

SIXTH SCHEDULE IN NORTH-EAST INDIA

KUSUMBAR BHUYAN



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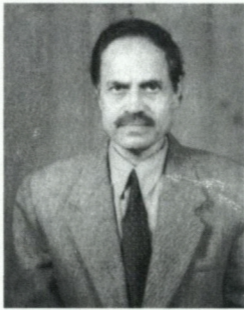
One of the important institutions of the tribal society is the system of self-management. The tribals used to produce their necessities for living by themselves and settled both internal and external problems by their own system. Thus once they were self-dependent and self-sustained people.

But after Independence of the country, the tribals have become dependent on national political and economic system, not only for living but also for improvement of standard living. Now they have to manage their internal and external problems under the provisions of the Constitution of the country. In this situation, the tribals have to lose their traditional right to land, forest and water resources of their respective territories, which might render them rootless in the emerging political and economic situations of the country. Having visualised the problem, the makers of our Indian Constitution formulated the Sixth Schedule. Accordingly, Autonomous District Council(ADCs) for the hill tribes except the Nagas of the then composite State of Assam were first introduced in 1952 and in 1953 Regional Councils were introduced as per the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India.

Now, half-a century has already passed since the formation of these Councils and considerably experiences have been gained in their functioning. But still question arises—how far the Councils have been functioning towards fulfilment of the aspirations of the tribals in respect of socio-economic development.

The present study had been undertaken to understand the working of the Autonomous District Councils for which Karbi Anglong District Council established in 1952 was selected. Findings of the study reveal the shortcomings and problems of the total system of Autonomous District Council.

Rs. 395/-



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SIXTH SCHEDULE IN NORTH-EAST INDIA

A CASE STUDY OF KARBI ANGLONG DISTRICT

By

Kusumbar Bhuyan



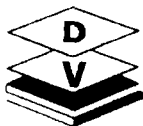
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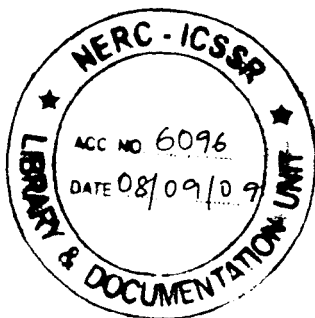
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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

The hilly region of North-East India can be aptly called the home of various tribes, which may be around one hundred if not more in number. The hill areas of the entire region have been occupied by different tribes since long past. These tribes came from different parts of the countries across North-East India in different points of time. These tribes have cultural diversities although some of them belong to the same linguistic group. Each of them has its own historical background and mode of living.

Until the coming of the British rule the hill tribes of the region remained totally unexposed to the other cultures of the country. They had little or no contact with plains peoples. The British administration also followed the policy of isolation of these tribes from the plains by adopting the Inner Line Permit system. The system debarred the plains people from entering the hill areas, without proper permission from the district administration, which was a difficult proposition. Some Christian Missionary workers, however, went into some areas of present Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland

and spread education and Christianity among the tribes. It may be pointed out that in those days Manipur and Tripura were not parts of India, but Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland were districts of Assam. Arunachal was a centrally administered area. So, in those days hill tribes of Assam meant the tribes of present Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland.

Although the tribes were officially under British administration, practically they were independent in socio-economic sphere. Each tribe lived according to its own social customs and traditions. The area occupied by a tribal group was considered as its homeland. The area inhabited by the Naga tribes was called Nagaland, the hills occupied by the Lushai(Mizo) tribes was known as Lushai hills, the Khasi hills were occupied by Khasi tribes and so on. Different areas of the same district or region were also known by the names of the respective tribal communities occupying the areas. For example, the area inhabited by the Angamis of the Naga tribes was known as Angami area. In Nagaland there were as many separate areas as there were tribes and each area was identified according to the name of the tribe occupying the area. The significant aspect of this phenomenon is that the customary laws of the individual tribes were operative only within their respective territories. For example, the *Aos* of Nagaland could enforce their customary laws only *Ao* area, not outside although the '*Aos*' are part of the greater Naga tribe.

It is also important to note that the British administration did not interfere at all in the social and

other internal affairs of the individual tribe. The administration was concerned only with law and order situations. The tribes were left to themselves in managing their internal affairs. Thus every tribes was an independent group in matters of socio-enconomic life. They controlled their social matters according to their own customary laws and practices, and produced the necessities of living by their own methods and labour. Their main sources of livelihood were land, water and forest products, which were under their absolute control. Land, forest and water resources located within the area of the individual villages were owned by the respective village communities. Thus, in the pre-Independance days every tribe of the North-East India was a self-dependent and self managed group. The village was the unit of their territory and the village council was the local level political institution, which managed the internal and external affairs of the village community.

As India became Independent the national leaders began to visualise that the minority communities including the tribes of North-East India would be politically marginalised in the new political set-up of the country, and economically, would become depressed in the emerging economic forces. The tribes would lose their political autonomy and self-management system, which ensured social security and justice for every member of every tribe. For the same reason, meanwhile the Nagas were demanding a seperate independent State for themselves. So, uprooting the tribals from their traditional system

would be counter productive in the nation building process in the post-Independence period.

In the light of the historical background and social realities, the idea of granting some degree of autonomy to the tribes within the framework of the Indian Constitution was developed and accordingly the Sixth Schedule was added to the Constitution of India under the provisions of which Autonomous District Councils could be constituted for all the hill tribes of Assam. The Council would be a synthesis of both traditional and modern elements. It would be a body constituted by the representatives of the tribe concerned and function under the provision of Constitutional Acts. Thus the tribals would have the autonomy of making decisions affecting their socio-economic life through their own elected representatives and at the same time materialising the decisions with the help and control of the State super power. This arrangement links up the tribal system with the national system, which helps in the nation building process of the country.

It is now half-a century since the Autonomous District Councils have been established. During this period the Councils have gained considerable experience in performing its functions in a system of self-management in a modern political set-up. It is, therefore, important to understand how far the new institution has been able to fulfil the emerging tribal aspirations and the wishes of the founding fathers of our nation. However, before examining the question it would be worthwhile to clarify the concept of tribe, which has been still debated.

Defination of Tribe

In recent time the term 'tribe' has become a household word for social scientists and administrators, political and social activists in India. But still the concept of 'tribe' has not been precisely defined for scientific investigation of the problems of the people so far designated as 'tribe'. S.C. Dube¹ says- "the term tribe has never been defined precisely and satisfactorily. It was a nomenclature and modification of adjectives, which at one time denoted a variety of social categories, that were neither analogous nor comparable. In later usage it is the aboriginal and the primitive goups. At no stage, however, did they have a set of clear indicators of tribalness, which tended to see the tribes in the world particularly in the context of India". Like Dube other authors also have the same view that the term 'tribe' lacks precise defination to identify a particular human group as 'tribe' on the basis of certain common social characteristics.

However, in Oxford Dictionary of Sociology² tribe is defined as a social group bound together by kin and duly associated with a particular territory; members of the tribe share the social cohesion associated with the family together with the sense of political autonomy of a nation". The New Encyclopaedia Britannica³ defines it as type of human social organisation based on small goups defined by traditions of common descent and having temporary or permanent political integration above the family level and a shared language, culture and ideology. In the ideal model of a tribe, members typically share a tribal name and a contiguous territory;

they work together in such joint endeavours as trade, agriculture, house construction, warefare and ceremonial activities. Tribes are usually composed of a number of smaller local communities (e.g., bands, villages or neighbourhoods) and may be aggregated into higher order clusters, called nations”.

In the New Columbia Encyclopedia⁴ a tribe is defined as “Social group, usually with a distinguishing area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation. It may include several sub-groups such as sibs or villages. A tribe ordinarily has a leader and may have a common ancestor, as well as a patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, family, or blood ties. For many anthropologists, however, the term has acquired a far more restricted technical meaning: for them it usually refers to the widest territorially defined, politically independent unit in a tribal society. It no longer refers to the culturally and ethnically distinct tribal society as a whole except where, as in such tribal states as Baganda or Ruanda, tribe and society coincide. While it is always easy to describe the tribe in term of territoriality, its political aspects are not always easily defined, especially in tribes without chiefs or other formally installed rulers”. W.H.R. Rivers⁵ defined a tribe as “a social group of simple kind, the members of which speak a common dialect, have a single government, and act together for such common purposes as warfare”.

The foregoing definitions are only a few of the many definitions given by anthropologists and

Sociologists. But none of the definitions is comprehensive enough to include all the social characteristics found with the groups designated as 'tribe' in anthropological, sociological and other literatures. As such, S.C. Dube⁶ contends that, "while there are no precise indicators to mark out the tribes from other groups, they are assumed to have some, if not all, of the following characteristics".

Characteristics

- (1) "Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period. If they are not the original inhabitants, they are at least among the oldest inhabitants of the land. Their position, however, cannot be compared to that of Australian aborigines, American Indians or native Africans. The Kol and Kirda of India have had long association with later immigrants. Mythology and history bear testimony to their encounters and intermingling".
- (2) "They live in the relative isolation of the hills and forests. This was not always so. There is evidence of their presence in the Panchanad and Gangetic Valley".
- (3) "Their sense of history is shallow for, among them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology. Some tribes have their own genealogists, with interesting anecdotes and remembered history".
- (4) "They have a low level of techno-economic development."

- (5) "In terms of their cultural ethos-language, institutions, beliefs, word-view, and customs-they stand out from other sections of society."
- (6) "If they are not egalitarian, they are, by and large, at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated. There are some exceptions: some tribes have had rulling aristocracies; other have a landed gentry."

Dube further contends that "Even these are rough and ready indicators" and are not authoritative. We, however, go by the characteristics enumerated by Dube to identify a cultural group as tribe in the context of our present study.

Self-management

One of the common characteristics of the tribal social system is self-management. Every tribal community is a self-managed and self-sustained group. They produce their own necessities for living, settle inter personal disputes and resolve other problems by themselves. Before Independence of the country every tribe of India lived according to its own social system. They produced all requirements for living by themselves, managed internal and external affairs by their own methods and had control over all the natural resources of their self-defined home-land or habitats. This was very much true in the case of the hill tribes of North East India. The Nagas, the Mizos, the Khasis, the Jaintias, the Garos etc. all were independent groups socially and economically. Politically they were under British rule for some time but the British administration

did not interfere in their social and economic matters. Manipur and Tripura had their respective rulers but again the tribe of the states were left to themselves in the management of their own affairs. So is the case with the tribes of Meghalaya and Assam. The Khasis of Khasi hills, the Jaintias of Jaintia hills, Garos of Garo hills, the Dimasas of North Cachar hills and the Karbis of Mikir hills (now Karbi Anglong) had their own political and economic system, which were independent of the British administration.

Thus every tribe of the North East if not of the whole of India had its own system of self-management which implies the traditional institution of managing internal and external affairs, and systems of production. The system of internal management might be related to conflict-resolution, social justice, resource distribution, crisis or diaster management and similar problems, which usually crop up from time to time. The eternal affairs are concerned with inter-village conflicts which was a common phenomenon in the tribal societies of North-East India.

In economic life self-management refers to the production system which involves division of labour, utilisation of resources, crop raising and other related matters. The tribes evolved their own methods of production in the light of ecological settings, tradition and customs. All these were outside the framework of the general economic system of the wider society.

Thus the hill tribes in particular and the plains tribe in general were self-managed and self-sustained peoples, until national government was established after

Independence of the country. Now, the tribals have also become part and parcel of the national political and economic systems. They have become active participants of the development process of the country. As such, the tribals are no longer self-managed and self-sustaining isolated groups in terms of political and economic process. They are interlinked with and interdependent on national development programmes.

Problem of the Study

The Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) may be regarded as the enlarged body of the traditional tribal village councils, which functioned as self-management systems. The village councils used to perform all the necessary functions required by the community for living. Now, in place of these village councils, the Autonomous District Councils have been formed with the representatives of all the communities of the district. These new Councils have been endowed with statutory power and functions, which, unlike the village councils cover the entire community of the districts concerned.

But the way the Councils have been functioning under the provisions of the Act constituting the Councils raises a number of questions such as how far the Councils are autonomous in terms of the traditional concept of self-management or self-governance? Are the powers and functions given to the Councils adequate for preserving traditional rights over the natural resources like land, forests, water, minerals etc. and development of the communities? what is the role of the State Government in development of the districts under the Councils? These are some of basic questions,

which need to be enquired into understand the whole gamut of the tribal problems of the hill areas of the region. For the purpose, Karbi Anglong Autonomus District Council (KAADC) was selected for the present study, which focuses mainly on its working . The specific objectives of the study may however, be stated as follows:

Objectives of the Study

To understand the:

- (1) socio-economic background of the emergence of the Autonomous District Council in historical perspective;
- (2) role of the District Council in the development process;
- (3) role of the District Council in the emergence of the socio-political leadership in the tribal communities;
- (4) the problems of development of the tribe under District Council; and
- (5) to examine how far the District Council functions as a self management system of the tribes.

In the first objective an attempt has been made to trace out the historical as well as social background leading to the formulation of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India for the purpose of constituting the Autonomous District Councils. It would examine,-the historical and social compulsions, if any, that necessitated the creation of Autonomous District Councils.

The second objective examines the role of the District Councils in the development process of the district concerned. Here the question is-what are the development projects which have been undertaken by the Karbi Anglong District Council so far?

The third objective examines the social background of the members of the District Council which are considered as the emerging leaders of the communities concerned.

The fourth objective attempts to identify the problems which have been faced by the District Councils in the development process and lastly to examine the functioning of the Council in the light of the traditional self-management system.

Review of Literature

Many studies have been already been done about the tribes of North-East India but only a few have dealt with the self-management system so far. Studies on the District Councils are still limited. However, mention may be made about the studies of stack and Lyall, S C. Barve (1957), Vaghaiwala (1960), Pataskar (1966), Rao (1975), Reddi (1976), Rao and Hazarika (1983), Rao, Pakem and Hazarika (1984), Bhattacharjee (1986), Rao, Hazarika and Thansanga (1987), R.N. Prasad(1988), Bhuyan(1989), Gassah (1991), Bordoloi (1991), Agarwal (1992), Ganguli (1993), Doley (1993), Trivedi (1995), Kumar (1996) and B. Singh(1998).

These studies, by and large, are concerned with the evolution, formation and functioning of the District and Regional Councils under the Sixth Schedule. Studies of

Rao⁷, Rao and Hazarika⁸, Rao, Hazarika and Thangsanga⁹ and Rao, Pakem and Hazarika¹⁰ dealt with the political development leading to the formation of ADC. Bhuyan¹¹, Bhattacharjee¹² and Bordoloi¹³ discuss the historical, social and cultural system of the Karbis. The others review the working of different ADCs including Karbi Anglong. The Vaghaiwala¹⁴ committee examined the financial conditions and administrative machinery of the District Council and Pawi-Lekher Regional Council of Lushai Hills (Mizoram). The committee prepared a list of the sources of revenues provided under the Sixth Schedule. The committee observed that in addition to revenues collected from different sources the Council received a substantial amount from Government as grant -in-aid for various purposes.

On the expenditure side the Vaghaiwala Committee commented that the expenditure on the political executive and establishment was excessive for, which the District Council could not undertake development projects. As such, the original objectives of constituting the Council as a modernised self-management system was not realised.

The H.V. Pataskar¹⁵ Commission on the '*Hill Areas of Assam*' observed that "the district councils' own efforts to raise funds from the resources available to them have been on the whole unimpressive". The Commission noted that in proportion to their own resources the average expenditure of the District Councils (during 1960-65) had been as follows:

- (1) The Garo Hills 32 p.c.
- (2) The Mikir Hills 44 p.c.
- (3) The North Cachar Hills 57 p.c.
- (4) The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills 63 p.c.
- (5) The Mizo Hills 99 p.c.

S.C. Barve's¹⁶ report deals, apart from other things, with the relation between the District Council and the District Authorities and observed that "there was need for contact between the State Government and the District higher authorities than the Deputy Commissioner".

T. Bhattacharyee's¹⁷ *'Sociology of Karbis'* is a comprehensive study of the Karbi society. The study covers habitats, history, social system, political system, economy, education, religion, folk-tales, legends and cultural life. The author concludes that "if the Karbis maintain the basic character of their resilience and evolutionary intents, they are likely to survive as a distinct ethnic group in this complicated geo-political region, i.c. the North-East India."

In his study, entitled *'Self-Management of Tribal Communities and Parliamentary Democracy'* S. K. Chaube¹⁸ examines the rationale of an Autonomous District Council in the light of Nehru's vision of integrated India characterised by multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural groups; and observes that "The question of self-management is a question of autonomy. The nation-builders of India who were confronted with the problems of integration of different

autonomies-including the tribal autonomy-took the position that democratization, including extension of franchise, would enable the tribals to unite with people of the rest of the country on an equal footing”.

Chaube further contends that the Panchayat is not a substitute for the tribals in self-management process. In his view what is more important is that the tribals “get a say in determining the course of development that they are being directed into or is taking place in their names”,-that is, Autonomous Council.

B. Singh¹⁹ also studied the working of the North Cachar Hill District Council and Karbi Anglong District Council and observed that the financial positions of these District Council are not at all satisfactory in terms of amount of revenue collections and grants-in-aid from the State Government.

J.B. Ganguli²⁰ reviewed the development and functioning of the Autonomous District Council (ADC), examining the ‘tribal response’ to ADC, the interface between the bureaucracy and the ADCs, financial resources and development and observes that “originally, the model of ADC was structured as a local self-governing authority endowed with the powers and responsibilities of preserving tribal identity and customary laws and protecting their rights to their lands etc. The emphasis was on protection and on development. The paradigm of development of tribal areas was evolved later as part of the plan model formulated by the Planning Commission for the country” and he concludes that “there is on matching provision for transferring more powers to the ADC to

raise revenue. Consequently, the ADC looks to the State Government for providing funds to enable it to discharge these functions" of development.

L.S. Gassah²¹ in his study on '*Self-Management Among Tribals in Meghalaya*' focusses attention mainly on the traditional system of self-management of the Khasi, Jaintia and Garo tribes of Meghalaya, the impact of the Autonomous District Councils on the traditional leadership (headship) system and on the relation between the state and the District Councils and then concludes that "the district councils in Meghalaya have not been able to play the role they have been expected to. They have been facing administrative, financial, and to some extent executive problems for proper implementation. They have not been able to mobilise enough co-operation with grassroot traditional institution".

A.K. Agarwal²² in his study '*Autonomous District Councils in Mizoram*' has evaluated the working of the District Council and Regional Councils of Mizoram focussing attention mainly on the function so far performed by way of enacting legislations on various matters ; and examines the revenue mobilisation and expenditure incurred; and then concludes that "the majority tribes controlling the Council did not cater to the needs of the small tribes. However, in spite of financial hardships from which the Mizo District Council and Regional Councils suffered, they have done well in codifying customary laws and legislating on most of the subjects within their jurisdiction. The councils have also done well in organising village councils.

D. Doley²³ in his study '*Legislative Enactment, by the Autonomous District Councils in North-East India*' reviews the evolution of the ADC, structural pattern, powers and functions, enactments of legislations and concludes that "protection and preservation of traditional customs, usage and rights are not enough to fulfil the tribal aspirations. Without economic development, living with old traditions and customs does not mean anything to them. Hence, powers to ADCs to undertake measures for development are necessary".

Nandita Haksar²⁴ in her study on '*Law and the Self-management of Tribal Societies in North- East India*' critically reviews Nehru's vision of development in tribal areas and examines the Constitution and tribal Self-managarement system, criminal justice system, impact of law on tribal self-management systems and contends that "the entire self-management system of tribal peoples of the North-East has been undermined. However, it is still not destroyed, thanks to the tremendous vitality of the people".

J. Pathy²⁵ in his study on '*Tribal Self-Management and Global Politico-Cultural Developments*' provides the fundamental features of tribal self-management system and discusses the forces threatening the "sustainability of customary tribal self-management system" and contends that "the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution is the only powerful legal instrument towards tribal self-management and ethno development" Further, he says "unfortunately, however, through a series of amendments over the years, the Autonomous District Councils have been

more or less reduced to mere administrative entities". Further Pathy predicts that "the future of tribal self-management systems, in the final analysis, depends on the process of developing power over nature and human resources" and suggests that "their management must move from the world system to the state and from there to regional and local communities".

B. Bhuyan²⁶ work on '*The working of the Karbi Anglong District Council*' is a study of the functioning of the District council in Karbi Anglong district. The study deals with working, election, committee system, budget, relation with the State Government, personal administration, legislation etc.

P.S. Reddi's²⁷ '*The working of the Sixth Schedule in North-East*' studied the working of the Sixth Schedule in North-East India.

B.L. Hansaria's²⁸ study on '*Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India: A study*' is the authoritative work dealing with the Sixth Schedule. It is an in-depth study and covered the Constitutional Assembly debate systematically.

A.K.Yogi's²⁹ study on, '*Development of the North-East Region-Problems and Prospects*' deals with the development of an area as cumulative outcome of several processes which operate continuously embracing political, social and economic facts and factors. The development of the North Eastern region has been a more complex problem because of its strategic location, typical topography, existence of a multiplicity of ethnic, linguistic and tribal groups etc.

R. Gopalakrishnan's³⁰ study on *'The North-East India: Land, Economy and People'* attempted to develop a 'geographical perspective' for an understanding of the North-Eastern region of India. The author meticulously shows the 'evolution of territorial administrative complexes, since 1826 to the present time and in this context he shows how geographical features influence socio-political aspirations of various collectives of this region which eventually shaped compartmentalisation in the forms of political units or states. Another geo-demographic factor — migration has disturbed the socio-religious profile of the region particularly of Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya.

B. Datta Ray's³¹ study on *'Tribal Identity and Tensions in North-East India'* has made an attempt to delve into concept and the theoretical framework of ethnicity in the context of the question of tribal identity in North-East India. The study gives an insight into the ethno-cultural situation in the region. An assesment of the demographic feature as well as the ethnic affinities of the population of the area under study has been suitably shown. This study is an useful addition to the literature of the tribal people of North-East India.

In another paper entitled *'Operation and Implementation of Sixth Schedule in North-East India-An Appraisal'*. Datta Ray³² first describes the landscape of North-East India and then its administrative background, frameing of the Sixth Schedule, operations and implementation of the Sixth Schedule, political development in the region following of the Independance of the country and lastly comments on

the working of the District Council. In his comments Datta Ray states that "the District Councils have become a forum of conversasion. Their record in the areas of social and economic legislation is dismal. Despite an experiment in District Council administration in the Autonomous District for more than a quarter of a century, nothing has been done in raising the standard of life of the hill people". And concludes that "the formation of the Hill States in different areas of North-East India is a forward step towards modernity. The anachronistic existance of the District Councils is a definite brake on the people towards their march to progress. The demand for its abolision is coming from the vocal locals. The only thing they expect is that the changes should not destroy the harmony of hill people's life and economic progress should not result in suppressing their distinctive personality."

B.B. Kumar's³³ study on '*Re-organisation of North-East India (Facts and Documents)*' deals in detail with the reorganisation of North-Eastern India in the light of various facts and documents. The existing framework of linguistic and bigger states was challenged for the first time in the North-East resulting in the formation of Nagaland in 1964. The process further continued and Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh were born. The initial attempts to satisfy various ethnic groups by giving district level autonomy could not satisfy them. The need of an additional instrument for regional planning was actually felt after reorganisation of the north-eastern region into smaller states.

B.G. Verghese's³⁴ book on '*India's Northeast Resurgent, Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development*' discuss North-east India's problems of ethnicity, governance, insurgency and development that have marked its evolution. Mongoloid India defines a distinctive ethno-cultural region with hoary external historical, cultural and commercial linkages, which merit renewal. The north-east is here more realistically defined as encompassing the entire stretch of territory east of Sikkim and the North Bengal Dooars, bounded by Nepal, China/Tibet, Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh. The hill tracts, home to myriad tribes speaking a babel of tongues were deliberately isolated as a matter of imperial policy and then relegated by partition. These factors have no doubt contributed to the lack of knowledge of this richly endowed and strategically important region on the part of the rest of the country and vice versa.

The nine units included in this study are Sikkim, the Darjeeling-Gorkha Hills, Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura.

The population in most of the units is predominantly tribal, the percentage variation ranging from 22 to 30 per cent in Sikkim and Tripura to 63 to 94 per cent in Arunachal and Mizoram respectively. The tribal population of Assam is lower, at 12.82 per cent, but is numerically larger than else where, being in the region of 2.87 million (1991). This is explained by the presence of a considerable population of tribal tea-garden labour from middle India.

This study presents a broad-based macro view of the greater North-East and highlights both origins and contemporary directions as much as future trends and options. It is concerned with policy issues that need to be more clearly enunciated and with suggesting an overarching strategy for safeguarding and enhancing the future of this rich and fascinating fragment of Mongoloid India. It seeks to interpret the north-east to the rest of India as much as the whole to the part in a fast changing world.

B. Pakem's³⁵ (edited) '*Insurgency in North-East India*' is a collection of papers devoted to the subject insurgency in north-east India which is not only a burning problem of the region but also sensitive from the security point of view. The insurgency in North-East India is the result of a total lack of agriculture, industrial and other development works. There is a perception gap between government and the people of the region which should be bridged without delay by constant interaction between the two, i.e. government and people.

P. Singh³⁶ in his article '*North-East: The Frontier in Ferment*' discusses the insurgency and separatist movement in North-East India. Peace Accords, political measures, economic development and cultural and social integration are necessary and the region needs proper attention from the Central Government for evolving a comprehensive, multi-pronged strategy to tackle the problems of the region with the full involvement and participation of the State Governments.

The studies reviewed here, however lack in focus on emerging leadership of the communities under ADC, their social background, developments achieved so far, constraints inherent in the system, etc. These questions are not adequately treated in the studies conducted so far on the ADC.

Methodology

The Present study is a case study of the Autonomous District Council (ADC) under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Karbi Anglong District Council has been selected purposively for the study on the consideration that this is one of the Councils which has been functioning without any change in its structure since its inception. A movement for upgrading the council to the status of state within the state has been going on. This reflects the people's dissatisfaction with the present District Council. So, it requires an investigation into the working of the Council, which may reveal the causes of dissatisfaction and provide an explanation thereof.

The study is based on secondary data collected from published materials like books, journals, official documents etc. However, to understand the social background of the members of the District Council, who are considered as the emerging leaders of the community 20 ex-members and 20 present members of the Council were selected as respondents for collecting some primary data. These members were interviewed by means of an interview Schedule. Interviews were conducted individually and separately for maintaining confidentiality of the view and opinion expressed by

the respondents. The Main objective of selecting the member-respondents was to understand the social background from which the new leadership has been emerging in the ADC.

To understand more intensively the working of the ADC informal talks and discussions were held with some common people of the district belonging to all walks of life. Views of some officials working in the district were also taken in order to understand the problems of the ADC in performing its role particularly in development process.

Relevant data on the topic was collected from secondary sources available in the Council's office and library at Diphu, Assam Legislative Assembly Library, Guwahati ; Indian Council of Social Science Research Library (ICSSR), Shillong; North-East Hill University Library, Shillong ; Gauhati University Library, Guwahati and Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.

The data thus collected has been systematically tabulated and analysed by statistical method.

Significance of the Study

The Autonomous District Council has become an important phenomenon in North-East India. Besides Assam, the tribes of Tripura also demanded an Autonomous District Council and it was established in 1985. Now, the Bodos, the Mishings and other plains tribes have been demanding similar Council for each of them. The demand reflects the political aspiration of the tribes and at the same time disappointment with the state leadership. The Autonomous District Council is

percieved to be a better alternative to other political arrangements for these plains tribe communities for their development.

But such a perception can be justified only when the working of the present Autonomous District Councils are found to be satisfactory in terms of development. Considered from this point of view the present study may have immense value. It may help in understanding the whole gamut of the tribal problems of the region. The findings of the study would justify the demands of the other tribal groups for Autonomous Councils. This would be another contribution to political sociology, which has become an important sub-discipline of general sociology.

Limitations of the Study

Thematically the study is concerned with the working of the Autonomous District Councils of Assam from a sociological perspective. Its scope is limited to understanding the historical and social background of the District Councils, their role in development process, and the problems faced by the councils. So, the findings and their interpretations are cofined to these aspects of the Autonomous District Council of Assam.

Chapter Scheme

The present study is divided into following chapters:

Chapter-I: Introduction:
definitions of tribe, self-management,
problems of the study, objectives of

the study, review of literature, methodology, significance of the study and limitations of study, chapter scheme.

Chapter-II: Profile of the Study Area:

A brief description of Assam and Karbi Anglong district on geo-physical features, historical background, population, socio-cultural life, and economy.

Chapter-III: The Karbis: An Introduction:

description of the historical background and the socio-cultural system of the Karbis.

Chapter-IV: Social Background of the Autonomous District Council Members:

sex, age, religion, education, occupation, land, income size, political party, association with social service, involvement in common problems.

Chapter-V: Historical and Social Background: Autonomous District Council:

Structure, Powers and functions.

Chapter-VI: Enactment of Legislations:

Land controlling legislations, legislations controlling trade and business, forest control, miscellaneous.

Chapter-VII: Development works:

Educational development, road development, establishment of health care institutions, control and rehabilitation of Jhum cultivation, soil conservation, irrigation, power generation, forest conservation, bamboo plantation, industrial development, horticulture, livestock development and pisciculture.

Chapter-VIII: Summary and conclusion.**Notes and References**

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