

Nepali Grazier Migration and Dairy Farming in North East India

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One of the many migratory inflows into North East India¹ during the colonial period was of the Nepali speaking people from Nepal and Darjeeling.² Nepali migration was of two kinds — natural as well as sponsored. While the soldier and labour migration in industries like coal mining was sponsored by the colonial state, the natural migration consisted of grazier/herdsman and marginal farmers. The latter constituted one of the largest components of Nepali migration to the region. They were not only sizeable in number, their contribution lies in the fact that they had contributed to the rise of dairy farming industry in the region and until recently till the 1980's they continued to monopolise this section both in the plains and hill areas of North East India.

Grazing and Dairy Farming in the Pre-Colonial Period

In the pre-colonial³ period grazing and cattle farming was not followed as an occupational activity. It was household oriented

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in the valleys and was not extensive. Most of the tribes who were preponderant in the region were slash and burn cultivators who did not require animal power for agriculture. Moreover, though they depended on animal flesh for protein intake and were avid meat eaters, these tribes by and large did not domesticate cattle for dairy purpose. It was only the Hinduised valley population living by settled wet rice cultivation who kept cattle on a small scale for agricultural purpose. With few exceptions the use of cattle milk and other dairy products amongst the tribes was absent. The Mughal writer Muhammad Kazim during the seventeenth century reported that the inhabitants of Assam were not used to the taste of *ghee*.⁴ Buchanan Hamilton⁵ also testified in his report that imports of *ghee* to Assam was made from Bengal, which was obviously for limited use by certain sections of the society. In pre-colonial period carting by animal was also absent. The common mode of transport in the valley was by country made boats while the tribes who lived in the hills made no use of cattle for carrying loads. Cattle from Bengal were brought to Assam by Bengal traders. Cattle herding for dairy purposes were limited to few tribes like the Monpas and Sherdukpens in Kameng, now located in Arunachal Pradesh.

Beginning of Grazier Migration

The migration of Nepali grazier/herdsmen to the North East has to be seen in the broader context of developments initiated by British colonial rule in India⁶ and the emergence in 1769 of the modern state of Nepal under Prithvi Narayan Shah. The political and socio-economic developments generated subsequently both in India and Nepal resulted in the pull and push factors leading to such migration.⁷ British administrative and forest reports indicate the presence of Nepali herdsmen and marginal farmers in Assam since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The availability of vast wastelands thinly inhabited and suitable pasture lands attracted them to the region. Henry Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam,⁸ had noted in 1898 that many of the retired Gurkhas, a generic term employed by the British for the Nepali soldiers in the British colonial army, who settled down in Assam, preferred cattle grazing to cultivation. Grazing and dairy farming were then untrodden avenues of

livelihood in Assam. In the prevailing historical and geographical context it was inevitable for the ex-Gurkha soldiers who had a tradition of rearing cattle for dairy purpose to take up cattle farming as a means to supplement their income. For instance, one of the favoured ethnic groups to be enlisted in the Gurkha Rifles — the Gurungs — practise transhumant pastoralism. Their economic livelihood was supplemented to a great extent by herding of cattle, buffaloes and sheep for dairy and wool. In Manipur too, many Gurkha soldiers after retirement took to cattle farming.⁹ The greater number of graziers, however, belonged to a separate social category. Many of them were Upadhyays and Jaisi *Bahuns* [Brahmins] or Chettris of non-martial castes. Grazier migration to the North East specifically from the last quarter of the nineteenth century was encouraged by the prospects of dairy farming as a viable form of livelihood.

In the Brahmaputra valley the migrant Nepalis initially settled in the *Chapari* or the riverine areas. In these areas, traditionally only shifting cultivation of *ahu* (early maturing rice), mustard and pulses by seasonal migrants was practised. As such the *chapari* areas being subjected to heavy seasonal flooding and constant shifting of the river were sparsely inhabited. They were now converted to grazing reserves. The *Bura Chapari* of Tezpur was recognised as a professional grazing reserve as early as in 1881.¹⁰ The settlement of Nepali graziers was also encouraged by the Forest Department. From the second half of the nineteenth century, forests in Assam were constituted into reserved and unclassed state forests. In return for fire protection, even reserved forests in the region were 'left open' for the grazing of cattle owned by the Nepalis. For instance, in the Goalpara division of Assam, 105 sq. metres of reserved forests were left open 'partly' for grazing in return for assistance in fire protection.¹¹ For maintenance and improvement of reserved forests, forest villages were established to provide labour to the Forest Department. Many Nepali immigrants who were also graziers settled in these villages as forest villagers.

The migration of graziers increased during the twentieth century. The *Administrative Report of Assam* for the year 1912–13 indicated that large numbers of professional Nepali graziers were migrating to Assam from the adjoining area of Jalpaiguri, in North Bengal, owing to the rise in the rate of graziers' fees in

that district. They were reported to have made further settlements in the Eastern Duars of Goalpara.¹² By then grazing of cattle in the forests was being viewed as posing a serious problem to the colonial foresters. The Forest Reports of the period indicates the continuous migration of Nepali graziers to Bhutan and to Assam. The forest authorities were concerned about the threat posed to forests by 'excess cattle' being grazed by Nepali settlers.¹³ In order to deal with the 'problem', it was decided in 1912, after a conference held at Shillong between the civil and forest authorities that grazing grounds would be permitted to the herdsmen and a grazing fee at lower rate be imposed on cattle to prevent movement from one place to another without special permission. These grazing grounds were prevented from being used for cultivation.¹⁴ During that year 470 sq. miles of forests in the eastern circle were opened to grazing. In 1913-14 an area of 10,666 sq miles of 'unclassified' state forests with exceptions in Goalpara and Khasi/Jaintia Hills were also opened for grazing.

Sufficient indication of the increased settlement of Nepalis in the early decades of the twentieth century in Lakhimpur, Darrang and the Barpeta subdivision of the district of Kamrup, comes further from the Administrative Reports. The Revenue Report of 1919-20 recorded that Darrang: which was at one time sparsely populated was increasingly being colonised ... by the Nepalis who have taken up land to an extent unknown elsewhere.¹⁵

The Census of 1921 indicated that there were 25,000 Nepalis in Darrang district which rose to 29,648 in 1931 and in 1961 they numbered 68, 885 which constituted 5.34 percent of the district's total population. Most of these migrant Nepalis were graziers and marginal farmers. They found the climate suited them and their cattle 'excellently'. The graziers were usually financed by the *kaiyas*-Marwari moneylenders or local moneylenders.

The report¹⁶ of J.W. Arbuthnott, Special Officer appointed for the purpose of reporting on grazing in Assam, indicates the wide extent of grazier settlements, the demand for milk and other dairy products throughout Assam. Nearly all the graziers were Nepalis. Milk in Darrang was sold by the graziers from 2 to 2½ annas [16 annas = Re. 1] a *seer*. The graziers got about

14 annas to Re.1 a *seer* [*seer* = approximately 750 grams] for the ghee sold to the *kaiyas*. In 1913, 1582 *maunds* [1 *maund* = approximately 40 kilograms] of ghee were shipped by steamer from stations in this district to other stations in the Assam valley mainly from Kharupatia to Gauhati [564 *maunds*] and from Tezpur to Dibrugarh [120 *maunds*]. Considerable numbers of Nepali graziers were found to be settled in the *chaporis*, south east of Barpeta, which provided much of the milk requirement of Goalpara. In Barpeta, milk from the graziers was contracted for supply by the local middlemen called *dahi-herias* at about Rs. 3 a *maund*.

In Lakhimpur the total Nepali population in 1901 was 400 which rose to 49, 902 in 1961. In Dibrugarh milk was procured mainly from the Nepali *gwalas* —milkmen, settled in Charkulia and Sengajan *chaporis* up stream and from the area on the north bank of the Burisuti. On the basis of the enumeration made by the forest department the Charkulia *chaporis* measured 2316 acres and was supporting 600 buffaloes and 3213 other cattle in November 1914.

In Sibsagar the grazing areas lay along the south bank of the Brahmaputra River, and on the Majuli and smaller *chaporis*. The milk supply of Sibsagar came mainly from herds grazed at Disangmukh and Dikumukh. The bulk of the milk supplied to Jorhat town were brought by Nepali graziers from near Kokalimukh and sold to middlemen at Rs. 2 annas a *seer*. Due to the shifting of the headquarters from Sibsagar to Jorhat the price of milk in Jorhat was 3 annas a *seer*. In Nowgong, the Nepalis were settled in the Laogaon and Rupahi areas, and in the north-western and north-eastern *chaporis* areas. They supplied milk and ghee to Nowgong and Tezpur. The ghee produced at Langia Dhing and Dhumkara, located in the north-western *chaporis* areas were sent by *kaiyas* to Guwahati.

Nepali herdsmen also migrated in great numbers to the hill districts of Assam, particularly into the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In the Khasi Hills, the entry of Nepali graziers was encouraged by the Khasi Syiems who derived additional revenue from grazing fees collected from the graziers. During the 1960's every village below 4000 ft in the Khasi/Jaintia Hills were Nepali inhabited and Nepali speakers with little evidence of tribal authority being exercised in these tribal areas.¹⁷ In the erstwhile

United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district, the Nepali graziers 'who keep large herds of cows and buffaloes' were reported to have penetrated deep into the interior of the district and established *khuties*-herdsmens' sheds.¹⁸ At the time of Indian Independence the Nepalis were the quietly dominant element in the lower hills around Assam except for NEFA¹⁹ and Tripura and this continued to be the case after Independence.²⁰ Nepali population in Assam rose from 20,193 in 1901 to 1,22,823 in 1951 (1.39% of the total population). In the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district the Nepalis constituted 5.42 percent of the total population.²¹ The percentage of Nepali speakers in Assam rose from 1.81 percent as per the 1961 census to 2.39 percent in 1971. The Nepali language constituted the fifth largest language spoken in Assam.

Grazing and Dairy Farming: A Source of Revenue

In Assam during the pre-colonial period the peasants were allowed to graze their cattle freely in the village commons and wastelands. This traditional right of the peasants was usurped by the Colonial State to generate additional revenue to the government. A grazing fee per head of horned animals was introduced. Although initially an insignificant source of revenue, these grazing fees became an expanding source because of the steady rise of the Nepali migrants and other graziers along with their cattle.²² It was primarily the Nepalis who were involved in cattle rearing and grazing as a profession. In the unclassed forests the peasants were allowed unlimited grazing free of payment for their plough and domestic cattle but the Nepalis who reared cattle for dairy purpose were charged for the grazing privilege. In the year 1892-93, 13,025 buffaloes and 1,162 cows paid grazing fees amounting to Rs. 6,772.²³ This fee was collected entirely from Nepali herdsman.²⁴ Grazing fees were initially realised at the rate of 8 *annas* per head of buffaloes and 4 *annas* per other horned cattle.²⁵ This fee was raised to Re 1 per buffalo in 1907 and still higher in 1912.²⁶

With effect from 1 July 1917 new rules were framed for the regulation of grazing by professional graziers and the annual fee for buffaloes was fixed at Rs. 3 and for other horned cattle at 6 *annas* per head in the Assam valley including the Garo Hills.²⁷

The government not only increased the grazing fees but also tightened the collection machinery. The assesseees were divided into two classes: (i) professional graziers, and (ii) agriculturists. While the latter were allowed exemption under the revised rules up to ten herds of cattle, the former had to pay for the whole herd. Since the overwhelming bulk of the cattle in the Brahmaputra valley belonged to the Nepali graziers, they were affected most by the development during this period. In 1917-18 only 622 cattle owners of local domicile were treated as professional graziers.²⁸

The steady influx of Nepali graziers led to an increase in cattle population in Assam. The Census of 1911 shows the number of cattle and buffalo breeders, herdsmen at 44,000 in a total of 55,000 graziers. The increase in the number of cattle can be seen from the table below which indicate the number of buffaloes taxed in the Brahmaputra valley during the period 1895-1920.²⁹

Number of buffaloes in Brahmaputra Valley, 1895-1920

Year	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Number	15,640	18,735	24,346	40,000	42,000	86,325

Due to increase in the number of cattle, the rise in the rate of fees payable and tightening of the collection machinery, the revenue from grazing source doubled between 1916-17 and 1920-21 as can be seen from the figures given below:³⁰

Revenue from grazing 1916-1921

Year	1916-17	1917-18	1919-20	1920-21
Rs. (in '000)	183	342	277	341

The total revenue of Rs. 2,77,000 collected in 1919-20 from grazing fee was accounted for by only one and a quarter lakh of cattle already assessed.³¹ In 1937, the total revenue realised was Rs. 2,82,356.³² For the year 1939-40, the total demand for grazing including arrears was estimated at Rs. 3,53,115 of which only a sum of Rs. 2,47,052 or 70 percent was collected.³³

Rise of Dairy Industry

The rise of dairy industry in the North East was a process inter-related with the development of the region's economy initiated with British rule. As has been already noted dairy farming and industry was not indigenous to the region. It was activated only with the advent of the British colonial rule and subsequent migration of the Nepalis. The Nepali graziers were not responsible for starting the industry. They were only responding to a growing demand of the economy. No doubt they developed the activity into industry but they were actually filling up a growing void. Initially, the ex-servicemen started the activity and once it was activated it sparked off the migration of graziers.

One of the primary reasons for the growing demand of milk and dairy products in the region was the large scale immigration and settlement of Bengalis in the Brahmaputra valley who were imported as colonial functionaries during the nineteenth century by the British administration. This group had the background of extensive use of dairy produce. After coming to Assam this 'Babu' class could not keep cattle due to their social status but the demand for milk and dairy products remained. It was this demand which the Nepali herdsmen satisfied or met. The demand multiplied with the immigration of the tea population which included planters, the tea officials as well as the huge labour force.³⁴ There was a ready and huge demand for dairy products from the tea gardens of the province of Assam.³⁵ The Nepali herdsmen were reported to be supplying dairy products in the numerous tea gardens of Assam. W.J. Arbuthnott,³⁶ had observed that the consumption both of *ghee* and *dahi* [curd] in the Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts was far in excess of local production. *Dahi* and milk was sold at Sadiya and Saikhoa *bazaars* by Nepali graziers at 2 to 2½ *annas* per *seer*, *ghee* was sold at Re. 1-4 to Re. 1-6 a *seer*.³⁷ In addition to this supply, about 650 *maunds* of *ghee* were imported yearly for the Military Police and Coolie corps mainly from Calcutta. Another 100 or 200 *maunds* were imported mainly from Tezpur for local consumption. There was also large demand for milk at Dibrugarh. With the growth of urban population in Assam, the demand for milk and other dairy products also grew commensurately. In order to keep down the prices of milk, the graziers who pastured their

cattle in areas which supplied the towns with milk were taxed at a lower rate. In a region where there were no other ethnic group who specialised in this business, the Nepalis came forward to meet the demand. Amongst many tribes in the north-east, the taste for milk and other dairy products were to a great extent inculcated only with the rise of the dairy industry. For instance, earlier the Naga tribes had no tradition of taking milk. In military and civil cantonments including hospitals, the supply of milk was dependent on the Nepali dairy farmers. In return, the herdsmen were given remission by way of concessional rates on their cattle. For instance, in the then Central and Eastern Sections, North-East Frontier while the rate of grazing fee for buffaloes was Rs. 8, those *gwalas* supplying milk to the military police and civil hospitals at Sadiya was charged Rs. 3 per buffalo.³⁸

In Manipur³⁹ too, dairy farming was extensively pursued by the Nepalis as a source of livelihood. It was initially started by the ex-Gurkha soldiers who after retirement settled down permanently and took to dairy farming. The Meithei Manipuri's were not a great consumer of milk and *ghee* whereas the Naga and Kuki hill tribes of Manipur did not take milk or any dairy products. The cattle the Meithei's reared was basically for agricultural purpose. The establishment of British paramountcy in Manipur led to the importation of colonial functionaries and migration of other communities such as the Marwaris, subsequently led to the generation of demands for dairy products and this demand was met by the Nepali graziers. British reports of the Political Agents indicate the arrival in large numbers of the Nepali graziers by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They came by the Kohima-Manipur cart road and settled in the neighbourhood villages. Their herds were reported as very often damaging the crops of the tribes. To solve the recurrent conflict that the Naga and Kuki hill tribes had with the Nepali herdsmen, Maxwell the Superintendent of Manipur and Political Agent demarcated a large unhabited tract in the Khuga valley for the herdsmen. The Nepali herdsmen were thus allowed to settle by the colonial state for the revenue it brought in the form of the foreigner's tax and grazing tax on cattle. The state levied from each adult male foreign settler a Foreigner's tax of Rs. 5 a year; and grazing tax on each buffalo and each head of cattle at the

rate of Re. 1-4- and 12 *annas* respectively per year. In 1909-1910 the Foreigner's tax and Grazing tax constituted the sixth largest source of revenue receipts for the state. As in Assam, after 1917 grazing reserves were demarcated by the Manipur Durbar for the Nepali graziers in places like Irang, Kangpokpi and Kanglalongbi.⁴⁰

The trend continued in the post-colonial period which saw large scale Nepali migration to the North East since the 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship recognized what was a defacto situation existing from British time by allowing for a reciprocal liberty of movement of its citizens between the two countries including the right to take up employment and acquire property. Subsequently the Nepali dairymen became a ubiquitous figure in the region. The term *dhudwala* became synonymous with a Nepali. They were to be found even deep in the interior of the hills and forests with their *khuties* supplying milk to far-off capital headquarters and towns. In Nagaland during the 1970's Nepali migrants were found in the interior of the forests rearing cattle for some of the Naga tribes. The Nepalis were allowed to use the milk for dairy purposes. Milk produced in various *khuties*, were then conveyed to the nearest transport point from where it was taken by other Nepali milk suppliers to be distributed either to individual households, small hotels or in bulk by contracting agencies for supplying to the headquarters and outposts of the regimental centres of the army and Assam Rifles.

The Assam Movement of 1979-1985, spearheaded by the All Assam Students' Union initially against the illegal immigrants of Bangladesh and subsequently to include the Nepali nationals seriously affected the Nepali graziers — of both Indian and Nepali citizenship. Its repercussions were also felt in the states of Manipur (1980) and Meghalaya (1987).⁴¹ In the process many Nepali graziers lost their livelihood. Other communities and various agencies have now stepped in to take the place of the Nepali dairymen.

In Assam, the dairy farmers presently belong to two distinct categories.⁴² Those who own land and cattle are distinguished from those who are only milk suppliers. Whereas the former rear cattle and produce the milk, the latter buy the milk to sell.⁴³ Generally the former are the original dairy farmers belonging to

the *Bahun*, caste, or those who had come as soldiers in the Gurkha and Assam Rifles and taken to dairy farming on their retirement. The present day dairy farmers owning land and cattle in Assam are usually their descendants. The second category of Nepali dairymen in Assam known as *Paikari* (or not owning cows) are temporary migrants engaged in dairy business only for a living and the profits they make are invested in Nepal.⁴⁴ In Assam, the Nepali dairymen presently constitute the largest milk producer and supplier in the state supplying 80 percent of the region's population, with an annual turnover of approximately 20 crores.⁴⁵ The dairy producers in Assam are however hindered by numerous problems such as defective breeding policy of the government, lack of good breed, high cost of good breed, etc.⁴⁶ The dairy industry in the North East has been unable to meet the demands of the region, which has to be supplemented by dairy products of cooperatives and companies manufactured outside the region.

Conclusion

The rise of dairy farming industry in the North East was a part of the development of the colonial economy in the region. Such a development involved opening up of the pre-capitalist subsistence economy and insularity of the region and integrating it with the world economy and British economy in particular. As a result of this integration, there was commercialisation of agriculture, growth of trade and commerce and emphasis on commodity production. The rise of dairy industry was a part of this process. The advent of the British activated it while the Nepali graziers developed the activity into industry. In the process they have contributed significantly to the dietary needs and health of the people of the region. In any study of the economic history of North East India, the contribution of the Nepali dairy farmers cannot be ignored and marginalised.

END NOTES

1. North East India at present comprises the states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. Physiographically the region is broadly divided into the valley plains and the hills.
2. Originally a small village Darjeeling was 'granted' by the Raja of Sikkim to the British in 1835 for the purpose of establishing a sanatorium. It subsequently became the nucleus of the future district of Darjeeling in Bengal.
3. The pre-colonial eighteenth century polity in the region consisted of several Hinduised monarchical states based in the plains-namely the Ahom, Meithei, Tripuri, Cachari, Jaintia; and other numerous small tribal polities located both in the plains and hills.
4. 'A Description of Assam', trans. H. Vansittart in *Asiatic Research Survey*, Vol. 2, p. 132.
5. *An Account of Assam*, D.H.A.S. (Guwahati, 1987), p. 48.
6. Following the success of the British in the First-Anglo Burmese War [1824-1826], the Ahom kingdom which was based in the Brahmaputra valley, was annexed by the British in two stages-Lower Assam in 1826 and Upper Assam in 1838. During the nineteenth century the British gradually extended their suzerainty over the rest of the monarchical and tribal polities of north-east.
7. Tejimala Gurung. "Human Movement and the Colonial State: The Nepalis of Northeast India under the British Empire" in A.C. Sinha and T.B. Subba (eds.), *The Nepalis in Northeast India* (New Delhi, 2003), pp. 172-183.
8. The present states of Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram were constituted as hill districts of Assam during colonial period with Shillong as the Head-quarter.
9. Tejimala Gurung, "The Colonial State and Settlement of Nepali Graziers in Manipur [1891-1947] in *Proceedings of NEIHA*, Twenty-fourth Session, Guwahati 2003, pp. 271-278.
10. Cited in P. Bhandari, *Freedom Movement and Role of Indian Nepalese, 1850-1950* (Guwahati, 1996), p. 42.
11. *Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Province of Assam, 1895-1896*. p. 13. From now on *PRFAA*.
12. *Administrative Report of Assam, 1912-13*, p. 4.
13. *PRFA of East Bengal and Assam, 1910-11*, Shillong, 1912, p. 4.
14. *PRFAA*, Shillong, 1912, p. 6.
15. *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of Assam, 1919-1920*.
16. W.J. Arbuthnot, *Report on Grazing in Assam, 1915*.
17. Leo E. Rose cited in Sanjib Baruah, *India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality* (New Delhi, 1999), p. 63.
18. *Gazetteer of India: Assam State*, United Mikir and Cachar Hills District, Government of Assam, Guwahati, 1979.
19. North Eastern Frontier Agency and now Arunachal Pradesh.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Census of India, 1961, Part-1(A)*, General Report, Vol. 3, Assam.
22. Amalendu Guha, *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam, 1847-1947* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 92.
23. *PRFAA, 1892-93*, p. 10.

24. *Ibid.*
25. *PRFAA*, 1892–93, p. 9.
26. Guha, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
27. *Report on the Administration of Assam*, 1916–17, p. 24.
28. Guha, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
32. *Extract Revenue Department*, No. 79 R, dt. 8 January 1938, p. 2.
33. Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Assam Valley Division for the year 1939–40, p. 10.
34. The Assam Company, the premier tea company was set up in 1839 at London with a capital of half million sterling pounds. Tea Industry developed in Assam with active support from the colonial state.
35. *PRFAA*, 1892–93.
36. Arbuthnot, *op. cit.*
37. *Revenue, A*, July 1916, Nos. 1–38, File No. 11 FR.
38. No. 2053, dated Shillong, 28th April 1917.
39. Manipur was a protected Princely State under British suzerainty between 1892–1947. After the First Anglo-Burmese War a British Political Agent was stationed at Imphal, Manipur.
40. Tejimala Gurung, in *Proceedings of NEIHA*, Guwahati, 2003, p. 273.
41. Tejimala Gurung “Displacing the Displaced: The Nepalis in North-East India” in C. Joshua Thomas (ed.) *Dimensions of Displaced People in North-East India* (New Delhi, 2002), pp. 149–158.
42. Lopita Nath, “Labour Migration in an Earlier Phase of Global Restructuring: The Nepali Dairy Farmers to Assam”, *Proceedings of the North East India History Association*, Twenty-third session, Agartala, 2002, p. 167.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 169.
46. *Ibid.*