CHAPTER-I
INTRODUCTION
The concept of political development is a post Second World War phenomenon. Among the numerous proponents of the concept of political developments Lucian Pye is generally considered as the pioneer in this approach. According to S.P. Verma, Lucian Pye should be regarded as the leading light of the earlier batch of writers to analyze the concept of development in depth and has kept on evolving his ideas on the subject, and has left an abiding impression on the entire literature of political development.\footnote{S.P. Verma, \textit{Modern Political Theory – A Critical Survey}, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1975, p. 275.} Lucian Pye thought of political development in terms of the cultural diffusion, and of adapting fusing, and adjusting all patterns of life to new demand. According to him, "Political development is a basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion throughout all societies of what we might call a world
culture.” According to Pye the development of Nation State is the first step of political development. Besides Lucian Pye, amongst the various political scientists who have defined political development we can mention the names of the scholars like Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Leonard Binder, etc. Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell defined political development “as the increase differentiation and specialization of political structure and the increase secularization of political culture.”

Leonard Binder referred to political development as “Changes in the type and style of politics.” Political development is supposed to have a number of indicators. According to a study political development may process as many as 18 indicators (i.e. Age of national institutions, Education expenditure, Defence expenditure, Military manpower, Internal security forces, Press freedom, Party fractionalization, Voter turned out, Electoral irregularity, Protest demonstration, Riots, Armed attacks, Deaths from domestic violence, Governmental sanctions, External intervention, Renewals of executive tenure, Executive adjustments, Irregular executive transfer.

To Almond and Powell development implies four problems: state-building, nation-building, political participation and welfare and distribution. Each of these problems is further explained:

a) State-building: To Almond and Powell, “state-building is commonly associated with significant increases in the regulative and extractive

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capabilities of the political system, with the development of a centralized penetrative bureaucracy related to the increases in these capabilities and with the development of attitudes of obedience and compliances in the population which are associated with the emergence of such bureaucracy".\textsuperscript{6} So, it means the creation of new structures, increased degree of differentiation in the existing structures of the state and organization in society.

b] Nation-building: simply it means national integration. It is also interconnected with the problems of state-building. It "refers to the process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes, villages or petty principalities to the large central political system."\textsuperscript{7}

c] Political participation: it means the development of the requisite political infrastructure and the responsive attitudes and bargaining skill of the elite. This may further means to different groups in society seek to participate in the decision-making process. Ultimately, the participation of the political parties, pressure-groups, cliques and sections leads to political developments.

d] Distribution and Welfare: It means that increased political participation further leads to the demands that the values, benefits and national income should be distributed equally among all sections of the society irrespective of caste, colour, sex and creed. Further, equal opportunities should be given to all and merit should be the only consideration in criteria for selection in the high posts.

Lucian Pye’s concept of political development: Lucian Pye, the pioneer among the writers of the earlier batch has analyzed the concept of political development in depth and has kept on evolving his ideas on the subject and left and abiding impression on the entire literature of political development. But by 1965 Pye changed his concepts and there after he wrote that political could be traced at three different levels:

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 36.
i) With respect of population: This implies that the citizens take active part in the decision-making process instead of obeying process from higher authorities as a subject race, taking share in contributing and shaping political decisions they have a greater involvement in a developing system.

ii) With respect to the level of government and general systematic performance: It means that these develop a greater capacity of the people to manage their own affairs, control controversy or cope with popular demands. That system which excludes people’s participation in the decision making process, fails to win the support of the people.

iii) With respect to the organization of polity: It implies greater structural differentiation, functional specificity and integration of the participating institutions.

From the critical evaluation of various definitions of political development Lucian Pye deducts three characteristic features of equality, capacity and differentiation. By equality, Pye means demand by political participation, universalisation of law and equality in recruitment process. By capacity, Pye means: first, by how a political system acts and is acted upon by the environment and secondly, what is the performance of the political system in terms of its scope, scale, efficiency and effectiveness. By differentiation, Pye means specialization of task to be performed by different structures. Thus differentiation means, “Specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration.”

Inspite of the above mentioned definitions, concepts and meanings of political development; it is still suffering from three defects: absence of precision, absence of coherence and absence of uniform model. It may be said that the

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concept of political development is depended upon the evolution of society from incoherent homogeneity to coherent heterogeneity. We may conclude our study with the appreciation of the view of Gunnar Myrdal who regards political development as, “a movement upward of a whole system of interdependent conditions as a complex process in which economic growth is only one of several categories of casually relevant conditions.”

Making the above study an exemplary basis, concept and context, we may study and analyse political development in Manipur (1984-2002).

**Manipur under the British Rule**

The British conquest of Manipur by winning the Anglo-Manipur War, 1891 was followed by the establishment of their direct administration over the state. There were a lot of debates on the question of annexation of the state into the British territory. While Mr. Ward, the Chief Commissioner of the Assam had strongly recommended the annexation of the state, Lord Landsdown, the Viceroy of India was not in favour of the inclusion of Manipur into the British Indian territory. “Thus a series of discussions are held on the issue of the annexation of Manipur state into British Indian territories.”

Finally the British government decided not to annex Manipur into their territory and between agreed to established native rule as a act of mercy. Accordingly, “the decision of the British authority was finally carried into action by a proclamation, dated August 21, 1891 which was notified on 18th September, 1891.”

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Establishment of Native Rule

Under the final administrative decision of the authority Major H. St. P. Maxwell, who was appointed superintendent of the State of Manipur by a telegram on 13th September, 1891, selected Churachand Singh, a minor boy of 6 years and great grand son of late Raja Nara Singh for the throne of Manipur. The government of India also accepted the proposal of Major Maxwell. Accordingly, on 18th September, 1891, H.M. Durand, Secretary to the government of India, notified the appointment of Churachand Singh as the king of Manipur in the gazette of India No. 1862. The Sanad; a document mentioning the right of Churachand Singh as the chief of Manipur was given the title “Raja of Manipur” and 11 (eleven) guns were also granted to him. It also mentioned that the right of Chiefship would descent in the direct line of primogeniture subject to the approval of the government of India. “The Sanad” made complete subordination of Manipur State to the British authority.

In a ceremonial function on 29th April, 1892 attended by more than 8000 peoples Major Maxwell installed Raja Churachand Singh on the throne of Manipur. Then the content of the “Sanad was explained to the people. The government of India ordered Maxwell to take all responsibilities of administration of Manipur during the minority of Churachand Singh.”13 He should exercise those powers with due regards for the customs and traditions of Manipuris, and should endeavour to interfere in so far as they may be compatible with Peace and good order.”13 Thus Manipur become a subordinate state of the British government and Major Maxwell ruled the state upto 1907 is generally termed as the period of British superintendency.

13 Ibid., p. 86.
Impact of the Direct Rule of the British Government

The introduction of the direct rule of the British Government in Manipur facilitated the colonising process in Manipur. The British officials in Manipur began to adopt a series of policies leading to the unhappiness of the common people of the state. The policies were on disarmament of people, judiciary, revenue, police etc. The British officers commanding the field force issued an order of disarming the whole population. The colonial authority had collected about “400 fire arms.”\(^{14}\)

More ever the British officers collected the members of the former Manipur State Army and put them in four different groups to be used as labourers. There is such a record that “every two weeks, one squad of Manipuri ex-army were sent to Khuzama with ration for the British troops.”\(^{15}\) It is further recorded that a large number of villages who took prominent role in the recent disturbances was also used as a “worker on the construction of Mao-Manipur road.”\(^{16}\) The British officers also beat them very severely as their own slaver.\(^{17}\)

Another policy, to exploit the economic life of the people, was the imposition of a fine of Rs. 2,50,000/- on the Manipuri soldiers on the pretext of their looting the treasury of the British residency on 24\(^{th}\) March, 1891 that as soon as the British officers evacuated it. They claim that a sum of Rs. 1,75,729/- was in the treasury and which only a sum of Rs. 27,803/- was recovered. So the British administration ordered the Manipuri soldiers to pay the five of Rs. 2,50,000/- in five yearly instalments and accordingly, the amount of annual tribute as already mentioned in the “Sanad” was fixed in 1892 at Rs. 50,000/- to be paid with effect from 21\(^{st}\) August, 1891.

\(^{15}\) *Ibid.*  
\(^{16}\) *Ibid.*  
Revenue Administration

The British authority made certain changes in the revenue administration of the state. "Lallup System" was abolished and the old system of land revenue payment in kind was replaced by a regular cash assessment system. Under the Lallup system which is a system of feudal service, every male subject of the state between the ages of 17 and 60 had to render service for the state for 10 days out of every 40 days. If an individual failed to carry out this Lallup duties, he must give a substitute for him or pay fine, with the help of this unpaid labour system, the king could perform various developmental works like construction of roads, canals, tanks etc. The British officials admired this system but they know its defects which was nothing but a burden to the poor people only while the rich and privileged group of people escaped.

As recorded by N. Khelchandra, the Manipur Valley was divided into six Panas or Lups for better administration of the state.\textsuperscript{18} Each of these Panas sent a team of workers who were to work for the state according to a fixed routine. Each team was called a lallup.\textsuperscript{19} As in Manipuri Lal means war and Lup means organization, Lallup means war a military organization playing an active role in the economic life of the state. In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century it was transformed into a socio-politico-economic organization.\textsuperscript{20} Major Maxwell was very much concerned about the poor men's burden with the Lallup and the remarks: "When a husband was unable to perform his Lallup through sickness, the substitute was purchased by the wife's industry and gain the idle husband was relieved, when practiced by the same means, Again the groans of the

\textsuperscript{20} Gangmumei Kabui, \textit{Social and Religious Reform Movements in Manipur in the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} Centuries}, (Paper submitted to the 12\textsuperscript{th} Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies, NEHU, Shillong, October 7-10, 1974, p. 12.
Lallup coolies reached my ears and in consequences of the Lallup disappointment has been expressed by the subjects of the state of our rule.\textsuperscript{21}

Through Mr. Maxwell knew that the state acquired revenue from the lallup system he wanted to abolish it as it was a burden to common people while the Brahmins and other well-to-do persons escaped the duty under these circumstances Maxwell abolished the Lallup system on the 29\textsuperscript{th} April, 1892 on the coronation day of the minor Rajah. In place of the Lallup he imposed a uniform house tax of Rs. 2.00 per annum in the valley and Rs. 3.00 per annum in the hill areas.\textsuperscript{22}

In the pre-British administration the collection of revenue was done in kind and not in the cash and a headman of every village did this collection work under the supervision of Lourung Purel Achouba or Phunan Selungba. About one-fourth of the land was held by the Brahmins, Rajkumars and high officials and sepoys. They were exempted from the payment of land revenue. Very soon to help revenue collection local Maczadars or Tehsildars were appointed. A staff of 12 peons on the basis of Rs. 6/- each was created. They reported the defaulters in the payment of land revenue. Each Panna was under the officer called Lakpa or Tahsildars. They were remunerated on the basis of 10 P.C. of their collection first and 5 P.C. on the remainder collected before the end of the year.

The king also collected revenue from different source like tea seed, salt, ferries, forest, fishing, etc. Maxwell introduced a new rate of agricultural land at Rs. 5 per Pari (two and half acres). The Patta system was also introduced.

\textsuperscript{22} Foreign Department, Secret (E), Progs, May 1895, Nos. 117-138.
Though Major Maxwell was not willing to survey the land, Sir William Ward, the Chief Commissioner of Assam was in favour of the valley because of his assumption that, “the sooner the people learnt to pay revenue regularly of all the lands they cultivated the land better and he was much impressed with the importance of completing the survey of the valley before the Raja attained his majority.”\(^{23}\) A Sub-Deputy Collector was appointed to relieve the Lakpas of their work of collection. The whole system of assessment and collection was reorganized. A separate office for land revenue was established and was placed under the S.D.C. who had to administer all disputes connected with land. “Registration and settlement business of land was also transferred to the S.D.C.”\(^{24}\)

A temporary of 4 (four) Kanungos and 40 (forty) Amins were installed to assist the S.D.C. A survey school was also opened in which the S.D.C. took initiative for training the candidates for the post of Amins. “In 1892-93, the State authority granted 14,000 Pattas to the ryots and landholder.”\(^{25}\) The payment of land revenue in kind was replaced by a system of payment in cash. For state service lands, like those held by the non-cultivating middle-men the rate of rent was 12 pots of Dhan.

The state government also collected revenue from the hill house tax especially from the Kuki and Naga villages. The state authority also collected taxes from foreigners who were not servants of the state government or merchants of the Sardar Bazar. The rate of tax was 5% for himself and his family per annum. There was also levy from foreigner keeping cattle for


\(^{25}\) *Administrative Report of the Manipur Political Agency for the Year 1892-93*, p. 4.
grazing at the rate of 4 Annas a year per head of cattle. The government also collected revenue from fishing industry.

Another important source of tax was the lasing of brine wells in the valley. But due to the improvement of transport system and increase of the volume of imported salt, the importance of the indigenous salt industry was sharply decrease, instead of paying half of the produce of the wells to the state, the workers, since then were allowed to enjoy the wells free.

The state government also collected revenue from the forest produce. But the amount of revenue thus collected was not encouraging. "It is also mentioned that the government have made no effort to realize any revenue from the large area of unreserved forest in the hill portion of the state."26 Moreover, the state also collected revenue from the tea-seeds coming from Burma. But the amount of revenue from this source was very little. Further, the state authority collected revenue from the department of law and justice. The main source was the selling of stamps and fines from jail also the state collected revenue. Thus the state government under these certain changes made a radical shape in the revenue administration. The important factors for this radical shape were the appointment of trained persons and officials from Assam, the introduction of chain survey operation (cadastral survey) solving all land dispute and the appointment of Lakpas on fixed salaries.

Slavery was an evil institution of Manipur Society. It was like the Lallup system. When the institution of slavery was abolished in British India in 1860, Manipur had her own slave trade. Slaves were the property of the Raja or the mobility to which they belonged and really they were like the fowls in their

26 N. Joykumar, n. 11, p. 96.
poultry yards. Their lot was definitely dependent on the will of the master, who can retain or dispose or sell his slaves. Early in 1891 the Raja’s slaves, counted by Major Maxwell, numbered 1331 as shown by the following table.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{table}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
Married Couples & 394 \\
Single men & 434 \\
Male children & 288 \\
Female children & 128 \\
Widows & 77 \\
Old and infirm persons & 10 \\
\hline
\textbf{Total} & \textbf{1331} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
\end{table}

There were two categories of slaves: (1) hereditary slaves and (ii) the sold or mortgaged slaves. The first category of slaves was known as Minai Channabe (favourite slave) while the second category slave was known as Minai Asanba (selling himself or by others). Phunganai, Ayokpa-Kei etc. are classes of slaves. Phunganai slaves were sub-divided into Hidakphanba and Potsangba. “Of the many children born to the subjects, three were reserved for the king. The elder was entrusted with the military duties, the next one rendered Lallup service to the king and the youngest and last child became the Phunganai of the king.”\textsuperscript{28} It is recorded that “the chief duty of the Raja’s slaves is to cultivate the royal lands retaining for themselves just sufficient of the products to sustain life to work for the Raja at all times.”\textsuperscript{29} Sometimes the Raja awarded favourite ministers with certain number of slaves. The Raja, on

\textsuperscript{27} Foreign Dept. Sec. (E), January, 1893, No. 5, pp. 1-23.
\textsuperscript{29} Robert Reid, n. 21, p. 75.
several occasion, used to give slaves as dowry to his descendants to serve them on marriage ceremonies.

Slaves were also possessed by individual households. When a person could not pay a fine imposed by a court of justice, he sold himself to another person who could pay fine. The slave was retained until the refunded the purchase money sometimes they were sold by their parents and the children of these slaves become the property of the master. Even husband sold their wives for any reason and tried to enjoy a new life marrying another woman. These slaves could purchase their liberty on repayment of the purchase money. However as they were working for their master they could not have the money, Maxwell wrote that only death of feed these poor people from serfdom, finally, in 1892, on 29th April this slavery system was abolished. But even after this abolition, slavery was found to exist in some areas upto 1947.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The British officials also made certain re-organisation of Judicial administration. A number of native courts such as Town-Panchayat Court, Rural Panchayat Court and Muhammedan Panchayat Court were established. Beside these, three other courts, viz. (1) Pacha, (2) Military Court and (3) Cheirap were established at Imphal. “The Pacha court deal with the cases of women of the state only and the military court used to try cases involving only the soldiers.”30 Under the native regime, the highest court within the state was the king’s court. Next to this was the Cheirap court, which was maintained with a reduced strength of five members. It was the high court of the state having the powers of a first class Magistrate in the criminal side and district judges’ power in the civil side. It also had an honorary magistrate. It also heard appeals

30 N. Joykumar, n. 11, p. 97.
against the decision of the sub-ordinate courts."\(^{31}\) "It had the power to inflict punishment of not more than 2 years imprisonment and a fine of not exceeding Rs. 500/- or flogging. Of the subordinate courts, the Town Panchayat was the most important. It was established on 15 November, 1891 and "it comprised 6 magistrate and one honorary magistrate."\(^{32}\) This court dealt with minor civil and criminal cases. In the civil side, it was vested with munsiff’s power and in the criminal side, with second class magistrate’s power. It could fine Rs. 100/-.

The Rural Panchayat courts tried civil suits of Rs. 50/- or less in value and could impose a fine upto Rs. 50/-\(^{33}\) Each number of the Rural Panchayat was remunerated with one Pari or 2.5 acres of rent free land, those of the Town Panchayat received 25 Paris each while Cheirap, 1.25 Paris each of the rent free land.\(^{34}\) But in 1906 a system of cash payment was introduced by sanctioning a sum of Rs. 25/- per month for each Cheirap member and Rs. 15/- per month for each Town Panchayat member, in addition to the free grant of land."\(^{35}\) A special court for Muslims known as the Muhammadan panchayat court was also established at Lilong to deal with all the disputes and cases among the Muslim subjects of Manipur. From 15\(^{th}\) May, 1907 onwards, when the administration of the state was handed over to Raja Churuchand Singh, all these sub-ordinate courts were placed under the supervision of the judicial member of the Durbar.

For materializing the colonial policy into action the British authority established their colonial courts \(i.e.\) the court of the political agent and the court

\(^{31}\) J. Shakespear, n. 23, p. 2.
\(^{33}\) J. Shakespear., n. 23, p. 2.
\(^{35}\) J. Shakespear, n. 23, p. 3.
of the Assistant Superintendent of the state. To these courts were subordinated all the native courts. All cases involving the British or European subjects were tried by the courts of the political agent. "The court of superintendent of the state administered disputes concerning hill men."³⁶ It was an affiliate court for revenue cases from the court of the Sub-Deputy Collector and for civil and criminal cases from the court of the assistant superintendent and the Cheirap Court. The political agent's court also heard appeal from the court of the Assistant Political Agent and the Cheirap Court. Above this was the Chief Commissioner of Assam. The British Agent could pass a death or a sentence of transportation for life. But in the case of death Penalty or imprisonment for more than 7 years it required the approval of the Chief Commissioner.³⁷ The separate court system for the natives and the British subjects clearly indicates the existence of the superiority complex in the British judicial administration. The judicial system of Manipur from 1891 to 1907 is shown below:

Table No. 2
Judicial System in Manipur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name of Judiciary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The court of political agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The court of Asst. Political Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The court of the Superintendent of the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The court of Asst. Superintendent of the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Cheirap Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Town Panchayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Rural Panchayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Muslim Court</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Civil Police Administration

The British officials knew that the placing of administration on a firm footing highly needed the modification of strong forces both civil police and military police. They also knew the importance of military forces in consolidating their position. In the name of maintaining law and order in the state, they mobilized strong police forces which were really to strengthen their position in Manipur. Civil police and military police were the two branches of police.

In the branch of civil police, a system of rural police was established in the valley by appointing Chowkidars, on the basis of one Chowkidar to every 100 houses. “Generally they were elected by the people subject to the approval of the political agent of the state.”38 In 1893 a small civil police station, consisting of one Sub-Inspector, one head constable and eleven constables, was opened at the Imphal. The Sub-Inspector was paid Rs. 50/- per month. Three Havildar categories received Rs. 20/-, Rs. 17.50/- and Rs. 15/- respectively and “constable received Rs. 8/- each per month but that of the senior constable was Rs. 9/-.”39

Military Police

In 1892-93 a military police battalion consisting of sanctioned strengths of 14 native officers, 49 non-commissioned officers and 400 sepoys was raised, MR, M.F.C., Crawford, the Assistant to the Political Agent becomes its first adjutant. The remuneration was paid partially in cash and partially by free grant of land ration. But a system of cash payment was introduced in 1894-95. “Towards the beginning of 1906 the British government found it unnecessary to maintain such

38 J. Shakespear, n. 23, p. 3.
39 Foreign Dept, Est (B), December, 1901- No. 4.
large force and consequently the number of the force was reduced to 178 of all ranks.”

Hill Areas Administration

During the regime of the Maharaja, the hill villages and valley villages were equally treated. All the common people of both the hills and valley performed Lallup service. They rendered general services and military help to the kings. But in the 19th century certain changes were brought in the treatment of the hill tribes. All hill men were quite free after paying a house tax of Rs. 2 per a house. They did perform Lallup. “The chiefs were to attend the capital once a year in Mera with a nominal presents of Panao and Singnao (small roots of Kachu and ginger) and a performed a festival known as Mera Haojongba.”

For convenience in administration the hill areas were divided into five divisions called lams viz. the Mao lam, the Tanghukul lam, the Tammu lam, the Moirang lam and the Kabui lam by the British authority. Each lam was under a Manipuri Officer called a lam Subedar assisted by seven Manipuri Lambus or hill peons. “Altogether there were 36 lambus.” Every lam Subedar was paid Rs. 15/- per month and each Lambu Rs. 7/-. In 1906 the strength of Lambus was reduced to 22, by employing hill men in the service of the state. The pay of lam Subedar was raised to Rs. 20/- while that of the Lambus to Rs. 8/-. 

The British policy of disarmament made violent reactions to the hill people as it caused interference in their freedom. This resulted in creating a problem which manifested itself into inter-tribal raids or feuds.

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40 Ibid.
42 Shakespear, n. 23, p. 8.
Anti-British Movement

The British rule in Manipur was opposed from various angles. The first reaction to the British rule was from the women folk. The movement was in a non-violent manner. In 1904 the woman folk of Imphal launched an agitation known as the First Nupilan. It was against the order of Major Maxwell to the inhabitants of Imphal to rebuild the residence of the Assistant Political Agent, which had been destroyed by fire with the teak-wood from the Kabau valley.

Taking the order as a punishment the woman folk assembled at Khwairamband Bazar and launched the agitation. But the British officials wrongly viewed the incident to be caused by the Rajkumars who had been deprived of their right and privileges under the British rule. The government issued an order not to assemble more than five people.

Without caring for this government order, the market women made demonstrations and boycott of the main Bazar. But the movement was subsided along with the arrest of Rajkumars- MaharajKumar Thangkokpa, MK. Megajit, R.K Kala, Loitam Sanajaoba, R.K Matum and R.K Mantrimayum Chamusana. They were exiled outside Manipur. Some women also got injured. Finally peace was restored and the government had to rebuild the house on their own expense.43

This war of the women shows the heroism of Manipuri women and “for the first time, it resulted in the introduction of Indian Penal code in Manipur.”44

The Period of British superintendency in Manipur ended on 15th May, 1907 when the charge of administration of the state was handed over to the Raja, Churachand Singh. But the Raja’s authority was subject to the scheme for the

44 Ibid., p. 63.
administration drafted by the British government. The then Political Agent, J. Shakespear drafted the same. The new scheme provided for the reconstruction of a Durbar composed of the President, the Vice-President, and other ordinary members to be elected from among the Manipuris. The Raja was the President of the Durbar which assisted him.

The Vice President was an English Indian Civil service officer lent to the state. Besides, six Manipuri members were placed in charge of several departments. They were appointed by Indian government on the recommendation of the Raja and the political agent. The President held the departments of the education, state armed police and medical matters; the Vice-President was place in charge of the hill tribes, finance and revenue. An ordinary member was placed in charge of civil police and jail and another for state developmental works.⁴⁵

New Schemes of Administration under State Durbar

Under the scheme each Durbar member was responsible to the Durbar. All village officials and title holders could be appointed by the Raja. He also could be appointed the members of the Cheirap and Panchayat courts on the recommendation of the Judicial member of the Durbar in accordance with the Rule No. 7 of the scheme, the Political Agent is above the Durbar as he can interfere with any decision of it and can refer to the Durbar any matter which came to his notice. So he is the defect to exercise dictatorial power over the proceeding of Durbar, head of the state.

The scheme authorised the Vice-President of the durbar. It was his duty to draft the annual budget which should be submitted to the government for final approval through the Political agent. No bills on the Treasury could be

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 64.
cashed nor any payments be made without the counter-signature of the Vice-President. But the accounts of the State could be audited by the Account General of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

In judicial administration the Durbar was the highest criminal court in the state. It tried all cases beyond the jurisdiction of the Cheirap. It also head appeals of all sorts from the Cheirap’s order. It could inflict punishment of death or imprisonment; the matter should be reported to the political agent who must refer the case to the government for final orders. It was the duty of the judicial member of the Durbar to supervise the working of all the courts. He could also appeal to the Durbar against the orders of its members. He had to recommend duly qualified persons to the Raja to fill vacancies in the several courts. But cases related to the British subjects were beyond the jurisdiction of the judicial member. Later on the rules of judicial administration was modified by giving more important to the position of the Vice-President of the Durbar.

For the administration of the hill areas a separate scheme was introduced. Under the scheme the Vice-President had special powers both in civil and criminal cases – as that of a first class Magistrate under the Indian Criminal Proceeedure Code, 1898. In case of the punishment of the power of the first class magistrate, the matter should be forwarded to the political agent. But for imprisonment of more than three years or a fine of more than Rs. 100 imposed by the Vice-President, a victim could appeal to the political agent within 30 days from the date of the sentence. But in civil cases Manipur hill tribes could not appeal to the political agent. “Other tribes belonging to Lushai, Chin and Naga hills could appeal to the political agent within 30 days of that passing of the sentence if the cost of the suit was above Rs. 75.”

The above facts show that the new scheme of administration in the hill areas was incomplete. It had no provision for other aspects of administration. No provision for representation of the hill tribes was in it. There was lack of control and supervision as the Maipuri Lambus were the only officers having direct contact with the hill people. As the British officers were interested only in the exploitation of the hill people by not looking into their genuine grievances, tribal revolve were very frequent during their regime. During the period from 1911 to 1917, the Pothang movement in the valley in the Kuki rebellion in this were important Anti-British movements.

Movement for Abolition of Pothang System

The “Pothang” means Pot-baggage and Thang or Thangba – to carry, under this system the inhabitants of the valley and hill areas were to perform the duties of carrying the bag and baggage for the king, the royal Kith and Kin and state officials while on tours in the villages and in the hills. The villager had to take responsibilities making arrangement for free food and lodging for those officials. They had to attend upon the king in his hunting expedition and had to repair school buildings and construct roads in the village. But the Manipur state Durbar exempted “Pothang” duties to the people of Imphal Town, all Brahmins and Rajkumars, servants of Shri Govindajee Temple, all servants of the Raja and all the military police Sepoys. Against such discriminate policy the villagers were protesting. Afterwards the “Pothang” system was abolished by the government on 9th June, 1913.

Kuki Rebellion (1917-1919)

The main cause of the Kuki Rebellion (1917) was the recruitment for the labour corps in France. During the First World War the British officials requested the Maharaja of Manipur to contribute labour force in France.
Responding this request, the Maharaja decided to send labour from the Kuki inhabited places. The Kuki chiefs were against this recruitment, while the Lambus used it as a chance to make money for themselves. But the British observer that this revolt was the master brain of Chingakhamba Sanajaoba from the Moirang side. He had instigated the Kukis revolt against the recruitment of Kukis, the British government quelled the rebellion with the Manipuri force. Chingakhamba Sanajaoba and the rebel Kuki leader s were arrested, tried and transported. Regarding the huge expenditure of the British government in dwelling the rebellion Robert Reid records as “It cause 28 lakhs of rupees duel, and in the course of it many lives were lost.”

The Zeliangrong Rising 1930-32

There was a Naga Rising (Zeliangrong Rising) in Tamelang area lead by Jadonang and Rani Gainliu during the 2nd term of J.C. Higgins (1928-33). In the year 1930-31 Jadonang, a Kabui Naga youth started a new religion and induced the superstitions. Kabuis believed that he would overthrow the British rule. Henceforth occurred unrest among them. The political agent decided to make an armed demonstration in February, 1931 and provided with a column of Assam Rifles to Kambioon where Jadonang had established a temple and other villages. Jadonang’s temple and idols were destroyed. Jadonang was also arrested in Cachar and hanged on 29th August, 1931 at Imphal Jail. “Inspite of these stem measures the Jadonang Cult continued under the leadership of a girl called Gaidinliu. It was a semi-religious and semi-martial movement, affecting both Kabui and Kacha Nagas, the belief prevalent that the new cult eventuated in a “Naga Raj” over all the tribes in the hills.”

47 Robert Reid, n. 2, p. 79.
48 Kh. Sorjini Devi, n. 43, p. 73.
There was also "Maibas" or "medicine men" arising in one village or another other than Gaidinliu. Thus the movement spread beyond the borders of Cachar and the Naga Hills district and gave great anxiety to the British Government. But Gaidinliu was arrested in October, 1932 from "Khouoma in the Naga Hills." The political agent court sentenced her life imprisonment for abetment of murder. However, she was released from Tura Jail, when India attained freedom in the year 1947 and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru become the Prime Minister of India. She was honoured with "Tamara Patra" award. "Jawaharlal Nehru describes her as Rani of the Nagas."

The Women Agitation of 1939

But during the Political Agency of Mr. Gimson another important anti-British movement also occurred. It was the 2nd Women agitation of 1939 known as 2nd Nupilal. This took place consequent upon the scarcity of rice in the state. As the Maharaja was in Nawadip on his pilgrimage the Manipur State Durbar could not take immediate action. "On receipt of the order from Maharaja the export of rice was stopped and the mills ceased working." The political agitations influenced by the congress ideals reached in Manipur and the agitators demanded a responsible government for the state of Manipur. During the political agencyship of Mr. C. Gimson (1933-46) Manipur became the scene of Second World War (1942-44). The Japanese and INA were defeated by the British and Allied forces. His Highness agreed to the setting up a Constitution – making committee consisting of officials and non-officials in the state. By the by when India attained independence on the 15th August, 1947 Manipur also become free from British dominion.

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49 Ibid., p. 73.
50 Ibid.
51 Robert Reid, n. 21, p. 91.
Manipur after Independence

With the attainment of freedom on the 15th of August, 1947 according to the official order of the Governor General of India, Mr. Pearson Pulled down the “Union Jack” and M.K. Priyobrata Singh, the then Chief Minister of Manipur hoisted the flag of Manipur, i.e. “white colour with the insignia of Pakhangba in the middle.” However, this achievement of independence did not bring any solution and peace in the internal political situation of the state. Many problems arose from different corners. Though the king continued his rule in Manipur until the signing of the “Merger Agreement” on September 21, 1949, his role during the period 1947-49 became very controversial. There are two views regarding the position of the king and the political status of Manipur after independence. One view is that Manipur was an independent state during the period 15th August 1947 to 15th October, 1949. The reasons are:

i) framing of constitution which is done only by an independent sovereign state,

ii) Making of Merger Agreement which can be done by sovereign state as making of treaties with other states, and

iii) Manipur independence on the judgement of the Supreme Court of India and not as a part of India, on the cases involving the native states.

The second view is that Manipur was not a sovereign state during the period 1947-1949. Supporters of this view claims that Manipur lost her sovereignty during the period. To justify their agreement they propose clear understanding of the political history of Manipur before and after independence.

In fact, the office of the British Political Agent was abolished in Manipur. A representative of the government of India was appointed under the designation of “Dominion Agent” in Manipur. Shri Deveswar Sharma was appointed for the post. By the time the government of India had been wooing the Government of Manipur for continuing the relationship between the two. Under such policy the government of India abolished the post of Dominion Agent in 1948 and his tasks were entrusted to the Governor of Assam and his staff. To have greater control over the administration of Manipur, the Maharaja of Manipur was persuaded to entertain post of Dewan representing India in Manipur. At first Shri M.K. Priyobrata Singh, Chief Minister was given the responsibilities of the Dewan. But later on Major General Rawal Singh took over the charge on 18th April, 1949. The Dewan had all the necessary powers as the head of the Manipur state administration. “Thus the Government of India virtually regarded as a unit under its administrative control.”

Movement for Responsible Government

Among the various problems cropping up after 15th August, 1947 the movement for establishment of a responsible government in Manipur was the most important. The movement in Manipur started as early as 1937. This demand was supported by all sections of the people. “Under the able leadership of H. Irabot Singh, the people of boycotted the feudal laws made by the king.” He was in close touch with the Peasants, Villagers and out caste Manipuris. He participated in the ceremonies like Saradha ceremony of outcast people and began to organize his party. By this time the Mahasabha turned from a social organization to a political organization. It was out of the king’s

control. The government announced that no government servant was allowed to join the Mahasabha. This was a threat to those government servants who were already its members, under such circumstances; E. Tompok and H. Irabot were bold enough to resign from the government service in order to continue their political activities. This effort of the Mahasabha members was to establish a responsible government in Manipur. The movement was joined by Manipur State Congress, the Krishan Shabha, the Praja Sangha and Socialist Party. In November, 1947 the leftist group of the Manipur Congress party launched an agitation for the establishment of responsible government in the state.\textsuperscript{56} They launched demonstration and picketing in front of the state officers and at the residence of the government officials. This stand of Tompok congress was supported by Mahila Sammelon and Students’ Federation. “In the meantime, Congress also asked the government to make a declaration within forty eight hours that the full responsible government would be established within May 1948.”\textsuperscript{57}

During the movement it was reported that about 25 persons were injured in the police action. Inspite of the Dominion Agent’s assurance of establishing responsible government in Manipur not later than 1st June next, the strikers were adamant until an unequivocal declaration from the Maharaja granting full responsible government with elected “Interim Arrangement.”

Then without having any alternative expect sensing the desire of the common people, the C.M. declares that a full responsible government would be established by April, 1948, The Dominion Agent also explained that the

\textsuperscript{56} J. Roy, n. 34, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{57} Resolution No.1 of the Working Committee of the Manipur State Congress (Tomal) held on November 8, 1947.
election of the State Assembly would take place according to the Provision of
the constitution. Then the Tompok Congress could off the agitation to establish
responsible government from the 26th November, 1947.

Election of 1948 and Establishment of State Assembly

Chief Minister’s announcement for having a responsible government in
Manipur was followed by the preparation for holding on 14th November, 1947,
the Franchise sub-committee of 7 members was formed. L. Ibunghohal Singh
was made the chairman of the committee. The names of the members were, (1)
L. Ibunghohal Singh, (2) L. Manihar Singh, (3) Dwijamani Dev Sharma, (4) S.
Krishnamohon Singh, (5) Thangkhopao Kipgen, (6) Teba Killong and (7)
Maulavi Basiruddin Ahmad. Under the resolution of this sub-committee to
follow the single constituency system, the valley area was divided into 29
assembly constituencies and out of which in three constituencies where the
number of the Mohammedans were numerous, the plural voting system was
introduced. This system allowed a voter to cast two votes one for the
Mohammedans and the other for the non-Mohammedans. “The Jiribam area
was reserved for a general seat. The whole hill areas also divided into 18
assembly constituencies”.58 All matriculates and Maulavis would vote for the
education and shopkeepers for the commerce and industry. To become a
candidate one must be an unemployed citizen of Manipur state whose name
had been entered in the electoral roll and who was above 25 years of age. To
settle all election disputes an “election tribunal” consisting of three members,
namely: (1) R.K. Bhasker, Chairman (nominated by the Chief Court), (2)
Major R. Khating M.C., M.B.E. and (3) Sjt. O. Thambal Singh, B.L. was
formed. Sjt. P.C. Deb become the Returning Officer on the 3rd April, 1948 with

58 N. Joykumar Singh, n. 11, p. 187.
an allowance of Rs. 100/- a month while Th. Puskar and Sjt. K. Lamphel were assistants to him on an extra allowance of Rs. 75/- each from the date of taking of the work. Election date was fixed on 11th June, 1948.

Though the congress got the single largest majority, a non-congress coalition ministry was formed with M.K. Priyobrata Singh as Chief Minister. The other ministers were (1) Major Khating, (2) Ibotomecha Singh, (3) N. Leiren Singh, (4) Ayekpam Gourabidhu Singh, (5) Teba Killong and (6) Md. Alimuddin, T.C. Tiangkham and Bokul Singh were elected the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the house. "The maiden session of the assembly was formally inaugurated by the Maharaja on the 18th October, 1948".59 With this the demand for a responsible government in Manipur was fulfilled.

Political Status of Manipur (1949-1972)

With the signing of the Manipur Merger Agreement containing nine articles by Maharaja Bodhachandra Singh at Shillong on 21st September, 1949 Manipur become a part of Indian union since 15th October 1949. After this, Manipur was given the status of a Chief Commissioner's Province.

Manipur As Part “C” State

Manipur was declared as a Part ‘C’ state with effect from 1952 under Part ‘C’ state act. Under the constitution of India the first general election was held in January 1952 on the basis of adult franchise. Shri L. Jugeswar Singh (Congress) was elected from the valley and Shri Rishang (Socialist) from the Hills as Lok Shabha members. Another 30 members of the Electoral College were also elected. These members recommended five names - (1) Shri Dwijamani Dev Sharma, (2) Shri S. Krishnamohon Singh, (3) Shri Salam

59 Ibid., p. 189.
Tombi Singh, (4) Dr. Kampu and (5) A. Daiho to be advisors of the Advisory council of the Chief Commissioner. Very soon as a result of the defection of the M.L.A’s Congress Party’s strength had been reduced to 15 to 25 in the house. On 4th October, 1967, the congress Ministry under M. Koireng Singh’s leadership collapsed and Shri Longjam Tambou Singh of the United Front was asked to be Chief Minister of the UF Ministry.

**Manipur As Union Territory**

The people of Manipur were not satisfied with their Part ‘C’ state political status. They started agitations to restore the responsible government which they once enjoyed. Then the 7th Amendment Act of 1956 of the Constitution of India converted the Part ‘C’ state of Manipur into a Union since November 1, 1956. A Territorial Council of 30 members elected adult suffrages from the territorial constituencies was established. After the general election of 1957 the Territorial Council started functioning. It had jurisdiction only in the rural areas outside Imphal. “Shri Dwijamani Dev Sharma was the first Chairman of this council from September, 1957 to September, 1958. Shri Sibo Laho became the next Chairman from October, 1958 to 2nd August, 1962 and Shri M. Koireng Singh became the third and last Chairman of the Territorial Council form August 1962 to 21st July 1963.”

**From Territorial Council to Territorial Assembly**

The Union Territories Act, 1963 converted the Manipur Territorial Council into the Territorial Legislative Assembly. The Act provided a Legislative Assembly of 30 elected members and a council of 3 Ministers. The Manipur State Congress leader Shri M. Koireng Singh formed the Government.

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This congress government lasted till the next election held on 19th February, 1967 in the valley and on the 29th February, 1967 in the hills.

Second Koireng Ministry

In the 1967 general election the congress had a comfortable majority of 25 members in a house of 32 members. Congress leader M. Koireng Singh was sworn in as Chief Minister on 20th March, 1967. The other 4 members were: (1) Shri Sibo Larho, Finance Minister, (2) Shri N. Tombi Singh, Education Minister, (3) Shri Gaukhenpau, Medical Minister and (4) Md. Alimudhin, Development Minister. Shri Salam Tombi Singh and Shri Kh. Chaoba Singh were elected the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Manipur legislative Assembly.

Thambou Ministry

The UF Ministry having 5 ministers and headed by L. Thambou Singh was sworn in on 13th October, 1967. Of the other four Ministers two were defecting Congress M.L.A.s – Shri Seram Angou Singh and Shri K. Envey – and two were independents – Shri Ashraf Ali and Shri A. Biramangol Singh. But very soon Shri D.K. Kipgen who earlier returned to the Congress-fold, with this an un-parallel situation happened in Manipur. In the 32-member Assembly the ruling United Front and the Congress Party were equally matched.

The Chief Commissioner had nothing to do but to prorogue its session. Then the centre had taken over the administration of Manipur. A proclamation to this effect was signed by the President in New Delhi on October 25. The President's order kept Manipur Assembly functioning suspended for a period of six months. Thus, the 12-day old Thambou Ministry was dissolved.
In the meantime Shri Koireng tried his level best to consolidate his position. Ch. Rajmohon Singh resigned from the UF and joined the congress party. Many other MLA's also were taken into the congress legislature party from the ULF. On 7thg December 1967 Shri Thambou Singh, Chief Minister of the erstwhile ULF Ministry and Shri S. Ashon, MLA also returned to the congress part. Then Shri M. Koireng Singh, who had a support of 22 members in the 32 – member house was sworn in as Chief Minister on 19th February 1968. The other three ministers were, (1) L. Solomon (Finance, Revenue), (2) N. Tombi Singh (Education. Law, Local Self Government, Publicity and Tourism) and Shri Goukhnenpau (Transport, Public Health and Industry). Shri S. Larho and L. Ibomcha Singh were elected as Speaker and Deputy Speaker of Manipur Legislative Assembly respectively. It was followed by the induction of Sinam Bijoy Singh and Waikhom Mani Singh as Deputy Minister on 4th July, 1969.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at Imphal

The Indian Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi paid a short visit to Imphal on September 23, 1969. She was to address a Public Meeting at the Pologround. Along her way to the Pologround meeting the students shouted slogans. The police charged lathi on the students, both boys and girls, to clear the road for the Prime Minister. The crowd retaliated by throwing stones. There were demonstrations in support of the demand for state hood. In a series of classes between the police and the leftist demonstrations, three people were killed and thirty four sustained injuries. The government vehicles and private cars were set on fire. 24-hour curfew was imposed in Imphal and next day there was a hartal amidst the firing by army. “Shrimati Gandhi’s visit to Manipur has
brought to the fore the repressive demand for raising the status of Union Territory to that of the State. 61

Fall of Koireng Ministry and President Rule

The Koireng Ministry which was 8 months old fell on September 24, 1969 as nine dissident Congress members voted with the opposition of a no-confidence motion. But Shri Koireng Singh was allowed to continue as the head of the caretaker government. The then Indian President V.V. Giri signed on October 16, 1969 a proclamation dissolving the Manipur Territorial Assembly and imposing President’s Rule in the union-territory.

Statehood Movement

The movement for demand of full statehood continued in full vigour in the early part of 1970. Shri Sheel Bhadra Jajee (congress) was the first speaker who was supported by Shri Barbora (SSP), Shri Chitta Basu (FB), Shri A.P. Chatterjee (CPM), Shri Banke Behari Das (PSP) and Shri Bhupesh Gupta (CPI). Shri A.P. Chatterjee asked why Manipur would not be a viable state for statehood while Haryana and Nagaland were viable. The Manipur Bar Association submitted a memorandum on 1st April, 1970 to His Excellency Shri D.R. Kohli, Lt. Governor of Manipur urging for full fledged statehood of Manipur. More than twenty M.Ps’ of different parties like Hiren Mukerjee, S.N. Dwivedy, S.M. Joshi, M. Meghachandra, Dr. Ranen Sen, Indrajit Gupta, P. Haokip, Dhireswar Kalita, Sheel Bhadra Yajee, P. Ramamurty and Dr. Maitreee Bose signed a joint letter addressed to the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for granting statehood to Manipur. The representatives of the five political parties United Action Committee for statehood constituted of S.S.P,

61 Ibid., p. 184.
M.P.P., P.S.P., C.P.I., etc. sent a delegation to New Delhi in the 2nd Week of April, 1970 to meet leaders of different opposition groups in parliament to support their demand for statehood. The delegation also met the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the President of the union.

Many tribal leaders of different tribal groups submitted a memorandum to the P.M. of India on the 7th May, 1970 demanding grant of statehood to Manipur. Besides 20 congress Municipal Commissioners of Imphal Municipal Board including its chairman resigned on 1st August, 1970 against the grant of statehood to Himachal Pradesh ignoring the demand of the Manipuris. Subsequently, on 3rd August the All Parties Statehood Demand Coordinating Body called Manipur bandh. In this connection, the Amrita Bazar Patrika in its editorial dated 4 August, 1970 made comments, "Himachal Pradesh becomes a full state today, Manipur may become India's nineteenth state tomorrow." There is nothing to show that the Union Government ignored or rejected Manipur's case, which is almost as strong as Himacla's. Opposition members in the Rajya Sabha also raised a claim for Manipur's statehood while reacting to the demand of opposition members of the Lok Sabha on August 6, 1970 for statehood, the Home Minister (State) K.C. pant announced that the Govt. would take time to come to a definite conclusion.

Mr. Meghachandra Singh, the then M.P. from Manipur also lodged a compliant against India Government’s negligence in granting statehood to Manipur. A deputation from Manipur consisting of Shri Koirieng Singh the former C.M., R.K. Birachandra Singh, Paokai Haokip, Krishna Mohan Singh and M.P. Sheel Bhadra Yajee, met the P.M. on 13th August for Manipur’s statehood. Later 65 congress members of Parliament urged P.M to immediately

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62 Ibid.
confer statehood to Manipur. Then a nine member delegation from Manipur representing Congress (R), Congress (O), C.P.I, S.S.P, P.S.P, M.P.P., and KNA pleaded before the Prime Minister their unanimous demand for statehood.

Boycott and Civil Disobedient Movement

At the call of the All Party statehood Demand Committee people of a Manipur boycotted the Independence Day Celebration on 15th August, the first day of the Civil Disobedience Movement, about 160 volunteers of the above mentioned Committee courted arrest. They were taken to jail later on. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its editorial dated August 18 appreciated the movement while the New Age in its editorial also supported the cause of the Manipuris. The Hindustan Standard in its editorial gave good comment on the movement that would be reciprocal by the central government in the like gesture to be a wise action.

Prime Minister Announcement and Inauguration of Statehood

On September 3, 1971 the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi announced in the Lok Shabha that the central government had accepted in principle the demand of the people of Manipur for statehood. “The Lieutenant Governor of Manipur welcomed the announcement of the Prime Minister in the Parliament regarding the acceptance in principle the demand of Manipur. The Nagaland Chief Minister, Shri Sema congratulated the people of Manipur on the centre’s announcement to grant full statehood to Manipur.”

With the passing of the Re-organisation of north-East India State Act in both the house of parliament in 1972, necessary arrangements were made for inauguration of statehood for Manipur on January 21, 1972. On the eve of the

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inauguration of statehood the Lieutenant Governor of Manipur D.R Kohli broadcasted his message to the people of Manipur over the A.I.R Imphal, “January 21, 1972 is an epoch- making event in the political history of Manipur. On this day, Manipur emerged in the political map of India a full- fledged state headed by a governor and the political aspirations of the people of Manipur for more than twenty years have at last been fulfilled.”64

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister inaugurated the new state of Manipur, the 21st State of India, on January 21, 1972 at the palace ground at Imphal. Innumerable people from all over Manipur attended the colourful ceremony and warm reception to the Prime Minister. In the address of the Prime Minister, she reiterated on the bravery and heroism of Manipuris.

The new Governor Shri B.K. Nehru was sworn in at Raj Bhavan by the chief Justice, Goswami as the first Governor of the new state. Many Chief Ministers of states of India sent happy massage to the people of Manipur in connection with statehood.

Conclusion

Manipur’s attainment of statehood was historic. It marked the ultimate triumph of the people in their struggle for democratic rights against authoritarianism. It fulfilled the long cherished desire of the people for a responsible form of government. It was hoped that with this statehood of Manipur, the people of this region should preserve the unity and integrity of the country at any cost. The desire for unity and nationhood should come voluntarily to make India at par with developed countries of the world.