known but it is presumed that economic and political instability in their original homeland might be the main reason of their migration.

Language

Tibeto-Burman languages are supposed to have contributed to the basic linguistic strain of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

**Percentage variation of Scheduled Tribes Population
1961-1971**

Location Code	Arunachal Pradesh/ Districts	Population 1971			Percentage variation, 1961-71		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
—	Arunachal Pradesh	369,408	184,076	185,332	23.78	24.17	20.40
1	Kameng	67,877	34,217	33,660	21.69	23.21	20.19
2	Subansiri	90,242	44,785	45,457	27.37	27.40	27.33
3	Siang	105,833	52,441	53,392	18.18	17.26	19.09
4	Lohit	36,611	18,140	18,471	34.85	37.69	32.16
5	Tirap	68,845	34,493	34,352	24.94	25.78	24.10

Source : Census of India, 1971, Arunachal Pradesh

Decadal variation in population since 1901

Arunachal Pradesh/ Districts	20 Year	Persons	Decadal variation	Percentage decadal variation	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	1901	1,31,030	(+) 30,453	(+) 23.24	85,075	20,004
	1911	1,62,200	(+) 31,164	(+) 31.52	1,07,905	42,295
	1921	Figures not available				
	1931					
	1941					
	1951					
	1961	3,36,558			1,77,680	1,58,878
	1971	4,67,511	(+) 1,30,953	(+) 38.91	2,51,231	2,16,280
Kameng district	1961	69,913			38,800	31,113
	1971	86,001	(+) 16,088	(+) 23.01	47,657	38,344

1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Subansiri district	1961	75,495	(+)	23,744	(+)	31.45	39,433	47,842
Siang district	1961	95,509	(+)	26,427	(+)	27.67	49,804	45,705
Lohit district	1961	36,050	(+)	26,815	(+)	74.38	19,042	17,008
Tirap district	1961	59,591	(+)	37,879	(+)	63.56	30,601	28,990
	1971	97,470	(+)	37,879	(+)	63.56	51,774	45,696

Source : Census of India, 1971, Arunachal Pradesh

There are some fifty dialects different from tribe to tribe, but few dialects have scripts even now. The Khamptis of the Lohit district who migrated to the area not too long ago have a script akin to Tai-language. Of the indigenous languages and dialects, Tibetan adopted as a written language by the people of Western Kameng about two centuries ago,⁷ is one of the languages of highest frequency in the territory. The language of the second highest frequency is Minyong and of the third highest one is Gallong. Assamese, Nepali, Hindi, Bengali are also the spoken languages of the territory.

Some people of Arunachal Pradesh learnt to speak in Assamese tongue during the Ahom period, for the Ahom rulers communicated with them in Assamese and it has, therefore, become almost a lingua franca among some tribes. Infiltration of Bengali and Hindi into the land may be due to the fact that persons speaking these languages were often posted in the territory as government officials. Hindi especially for its being the national language takes an advantage and the lingua franca among the military personnels who are deployed there in great number at the service of the nation.

Social life

As regard the social life, although there are local variations, a somewhat common pattern runs through all the hills. The most remarkable feature about tribal life in the hills of Arunachal Pradesh, except the Dafflas who are highly individualistic, is the fundamentally democratic basis of their social organisation.

The socio-political life of a people is moulded by the economy they practise. The economy of the tribal people of North-East India in particular is *jhum* centered. It is based on collectivism which makes the socio-political life of the tribal people collective. It is interesting to note that the responsibility of building a house of a member of the community even falls, by custom, squarely upon all the members of the community. In one occasion when an Apatani village was gutted by accidental fire, which happened frequently, the entire tribe

came to their rescue and rebuilt the village, with men and materials provided by themselves within, three days. This bespeaks how the tribal people lead a collective life.

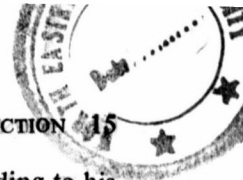
Until recently, village was the unit of both social organisation and administration. The social lives of the tribes are guided by their respective social norms, customs and usages which acting as a binding force knit the members of the community together and very rarely an individual goes against the social system as prevailing in his society.

Administratively the tribesmen were under the traditional village council which controlled their socio-economic life. Thus developed a concept of village-state and village-society among them.

The family is patriarchal and every member of the family is under the control of the head of the family. Generally, a family is a single family. It is small and consists of parents and dependents. There are no joint families. Almost all the tribes are divided into clans. Clan exogamy and tribal endogamy are the usual practices. The society is divided into chiefs or nobles, the middle classes and slaves or servants and marital relation between the classes does not generally exist.

As regard the social life of the highly individualistic Daflas, it is a point to note that they do not consider their village as a social unit. About the Daflas, B.K. Sukla writes⁸ :

“The only source of cohesion among them is their feeling of oneness through blood and the class spirit. The same religious beliefs and the same pattern of life lend it a veneer of oneness. Beyond, this allegiance to these bond of unity, a Dafla accept no authority. He may do as he pleases, if he thinks himself capable of doing it, irrespective of any consideration whether it is social or anti-social. There are the traditional laws of conduct to which he also subscribes, but if his personal inclinations prompt him to break them, he will not hesitate in the least to do so. Wrongs are considered to be personal rather than social and the wrong doers and the wronged are left to themselves without the interference of society. The community merely expresses its disapprobation in the form of



idle gossip, which affects the wrongdoer according to his power and mentality. If he is a rich and a powerful person, he does not care about such talks in the village. Generally scandals are hushed into oblivion in such cases. If the culprit is a brazen reprobate, he makes no secret about his transgressions, and may laugh the community in the face.'

There are some hoary traditional but peculiar social habits of the tribesmen. For instance, touching cow-dung is a taboo for the tribals of Arunachal Pradesh and as a result their houses and neighbourhood remains dirty. Recently the government has taken up a scheme to inculcate among the students the habit of cleanliness through special classes. The students also organise social service camps in villages where they demonstrate to the people how to keep their surroundings clean.

Yet another tribal habit is that they do not drink milk because they consider milk to be only a baby food and it is unmanlike for them to drink milk. It results in wastage of huge quantity of milk.

Religion and culture

Religion and culture of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh present a picture of great variety. Religion is a curious blend of Buddhism and local beliefs. Hinduism penetrated into the far-flung region of Tirap by the 18th century through the efforts of the disciples of Sri Sankara Deva of Assam. There are also some elements of animism. Most of the tribes of the north-western and northern Arunachal Pradesh practise Tibetan form of Buddhism. Some of the tribes like the Khamptis of Lohit follow Buddhism as prevailing in Burma. There are also some Vaishnavities among the Noctes. Christianity spread among some people in the late 19th century. There are also followers of Islam and several people flow indigenous faiths.

The first census operation made in the territory in 1961 recorded the number of Hindus to have been 25,599 (7.66), of Buddhists 5,809 (1.71), of Christians 1,713 (0.51), of Muslims 1,008 (0.30), and other 302,429 (89.86).

Trend of change of religion among the tribes is also marked. Information for Arunachal Pradesh as a whole is not available but from an account of the census of 1961⁹, it is found that bulk of them return their religion either as tribal religion or Hinduism. The Khamptis, Khambas, Monpas, Noctes, Ramos, Sherdukpens, Singphos and the Tangsas have returned among them Buddhist, either partially or wholly. The Dafla, Galong, Miju, Mikir, Minyong, Miri, Mishmi, Tangsa and the Tayeng have returned followers of Christianity in some numbers.

Arunachal Pradesh is a land of culture of curious blend owing to the ethnic diversity of the people. Most of the people belong either to Tibetan form or Burmese form of Buddhist culture. Some of the tribes are, again, within the cultural influence of the plains. There is also cultural impact of one tribe on the other. For instance, the Khamptis follow the Burmese form of Buddhism. The Singphos have been influenced by the Khamti Buddhism, popularly known as Lamaism. While the Mongpas of Siang are adherents of the Nyingmapa, Red Hat Order, one form of Lamaism, those of Kameng are adherents of the Gelukpa, Yellow Hat Order, another form of Lamaism. Both the Nyingmapa and Gelukpa Orders have adherents among the Sherdukpens. There is an element of animism in the Buddhism of the Khamptis and the Singphos as well as of the Monpas and the Sherdukpens. The Adi tribe of Upper Siang have been influenced by the Buddhist culture of the neighbouring Khamptis and Monpas. The Akas and the Buguns of Kameng have been influenced by the neighbouring Sherdukpens and the Monpas. The Mishmis, Adis, Miris, Daflas and the Apatanis are animists. The Mikirs of Subansiri follow Hinduism of the Mikirs of the Mikir Hills of Assam.¹⁰

Although different groups have different culture, they all have a great deal in common. Elwin notes: ¹¹ "Throughout, the unity of society is the patrilineal family and while polygamy is very fairly common, polyandry has been noted only very rarely. The people live in villages, though these vary from the great—long established Nocte and Monpa villages to the frequently shifted settlements of the Daflas and Tagins."

Local government prevails among all although varies greatly in its nature from tribe to tribe. Belief about supernatural being is a characteristic feature common to almost all the tribes. They believe in a Supreme God who is just, benevolent and good, the witness of truth. Along with Him there is a galaxy of demons who also occupy prominent position in the faith of the people. It is a general belief that the demons prey upon mankind and it is, therefore, most of the attention of the tribal priests and *shamans* is devoted for pacification of the demons.

The priest may be man or woman. The priest exercises considerable authority. He has to appease not only demons and ghosts of the dead but also decide through observance of religious rites matters like the allocation of fields for cultivation, the auspicious moment for sowing seed or the discovery of stolen cattle or goods.

Institution of Dormitory

Institution of dormitory is a unique characteristic common to many tribal societies in India and tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are no exceptions. There are dormitories for boys and girls. The dormitory for boys is known by different terms among different communities of Arunachal Pradesh. Among the Adis, it is known chiefly by the term *Moshup*. It is, again, known by different terms among different sections of the Adis. The Minyongs call it *Diri*, the Milans and other allied groups call it *Ngaptek*, the Boris and Ashins call it *Bange* and the like.¹² The Adis call their girls' dormitory *Rasheng*. The Tangsa community formerly had their bachelors' dormitory known as *Loo-pong*. Though *loo-pong* has now disappeared, there are dormitories for girls in some villages of the Tangsas. The Noctes have their *Morungs* for boys and youngmen in all villages and dormitory for girls in some villages. The Wancho have their *Morungs* for boys and girls.

The institution of dormitory is as good as training school where 'the adolescent and the young receive training in hunting, warfare, traditions and values cherished by the tribes

as well as the regulation of premarital sexual life so that they can grow up as full members, well trained in the correct canons of behaviour and in different activities, pertaining to the welfare and prosperity of the tribes'. Dormitory as an institution contains some common attributes such as 'the partial or complete exclusion of women from the boys dormitory, the discipline and spirit of corporate life of the inmates, the period of novitiate that they have to pass through, the regulation of behaviour between the youth of the two sexes and participation of the members in the socio-religious life of the tribe' but it 'takes different forms according to the inhabitants, cultural pattern and the tribal personality.'¹³

About 'Moshup', T. Bhattacharjee who was once an Assistant Political Officer, NEFA writes that it is 'the main social centre of the village. There all important meetings are held and in great community festivals people gather to participate in Miri dancing. The Moshup is divided into different meroms and in each merom there are members who do not necessarily belong to the same class. It is the duty of the members to follow the merom in community hunting and members take great pride in the achievement of their own merom. Unmarried young boys sleep in moshup and their duty is to keep watch over the village and the people against any possible danger.'¹⁴

Besides its being a training and socio-religious centre, it is 'also the instrument through which the administration is carried on by the *Kebang*'¹⁵ (Village Council of the Adis).

Like many of the traditional tribal institutions and values, the dormitories also seem to be in a state of decay. The reason of the decay may be partially attributed to the introduction of modern educational system. Modern education is changing the tribal mind and consequently traditional tribal values have begun to be undermined.

Institution of slavery

The institution of slavery existed among some tribes like the Akas, Adis, Mishmis, Bangnis and Daflas. Persons purchased or captured in war were reduced to slavery.

Century old inter-tribal feuds was mainly responsible for it. The slaves were not integrated in their societies but formed a separate class by themselves. The Akas called their slaves the *Khulos* who were not considered to be a part of their society. Even the distant relatives of a slave could not escape the stigma of slavery. So also was the case with the Adis. The Adis society did not allow any matrimonial or sexual relation between a freeman and a slave whom they called *mipak*. If anyone violated this social norm, he was excommunicated.¹⁶ The Mishmis also maintained this difference between a freeman and a slave and no marital relation between the two was allowed.¹⁷

In Dafla society, however, the slave owners usually received the children of their slaves with the status as that of dependents. If, at any time, they could acquire wealth by virtue of their talent and initiative, they could become freemen of the Dafla society. Thus, there existed among the Daflas no hereditary slave class.¹⁸

The institution of slavery pertaining to the tribal society posed a problem to the Administration which tried to do away with the system. One Base Superintendent at Bomdila apprised the Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (1960-61) that there had been about 700 slaves in his area, out of a total population of 2,576 in spite of expressed disapprobation of the Administration against such practices. The Administration thought it not wise to take any drastic measure against it on apprehension that it might lead to law and order problem. On the contrary, the Administration adopted a persuasive measure in its efforts to do away with it by paying rupees five hundred to the master for releasing his slaves. But some persons due to their hereditary prestige were in no hurry to come in and respond to the administrative overture.¹⁹ However, in 1962 it was abolished and the slave owners were compensated by rupees five hundred per slave.

The government of the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh is also taking steps to resettle the slave tribes. The Puroiks is thus one of them. Puroiks is the new name of the 'Solung' of Arunachal Pradesh. The new appellation, chosen

by themselves, is the first step in search for an identity of a tribe which had been under the yoke of another master tribe for ages. The Puroiks, numbering about 5,000 are confined to Chyangtajo and Khennewa circles in Seppa sub-division of Kameng disirict. No record exists as to when the Bangnis, the master tribes, enslaved them, but they were known as 'Solungs' meaning slaves in Bangni dialect. The long subjugation resulted in the creation of an extremely shy, withdrawing people cut off from civilisation.

The Puroiks' love for seclusion, born out of long years of serfdom and the fear of aliens, have driven them to set up their villages on inaccessible mountain-tops where they live in total isolation, unaware of and uninterested in the world outside. Their living conditions are so bad that even now they use wooden utensils to cook their food.

Various measures are being considered recently, particularly after the government of the union territory of Arunachal Pradesh has been formed. Steps have been taken to free the Puroiks from bondage and bring them out of their age-old seclusion. As a measure to uplift the Puroiks, they have been given resettlement in new villages away from the Bangnis so as to free them from the fear of their masters.

Economy

Economic life of the tribe is mostly *jhum* oriented. Ploughing in the uneven surface of the land being a problem, *jhuming* or slash and burn type of cultivation has, therefore, become the usual practice among the tribes. *Jhum* is a cooperative enterprise. Every member of the community is supposed to participate equally in the various agricultural operations. Normally, the *jhum* is carried on by the villagers within the boundary of their villages. Formerly, ownership right to land was generally acquired by clearing the jungle and it was demarcated clan wise having been marked either by a stream, a hill or by any other natural object. During 1947-48, three *jhum* land regulations were promulgated with an object to conferring absolute rights on the tribal people over their *jhum* land.

Appropriate religious rites are observed before starting cultivation. One such festival among the Apatanis is the *Dree Dree* which is celebrated before cultivation in the worship of the mother earth for a bountiful crop.

Until recently, the hill economy with its mouldy mode of cultivation, could hardly have supported the people throughout the year. They had, therefore, to live sometimes on locally available fruits, roots, wild vegetables and berries. The tribal people generally produced food crops for domestic and local consumption. Cash crops, as a rule, was out of vogue in their economy.

Today, the picture is changed to some extent. Though *jhums* or shifting cultivation persists to be the main occupation of the bulk of the people, there is a trend of taking up permanent cultivation. The Khamptis, Singphos and the Apatanis have now adopted permanent cultivation. The Sherdukpens and the Monpas practise both *jhum* and permanent cultivation.

Since independence, the tribal people of the territory have been persuaded by the Administration to undertake some subsidiary economic activities like horticulture, orchardry, animal husbandry, rearing of pigs, poultry, farming, coffee and tea plantations etc. The prospect of coffee, as reported is bright in the territory. Fruits like apples are also grown. These activities now make good fairly the deficit of agricultural produce.

Weaving and handicrafts constitute an important sort of specialised economic activities of the tribal people of Arunachal Pradesh. Weaving is now a major industry in the territory. Almost all the villages have weaving schools. The tribal people in parts of the territory have distinguished themselves as good craftsmen. The Mishmis, Adis, Khamptis and the Monpas are among those known for their skill in handlooms and handicrafts. Wood carving, blacksmithy, carpentry, canework etc. are now widely practised by the tribal people.

From a long time, the tribesmen use to trade within themselves and also with people outside their geographical limit. Formerly, all transactions were made through barter system. The introduction of money economy is a recent development in the territory.

In the territory, now called Arunachal Pradesh, so long as money economy was not introduced, a collective life based on communal possession of land, with *Jhum* as the mainstay of the people was the most usual form of tribal life, which might be fairly compared with what is known as 'primitive communism'. But a gradual shift from that stage of socio-economic life was marked with the introduction of money economy which also gave rise to the concept of private property. The later phenomenon was a trend among some richer tribesmen in the shape of owning land individually within the main framework of community land. But the overall situation which till now prevails is that the common run of tribal people are far away from settled habit of civilisation. Different tribes are in various stages of development.

Village

Although the tribal economy of Arunachal Pradesh is *Jhum* (shifting cultivation) centered, it does not imply shifting of homesteads. Many of the villages of the territory are very old.²⁰

Selection of site for village, though a matter of choice, is determined mostly by the tribal habit which varies from tribe to tribe. Sometimes, the villages of the tribes are built on the hill tops and widely separated from another for the sake of security.

The Daflas who are accustomed to a life of clustered settlement, prefer hill slopes and avoid river side for fear of snakes and insects. The Adis prefer river side for 'ensuring constant and dependable supply of drinking water, facilities for washing and fishing'. Again, the Monpas of upper part of the Kameng district maintain two houses, one on the hill-top and the other in the valley. When the Valley is flooded, they live in the hill top houses and graze the live stock; when the hill-top gets too cold and snow-capped, they come down and live in the valley. Barring the Daflas and the Tagins who lead in a life of frequent shifting of settlement, all the tribes have their fixed village locations which are very old. With rare exceptions, the villages are homogeneous. The number of villages in Arunachal, as recorded in the census report of 1971, are 2,973.

Villages enumerated in Arunachal Pradesh during 1961 and 1971 Census

Sl. No.	Category of villages	Arunachal Pradesh		Kameng	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Villages found during 1961	2,451	100.00	333	100.00
2.	Villages found in 1971 (excluding 4 treated as urban)	2,973	121.30	492	147.74
3.	Villages found in 1961 but not in 1971 (excluding 4 treated as urban)	325	13.26	19	5.71
4.	Villages found in 1971 but not in 1961	851	34.72	179	53.75
5.	(i) Villages found in 1971 as well as in 1961 (excluding 4 treated as urban in 1971)	2,122	86.58	313	93.99
	(ii) 1961 villages treated as urban in 1971	4	0.16	1	0.30

Sl. No.	Subansiri Number	Percent- tage	8	Siang Number	Percent- tage	10	Lohit Number	Percent- tage	12	Tirap Number	Percent- tage
1.	749	100.00	516	100.00	604	100.00	249	100.00	312	125.30	
2.	960	128.17	589	114.15	620	102.65	32	12.85	95	38.15	
3.	118	15.75	57	11.04	99	16.40	217	87.15	217	87.15	
4.	329	43.92	132	25.58	116	19.21	217	87.15	217	87.15	
5. (i)	631	84.25	457	88.57	504	83.44	217	87.15	217	87.15	
(ii)	...	...	2	0.39	1	0.16	...	...	...	...

Source : Census of India, 1971, Arunachal Pradesh.

Town

Life in Arunachal Pradesh is village centred. Town is of a recent origin. In the Census report no place in the territory was noted to have developed to the extent to be declared as urban area as per minimum conditions laid down by the Registrar General, India. Even during the Census of 1971, there was practically no change in the situation except that the district headquarters of Bomdila, Along and Tezu and sub-divisional headquarter of Pasighat had developed a pronounced 'urban characteristics'. The Registrar General in consideration of the urban characteristics and occupational structure recognised these places as urban areas in 1971. The development of these urban characteristics were more due to official efforts than to any other tangible economic or social factor.²¹

Of the four places accepted as urban areas Pasighat, in consideration of population being above 5,000 (actual population as per Census of 1971 was 5,116) is classified as a town of class V. Along, Tezu, Bomdila in consideration of population being less than 5,000 (actual population as per 1971 census was 4,818; 4,182 and 3,172 respectively) are classified as towns of class VI. The basis of declaration of these places as towns is empirical and that majority of the people of these areas pursue non-agricultural activities.²² Of the total population in the territory, only 3.70 per cent live in these urban areas while the rest live in rural areas.

Communication

Arunachal Pradesh has a predominantly hilly terrain and it is for this reason that always there has been the problem of communications. There was virtually no motorable road in the territory when India attained Independence. Even after Independence the development of communications had been very slow. It was only after the Indo-Chinese war of 1962 that the importance of communication was realised. Border Task Force was pressed into service for the development of communications.

During the Third Five Year Plan period, the NEFA Admini-

stration was ambitious to construct overland roads upto international border but due to opposition from the Indian Army the programme was dropped. In the wake of Sino-Indians border dispute, the Army which took control of the areas contiguous to the MacMohan Line was of the view that roads if constructed in the vicinity of international border might go to the advantage of the 'enemy'. It was, therefore, decided that there would be no road within 'thirty miles' of the international border.

At the time, when NEFA was made into a Union Territory there were about 1,000 kms of motorable roads and about 5,000 kms of port tracks, bridle paths etc. Cooperative service run by the local cooperatives play on various routes connecting the district headquarters and sub-divisional towns from the nearest plain towns of Assam.

Arunachal has no rail or air connection at all. The railway line terminates at Murkongselek which is at the foot of Siang district and this is the only railway facility which is made available of Arunachal Pradesh after constructing 300 kms of railway line linking Rangapara with Murkongselek. Arunachal Pradesh has her nearest air port at Mohanbari (Dibrugarh) in Assam.

The North-East Frontier Railways recently opens some out-agencies in Arunachal Pradesh for transport of goods traffic. The out-agencies located at Bomdila in the Kameng district, Itanagar in the Subansiri district, Pasighat in the Siang district and Tezu in the Lohit district serve rail-heads of Balipara, Harmuti, Murkongselek and Talap rail stations respectively.

As regard water ways, some of the rivers like Brahmaputra, Subansiri, Bharali and the like are navigable in their lower reaches and play an important role in inter-state trade but at present these are insignificant for trading with the country beyond North-East India, for the Brahmaputra, the high waterway of north-East India, where all other navigable rivers of Arunachal Pradesh meet, falls into the sea in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. For some years after the partition of India, steamer was in service in the Brahmaputra and North-East India was connected with the rest of the country by waterway but when the military regime of Pakistan became unfri

endly with India, this age-old waterway had to be closed. After emergence of Bangladesh, the fate of this waterway remains uncertain as before.

Conclusion

The land and its people have been discussed above. The geographical location has made Arunachal Pradesh a forbidden land, sometimes described as 'hidden land', till recent times. The rugged physiographic condition of the territory has made its people exclusive and the Administration owes to it much of its character.

The physical, mental and moral habits of the people are influenced by the physical environment. The climate, the nature of the soil, the terrain of the hills in which the people inhabit shape to a considerable extent their way of life, habit and character. Problem of communications and utter lack of free flow of ideas into this scheduled region result in the development of a distinct characteristic of the tribes.

The most outstanding effect of physical environment on the tribes is the growth of a strong spirit of self-help and self-reliance among them. The trend of individualism as seen among the plainsmen is conspicuous by its absence among the tribesmen. Ownership of private property and other socio-economic conditions are responsible for the growth of individualistic character among the plainsmen. The situation is not the same with the tribal country. The tribesmen use to make and maintain village paths, construct schools, wells, water tanks and do other work of public utility without any remuneration. These are community projects in the true sense of the term. In their socio-economic life, they are very much cooperative and the villagers function as a unit in all affairs, whether agriculture or inter-village quarrels. Thus arises a community spirit among the tribesmen. Its concomitant effect on their political life is the growth of a democratic approach. With certain exceptions, most of the tribes have developed a democratic spirit which is strongly reflected in their indigenous administrative organisation. The tribal administrative organisation is dealt with in the subsequent chapter.

Notes and References

1. Raudhawa, M.S.; Mitra, Asoke and Mehta, Gisela, *Farmers of India* Vol. III,—Indian Council of Agricultural Research (New Delhi, 1964), p. 315.
2. Notifications No. 977-EB., 978-EB and 979-EB, dated the 25th September 1914, *Foreign and Political Department*, Govt. of India.
3. To the Tribals, Sun in feminine gender.
4. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Vol. I (1960-61), p. 476.
5. Chakravarti, L.N., *Glimpses of the Early History of Arunachal Pradesh* (Shillong, 1973), p. 7.
6. Elwin, Verrier, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong, 1964), p. 8.
7. *Science and Human Progress*—(Reprinted from Prof. D.D. Kosambi, Commemorative Volume) Popular Prakashan, by Amalendu Guha, p. 60.
8. Quoted in *Democracy of NEFA* (Shillong, 1965) by Verrier Elwin, pp. 87-88.
9. The Census of 1961 gives only the information in respect of the tribal people residing in and around administrative centres of Arunachal Pradesh.
10. Rahul, Ram *The Himalaya Borderland* (1970), p. 29.
11. Elwin, Verrier., *The Art of North-East Frontier of India* (Shillong, 1959), pp. 17-23.
12. Roy, Sachin, *Aspect of Padam, Minyong Culture* (Shillong, 1966), p. 195.
13. Guha, B.S.; *Moshup Abang*, pp. 1-2.
14. Bhattacharjee, T.; *Myths of the Shimongs of Upper Siang*, (Shillong, 1965), p. XXIV.
15. Guha, B.S., *op. cit.*, p. 84.
16. Roy, Sachin, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
17. Baruah, T.K.M., *The Idu Mishmis* (Shillong, 1969), p. 45.

18. Furer Haimendorf, C. Von., *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region* (Shillong, 1947), p. 3.
19. Commission's Report, Vol. I, p. 481.
20. Elwin, Verrier, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong, 1964) p. 65.
21. Census of India, 1971, Series 24, Arunachal Pradesh Part IV A and Part IV B, p. 6.
22. Census of India 1971, Series 24, Arunachal Pradesh, Part II A, p. 57.

Conclusion

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to trace the administrative development of the Territory, now called Arunachal Pradesh, stretching over a period of one hundred years from 1875 to 1975. The study leads us to some observations and conclusions which may be summarized here.

Arunachal Pradesh entered into the era of administration in 1875 with the British Indian Government having started drawing an 'Inner Line' in it under the Regulation, 1873. The purpose of introducing an administration in the Territory was only to keep the areas under control. In the line of their traditional policy of 'divide and rule,' the Britishers created an artificial barrier between the tribals and the non-tribals by the formation of the 'Inner Line.' Alienation of the tribals from the non-tribals was the administrative policy so that the former could not join hands with the latter in the struggle for freedom. It was intensified more and more in the course of time when the Indian national movement gained momentum.

Every land has some features and peculiarities. The administration generally owes to them much of its character. But the pattern of the British administration in the North-East Frontier Area, had little to do with them as it took no

root in the soil giving up the traits of its foreign character. The motive of the extension of British authority to the area was to secure only the economic interests. The frontier hills were brought under political suzerainty just to build a rampart of the British empire on the north-east of India and to turn out fertile Assam to be a safe zone for commercial plunder.

The frontier tribes were politically unconscious and educationally in a preliterate stage. Hence, only a skeleton administration was set up probably taking it to be sufficient for controlling the tribes and sustaining the British overlordship over the areas. In its nature and extent, it was an Administration from outside the territory and the centre of thinking and action of the Administration remained far afield from the masses.

The immediate effect of the British administration in the tribal areas was that the age-old relations between the tribals and the non-tribals were snapped to a great extent. The Frontier Tribal area fell into seclusion where characteristics of the tribal people remained, on the one hand, intact from outside contamination and in time their areas might be termed a museum of aboriginal culture and usages. Its concomitant effect, on the other hand, was much pronounced on them having developed a psychology of separatism. There is no denying the fact that a certain measure of tension does exist in some tribal areas even now but the reason for it, is to be found partially in the British policy of isolation. The closed-door policy sealed off the tribal areas from all nationalistic influences. The influence exercised by the British administration continues to affect the mind of some tribals in these areas even today. The separatist tendencies have taken a virulent form in North-East India especially in Nagaland and Mizoram culminating in the absurd demand of the Naga National Council and the Mizo National Front for independence. This tendency may be considered as one of the upshots of the British museum policy in regard to the tribals.

After Independence, the policy of the Government of India with respect to the tribals of the country in general took a new turn aiming at reclamation of the tribals to the level

of their brethren in the plain areas. In the North-East Frontier Area which was delimited under the new Constitution of India as Part B Tribal Area within the Province of Assam, an administration of the Union Government through the Governor of Assam as Agent of the President of India was introduced. The reasons for introduction of such a special type of administration in the Territory as attributed were the backwardness of the area and the position of the tribal folk who were politically unconscious, educationally in a preliterate stage—far away from settled habits of civilisation. But it is worthy to note that the machinery of administration devised for realization of the goal was much in the line of the British mode of administration in the Territory—a colonial hang-up which was kept up for long even after Independence. Again, the machinery of administration was totally bureaucratic. Therefore, it was not expected to be free from 'red tape' or unnecessary slowness and formality in the despatch of business.

The political system of the Indian Union had undergone a sea change since 1950. The Constitution of India introduced universal adult franchise in lieu of the previous practice of extremely restricted franchise. The change had brought some prestige and responsibility to the masses who had, thus, become the determinant of the Indian politics. But there was no political development of Arunachal Pradesh till 1967, there was no representative institution and no adult franchise. In 1967 an Agency Council was established. 1969 a three-tier Panchayat system laid the political infrastructure in the area thus replacing the tribal method of village self-government. Adult franchise was introduced only in 1972, In 1972, a Pradesh Council with five Counsellors selected from amongst the members of the Pradesh Council started functioning at the territory level as a non-sovereign body. Thus, the Territory, changing its nomenclature from time to time and finally christened as Arunachal Pradesh marked a political growth from 1967 only. The process of separation of NEFA from Assam, initiated by the introduction of the Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 was complete in 1972 with the promulgation of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act 1971, which

ceremonially came to an end on August 15, 1975 through the inauguration of a Provisional Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers for the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh.

From 1950 to 1972, NEFA was under an Administration specially designed for the frontier tribal people who as it was said, were unprepared to take up the management of their affairs themselves at the state level. Now let us see, what was the achievement of the Administration ?

The aim of the Administration, with among other was to train the tribal people in the art of administration and decision making. The prevailing situation was accepted at the initial stage and the Administration worked through the traditional village authorities. It encouraged the growth of political institutions at village level where there was no such institutions. It created enthusiasm among the people for participation in the affairs of administration at the grass root level.

It may be put on record that the Administration exercised its influence to remove certain antiquated practices from the socio-political life of the tribal people. In the social field, for example, slavery was abolished in 1962 by making payment at the rate of Rs. 500/- per slave to the slave owners for releasing their slaves. Again, polygamy is being replaced by monogamy, at the instance of the Administration.

In the tribal political field, the Village Council sometimes awarded punishments which were severe and most primitive in nature. With the help of the Regulation of 1945, the Administration modernised the nature of tribal punishment.

In the economic field, the administration contributed to the growth of a new type of economic structure in the territory by encouraging the tribesmen to adopt permanent form of cultivation and by launching an agricultural programme involving development of animal husbandry, fisheries, farming, horticulture etc. These were sought to occupy subsidiary economic activities of the people.

In the educational field, the percentage of literacy swelled to 11.5 p.c. in 1971 from a naught in 1947.

In the development field, top priority was given to the

transport and communications. There had been till 1975 about 21,000 Kms of motorable roads and about 5,000 Kms of port tracks, bridle path etc. Most of the roads were constructed after the Indo-Chinese War of 1962. From the above account, it might be seen that the erstwhile NEFA had made some progress towards its socio-economic fulfilment.

NEFA entered into the era of planning along with the rest of the country. Whatever the statistics and plan figures may speak, but the degree of development cannot be measured by them. The monetary planning was not integrated with physical planning and as a result, economic infra-structure in the area is yet to be built.

The rate of progress of the territory was fairly slow and it was borne out the fact that during the Indo-Chinese war of 1962 the Indian army felt difficulty in mobilising resources for want of roads and it resulted in India's defeat at the war.

A rural area based scheme called, the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service, launched all over India in 1952 was also introduced in NEFA. The purpose of the scheme was to come nearer to the people for more concerted welfare work. But this had been ineffective to mobilise the people upto expectation. And it was due to the fact that all the plans and programmes in the scheme, right from the start, were initiated and executed from above i.e. by the bureauerats.

The mode of dealing with the the problems of NEFA as well as of North-East India has been far from being scientific. The region dives into various problems which remain unattended as yet. Even after 30 years of India's Independence the magnitude of the backwardness of the area can be presumed from a statement of the former Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, P.K. Thungon. According to him about 1.5 lakh of the people of the territory did not know how sugar tasted, and what it was like and how to use it. Any government plan in the near future to reach sugar to the remote areas of the hilly territory would cost between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 35/- for a Kg. Though this may sound fantastic, this was precisely what the

then Chief Minister of the Union Territory told Reporters* in an exclusive interview in New Delhi 29, 1977. He further added that there were 43 areas with a population of 1.5 lakh out of the total population of '5 lakh' where only the Indian Air Force helicopters could air-drop food and other essential articles. As such the other-head expences became so much that it was economically impossible to reach the essentials to the people. Citing an example he said that if the transportation costs were included, one kg. of rice would cost Rs. 25/- at Anini.

The distress phenomena of the North-Eastern Region as a whole have prepared the ground for national integration. The economic backwardness gives indulgence to a section of indigenous people to rise against another section who are lawful immigrants into the area but are unfortunately termed as 'foreigners.' In the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, slogan on their deportation already rents the air and the agitation takes a virulent form. Other adjoining states have also joined the chorus and Arunachal Pradesh is no exception. Foreign agents who are at work to destabilise the country are not to miss such a situation to woo.

But the problem is mainly economic which underlie the growth of the tension. Lack of job facilities, educational opportunities, social facilities, safeguard for economic interest of the indigenous people, shortage of housing and of essential articles and the day to day spiralling of prices are some of the ascribable causes of the problem, which set a stage for emulation between the lawful migrators and the indigenous people for survival. It is true that the people who are lawful migrators are not responsible for the problems and their deportation will help no solution.

It is all but natural that long standing problem agitates the people ; but in Assam the agitation has flared up in such a way that it is thought provoking. It cannot be allowed to deteriorate. Proper plan and programme for economic emancipation of the people is the need of the hour. The

*It has been reported in Amrita Bazar Patrika (Air Mail Ed.) Calcutta, July 30th, 1977.

sooner a viable and time-bound scheme for development of the north-eastern region as a whole is undertaken, it is better. Otherwise, the basic problems of the people will continue to defy all attempts at the solution. The delay in taking up the schemes is sure to be haunted by separatist tendency threatening the unity and integrity of the country as a whole.

A pretty long years have elapsed since Independence, but it is apologetic that the tribal psychology of separatism is not fully conquered, nor are the inter-tribal feuds disappeared.

How to conquer the tribal psychology of separatism ?

The psychology has been developed by the long isolation of their areas from rest of the country. Problems of communications and utter lack of free flow of ideas into their far-flung area resulted in socio-economic stagnation. Many of the tribesmen are yet to imbibe national feeling. It is a problem and poses a challenge to the nation builders.

Emotional integration of the tribal areas with rest of the country and inculcation of the spirit of national feeling can only bring the tribesmen always from the psychology.

The transfer of management of the government to them is a step in the right direction, yet the effort to cultivate the spirit of national feeling among them should not be set at rest. But the efforts to cultivate the spirit of national feeling cannot succeed without a viable economic programme for the masses. The economic development of the land, linking of their area with rest of the country by road and rail holding of national fairs in tribal areas as well as tribal fairs in other parts of the country, spread of education, utilisation of the service for nation building and eradication of exploitation on the tribals will surely secure emotional integration and foster national feeling among the tribesmen.

How to stop the inter-tribal feuds ?

The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are living from time immemorial independent of each other. There is ethnic diversity; their religions are different and they speak in diffe-

rent tongues. Each of the tribes has its self-contained economy. Whenever any tribe or a member of a tribe, encroaches upon the economic interest of another tribe or member of a tribe, it leads to trouble culminating, at last, in an inter-tribal feud.

As for example, stealing of an article of a member of a tribe by a member of another tribe is a cause of inter-tribal feud. Similar is the case with the boundary dispute of the jhum land. In the past whenever such feud accrued, it continued for long. Even to day relations between the tribes became strained on some petty matters.

But unity and integrity among the tribes is the prime necessity for progress. It must be found out. In the socio-economic field, there should be a balanced development among different tribes of the Territory.

Spread of education will certainly remove differences but to expedite unity and integrity among them, the economic problems of the tribes should be removed. None should feel neglected. An integrated economic programme for a balanced development of the tribes including the smallest one may usher in an era of peace and prosperity.

Again, to foster fellow-feeling among the members of different tribes, hitherto coming to be known by different terms of their tribal origin, a common term should be found out to denominate the tribesmen of Arunachal Pradesh as a whole.

Let the inhabitants of tribal origin of Arunachal Pradesh be known by the term ARUNACHALEE like the Khasis Mizos, Nagas.

SOME OF OUR OUTSTANDING PUBLICATIONS

Bhattacharya, Mohit	Management of Urban Govt.in India	50.00
Bhattacharya, Mohit	Bureaucracy and Development Adm.	50.00
Bhargava, P.K.	Essays on Indian Economic Planning	75.00
Bhargava, P.K.	Some Aspects of Indian Public Finances	125.00
Bijan Mohanta	Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh 1875-1975	150.00
Centre for Policy Research, N.Delhi	Population, Poverty and Hope	300.00
Dey, Bata K.	Bureaucracy Development and Public Management in India	80.00
Ghosh, Partha S.	Sino-Soviet Relations	100.00
Handa, K.L.	Programme Performance Budgeting	75.00
Jagannadham, V.	Administration and Social Change	60.00
Jain, Anil Kumar	Some Aspects of Income-Tax Administration in India	100.00
Jain, D.K.	Project, Planning and Appraisal in Planned Economy: The Indian Context	75.00
Jain, R.B. and P.N. Chaudhuri	Bureaucratic values in Development	120.00
Jain, R.B.	Comparative legislative Behaviour	50.00
Madan, J.C.	Indian Police	110.00
Mishra, S.N. and Kushal Sharma	Problems and Prospects of Rural Development in India	80.00
Pai Panandiker, V.A. and Arun Sud	Changing Political Representation in India	60.00
Pai Panandiker, V.A. R.N. Bishnoi and O.P. Sharma	Organisational Policy for Family Planning	125.00
Panda, Basudev	Indian Bureaucracy : An Inside story	60.00
Pandey, Jawaharlal	State Politics in India	90.00
Partap Singh	Urban Government in India	45.00
Pillai, G. Narayana	Social Background of Political leadership in India	90.00
Rai, Haridwar and S.P. Singh	Current Ideas and Issues in Indian Administration	70.00
Rastogi, P.N.	India 1981-86 : Forecast on Economic, Political and Social Developments	50.00
Roy, R.C. IAS	State Public Enterprises in India : A Study on Personnel Administration	150.00
Sharma, P.D.	Police and Criminal Justice in India	150.00
Sharma, P.D.	Police Polity and People in India	125.00
Sikka, R.P.	The Civil Service in India	150.00
Singh, L.P.	India's foreign Policy	55.00
Singh, S.P.	Perspectives in Indian Politics and Administration	60.00
Sundeep Khanna, IAS	Civil Administration in India	60.00
Wishwakarma, R.K.	Urban and Regional Planning Policy in India.	75.00