CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF ADMINISTRATION IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Arunachal Pradesh, formerly known as North East Frontier Agency, emerged as a distinct administrative unit with the formal notification of Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, 1914 which extended the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 to hills inhabited by Adis, Hill Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Nyishis.\(^{105}\)

The administration of the territory prior to the formal notification passed from the hands of Ahoms to British without following a strict code of procedure for governance. The British administration extended a loose administrative control over North East Frontier Area which formed part of Bengal.

Tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh living in the hills adjoining Assam did not form part of any administrative units until 1914. They were governed by their self governing system known as Village Council which was recognised by Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945.

The Self governing system meted out political and administrative requirements of tribal community. There was no external control over their territory and interference in their tribal affairs. Tribes were governed by Village Council or as in certain tribes by Chieftainship – as in the case of Noctes and Wanchos. The Village Council was formed from the best men of the tribes and the chief of the council was known as village head man or gaonbura who was selected by the elders fulfilling certain criteria such as age, sex, experience, knowledge and power of speech.\(^{106}\) The function of the village council was three fold, viz. judicial, administrative and

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development. The Civil Cases comprised of disputes over property, land, bride price, divorce, encroachment etc. while Criminal Cases over murder, rape, adultery, capture, theft, elopement and so on. The village council decided on all matters and delivered justice.\(^{107}\)

Though the Ahoms ruled Assam for nearly six hundred years (1228 A.D to 1826 A.D) and had to deal with the hill tribes on the north, east and south, they did not bring hills within their territory neither did they extend administrative control over them. The aim of the Ahom government was not “extension of its sovereignty over the hill areas but establishment of friendly relationship with them on the basis of mutual benefits and understanding.”\(^{108}\) The Ahoms granted hill tribes certain privileges in the plains by which the latter paid annual tribute thereby acknowledging suzerainty of the Ahom Kings.

**British Administration in North East Frontier**

The British having annexed Assam in 1926, found the territory of North East Frontier too vast for governance. David Scott was appointed as the Commissioner of Assam and Political Agent to the Government of India to manage affairs of the new territory and also to conduct relation with the frontier tribes and native rulers of Assam. By 1935, the lower Assam was divided into three districts and put under the charge of Senior Assistants to the Commissioner. To conduct relation in the border areas district officers were given the charge, who were known as Assistant Agents whose task was to maintain relation and accompany punitive expedition as Political Officers.\(^{109}\)

Prior to 1874, the British administered Assam by non-regulated system which grew up as a necessity and practice due to the backwardness of the inhabitants and their proximity to the hill tribes.\(^{110}\) Under this system the elaborate process of Bengal

\(^{107}\) Ibid. p.317.


law courts did not apply in Assam. In non-regulated districts all authority, judicial and executive was concentrated in the hand of Political Agents and their assistants, who were judges, magistrates, and revenue collectors. The personnel who administered civil administration were all from Army, a practice which continued till the twentieth century.\footnote{Ibid. p.572.}

Proper administration of Assam and its Frontier Areas necessitated the separation of Assam from Bengal Presidency which led to constitution of Assam into a Chief Commissionership in 1874. Factors such as “Jaintia rebellions of 1860 and 1862, the Bhutia raids of 1849, the necessity of waste land grant without survey to the European tea planters, the problem of immigrant labour for plantation and mining industries, construction of roads along the strategically important routes, distribution of armed forces in different strategically important places” required an officer to give quick decision and sanction.\footnote{Ibid. p.170.} Apart from the above mentioned factors the most important was the need for formulation of uniform policy for the administration of frontiers inhabited by hill tribes.

Meantime the Government of India realised the need for uniformity of governance in the tribal areas with a simple form of Administration. Problems in tribal administration had appeared after the rising of Hos of Singbhum in 1831, the Khonds in 1846 and Santhals in 1885, which demanded greater accommodation of tribal customs and conventions which could settle disputes.\footnote{Bose, M.L., *History of Arunachal Pradesh*, p.166.} To give the Local Administration more powers to deal with the problem of tribal administration the Scheduled Districts Act, 1974 was passed.

With the declaration of Scheduled Districts Act, the Chief Commissioner of Assam was empowered to draft any regulation concerning the tract (Assam and its frontier areas) and the same became law when approved by Governor-General in Council. The same Act authorised the Chief Commissioner to define authority, jurisdiction, powers and duties concerning the administration of frontier tracts.\footnote{Ibid. p.170.}
Scheduled Districts Act, 1974, empowered the Local Government to

(a) appoint officers to administer civil and criminal justice and to superintend the settlement and collection of the public revenue, and all matters relating to rent and otherwise to conduct the administration, within the Scheduled District,

(b) regulate the procedure of the officers so appointed; but not so as to restrict the operation of any enactment for the time being in force in any of the said districts,

(c) direct by what authority any jurisdiction, powers or duties incident to the operation of any enactment for the time being in force in such district shall be exercised or performed.\textsuperscript{115}

The Chief Commissioner of Assam asked the Deputy Commissioners to propose Inner Line for their respective districts in 1873. While demarcating the tract it was found that many districts were inhabited by hill tribes which could not be brought under ordinary administration like the plains of Assam. Modification to the Scheduled District Act was needed in order to exempt hill tribes from regular system of civil and criminal procedure.\textsuperscript{116}

The need was felt to remove frontier tracts inhabited by hill tribes from the plains of Assam and administer the districts with separate rules of justice. Frontier tracts were to be exempted from Regulations and Acts, and provide for proper administration. To this effect Regulation known as Assam Frontier Tract Regulation of 1880 was passed. By this act Chief Commissioner was to specify boundaries of the tracts and define authorities who would administer them.\textsuperscript{117}

The Inner Line Regulation of 1873 which enabled the Deputy Commissioners to propose a line of control and the powers accorded to the Chief Commissioner by Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation 1880 to determine the line of boundary provided seed for new administrative unit that would emerge in 1914. Before going into the

\textsuperscript{115} Luthra, P.N., \textit{Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.46.

\textsuperscript{116} Bose, M.L., \textit{History of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.171.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid. p.172.
notification of administrative unit in 1914, certain developments of importance could
be considered here in.

**Administrative Changes after Abor Expedition (1911-12)**

In an effort to create better relation with Adis and other frontier tribes bordering Sadiya, the government felt it necessary to create a tract for administration. In what could be said to be the first step to direct administration, the British in November 8, 1882 carved out a Frontier Tract called Dibrugarh Frontier Tract placing it under the jurisdiction of Lakhimpur District Commissioner. A special post of Assistant Political Officer was created and filled by an officer from Bengal Service known as Mr. Francis Jack Needham.\(^\text{118}\)

Dibrugarh Frontier Tract was directly under the charge of Lakhimpur District Commissioner and Mr. Needham was to help the Deputy Commissioner maintain relations with the tribes. Mr. Needham was to study the tribes, learn their language and political system and win their goodwill by his sympathetic approach.\(^\text{119}\) He served the Frontier for twenty three years and received acclamation for his commendable service. He was succeeded by Mr. Williamson in 1905 and he continued to maintain relation with the tribes until his murder in 1911 along with Dr. Gregorson while touring the Abor country.

The murder of Mr. Williamson and Dr. Gregorson led to 'Abor Expedition' of 1911-12 which had several implications for the administration of Frontier Areas. General Bower who led the 'Abor Expedition' proposed administrative changes in the North East Frontier. He proposed tribal country to be divided into three sections viz. the Central or Abor Section, the Eastern Section consisting of Mishmi Hills and Bor Hkamti country and the Western Section comprising of Tawang and Subansiri river. His suggestions also included posting of officers within frontier territory as well as construction of bridges and roads leading to Rima.\(^\text{120}\)

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\(^\text{119}\) Ibid.

The Abor Expedition had provided sufficient input regarding the extent of territory that lie beyond the Inner Line. The British felt that leaving the Abor country would lead to a repetition of confrontation and therefore required permanent post within the territory. They had also come to know that the Mishmi country was an important area which could be an intelligence frontier to provide information regarding Chinese movements. To bring about effective control of the tribes and keeping an eye on the border beyond Inner Line from Chinese incursion the British felt it necessary to bring the North East Frontier territory under effective administration.

The year 1912 saw the reorganisation of the frontier territory. Western Section of Frontier Tract was placed under Deputy Commissioner of Darrang district of Assam. In the same year Dibrugarh Frontier Tract was abolished and Sadiya tract was created with a Political Officer and three Assistant Political officers working under direct control of Chief Commissioner. A Political Officer was stationed at Pasighat in charge of Adis and another was appointed to look after West of Subansiri River.

Following the proposal made by General Bower the British government took several measures to bring the frontier area under effective control. In a letter dated 24th March 1914, the Chief Commissioner proposed "to constitute a new North-East Frontier Tract, which would comprise two political charges" providing the Political Officers powers to effect political control in a regular manner.

Thus, with the Government of India Foreign and Political Department, Notification of 1914, three administrative units came into existence, namely;

1) The Central and Eastern Section
2) The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract
3) The Western Section

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121. Ibid. p.243.
122. Mohanta, Bijan, Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh, p.76.
123. Reid, Robert, History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam, p.248.
The notification of 1914 had important significance. The hill areas were separated from Darrang and Lakhimpur Districts of Assam and came to be known as North-East Frontier Tract which can be marked off as the beginning of modern day Arunachal Pradesh territory.

The Central and Eastern Section, and Western Frontier Section were placed under the charge of Political Officer and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract was placed under Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur. The head quarter for Central and Eastern Section was at Sadiya and the Political Officer for Western Section was located at Charduar.  

By the notification the British government brought the frontier areas within direct administrative control. The Chief Commissioner prescribed “rules for the administration of justice in the Central and Eastern Sections of North-East Frontier” and added that “those rules would be enforced in the area under loose political control to the extent which may from time to time appear expedient.”

In 1919, the Central and Eastern Section was renamed as Sadiya Frontier Tract and the Western Section as Balipara Frontier Tract. The Lakhimpur Tract remained the same. In the consequent years new administrative units were created. In 1943, Tirap Frontier Tract was created from Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and Sadiya Frontier Tract, in 1946 Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into Se La Sub-Agency and Subansiri Area and in 1948 Sadiya Frontier Tract was bifurcated into Abor Hill District and Mishmi Hill District.

The picture of administrative unit in 1948 emerged thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tracts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Lakhimpur Frontier Tract &amp; Sadiya Frontier Tract - Tirap Frontier Tract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Balipara Frontier Tract                        - Se La Sub-Agency &amp; Subansiri Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Sadiya Frontier Tract                          - Abor Hill District &amp; Mishmi Hill District</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

125 Ibid.
126 Reid, Robert, History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam, p.249.
127 Luthra, P.N., Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh, p. 10.
128 Ibid. p.11.
Prior to 1874 the tribal areas of India were administered through Non-Regulated System. To bring about uniformity in administration of tribal areas ‘Scheduled District Act’ was passed in 1874. Assam and its frontier areas came under the purview of ‘Scheduled District Act’.

The Government of India Act 1915 as amended by the Government of India Act 1919, declared all tribal areas as “Backward Tracts.” This Act empowered Governor-General-in-Council to declare any territory “Backward Tract”. The Act implied that any act of Provincial Legislature could be applied with or without any exception by the Governor.129

The Governor General declared tribal areas in Assam including North East Frontier “Backward Tract” under the provision of 1919 Act. This was not received well by the government of Assam. Suggestion was made to classify the area into two “Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.”130 Consequently in 1937, Frontier Tracts came to be known as Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas, under the provision of Government of India Act 1935.131

The North East Frontier (Balipara, Sadiya and Lakhimpur) Tract, Naga Hills District and the Lushai Hills District, the North Cachar Hills, sub-division of the Cachar district were included in ‘Excluded Areas’ and Garo Hills District, the Mikir Hills in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts, the British portion of Khasi and Jaintia Hills were included in ‘Partially Excluded Areas.’132

The implication of the Act meant that, no Act of the Federal Legislature or Provincial Legislature applied to the Excluded and Partially Excluded areas. Excluded Areas differed from Partially Excluded areas in many respects. Excluded areas meant those areas where full scale administration could not be imposed. The Governor therefore discharged his function at his discretion. No minister had the right to advice the Governor, nor did they possess any constitutional power to enact laws in the Excluded Areas. Proposal for expenditure did not require discussion in the Provincial

130. Ibid. p.55.
131. Luthra, P.N., Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh, p.11.
Legislature and at the same time no legislation was permitted in the Excluded Areas without the consent of Governor.\textsuperscript{133}

In the provision of Partially Excluded Areas the Governor could seek advice from the Ministers in executing his function. Partially Excluded areas were represented in the Provincial Legislature and matters were discussed without even the approval of Governor. The Ministers too had some powers such as land and police in Partially Excluded areas.\textsuperscript{134}

The administration of North East Frontier Tract was carried out by the Governor-General through the agency of Chief Commissioner of Assam or the Governor of Assam who discharged their administrative function through Deputy Commissioners or Political Officers and Assistant Political Officers. At the lowest level, indigenous tribal self-governing system was allowed to exist. The village authorities managed their social affairs without being interfered by the British authority.\textsuperscript{135} Up to 1921, the Chief Commissioner of Assam administered the tract through Deputy Commissioners of Assam District or Political Officers in charge of tracts and Assistant Political Officers. In 1921, Chief Commissionership was turned to Governor of Assam which continued up to 1937. To administer the North East Frontier Tract effectively, a Secretary to the Governor of Assam was appointed and consequently a Secretariat was established. Administrative machinery was expanded in 1943 with the appointment of Adviser to the Governor of Assam above Governor’s secretary.

The call for effective administration had begun with the creation of administrative units in 1914. Besides the tribal administration throughout India required closer look into the problems and affairs of the community. The declaration of tribal areas as ‘Excluded and Partially-Excluded Area’ needed forward policies which only the necessary personnel in the post could attend to. The actual administration was carried out only in 1937, by the Governor of Assam who

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid. p.56-57.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid. p.57.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid. p.59.
independently discharged his function without the sanction of his Cabinet.\textsuperscript{136} The need for normal administration of the tribal areas called for establishment of a post of Secretary and a Secretariat. Figure 2.1 below shows structure of administrative machinery.

Figure 2.1

\begin{center}
\textbf{Administrative Machinery (1947)}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (Governor) {Governor of Assam};
    \node (Adviser) [below of=Governor] {Adviser to the Governor of Assam};
    \node (Secretary) [below of=Adviser] {Secretary to the Governor of Assam};
    \node (Political) [below of=Secretary] {Political Officers};
    \node (Assistant) [below of=Political] {Assistant Political Officers};
    \node (Village) [below of=Assistant] {Village Authority};

    \draw [->] (Governor) -- (Adviser);
    \draw [->] (Adviser) -- (Secretary);
    \draw [->] (Secretary) -- (Political);
    \draw [->] (Political) -- (Assistant);
    \draw [->] (Assistant) -- (Village);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}


\textbf{Ahoms Administrative Policy towards Hill Tribes}

The policy of the Ahoms towards hill tribes can hardly be termed administrative policy because the former neither annexed the territory nor interfered in the internal affairs of the self-governing system of the tribes. The policy of the Ahoms was more relational than administrative. The tribes lived in isolation on the northern side of Brahmaputra valley away from the influence of Assam plains. Prior to British arrival their vast hill tracts remained unknown to external rulers. The tribes

had indigenous governing system known as Village Council which decided matters related to law and order in their society.

The Ahoms came in contact with the tribes in the beginning of 16th century while expanding the territory on the north bank of Brahmaputra. Some of the tribes lived at the foothills while others lived in the interior of the hill country.\footnote{Devi, Lakshmi, *Ahom-Tribal Relations*, Guwahati: Lawyer’s Book Stall, 1968, p.197.} The hill tribes made inroads to the plains of Assam and sometimes forced the people to provide them with produce and their services since hill tracts did not yield enough for their requirements.\footnote{Baruah, S.L. *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, p. 1985, p.373.} It was chiefly for economic reasons and want of man power for work the tribes raided the plains of Assam and carried away men and necessities of life. The Ahoms rulers needed a policy that would suitably deal with their neighbouring tribes and at the same time provide security for their subjects.

The Ahom rulers needed to protect their subjects from raids of the hill tribes and at the same time pursue a policy that could establish friendly relations with the tribes. They had realised that means of warfare and expeditions into hill territory could bring heavy toll on the government.\footnote{Bhuyan, S.K., *Anglo-Assamese Relations*, p.33.} To protect the plains and to meet the requirements of the tribes, the wise King Pratap Singha (1603-41 A.D) invented a policy called a system of *Posa* which proved to be effective and lasted even till the advent of British.

*Posa* was a collection of subscription paid to the hill tribes for common purpose. Certain *Paiks* (Adult males whose names were registered for state service) were assigned to the hill tribes who were liable to pay them instead of State.\footnote{Devi, Lakshmi, *Ahom-Tribal Relations*, p.216.} Mackenzie wrote, "It was really a well-ascertained revenue payment, on account of which a corresponding remission was made in the state demand upon the ryot satisfying it. It may have had its origin in encroachment or it may have been based upon customary and primeval rights asserted by the hill men; but it was a distinct feature in the revenue system of the country when the British annexed Assam."\footnote{Mackenzie, Alexander, *The North-East Frontier of India*, (Reprint 1994), New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1884, p.21.}
The Ahom’s main objective of *Posa* was to establish friendly relation and to protect their subjects in Assam plains. They had no ulterior motif to enforce their administration or subdue the hill tribes. They followed *Posa* as conciliatory method to maintain peace along the border areas.\(^{142}\)

### 2.2.2 Ahom’s policy towards Adis and Hill Miris

In the beginning of 16\(^{th}\) century with the annexation of Chutiya Kingdom, the Ahoms came in contact with *Miris* and *Abors* (today known as Adis and Hill Miris) on the north bank of Brahmaputra.\(^{143}\) The Hill Miris inhabited in the plains and lower hills along the north bank of the Brahmaputra from the Subansiri river on the west, as far as the Dihong river on the east, while the Adis lived on the north eastern end of Brahmaputra valley mostly in the hill country. The Ahom policy towards Adis and Miris was coupled with conciliatory method and punitive expedition.

The Ahom’s policy towards Adis was maintenance of a system of relation that existed between Adis and Miris. Unlike other hill tribes the Adis had no right to *Posa* since they lived in the interior parts of the hills. However they exercised different kind of right over the plains of Assam. They claimed right over the Miris of the plains whom they considered their dependant. The Adis claimed right to fish and gold from the rivers to which the Ahom rulers conceived to their demands. King Pratap Singha (1603-41 A.D) gave some villages in the plains with cultivators and fisher men who would provide for the requirements of the Adis. The Adis in turn would pay annual tribute to the Ahoms.\(^{144}\) The policy of Ahoms towards Adis was not direct since the Miris acted as intermediary who were also officially recognised as interpreters.

The policy of the Ahoms towards Miris was granting of *Posa*. The Miris occasionally raided the villages in the plains. The Ahoms provided the Miris with right to *Posa* and in recognition for the privilege granted they demanded annual tribute which would make the Miris accept their overlordship. *Katakis* were appointed

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\(^{143}\) Ibid. p.196.  
\(^{144}\) Ibid. p.199-200.
to watch their movements and inform the government.\textsuperscript{145} This policy was successful till the end of Pratap Singha’s reign and the Miris resorted to occasional raids thereafter. The Ahoms rulers had recourse to punitive measures when the Miris raided the plains and subjugated them with their superior army.

The Ahoms followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Adis and Miris. As a result they were able to maintain a cordial relation. Tribal territory remained un-annexed though there had been several expeditions. The Ahom rulers granted trade relation with the plains of Assam which eventually led to cessation of raids.\textsuperscript{146}

On the western side of Brahmaputra valley the Ahoms encountered Nyishis and Akas. Nyishis were a formidable tribe against, which it was not advisable to launch any expedition. They lived in inaccessible terrains. One of the Ahom Prime Ministers Atan Buragohain wrote that, the Nyishis could be captured “only if an elephant can enter into a rat-hole.”\textsuperscript{147} The King Pratap Singha having conceded defeat in the expedition constructed a fortification known as ‘Dafla-garh’ in Darrang District also known as Rajgarh. It was to regulate and check the inroads of Nyishis into the plains. He also introduced Posa in the eastern part of Tezpur subdivision of Darrang District. Katakis were appointed to regulate them.\textsuperscript{148}

The Ahoms followed a policy of conciliation towards Nyishis. As a result the Ahoms assigned them a number of Paiks in the Duar areas in the plains who were made to pay the necessities of life as demanded by them. The Paiks assigned to the Nyishis were known as ‘Dafala-bahatias’ or ‘serfs of the Daflas’, and an officer called ‘Dafalaparia Phukan’ was appointed to look after them. In spite of the grant of Posa, raids did not stop in the plains. Raids were retaliated by punitive expeditions. Blockades and non-payment of posa were imposed as various methods to bring the Nyishis to terms.

\textsuperscript{145} Ibdi. p.200.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid. p.211.
\textsuperscript{148} Devi, Lakshmi, \textit{Ahom-Tribal Relations}, p.219.
The Ahoms policy towards Akas was befriending them by means of *Posa*. Like the rest of the tribes the Akas were granted right to *Posa*. They collected *Posa* mainly from Charduar in Darang District. However a section of Akas known as the Kapachors were not granted right to *Posa* and hence extorted from the cultivators in the plains through their night attacks.\(^{149}\) The Chief of the Kapachor Akas Tagi Raja made series of raids in the early decades of nineteenth century. No record has been made regarding direct confrontation between Ahoms and Akas. The Ahoms probably befriended the Akas by their *Posa* system.\(^{150}\)

The policy of the Ahoms towards Nyishis and Akas was conciliation by means of granting *Posa*. Punitive measure was taken only when necessity arose. Besides the punitive measure towards Nyishis, there were blockades and non-payment of *Posa* which could bring the Nyishis to terms. Though the Ahoms launched several punitive expeditions no effort was made to annex the territory neither did they interfere in their internal affairs.

On the eastern part of the bank of Brahmaputra the Ahoms had to deal with tribes such as Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos, Noctes and Wanchos. The Ahom policy towards the Mishmis was one of persuasion and trade relation. There has been only one record of Mishmi raid in the plains to which the Ahoms ordered the capture of offenders and punished them. The mention of ‘Mishmi-garh’ in Ahom Chronicle indicates probable imposition of blockades on the Mishmis to have trade relation.\(^{151}\) The Mishmis unlike Nyishis, Akas and Adis did not enjoy the right to *Posa*. They had great sense of trade and would visit plains of Assam for trading purpose. The trade fare offered by Ahom rulers and the policy of non-annexation of their territory helped to maintain peaceful relation between Ahom rulers and Mishmis.\(^{152}\)

Khamtis probably the nearest kinsmen of Ahoms were allowed to settle down on the bank of Tengapani River in 1751. However the Khamtis taking advantage of the weakness of the Ahoms during Moamaria rebellion ousted the Ahom Governor of Sadiya and extended their territory towards central part of Assam. The Ahoms

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\(^{149}\) Ibid. pp.215-216.

\(^{150}\) Ibid. pp.236-239.


\(^{152}\) Kri, Sokhep (ed.), *State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh*, p.128.
subdued the Khamtis and through a persuasive policy maintained relation with them.\textsuperscript{153}

Like the Khamtis the Ahoms followed a policy of peaceful settlement with Singphos. The Ahoms subdued the Singphos who had joined the Moamaria rebels to fight against them.\textsuperscript{154} The Ahoms made a pact with the Singphos for peaceful coexistence which however was broken in the later years.

There had been occasional raids by the Noctes living close to the border of Dibrugarh District in the plains of Assam. The reason for raids being scarcity of food, King Pratap Singha granted them tribal ‘khats’ or lands known as ‘Naga-khats’ which were looked after by some Assamese agents. In return for this gesture, the tribals paid annual tribute to the kings from the produce of the hills such as mithun, elephant’s tusk, goat’s hair, cane slips coloured in red, salt and other things.\textsuperscript{155} To check their inroads king Pratap Singha also constructed a rampart called ‘Naga-garh’. Punitive expeditions were also sent to punish the Noctes for raids committed. However amicable settlements were made without much shedding of blood.\textsuperscript{156}

In conclusion it can be said that the Ahoms in order to protect their subjects and also to establish friendly relation with their neighbouring tribes granted them fertile land at the foothills, access to fisheries or payment of stipulated amount called Posa consisting of rice, cloth, cattle etc. In return for the Posa and other benefits, the tribes would acknowledge suzerainty of the Ahom kings and pay them annual tribute consisting of produce from the hills.\textsuperscript{157} Since the economic reasons were the cause of raids, the system of Posa aided the Ahoms in the long run to establish friendly relation with the hill tribes.

On certain occasions the Ahoms followed the policy of punitive expeditions. Punitive Measures were reserved as last option since it brought heavy casualty. As part of the punitive measure the Ahoms punished the offenders. Trade relation granted

\textsuperscript{153} Devi, Lakshmi, \textit{Ahom-Tribal Relations}, pp.241-243.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid. p.246-247.
\textsuperscript{155} Kri, Sokhep (ed.), \textit{State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh}, pp.133-134.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid. p.134.
\textsuperscript{157} Baruah, S.L., \textit{A Comprehensive History of Assam}, p.370.
to the tribes minimised the raids. It led the tribes to procure the necessities from markets in the plains. Trade and commerce grew and mutual understanding and goodwill prevailed.

The Ahom government appointed frontier wardens or governors to conduct relation with the hill tribes. For example "Sadiyakhowa Gohain was in charge of regulating relations with the tribes of the Sadiya country viz., the Adis, Hill Miris, Mishmis and later the Khamtis and the Singphos; the Marangikhowa Gohain and the Rahial Baruah were in charge of the Kacharis and the Mikirs; the Jagiyal Gohain and the Kajalimukhiya Gohain, of the Jayantiyas; and the Barphukan and the Darrang Raja, of the Bhutanese.¹⁵⁸ The frontier wardens constantly interacted with the hill tribes, negotiated with them and provided for the dues of the tribes.

The Ahoms followed a liberal policy with the frontier tribes. They inter-dined and inter-married with the tribes from the hills. As a result peaceful relation was maintained. Many tribal people who got assimilated with Ahoms were recruited to administrative post.¹⁵⁹ Ahom’s policy over the hill tribes were not of rigid overlord-vassal relationship. It was based on establishment of friendship on the basis of mutual benefits and understanding. The tribes from the hills accepted suzerainty of the Ahoms and the latter granted them cultivable land and trade relation. The Ahoms gave the tribals autonomy to preserve their tribal traditions and customs.¹⁶⁰

Professor Bhuyan writes, “That the Ahom policy towards the tribes proved highly successful can be inferred from their uninterrupted enjoyment of sovereignty in Assam for six hundred years. In a kingdom where ferocious hill men are lurking in the border areas, occasional frontier troubles were unavoidable; but the Ahoms suppressed these troubles with tact and diplomacy and the application of force as circumstances demanded. They did not allow these troubles to become intensified to the extent of jeopardising Ahom dominations."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸. Ibid. p.381.
¹⁵⁹. Ibid. pp.381-382.
¹⁶⁰. Ibid. p.382.
British Administrative Policy towards Hill Tribes

After the conquest of Assam in 1838, the British found Assam Valley surrounded on its north, east and south by numerous tribes whom the authority of Assam found difficult to control in later years. Many of them claimed rights over the lands at the foothills. One of the tasks of the British was to understand the rights of the tribes and to deal with them with appropriate policy.

Describing the British policy Elwin wrote “Through the period of their rule their main concern was to contain the tribal people in their own hills and forests and to protect the gentle and unwarlike people of the plains, only sending out expeditions when there were raids of unusual audacity.” He further wrote, “They did what they could to make friends with the tribes; they protected the plains people against their raids; they established outposts in the foothills, and from time to time imposed blockades and made punitive expeditions into their interior.”\textsuperscript{162}

The policy of the British was clear. It was to protect their subjects and trade relation in the plains by containing the tribals in their hills. To keep the tribals confined to the hills the British followed a policy of conciliation and at the same time a policy of ‘show of strength’.

At the initial stage the British were confronted by question whether to force upon the tribes an active policy or to let them alone. Their policy towards tribes grew eventually to meet the exigencies of the time. It was not a static policy rather evolved to address the need of the British colonial rule. The British unlike other parts of India were not keen to enforce uniformity of administration rather would have preferred the tribes to be left alone. However, course of events and the connection between Assam sovereign and the hill tribes led British to consider at a definite policy for North-East Frontier.\textsuperscript{163}

At first the British considered the possibility of frontier tribes being used as shield against Burmese whom they had expelled. As a result they entered into treaty

\textsuperscript{162} Elwin, Verrier, \textit{A Philosophy for NEFA}, p.2.
\textsuperscript{163} Mackenzie, Alexander, \textit{The North-East Frontier of India}, pp.7-8.
with tribes such as Singphos and Khamtis whose tracts lay close to Burma. British
could not be satisfied with this mere frontier policy as the world of Assam and hills
unravelled a huge prospect of economy. The British through their close contacts with
the tribes and exploration of the foothills of Assam and the interiors of hills became
aware of the vast potentiality of trade and commerce.

The British discovered that the foothills and the adjoining areas were
extremely rich with timber, rubber, ivory and other forest produce. The land at the
foothills was fertile and could be cultivated by farmers and yield good revenue.
Important commodities such as coal, petroleum and tea in upper Assam were
discovered. The discovery of tea and the economic prospects was certainly a decisive
factor that could change the policy of the British.  

The British had gained sufficient knowledge of the tracts that lay between
Assam and other side Tibet and China. They had come to know that the tribes could
not resist their superior power and at the same time ascertain their power against
China and Tibet. The first task of the British therefore was to make the tribes
forego their rights over the plains. The British needed the plain land for tea plantation
and settlements of ryots. At the same time the British wanted the tribes to be confined
in their hills for the peaceful existence of subjects living at the foothills.

To this extent the British would follow a policy that would contain the tribes
in the hills and at the same time administer their territory loosely without interfering
in their internal affairs. They had no plan to bring hill tract under direct
administrative control. For this the British would draw a line that would demarcate
administered area and non-administered area.  

Inner Line regulation of 1873 came as a pressing need to bring under
'stringent control the commercial relations' of the British subjects and tribes living on

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165. Ibid. p.194.
166. Ibid. p.196.
the History, Economy and Culture of Arunachal Pradesh, S. Dutta, (ed.), Itanagar: Himalayan
the borders of British jurisdiction. Serious complications arose between the tribes and British subjects due to commercial relation. The growth of tea industry within the plains and its extension beyond the controlled area of British government brought the tribes and British subjects into confrontation. The extension of tea industry needed occupation of land which lay within tribal territory. The cutting down of Simul trees for tea chest within the tribal areas was resented by the tribes. At the same time the Indian rubber from the hills brought by the tribes into the plains bred competition. The British sensed a threatening disturbance beyond the hills and thus envisaged a policy that could regulate commercial relation and bring under effective control the subjects within their reach.

The Inner Line promulgated for peace and good governance empowered the local government ‘to prescribe and from time to time alter by notification, a line to be called Inner Line and to prohibit any subject living, outside the area from living or moving therein’. The government merely fixed the line as a guide for the civil officers to which they could extend their administration. The local government was authorised to prohibit all British subjects or any persons residing in or passing through such districts from going beyond the Line. Any person desiring of going beyond the Line required to possess a pass authorised by civil authority.

The implication of Inner Line was to uphold law and order within the British controlled territory. They would not be responsible beyond the line of control. As a policy the Inner Line would avoid direct confrontation between the tribes and the British. The policy clearly segregated the tribes from the plains. The British did not want to interfere in their tribal affairs. Though the entry into hill was restricted for the subjects within the plains no restriction was extended to the tribes for reasons of trade.

The Inner Line indicated “the limits of the administrative area and no way defined the actual boundary of British possessions.” The British as policy left the ‘Outer Line’ undefined so that they could extend their jurisdiction whenever required.

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The area within Inner Line was administered ordinarily while the tract between Assam and Tibet was administered loosely with political control.\textsuperscript{173}

Apparently the policy of Inner Line seemed to be a policy of non-interference beyond the civil jurisdiction of British. However the real motives were to protect the trans-border trade and to preserve the Simul trees for making tea chest beyond the Inner Line. To this effect the British allowed the tribes free passage into the plains for trade and restricted the plains’ subjects from going into the hills.\textsuperscript{174}

The British at their arrival in Assam found the hill tribes coming down to the foothills claiming rights over subjects living on the plains. Mackenzie wrote, “Many of them advanced claims to rights more or less definite over lands lying in the plains; others claimed tributary payments from the villages below their hills, or the services of Paiks said to have been assigned them by the Assam authorities.”\textsuperscript{175} It was the policy of Ahoms who entitled the tribesmen certain right over the lands at the foothills. Posa as established by them was a conciliatory method to secure peace along the border and protect the subjects within the plains.

This form of arrangement by Ahoms was transferred to the British, whose first task was to reconcile such arrangements with enlightened policies. However the British were willing to concede to such arrangements. Mackenzie wrote, “When we did arrive in any case at a definite understanding as to the rights of any tribe, we were ready, as a rule to treat them fairly and liberally and on the whole, we have no reason in this respect to be ashamed of the general bearing of our policy upon the North-East Frontier.”\textsuperscript{176}

The British did not change the policy of the Ahoms at the first instance. However they felt it unbearable to see the tribes descending annually upon the cultivated lands for the purpose of collecting petty dues from each household which often led to quarrels and outrages and that made them to rethink of the payment of the

\textsuperscript{173} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.71.
\textsuperscript{175} Mackenzie, Alexander, \textit{The North-East Frontier of India}, p.7.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid.
The British at the early stage itself invited the tribes to forgo their direct collection of *Posa* from the ryots and introduced annual payment in cash. This policy of the British cut off direct contact of the tribes with the ryots. Though this was accepted by many tribes not all tribes accepted it readily. It was by show of force that they were made to accept.

The British followed various methods to bring the tribes to agree with their terms. When the tribes did not comply with the demands of the British, they imposed 'blockade' a measure which restricted trade relations. The tribes were deprived of buying their essential commodities. Police patrolling along the routes watched their movements and enforced strictly the block imposed.

The cases of kidnapping and murder were dealt with release of the captive and trial of the guilty. The British would persuade the offending tribes to hand over the captives through native agents. Failure of release would lead to punitive expedition. The culprits of murders were tried and punished. Punishment was imposed on individuals as well as on the whole village. Sometimes to show strength of power and impress upon the tribe, the consequences of infringement on British territory or subjects, the whole village used to be burnt.

The Akas were granted right to *Posa* which they collected from Char Dwar. The British introduced payment of *Posa* in the form of cash which was not received well. A section of Akas known as Kapachors then continued to give trouble to the British. Their Chief Tagi Raja carried out numerous robberies and murders in the plains of Assam for a number of years until 1842 when he surrendered himself to the British and agreed to settle down with pension in the plains. In 1883, Chiefs Medhi and Chandi of Kapachors carried off some native officers. A punitive expedition was launched and the captives were rescued. A series of blockade followed against the frontier. It was only in 1888, the chiefs submitted themselves.\(^\text{178}\)

The Nyishis had right to *Posa* which they collected from the *Paiks* directly. The British persuaded them to resign from collecting *Posa* directly. This effort did not

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\(^{177}\) Ibid. p.22.

bear result. In the early years of 1835, the Nyishis, probably under the instigation of Tagi Raja raided the plains for which the British barred them from collecting their dues. A few months later, a raid was carried out near Balipara carrying off some British officials. An expedition consisting of military force was sent and the captives were released.\textsuperscript{179} The Nyishis of Naodwar demanded for two thirds of all revenue. From 1838-1839 there was unrest and the British entirely stopped payment of \textit{Posa} for a time. However it was in 1852, Posa was commuted for money payment. In 1870, there was raid on two occasions on the villages lying in Naodwar within Darang district. The British stopped the payment of annual allowances to show their displeasure. At the same time imposed blockade and increased the number of police guards to check their movements which resulted in acceptance of British terms.\textsuperscript{180} The administration report of 1872-73, mentions of another raid on the borders of East Darrang and part of Lakhimpur. The British laid blockade and stopped all the annual payment. This measure did not result in the release of captives and therefore the British sent a military force in 1874-75 and freed all the captives.\textsuperscript{181}

The Adis did not have right to \textit{Posa}. They however claimed right to fish and gold found in Dihong River and claimed sovereignty over Hill Miris of the plain.\textsuperscript{182} Till 1847, the British found Adis in friendly terms. First instance of collision dates back to 1848 when Captain Vetch marched to the hills of Adis to release a group of Cachari gold washers. While returning he was attacked in the night. Though the Adis were beaten, Captain Vetch burnt their village. This step disturbed the harmonious relation.\textsuperscript{183} Adis unpleasantness was further created by British when they protected the Beeahs and levied taxes on Miri villages. It was in 1858, that a serious raid was committed by the Kebang Clan of Adi Minyongs on Beeah village named Sengajan in the civil stations of Dibrugarh. An expedition was launched with civil officers and military personnel. It resulted in failure with loss from the side of the British.\textsuperscript{184} A second expedition was launched in 1859 and this time the British stormed the Pashi village which was stiffly resisted. There were no outrages until 1889, when four Miris were decoyed across the frontier and murdered. The British imposed a sanction of

\textsuperscript{179} Mackenzie, Alexander, \textit{The North-East Frontier of India}, p.28.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid. p.31.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid. p.32.
\textsuperscript{182} Ibid. p.34.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid. p.36.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid. p.37-39.
twenty Bisons and frontier was blockaded by stopping of all payments. This action led to greater hostility from all sections of Adis and they attacked police outposts in 1893. An expedition was sent which occupied a principal Adi village and thereafter blockade was imposed which lasted till 1900. The last disturbance on this front was in 1911 when Mr. Williamson, Assistant Political Officer of Sadiya, Dr. Gregorson and a party of servants and coolies were murdered at Pangni north of Pasighat. The massacre of Mr. Williamson, Dr. Gregorson and the party was viewed seriously by the Government of India. An expedition consisting of massive military and police armed force was dispatched. The main reason of expedition was to exact severe punishment and reparation for the murder and establishing military superiority over the tribe. The expedition punished the hostile villages and all those who had taken part in the murder of Mr. Williamson were tried and punished.\textsuperscript{185}

The Hill Miris had right to \textit{Posa} and in the days of the Ahom rulers acted as go-between the Adis and the Assam traders.\textsuperscript{186} They accepted British terms and their relation was friendly and cordial. They freely carried out trade in the plains and welcomed the British subjects to their hills.\textsuperscript{187}

The French missionaries M. Krick and M. Bourri were murdered in Mishimi country in 1854. The British marched to the interior hills and captured the offending Chief.\textsuperscript{188} In the years that followed the Mishmis carried out several raids on frontier villages and on the travellers frequenting Sadiya. The British raised an armed militia consisting of local Khampcis in 1866 by supplying arms. They settled along the frontiers and served as guards in the frontier areas. Two raids were committed in 1878-79 to which the British promptly handled them.\textsuperscript{189}

During the Burmese incursion the Khamts captured Sadiya and the British allowed them to have authority over Sadiya. There had been dispute over a piece of land between new Sadiyakhowa Gohain and the ruler of Matak. The Khampcis forcefully captured the disputed land against the directives of the British. The British

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Reid, Robert, \textit{History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam}, p.230.}
\footnote{Mackenzie, Alexander, \textit{The North-East Frontier of India}, p.33.}
\footnote{Kri, Sokhep (ed.), \textit{State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.158.}
\footnote{Mackenzie, Alexander, \textit{The North-East Frontier of India}, p.49.}
\footnote{Ibid. p.51.}
\end{footnotes}
consequently removed the Khampti Chief and released the slaves captured by them. This humiliated them and in 1839, a band of 500 Khamptis attacked British garrison at Sadiya killing Colonel White, Political agent and large number of sepoys. A punitive force was sent to Sadiya. The British took direct control of Sadiya and Matak and removed Khamptis in batches to different places.\textsuperscript{190}

Many tribes such as Singphos, Monpas, Sherdukpons, Noctes and Wanchos came to terms with British without much punitive measures. The British with their superior show of strength had confined the tribes in their hills.

The British became aware of the fact that the settlement of civil and criminal disputes in the hills could not be dealt as per the rest of the country. The hills required simple codes of law to settle disputes. However, the tribes had already their self governing system known as village council which effectively dealt with internal affairs.

In an important move towards administrative policy the British passed ‘Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945’. The regulation upheld the traditional tribal justice system. It recognised the already existing Customary Laws by which vast majority of disputes and cases, both civil and criminal were to be adjudicated.\textsuperscript{191} The regulation ensured that village level authority was preserved. It recognized ancient village councils, village headmen and system of chieftainship. As a result village affairs such as cultural, social and legal were dealt with by village authorities.\textsuperscript{192}

The regulation preserved the old-age traditional village council and customary laws. However the policy of the British was to leave the tribes to manage their internal affairs. They were not interested in implementing effective administrative system. Their prime purpose was to protect tea gardens and commercial avenues in

\textsuperscript{190} Gait, Edward, \textit{A History of Assam}, p.361.
\textsuperscript{191} Luthra, P.N., \textit{Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh}, pp.18-19.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid. p.19.
Assam and therefore used the hill tracts as 'buffer zone' between China and Indian empire.\textsuperscript{193}

Interpreter System was introduced at this stage. The administration at the lowest level was carried out by village authorities. The administrative officers could not be present at all places due to the remoteness of the area. To fill this vacuum of administrative office and village authority Interpreters were appointed who acted as representatives of administration. They interpreted laws and policies especially in the remote areas.\textsuperscript{194}

In conclusion it may be said that the British at first followed the policy of Ahoms to conciliate the tribes. However they made decisive policies and took administrative steps when situation arose. The British administration grew from non-interference to gradual extension of administration. The extension of administration was necessitated not because of any intention to develop the hill tribes economically but to protect its subjects and economic interests.

By the Indian Independence Act 1947, the Governor of Assam was divested of his power over North East Frontier. The administrative jurisdiction of the Frontier was given to the Government of Assam who ordinarily administered the territory by the Governor acting on the advice of the Chief Minister then called the Prime Minister of Assam. With the constitutional effect from 26\textsuperscript{th} January 1950, the Governor of Assam was re-invested with discretionary power over North East Frontier. This time he was to act as Agent of the President of India.\textsuperscript{195}

Like the British Government the Indian government at first did not pay much attention to the North East Frontier after independence. However a minor change took place in 1951, when the plain portion of Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hills District and Mishmi Hills district were transferred to the jurisdiction of Assam Government.\textsuperscript{196} The Chinese activity in Tibet and surrounding area became a matter of concern for Indian Government. The latter understood the Chinese policy on

\textsuperscript{193} Pandey, Deepak. \textit{History of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.271.
\textsuperscript{194} Luthra, P.N., \textit{Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.20.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid. p.15.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid. p.2.
territorial extension towards Tibet and North East Frontier, and began to consolidate its position in the region.\(^{197}\)

As a result the North East Frontier Areas (Administration Regulation) was passed in 1954, defining the administrative units. Balipara Frontier tract was bifurcated into Kameng Frontier Division and Subansiri Frontier Division. The above Frontier divisions along with Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hills District, Mishmi Hills District and Naga Tribal areas came to be known as North East Frontier Agency (NEFA),\(^{198}\) a popular name that continued until 1972 when it was changed to ‘Arunachal Pradesh’. By this designation previous name such as ‘tracts’, ‘sub agency’, ‘scheduled districts’ etc. ceased to exist and administrative units were renamed as ‘Divisions’.

Thus the six administrative units were:

1. Kameng Frontier Division
2. Subansiri Frontier Division
3. Tirap Frontier Division
4. Siang Frontier Division
5. Lohit Frontier Division and
6. Tuensang Frontier Division

It was felt that the border areas should be developed at a faster pace. Therefore further changes were made in administrative set up. Six border sub-divisions viz. Seppa, Daporizo, Changlang, Tawang, Pasighat and Anini were carved out and placed under Additional Political Officers.\(^{199}\) To have better control over the territory, the headquarters of the Divisions which located previously in the plains of Assam or at the foothills were transferred into the territory of NEFA viz. Bomdila, Khela, Along, Tezu and Ziro.\(^{200}\) Prior to Chinese aggression of 1962, a minor change was made in


\(^{198}\) Luthra, P.N., *Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh*, p.12.

\(^{199}\) Das, M.N & Manpong C.M., *District Administration in Arunachal Pradesh*, p.35.

\(^{200}\) Singh, Chandrika, *Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State*, p.112.
the administrative set up. The Tuensang Frontier Division was separated in 1957 and joined to Naga Hills Tuensang Area which formed part of Nagaland.\textsuperscript{201}

The years that followed saw significant development in the administration of NEFA. The Chinese aggression in 1962, demonstrated the vulnerability of NEFA. The Chinese forces marched down unopposed in the territory of NEFA which made Indian Government to think seriously about its administrative policy. The Indian Government which had not given much attention towards NEFA realised the strategic importance of the territory and brought the region within direct control of the Department of Home Affairs which previously lay with Ministry of External Affairs.

The Indian Government passed North-East Frontier Agency (Administration) Regulation of 1965 which renamed the Divisions into Districts bringing about full scale administration as rest of the country. The designation of Political Officers, Additional Political Officers and Assistant Political Officers were changed to Deputy Commissioners, Additional Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners.\textsuperscript{202} Thus the administrative units came to be known as:

1. Kameng District
2. Subansiri District
3. Siang District
4. Lohit District and
5. Tirap District

The nomenclature of Division came to be known as District and the Authority governing the administrative unit became Deputy Commissioner.\textsuperscript{203}

\textsuperscript{202} Ibid. p.13.
\textsuperscript{203} Das, M.N & Manpong C.M., \textit{District Administration in Arunachal Pradesh}, p.36.
Table 2.1
Change of Designation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Designation</th>
<th>New Designation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kameng Frontier Division</td>
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<td>Subansiri District</td>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Officer</td>
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<td>Additional Political Officer</td>
<td>Additional Dy. Commissioner</td>
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<td>Assistant Political Officer</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Political Officer</td>
<td>Extra-Assistant Commissioner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Base Superintendent</td>
<td>Circle Officer</td>
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Significant developments took place after 1971. The North East Frontier Agency was declared Union Territory in 1972 by the provision of North Eastern Areas (Reorganisations) Act 1971. The Union Territory with a new name Arunachal Pradesh was placed under the charge of Chief Commissioner with head quarter at Shillong. The Agency Council was renamed Pradesh Council. In 1974 the Capital of Arunachal Pradesh was shifted from Shillong to Itanagar. In 1975 the Union Territory was provided with a Provisional Legislative Assembly with a Council of Ministers.\(^{204}\)

A full scale administration of Arunachal Pradesh as a Union Territory required better governance throughout its territory. Difficult terrain and the problem of communication posed real challenges for administration of interior areas. Democratization of NEFA by introduction of Panchayati Raj in 1967 and for administrative conveniences in different parts of the state required creation of several administrative units.

The existing five districts were re-organised under Government Act known as The Arunachal Pradesh (Reorganisation of Districts) Act, 1980. The four districts of Kameng, Subansiri, Siang and Lohit were divided into eight districts viz. East

\(^{204}\) Ibid. p.37.
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Kameng, West Kameng, Upper Subansiri, Lower Subansiri, East Siang, West Siang, Dibang Valley and Lohit District, with headquarters at Seppa, Bomdila, Daporijo, Ziro, Pasighat, Along, Anini and Tezu respectively. Prior to attainment of statehood in 1984 Tawang District with headquarter at Tawang was created under the provision of The Arunachal Pradesh (Reorganization of Districts), second Amendment Act, 1984.\(^{205}\)

**Table 2.2**

Administrative units upto 1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Year of Establishment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>Bomdila</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>Seppa</td>
<td>1980</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>Daporijo</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>Along</td>
<td>Administered as Abor Hills, Siang Frontier Division, Siang District, got divided into 1980 as East Siang &amp; West Siang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>Pasighat</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>Anini</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>Khonsa</td>
<td>In 1943 Tirap Frontier Tract, renamed Tirap district in 1965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from State Gazetteer, 2010

**District Administration**

The Regulation of 1965 introduced for the first time District Administration. This “effected in the process of bringing similarity to that as existing in all other parts of India, so as to ensure a sense of greater integration.”\(^{206}\)

The growth of frontier tract as district administrative set up was gradual. The Political Notification of 1914 which constituted Frontier Tract into three administrative units viz. the Western Section Tract, the Central and Eastern sections and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract were renamed and sub-divided in 1919, 1943, 1946 and 1948. Constitution of NEFA with the regulation of 1954 brought about six


\(^{206}\) Das, M.N & Manpong C.M., *District Administration in Arunachal Pradesh*, p.36.
divisions which continued to be, up to 1957 when the Tuensang Frontier Division was joined to Nagaland. The change of nomenclature in 1965 as Districts gave birth to full-fledged administrative system as the rest the country.\textsuperscript{207}

The units of District Administration such as Sub-Division and Circle Office came to be only in 1966. After 1962 Chinese aggression it was felt that the area should be accorded priority in developmental activities. The creation of Sub-Division and Circle Office also bridged the gap between Deputy Commissioner and the Village authority. The Sub-Divisions and Circles were placed under Additional Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners and Circle Officers.\textsuperscript{208}

District was headed by Deputy Commissioner. He was the 'general controlling authority and real-executive and administrative' head of the district. His function could be categorised into three viz. Revenue, Magisterial and Executive. As a revenue collector the Deputy Commissioner was responsible for land, industry, animal husbandry, public works, house tax, state excise, stamps, registration fees, duties and taxes on electricity, vehicles, forestry, drugs etc. He was also responsible for cases concerning mutation and correction cases and land revenue suits.\textsuperscript{209} The District Commissioner in his capacity as magistrate catered to two types of cases viz. Judicial and Non-judicial. He had special powers under Criminal Procedure Code which enabled him to effectively maintain law and order situation in the district. As an executive officer of the District, the District Commissioner saw to overall implementation of Government policies, plans, programmes and schemes. The District Commissioner was the link between Government and the Public. He kept the government informed of the happenings in the district. The District Commissioner coordinated and supervised the activities of various departments within his district.\textsuperscript{210}

The Sub-division was usually under the charge of Extra-Assistant Commissioner. He was the Chief Executive Head of a Sub-division. Like Deputy Commissioner he had revenue, magisterial and executive function. He looked after

\textsuperscript{207} Ibid. p.38.
\textsuperscript{208} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.104.
\textsuperscript{210} Ibid. pp.51-52.
several works like community development, revenue, socio-cultural works, public health, agriculture, education, communication etc.\textsuperscript{211}

Sub-divisions were divided into Circles which comprised of 30 to 40 villages. Circle Officer was the Administrative Officer of the unit. He was responsible for all social, political, administrative and economic developments of the circle. He saw to the implementation of government plans and policies. Circle Officer was responsible for community development programmes, procurement of food grains, enforcement of prohibitions, supervision of Panchayat's activities, census, and election. The people had direct access to Circle Office for redressal of grievances and fulfilment of various local demands.\textsuperscript{212}

The lowest level of the district administration was the self-governing institutions established by Panchayati Raj Regulation of 1967. The three-tier Panchayat system viz. Gram Panchayat at Village Level, Anchal Samiti at Block Level and Zilla Parishad at District Level established by the said Panchayati Raj Regulation was to co-ordinate village level administration. The Local Authorities dealt with problems such as public health, roads, sanitation, conservation and various other public welfare programmes. The Local Authority had been accorded judicial duties to perform both Civil and Criminal cases by Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation of 1945.\textsuperscript{213}

**Single Line Administration**

Arunachal Pradesh being a mountainous terrain rendering enormous difficulty in communication required an administrative system. To suit the peculiar condition of the area which required coordinated administrative set up to provide quick decision, a system of administration known as Single Line Administration was adopted.\textsuperscript{214}

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid. p.55. 
\textsuperscript{212} Ibid. p.57. 
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid. p.58. 
\textsuperscript{214} Ibid. p.59.
Single Line Administration was introduced to 'increase the efficiency of work and to bring a 'spirit of co-operation' between officers. The Circle Officer and Extra Assistant Commissioner had the charge of developmental work, maintenance of law and order, revenue work, community development schemes, socio-cultural affairs and so on. At the same time he/she exercised authority over various technical departments such as schools, hospitals, roads, agriculture etc.

Thus the Circle Officer and Extra Assistant Commissioner carried out executive as well as judicial function. It was convenient for the people as their issues and problems could be directly addressed by a single authority. Single Line Administration helped to resolve inter-departmental differences. The Circle Officer and Extra Assistant Commissioner could plan and develop their jurisdiction.

Single Line Administration was introduced in all levels of District Administration. It was beneficial as far as it brought cordial and harmonious relation between Circle Officer and heads of the departments. The Deputy Commissioner, Extra-Assistant Commissioner and Circle Officer enjoyed both civil and judicial powers which played significant influential role in the administrative units. The Officials at the district constituted a single body with bureaucratic look in which the officials worked in full collaboration with Deputy Commissioner. Single Line Administration brought about integration between various functional departments of the district providing possibility of taking quick decisions.

Though the Single Line Administration provided quick decision and integration among the departments, it did not function independently. Districts were administered by a set of bureaucrats who implemented the directives of the Central Government. Independent developmental policy could not be thought of by district administration since it depended heavily on the finance and consent of the Central Government.

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215 Elwin, Verrier, A Philosophy for NEFA, p.5.
216 Luthra, P.N., Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh, pp.21-22.
217 Ibid. p.22.
219 Ibid. p.61.
‘Single Line Administration’ was suited to the particular needs the time however the practice continues to exist till today. Separation of judiciary from executive like rest of the country is still to be implemented. In 2006 a decision was taken by Council of Ministers to separate Judiciary from Executive by establishing 5 (five) Courts of Sessions Division at Bomdila, Yupia, Along, Tezu and Changlang, but could not be materialised. Provision for 2 (two) Sessions Divisions were made in 2010 with East and West with headquarter at Tezu (Lohit) and Yupia (Papum Pare). The East Division comprised of East Siang, Upper Siang, Dibang Valley, Lower Dibang Valley, Anjaw, Lohit, Changlang and Tirap. The West division comprised of Tawang, West Kameng, East Kameng, Papum Pare, Lower Subansiri, Upper Subansiri, Kurung Kumey and West Siang. In 2012 the Government of Arunachal Pradesh in a partial modification of Notification dated 3rd November 2011 declared three fast tract courts viz. Bomdila, Basar and Pasighat the power to exercise District and Session Judges in Criminal and Civil matters.

Deputy Commissioners are the head of the District as discussed above and Additional Deputy Commissioners, Sub-Divisional Officers, Extra-Assistant Commissioners and Circle Officers assist him/her in governing the district. Arunachal Pradesh being a difficult terrain some sub-divisions in the past was granted 'independent' status in order to provide efficient administration. For example in NEFA days the sub-divisions such as Pasighat and Anini were administered independent of the Deputy Commissioners.

The sole purpose of granting ‘independent’ status to Additional Political Officers was to bring border areas under administrative control and to speed up development in the region. Granting of ‘independent’ status to Additional Political Officers was for administrative purpose and not constitutional. They were to exercise

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powers of the Political Officers.\textsuperscript{224} The Additional Political Officers were granted district level staff and certain financial powers.\textsuperscript{225}

The concept of ‘independent’ Additional Deputy Commissioner continues to exist in present administrative set up. Independent’ status is granted for administrative convenience and in the public interest. Some of the criteria followed in order to declare an ADC as “Independent” are difficult geographical terrain, lack of communication facility, to provide better public service and so on.\textsuperscript{226}

Additional Deputy Commissioner (Independent) is delegated with powers and functions as follows:

1. To exercise administrative power with DDO (Drawing and Disbursement Officer) power as head of office in respect of his office.
2. To issue Inner Line Permit for the entire district.
3. Allot land/issue of Land Possession Certificate in the Division (However, the Sub-Division Land Allotment Advisory Board to recommend the proposal to Govt. through Deputy Commissioner).
4. To recommend Land for all allotment of Land as per the existing land laws.
5. To perform all the function pertaining to Civil Supply for entire Sub-Division.
6. To deal with Government directly in respect of all regulator development and the allied matters of Sub-Division for the interest of expeditious disposal with information thereof to the concerned Deputy Commissioner.
7. Power to issue PRC/ST Certificate
8. Issue of Gun License in respect of the Sub-Division.
9. To perform all the functions pertaining to the Civil supplies for the entire Sub-division.
10. Trial of cases within the power delegated to ADC
11. To function independently and deal with Govt. directly in respect of all regulatory, development and other allied matters of Sub-division for all the

\textsuperscript{224} Administrative Set up in NEFA, PLB, 262/ 63, in Archive File: NEFA Secretariat 1963,
\textsuperscript{225} Administrative Pattern of NEFA-Reorganization, GA/APPII/288/65.
\textsuperscript{226} Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi (11), 13\textsuperscript{th} March 1962, Archive File no. GA, 220/63.
\textsuperscript{226} Interview with Under Secretary, District Administration, Govt of Arunachal Pradesh, 7\textsuperscript{th} August 2013.
interest of expeditious disposal (How ever copy to be enclosed to the DC, Seppa for information).\textsuperscript{227}

The state of Arunachal Pradesh has declared all 35 (thirty-five) ADCs as "Independent". Such practice of declaring ‘independent’ status to large number of ADCs does not exist in normal district administration. Even in NEFA days when the road connectivity and urgency of development was required the Government was very judicious about granting ‘independent’ status to Additional Political Officers. In 1963-64 proposals were made for upgrading certain divisions such as Hayuliang, Tuting, Koloriang, Changlang, and Sepa as ‘independent’ but it was not granted since the road connectivity was becoming possible. It was desired that instead of ‘independent’ sub-divisions permanent and settled districts would serve the purpose.\textsuperscript{228} The powers and function enumerated in the list of Additional Deputy Commissioners (independent) are powers and functions invested in the person of Deputy Commissioner. Such arrangement seems to limit the role of Deputy Commissioner as the ADC ‘independent’ acts independently having the DDO power.

The North East Frontier Agency constituted in 1954, was administered by Governor of Assam acting as the agent of the President of India. He was assisted by an advisor. The administration of NEFA lay with the Ministry of External Affairs. In 1965, with the change of nomenclature the Five Frontier Divisions came to be known as Districts and the Political Officer, Additional Political Officer and Assistant Political Officer came to be known as Deputy Commissioner, Extra-Assistant Commissioner and Circle Officer. The charge of administration which formerly lay with Ministry of External Affairs shifted to the direct control of Ministry of Home Affairs.

There were five districts and another five sub-divisions administered by Additional Deputy Commissioners with their head quarters at Tawang, Sepa, Daporijo, Pasighat and Anini. Subdivisions at Pasighat and Anini were independently administered without the control of Deputy Commissioners. There were eleven other

\textsuperscript{227} Government of Arunachal Pradesh District Administration Department, Notification, No. DAD-70/80, 14\textsuperscript{th} November 2012.

\textsuperscript{228} Administrative Pattern in NEFA, Archive File no. GA, 220/63.
sub-divisions administered either by Assistant Commissioners or Extra Assistant Commissioners. Circles were administered by Circle officers.\textsuperscript{229}

Administration was carried out at Secretariat level through Secretariat Officers who had control over Heads of the Departments. At the district level administration was carried out by Deputy Commissioner who was assisted by technical officers. The important technical officers at the time were Divisional Medical Officers, District Agricultural Officers, Divisional Industries Officers and so on. The Public Works Departments were manned by officers from Central Public Works Department and Forest Department was manned by Directorate of Forest. Below is the organizational structure of North East Frontier Agency.

Source: (Luthra, P.N, Manual of Office Procedure)
The NEFA Secretariat had 6 departments. The departments of Home, General Administration, Planning and Development, and Supply and Transport were headed by a Secretary each while Finance and Judicial were headed by Financial Advisor and Judicial Officers. There were two Deputy Secretaries, one in-charge of Organisation and Method Branch and the other department of Home Branch A.\textsuperscript{230}

The territory of NEFA was granted the status of Union Territory in 1972 with a new name Arunachal Pradesh. The administration of Arunachal Pradesh as Union Territory was carried out by Chief Commissioner with a Secretariat situated at Shillong.\textsuperscript{231} In 1975, Chief Commissionership was designated as Governor and provided with a constitutional provision of Legislative Assembly with a Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers headed by Chief Minister was to aid and advise the Governor in his administrative function.\textsuperscript{232}

The Secretariat was headed by Chief Secretary who was assisted by Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries in charge of various departments and branches. Various departments and Directorates were under direct supervision of Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries who gave administrative approval and sanctions. Directorates assisted the Secretariat in implementing policies, plans and programmes.\textsuperscript{233}

Below the Directorate lay District level administration which incorporated Sub-divisions and Circles under the charge of Deputy Commissioner, Extra-Assistant Commissioner and Circle Officer. Below the District level administration lay Local Self Governing System viz. Gram Panchayat, Anchal Samiti and Zilla Parishad.\textsuperscript{234}

\textsuperscript{231} Das, M.N & Manpong C.M., \textit{District Administration in Arunachal Pradesh}, p.40.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid. p.41.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid. p.42.
Administration of North East Frontier after 1947

Prior to 1947, the North East Frontier tract was administered by Governor General of India through the Chief Commissioner, Lieutenant Governor or the Governor of Assam. In 1874 Assam was constituted into Chief Commissioner Province with Chief Commissioner at the helm. From 1905 Assam was administered by Lieutenant-Governor of combined province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In 1912, Chief Commissioner of Assam was restored. In 1921 Assam was constituted as Governor's province with Governor as the chief administrator.\textsuperscript{235}

The North East Frontier tract was kept out of the purview of actual administration. It was since 1937, the Governor of Assam acting in his jurisdiction independently carried out administration of the territory. Secretary was assigned to assist him and the Secretariat was established. In 1943, with a purpose to bring the tract under normal administration an Advisor to the Governor of Assam was appointed above the Secretary.\textsuperscript{236} This arrangement continued up to India (Provisional Constitutional) Order of 1947. With the Indian Independence Act 1947, the Governor was divested of his power over North East Frontier and the tract was passed on to the Government of Assam which however continued to administer the area through the Governor; this time at the advice of the Chief Minister who was then called Prime Minister of Assam.\textsuperscript{237}

In 1950 with the enactment of Constitution, North East Frontier tract was once again re-invested to the charge of the Governor of Assam as the agent of the President of India whose discretionary power lay in the Constitutional provision of Sixth Schedule, Part B.\textsuperscript{238}

The policy makers of modern India were confronted with choice of policies that could suitably govern the tribal society. The traditions and customs of the tribal community with its characteristics of courage, self-reliance, independence,

\textsuperscript{235} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development}, pp.67-68.
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid. p.15.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid. p.16.
community life etc. could not be erased as things of the past. At the same time the
British policy of leave them alone would not create a sense of national integration.

After Indian Independence, Cabinet Mission suggested setting up of Advisory
Committee to deal with the rights of minority, rights of citizens, administration of
Tribal areas, Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas.

To this effect the Constituent Assembly set up a sub-committee under the
Chairmanship of Shri Gopinath Bordoloi the then Chief Minister of Assam with a
view to address the administration of Tribal and Excluded Areas including North East
Frontier Tract. The Bordoloi Sub-committee found that hilly areas of Assam were
divided into Excluded, Partially Excluded and Frontier Tracts. The Sub-committee
having toured the tribal areas and receiving their recommendations proposed for
greater autonomy for the region. The Committee suggested that customary laws and
political systems be maintained and the village authority be given right to govern their
society as per their social laws. The Committee considering the strategic importance
of the area viewed that the administration could not be kept to the Government of
Assam and therefore the Governor of Assam to be given greater autonomy to govern
the area. 239

Suggestions of the Committee were accepted and the governance of the tribal
areas was dealt with in Constitutional provision of Sixth Schedule, Part B. The
sentiments had been to give greater autonomy to the tribal areas which would lead
them to develop and grow towards national integration. 240 Forceful assimilation could
break the tribal institution which was kept in isolation by the British for so long.

Developmental Policy

Having given the constitutional framework for the administration of tribal
areas, it was important to adopt a policy for development. The leaders were
confronted with the question of assimilation or isolation. It was strongly felt that in
this age, the policy of 'leave them alone' or making the tribes like 'museum

239 Singh, Chandrika, Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State, pp.103-104.
240 Ibid. p.109.
specimen’ was not possible. The Policy of ‘leave them alone’ was not possible because, in the first place, no tribes in India were left to themselves. Rather they were exploited by landlords, money-lenders, merchants etc. and their culture and identity were destroyed. In the second place, tribes suffered from scarcity of food, disease, slavery, war, kidnapping, cruel punishment etc. Thirdly the modern industry and lifestyle was transforming the whole world. Humanitarian ideals and political necessities demanded for greater opportunities for everyone and therefore it was impossible to leave the tribes alone in the present times.\textsuperscript{241}

The policy of detribalization was in sharp contrast to the policy of ‘leave them alone’. It was easy; however it would lead to inferiority complex which would become a danger to political and social changes. It would enable a few individuals to assimilate the new way of life while depriving the vast mass of people. Break up of tribal society would lead to loss of tribal values and culture, which would make them less self-reliant and independent.

It was hard to find a suitable middle path between two approaches of ‘leaving the tribes alone’ or to ‘detribalize them’. It required imagination, sincerity and constant care. There was no question of leaving the tribals alone. The backward must be brought forward and low should be uplifted.

The then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was of the opinion that development should not destroy the traditional way of life.\textsuperscript{242} He felt that the dangers of ‘assimilation’ could put an end to tribal arts and crafts and the simple ways of living. Nehru advocated that the tribals should develop according to their ‘genius and tradition’. He felt that it would be wiser to follow a policy of ‘slow slow’ in the path of development.\textsuperscript{243}

Dr. Verrier Elwin who had done research on tribal life in India and as the Advisor to Government of India on Tribal Affairs had much to think about the developmental policy of North Eastern Frontier. Nehru proposed five fundamental

\textsuperscript{241} Elwin, Verrier, \textit{A Philosophy for NEFA}, p.47.
\textsuperscript{242} Ibid. p.54.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid. p.56.
development policies known as Panchshil became the guiding principle for tribal administration and development.\textsuperscript{244} Thus the administration of the North Eastern Frontier was carried out on the basis of the guidelines until Chinese aggression of 1962.

In an effort to provide better administration the territorial units of North East Frontier Tract was reconstituted as division and the whole tract renamed as North East Frontier Agency with the regulation of 1954. Since then no administrative cadre existed. Civil Servants were drawn from All India or other Service cadres of Assam. A special service cadre was raised in 1953 known as Indian Frontier Administrative Service by special recruitment inviting applicants from existing All India Services.\textsuperscript{245}

Indian Frontier Administrative Service was created to 'provide a body of senior officers who had a special aptitude for serving in the frontier areas and were prepared to make a lifelong career of it'.\textsuperscript{246} There had been hardly any developmental activities in the hills during the time of British. The new cadre created was to consolidate and extend the policy of the government in the newly created agency.

The Nehru Government of India could not pay much attention to North East Frontier Agency which enabled China to establish their suzerainty over Tibet and consequently marched to Indian Territory. In 1962, the Chinese forcibly occupied vast territory of North East Frontier Agency crossing MacMohan Line. Indian forces were not in a position to face them and consequently retreated from Indian Posts. Chinese forces advanced un-resisted and occupied not only North East Frontier Territory but also foot-hills of Assam in the North-East Frontier.\textsuperscript{247}

Chinese aggression opened the eyes of the Indian Government and the strategic importance of North East Frontier Agency territory. The policy of Nehru and Elwin which advocated 'go slow' in development of tribal areas came under severe criticism. Politically, there had been clamour for North East Frontier Agency to be

\textsuperscript{244} Elwin, Verrier, \textit{A Philosophy for NEFA}, (Forward to Second Edition).

\textsuperscript{245} Luthra, P.N., \textit{Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.23.

\textsuperscript{246} Elwin, Verrier, \textit{A Philosophy for NEFA}, p.5.

\textsuperscript{247} Singh, Chandrika, \textit{Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State}, p.113.
merged with Assam and its Secretariat at Shillong to be transferred to further inside of the territory. These possibilities however, were rejected.\textsuperscript{248}

Chinese aggression had the following impacts:

a) The North-East Frontier Agency i.e, NEFA became well-known through out the country.

b) It made the Government of India realise its defence weakness.

c) The strategic importance of the area was realised.

d) The importance of rapid economic development, construction of roads, bridges, opening of new administrative centres, administrative and military out-posts, schools, hospitals, post officers, banks etc. was deeply felt by the government.\textsuperscript{249}

The Chinese aggression pushed the Government of India to adopt several measures to strengthen the territory. The administration of the territory which lay in the Ministry of External Affairs, now transferred to Ministry of Home Affairs in 1965. The North East Frontier (Administration Regulation), 1965 brought administrative changes by constituting ‘divisions’ into ‘districts’. The designation of the Administrative Officers was changed to Deputy Commissioners, Additional Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners.\textsuperscript{250}

The Government began to make rapid economic development by constructing new roads, bridges, installing military and police posts. The Government had to think about better administration and all round development of territory.\textsuperscript{251} The Third Five-Year Plan (1962-66) gave special attention to the development of construction and repair of roads and airstrips. Financial grants were increased to hasten the process of development.

\textsuperscript{248} Chowdhury, J.N., \textit{Arunachal Pradesh (From Frontier Tracts to Union Territory)}, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1983, p.275.
\textsuperscript{250} Kri, Sokhep (ed.), \textit{State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.188.
\textsuperscript{251} Singh, Chandrika, \textit{Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State}, p.114.
In an effort to boost the development process it was felt that people's participation be required in administration. Though administrative process had begun, democratic system lagged behind. The people of NEFA did not have rights and privileges of electing their representative in the parliaments. The President of India had the power to nominate a representative from this area.

The Government of India appointed Erring Committee under the Chairmanship of Daying Erring, the then nominated Member of Parliament from NEFA. The committee having studied the political consciousness of the people recommended the following: (a) At the village level there should be Village Council elected by the villagers by village customary laws, (b) The Anchal Samiti to be at the circle level under the chairmanship of Sub-Divisional Officer, and (c) A Zilla Parishad in each district under the chairmanship of Deputy Commissioner. The government accepting the suggestions of Daying Erring Committee passed The North-East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967 paving the way for democratization of institutions.\textsuperscript{252}

Panchayati Raj system was a bold step in initiating democratic system. It recognised and re-organised local self-government. Panchayat enabled the people to form local government in their districts and subdivisions. The people were provided with opportunity to form local Governments in their districts and subdivisions. This democratic process led to the beginning of political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh. Participating in Anchal Samitis, Zilla Parishad and Agency Council broadened the political consciousness of people and brought a sense of unity among different tribes.\textsuperscript{253}

After 1962, several hill regions clamoured for independent political units. The voices of Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Tripura were more articulated in terms of demand for separate state. The Central government of India sensing the rightful demand of the hill regions of Assam passed North Eastern (Reorganization) Act 1971 establishing the state of Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and forming Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh as union territories.

\textsuperscript{252} Ibid. p.116.
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid. p.123.
At the reorganisation of Assam, several thinkers felt it wise to merge North East Frontier Agency with Assam. However, sentiment in NEFA was otherwise, considering the territorial and social pattern of life. Merger with Assam would have brought unwelcome feeling since the tribals had grown with a distinct cultural and social life.\textsuperscript{254}

The North Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act 1971 separated North East Frontier Agency from Assam providing a new political and administrative status. With the status of Union Territory in 1972, the post of Adviser to Governor was designated as Chief Commissioner. As such from 1972-1975, the Union Territory was administered by Chief Commissioner with the advice of Pradesh Council. In 1975, Pradesh Council was converted into Provisional Legislative Assembly with a Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister and the post of Chief Commissioner was raised to Lieutenant Governor.\textsuperscript{255} In the same year the administrative Head Quarter of NEFA was shifted from Shillong, Meghalaya to Itanagar, Arunachal Pradesh.

The administration of the Union territory was carried out by the Chief Commissioner acting as the agent of the President of India. The Chief Commissioner in his discharge of function was advised by Pradesh Council and aided by Counsellors. Pradesh Council was advisory in nature and the Chief Commissioner appointed Counsellors from the members of the same. The act of 1971 provided provision for nomination of one member to Lok Sabha and one member to Rajya Sabha. Though the Act empowered the President of India to nominate the members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, the Chief Commissioner followed a wise policy of getting them elected. The member of the Rajya Sabha was elected by Agency Council who was formally nominated by the President. At the same time the member of Lok Sabha was elected by Electoral College consisting of members of Zilla Parishads.\textsuperscript{256}

The process of election introduced democratic forms of governance a step that was highly commended by the central government. The Chief Commissioner was not

\textsuperscript{254} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.169.
\textsuperscript{255} Luthra, P.N., \textit{Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.175.
\textsuperscript{256} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.170.
only advised by the Counsellors rather handed them certain responsibility of departments for administration.\textsuperscript{257}

Pradesh Council was constituted in place of Agency Council under the provision of North-East Frontier Agency (Administration) Supplementary Regulation 1971.\textsuperscript{258} It was an advisory body. The members consisted of – besides the Administrator – Members of Parliament (one each in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha), Vice-Presidents of the Zilla Praishads and three persons nominated by the Administrator from unrepresented communities.\textsuperscript{259}

The meeting of Pradesh Council was chaired by the Administrator. He could summon, prorogue, and adjourn the Pradesh Council. He could also dissolve the Council with the prior approval of the President of India.\textsuperscript{260} In 1975 Agency Council was converted into Pradesh Council to serve as Provisional Legislature and 5 (five) councillors were appointed to Chief Commissioner as Provisional Council of Ministers. In the same year the status of Chief of the state was raised to Lt. Governor.\textsuperscript{261}

Ever since the formation of Union Territory, a full idea of a state was in the offing. The Provisional Legislative Assembly took a unanimous resolution in 1977 asking for a full statehood. There were two important reasons for which Arunachal Pradesh could be granted a full-fledged state. First of all, the neighbouring state of Nagaland was already a state and there was no reason for which Arunachal Pradesh could be denied. Secondly, the parliamentary election of 1977 showed the maturity of the Union Territory to be able to administer itself through a democratic process.\textsuperscript{262}

The year 1977 and 1978 were memorable years for the state of Arunachal Pradesh. The state saw the first-ever General Election to Parliament in 1977 and maiden General Election to Legislative Assembly in 1978.

\textsuperscript{257} Singh, Chandrika, \textit{Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State}, p.132.
\textsuperscript{258} Kri, Sokhep (ed.), \textit{State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.192.
\textsuperscript{259} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh}, p.172.
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{262} Mohanta, Bijan, \textit{Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh}, pp.192-193.
State of Arunachal Pradesh Act, 1986 (Act No. 69 of 1986) brought about establishment of the State of Arunachal Pradesh. On 20th February 1987, Arunachal Pradesh was declared 24th State of the Union of India with a provision of 60 (sixty) Member Legislative Assembly. The Chief of the state was raised to the rank of Governor. The State of Arunachal Pradesh came as a fulfilment of the aspiration of the people, providing opportunity to work with the rest of the country.

The Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh was declared a full-fledged state on 20th February 1987, under the provision of The State of Arunachal Pradesh Act, 1986. In the same year Changlang district was created by bifurcating Tirap district under the Arunachal Pradesh (Re-organisation of Districts) Amendment Act 1987. It was followed by creation of Papum Pare district by carving out a few Circles from Lower Subansiri District with the Arunachal Pradesh (Re-organisation of Districts) Amendment Act 1992. Four more districts were added in the years that followed, viz. Upper Siang in 1995 by carving out from East Siang, Kurung Kumey in 2001 from certain circles of Lower Subansiri District, Lower Dibang Valley in 2001 from Dibang Valley and Anjaw in 2003 from Lohit District.

The growth of administrative units from 1987 up to 2013 has been tremendous. Up to 1987 there had been 10 districts. Seven more districts were added by dividing the existing districts.

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263. Luthra, P.N., Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh, p.172.
Table 2.3
Districts, Area, Population and Year of Establishment

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<td>4950</td>
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<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>7422</td>
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<td>6675</td>
<td>89712</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>7032</td>
<td>83205</td>
<td>1980</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
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<td>112272</td>
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<tr>
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<td>East Siang</td>
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<td>Upto 1948 Mishmi Hills, 1954 Lohit Frontier Division, 1964 declared district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
<td>8600</td>
<td>21089</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>4662</td>
<td>147951</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>2362</td>
<td>111997</td>
<td>In 1943 Tirap Frontier Tract, renamed Tirap district in 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Longding</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2.4
Administrative set up of Arunachal Pradesh up to 8th April 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>District HQ</th>
<th>ADC HQ</th>
<th>SDO HQ</th>
<th>EAC HQ</th>
<th>CO HQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>Seppa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>Bomdila</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papum Pare</td>
<td>Yupla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital Complex*</td>
<td>Ziro</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>Koloriang</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurung Kumei</td>
<td>Daporijo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>Aalo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>Yingkiong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>Pasighat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>Roing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Dibang</td>
<td>Anini</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tezu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>Khonsa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohima</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longding</td>
<td>Longding</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Capital Complex is not a district and its EAC HQs are temporary. However, for administrative convenience, DC is appointed and the unit has two EAC HQ and one CO HQ.

Source: Administrative set up of Arunachal Pradesh, District Administration, as on 8-4-2013
The 17th district of Arunachal Pradesh, named Longding was created by The Arunachal Pradesh (Re-Organization of Districts) (Amendment) Act, 2011. The district was created by bifurcating Tirap District. It came as a fulfilment of a long cherished demand of the people which has geographical area of 1192 sq.km. It has population of 51,022.\textsuperscript{265} The district has 6 (six) CO HQ and 1 EAC HQ.\textsuperscript{266}

In a major move towards enhancement of administrative convenience, the Government of Arunachal Pradesh passed Arunachal Pradesh (Reorganisation of Districts) (Amendment) Bill 2013 on 20 March paving the way for creation of four new districts namely Kra Daadi, Namsai, Siang and Lower Siang districts. With the passing of the bill, the number of districts in Arunachal Pradesh goes up to 21. The Namsai district would be created by dividing Lohit district with its headquarters at Namsai, Kra Daadi district by dividing Kurung Kumey with proposed headquarter at Jamin, and Siang and Lower Siang districts by dividing East and West Siang.\textsuperscript{267}

Outlining the policy of the government the Chief Minister Nabam Tuki said while tabling the Bill in the Assembly, that the decision to create new districts has been to accelerate economic development in the area and to bring the administration to the door step of the people. Districts have been created for administrative convenience. There has been surge of people moving from remote areas to the Capital and considering the factor the government has decided to bring the administration to people’s reach.\textsuperscript{268}

The recent creation of Districts seems to be based on popular demands. From the table no. 2.3, it may be noted that population and area of districts do not follow uniform pattern. However certain criteria that have been followed for the creation of Districts are public demand, circle wise population, area of development, no objection from the forest department, area mapping and certification from the land revenue settlement officer, certification from deputy commissioner and financial implications.\textsuperscript{269}

\textsuperscript{265} Times of India, Guwahati, 20th March 2012.
\textsuperscript{266} Administrative set up of Arunachal Pradesh, District Administration, as on 8-4-2013.
\textsuperscript{267} Arunachal Times, 21st March 2013.
\textsuperscript{268} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{269} Interview with Under Secretary District Administration, 8-4-2013.
The Administrative units of the state have been emerging rapidly. There has been need for the government to bring the developmental schemes and other services to the people at their door step. However there have been numerous voices for and against the creation of new districts. It has been noted that already created districts and administrative circles have been lacking in infrastructure and therefore creating new districts without planning would cost the exchequer to the government.\textsuperscript{270}

**Structure of Government after 1987**

**The Governor**

The executive head of the state of Arunachal Pradesh is the Governor who exercises his authority directly or indirectly through his subordinate officers.\textsuperscript{271} The Governor carries out his tasks through his Secretariat which consists of Secretary to Governor, Deputy Secretary, Under Secretary, three ADCs to the Governor, PRO to Governor, PS to Governor and House Comptroller.\textsuperscript{272}

**Council of Ministers**

The Governor is aided and advised by Council of Ministers headed by Chief Minister. The Council of Ministers possess enormous executive powers; in actual terms formulate policies of the Government. The Council of Ministers are responsible in shaping the overall policy of the Government.\textsuperscript{273} The number of Council of Ministers is 11 who hold different charges of the departments of the State. They function as per the rules laid down by the Governor known as the Government of Arunachal Pradesh (Allocation) Business Rules 1998 amended from time to time and the Government of Arunachal Pradesh (Executive) Business Rules, 1987. The Allocation of Business Rules lays down business for different departments which are headed by Ministers. The executive or the transaction of the Business rules defines authority, responsibility and obligations of each department.\textsuperscript{274}

\textsuperscript{270} Arunachal Times, 21\textsuperscript{st} March 2013.
\textsuperscript{272} Diary 2013, Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Arunachal Pradesh.
\textsuperscript{274} Ibid.
The Chief Minister possesses real executive power of the state. He is at the head of the Council of Ministers to aid and advice the Governor in the administration of the state. The duty of the Chief Minister is to communicate and furnish decisions of the Council of Ministers related to administration and any other matter that needs consideration for legislation. Broadly speaking the Chief Minister performs two functions viz. Political and Administrative. He has to keep together the legislative body for passing any legislation on policy and program. As an administrator the Chief Minister has to plan, organise, budget direct, coordinate, and staff institutions. He is responsible for formulation of policies, decision making, public relation and administrative reforms.275

The Chief Minister functions through the officers of his/her Secretariat which consists of Principal Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Under Secretary, SP-cum-CSLO, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Public Relation Officer and Asst. Public Relation Officer. Besides, his office staffs include Principal Private Secretary, Personal Secretaries, Special Personal Assistants and Personal Assistants.276

Civil Secretariat

Secretariat the highest office of the government is a complex of departments where the offices of the ministry are located. Departments are administrative structures constituted for administrative convenience. One or more departments constitute a ministry where the Minister is a political head and a Secretary is administrative head. Secretariat is the principal executive instrument of the government which ensures objectivity, continuity and consistency in the administration. Minister, Secretary and Executive Head constitute three essential components of the state government. The minister makes decision on policy matters and the Secretary provides material on which the decision is based. The executive head sees to the implementation of the decision.277

275 Avasthi, Amreshwar and Avasthi, Anand Prakash, Indian Administration (Sixteenth Edition).
276 Diary 2013, Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Arunachal Pradesh.
277 Avasthi, Amreshwar and Avasthi, Anand Prakash, Indian Administration, p.328.
Civil Secretariat the premier office of the administration of Arunachal Pradesh is divided into 42 departments as per the Allocation of Business Rules. The departments are solely responsible for formulation of Government policies, its execution and review within its sphere as allocated in the Business Rules. Departments are basic units of the organisation which are further divided into branches and sections.\textsuperscript{278}

Departments are headed by Secretaries to the Government who act as administrative head of the department and principal advisor to the Minister in charge. They are assisted by Special Secretaries/Addl. Secretaries/Joint Secretaries/Deputy Secretaries/Under Secretaries and other officers as per requirements. The lowest unit of the department is the Section headed by a Section Officer who is assisted by Assistants and Clerks.\textsuperscript{279}

\textbf{Figure 2.3}

\textbf{Structure of Civil Secretariat}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (chief) {Chief Secretary}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (secretary) [below of=chief] {Secretary}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (special) [below of=secretary] {Special Secretary/Joint Secretary}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (deputy) [below of=special] {Deputy Secretary}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (under) [below of=deputy] {Under Secretary}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (section) [below of=under] {Section Officer}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (staff) [below of=section] {Section Staff}
  \node[draw, fill=white] (principle) [right of=chief] {Principle Secretary/ Commissioner}
  \draw [->] (chief) -- (secretary);
  \draw [->] (secretary) -- (special);
  \draw [->] (special) -- (deputy);
  \draw [->] (deputy) -- (under);
  \draw [->] (under) -- (section);
  \draw [->] (section) -- (staff);
  \draw [->] (chief) -- (principle);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Source: Compiled by the Researcher

\textsuperscript{278} \textit{Arunachal Pradesh Secretariat Manual of Office Procedure}, 2010, p.11.
\textsuperscript{279} Ibid.
Chief Secretary is the head of the Civil Secretariat and Principal Officer to the Government. Principal Secretaries or Commissioners are not post rather designation based on seniority and pay scale. Like the Secretaries they also have within their department Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Under Secretary, Section Officer and Section Staff. Secretaries are not subordinate to Principle Secretaries or Commissioners. The Special Secretaries or Joint Secretaries also directly function under Chief Secretary when given independent charge of a department.

**Directorates/Head Offices**

Secretariat has executive departments generally known as Directorates. Secretariat formulates policies while the executive departments implement them. The executive departments serve as repository of technical opinion and advise the secretariat departments on technical aspects. There are field agencies below the executive departments that see to the detailed execution of policies and programs.280

The Heads of the Executive Departments are known as Directors or any other terms equivalent to Director. He/She is responsible for the actual implementation of the specific services and projects of the concerned departments. The executive head of the department is guided by the principles laid out by the Secretary or the Head of the Department. The Director has full control over the personnel under him. It can be said that the executive heads of the departments are specialists while the Secretary is a generalist civil servant.281 Directors are assisted by Joint Directors, Deputy Directors, Assistant Directors, District Officers and Office Staff consisting of Superintendent/Assistant, UDC, LDC, Peon, Chowkidar etc.

The organisation of most of Directorates is similar. There are slight variations in departments in name and post due to the nature of the department. Figure no. 2.5 below is an example of organisational structure a directorate.

281. Ibid. p.339.
Organisational Structure of Engineering Department

The Engineering Departments have rather larger structure of Organization. The Head of Engineering department is Chief Engineer who is assisted by Superintending Engineers, Executive Engineer, Assistant Engineer and Junior Engineers and other subordinate staff.
Generally for administrative convenience engineering departments are structured in terms of Zones, Circles, Divisions, Sub-divisions and Sections. A zone comprises of circles, a circle comprises of divisions, a division comprises of sub-divisions, a sub-division comprises of sections. Zone is the head office while section is the last field unit of department.

A zone is headed by Chief Engineer; a circle is headed by Superintending Engineer, a division is headed by Executive Engineer, a sub-division is headed by Assistant Engineer and a section is headed by Junior Engineer.

The Chief Engineer is the executive head of the Head Office. Some engineering departments have more than one Chief Engineers. For example Public Works Department has 9 (nine), Power (Electrical) has 4 (four), Public Health Engineering has 2 (two), Rural Works Department has 2 (two) and Water Resource Department has 2 (two) Chief Engineers. The work load and multifarious activities in the engineering department has led to the creation of many Chief Engineers post.

There are technical staff, non-technical staff (UDC, LDC, PA etc.), Work Charged Staff and Casual Staff in every department to assist the offices. Figure no. 2.5 below is an example of organisational structure of engineering department.
STRUCTURE OF ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

CHIEF ENGINEER

SE

EE (Divn)

AE (Sub.divn)

ASW

E.A

AE (P&D)

SSW

EE (P&D)

S.W.I

D/Esst

A.E

A.E

S.W.II

A.E

A.D.O

F.A.O

SE (HQ)

Director CCDU

Consultant (CCDU)

PA STENO

H.Asst. D.Acctt U.D.C L.D.C J.E D/M II Tracer Driver Peon Chowkidar B/Printer Sweeper

Supdt. Assistant D.Acctt U.D.C L.D.C Driver Peon B/Printer Peon

PA STENO

J.E D/M II D/M III Tracer Driver Peon B/Printer Peon

J.E Supdt.(Div) Asst. U.D.C L.D.C Peon

P.A Steno

J.E Asst. U.D.C L.D.C Peon

J.E Asst. U.D.C L.D.C Peon

Sr.P.A

Assistant U.D.C L.D.C Peon

Supdt. Esst Assistant U.D.C L.D.C Driver Daftary Peon Chowkidar Mali Sweeper

Source: Public Health Engineering
Structure of District Administration

The structure of District Administration has not undergone many changes since its inception in 1965. District Administration bridges the gap between the Government and the Common man. A District is headed by Deputy Commissioner. He is assisted by Officers such as Additional Deputy Commissioner, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Sub-divisional Officer and Circle Officer.

The Deputy Commissioner monitors and coordinates the entire developmental works in the district. He sees to welfare works such as education, health, transport, supply, social welfare, disaster management etc. in the district. The Deputy Commissioner with the help of Police Force and Administrative Officers maintains law and order within the district. He/She issues ILP, ST Certificates, Excise Licence, Trading Licence, M.V. Licence, Land Allotment, etc. He also administers Justice through settlement of judicial cases. Figure no. 2.6 below show an organisational structure of a district.
Figure 2.6
Administrative Unit & Organizational Structure of West Kameng District

**DC's Establishment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deputy Commissioner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Additional Deputy Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-divisional Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC (Judicial/MV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC (Protocol/Jail Supdt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC (Jansuvidha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO (GA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO (Nazarath/Panchayat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecuting Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Information Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Informatics Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.A to DC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDC (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDC (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store Keeper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Sub-divisions 6 (Six)
- Circles 12 (Twelve)
- Development Blocks 4 (Four)
- Towns & Villages

Sources: [http://westkameng.nic.in](http://westkameng.nic.in)


In conclusion it may be said that Arunachal Pradesh a territory that passed from a stage of non-regulated tract to present day full-fledged state. The territory which was once loosely administered has today become a self-governing state. The
territory which received a distinct character with the political notification of 1914 with just three administrative units has become a state with 17 districts and few more waiting to be notified.

The works of the Government has increased. The state has 42 Departments besides their head offices. To man such vast organisation the state needs capable men and women who will run the machinery of the Government. The state therefore needs to formulate policies and implement them in order to select best persons suited to the job. In the next chapter we shall discuss various policy matters regarding recruitment, training and promotion prevalent in the state.