CHAPTER 6
HISTORY OF CIVIL SERVICES IN ASSAM

6.1: Historical Background

The evolution of modern civil service in Assam dates back to the year 1874. In the year 1874, when Assam was constituted as a Chief Commissioner’s province, some members of the Bengal Administration were transferred to Assam under the control of the Chief Commissioner. Subsequently different departments were created according to the necessity and each department was functioning as separate administrative units.

Following the reforms of Lord Ripon in 1882 and pursuant to the recommendations of Aitchison Commission (1886-87), three civil services were created in the name of (1) The Imperial Civil Service, (2) The Provincial Civil Service, and, (3) The Subordinate Civil Service.

The Government of India Act 1919 introduced “Dyarchy” and provided for responsible form of governments in the provinces, and conceived the philosophy of popular government. For the first time in India the polity of bureaucracy came into existence and for the first time Indian bureaucrats were called upon to work under the elected ministers.

In 1924, the provincial civil service consisted of the following:-

(a) Assam civil service,
(b) Assam educational service,
(c) Assam civil medical service,
(d) Assam police service,
(e) Assam agricultural service,

(f) Assam service of Engineers,

(g) Extra-Deputy conservators and Extra-Deputy Commissioners,

(h) Excise superintendents,

(i) Deputy superintendents (Veterinary),

(j) Deputy secretary, Commissioner.

The Subordinate Service consisted of all minor administrative, executive and ministerial posts to which appointments were made by the local government.

In 1932, the Government of Assam declared the following as the General and Special Services :-

Under the Assam General Service the posts included were-

(1) Assistant Director of Public Health.

(2) Assistant Secretary – Finance and Revenue.

(3) Registrar, Secretariat.

(4) Registrar, PWD, Secretariat.

(5) Head Mistress, Pine Mount School.

(6) Assistant Mistress, Pine Mount School.

The Special Service consisted of –

(i) Director of Agriculture.

(ii) Live Stock and Diary Expert.

(iii) Weaving Superintendent.

(iv) Superintendent of Sericulture.
In 1937, after the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and subsequently after the achievement of Indian Independence, necessity of creation of some more departments were felt and accordingly, some more departments were added to the existing departments. The administrative pattern of all the departments were however uniform with a directorate at the top which consisted of one Director, Additional Director, Joint Director and Deputy Director. The Directorate was comparable with the Administrative class of the British Civil Service, which was looking after Policy formulations and Administrative functions. They were assisted by the Executive Offices below which were responsible for the execution of policies.

With the independence of India in 1947 and at the emergence of welfare state the scope of civil servants became wider and more and more closer to the general public, especially in the rural areas. Initially, the administration under the British rule was manned by the members of the aristocratic families, but subsequently it assumed the pattern of British civil service. Consequently, two cadres of Assam Civil Service were created in the name of (i) Senior and, (ii) Junior cadre. Each cadre had their defined duties and responsibilities within the cadre.

Thus, with the independence of India and with the emergence of the concept of ‘welfare state’, the scope of the work of these public administrators became wider and
more and more closer to the general public, especially in the villages. The importance of Assam Civil Service II officers in these spheres had much more increased both in the revenue matters as well as in the field of administration of law and order, and so, the officers of this cadre had to shoulder heavy responsibilities. Thus, the responsibilities of the Assam Civil Service II was no less than those of Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Assam Civil Service I in the post-independence period. These officers were also to help the District authorities from time to time when the law and order situation arose in the state, and also had to share responsibilities equally with the Assam Civil Service I in dealing with the problems like Language in 1960, Chinese aggression in 1962, Railway Strike in 1969, Refinery movement in 1956 etc. There was virtually no difference of duties and responsibilities of the Assam Civil Service I and II, and so, the validity of the distinction between Assam Civil Service I and II was questioned by the officers of the Assam Civil Service II. The Administrative Reforms Commission also stated that the status of the officers had to be determined on the basis of responsibility, work load and arduous nature of the job. The degree of responsibilities of the Assam Civil Service II including the work load and the nature of the job clearly showed that these officers in the different capacities fulfilled the conditions of the Administrative Reforms Commission and required amalgamation with the Assam Civil Service I (Hazarika, 2013).

Till 1986, there were recruitment to both ACS I and II, and ultimately, these two services were amalgamated in 1989 to constitute the Assam Civil Service, as it is known presently.

Regarding recruitment of the candidates to the civil service, since 1874, every effort was made to select the candidates to the administration on the basis of merit. In 1919,
provision was made for the constitution of Selection Committees for the selection of the candidates to carry on the administration. Different services had different committees and each committee was presided over by the Commissioner of the Division concerned. Thus, the responsibility of the selection of the candidates was transferred from one man to a Committee and this procedure was followed till 1937. On 1st April 1937, Assam Public Service Commission was established as recruiting agency to recruit the candidates for the civil service of Assam. [A Century of Civil Service in North-East India, 1874-1974; pg. 21]. Like the other states, Assam also had two types of training: pre-entry and post-entry training. The Govt. of Assam had established a number of training institutions for the different subjects. The most important of them was the Police Training College at Dergaon, the Administrative Staff College at Guwahati, the Basic Training Colleges at Nowgong and Titabor, Forest School at Jalukbari etc. Sometimes the employees were sent outside the state or outside the country for training.

Thus, the book, ‘A Century of Civil Service in North East India; 1874-1974’, by Prof. Niru Hazarika deals at length with the historical analysis of civil service in Assam. It has been stated in that book that the Assam Civil Service came into existence with the annexation of Assam by the britishers and gradually, the administration in Assam adopted the pattern of the British Civil Service. Accordingly, two cadres of Assam Civil Service were created – Senior and Junior. Whereas the Senior cadre was filled up by the brilliant graduates, the Sub-Deputy Collectors were synonymous with Assam Civil Service II. The Assam Civil Service II held the powers of administration in revenue, law and order etc. Thus, initially there was both Assam Civil Service I and II, which ultimately got amalgamated later. Here, it must be borne in mind that in 1874,
when Assam was constituted a Chief Commissioner’s province, some members of the Bengal administration were transferred to Assam under the control of the Chief Commissioner. Gradually, different departments were created according to the need of the time. The departments like Agriculture, Police, Forests, Assam Civil Service, Jail, Labour, Medical and Public Health were old departments which were created before 1937. Introduction of provincial autonomy and achievement of independence necessitated the creation of all other departments.

It must be born in mind here that the Assam Civil Service officers form the backbone of the State’s administrative mechanism. It is the premier service of the State comprising of some very able-bodied officers spread across the State. Whenever there are problems, whether it be flood, maintaining law and order, or any other crisis, these officials perform herculean tasks, even in the remotest places with very limited infrastructure. If we look back into its history, we find that the Statute of 1870 allowed recruitments of Indians to the Civil Services then called the Statutory Civil Services, which was divided into two categories: Covenanted Civil Service and Uncovenanted Civil Service. In Assam, some officers of british origin and military officers were employed in the Uncovenanted Civil Service along with the Covenanted Civil Service. However, there was growing demand for more inclusion of Indians in the civil services. Thereafter, the Aitchison Commission in 1886 recommended abolishing Covenanted Civil Service and Uncovenanted Civil Service. The administrative service was thereafter divided into three branches: Indian Civil Service, Provincial Civil Service and Subordinate Civil Service. In course of time, in Assam, these Provincial Civil Service and the Subordinate Civil Service were re-christened as Assam Civil Service Class I and Class II respectively. The first reference to Assam Civil Service is found in
the Administrative Civil List of 1921, where 71 officers in the rank of Extra-Assistant Commissioners were categorized under the Assam Civil Service. Since then, various legendary administrators found their names in the list like, Rai Bahadur Kanak Lal Barua, Radha Nath Phukan, Faizuddin Ahmed, Abdur Rahim, Hem Chandra Goswami, Benudhar Rajkhowa, Bishnu Prasad Dowara, Kali Ram Medhi, Durgeswar Sharma, Rabindra Ram Khound etc. Till 1986, there were recruitment to both ACS I and II. These two services were amalgamated in 1989 to constitute the Assam Civil Service, as it is known presently. Since 1989, open competitive examinations are conducted by APSC. The qualified candidates i.e., those who clear the examination, are placed into ACS Junior and Allied Services. The qualified candidates, who secure higher position in the merit list are placed in ACS Junior whereas, the candidates who secure lower positions are placed in the Allied Services. It is to be noted here that Allied Services does not come within the ambit of civil service. The ACS Junior, after some years of service, are upgradated to a senior grade through examination. The senior grade ACS officers may be nominated to IAS according to seniority, and service records, through the Government of Assam. Until 1973, the Chief Secretary was not necessarily the senior most civil servant of the state. In 1973, the post of the Chief Secretary was upgraded and presently it is regarded as the most prestigious and influential post in the State Civil Service structure.

ACS officers are posted as Circle Officers under the Revenue Department, Block Development Officers (BDO) under Panchayat and Rural Development Department, Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), Sub-Divisional Officers (SDO), Additional Deputy Commissioner (ADC), Project Directors and as Deputy Commissioners. These officials have done commendable job during these years, like, providing health
facilities, providing social security, providing educational opportunities to all, maintaining law and order situation, to augment agriculture etc.

Assam State Archives’ findings:-

In order to further trace the history of Assam Civil Service, I visited ‘Assam State Archive’ and consulted the library materials after taking due permission from the Director of the institution. There, I consulted Assam ICS Association file (1921) (XXI-27). It was seen there that a meeting was held at the Shillong Club on the 6th Jan 1921, to consider the question of the formation of an Assam ICS Association. Those present were unanimously in favour of forming a separate Association for Assam. There was formerly a joint Association for Bengal and Assam, but owing to distance and the impossibility of Assam civilians being represented at meetings, in Calcutta, their connection with the joint Association has been merely nominal. For this reason, it was felt desirable that Assam should have a separate Association of its own. In the opinion of the meeting, the formation of an Assam Association would serve two purposes. It would help to safeguard the interests of its members and render possible joint and corporate action and unite the civilians of the province.

Also, there was a letter from Indian Civil Service Association, Bombay Branch, Secretariat, Bombay to the Hony. Secy., Indian Civil Service Association, Assam. There it was stated that a meeting of the Indian Civil Service Association, Bombay branch was held on Sept. 13th, 1920, where it was stated that the Bombay branch feels very strongly that if in the time to come the service is to obtain from the Govt. of India and the Secy. of State a fair hearing in all matters that concern its interests, it is essential that it should speak with one voice, instead of with many voices as at present.
And it seems to this Branch that this can only be secured by forming a Central Association on which all branches would have regular representatives. (Formation of a Central ICS Association for the whole of India).

I also consulted a letter by Honorary Secretary (C.K. Rhodes), Assam ICS Association, to Honorary Secretary, Central ICS Association. There, I found that the members of Assam ICS Association recommended some changes in the memorandum, which should include some points. Let me cite the whole para, as seen there :- In conclusion, I own to say that in the opinion of my Association, the Memorandum, in its present form, is lacking in clearness and precision, and I am to submit for the consideration of the Central Association, a proposal put forward by one of the junior officers in Assam which was unanimously adopted at the meeting. He moved that the Memorial should take the form of :-

(a) A statement of the grievances and disadvantages of the service at the present time – especially of those arising out of the Reform Scheme.

(b) A comparison of the present conditions of the service with those of other services – especially the Home Civil Service.

(c) A statement of the demands and wishes of the service, with respect to emoluments, pension and conditions of life generally. [Assam ICS Association file (1921) (XXI-27)].

Thus, from the above discussion, it is clear that even in those days, the civil servants in Assam were conscious about protection of their rights.
The state of Assam is located in the north-eastern part of the Indian union and it occupies a strategic position in the political map of India due to its geographical location. As a result, the state has been seriously affected by armed insurgency over the last one and a half decades which have had a serious bearing on the law and order situation of the state. Therefore, today Assam presents a spectacle of a fractured society ridden with ethnic unrest covering almost every part of the state. It is to be noted here that politics at any level is not an isolated process; it is a part of the social system. Moreover, with the beginning of Assam movement in 1979, the issue of immigration became a serious concern in the state’s political agenda. As the law and order situation worsened day by day, the political pressure from all sides to curb terrorism began to increase, which created host of problems for the administrators.

The north-eastern region is strategically located and is characterized by political instability and economic backwardness. The region has been constantly threatened by escalation of tensions and conflicts, which are now assuming geo-political dimensions. This region of India presents a unique picture of its own without any semblance or similarity to any other part of the country, whether in respect of geographical position (bordering with foreign countries in the north, south and east), composition of heterogenous population, stages of economic, social and political development etc. (Datta Ray and Agrawal, 1996).

The Assam Administrative Reforms Commission Report 2005, in its introduction laid down that in India, the search for good governance has been continuing since the ancient days even prior to Ramayana and Mahabharata. Arthasastra, magnum opus of the 4th century B.C political scientist and statesman Kautilya is a landmark in this direction. According to Kautilya, to ensure good governance, there must be a properly
guided public administration, where the ruler should surrender his likes and dislikes in the interest of his subjects and the personnel running the government should be responsive and responsible. Accordingly, after independence, there had been a significant endeavour to bring about structural changes in administration to fulfill the aspiration of people and different Committees and Commissions were set up by the Union Govt. to examine and advise the different aspects of public administration. The Planning Commission has also emphasized the need of governance reforms for successful implementation of development programmes. Planning Commission highlighted that good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in achieving the objectives of the Tenth Five Year Plan. Thus, the purpose of administrative reform is to make the government more responsive to the society’s needs. In Assam, an attempt was made in this direction in 1984 but this attempt ultimately could not succeed. Ultimately, the Government of Assam constituted Assam Administrative Reforms Commission in 2002 for the purpose of taking concrete steps to tone up efficiency, responsiveness and accountability at all levels of administration and to ensure transparency in governmental business <http://www.planassam.info/aarcr/introduction.pdf>.

The chapter I of Assam Administrative Reforms Commission report deals with Employee Motivation and proper work culture, where AARC made some valuable recommendations like, there must be performance-linked incentives- both positive and negative- linked to individual performance should be introduced to motivate employees and improve work culture. In the current system, there is little reward for good work, bad work frequently goes unpunished. Positive incentives could be non-monetary, linked to individual performance, in the form of recognition, eg.- appreciation letters.
signed by the secretary/CM etc. which inspire others and encourage the individual to keep doing well. The chapter XVI of the report deals with various aspects like, Highlights of Good Governance, Accountable and Responsive Administration in Assam, Capacity Building for Administrative and Civil Service Reforms, Civil Service Reforms in the State of Assam, District Administration <http://planassam.info/contents.php?q=34>.

6.2: VARIOUS ACTS REGARDING CIVIL SERVICE IN ASSAM

Various Acts in Assam to protect rights of the civil servants in Assam:-

The Assam Services (Discipline and Appeal) Rules, 1964, is a very important act for protecting rights of civil servants in Assam. It has been laid down at the very beginning of the Act that this Act has been made in accordance with the provision laid down in Art. 309 of Indian Constitution. Part III of this Act deals with suspension and Part IV deals with Discipline. Sec. 7 in Part IV deals with nature of penalties, where seven kinds of penalties are mentioned. Sec. 9 deals with the procedure for imposing penalties, both major and minor. Any deviation from these rules will amount to violation of the rights of civil servants.

Apart from the above mentioned Rules, there are many other rules and acts which throws light on rights of the civil servants in Assam. These are like:- The Assam Administrative (and Pension) Tribunal Act, 1977; The Assam Civil Service Rules, 1998; The Assam Civil Service (amendment) Rules, 2004; The Assam Civil Services (class II) Rules, 1962; The Assam Civil Service (conduct) Rules, 1965; The Assam Public Services Commission Regulations, 1951; The Assam Public Services (Direct
Recruitment to Class II and Class IV posts) Rules, 1997; The Assam Services (confidential rolls) Rules, 1990 etc.

All the above mentioned Act tries to protect the rights of the civil servants in Assam from various standpoints. Thus, there are Constitutional as well as extra-Constitutional provisions for protection of rights of civil servants. However, still the fact is that when we scan through the newspapers, journals and news channels, we come across news of violation of rights of civil servants and that is very unfortunate.

**Assam Scenario:**

North-east India, in general, and Assam, in particular, faces various problems, which are different from rest of the country. As a result, governance in this region becomes a real big problem. Since 1947, with increasing economic problems in the region, separatist groups began forming along ethnic lines and demands for autonomy and sovereignty grew, thereby resulting into fragmentation of Assam. The post 1970s experienced the growth of armed separatist groups. In recent times, ethnicity based militant groups have also mushroomed.

Sreeradha Datta in ‘*What Ails the Northeast : An Enquiry into the Economic Factors*’ well pointed out that the economic development position in Northeast India is characterized by trends prevailing in the country as a whole, as well as some features which are unique to this region. The Northeastern region of India comprising seven states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura has long remained one of the most volatile and sensitive regions in the country. The problems of political violence, insurgency, ethnic conflict, migration pressure, inter-state disputes and underdevelopment have become integral to the understanding of
the political process and economic development of the region. In spite of the offer of several autonomy packages, adoption of a policy of political accommodation and doling out of economic concessions, violence has been endemic in this area. The region has always been in the news for all the reasons like: agitation, violence, abuse of human rights and corruption <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-apr-5.01.htm>.

Prof. Niru Hazarika in ‘Politics in Assam’ stated that in February 1972, Sinha formed the ministry. In 1977 election to the Assam Assembly, no political party could secure absolute majority and thus, Golap Borbora formed the government with the support of Congress(R), Plains Tribal Council and a few independents. After that Jogendra Hazarika formed the ministry with Congress, CPI, and a few independents. However, on 12th December 1979, his ministry was dissolved with the proclamation of President’s rule in the state. In the 1980s, Assam witnessed the famous Assam Agitation and thereafter, instability led to the imposition of President’s rule three times during this period. In 1985, AGP government was formed. It must be noted here that in 1974, the Assam capital was formally shifted to Guwahati from that of Shillong. Even today, the state of Assam is facing various types of problems. Also, it is facing the problems like demand for autonomy from the different ethnic groups. All these developments have changed the course of politics in Assam (Hazarika, 1994).

6.3: CHALLENGES/PROBLEMS FACED BY THE CIVIL SERVANTS IN ASSAM:

It is well known to all of us that today the people of NEI face many challenges. 50 years of conflict has led to a strong military presence and engendered a culture of violence. Prolonged underdevelopment and the forces of modernization and globalization have opened the region to resource extraction, multinational corporations
and the channels of international trade. Moreover, the North East is the most ethnically
diverse region in India. It is home to around 40 million people including 213 of the 635
tribal groups listed by the Anthropological survey of India. The population is
predominantly rural, with only 12% living in urban areas and the region is extremely
diverse in political and socio-economic terms. Life and livelihoods in NEI are
hampered by under-development, multiple insurgencies, paralysis in efforts to resolve
these conflicts, widespread human rights abuses, the marginalization of minority ethnic
communities, the repression of civil society, corruption and a lack of access to justice,
the crude exploitation of water, minerals and other resources, all of which causes
increasing environmental degradation.

Thus, against this critical situation, as discussed above, the civil servants in Assam have
to play a much more pivotal as well as crucial role to bring about development.

In the “Steel Frame” of the Assam Administration, the members of the Assam Civil
Service have successfully and successively but remorselessly been playing the role of
the “Extras” of the Hindi movies, performing in the toughest and riskiest scenes on
behalf of the heroes. Camera keeps them obscured and whatever the claps the audience
sounds, whatever tears they shed for these scenes, everything adds to the credit of the
heroes and the extras have been shouldering burden for providing the foundation. They
are the steel frame of the whole structure and if the steel frame is taken out, then the
whole fabric will collapse. [Assam Civil Service : “Extras” of the Assam Bureaucracy
by L.N Tamuly from the Souvenir of Assam Civil Service Officers Association, 61st
Annual General Conference, 17th and 18th March, 1990].
R. B Mahanta, ACS, in “Civil Servants and Politics” has pointed out that in spite of Constitutional provisions under Article 310 and 311 securing tenure of office of persons serving under the Union or a State, we often hear about some civil servants being rolled after every change of government either at the centre or the state. This is done in the form of transfer to difficult and remote areas or to an insignificant post, suspension on contemplated charge, institution of enquiry sometimes leading to dismissal or even imprisonment or by subjecting to humiliation repeatedly in the absence of concrete proof to proceed against the officer. Newspapers were flooded with reports in 1978 and 79 as to how many officers pleaded before the Shah Commission that they merely carried out orders of their political executives and did not commit any excess on their own. At that time, the sensational news of suspension of Bhagavan Bora, ACS, the then SDC of Chaygaon immediately after the bloody election in 1983 and some kind of punitive action against few others were clear signals of warning to all State civil servants, junior and senior against the courage not to toe the line of their political masters. This had caused enough fear in the minds of some few civil servants in the State to bring them into submission. Thus, keeping in mind these problems, it has been prayed that the tendency to blame the bureaucrats only where the real culprit is political leadership for any failure or excess should be checked and this, of course, is no excuse for what is often described as bureaucratic tangle and delay. [From the Souvenir of Assam Civil Service Officers Association; 61st Annual General Conference, 17th and 18th March, 1990].

In the 2nd ARC report, the 15th report deals with the State and District Administration. It has been stated there that the administration at the state level is the cutting edge of the public administrative system in the country. Different vital issues like that of the issue
of ration or electoral identity cards, procurement of foodgrains, implementation of employment guarantee schemes, supply of drinking water, functioning of primary schools and healthcare centres or control of epidemics in the countryside, it is the instrumentalities of the State and district administration with which the citizens have to interact. In chapter 5 of the 15th report dealing with governance issues in the North-Eastern States, it has been stated that The Vision Document 2020 of the North-Eastern Region prepared by the Ministry of DONER and North Eastern Council has identified 9 critical areas which need priority attention for bringing peace and prosperity in the region by the year 2020. These are:-

(a) Catching up with the rest of the country;
(b) Bringing structural transformation in the economics;
(c) Poverty alleviation;
(d) Maximizing self-governance;
(e) Building capacity in people and institution;
(f) Strengthening infrastructure;
(g) Effective governance, establishing peace and harmony etc.

It is true that an efficient governance system is a sine qua non for actualization of such an ambitious strategy. And it has also been stated that in the North-East, the ethnic diversity of the region and susceptibility to serious militancy and linguistic and communal violence have given rise to peculiar problems of governance. Professional competence of personnel is an essential feature of a public administrative system. This is particularly true for the states of the North-East where the challenges of governance are far more complicated than those in other parts of the country.
P.L. Sanjeev Reddy and P.C. Shekar Reddy in ‘Peace and Development in Northeast (A Virtuous Spiral), reiterated that holistic development is possible only when there is a pervasive atmosphere of peace and tranquility. In a strife torn area, the administrative machinery has to face lots of problems. Also, there is no doubt about the fact that insurgency, political instability and ethnic conflict are inimical to economic development. Widespread and prolonged socio-economic conflict results in economic destruction and social disorganization. It has been clearly stated that the chronic problems of insurgency, economic backwardness and illegal migration are the common problems of all the states of NE region. Northeast is one of the richest regions of India in terms of natural and mineral resources. However, there are some major problems that plague the region. In this book, some administrative strategies have been provided to do away with these host of problems. In the chapter dealing with administrative strategies, it has been stated that most of the problems are due to administrative shortsightedness and negligence that has been accorded to the region. While the central allocations are heavy in the region, it has not translated to development due to administrative barriers. One of the strategy suggested is that administration is the hallmark of good bureaucracy. There is an urgent need to create an enabling environment where the functionaries involved work with more dedication. Hence, what the region needs are dynamic and socially conscious civil servants (Reddy and Reddy, 2007).

Assam, one of the most underdeveloped and destabilized states of the Indian Union in general and NE India in particular, is severely plagued by insurgency, economic underdevelopment, continuous ethnic movements and unabated foreign infiltrations. Assam polity today suffers from destabilization, violence and normlessness (Das, 2005).
The Second Administrative Reforms Commission recommended on Appointment and Security of Tenure at the senior levels in the state government. The Commission observed: “The issues concerning appointments to these highest levels of administration and the security of their tenure have been points of debate since independence. Often, the process of such appointments is found to be lacking in transparency and objectivity. Transfers are frequent and often coincide with the change in the political regime; the duration of tenure is thus uncertain. All this leads to instability of the administration and lack of faith in the system among the common people. There is need to introduce methods which would impart greater credibility to the appointments process; it should be impartial and merit based. It should also appear as to be so in the eyes of the stakeholders and the public. Selection of officers having unimpeachable conduct, integrity and professional competence is an essential requirement of good governance.”

<http://ir.inflibnet.ac.in:8080/irspui/bitstream/10603/28258/8/08_chapter%203.pdf>. 
References:


Assam ICS Association file (1921) (XXI-27).

The Souvenir of Assam Civil Service Officers Association; 61st Annual General Conference, 17th and 18th March, 1990.