



**PROCEEDINGS OF
NORTH EAST INDIA
HISTORY ASSOCIATION**

SEVENTH SESSION

PASIGHAT : 1986

PROCEEDINGS OF
NORTH EAST INDIA
HISTORY ASSOCIATION



SEVENTH SESSION
PASIGHAT : 1987

Printed at the
SINGHARIA PRINTING PRESS
100895, Shillong-793001

LIBRARY
240502
Date: 4/13/08
Class by: [Signature]
Sub.H. by: [Signature]
Enter by: [Signature]
and read by: [Signature]

Edited & Published by
Jayanta Bhusan Bhattacharjee
General Secretary
On behalf of
North East India History Association
Department of History
North-Eastern Hill University
Shillong - 793014

COMPUTER
ED



NE
954.16006
PRO.7;2

SEVENTH SESSION
PASHCHATA: 1987

Printed at the—
SINGHANIA PRINTING PRESS
Thana Road, Shillong-793001

F 240
1367

PREFACE

It gives us great joy to find that the Association has been growing in strength over the years as the premier research organisation in North East India. Our strategies of grass-root research, inter-disciplinary approach, and group orientation for an objective understanding of the nature of socio-economic developments and social formations at different points of time have started to yield the cherished results. The membership of the organisation has been steadily increasing. Our more than three hundred members today are the researchers from the Surveys and research departments and the teachers in the Universities, Colleges and Schools spread over all the seven States in the North-East, besides a few from outside the region. Our members are not from History but also almost all the Social Sciences and Humanities streams, and this is because of our faith in the study of history as a science for socio-economic development. Our annual sessions are major academic gatherings in the region, attended on an average by hundred and fifty delegates from all over the region. A large number of research papers are presented and discussed in the annual session each one of which is a substantial addition to the existing literature. Our proceedings volumes are acclaimed as major references on North East India. We get requests for copies of current as well as back volumes from all over the country and even abroad.

We have also been able to create some enthusiasm about research in the history of the region. The researches in the history of North East India are going on in all the Universities in the region. A large number of M. Phil. and Ph. D. candidates are working in regional history. There are on-going individual research projects by teachers and professional researchers. The seminars are occasionally organised in various institutions. A fair number of research publications have come out in recent years and many more must be in the pipe lines. The under-graduate and post-graduate level courses in the history of North East India are offered in the Universities in the region. Some of the State departments are planning to introduce the study of the history of the concerned State in the schools, and some of our members are cooperating with the SCERTs in preparing the text books. The emerging important functions of this Association are to coordinate the on-going researches, to design a perspective for research, to develop appropriate tools and methodologies, and

to create literature in the history of the region so that it may be possible to prepare a Comprehensive History of North East India in the next few years.

The present volume is the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Session of the North East India History Association held at the Jawaharlal Nehru College, Pasighat on November 11-13, 1986. Professor J. B. Ganguly, Director, Calcutta University Post-graduate Centre, Agartala presided over the Session which was inaugurated by Shri Khapriso Krong, Minister of Education, Government of Arunachal Pradesh. Shri B. K. Kakoty, Principal, and Dr. S. Dutta, Head, Department of History, Jawaharlal Nehru College, Pasighat did us great honour as Chairman of the Reception Committee and Local Secretary of the Session respectively. Besides its high academic contents, the delegates shall cherish the fond memory of the session for warmth of the reception extended by the organisers and the colourful entertainment programme. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the Jawaharlal Nehru Colleges Pasighat and the Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

I am personally thankful to my colleagues Dr J. P. Singh, Dr. O. P. Kejariwal, Dr. Milton S. Sangma, Dr. D. R. Syiemlieh and Mr. Abhijit Choudhury for the help in editing and publishing this volume. We are also thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research and the North Eastern Council for financial assistance.

Shillong

The 25 September 1987.

(J. B. Bhattacharjee)

General Secretary,

North East India History Association.

CONTENTS

	Page
1. Presidential Address — <i>J. B Ganguly</i>	1
2. The North-East in Indian Historiography : the need for a Corrective — <i>O. P. Kejariwal</i>	17
3. Vetalapanchavimsati : Source of a Burmese Law Tale — <i>Jai Prakash Singh</i>	25
4. "Kachari Buranji" : Myth of a Chronicler Source of the History of Cachar — <i>J. B. Bhattacharjee</i>	33
5. Memoirs of James Howard Thornton : Content Analysis of a Non-official review of the Jaintia Rebellion — <i>D. R. Syiemlieh</i>	41
6. Famines in the Valley of Manipur as Recorded in the Cheitharol Kumbaba — <i>M. Jitendra Singh</i>	48
7. Historiography in Manipur : Some Problems — <i>L. B. Verma</i>	53
8. Assam Tea-Garden Labour Strike of 1920-21 : a Fresh Appraisal — <i>Sanat Bose</i>	57
9. A Newly Discovered Silver Imitation Gupta Coin — <i>S. K. Bose</i>	61
10. Unakoti Carvings : Problems of a Perspective — <i>Gautam Sengupta</i>	65
11. Historical Evaluation of the Rock-cut Sculp- tures of Unakoti — <i>Priyabrata Bhattacharyya</i>	77
12. Role of Prachya-Desha in Indian History — <i>Ambika Prasad Morarka</i>	87
13. The Ancient Patal — <i>N. C. Nath</i>	93
14. The Concept of Ka Ri Khadar Doloï (Jaintia Hills) : A Critical Assessment — <i>L. S. Gassah</i>	99
15. The Intra-clan Equation in the Village Formation Processes in early Angami Society : A case study of the Origins of Khowoma village — <i>Visier Sanyu</i>	109

16. The Shella Wahadadarship: The Roots of Polity Formation in the War Area of East Khasi Hills District.	115
— <i>E. Warjri</i>	
17. Social Stratifications in the Ahom State	125
— <i>R. Buragohain</i>	
18. Political Evolution of Arunachal Pradesh	131
— <i>A. C. Talukdar</i>	
19. The Anglo Adi Relation (Upto 1922)	137
— <i>S. Dutta</i>	
20. Murder of Capt Williamson and the Mc Mahon Line	159
— <i>Jogendra Nath</i>	
21. An Account of Rani Banaitongi: A Lushai "Chieftainness"	171
— <i>Suhas Chatterjee</i>	
22. A Study on the Organisation of Armed Force of Tripura	175
— <i>Debabrata Goswami</i>	
23. Law and Legal System in Tripura in Nineteenth Century	183
— <i>Pratap Choudhury</i>	
24. Princely Tripura's Constitution Act, 1941	192
— <i>Maharaj Kumar Sahadev</i>	
— <i>Bikram Kisor & J. Gan Choudhury</i>	
25. North-Eastern Province and its Viability	201
— <i>Bimal J. Dev & Dilip K. Lahiri</i>	
26. Growth and Functioning of Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh	209
— <i>Tanya Dabi</i>	
27. Aspect of the Nepalese Recruitment from Bhutan to the Assam Rifles	216
— <i>A. C. Sinha</i>	
28. Manipur : A Ritual Theatre State	221
— <i>Lokendra Arambam</i>	
29. Seng Khasi and Idealization of Khasi Religion	239
— <i>Soumen Sen</i>	
30. The Rong Khli (Tiger Festival) of the war Jaintias	245
— <i>M. P. R. Lyngdoh</i>	
31. Early Hinduisation of the Ruling Tribes of North-East India	253
— <i>D. Nath</i>	
32. Two Major Themes in Socio-Religious Reform Movements in North-Eastern India	259
— <i>Sushil Ghandra Dutta</i>	

33. Attempts to Christianize the People of Arunachal
by the American Baptist Missionaries
— *M. S. Sangma* 263
34. Origin and Growth of Christianity among the
Boros of Assam
— *R. N. Mosahary* 273
35. Role of Missionaries in Mizoram Education
— *John V. Hluna* 283
36. Evengelisation of the Konyak Nagas : Role of
Reverend Longri Ao.
— *S. K. Barpujari* 291
37. Some Empirical Evidence on the Changing Marri-
age System among the Riangs of Tripura
— *Malabika Das-gupta* 301
38. From Tradition to modernity : Changing Position
of Women in Tripura
— *Binapani Majumdar* 309
39. The Kolois of Tripura
— *Sudhanshu Bikash Saha* 315
40. A Critical Study of the Cultural Evolution of
Arunachal Pradesh
— *Talom Rukbo* 325
41. An Etymological study of the Word "Mizo".
— *Sangkima* 333
42. Identity and Crisis of Identity : A Case study of
Manipur — *Soyam Lokendrajit* 337
43. Some Methods in Agriculture of Medieval North-
East India — *Jahnvi Gogoi* 357
44. Agriculture Development in the North-Eastern
Region since Independence
— *M. C. Pandey* 363
45. The Process of Detribolisation and the Question of
Fendalism in Medical Assam
— *Ratanlal Hangloo* 381
46. Historical Studies in the Agrarian Problem of
North-East India
— *M. N. Karna* 393
47. Tripura in 1886 : A Socio-Economic Profile
— *Dipak Kumar Choudhuri* 400
48. British Taxation Policy in Assam
— *Shrutidev Goswami* 407

49. Capital Labour relation ; A Study of Tea Plan- tation in Assam	— <i>Subhas Saha</i>	413
50. Tea Cultivation in Tripura (1917-47)	— <i>J. C. Dutta</i>	421
51. Labour Strike in the Surma Valley Tea Gardens	— <i>Sujit Kumar Ghosh</i>	427
52. Tea and Tea Plantation Workers of Tripura	— <i>Mahadev Chakravarti</i>	435
53. Anandaram and Maniram : (A Brief Comperative Study)	— <i>Rajendranath Saikia</i>	445
54. Language, Class and Superstructure : A Study in Aspects of Nationality Formation in 19th. Century Assam.	— <i>Sajal Nag</i>	453
55. The Impact of Non-Cooperation Movement on Tripura	— <i>Ranjit Kumar De</i>	465
56. The Muslim League Politics in Assam	— <i>D. Pandey</i>	474
57. Growth of National Politics in Assam and the role of Assam Chatra Sanmilian	— <i>S. Bora</i>	480
58. Student Movement in Assam : The Roots of its Continuity and Sustenance	— <i>Meeta Deka</i>	490
59. The Evolution of the Congress Movement in Assam and Its Redicalisation : 1885-1945	— <i>Amalendu Guha</i>	493
60. Appendices		
A. Minutes of the Executive Committee		511
B. Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting		513
C. General Secretary's Report		517
D. Treasurers' Report		520
E. Audit Report		522
F. Members of the Seventh Session		524

Tripura in 1886 :

A Socio-Economic Profile

Dipak Kumar Chaudhuri

The Political Agents were said to be the "eyes and ears¹" of the British Raj as regards the Princely States. Broadly speaking, they had two major functions : one was to 'aid and advise' the princes in running the administration, and the other was to make annual report to the Government on the actual administration of the States. This second function required a first hand knowledge of every aspect of the State, acquired through different sources and extensive tours of the country. In the absence of other reliable documents/ evidences, these Annual Reports provide us with primary source materials regarding the condition of Princely States.

The present article is a modest attempt to discern a socio-economic profile of the State based on such an Annual Report of 100 years ago, found in manuscript, at the State Secretariat Archives Tripura. The striking feature of the Report was that it was not merely an in-depth study of the state of affairs of Tripura, but that it contained interesting observations as to the cause of that state of affairs, and occasional recommendations for improvement.

To Start with, Tripura in 1886 was ruled by the Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya, commonly known as the "Father of Modern Tripura". Though without any formal education, he was an enlightened and cultured king. Kailash Ch. Singh states that the Maharaja knew several languages and was a poet.² It was he who first gave recognition to the genius of Rabindranath Tagore and gave him the title of "Bharat Bhaskar". In spite of the presence of such a king, we find from the Report, a pathetic picture of the State and its people. This was particularly surprising in view of the fact that the State of Hill Tripura was contiguous to Bengal which was at the time witnessing a transformation from medievalism to modernism.

The reasons for this pathetic state of affairs were well analysed in the Report. On the one hand, the people were not aware of any change and were, on the whole, satisfied with the existing state of affairs ; on the other hand, the State failed in its primary duty to produce this awareness by denying any developmental work, particularly in the field of education. The result was a dark country by the side of enlightened Bengal.

The Report throw some interesting comments on the condition of the people of the State. The total population was 95637, which meant 24.4 persons to a square mile on the average.³ "From these is raised a revenue of Rs. 1,69,400 a year. This is the total income of the State minus the export duties on the forest produce If 5 is taken as the number of members of a family on the average, there are altogether about 19127 families both in the hills and the plains of the State. From each of these families, therefore, an average annual income of Rs. 8.5 is obtained by the administration, a rate which was somewhat high in consideration of the little convenience and comfort afforded to them by the State in return".⁴

There was a remarkable diversity in the rates of the family tax payable by different tribes whose number was about 50,000⁵ and who lived in the low hills in the interior. Almost every tribe had a rate of its own. "Thus of the class of the Tipperah proper, the Puran Tipperahs and the Jamatyas pay the tax at the rate of Rs. 3.5 a year, while the Noatias pay it at the considerably high rates of Rs. 8, which is also the rate of the Riangs. The Hallams pay at a lower rate than the Tipperahs and the Kukis do not pay the tax at all."⁶

While the tribes carried on their cultivation under the jhooming system, the people of the plain carried on their cultivation by means of plough. Among the people of the plain were the Manipuris, who were mostly Hindus and partly Muslims, and the Bengalis who were mostly Muslims and partly Hindus of the lower castes. The number of Bengalis was about 36, 843.⁷

The Report made a specific reference to the Jamatyas: "Some of the Jamatyas in and around Udaypur have commenced to dwell in houses similar to those of the Bengalis leaving their national matches. They have also begun to take to the plough cultivation foresaking the jhooming system. They are thus becoming more settled in their habitation than the other hill people."⁸

"The general condition of the people", the Report states, "is far from being desirable but no change is yet sought by them. Being extremely conservative the people are averse to have any innovation introduced among them however beneficial it may be. On the other hand, being exceedingly lazy they do not care to work for the improvement of their position. Primitive in their mode of living they know but few wants and those few they can get supplied with only a little exertion. They are happy, innocent and simple - traits which are due to their general ignorance. These

remarks are applicable to the people who live far into the interior of the hills and who form the most interesting portion of the population of the country.”⁹

“Those of the hill people who live close to the plain as well as the Manipuris and the Bengali inhabitants of the country are farming pretty well. Like those alluded to above they also are all agriculturists having plenty of lands to cultivate and generally growing paddy in large quantities. They know no want of actual necessities of life and have no aspiration of any kind. They are peaceful and submissive to the ruling authority which they love and respect.”¹⁰

“Though peaceful and contented the people in general are far from prosperous.” The prosperity of a nation, in fact, depends to a large extent, upon the state of its general education and upon the facility it has for carrying on communication with people of superior orders. As regards the latter, it has been pointed out in the Report that only the “most needy amongst the lowest classes of the Bengalis” came to Tripura. And there was a deliberate move on the part of the administration to keep the State in isolation. “under the rules. . . . every person who is not a subject of the State but who wishes to visit any of the hill villages in search of employment is required to take a pass on payment of a fee.”¹¹ Thus communication with people from outside was very much discouraged. At the same time, there was virtually no education in the State. “The total number of schools”, according to the Report, “decreased from 18 to 16, the two girl schools returned last year having disappeared. This caused a slight reduction in the total number of students which fell from 432 to 42. The average daily attendance to school was about 20. Nine of the schools and patsalas being to the Kailasahar division and the remaining seven to the three divisions of the State. The Agartala School and the subdivisional school of Kailasahar are held with regularity. The rest of the institutions are experiment patsalas.”¹

“Finding the prospect of the Agartala School not very hopeful, several of the Thakur children have gone to Comilla for purposes of study, while some had gone to Calcutta, their expenses being chiefly borne by His Highness. . . . His Highness’s own children. . . . do not attend public schools. There are private tutors employed.”¹³ The Report also pointed out that the teachers of the schools were not regularly paid and the wants of the institutions were attended with indifference.

█ The people of the hills never attended schools. █ Among the people of the plain, “The Manipuris are gradually showing a desire

for putting their children in schools. Several of their villages have patsalas of their own which are maintained at their own expenses.”¹⁴

Thus “in Hill Tipperah the public, in reality, have no voice of their own. They are neither able nor have any opportunity to express an opinion relating to any matter, great or small. This is owing to the general want amongst them of educated persons. It is owing to this want that whatever rules or proceedings are adopted by the State, they are implicitly obeyed by all concerned.”¹⁵

The State had a very great responsibility for this sorry state of affairs inspite of having a king like Bir Chandra Manikya. The Report however exonerated him on the ground that he was having great financial difficulties. The income of the State was not that what it should be. Though the natural resources of the State were “splendid”, these were not properly exploited. And the feudal nature of administration made it all the more difficult for the King to maximise the revenue. The meagre revenue that the State obtained excluded any developmental work.

The total area of the Hill Tipperah was fairly large, about 4,086 square miles and not 3867 square miles as mentioned by Hunter. But the income¹⁶ of the State was less than the income of the Maharaja's zemindery (in the province of Bengal) which was about 600 square miles. There were two major reasons behind it. First, about three-fifth of the area of the State or over 2400 Square miles were covered with hills and marshes which were unfit for cultivation. Of the remaining two-fifth, or an extent of over 1600 square miles, about one-sixteenth only or some one hundred square miles were under actual cultivation. The remaining 1500 square miles which were believed to be cultivable were lying waste. Secondly, nearly the whole of the plains under cultivation was let out either in taluks or in farms. Only a comparatively small portion was held under direct management. “Almost all the principal teluks are held by relatives and dependents of the Maharaja at lower rates of rent. This is an unsatisfactory state of things but scarcely avoidable in a Government which is personal.”¹⁷ As a result the land revenue—the main source of income—was a paltry sum of Rs. 40,000 a year.

Other sources of revenue were similarly farmed out to the relatives of the Maharaja, known as the Thakurs, at considerably lower rate. As a result the total collection of the year was Rs. 289,910.

The Maharaja, the Report says, was in such a desperate economic condition that all his officers, including Ministers, were in arrear of pay. “Indeed financial difficulties are yet as great as ever. The Minister however was able to liquidate a portion of the

floating debts which bore interest at the extraordinary rate from Rs. 30 to Rs. 70 per cent per annum. The amount paid up was comparatively small and it was due chiefly to the relatives and dependents of the Maharaja. But the principle debts of the State, viz, those due to the money-lenders of Comilla, to the suppliers of provisions, and to the officers and servants of the administration remained undiminished.¹⁸

In a bid to extend cultivation and thereby increase land revenue, the Bengalis of the neighbouring British districts were induced to immigrate into the State. They were offered various incentives such as lower rate of rent etc. But "none but the most need amongst the lowest classes of the people can be induced to immigrate into this country.¹⁹ Even then "the newcomers do not at once entirely leave their residence in British territory, they keep their families and friends there, and make in Hill Tipperah only khamar Batis or farm houses in which they live for the purposes of carrying on their cultivation."²⁰

The entire trade of the country was however conducted by the Bengalis who exported different kinds of forest produce as well as elephants, cotton, til, and dug-outs, and imported various sorts foodgrains except rice, and also salt, dried-fish, hard-ware, piece-goods and fancy things." Properly speaking there is no centre of trade anywhere in the country, articles brought to any place being generally disposed of there for local consumption. The chief places of traffic are all close to British territory. They are the Sudder station at Agartala and the sub-divisional station at Kailashar, Sonamura and Belonia at each of which a by weekly market is held. Beshalgar and Udaypur-two other seats of trade-are situated in the interior of the State. In all these places and in others where there are markets, the shop-keepers are all Bengalis of the adjacent districts.²¹

Annual fairs were also held in many places. The most important of these was that of Kailashar which took place every winter and lasted for one week. It was attended largely by Kukis and other hill folks and also by the people of the adjacent estates of the district of Sylhet. Next to it was the fair of New Agartala which was held "in the 2nd day of every Bengali year. In it things to the value of above Rs. 5000/- are sold in one day for which only it lasts."²²

Trade penetrated deep into the interior also. "Bengali dealers move about in the country both by land and by rivers. They visit the hill people in their villages and for the articles they sell, which are chiefly salt, tobacco, chillies, betelnut and molasses they take cotton²³". It was thus a kind of barter system. They were, however,

previously to obtain licences from the administration for permission to travel on payment of a fee of Rs. 1 each in case of shoulder borne trade, and Rs. 2 to Rs. 30 each in case of other borne traffic. These fees were in addition to the export duty levied on cotton.

In a State like this where "the people are ignorant and poor and live entirely on the produce of their agriculture the value of export trade cannot be expected to be great. But where on the other hand, the natural resources are large and splendid, the export trade should not fail to be important. The cotton produce in the State supplies in full all local want and also considerably the want of other countries to which it is exported."⁴

Taken collectively the various kinds of the spontaneous produce of the hills which were exported in large quantities every year were, as a source of revenue, even of greater importance than cotton. All the neighbouring districts depended chiefly upon the State for the supply of bamboos, timber, and thaching grass etc. which were in constant demand and were therefore constantly taken out from the hills that were literally inexhaustible in respect thereof. "No statistics however were properly kept of the export trade. But during the year the total amount of export duty under all heads was Rs. 187385/- and the average rate of duty was about 30 per cent advalorem."²⁵

The Report made it clear that much could be done to encourage the general trade of the State and thereby to materially improve the condition of the people and at the same time to increase in the long run the revenue of the State. First, the export duty on cotton "which is now very high being about 40 per cent ad valorem should be reasonably reduced. On account of the high rate neither the cultivator nor the trader finds his work profitable. Cotton is now grown less than formerly and much of the produce often remain undisposed of at the end of the year. Reduction in rate will promote both cultivation and trade and thereby prove beneficial to the State. Secondly, numerous petty export and other duties realised under the names of license tax..... do not bring to the State any considerable income and which, on the other hand, are vexatious and harassing to the tradesmen and prejudicial to the interest of the hill people, should be entirely abolished."²⁶

There was virtually no manufacture in the State. "The Bengalis make no articles of any kind except a sort of uncleaned molasses, a considerably portion of which is exported. The Manipuris as well as the Hill tribes manufacture different kinds of curious cotton pieces for their own use. Some of these..... are occasionally

sold in the market. In the manufacture of fabrics women only are employed and no men. Such of the hill folks who live close to the plains do sometime manufacture bamboo-mats and baskets for sale in the neighbouring bazars. But unless pressed by necessity they hardly take to this work which is chiefly done by the male portion of the community. In the Sonamura Division many of the people of the Reang and Chakma classes are employed in making dug-outs".²⁷ These were sold to the Bengali traders who exported them to the districts of Tippera and Noakhali.

There was, however, an acute shortage of skilled labour in the State. All carpenters, smiths, as well as tailors and other artisans came from the British territory. Agricultural labour had also to be imported whenever require. "The inhabitants of the country do hardly ever feel the necessity to work for wages."²⁸

Thus the State of Hill Tripura, a hundred years ago, was an extensive open forest with patches of cultivation here and there. People were not prosperous, but peaceful and contented, because they were ignorant. Their innate conservatism was doubly secured by the attempt of the administration to keep them isolated from the flow of events of Bengal. There was no education, and no developmental work undertaken by the State. There was no movement and no reformation. And all this because, as the Report points out, "The great middle classes who in every country form the most important part of its population, are entirely unknown in the Maharaja's dominion".²⁹

Notes & References

1. Ian Copland "The Other Guardians : Ideology and Performance in the Indian Political Service", in *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, Ed. by Jeffrey Robin, Delhi, 1978. p. 279.
2. Kailash Chandra Sinha, *Rajmala*, Vol-1, Agartala, 1984, p 195.
3. Annual Report on the General Administration of the Political Agency of Hill Tippera for the Year 1886, No -407, dated 7th July, 1887, Para-18, TSAR, B-51, Sl-13 (Unpublished).
4. Ibid 5 Ibid. Para-20. 6 Ibid Para-19. 7 Ibid Pa ra-84.
8. Ibid. Para-20. 9. Ibid. Para-26. 10. Ibid. Para-27.
11. Ibid. Para-28. 12. Ibid. Para-103. 13. Ibid. Para-106.
14. Ibid. Para-104. 15. Ibid. Para-51. 16. Ibid. Para-16.
17. Ibid Para-73. 18. Ibid. Para-67. 19. Ibid. Para-29.
20. Ibid. Para-34. 21. Ibid. Para-41. 22. Ibid. Para-42.
23. Ibid. Para-43. 24. Ibid. Para-44. 25. Ibid. Para-45.
26. Ibid. Para-47, 48. 27. Ibid. Para-39. 28. Ibid. Para-36.
29. Ibid. Para-20.