CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
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Constitution

A constitution is a system for the government—often codified as a written document—that establishes the rules and principles of an autonomous political entity. In the case of countries, this term refers specifically to a national constitution defining the fundamental political principles, and establishing structures, procedures, powers and duties, of a government. Most national constitutions also guarantee certain rights to the people. The term constitution can be applied to any overall law that defines the functioning of a government, including several historical constitutions that existed before the development of modern national constitutions.¹

The term constitution comes from a Latin term denoting an important law, usually one proclaimed by the Roman emperor ("constituciones principis"). Generally, every constitution confers specific powers to an organization or institutional entity, established upon the primary condition that it abides by the said constitution's limitations.²

Constitutional Framework for Safeguarding of Interests the constitution provides a framework with a three pronged strategy to improve the situation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

1. Protective Arrangements- Such measures as are required to enforce equality, to provide punitive measures for transgressions, to eliminate

¹ en.wikipedia.org/wiki/constitution
² Ibid
established practices that perpetuate inequities, etc. A number of laws were enacted to operationalize the provisions in the constitution.³

2. Compensatory Discrimination—provide positive preferential treatment in allotment of jobs and access to higher education, as means to accelerate the integration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with the mainstream society. Compensatory discrimination is also popularly referred to as Reservation.⁴

3. Development—Provide for resources and benefits to bridge the wide gap in social and economic condition between the Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes and other communities.

To effectively implement the various safeguards built into the constitution and other legislations, the constitution, Under Articles 338 and 338A, provides for two statutory commissions—the national commission for Scheduled Castes, and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes.⁵

In the original Constitution, Article 338 provided for a special officer, called the commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, to have the responsibility of monitoring the effective implementation of various safeguards for Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes in the constitution as well as other related legislations and to report to the President.⁶

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³ en.wikipedia.org/wiki/scheduled-castes-and-tribes-39k
⁴ Ibid
⁵ Ibid
⁶ Ibid
In the meanwhile there was persistent representation for a replacement of the commissioner with a multi-member committee. It was proposed that the 48th Amendment to the constitution be made to alter Article 338 to enable the said proposal. While the amendment was being debated, the ministry of Welfare issued an administrative decision to establish the commission for Scheduled Castes /Scheduled Tribes as a multi-member committee to discharge the same functions as that of the commissioner of Scheduled Castes /Scheduled Tribes. The first commission came into being in August 1978. The functions of the commission were modified in September 1987 to advise Government on broad policy issues and levels of development of Scheduled Castes /Scheduled Tribes.7

It was not until 1990 that the article 338 was finally amended to give birth to the statutory National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes via the constitution (Sixty fifth Amendment) Bill, 1990. The first commission under the 65th Amendment was constituted in March 1992 replacing the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the commission set up the ministry of Welfare’s Resolution of 1987.

In 2002, the constitution was again amended to split the national commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes into two separate commissions- the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes.8

Scheduled Castes ("SC"s) and Scheduled Tribes ("ST"s) are Indian population groupings that are explicitly recognized by the Constitution of India, previously called the “depressed classes” by the British, and otherwise known as the

7 Ibid
8 Ibid
untouchables. SCs/STs together compromise over 24% of India’s population, with SC at over 16% and ST over 8% as per the 2001 Census. The proportion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the population of India has steadily risen since independence in 1947.9

From the 1850s these communities were loosely referred to as “Depressed Classes”. The early part of the 20th century saw a flurry of activity in the British Raj to assess the feasibility of responsible self-government for India. The Morley-Minto Reform Report, Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Report, and the Simon Commission were some of the initiative that happened in this context. One of the hotly contested issues in the proposed reforms was the topic of reservation of seats for the “Depressed” Classes in provincial and central legislatures.10

In 1935 the British passed The Government of India Act 1935, designed to give Indian provinces greater self-rule and set up a national federal structure. Reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes was incorporated into the act, which came into force in 1937. The Act brought the term “Scheduled Castes” into use, and defined the group as including “such castes, races or tribes or parts of groups within castes, races or tribes, which appear to His Majesty in council to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as the “depressed classes”, as His Majesty in Council May prefer.” This discretionary definition was clarified in the government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936 which contained a list, or Schedule, of castes throughout the British administered provinces.11

9 Ibid
10 Ibid
After independence, the Constituent assembly continued the prevailing definition of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and gave (via articles 341, 342) the president of India and governs of the states responsibility to compile a full listing of castes and tribes, and also the power to edit it later as required. The actual complete listing of castes and tribes was made via two orders The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, and The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 respectively.\(^{12}\)

**The North East India** comprises of the seven sister states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. They form part of the East Himalayan region which extends from Sikkim eastwards and embraces the Darjeeling Hills of West Bengal. The location of the region is strategically important as it has international borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Tibet, The area is characterized by rich bio-diversity, heavy precipitation and high seismicity. It is endowed with forest wealth and is ideally suited to produce a whole range of plantation crops, spices, fruits and vegetables and flowers and herbs. The rich natural beauty, serenity and exotic flora and fauna of the area are invaluable resources, for the development of eco-tourism. Total area of the region is about 255168sq. km. All the seven sisters are members of the North east Council, organized on 1\(^{st}\) August 1972 and within the jurisdiction of Guwahati High Court.\(^{13}\)

The region has a high concentration of tribal population. The states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland are mostly inhabited by a number of native tribes. Each Tribe has its own distinct tradition of art, culture,

\(^{12}\) Ibid

\(^{13}\) en.wikipedia.org/wiki/northeast-india
dance, music and life styles. The numerous fairs and festivals celebrated by these communities and their friendly nature are irresistible attractions for the visitors.\textsuperscript{14}

The North East is one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse regions in India. Assam occupies the lush lowlands of the Brahmaputra Valley land is the most densely populated. Arunachal Pradesh occupies the densely forested and sparsely populated foothills of Himalayas, and is one of the major tourist attractions because of the Buddhist influence. Meghalaya, with its pine clad hills and lakes, is famous as the wettest region of the world. Nagaland has a rich war history that attracts tourists. The other three states- Manipur, known as the land of jewels', Mizoram and Tripura make up a fascinating area consisting of green valleys, lush hills with variety of flora and fauna.\textsuperscript{15}

**Reservation** is one of the measures adopted by the constitution to remedy the continuing evil effect of prior inequalities stemming from past discriminations. Its basic objectives is to lift the limitations on access to equal opportunities in the matter of public employment, education, etc, and thereby remove the imbalance in the representation in public services for the backward classes of citizens, specially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.\textsuperscript{16}

The relevant Articles of the Constitutions which govern the entire reservation set-up are the following-

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid
\textsuperscript{16} en.wikipedia.org/wiki/reservation
These are affirmative action programs, most visible in India, where there has been a downturn in the downtrodden and the underprivileged sections of society, most commonly women. 

Protective discrimination is the policy of granting special privileges to the downtrodden and the underprivileged sections of society, most commonly women. These are affirmative action programs, most visible in India, where there has been a
history of racial and caste discrimination. The practice is most prominent in India, where it has been enshrined in the constitution and institutionalized.\textsuperscript{17}

Reservation policies, which are the essence of protective discrimination, have been the subject of controversy and heated debate wherever they have been implemented. Various schemes of the kind, for reverse discrimination, based on race, ethnicity, gender, or geographical location have been enforced in many developed and developing countries. These policies have evolved as a response to certain socio-political problems, peculiar to that particular region, originating from the persistent disparities and the regional history of discrimination and marginalization.\textsuperscript{18}

At present the study of scheduled castes and scheduled tribe is very important because of the democratic setup of the changing situation. The Scheduled Castes and the scheduled Tribes suffered a lot from time immemorial for no fault of theirs. They were subjected to exploitation from the beginning. The caste system was the central feature of the social life of the Hindus in India. There were four varnas like the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Sudras. Apart from this the Hindu society was divided into a number of castes. This caste system divided the people and permanently fixed their place in the society. The caste determined the choice of profession. Almost all activities—economic, political, social and cultural centered around the caste in the country. In India Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes occupied the lowest rank in the caste hierarchy.

**Definition of Caste**

"It is difficult to define what a caste precisely connotes. The word ‘caste’ comes from the Portuguese word ‘casta’ signifying ‘breed, race or kind’; homen de boa

\textsuperscript{17} www.biurtit.com/q231447

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid
casta is a “man of good family”. The Portuguese of the sixteenth century applied the term indiscriminately to the various social and occupational groups found in the subcontinent, and this confusion has continued to the present time. On the one hand, the term is used to describe in the broadest sense the total system of social stratification peculiar to India; on the other hand, it is used to denote three, perhaps four, more or less distinct aspects of total system, i.e. varna, jati and gotra. Varna is not the same thing as jati the former representing the four – fold division of society which the authors of the Dharamsutras sought to derive from one or the four varnas.19

According to Risley, “a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give opinion as forming a single homogenous community. The name generally denotes or is associated with a specific occupation. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle, but within the circle there are usually a number of smaller circles each of which is also endogamous”.20

Beteille has attempted to define caste “as a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which some times includes the pursuit by the tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system”21

21 Ibid, P.28
In the opinion of Nehru, "caste was a social organization of different races, a rationalization of the facts as they existed at the time. It brought degradation in its train afterwards, and it is still a burden and a curse. Caste began with a hard and fast division between Aryans and non-Aryans, the latter again being divided into the Dravidian races and the aboriginal tribes".

**Caste system and its Origin**

There are many theories about the origin of caste system in India. Many scholars have their own view points about this and have dealt with from both India and abroad. However, one could briefly recall that the main features of caste were found in the Rig Veda, the earliest written document available. The division of society under the Rig Vedic people was mainly based on occupation with the emergence of four varnas, each with a specific task allotted to them. The terms Brahma, Rajanyha, Vaisyas and Sudra first appeared in the later part of the Rig Veda [RV X 90.12]. Being hierarchically structured, the Aryans placed themselves in the first three Varnas and the occupational groups under vaisyas and non-wealthy, the conquered, and hostile groups under the Sudras.

Caste in India is a social institution, deriving from and intimately interwoven with the Hindu religion. Membership of a caste is compulsory and not a matter of choice. A person is born into it. It is practically impossible for individuals to change their caste. Each caste boasts of a peculiar tradition of culture and tries to preserve it tenaciously. The customs by which it lives are generally different in some respects from those of any other caste and are sometimes in marked contrast to those of any

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other caste. The caste system provides the individual member of caste with rules which must be observed by him in the matters of food, marriage, divorce, birth, initiation and death. 24

The Scheduled Castes

The term ‘Scheduled Caste’ is the expression standardized in the Constitution of the Republic of India. Constitution does not contain a definition of the term Scheduled Castes. 25 The expression thus standardized in the constitution was first coined by the Simon Commission and embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. 26 Art. 341 of the constitution empowers the President, after consulting the head of the particular state, to notify by an order “the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State”. 27

Because of the Government of India Act 1935 some of the undefined depressed castes were singled out in 1936, and listed in a schedule in order to ensure certain concession and privileges to them because of their disadvantageous position in the social hierarchy. Because their names had been shown in a “Schedule”, they came to be known as Scheduled castes. 28

Several castes in Hindu society have been associated with unclean occupations and social restrictions, and suffered from socio-economic, educational and cultural disabilities. Various names have been used to refer to these sections.

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26 Ibid, P.306
27 Ibid, P.306
28 Das Bhakta, (1986) *A Glimpse of the Scheduled Castes and their socio-economic Development In Assam*, Omsons publications, New Delhi, P.6
The names that one comes across for these people are ‘untouchable’ ‘Chandala’, Avarna’, ‘Harijan’ ‘Out castes’ ‘Depressed class’, ‘Scheduled Castes’, and ‘Dalit’.\(^{29}\)

The Scheduled Castes in Indian Caste System were kept apart from the rest of the society due to the prevalent practice of untouchability. The Indian caste system based on the notion of purity and pollution believed that the Scheduled Castes were impure and polluted. As a result they were forced to live outside the village/town proper and suffered from discrimination in all walks of life.\(^{30}\)

The Census of India 1931 had listed out the disabilities of the ‘Harijans’ as follows:

1. Inability to be served by clean Brahmins:

2. Inability to be served by barbers, water carriers, tailors etc., who serve the caste Hindus:

3. Inability to enter Hindu temples:

4. Inability to use public conveniences such as roads, ferries, wells or schools and

5. Inability to disassociate oneself from depressed occupation.

On account of the restrictions listed above the Scheduled Castes were placed low in social hierarchy and suffered from disabilities and discrimination.\(^{31}\)

Untouchable, also called Harijan, in traditional Indian society, any member of a wide range of low caste Hindu groups and any person outside the caste system. Mahatma Gandhi, the great social leader called untouchables Harijans (children of God) and worked for many years to promote their emancipation.\(^{32}\)

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\(^{30}\) Ibid., P.12

\(^{31}\) Ibid, P.13.

\(^{32}\) Britanica Micropedia, Vol.12, P.188
Traditionally, the groups characterized as untouchable were those whose occupations and habits of life involved polluting activities of which the most important were (1) taking life for a living, a category that included, for example, fisherman; (2) killing or disposing of dead cattle or working with their hides for a living; (3) pursuing activities that brought the participant into contact with emissions of the human body, such as feces, urine, sweat, and patational groups as sweepers and washer man; and eating of flesh of cattle or of domestic pigs and chickens, a category into which most of the primitive tribes of India fell.

"Orthodox Hindus regarded the hill tribes of India as untouchables, because they were eaters of beef and of the scavenging village pigs and chickens."

**Concept of a Tribe and Tribal**

In the findings of Sikidar (1990), the word 'tribe' is a noun and 'tribal' is an adjective. It is erroneous to identify any individual say Mr. X as a tribal. He is a tribe, which he belongs to. Tribal is their abstract value they pursue since time immemorial. Tribe is a clan while tribal is a living system. Hence our constitution's Article 342 has enlisted certain tribes in the schedule. Those people of specified clan so enlisted are known as scheduled tribe.
As Misra (2005) observes that the very word ‘Tribe’ in Indian context is of a very recent origin and a colonial construct. The literature on tribe clearly indicates that there was no term equivalent to tribe in any of the Indian languages. The groups were known by their specific names in the group of their existence and there they had specific roles and status. A tribe officially notified as a scheduled tribe today lives in deserts, river belts, the islands, in relatively isolated habitats but mostly in forests. In Hindi, the term ‘Adi-Vashi’ or ‘Jana-Jati’ (Adi- Old or Original, Vashi- People, which means original people) appears in the place of the English term ‘tribe’.

According to 2001 population census, tribal population in the total population of the country was 8.2 per cent. The largest concentration of tribal population anywhere in the world except perhaps Africa, is in India. It means more than half (say around 60 per cent) of world’s tribal are citizens of India. The tribal groups in India can be broadly classified into three zones namely, North-eastern, Central and Southern. There are more than 500 tribal groups in India; out of these 75 are identified as Primitives (Chaudhari and Chaudhari 2005).

Scheduled Tribe and its determinants

The tribes variously or successively were described in the census and ethnographic literature as hill tribes, primitive tribes, forest tribes and backward tribes. It was under the government of India Act 1935 and the Constitution of India that the nomenclature of the scheduled tribes emerged. The Constitution of India however gives no definition of tribe. The notion of the scheduled tribe has two aspects: First, it is administratively determined by the criteria of backwardness and remoteness and it is a political decision. Secondly, all tribes are not scheduled, the

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36 This portion is excerpted from ‘Economy of a Tribal Village: A Study of Maram Khullen’ Komol Singha (2009 unpublished Ph. D thesis)
presumption being that there are still some communities similar to the tribes, which are outside the ambit of the schedule. This understanding gains support from the fact that the listing of communities notified as the tribe under article 342 of the constitution is an ongoing process (Ramamani 1988).

Though the most primitive groups of the country are tribes, all tribes are not as primitive. A committee set up by the central government in 1965 looked into the question of the definition of the tribes. According to the committee, primitiveness and backwardness were the criteria applied in framing the 1950 and 1965 lists of the scheduled tribes. It opined that tribes whose members have by and large mixed with the general population were not eligible to be in the schedule of tribes (Singh 2006:90).

**Primitive Tribe and its determinants:**

In the findings of Chaudhari and Chaudhari (2005), in this age of globalization, there are still people living far away from the main currents of development, in forests ill-served by modern communication facilities. There are no schools and hospitals. These people live naked in small huts, eating root crops, fruits, leafs and coarse grains. They have not heard of the computer, air-conditioner, cell phone, Internet, refrigerator, etc. They communicate by producing different type of vocal sounds, beating the drums, brass plate and so on to announce the happenings of their routine life. Very few of them are acquainted with postal services and letter writings. These people are known as tribal or primitive tribe. According to Robert Redfield, the American Anthropologist defined 'Primitivism' on the basis of small, self-sufficient, homogeneous and non-literate society.
The policy of giving special protection to tribes was continued also in the Govt. of India Act 1935, which created the Excluded and Partially Excluded areas. Thus these areas were enlisted in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule.

According to S. G. Deogaonkar (2005), usually when a tribal group is classified as a Primitive group, the following characteristics are observed.

They are as follows-

1. The habitat of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) is in inaccessible forest or mountainous areas, valleys, etc.,

2. They live a Secluded life\(^{37}\), i.e. a backward life,

3. They are either in a hunting or food gathering stage,

4. They practice primitive agriculture mostly described as shifting cultivation,

5. They speak their dialect and the oral folk-literature inherited through oral tradition is still alive, and

6. The community adheres strictly to their traditional customs, traditions and social norms and is thus strongly ethnocentric etc

In the research finding of Gupta (2005) said that J.H. Hutton, the then Census Commissioner of India was the first who conceived the word ‘Primitive Tribe’ in Indian setting in 1931. Later, W. V. Grigson joined him in the framing of the guidelines for the welfare of the tribes. According to them, for identification of primitive groups, states generally have to follow three norms.

They are-

1. Pre-agricultural level of technology,

2. Low level of literacy, and

3. A stagnant or diminishing population

\(^{37}\) The policy of giving special protection to tribes was continued also in the Govt. of India Act 1935, which created the Excluded and Partially Excluded areas. Thus these areas were enlisted in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule.
According to the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India, the government has adopted the following criteria for the identification of Primitive Tribal Group.

They are as follows:

1. Population growth rate is very low compared to the rest of the population. They therefore exist as small communities.

2. The level of technological development is still in pre-agricultural stage.

3. The level of literacy is extremely low and as is lagging far behind the average tribal. There is practically little or no progress of literacy among such groups.

Any tribe qualifying at least one of such criteria were stated as Primitive Tribe.

**Definition of Tribe**

There is no precise definition of the term ‘tribe’ on which there can be general agreement. It is generally applied to a community or a cluster of communities characterized by a common territory, language and a cultural heritage, on an inferior technological level. According to Mjumdar, a tribe is a “a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language, and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well-assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation”. 38

A tribal community has certain special characteristics they are:

1. Tribals lives in an isolated area a distinct group culturally and technically.

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2. It has originated from one of the oldest ethnological sections of the population.
3. It follows primitive occupations such as hunting, gleaning and gathering of forest produce and is therefore, backward economically and also educationally.
4. It has its own common dialect.
5. Its members love drink and dance.
6. It is largely carnivorous.
7. Its members dress scantily.\(^{39}\)

**Origin and migration of the Nagas:**

A number of scholars, both foreign and indigenous, have written on the origin of term ‘Naga’, and the origin and migration of the Nagas. In respect of the origin of the term, some scholars like J.H. Hutton, Robert Reid, L.W. Shakespeare and Ptolemy unanimously say that it means ‘naked’; but they defer on its derivations. For J.H. Hutton, it is derived from the Assamese ‘naga’ (pronounced ‘naga’), from Sanskrit ‘nagna’.\(^{40}\) Robert Reid and L.W. Shakespeare say that it is deformed presentation of the Hindi word ‘nanga’.\(^{41}\) Ptolemy derives it from ‘Nanglong’.\(^{42}\) According to W. Robinson, its origin is unknown, but some hold that it is derived from the Sanskrit word, ‘nangna’.\(^{43}\) According to R.G. Woodthorpe, there are various derivations for the name Naga; some suppose it to come from the Bengali

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\(^{39}\) Ibid., P.2.


\(^{42}\) Ibid. p.10

word “nangta”, in Hindustani ‘Nanga’. It is quite unlikely that ‘Naga’ refers to ‘naked’ as there were other people and tribes who were as scantily dressed as or even more ‘naked’ than the Nagas. The Garos were habitually accustomed to a greater degree of nudity than any of the Naga tribes. W. Robinson disagrees with the opinion that ‘Naga’ means ‘naked’. He says that it was applied in derision to the people from the paucity of their clothing. R.G. Latham also denies that Naga means naked. Others derive it from the Sanskrit word ‘Nag’, meaning ‘snake’. This opinion is quite illogical as the Nagas have no special relation to snakes. In fact, a snake is treated as an enemy and is instantly killed at sight. Still others think that it comes from the Kachari word “naga”, meaning a young man, a warrior. Lieut. Colonel Waddell explains ‘Naga’ as meaning ‘hill man’, deriving it from the Hindustani ‘nag’, meaning ‘mountain’. Peal drives it from ‘nok’, meaning ‘people’. The reference to ‘warrior’, ‘hill man’, ‘folk’ or ‘people’ does not hold water as there were other people who were warriors and hill men other than the Nagas. R.G. Woodthorpe remarks: “Not one of these derivations is satisfactory... the name is quite foreign to and unrecognized by the Nagas themselves. They have no generic term for the whole race, nor even for each other of the various tribes constituting this race. A Naga when

44 Ibid, p. 47
45 Ibid. p.83-84
46 Ibid p. 84
47 Ibid. p. 96.
48 Ibid. p. 47.
49 Ibid. P. 47
50 Ibid. P. 47
52 Ibid. p. 5
asked who is he, generally replies that he is of such and such a village, though sometimes a specific name is given to a group of villages.\textsuperscript{53}

The name “NAGA” is derived from the Burmese word “NAKA” meaning “people with perforated ears”. The Nagas, who pierced their ears to accommodate big wooden plugs and other ornaments, were given this name while they were passing through the Burmese territory during their migratory stages thousands of years ago from southern China to the Naga Hills.\textsuperscript{54}

Scholars have not been able to unveil the mystery and it is quite unlikely to happen. The more convincing opinion that it is derived from the Kachari word ‘Naga’, meaning ‘warrior’, a ‘fighter’.\textsuperscript{55} The Nagas commonly came to be known as ‘Naga’ after the arrival of the British. The various groups of people living in the Assam plains called their neighbouring Naga tribes by a particular name. The Aos, for example, were called Hatigurieas. It is puzzling how the term ‘Naga’ was attributed to all the Naga tribes. Probably the first contact of the British with the Nagas was by this name. The Nagas are known for their ruthless incursions into the plains. Consequently, the name ‘Naga’ is given to the Nagas by the people living in the Assam plains.\textsuperscript{56} John Butler and J.H. Hutton hold the same opinion. John Butler believes that the name ‘Naga’ was given to the Nagas by the people of the plains

\textsuperscript{53} Verrier Elvin,(1969),\textit{The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century}, Oxford University press, Bombay, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{54} Bhatt S.C, & Bhargava K. Gopal, (2005) \textit{Land and people of Indian States and Union Territories, Nagaland, Vol-20.}
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid. P. 10
meaning ‘the folks living in the hills’. J.H Hutton says that the Assamese all along the foot hills addressed the scantily dressed hill man with ‘Oh, Naga’.  

The origin of the Nagas is as mysterious as the word ‘Naga’. Scholars hold different views. Some believe that the Nagas belong to the Tibeto-Burman or Indo-Mongoloid race. S.K Chatterjee believes that they are no other than the ‘Kiratas of India’. However most of the scholars do not agree with his view. They are right because S.K. Chatterjee himself says that the Kiratas are spread all over the plains of Bengal up to the sea. No Naga tradition mentions that the Nagas inhabited Bengal. The most accepted opinion is that the Nagas come from the Mongoloid stock, but are not a pure race. Horam is right in saying that they are of a mixed blood and that no Naga tribe is of pure blood.

There are various theories about the migration of the Nagas to their present habitat. Scholars hold that they come from the South-East or the North-West. They believe that they originally came from China. They migrated not in a single wave but in many waves. Some say that they came into the present habitat from the south, after crossing the Irrawadi and the Chindwin rivers of Myanmar. According to Sir G.A. Grierson, they came with the second wave of migration from North Western China between the upper waters of the Yangse-Kiang and Hoang-Ho rivers. Hutton is of the opinion that the naga traditions point to migration from the south, except the

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60 Ibid. P. 10
61 Ibid. P.10
Kacha Nagas. M. Horam holds that they came from Borneo, the Philippines and Formosa. Others say that they came from the north. Visier Sanyu argues that perhaps the Nagas were among those tribes who migrated from China through the Patkai range and settled on the way in the Naga hills. He disagrees with Horam. For him, a branch did not settle in the Naga Hills but continued their march to Borneo, Java, Sumatra and the Philippines. M. Alemchiba Ao gives two routes of migration. The centre of dispersion is Sinkiang Valley. One group moves to Tibet, then to Assam and lastly to the hill ranges between Assam and Myanmar. Another wave moves from south East Islands through Burma into the Naga Hills.

From what is discussed above, it is amply clear that the Nagas migrated from Central Asia, probably China. Their migration did not take place in one wave. The majority came from the South, via Myanmar. Others, like the Aos of Changki and some others, came from the North, possibly via Tibet, Nepal and Assam. However, the exact date of their arrival into the Naga Hills was unknown. According to the Ahom Buranjees, by the time the Ahoms came to Assam in the thirteenth century, the Nagas were already settled in the present habitat.

There are variety of opinions about the number of Naga tribes in both India and Myanmar. According to Visier Sanyu, there are about 40 Naga tribes. For M. Horam, there are as many as 32 known Naga tribes. H. John Sema says that there

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64 Ibid, P. 7
68 Ibid, p. 19
70 M.Horam, (1992) Naga polity, low price publications, Delhi, p.27.
are 34 Naga tribes.\textsuperscript{71} In respect to the number of Naga tribes, the number varies according to the inclusion of a number of minor tribes which are not officially recognized as tribes. The 73 pages ‘White Paper’ on “Naga Integration” compiled by the Naga Hoho and submitted to President Dr.A.P.J Abdul Kalam, Deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani, Chief Election Commissioner J.M. Lyngdoh and Nagaland Governor Shyamal Dutta, says that there are 66 Naga tribes and sub-tribes.\textsuperscript{72}

The places of Origin of the various Naga tribes remain an unsolved mystery till today. The fact that many of these tribes have been wandering races, moving from place to place over the span of centuries, has not helped in tracing out their origins. Different scholars, basing their surmises on the Naga art, material culture, language tones, etc., have theorized that the Nagas have had some links with Indonesia and Malaysia; they belong to the Tibeto-Burman family; are the first stage migration groups from North-west China; they constitute a return group of migrants from the Polynesian islands, etc. However, these theories are remotely inferential theories and in the absence of substantive evidence these theories remain inconclusive.\textsuperscript{73}

However, it has unanimously been accepted that the Nagas belong to the Indo-Mongoloid race and are not the original settlers of the land that they occupy presently. It is accepted that the Naga tribes primarily known as Non-Chinese Chiang Tribes migrated from the central Asia in B.C, and the cause of their migration, perhaps was the inhospitability of the land which they had been occupying in the beginning. They migrated first to north-west border of China and

\textsuperscript{72} Nagaland Post, Tuesday, March 18, 2003, P.1.
later on spread over to China, Indonesia, Philippines, Bhutan, Burma and Nagaland. This view is evident from the fact that the Naga people bear similarity with some tribal groups like Dyaks and Koyans of Indo-Chinese countries.\textsuperscript{74}

It appears logical that the Naga tribes in search of better living and accommodation crossed the Irawadi and the Chindwin rivers of Myanmar and reached the mountainous parts of North-East India which were yet unoccupied and fit for human habitation. It was the mighty wave of migration of various tribes of the Indo-Mongoloid race, which arrived to this part of India. Some of them also settled in Myanmar who are known today as Caren, Shan, Singpho etc. The Naga tribes found no place in the territories of Myanmar and the circumstances compelled them to proceed towards western part of Myanmar and occupy the valley of the Patkai range. Thereafter they established their respective tiny sovereign village states, earmarking the boundary lines to express their possession over the territories.\textsuperscript{75}

**Pre-British History**

Before we examine the tribal situation in the British period it may be mentioned that the tribal people were never fully conquered or subjugated by the Muslim rulers who preferred to make settlements with the local non-tribal princes or if expedient with the chieftains instead of dealing with the tribal people directly.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid, P.5-6
The Historical Background.

The Nagas traditionally lived in villages, independent and self contained with a democratically constituted village council headed by a chief. In other words the Naga nation remained unconquered and unadministered by any alien power, and thus existed independently since time immemorial.

In the year 1863 some villages were conquered by the British and started their imperialism in Naga areas. “The year also marked the beginning of the Naga war of Resistance against alien political campaign and military occupation, division and destruction of their land and traditional institutions” 77

After the constitution came into force the classification of scheduled Tribes was made. The first serious attempt to classify the scheduled Tribes is attributable to the census undertaken in 1931. There is a reference to the “Backward Tribes” in the government of India Act 1935. Certain tribes were specified as backward in some provinces in the thirteenth schedule of the government of India (provincial Legislative Assemblies) order, 1936. 78

Policy of the British Government towards Tribals and its consequences

They could not follow any consistent policy until 1881 when Naga Hills were brought under a regular system of administration. The British Government changed its policies from time to time depending on the Nagas Vis-à-vis the tenability of their tactics. As a matter of fact, the early British policy towards the Nagas may be broadly divided into two periods: the first period covers 1832-1877 during which the British tried to ward off the Nagas from raids into the administered districts of

Assam. In the second period, which covers 1877-1880, the Government followed a forward policy leading to the final merging of the Hills into the British Indian system of Administration. 79

During the period, 1832-77, the defense of the settled districts of Assam was the primary basis of the Government policy towards the Naga Tribes. Its overall objective was basically the same throughout the period: however, the tactics for its achievement varied from time to time. 80

The primitive conditions of tribal life, vulnerability to economic exploitation, the existing socio-psychological barriers due to isolation, necessitated a cautious and phased approach for the development of Tribal areas. A special approach has been formulated by the Indian Government with protection and integration of tribals as its principal objective. Following this special approach, development institutions were established to look after the all-round development of tribals. The institutions of the British Government were aimed at regulatory functions such as law and order maintenance and revenue collections.

These were found to be unsuitable for taking up the dynamic developmental programmes of the National Government committed to the establishment of welfare state. A new administrative set up for implementing developmental programmes was initiated by the planners. The special policies and approaches that were formulated towards tribals profoundly influenced the introduction of new institutions into tribal areas. 81

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80 Ibid, P.4.
The tribal areas were the last to come under the British rule, due to their inaccessibility. To avoid troubles from the violent tribals, the British government adopted a policy of pacification through indirect rule with respect to tribal areas and treated them differently from the rest of the country.\textsuperscript{82}

**Policy of Isolation**

While the process of bringing the whole of the Naga area under the British jurisdiction was going on in the beginning of the twentieth century, the British Government was also contemplating how to carve out a proper place for the hills in the administrative system of the British India. The Naga Hills district with its headquarters at Kohima had already been created and this was made a part of the province of Assam.\textsuperscript{83}

The administration of the hill areas, however, was not only difficult and arduous but also different from that of the plains. The British Government was alive to this fact and hence the Government of India Act, 1919, gave special power to the Governor General of India with respect to the hill areas. The British had made the Naga Hills district a part of Assam but little efforts were made for the integration of the Naga people with the people of the mainland. The freedom movement had already been started by the Indians under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The British Indian Government tried to keep the Naga people away from this nationalist movement which had been launched by the people living in the plains. The British made all efforts to keep the Nagas in isolation. That is why, when the Government of India Act 1935, was enacted, the Naga Hills district was declared an excluded...
area. The British wanted the Nagas to have a separate identity. All this goes to suggest that the British established their sovereign control over the Naga Hills and made it a part of the administrative system of British India but the people of the Naga Hills were kept afloat from the mainstream of the country.\(^{84}\)

While the “closed door policy” of the British rule kept the people away from the nationalist winds blowing in the rest of the country, the colonialists at the same time made a conscious but tacit attempt to introduce measures for transforming the economy of all these inaccessible areas. Extension of market link and introduction of money and cash crops served the British mercantile colonialism to enlarge its position even in these excluded areas. The impact of such policy was, however, not felt uniformly. While some areas of Assam came under the direct control of zamindari arrangements, tribal majority areas could sustain to a certain degree their traditional control over land. But even the latter advantages were short lived. A large number of government contractors and military officials along with money-lenders and traders centered the tribal areas which increased the land hunger of these vested interests. A process of land alienation was thus set in motion during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was further reinforced by the introduction of a uniform network of land and order system. The dominant encroaching non-tribal, money-lenders and contractors started exploiting the tribal folk and continued to bind them in perpetual indebtedness. Under these conditions the majority of the tribals were unable to cross over the level of unskilled labour.\(^{85}\)

\(^{84}\) Ibid., P.24.

\(^{85}\) Bose Ashish, Tiplut Nongbri & Kumar Nikhlesh (1990), *Tribal Demography and Development in North-East India*, By B.R. Publishing Corporation Delhi-110007. P.13
The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 (Act XIV of 1874) was enacted to keep large tracts of tribal areas outside the jurisdiction of normal administration. For these areas the executives were endowed with wide powers. The administrative policy was based on the principles of non-interference into the affairs of the tribals and isolation. All the provinces were provided with autonomy to rule the tribal areas under their control following broad guidelines formulated for this purpose. The Excluded and partially Excluded Area Act which came into existence in 1935 resulted in the non-applicability of any legislation of the provincial governments to tribal areas except on the direction of Central government. The Act also enabled governors to pass special regulations for tribal areas with prior consent of the Governor-General.  

The British policy of isolating the tribals led to the misery of the tribals as it freely left them to exploitation of zamindars, money-lenders and local chiefs. The policy of conservation of forests resulted in curbing age-old practices of tribals like shifting cultivation, hunting and others. The intrusion of forest contractors not only led to the greater exploitation of forests, but also the tribals. The entry of merchants and money lenders further affected the tribals who were already facing many odds such as vagaries of nature, denudation of hills and loss of soil fertility. Under these conditions the policy of non-interference of the British with regard to tribal areas helped only to perpetuate the socio-cultural gulf between the tribals and non-tribals, besides exposing them to the nefarious practices of merchants and money-lenders.

The scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes throughout the country occupy the lowest rank in the caste hierarchy and, in a hierarchy of un-equal relationships,
the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes are the lowest rung of our society. Even among themselves also there is further stratification and ranking. The great leaders of the Independence movement, the founding fathers of our constitution and the builders of modern India have all viewed the tribal people with sympathy and admiration and often asserted the important place they occupy in the kaleidoscope of the Indian panorama.

Jawaharlal Nehru gave the country a comprehensive policy on ‘Protection and advancement’ of tribal people even before the dawn of independence. He had a very clear idea of the problems of the tribal people against the historical, political and geographical background. Nehru in his letter indicated that ‘in an independent India there would be a special department in the centre and the provinces concerned for the protection and advancement of tribal areas’. Nehru keenly appreciated tribal culture. He was greatly impressed by its democratic ethos and sense of discipline. He observed, “They are an extremely disciplined people, often much more democratic than most others in India. Without a constitution, they function democratically and carry out the decisions made by their elders of their own representatives almost without exceptions”. He advised to approach, “this simple folk in a spirit of comradeship and not like some one aloof who had come to look at them, examine them, or make them conform to another way of life”. Nehru was very much concerned with tribal policy and tribal development, He strongly felt that the main problem is not to provide facilities to the tribals, but to

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90 Ibid, P.54
91 Ibid, P.56
understand “these people make them understand us and create a bond of affection and understanding between us.” In order to preserve their traditional way of life and culture, he considered the language as an important factor and made it “perfectly and absolutely clear that Government would encourage the tribal languages” to encourage and help them to flourish.”

The second Round Table conference is indeed a very historic and there started a controversy between Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar regarding the position of the depressed classes in India. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to change the society with a willing consent of the orthodoxy, but Ambedkar was not willing for any pretences. He demanded adequate share for the most dehumanized people, the untouchables. Mahatma Gandhi refused to consider both the separate electorates for the depressed classes as well as any form of special representation including reserved seats. He said “I do not mind the untouchables being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate that, but I can not possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are these two divisions set up in every village. Those who speak of political rights of untouchables do not know India and do not know how Indian society is today constructed. Therefore, I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing I will resist it with my life.”

After the Announcement of the so called communal Award on 17th August, 1932 by the then British Prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald under which the

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depressed classes were for the first time recognized as minority community and were granted assured representation with separate electorate for a period of twenty years; Mahatma Gandhi resolved to fast unto death unless that part of the Award was rescinded as according to him it was a severe blow to the unity of the Independence movement. The British were unwilling to climb down and Gandhi’s fast began as scheduled. It was Dr.Ambedkar who had pressed for a separate minority status for the depressed classes at the Round Table conference in London the previous year. Dr.Ambedkar’s immediate concern was to save Gandhi’s life as well as national unity. He insisted, however that each side had to give before an agreement could be reached. Gandhi was opposed to separate electorate but was agreeable to reservation of seats. Dr.Ambedkar asked for a large increase in the number of seats as a price for accepting joint electorates. In the end, both sides agreed to the principle of proportional representation which could give the depressed classes 147 seats, more than twice as many as originally granted. In addition to the 147 seats in the provincial legislatures, 18 percent of the general electorate seats in the central Legislature were to be reserved for the classes. This agreement known as the Poona pact was reached on 24th September 1932. The crisis was over and Gandhi broke his fast. It was thus under the able stewardship of Dr.Ambedkar the various safeguards to protect the interest of the weaker sections, particularly the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, Backward classes and the minorities were incorporated in the constitution of India. 94

94 Bindeshwar Pathak & B.N. Srivastava(1999), Constitutional Safeguards for weaker sections/ Minorities, Mittal publications P.6-7
After Independence

After Independence a question was before the Government who should decide a particular group being a scheduled caste, scheduled tribe or Backward Classes. It was decided that the identification of a particular group as SC, ST, or OBC can be decided by the President himself or by a Commission appointed by him. Under the constitution of India comprehensive special provisions have been made for protection and development of Scheduled Tribes and, in some cases, even by putting reasonable restriction on certain fundamental rights. A number of Ministries and Departments in the Union and State Governments have been entrusted with the task of implementing the constitutional provisions as also various specific area and family oriented programmes for speedy development of scheduled tribes.

Objectives of the research

The research programme has been completed keeping in view the achieving the following objectives.

1. to assess the efforts of the government to protect the constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes in North East India

2. to study and examine the constitutional provisions for the SC and STs

3. to investigate the working processes of the Government for the development of the tribal people.

4. to find out the factors which have hindered the growth of tribal people in North East India.

5. to assess the development that has been done so far.

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97 Ibid, P.4
6. to assess and examine peoples awareness towards their status and response to development activities.

Hypothesis

North East India can legitimately claim an all round growth. But the same cannot be said of the interior villages of the North East. We have not succeeded in getting for them freedom from poverty, inequalities and education. Inspite of constitutional safeguards, protective legislations and numerous developmental programmes, the vast number of interior villagers still continue to be impoverished.

Methodology

The study is conducted to explore and examine the problems related to constitutional safeguards for the SC/ST in North East especially, and particularly the STs in Nagaland. For the convenience of the study, special focus was made in the State of Nagaland where the majority of the populations are Scheduled Tribes. The approach throughout the study has been analytical and evaluative.

The study is based on secondary data collected from published materials like books, journals, official documents etc. However to understand the real development of the interior villages of Nagaland, the village leaders, Government servants and educated youth in Nagaland were selected as respondents for some primary data.

The researcher used various techniques and tools- opinions and views of the different sections of the people were collected through the methods of mailing questionnaires and conducted personal interviews as well. To substantiate and to supplement the secondary sources some villages were selected from the remote areas
of Nagaland, especially the backward area of Tobu and Tuensang Chang area and
surveyed personally to know the existing situations and conditions of the people.

These members were interviewed by means of interview schedule. Interviews were conducted individually and separately for maintaining confidentiality of the views and opinions expressed by the respondents. A questionnaire which consists of 9 questions is the main research tool for collection of the primary data.

**Review of the literature**

There are so many books on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in North East India. Among those books few helped the researcher. Few books that the researcher has gone through are the following. The book on "Constitutional Safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes" by B. Goswami (2003) makes a contribution towards the knowledge and understanding of the constitutional provisions with respect to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. The book gives an extensive study of the reservation in Government jobs and seats in Legislatures, abolition of untouchability, admission to educational institutions etc.

The book has scanned all these measures – legal, executive and Judicial with a view to examine how far the benefits and facilities intended to be conferred on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been availed by them. Infact this book is very much useful to my topic especially for my third chapter, Constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes. But this book lacks the strategy of how to improve the lots of the tribals by utilizing these constitutional provisions.
“Who Cares for Tribal Development” by Naresh Kumar Vaid (2004) brings out the evolution of tribal development strategy and also about the programmes that can be taken up by the five year plans. He comes to the conclusion that the task of development ultimately rests on the level of tribals themselves. Scheduled Tribes must be made aware about the aids and constitutional remedies available to them so that they can knock at the doors of justice as and when desired. Of course this book enlightened me about the rights of the people. This book will be of much use for my coming chapters that is “other measures for the tribal development”. Even for the present chapter it is useful to some extent.

Ashikho Daili Mao, in Nagas ‘Problems and Politics’ deals with the evolution and composition of the Naga society since the British period. He deals with the Naga movement, the formation of the NHTA and the State of Nagaland.

Verrier Elvin, in his book ‘The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century’, describes about the origin and general view about the Nagas. He also brings out the early History of the Nagas in common.

J.H. Hutton, a former Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, describes in his two books “The Angami Nagas and The Sema Nagas”, about the origin of the Nagas. He gives an anthropological description of them.

“Empowerment of Scheduled Castes” by R.Vijaya Krishna Naidu (2004) Kalpaz Publications is an elaborate account of the upliftment, development and empowerment of the Scheduled castes based on field experience. Also this book opens up the comprehensive work on education, occupation, political participation, social status and the empowerment of Scheduled Castes. This book is of much use to me for the third chapter of my thesis. Though this book does not discuss much about
the tribal situations in North East India. Only one chapter speaks about the constitutional provisions of the tribals.

The book on "North-East India, Problems Policies, and Prospects" by H.K. Barpajaris work is grown out of author’s Presidential address read at the fifty-sixth session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December 1995. This book highlights the reorganization of Assam, emergence of Hill states, North Eastern Council, Tribal economy morality, and Boundary disputes etc. The author opens his discussion with the boundary disputes with the Nagas which continue even now the relations with their neighbours. These areas, known as Backward Tract were excluded even from the operation of the Constitution Act 1935. The commission maintained that: The stage of development reached by the inhabitants of these areas prevents the possibility of applying to them methods of representation adopted elsewhere. They do not ask for self determination but for freedom in the pursuit of their ancestral customs. This book helps me to understand the early stages of North East India with all their problems. This book is not only useful for this chapter but also in my coming chapters.

"Problems of Development of Tribal Areas" Published by S.G. Deogaonkar (1980) is a collection of good number of papers of a seminar held at Warora in Maharasthra covers the problems and development of Tribal Areas. The authors of these various papers were drawn from diverse fields of study and disciplines, including mostly academicians, diplomatic and administrative services, science and technology. The experts also included eminent journalists and researchers engaged in specialized studies of the subjects. The papers published in this volume discussed varied problems and issues relating to the main issues of the development of Tribal
Areas. Tribal economic development is closely related to their educational development. Programmes of economic development and the spread of education should go side by side if both are to succeed. This kind of an approach was taken by the author in this book. This book helps us to understand the problems of the tribal people as a whole. This book helped me to learn much about the development activities which has to be initiated in the tribal areas.

“Development Programmes and Tribal Scenario” A Study of Santal, Kora and Oraon by Md.Ayub Mallie (2004) tries to bring out the tribal development with grassroots democracy and the impact of development programmes on their life situation. The first chapter deals with Tribal development associated problems and their needs, Second chapter mainly deals with the government programmes that have been under taken by the government for their welfare. The next chapter is concerned about life situation of the tribals and their participation in these programmes. This book does not mention anything about the North East. But it speaks of tribals of India in general.

Kakali Paul Mitra’s “Development Programmes and Tribals, Some Emerging Issues” (2004) by kalpaz publications is the outcome of the Ph.D thesis submitted in the year 2000. It tries to give a thorough review of the history of administrative measures of Indian Constitution and series of plans for Tribal Development. Then it tries to understand to what extent tribal development gets its success and what is its nature. Do the tribals feel themselves integrated with the main stream or still they are at the receiving end. It also tries to make an endeavour to identify the emerging issues for further development. Although it is good book for
general understanding of the subject matter it does not reflect anything on North Eastern States.

"Tribal Administration in India" by Amir Hasan (1988) is a book based on the Acts, Rules, Regulations, etc. passed from time to time relating to the administration of the Tribal people of India. The book contains useful information on the administrative development and processes that had been introduced and implemented in the tribal areas. The various Acts, Rules and Regulations from a basic source of data and information on the administration are given here. The author here presents the problems of tribal people in their true perspective and also offers practical solution of the tribal problems. It is very much interested in constitutional history and political development. This book is quite useful for my studies. Of course this book does not have any reference on North East.

B.L. Hansaria’s "Sixth Schedule to the Constitution" Second Edition Revised by Vijay Hansaria (2005) is one of the attempts to analyse the constitutional development relating to North East India. The outcome after the incorporation of this particular Schedule in the constitution was the creation of the Autonomous District Councils for the hill areas of the then composite State of Assam, except Nagaland which flatly refused to accept the Schedule. Hansaria in this book has given the historical background leading to the framing of the Sixth Schedule and discussed the subsequent amendments of the Schedule. The Schedule contains many provisions relating to the creation, power, functions, and administration etc. A critical analysis of the delicate role of the Governor in the administration of the Sixth Schedule areas was also included. Detailed appendices are also given in the book regarding the Acts, Rules, Regulations Notifications, etc. pertaining to the hill areas.
administration. The book provides immense detailed information on the Sixth Schedule and administration of the Autonomous District Councils. This book gives a lot of information about the Fifth and Sixth Schedule. This book is very much useful for those who are doing research in Provisions of the Fifth and Sixth Schedule of the constitution.

The book "Hill Politics in North-East India" by S.K Chaube (1973) is one of the most important books on North East. This was one of the earliest attempts to study the politics and political development in the region scientifically. The author expresses that the primary purpose of this book is to present the maximum amount of facts that one could gather about a problem region of India. He is also of the opinion that there is lack of understanding in the rest of the country. The Argument of this volume is that the tribal situation in North East India cannot be properly understood except by viewing it in its historical perspective. This book is an indispensable source of information and reference. This book is very much useful for my studies. Especially it gives a glimpse of the problems faced by the North East India. Political problems as well as other problems like backwardness of the state and administrative difficulties that is faced by this area. But it does not discuss on constitutional provisions for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the North East in detail.

"Ideology, Autonomy and Integration in The North East India", Issues in Political Geography by R.Gopalakrishnan (1990) is a book dealing with aspects of regional structure of the tension areas, constrains in planning for development etc. This book directly deals with North East. Elements of Separatism also explained in the fifth chapter of this book. But it does not speak on the constitutional provisions for the Scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.
Hokishe Sema’s book on “Emergence of Nagaland” (Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future), 1986, is another book on the Nagas. It gives an account of the origin, disposition and social customs. Among such people like the Nagas the British and the missionaries made their inroads during the early nineteenth century. Naga nationalism in which the author tries to analyse the political aspirations of the Nagas. This book also helps my studies in some way. But there is no detail discussion of ST & SC and constitutional provisions for them.

“Dynamics of Tribal Development” by Pradip Kumar Bhowmick (1993) brings out the concern for the Tribals and also the programmes undertaken by various organizations and the people’s participation in it. Attempts have been made to know the people’s participation in these development works. Though all the development programmes are meant for all the communities at par, sometimes a few specific programmes have been launched for particular tribal communities taking into account their degree of backwardness. The book, a micro-level attempt, examines in meticulous detail the compatibilities and constrains of tribal development among the tribes. It attempts at an inventory of the various developmental programmes, and studies the prevailing tribal traits economy society in order to understand their attitudes and retains towards developmental/welfare programmes. This is one of the good books that studies about the Tribals and tribal problems. Though it does not speak about North East, Certain things are similar in all the tribal areas especially the backwardness that they are undergoing and so it is useful for the researcher.
give suggestions to the government for policy formulation so that the tribal people economic development, education administration and cultural development, and to areas and communities into the mainstream of national life, and specific problems of Their main concern was on national unity and integration of the relatively isolated by region, and to have first hand discussions with the experts of the different regions. The seminar were to get the first hand information about the tribal problems, region by region, and to have first hand discussions with the experts of the different regions. Their main concern was on national unity and integration of the relatively isolated areas and communities into the mainstream of national life, and specific problems of economic development, education administration and cultural development, and to give suggestions to the government for policy formulation so that the tribal people
They have found the solution by expressing the idea that through spread of the problems of integrating the hill tribes in the mainstream of great Indian culture. "Tribal Life of North-Eastern India" by ST. Das, (1986) brings out a clear picture of the tribal life of the people of North East. There is an effort to highlight the problems of integrating the hill tribes in the mainstream of great Indian culture. They have expressed the idea that the situation in Nagaland was not without hope. And there were signs of an unusual dynamism of the emerging situation. They have opined that in Nagaland there is a growing love for peace and normalcy and progress and development. Though this book does not serve my purpose, still it is a good book for lot of reference and get an understanding about the over all situation of North East in the olden times.

"Encyclopaedia of North-East India Volume VI Nagaland" Edited by H.M Bareh (2001) Mittal Publications tries to put together through this book, a large number of official matters concerning Nagaland. It gives a detailed account of the historical and political development of the state. It clearly brings out the industrial opportunities that are available to the students. The work of the State Government is also explained here. The topics that are dealt in this book are Emergence of Nagaland State, The changing face of Nagaland, The Naga Communities, The Naga hills and the Indian Constitution, Constituent Assembly and the Naga Hills are explained well.

"Tribal Life of North-Eastern India" by ST. Das, (1986) brings out a clear picture of the tribal life of the people of North East. There is an effort to highlight the problems of integrating the hill tribes in the mainstream of great Indian culture. They have found the solution by expressing the idea that through spread of
education, development of communications, sharing of the common mass media and sharing of a common political system are some of the factors responsible for bringing the hill tribes of North-East India closer and closer to the greater Indian culture. They also made an attempt to look at the structures and find out whether they really fit in with the economy of the region. An over all assessment of the region is made here.

B.B. Kumar's "The Tribal Societies of India", (2001) A Macro perception, Omsons Publications is a micro study of the castes and the tribes aimed at projecting the social ethnic, linguistic, regional and religious diversities of the country. The topics they have dealt with are Tribe Caste dichotomy, Traditional polity of the Indian Tribes. Poverty Alleviation programme in a Tribal Area, Defining the Tribe, The Religion of the Indian Tribes the Slavery among the North-Eastern Indian Tribes etc. This book is of great help to me.

The book called "The Cultural Heritage of a Tribal Society" (The Adis) by Jogendra Nath (2000) makes a contribution to various aspects of culture of the Adi tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. The people belonging to this state are mainly tribals. This book gives an insight into the life of the Adis in various aspects of, religion, society, history, superstition etc.. Mainly the study is confined to the Milangs and the Pasis of the Minyong-Padam group. But this book does not speak anything about the special measures for the tribal people of Arunachal Pradesh. This book mainly deals with the tribes.

The volume on “Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in North-East India”, Edited by B. Pakem (1990) was the outcome of a Seminar on questions of Nationalities, Ethnicity, and cultural Identity in the context of North-East India held...
in Shillong during December 5-6, 1986. The authors of the various papers have discussed the issues of national formations in proper perspective and the questions of nationalities, ethnicity and cultural identities were examined and analysed in a scientific way. This book helps the students of social Scientists, dealing with the burning issues of North East India today. Different papers contained in this book provide enough resource materials, as far as North East India is concerned. But this book does not speak anything about the special measures for the people of North East India.

"Tribal Elites and Social Transformation" by K.K. Mishra deals with the Khamti tribe in Arunachal Pradesh. This tribe has undergone a state of transformation. It presents the post-independence scene of elite formation and their role in social transformation in the little-known Buddhist tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. Covering their habitat, tradition, formation of elites, socio-economic conditions and social status of elites, and their role in bringing about change in society. Lastly the study brings out that the elites constitute a minority of dynamic forces that foster progressive changes in their own society. Though this book deals with the tribal elites and their social transformation, it completely ignore the developments which are taking place in the society and special development measures for them. This book helps the researcher in understanding certain basic things.

The book on "History of North-East India" edited by J.B. Bhattacharjee, is the outcome of The North East India History Associations fifth session held at Aizawal in December 1984. Many writers have contributed their articles to this book. They deal with the specialty of this region that this region is filled with problems and those are mainly anthropological and linguistic. Almost the entire
region, except the valleys of Brahmaputra and Barak, are inhabited by people of Mongoloid origin and they are divided into many tribes and they speak different dialects languages. These divisions and subdivisions in the character of the population have made the problem complicated. This book mainly deals with the historical aspects of north eastern states. But it does not speak anything about the developmental measures for the tribal people.

The book on "Crime Perspective in North East India" Edited by B. Datta Ray, D.N. Majumdar and D. Doley (1986) brings out a clear picture of the crime perspective in Assam and Meghalaya of north eastern region of India. The purpose of this book is to study and examine the questions who are convicted criminals of Assam and Meghalaya, what are the socio economic backgrounds. To what type of crimes they are generally involved. This book deals with the North Eastern states and their problems especially on the crime perspective. Though this book deals with North Eastern states it does not speak about the developmental activity that take place in the region.

The book "Nehru and North East India" Edited By T.S. Gangte has been published from the seminar papers on "Nehru and North-East India" (1993) held at Dhanamanjuri College of Science, Imphal, in connection with the birth centenary celebration of Jawaharlal Nehru. The papers are contributed by eminent scholars of different disciplines belonging to the North Eastern Hill University of Kohima Campus, Gauhati University, Calcutta University, College teachers in Manipur and persons belonging to different shades of life in Manipur. This book highlights the period beginning from Nehru’s first contact with the people of North-East before the advent of Independence in India, the movements of different ethnic groups for
fulfillment of their political aspirations within and outside the frame-work of Indian Constitution, the formation of states and District Councils, the adoption of Assamese as the official language of Assam etc... Certain part of this book really helps the researcher in her work. This book is quite useful to my studies.

“A Century of Government and Politics in North East India” (Volume. V-Freedom Movement) by V.Venkata Rao brings out in detail about the Swadeshi Movement, Non-Cooperation Movement, Swaraj Party, Salt Styagraha and quit India Movement etc.. Though this book deals mainly with North East, very little concern for my study topic, that is special development measures for the tribals of North East India.

“Social Movements in North-East India” Edited by M.N. Karna is the outcome of a seminar organized by the North-East India Council for Social Science Research at Shillong during August 26-27, 1994. This book deals with Women’s Movement in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Meghalaya and North-East India as a whole. There are also articles on Youth movements, Religious Movements, Educational movements in these states of North East India. Though the book deals with North-East India and its movements it is useful for the students those who are dealing north east. But the book has not dealt on SC/ST in North East.

“North-East India Quest for Identity” Edited by Udayon Misra Omons Publications (1988) is a collection of articles presented on socio-political developments covering an important phase in the post-independence history of India’s North East. The author has made an effort to bring out the struggle of the different nationalities, particularly that of the Nagas and the Assamese. The author’s insight into the problems and issues arising out of the assertion of identity of the
major nationalities of the North-east adds distinctiveness to the entire collection. This book is of great help to my studies, because it gives an insight into the problems that was faced by the North-East people especially by the Nagas after the death of Gandhiji and Gopinath Bardolai the trust worthy persons of the Nagas.

P.C.Barua edited a book on “Development Planning of North East India”. This book is a collection of papers presented by eminent scholars in different seminars conducted in different times. The basic theme aims at evolving a coordinated strategy for optimum development of North Eastern region. They have brought out the richness of North East and agree with the fact that physical remoteness is a very important feature of this region. It has adequate mineral resources most important of which is the oil resources. In fact this book is of much help to my studies.

“The Tribes of North East India” (1998) Edited by Sebastian Karotempre is a collection of papers presented at a seminar on ‘The Tribes of Northeast India’, organized by Sacred Heart Theological College, Shillong, in collaboration with the Indian Council of Social Science Research. This book deals with many topics related to North Eastern states. The topics that are dealt here are Religion, Culture and some general topics on North Eastern states. This is a book that gives lot of information to the students and research scholars.

Kakali Paul Mitra (2004) published a book, “Development Programmes and Tribals”, some Emerging Issues. In this book an attempt has been made to explain about the history of tribal development in India since British period. It has covered the development programmes among the tribal groups of West Bengal. But nothing is mentioned about the tribals in North East. Of course this book helped me to know
much about the tribals and their constitutional provisions. But nothing is spoken about the constitutional debates.

D.D Basu’s “Introduction to the Constitution of India” 19th Edition (2004), presents the meaning of the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes. Infact it is Basu’s book, which presents a detailed account of the constitutional measures, made for the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes of India. It also gives a glimpse of the historical background of the Indian constitution. This book really helps me to know much about the making of the Indian Constitution. Especially for my second chapter these books helped me. His book, the Constitutional Laws presents articles on the constitution with amendments and modifications. But this book does not give a detailed account of the constitutional debates which the researcher is in need of.

“Institutional Framework for Tribal development” (1998) by P.V.Ravo brings out a comprehensive study of the functioning of Institutional Framework in the implementation of Tribal development programmes. The author gives a glimpse of the post-independence experiments made on developing tribal communities and Government’s failure to develop and independent plan of action for Tribal Development. This book helps me to reflect and look into the problems of the Tribals in North East.

Christophe Jafferelot’s “Dr.Ambedkar and Untouchability” (2005) presents very clearly the political ideas of Dr.Ambedkar the father of the Indian Constitution. Dr.Ambedkar influenced the constitution very much through his debates in the Constituent Assembly. He was appointed the head of the drafting committee. The role played by Ambedkar is note worthy in this book. We also get a detailed account of his leadership as the first Dalit leader in India who is a Dalit himself. The
sufferings and humiliations that he had to undergo while he was studying abroad and even in India itself. We also get a short biography of Ambedkar from this book. But this book does not have comprehensive information about the debates of all the tribals of North East.

"Tribal Demography and Development in North East India" has been published by Ashish Bose, Tiplut Nongbri and Nikhlesh Kumar (1990). In this book particular emphasis has been put on nutrition, health and education. Development of tribal areas has also been discussed. Social aspects of tribal development and issues of tribal development also have been described. We see various aspects of tribal life. Infact it is a book on North East, but how North East can come at par with the rest of the states is lacking here.

"Indian Tribes through the Ages" by R.C.Verma (1995) gives informative material concerning anthropological, Socio Economic and Constitutional aspects on scheduled Tribes. Also we get a clear idea about Nehru's Tribal policy with Reference to Nagaland. Infact this book is helpful for my work because Nehru is very much connected with the Indian Constitution as the philosopher behind the constitution. It also mentions the provisions regarding the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Caste.

"Political evolution of Nagaland" (1981) by Chandrika Singh presents few ideas about the Establishment of British Authority in North East, Policy of non interference, Gradual Extension and the Naga Resistance and Inclusion of the Naga Hills in British Territory. These are all useful for my work. But the book does not give any idea about the constitutional debates on the issue of the tribals.
The books mentioned above are no doubt helpful to the tribal studies and problems, but none of the books fully brings out the constitutional debates, welfare of the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes, Constitutional provisions etc. None of these books speaks about the Constituent Assembly debates except one that is B.L. Hansaria’s Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. This book also speaks only about the sixth schedule. Therefore the proposed work is to bring about a clear idea from what the constitution say about the Tribal development, in the light of the Constitutional debates which had taken place during the Constituent Assembly. Efforts will also be made to see that why these factors are not helping the Tribal people to improve their life situations in the interior /remote villages.