

Pruning the Inner Line: A Study of Inner Line Permit in Arunachal Pradesh

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Abstract

Inner Line Permit (ILP) is the sacred cow in North-east. The state is beset with many general and tribal specific serious issues but all the political footage is taken over by ILP which people believe addresses them. The paper intends to study the Inner Line Permit (ILP) in Arunachal Pradesh. It seeks to identify various dimensions of justification given for continuation of ILP in its present form and argue against them while providing effective alternatives to protect the interests of tribal and at the same time diluting ILP with time. While arguing against them, the paper also lightly touches on the gravity of issues which are believed to be protected by ILP and discusses ways to address them but focuses mainly ILP and its inefficacy. The argument may be similarly extended to other states with ILP but this study was done in A.P.

I. HISTORICAL DIMENSION

Inner line permits is issued by the secretary (political) of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh. It is required for entering Arunachal Pradesh through any of the check gates across the interstate border with Assam or Nagaland.

Inner Line Regulation (ILR) was introduced by Britishers in Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873 titled as "a regulation for the peace and government of certain districts on the Eastern frontier of Bengal". Talking to people of Arunachal Pradesh (A.P) will tell that the majority opinion favours continuation of ILR. Every discussion on it mostly starts with mention of its history to the time of Britishers, which is more of an embellishment rather than a variable governing the decision whether it should be scrapped, continued or reformed. General opinion is that the act was introduced to protect the tribal interests, to protect their culture and traditions, to provide them with political autonomy because this is the only way they should be governed and overall primarily for their benefit. This doesn't appear to be true after a historical analysis of ILR. If the Britishers were so much inclined on protecting the culture and tradition of any society then why in the first place they colonized this subcontinent which acted as "jewel in the crown" for centuries or other nations, where ultimately the culture was completely swamped by the policies of colonizers? "God, gold and glory" was always the prominent purpose of colonization and colonial policies. Dance forms, to take one aspect of culture, of many countries suffered because of colonization, from a country as small as Hawaii and its Hula dance ("Hula was banned as it was a pagan ritual dance with moves the missionaries saw as vulgar, disgusting and sinful. It was taught and performed only in secret for a while.") To a country as big as India and its various dance forms ("There were protests from many quarters, especially from a Christian missionary by the name of Reverend J. Murdoch. He printed a number of publications strongly condemning these "nautch parties" and called for all British to refrain from attending them. The persecutions of Indian dancers by reverend Murdoch were just a small indication of a social phenomenon that was emerging. This was the spread of the Social Purity movement from Great Britain to India. As it turned out, once the Social Purity Movement spread to India, it would assume a character that in some ways was different from its original British form." (David Courtney)). Local languages, literature, philosophy were discouraged and denounced and were swamped and in some countries entirely wiped out. On the other hand there were indeed some indologists who studied Indian literature, philosophy and science

and even appreciated it like it's always the case in this world where one can easily find a variety of people. So why would Britishers exclusively support preservation of culture in the case of hill tribes of the north eastern India? They never did actually and even this regulation was for meeting their own colonial needs. The Britishers were always particular about acting in their own interests under the subterfuge of some ethical and moral motivation, so that it is supported by people of all calling. Believing them that their policies solely were to actually benefit the people of hill tribes is to believe that the sole purpose for the colonisation of other lands was only to civilize them out of duty or that they built railways for the development of India rather than their meeting own economic needs. The history of interaction between Britishers and the hill tribes of north east is red and replete with death, destruction, conflict and expeditions by each into other's territory and huge loss of lives and property.

"the British pursued the Aka, Nishi, Adi, Mishmi, Khampti and Singpho tribes as and when necessary. Troops were sent beyond the outer line and the government exacted fines, arrested criminals, destroyed villages of the tribes and were thus free to deal with them." (M L Bose 1997;122).

"British administration should reassert our authority over the Nagas and bring them under a system of administration suited to our circumstances and gradually to reclaim them from habits of lawlessness to those of order and civilization" (M L Bose 1997).

"The object of the inner line regulation was to keep outside the boundary all tracts over which semi-savage tribes wandered or in which they lived, for their free intercourse with the people of the plains might lead to complications. It was clearly expressed that government of India would not be responsible for life and property of the people beyond such line and if necessary people might not be allowed to go beyond the line" (M L Bose 1997;115).

"By the beginning of the seventies of the nineteenth century, the economy of Assam had become promising and trade and industry had made a good start. Tea, petroleum, coal, rubber and wood became flourishing industries and elephant-catching and ivory were engaging growing attention. Besides, the revenue surplus of huge fallow lands could yield more if tenants were invited to take them up. But the economy depended upon the administration's capacity to maintain law and order in the province. All the districts of the Assam valley bordered on some hills inhabited by the tribes. The unrestricted intercourse between the people who had come for commerce and who knew very little about the tribes led to many disputes and sometimes these took violent dimensions. Moreover, the tribes driven into the hills sometimes had to fall upon the plains to draw their supplies, the problem of regulation of the intercourse between the tribes and ryots and businessmen of the Assam plains, therefore, drew the attention of the administration. The hill tribe problem forced them to create a barrier between the hills and the plains which would reduce contact and consequently friction between the civilized valley-dwellers and the primitive hill tribes." (M L Bose 1997;114).

Providing the hill tribes autonomy wasn't therefore a priority in their policy but just because there was no other profitable option from a utilitarian view and moreover that policy could be used to keep their gains in Assam secure with "a guarantee that there would be no interference in the internal affairs would win the hearts of the tribal communities as in the case of Bhutan" (M L Bose 1997;125) along with maintaining a buffer with a "civilized military power" like China. Moreover it was less of autonomy and more of reluctance to govern because it was found that "administering these tribal tracts [as it] was expensive" (M L Bose 1997;122) "The East India company's government was anxious first to stop the aggression into the Bengal presidency through the north-east and in quest of security for their newly founded empire in Bengal they had to come to Assam. First Assam was acquired not primarily for any material benefit other than the security of Bengal. But with the discovery of minerals and tea bushes the valley of the Brahmaputra assumed a new importance. To provide security to the tea plantations and the coal mines and oil fields which developed along the foothills, it was found necessary to keep away the hill tribes inhabiting the frontiers for the company's government was reluctant to assume responsibility for them. Hence, the inner line." (M L Bose 1979; 134)

"Our policy ought to be to confine ourselves to our own frontier to protect it, as it could and ought to be protected, never to meddle in fights and feud of these savages, to encourage trade with them so long as they were peaceful towards us and rigidly to exclude them from all communication either to sell or to buy on their becoming turbulent or troublesome." (Darshan Balwally, 2003;43)

The Britishers started paying attention to the north east hill tracts much after when already trade among the tribals and non-tribals had been established and they grew "resentful of the unrestricted trade as it severely undermined their authority and power. They sought to control it for political and social reasons." (Darshan Balwally, 2003;52) and also after the "Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1901 now opened the possibility of third party influence of the frontier tribes. Therefore, it was now necessary to establish paramountcy over the tribes" (M L Bose 1997;149)..

Inner line regulation made the tribes come to the plains for trade. "The traders of the plains were, thus, unfairly benefitted since the tribal traders carrying their goods to an unpleasant alien land were left with no choice but to dispose off their goods at throwaway prices. The tribal traders soon developed resentment towards

the traders of the plains, offering the officials an opportunity to interfere and further control the trading activities through price rationalizations. The latter move would endear the administrators to the hitherto suspicious tribes, who in turn would come to depend heavily on these administrators fairness in the commercial activities. It would inevitably facilitate their peaceful entry and domination of the tribes. The tribal communities would be grateful to the British officials for isolating them from the unfair, exploitative, people of the plains and beg that it may never be lifted” (DarshanBalwally, 2003; 55).

ILR “made it a one way economy in which tribals carried their goods to the market in the plains, where they were exploited by those settled businessmen from plains” (DarshanBalwally, 2003) but if businessmen have exploited people in that sense then they have not only specifically exploited the tribals but poor all over the country. Not only poor and not only our country, selfish business interests have been detrimental to the lives of people all over the world be it the small scale incidences of food adulteration or large scale incidences like Bhopal Gas tragedy, and not only businessmen, the corrupt administrators or the school teacher tampering with mid-day-meal scheme or the engineers and contractors because of whom structures fail is a result of human actions or negligence driven by selfish interest and should not be painted in tribal vs non-tribal conflict. On the other hand there are equally enough words to praise the businessmen and their enterprise which has provided services to ourselves and made our lives easier and better.

“the bureaucrats in Assam resorted to subterfuge. The subterfuge was typically couched in altruistic expressions emphasizing the need to protect the ignorant tribes from clever speculators” (DarshanBalwally, 2003;53), the Britishers were hell-bent on ruling the country and their natural tendency was to think of only that way which could help them to continue as the rulers of the country, and dividing was one of the policies. So normal everyday reality and common human tendencies was highlighted in oppressor-oppressed terms with special emphasis on the dividing lines so as to make it sharper, in this case the people of plains and the tribal of the hills. This need to protect the ignorant from clever is also there among the parents for their kids and with gradual liberty in decision making given to them, the kids ultimately grow up to live in this world and become as clever as an adult should be and the key is exposure. One needs to allow free transactions so that people get exposed to the ways of world and business transaction is something very real and very common all over the world so why shouldn't the people of hill learn it by doing it? Why should somebody be kept ignorant and unaware in this? Why should somebody continue with the colonial policies which appears as help from the kid to the butterfly trying to come out of the cocoon but in fact stunts the growth and development of the state? Given the analogy one would find ILR then as a policy mismatch with the time and condition.

Other most prominent reason apart from administration and economy for the introduction of ILR is **religion.**

“What mattered most to the colonialists was their need to be accepted and loved by the primitive tribes by completely remodeling their nature by eradicating the barbarous social practices i.e. customs and indoctrinating them with the Christian moral code as quickly as possible. Christianity enjoins every individual adherent to the faith to make it his sovereign responsibility to bring non-Christians to the kingdoms of god and the gospel. It was, therefore, the white man's burden, as Kipling had put it in 1899, to coerce the primitive tribes to embrace Christianity. The tribal communities were not free to choose from among the religions available in British India, especially caste-ridden Hinduism, professed by the majority of the Indian population. The inner line regulation ensured that the tribal communities were denied access to other religions, the refusal of permission to the European speculators, the Hindu and Muslim traders from the plains of Assam, east Bengal and other parts of India was for two main reasons : first the duty oriented British administration wanted to avoid comparisons by the tribal communities with the selfish and profit motivated European speculators; secondly they wanted to deny any non-Christian influences on the tribal communities through contact with the local Indian traders.” (DarshanBalwally, 2003;53).

“Evangelical work in Khasi hills was considerably successful. This whetted their appetite for evangelical work among the tribal communities in the various hills. The animist tribal populations steeped in mystical beliefs and fearful of the sylvan spirits, the impoverished and the downtrodden, had proved a malleable clay” (DarshanBalwally, 2003;61).

“Tribal communities of the frontier region were excluded from plains people, perhaps fearing that their intercourse may heighten political consciousness among tribal” (Nani Bath) “the hills were also free of the militant, but largely non-violent movement for freedom led by Mahatma Gandhi who had shaken the foundations of the empire and its official Salvationists. As the ground seemed to slip away rapidly from under the feet of the administrators and the church, both, needed little convincing about the propriety of continuing with the inner line regulation.” (DarshanBalwally, 2003;61).

The continuation of ILR is also continuation of the end it sought then and is only distancing the tribals.

II. Land, jobs, crime

The second most important issue that comes up while discussing ILP issue is protection of rights of tribals over their **lands**. Land is a very important resource for the tribals, and for everybody. And similarly all the communities find all the geographical features around themselves as sacred. Every society as an individual, state or any group considers its land and resources very dear to it. A conservative view by every society is to keep its boundary closed justified by the logic that its land and resources are exclusively for the use of its members only. But that is not the case in reality and people can move all over the world, take up a profession and settle in other countries because we humans have seen wisdom in freedom of movement. Freedom of movement therefore has also been enshrined as a fundamental right under Article 19 of our constitution and we should strive hard to move close to achieving that without much exception (less the exceptions on exercise of these rights more developed a society is). It is possible for a citizen of India to settle in other countries but not in A.P unless he/she belongs to A.P.

It is accepted and true that the tribals are in a more vulnerable situation and there should be measures and mechanisms to provide them with social security. Respecting their rights over land and resources is one such way as being poor and landless is one of the worst possible combinations this world can offer to anybody. (If this will to protect the livelihoods of tribals comes out of humanity within an individual then one should also be sensitive towards the livelihoods of the migrant/landless workers, say from Assam, for whom this place and its demand for labor is livelihood and should be protected with equal moral duty. Workers have come to A.P and are with jobs; that does imply that there is a demand for these workers matching the supply). But the mechanisms should change with changing times and condition of people. One can still highlight the underdeveloped aspect of the state but then the same can be done for other states of India not having ILP. Development has to be assessed somewhere in between the binary 0 and 1 and policy has to be dynamic as per the shade of grey. Instead, the intellectual effort can be put into reforming the land laws that can protect the rights of tribals as well as ease the movement across the state boundary for an integrated economy. Even if one is very strict about the present land usage policy in A.P one would realize that it could be done even in the absence of ILP. There are people who have worked in A.P throughout their service period; they had their kids who grew up here and absorbed the elements of the environment around them in all ways. But they cannot settle here, have to renew their ILP regularly throughout their lifetime which only discourages them to continue here and feel like an Arunachalee (which should be the case as per the zeitgeist derived from Westphalian concept- sense of belongingness and loyalty towards territory/state rather than the ethnicity or place of origin). The existence of ILR gives wrong impression to the fellow Indians who question it correctly that when constitution provides them freedom of movement as fundamental right and when A.P is a part of our country and the people our people then why should one be made to feel like an outsider.

Crime has also been suggested as one of the reasons to retain ILP. A.P is no different a place in believing that influx of migrants increases crime rate. Societies all over the world see immigration as proportional to increase in crime rate be it U.S.A on Mexicans or the other states of India itself with their opinion on migrants. But that doesn't make other states of India to regulate their borders through ILP. Also if all outsiders are criminals then everyone in this world is outsider for someone and hence everyone is a criminal. (USA and Mexico are different countries and regulation on immigrants is only because of that fact, which is in India too for other countries for guarding the territorial boundary but even then a Mexican can hope to buy land in U.S.A and settle if he wants to but one cannot in A.P unless one belongs to A.P). The Naga insurgents have some parts of A.P in their demand for Greater Nagaland and it is reasoned that removing ILP will increase Naga insurgency in the state, which is flawed since insurgents don't come from entry points. They come through forests. Moreover insurgency and terrorism is a global problem. Other states of India are not dealing with them through ILP.

Loss of government jobs to the non-tribals is also cited as one of the reasons to continue with ILP. There is already enough material criticizing this Shiv-Sena kind of view of expelling "bhaiyas" from Maharashtra and is categorized as highly conservative view by modern intellectuals everywhere. Moreover there are constitutional protections already given to the STs in government jobs and educational institutions and having such kind of fear is only too much of it. At most it will lead to good competition among non—Arunachalees which will only improve the quality of candidates who will eventually become holders of position of responsibility in the state leading to better administration and this improvement in quality will flow to the candidates in reserved seats as well. It will do nothing else than promoting meritocracy. There are reservations provided by the state government also to the people of A.P. which substantially assures job to the people of state.

III. ECONOMY AND TOURISM AND CONNECTIVITY

Interaction and exposure have always been the most important factor in the rise of an individual and a society. People acquire skills found in the environment around them very naturally and easily. They mature as they grow up, as they see more and interact more. And so is the case with any society. Presently, North Eastern India is no more a society alien to the modern ideas and equipments. It uses modern technology, ideas, methods and expressions majority of which weren't indigenously built but adopted from all over the world and so has other societies shared the progressive ideas produced around the world and incorporated into their lifestyle. Even after Britishers passed BEFRA they kept "fairs to provide holes to breathe" (M.L Bose 1997) now with time the holes appear to be too tiny for this, now a fully fledged state, which is placed at such a strategic location bordering China, Bhutan and Myanmar and gateway to south-east Asian tigers. It has the potential to be developed as the "Switzerland of the east". "Nature has endowed the land with beauty and hydroelectric potential which, if developed properly, can more than offset the physical difficulties. The province is full of scenic beauty and can attract tourists from all parts of the world if transport facilities are improved and the restrictions on the movement of visitor are removed, a flourishing tourist trade will develop." (M.L Bose 1997;16). It could be developed as the most important junction in India's look east policy given it tunes its laws and social outlook as per trade conducive prudence and reap the benefits thereby. "With the adoption of the "Act East Policy" by the central government, which focuses on improvement of its economic ties with Southeast Asian countries, the North-Eastern states due their geographical proximity to these countries stand to gain. For example, states like Arunachal Pradesh can play a prominent role in paving the way for economic permeability. To achieve this, many of its age old restrictive laws like ILP, PAP, Restricted Area Permit (RAP), etc, need to be revisited" (David Gao 2015). In all the times commercial centers and the trading points emerged as prosperous regions. Imagining all this may take one to Gabo's one hundred years of solitude "Every year, a caravan of gypsies comes to town, bringing with them the most up-to-date scientific discovery of the time". Many traditional trade routes like the Bumla trade point (Indo-China) near Tawang, Pangsau pass in Changlang (Indo-Myanmar) etc, in Arunachal Pradesh, have economically benefitted the people of the area better in the past. The Arabs learnt mathematics and so the Europeans from India through trade routes. A lot of ideas along with materials flowed through this trade route. History stands as evidence that those who have kept themselves isolated for long have been forgotten or have been at a loss and remained uncompetitive

. Removal of ILP will boost the tourism of A.P as well. "Leh in 2014, after 35 years quashed ILP to promote tourism and development[as it will allow free flow of labor now] which was otherwise causing inconvenience to the Indian visitors and giving several wrong impressions" (Mohinder Verma 2014). Planning commission in its 11th five year plan report of working group on tourism suggested that these restrictions be removed. National council of applied economic research has also suggested relaxation of inner line permit (S K Chaube, pg-195). The ILP then appears naïve as a policy in front of mature policies on tourism by countries such as Thailand which is providing "visas" on arrival to tourists

People from various fields will arrive, doctors- improving the medical facilities, teachers/tutors and professors- more and better coaching institutes will come up and Kota in Rajasthan stands as an example of how educational tourism benefits a society in its economy as well quality of education. With availability of better tutors and institutes the students will be benefitted in competitive exams and thereby employment, labors- required for the ongoing development projects in the state and so on. It will be a good idea to develop some more cities like Itanagar and people from all over India may be allowed to buy land at least in those areas so that it develops like a proper cosmopolitan-metropolitan city.

A lot of individual efforts by people motivated to sincerely contribute to the society can be seen all over the world and ILR is a restriction when it comes to harnessing such efforts. People (with secular objectives) from different states and countries have settled and helped the communities wherever they felt their presence was needed.

It is very difficult to find people being critical of religion or of superstitions in A.P (or in fact in other places of India as well where the converts are new or in majorly the rural societies where people are fearful of thinking critically because of lack of exposure). There is a lot of European literature, and so are people, critical of Christianity, church, god but here the followers of Christianity appear to be even more orthodox than Europeans. Which is purely out of lack of interaction and a big chunk of modernity is, popularly, about coming out of the dark age of dominance of religious superstition over reasoning and human agency.

IV. CULTURAL DIMENSION

It is a concern all over the world of every community that they are losing their culture with time and generation. It is not only a concern by tribal communities exclusively, be it classical music, classical dance, literature, celebration of festivals in village and other forms of cultural expression. But if one sees the human history, this has always been the case and change is as real as death. The traditions and culture which remain protected and flourished were majorly not because of isolation but because of a society's commitment towards preserving it and their labor of love that kept it alive, through institutions and mechanisms meant for that. It is

not that only the present generation of tribals is having a diluted vocabulary but even in other states the present generation is not largely as good as their parents or grandparents in expressing in their own language. Protecting the richness by being isolated and confined to one's community in today's globalised world is not a good idea since a lot of things are being produced everyday by people from a variety of culture all across the world. To protect one's language one needs to write books in it, produce cinema and TV series- so that people can absorb their language, update dictionary, show the presence of that language on internet- to mention a few ways. It was asked to many people how many books have they read in their own language, the young ones hadn't any and the old ones had at most one and that too only the religious ones. There is a dilution in the ability to express with generation also because of migration within the state. An old lady belonging to Adi tribe told that she migrated from her village in Siang district to Doimukh long ago and her kids don't know their language properly since they grew up away from their own village. It was told that the craftsmen aren't able to pass their skills to the next generation as this generation doesn't pay enough time attention to it because of the changing socio-economic conditions. The most skillful of the craftsmen could be protected and patronized by the government and provided with interns/apprentices to study under them or through some other mechanisms, but it has to be encouraged to make it flourish and ILR has no role to play in its protection (**Living National Treasure** is a Japanese popular term for those individuals certified as **Preservers of Important Intangible Cultural Properties** by the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology as based on Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. The Japanese government, with the goal of preserving important intangible cultural assets, provides a special annual grant of 2 million yen to Living National Treasures. In the case of groups, the government helps defray the costs of public exhibitions and activities necessary to continue the group. The National Theater of Japan provides training programs to help train successors in such arts as Noh, Bunraku, and Kabuki). Dances should be encouraged in traditional festivals or yearly tourism festivals, school curriculum, competitions etc. Every generation should be helped to acquire taste for their cultural themes so that they can appreciate it. Music and dance schools should be patronized or encouraged by government, non-government and private organizations (for e.g. The **Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music And Culture Amongst Youth (SPIC MACAY)** is a voluntary youth movement which promotes intangible aspects of Indian cultural heritage by promoting Indian classical music, classical dance, folk music, yoga, meditation, crafts and other aspects of Indian culture). Literature and discourses should be there to boost the confidence of people in their cultural themes and expressions. Belly dance/RaqShariqi is one of the most popular dances internationally, was taken to middle east by the gypsies who migrated from North-Western India and from there it got popularized and travelled all over the world. Isolation wasn't the reason why it flourished. Arunachal Pradesh has very energetic student unions and they can take up the issue of promoting cultural things through various platforms and thereby preserving it. ILR doesn't even appear to be a significant variable in this regard.

“Just a month after introduction of passenger train service in april 2014, its services were suspended due to ILP issues. The local people feared that their indigenous identity would be threatened due to massive ingress of non-indigenous Arunachalees entering state without ILP.” (David Gao 2015)

“Here, people want to maintain their identity,”- TabaTusar, assistant inspector general and public relations officer of Arunachal Pradesh Police (scroll.in; sept 17 2014). People, not only here, but everywhere want to protect their identity and are conscious of their culture similar to that of A.P. Legal instruments like ILP has only aggravated and polarized their fear of losing culture, made them excessively conscious of it, which otherwise had been an issue only as important as it is for other societies. ILP and its relation with protecting indigenous identity has carved out an important political space for itself and had ILR never been there, protecting identity because of immigration would never had been an issue, other than illegal immigration of Bangladeshis and Chinese which is already a national issue, and would have gotten only as much importance as in other states with similar problem. Even after ILP being in effect, the society is changing with time and technology (TV, Mobile, Laptop, transport etc), dress (jeans, t-shirts, suit etc), cosmetics (lipstick, kajal, eye lashes, hair dyes etc), ideas (political, financial, social, philosophical, religious etc) and many other things can be easily seen in use. That doesn't mean the culture has been swamped by these things. One can still see people carrying *daw* and smart phone, wearing the traditional bamboo bag with fishing net in it and moving on a sports bike, wearing *gallong* and t-shirt with some text printed in English. Some cultural expressions found itself placed anachronistically in the modern world and lost its place like the Apatani women's nose plug, head hunting, human sacrifice, slavery etc. This happened not only in the tribal societies of Arunachal Pradesh but also in other parts of India where *purdah* system, practice of sati, untouchability etc. lost its place with time and similarly in European cultures like Victorian-feminine restrictions, use of corsets, witch-hunting etc.

“Geography has influenced the cultural development of the province to a great extent. The northern region had little contact with the lower region, particularly the valley of the Brahmaputra, and has been greatly influenced by the Indo-Tibetan culture. For the past many centuries, the Tibetan traders crossed the borders and traded in the region; many of them settled down[when there wasn't any restriction due to international

boundary] in the valleys of greater Himalayas. This accounts for the large Buddhist settlements in the Siang districts and the Buddhist impact is visible in the way of life in the higher regions. The southern belt of the foothills has had similar contact with the plains of Assam. The results are manifest in the religion, language, clothing, food habits and mode of agriculture. But the middle zone has remained comparatively backward and both Tibetan and Assamese influence are visible in their way of life there. The tribes living in this region had very little contact with the outside world and even today they are living in extremely primitive conditions.” (M.L Bose 1997;16) this account which was published long back highlights how those societies which interacted with the neighbors developed more than the ones who didn't or weren't able to. This also tells that A.P had people coming and settling in it earlier also.

“The impact of the establishment of administrative posts within the inner line covering the entire territory and transfer of headquarters of government in Itanagar and Naharlagun were momentous on the life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The administrative posts and capital offices in Naharlagun and Itanagar had potentials of urbanizations and synthesis of culture. Administrative headquarters – buildings are houses of bricks and mortars and corrugated iron-roofs or concrete roofs built keeping the local styles in view for accommodation of offices and officers. The people in these places required necessities of life and office equipments. These led to setting up of shops and markets where tribal goods and modern manufacturers are available. People around now moved towards these posts and began to live a life in new houses in the style of the office holders. The result was growth of towns and different mode of living adjusting to new environment by a new society with a radically different society and yet keeping a link with the past heritage.....tribal economy was consumption oriented and barter was the mode of exchange in general. People around the administrative posts now are growing crops and vegetables not only for their consumption but for sale to the office holders as well.....

the politicization is complete in Arunachal is evident from the fact that where the tribes were living in perpetual enmity and warfare and did not know anything about democracy and parliamentary elections have become conscious of their political rights and voted responsible in the elections for three tier system of local government and a elections of state assemblies and union parliament.” (M.L Bose 1997; 253)

Every society is bound to the face the forces of preservation, destruction, creation and evolution. So has the society changed here, only to that extent and I would quote our first PM “we must cease to think of ourselves as different from the so called tribal people.”

Low population is also cited as one of the reasons for the vulnerability of tribals. The example of Parsis in this regards stands as a perfect example of how a society's culture remains protected even if they are less in number and interact vigorously with other societies along with evolving with time and modernizing themselves. Conversions into Christianity has been more in A.P tribals than Parsees even when Parsees remained in contact and closeness with Britishers for much longer than the tribals of North-East. Parsis have been as good in protecting their culture as had been the tribals with ILP, even after being cut off from their own country; therefore ILP is not even a significant variable governing cultural preservation especially given the present scenario. Moreover contact with the world and time and vigorous participation into it led to their early modernization which is also much needed in the tribal societies of A.P (and similarly in other societies of our country as well) like in their customary laws (like a patriarchal one which doesn't allow a women right to property if she marries a person from other tribe, marriages are discouraged outside the tribe which is much like the narrow minded encouragement to marrying only within the caste in many Hindu families and other communities) and other ideas which are promoted everywhere (like voting on the basis of a person's ability rather than tribe which in other societies is the caste or religion, promotion of meritocracy, rights of women- not the regular discourse which says tribal societies are much forward in gender equality which may have been the case during old times in certain aspects but matching it to the modern feminist movement worldwide.).

V.International security

Security reasons are also cited as one of the reason for continuing with ILR since this is and has always been a sensitive border region with boundary issues with the neighboring countries.

“As it would not be possible to keep china out of Tibet, it would be of vital importance to keep china and other powers out of the narrow strip of territory between India and Tibet. The natural corollary of such a policy as contemplated by Bell was that the government of India should maintain inviolate the territory that intervened between Assam and Tibet. Two things, he thought, would be essential to implement this policy. First china should not be allowed to enter into the territory. Secondly, no Indian or British vested interest should be allowed inside the territory as far as possible. But he did not advocate the assumption by the government of the responsibility of internal administration of the territory of the tribes at all the reason for not allowing the Indian

or British vested interests in the region was that by allowing such interests to grow up in the zone, the government would assume some sort of obligation to protect them, again, such a course would destroy the buffer which the government of India should maintain between the two countries and create those difficulties which the government wanted to remove” (M.L Bose 1997; 125) shows that the region was important from security point of view even during the time of British period. The broad buffer tract was then squeezed into a boundary line which needs tight protection. For this, the example of Sikkim which regulates entry into only the extreme border areas near the passes where there is hardly any inhabitation would be very helpful.

There is a demand for ILR because ILR exists, and it exists just because it existed. It can be seen that demand for ILP is only in the regions where this concept was in practice since British period, even when every society can afford similar reasons to have ILP. Had there been no such thing introduced by Britishers it would have hardly existed in the post-independence period. Its existence created demand for its continuance. It was started for the reasons above mentioned which appear to be totally in colonial interest of Britishers but found support for its continuation through all possible reasons; a good example of conformational bias. People have just given any arbitrary and practically irrelevant reason to let it continue. T. Langhmingthanga said, “inner line regulation is not a measure to check tourists from entering Mizoram but to provide the safe journey”, which means nothing actually on ground. At least presently it’s not helping the state in anyway moreover it is an unnecessary trouble to the people from other states also. Government officials involved in ILP can be put to better use like promoting culture and tourism, livelihood generation etc. Presence of Arunachal Pradesh in popular tourism suggestions is very small in comparison to Sikkim or Meghalaya. There are many tiny things that builds up the image of a destination in the minds of tourists and then they decide to visit that place and A.P government should work on creating that image. From what I have seen and heard there’s rampant corruption in the offices granting ILR which has always made the protection which ILP seeks to give as irrelevant and de facto ILR defeats its purpose even if it happens to be able enough to provide for it at all. The people who are coming on holidays can’t get ILP and similarly those who arrive late when offices are about to close. One at times might lose a whole day out of it and moreover it is only provided for 30 days for tourists (in such a culturally and aesthetically rich state) at a time and going to renew it is again a huge deterrent to continue for more days (there are homestays in Sikkim where foreigners come and spend months every year thereby providing stable income to the owners). It’s a trouble for laborers as well who lose a day over there and have to pay a good fraction of their day’s wage after every 30 days. There are shopkeepers who have incorporated it in their business to provide ILP at exorbitantly high cost (somewhere around ₹ 500). Politicians are providing ILP to outsiders to gain votes. This hypocritical demand for ILP and actions flouting the rules related to it voids the demand of its seriousness.

VI. CONCLUSION

Arunachal Pradesh, from the British era, as a tract sandwiched between inner and outer line with undefined/neglected jurisdiction and administration has matured into a fully fledged state of world’s largest democracy and should be stopped being treated like the way it was treated by Britishers. All these doesn’t mean that there should be any radical step taken against inner line regulation, as the majority public opinion and political will favors it and such action would be detrimental to the peace in the state.

1) “On 19th July 1994, union minister for home affairs Mr. S.B Chavan told a conference of CMs of the seven Northeast states that inner line regulation must be scrapped. He argued that it thwarted economic development of the three states but stopped short of openly calling it discriminatory. Gegong Apang, CM Arunachal Pradesh, Jalsangzuala, Finance minister Mizoram and S.C Jamir, CM Nagaland, expressed their intense unhappiness to Mr. Chavan. Returning to their respective states, however they reacted differently. Gegong Apang immediately proposed a law in his state virtually banning marriages between tribal and non-tribal man. The law explicitly states that a tribal woman marrying a non-tribal man will lose her traditional right to property in Arunachal Pradesh and her progeny out of such marriage would be deemed as non-tribal” (Darshan Balwally, 2003; viii)

2) “just a month after introduction of passenger train service in April 2014, its services were suspended due to ILP issues. The local people feared that their indigenous identity would be threatened due to massive ingress of non-indigenous Arunachalees entering state without ILP” (David Gao 2015)

are two incidences which show how the public opinion is against it.

The present condition should be analyzed in the light of above mentioned facts and reasons and a balanced decision against the forces pulling both the ends of rope should be taken to the benefit of the people. It would be a good idea to innovatively phase it out with time along with harnessing support for such a decision in the meantime. It can increase the duration of stay, bring out other tools to plug the loopholes acting as inconvenience in ILP or could remove ILP and keep RAP, whatever suits the outcome of a detailed study on the

present condition. Border security could be addressed like Sikkim which only regulates entry into extreme interior areas very close to the borders. After sometime it could be removed and only the clauses that protect the tribal rights over land be kept. Further the state may provide land to some outsiders with certain conditions, like mentioning conditions so that few can qualify as the ones who can own land like years of stay, type service – government or private sector, taxing land for commercial purpose for businessmen from outside state etc. Some more urban centers could be developed and people from everywhere could be allowed to own a land in these regions. Given the present state of north eastern states which is quite better than the primitive tribal groups (zero PTGs in A.P) or other tribes, like where the tribes are in a vulnerable situation similar to the dalits, good laws protecting land ownerships and certain other protection like in jobs without any ILP like restriction would be necessary and nearly sufficient protection for further development of tribals. So while going for bold steps for development never should the basic social security of poor and backward tribals be compromised which they have by virtue of their rights over land and forests. ILP, at least now, is fulfilling none of the objectives stated for its continuation which are mostly stated out of fear of change/new. In fact, the issues of culture, land, security etc can be addressed through other, more channelized means than this inefficient and unnecessary cordon around the state. The people living there from other states have been socially integrated quite well- as much as migrants get in other states, but ILP, instead is kind of a symbolic legal reminder to people living there, not of that state, every time they renew it that they don't belong there. Every policy, like traditions and customs, needs to be dynamic in nature and change gradually with time and this policy also requires reassessment to provide space, not only for movement but space for other important issues to come up in the political arena that will actually lead to development of the state.

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