

**GEOGRAPHICAL APPRAISAL AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF
INDO-MYANMAR BOUNDARY**

ABSTRACT

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2004

Abstract

Studies on the evolution of boundaries unravel important periods in a country's political history. Evidently most Nations did not emerge within a single set of outer limits that remained unchanged before frontiers were parcelled out among the competing sovereign states. In the process, large tracts of land were frequently left as protective barriers or marchlands behind which States developed in safety. These barriers were gradually overcome and the frontier region was incorporated in the territories of the states on either sides.

Great Britain maintained frontiers that not only served as outer limits of their dominion but which assumed the role of a buffer zone. Strategic consideration was vital to their expansionist policies. Where there was a military threat or hostile incursions political frontiers were carefully selected for their defensive advantages. Given the circumstances of the existing Indo-Myanmar border landscape the peripheral ethnic groups share greater cultural affinity with each other than they do with the mainstream. This enhanced the scope of interaction significantly

Colonial history bears witness to changing nature of policies. These reflected to a great extent both the geopolitical realities as well as the economic compulsions within Europe. By the end of Nineteenth century it assumed a new form of Imperialism as industrial nations sought to control weaker areas for the purpose of exploiting their vast resources. It renewed old rivalry between the European powers as evident in Asia and Africa. In the course of their expansion of territory, as in the Indian Sub-Continent tensions frequently emerged. The natives resisted intrusion into the intermediate territories (for example, as in the North-East India) as administered settlements invariably encroached upon the territories of the peripheral dwellers. This resentment resulted in armed raids. As a result, intervention and control of the hills was seen as a necessity to protect British economic interest in the plains. Hence the policies often ranged from annexation to creation of protectorates as witnessed in Sikkim, Tripura and Manipur initially till 1891.

Therefore this study was taken up to understand the circumstances that resulted in the emergence of the Indo-Myanmar boundary during the Colonial period. With the annexation of the territories in the frontier the British incorporated the hill tribes west of the Patkai range under Assam, while those on the east were incorporated under the administration of the province of Myanmar under British India. Given the ramification of the arbitrary demarcation of the boundary, the study has been a modest attempt to arrive at an understanding of the scope, impact and influence of the boundary on the Indo-Myanmar borderlands.

Statement of the problem:

The British maintained frontiers not only to serve as outer limits of their dominion but also to serve as buffer zones. Strategic considerations were vital to their expansionist policies. The British in India were aware of the consequences of the Myanmarese expansion in the nineteenth century, when they overran Assam, Manipur and Cachar including parts of what is today Bangladesh. They were also aware of the Russia's southward expansion in Central Asia. In the process, they expanded their political control into territories that are now known as Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Mizoram. This was in addition to the annexation of Myanmar (Burma) by 1889. Colonial administrators settled political boundaries separating these territories with Myanmar.

With the emergence of Myanmar as a separate State in 1935 and decolonisation, in 1947, The Indo-Myanmar boundary divided the ethnic communities. The communities particularly the Nagas found the boundary to be inconsistent with the traditional limits. Such a situation promoted and strengthened the trans-border relationships (in cultural, economic and political transactions). Insecurity emerged among the ethnic communities, as they found themselves relegated to ethnic minorities on both sides of the border. Their fears and aspirations manifested in radical forms. Ramifications of such developments were not ignored, as former peaceful borderlands assumed antagonistic postures. Keeping this in view, the theme "Geographical Appraisal and Impact Assessment of Indo-Myanmar Boundary" has been taken up for study.

Literature Survey:

Through the ages the study of Boundaries has generated interest in both the fields of political strategist, administrators and scholars consequently enriching the literature in the concept and its utility and role. Some of the earliest writers such as Finch and Bluntschli in the early nineteenth century made no distinction between the concept of Frontiers and Boundaries. Bluntschli simply maintained that boundaries were natural divisions between two states. However Ratzel in his "*Politsche geographie*" in 1895 and *The history of mankind*, actually distinguished between the two concepts stating that boundaries were linear while frontiers were zonal. He compared a state to a living organism that developed and decayed with the passage of time wherein boundaries acted as an epidermis that sought to protect but simultaneously permitted exchanges. His idea of the permissible political limits of a state were referred to as "*Space conditions*" and since boundaries influenced states power, he added that a strong state was one that had close ties between the borders and its core and that the weakened connections would result in a weak state whose boundary would then be incorporated within a neighbouring

state. In the post World wars once again interest in boundary studies emerged, T.H.Holdich in 1916 viewed boundaries as barriers and usually the best were natural barriers such as mountains , deserts etc since they were the unlikeliest causes of war while latitudes and longitudes made bad boundaries. D.W. Johnson pointed out the dangers of over simplification of the concept by Holdich since the latter' concept was disproved by the sequence of the First World War. Karl Haushofer (1927) theorized that a cultural boundary should be created around a highly ethnic homogenous population that was to be protected a military boundary to defend the cultural homeland while Spykman (1942) regarded boundaries as “points of contact of territorial power Structure” as oppose to traditional concepts. In the book *Political frontiers and boundaries*, J.R.V Prescott(1987) identifies the three ideal stages in the evolution of a boundary. He equates Lapradelles process of Preparation, Decision and Execution with Jones functions of boundary evolution namely Allocation, Delimitation, and demarcation. The process of preparation precedes true delimitation and actual marking on the ground; however all boundary demarcations need not necessarily pass all the stages. Transfer of territory has to an extent been responsible for territorial disputes particularly when the boundary evolution is incomplete and such disputes generally arise during the demarcation, when a commission fails to match the boundary definition with the landscape and secondly when an error is committed during demarcation. Settlement frontiers were settlements of alien districts or division between the settled and uninhabited areas while political frontiers were used to separate neighbouring countries which served as a buffer zone to avoid confrontation. Frontiers which were common features of the political landscape centuries ago have been replaced by boundaries in the twentieth century. Lord Curzon in his *Romanes Lecture* (1907) presents his view of the need to establish strategic boundaries. He describes frontiers as means of promoting peace but the reviews of boundaries were mandatory to check the military appropriateness in keeping with the progress made in the technical advancements. He described frontiers as “the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations” and just as the security of one’s home is of vital importance so is the integrity of borders which is a condition of existence of a state.

In *The geography of border landscape* (1991) edited by D.Rumley and J.V. Minghi ,emphasis has been laid on stress and conflict with the boundary acting as the “interface between two or more discrete national territories and subject to problems directly reflecting the relations between the nation-states it divides”. Hence the interest generated in the studies has a tendency to reflect the periods of territorial conflict and hostility. However changes in the trend

is oriented of late on the harmonies and normal context and with the emphases on the changing nature of human geography of borderland it allows the understanding of the intricate political mechanism both at the inter and intra levels of the state

Liemgruber W. In his case study of the Swiss Italian transborder region states that boundaries are “social constructs” conditioned by our perception of space. Thus boundaries may either repel or attract offering scope to remain within its bounds or escape and either delimit norms or promotes interaction that arises from the varying structure and norms on both sides of the boundary. Rumley traces the evolution of the Thai-Malaysian boundary identifying at least five political conflicts arising from the location of the boundary, the Thai Muslim minorities, Malaysian opposition party support, Chinese resettlement and economic development policies. In the first instance dispute exists over the exact location of boundary markers owing to environmental factors such as dense jungle and the seasonal changes of the islands at the mouth of the river Sungei Kolok. Ethnic tension and separatist tendencies have had an impact on the bilateral relations. Study of the border landscape should also incorporate the human responses such as mentality in the landscape, people’s perception of the boundary, behaviour along and across the boundary, government policies with regards to the boundary and an understanding of the economic and political environment.

In his book *Studies in the Frontier History* Owen Lattimore traces the rationale behind colonial policies. He mentions that in the course of expansion, it was considered wasteful to reach out beyond a manageable whole since efficiency in administration was to be limited to territories based on the economic and military feasibility. Given the Colonial policies in the tribal areas owing to the situation, a common axiom of the frontier administration was that a tribe or group of tribes situated between two comparatively powerful states must be under the influence of one of these states.

Urmila Phadnis (1990) in her book *A History of South East Asia* states that Separatist movements in this region is seen as an outcome of the assertion of tribal groups identity and distinctiveness and a mark of protest against assimilation vis- a- vis the mainstream. Geographical linkages coupled with the tribal affinities across the various states in the area made possible militant group interaction. All of them seem to have one thing in common which is an acute sense of relative deprivation and grievance vis-a- vis the institutions of power and central authority.

In *A history of South East Asia*, D.G.E.Hall (1964), traces the Anglo Myanmarese relations stating that confrontation between the British and the Myanmarese was inevitable with the

former alternately adopting a policy of retaliation and reconciliation. British policies were motivated by insecurities and apprehensions of the latter providing the French ports which could have served as a base against the British commercial interest in the Bay of Bengal and a springboard to launch an attack on British India. With the invasion of Cachar, Assam and Manipur, the British declared war in 1824 ousting the Myanmarese forces out of the region and with the annexation of Pegu in 1852 and the amalgamation of all the territories by 1886, the fate of Myanmar was finally sealed.

In the book *Indo- Burma relations* B.Pakem (1992) discusses the bilateral relations between the two neighbours suggesting that the role of a third party particularly China was crucial in shaping the policies of the area corresponding to the ebb and flow of the fortunes of the three nations. The Indo Myanmarese boundary demarcations were carried out in phases by a joint boundary commission. In the first phase the demarcation between the Mizo Hills and Myanmar began on 16 th November 1968. The reason this section was first selected was because the Chins were the only ethnic minority that were not posing problem for the Myanmarese government at that given point of time, thus anticipating little resistance work commenced. In comparison the northern sector proved problematic due to the difficulty posed by the terrain, as well as the existence of certain unadministered areas compounded by the distribution of Naga tribes on both sides of the border particularly in view of the political unrest in the region.

A.C.Banerjee (1964), in his *The Eastern Frontier of British India 1784-1826* traces the political policies of British imperialism in the region, particularly the circumstances or chain of events in the frontier that led to the occupation of Myanmar. His work provides an insight not only to the circumstances of the defeat of Ava but permits an understanding of the ideology of the contending parties that may have been tinted by their cultural ethos perception and strategies as one typically embodies European ethic while the other represents the oriental perspectives. Studies on boundaries reveal the changing trends and perception of the concept through the ages having initially been regarded as physical barriers, but presently the focus has been on its functionality and impact on the people they divide.

Study area:

Geographically, the study area lies approximately 95°E to 97°E and 22°N to 28°N. It extends from the extreme Eastern margins of the North Eastern Region of India. It encompasses the eastern areas of the state of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram in India and the Naga Hills district in the province of Sagiang and the Chin Hills sub-division of Myanmar in the south. The people belong to the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic sub-family of the

Tibeto-Chinese Family. Predominant religion of the area is Christianity followed by Buddhism, Hinduism and indigenous religion (Animism). With a predominantly agrarian economic structure characterised by low levels of socio-economic development as such the culture and material conditions have evolved under the conditions of relative isolation given its difficult terrain and low levels of technology availability. In the post independence period the Government of India formulated programmes to develop the area, hence the second five-year plan emphasised on the implementation of schemes in consultation with members of the leaders of the community and advisory council; further the role of traditional institutions and tribal rights pertaining to land and forests etc were to be considered in the larger framework of tribal development. In Myanmar development in the Border States were initiated largely after independence as the Naga inhabited areas were brought under administered only after 1940. Like its counter part in the areas west of the boundary the erstwhile “frontier areas ” of Myanmar are consequently the least developed areas in Myanmar.

Concept of Boundary, Frontiers, Border and Borderland/landscapes

Although the terms of Boundary, Frontiers and Borderland have often been used interchangeably, these terms represent distinct connotations. Frontier and boundary lie at the two extremes of a spectrum manifesting the sequence of the evolution of boundaries hence frontiers may be viewed as a forerunner of Boundaries. The term Frontiers suggests that which lie at “the front”¹ of an ecumene that also denotes “foreland” or “March” which essentially lie at the outer fringes of the state expressing the areas of future expansion and not the outer limits of the state. De Blij describes frontier as “a politico geographical area lying beyond the integrated region of the political unit and into which expansion could take place”². Kristof describes the frontier as “outer- oriented” with its focus directed towards the outlying areas that are a source of danger and coveted³. As states become more powerful, they were able to expand into the peripheral frontiers.

Frontiers are literally zones of varying width, which were common features of the political landscape especially during the colonial era that gradually disappeared to be replaced by boundaries throughout the world. Frontiers can be studied under two aspects such as settlements or political limitations. The former are historic features in a sense and a classical example is the

¹ Kristof .L.K.D, 1959. “The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries” In Harm J. De Blij *Systematic Political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.208.

² Harm J. De Blij “Frontiers and Boundaries” *Systematic Political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.199.

³ Kristof .L.K.D. op cit p.210

westward expansion of North America by migrants from Europe. Primary settlements frontiers demarcated the actual limitations of a states political authority. The advance of frontiers resulted from a combination of factors, which were influenced by social, economic and political factors.

In contrast, political frontiers separate neighbouring countries. Geographic interests were centred on their physical traits, position, altitude, policies of flanking states and influence of the frontier on subsequent development of the cultural landscape or the manner in which boundaries were drawn within a given frontier. Frontiers also promote and encourage either contact or separation. In the case of the former it implied trade, payment of tribute, migration or conflict with policy of the flanking states. A frontier can be both integrative in nature or a manifestation of centrifugal forces.⁴ Generally, political frontiers experienced a much lower level of economic development due to the unfavourable environment .In areas were there were threats of invasion or trespass such frontiers would be carefully selected for its defensive advantages. Buffer zones were created when two strong neighbours wanted to reduce the possibility of conflict erupting between them. In Thailand and China attempts were made by the British to use the Mekong River to separate Myanmar and French Indo-China; or in the case of the Wakhan panhandle that extended into Afghan territory to the limits of Chinese territory was utilised to avoid direct contact between British India and Russian Central Asia. Ratzel was the first to identify the differences between political frontiers and boundaries. Frontiers were described as zones, while boundaries were treated as linear. Both were manifestations of the state. Classic examples of frontier marker are the Hadrian wall and the Great Wall of China. The Romans merely allowed the marker to behave as a defence against raids and as such only undertook expeditions as a punitive measure with no intent to consolidate areas beyond the barrier. The Great Wall of China was created to separate the civilized agricultural China from the barbarian populace Central Asia and Mongolia who practiced pastoral form of economy.

Concept of Boundary:

The perception of boundaries underwent significant changes over time i.e. from a natural demarcation to its functionality. In the Middle Ages in feudal Europe boundaries were based on the principles of hereditary .The draw back of this system was the overlapping due to conflicting loyalties as a vassal sometimes accepted land grants from more than one lord. This brought a

⁴ Ibid, p.211-12

“patch work” political map coincident with discontinuous holding⁵. However, it was with the development of a central authority or absolute monarch that the territory which led to consolidation of boundaries to emerge, whereby the inhabitants pledged their allegiance.

Interpretation of contemporary international boundaries has its genesis in the concept of a modern state system in Europe and the signing of the first formal act, which was the treaty of Pyrenees in 1659 between France and Spain. The French advocated a concept of natural boundaries with emphasis on culture rather than language, while the Germans based their idea on “Nationality; hence language formed the basis of nationality that endorsed that all German speaking areas were to be considered as one state. Given the absence of a national state in the early nineteenth century language was a criterion for German nationality.

The concept of Ratzel endorsed the principle of Space conditions. It emphasized the need of the state to grow in order to survive. This became a driving factor for boundary making in the nineteenth century. During the interwar period, the emphasis was on the concept of an ideal boundary to reduce tension related to boundary dispute. Hence there was an intense debate regarding the merits and demerits of “artificial” as oppose to “natural”, among the practitioners of Boundary Science. After the post World War I, self determination endorsed nationalism and war epitomised by the concept of territoriality.⁶ In the post 1945 era, boundaries were regarded as legally contracted demarcating lines that defined the area of jurisdiction of the two contracting parties. Boundary indicates the bounds and limits of a political unit and all that is within is held together by a common ideology. International boundaries limit a state’s encompassing an internationally recognized political entity jurisdiction and its authority; Boundaries are a vertical plane that cuts through air space and the subterranean space, without any horizontal dimensions. Boundaries are “inner oriented” which are created and maintained by the will of the Central Government; hence it has no life of its own⁷. It is subject to the test of international law⁸. The boundary separates the sovereign political units from one another and impedes integration across the border. Lyde suggested that the assimilative factors are oppose to the functions and purpose of boundary; thus integration cannot be stimulated by the latter since it delimits the spheres and

⁵ Jones, Stephen B. 1959 “ Boundary Concepts in the Setting of Place and Time” In Harm J.DeBlij- *Systematic Political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.232

⁶Jones, Stephen B. “Boundary Concepts in the Setting of Place and Time”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.49 No.3, Sept 1959, p.248.

⁷ Harm J.De Blij op. cit p.202.

⁸ Kristof. L.K.D. op. cit p.211.

extent of the integrating forces.⁹ Kristof asserts that boundaries in the political world are supported by jural law and are one of the spatial expressions of the given legal order as oppose to the natural world where boundaries are based on physical laws which are self enforcing and cannot be broken.¹⁰

The sequence involved in the establishment of boundary, Lapradelle identifies three stages namely preparation decision and Execution while S.B. Jones suggests Allocation, Delimitation, Demarcation and Administration. Allocation is the first phase, when a description of the terrain is sought but owing to the lack of information about the area, the process is general rather than specific .In areas that are inhabited, the selection is comparatively precise but in areas that are either uninhabited or have low density of population the selection maybe arbitrary, that involves connecting coordinates through straight lines which in later years may become a source of conflict.

Delimitation process entails the criteria for the location of the boundary, supported by a treaty or a boundary commissioner's report. The treaty makers on considering the report decide upon an acceptable site to locate the boundary. Demarcation entails the actual marking of the boundary on the ground. It amounts to the identification and placement of markers such as pillars or fences in sensitive areas that need precise demarcation. The contracting parties to represent them call for often a mixed boundary commission or neutrals. Administration is a function concerned with the regulation of activities in relation to the demarcated line and as such it is supervisory in nature.

Borderland and Border landscapes:

Political boundaries and their impact on the immediate border landscape have long been objects of study to political geographers (for example, Ratzel, 1897: Minghi, 1963; de Blij, 1967). This was more concerned with the regional scale than any other (for example, Prescott, 1987). The reasons are due to the fact that the inter- national political boundaries provide the most obvious manifestation of the linkage between geography and politics; as they are palpable spatial manifestations of political control displayed in some way in the landscape. In addition, as a *de cure* expression of the spatial 'limits' of state power, the location of international boundaries has been subject to changes in that power with resultant conflict between and within states. The

⁹ Lyde L.W. "Some Frontiers of Tomorrow: An Aspiration for Europe" quoted in Harm J.D'Blij *Systematic political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.212.

¹⁰ Kristof L.K.D, op cit p.215.

study of the evolution of political boundaries has tended to preoccupy political-geographical inquiry in this area (Prescott, 1965)

The specific definition of border areas as opposed to boundaries as the objects of analysis remains unclear in much of the literature, although the focus on disputed areas in conjunction with national boundaries provides concrete examples of an areal or regional milieu as opposed to a linear one. In similar manner, studies that are organised around the phenomenon of a change in boundary location tend to take a before-and-after approach in examining the impact of the change on the area. (Minghi, 1963. 416-19). In his influential work of over fifty years ago, Derwent Whittlesey examined the impress of central authority in moulding the landscape and found that borderlands are apt to 'be strewn with features intended by central authority to maintain security' (Whittlesey, 1935-87). Two years later, Stephan Jones (1937) used the term 'borderlands' in the title of an article on a section of the Canadian-United States boundary along the forty-ninth parallel. He found the cultural dissimilarities existing in this 'border zone' defining to be in large part not intrinsic to but rather engendered by the presence of the boundary. He suggested the explanations for these dissimilarities as differentiated borderland. Minghi, fell in three classes as a result of (1) local causes, (2) national contrasts, or (3) different immigration policies, with the borderland providing a venue for all three.

Owen Lattimore traces the rationale behind colonial policies. He mentions that in the course of expansion, it was considered wasteful to reach out beyond a manageable whole since efficiency in administration was to be limited to territories based on the economic and military feasibility. Given the Colonial policies in the tribal areas particularly in India, a common axiom of the frontier administration was that a tribe or group of tribes situated between two comparatively powerful states must be under the influence of one of these states.

In Political Geography the border landscapes has been directly related to boundary studies. John Augelli observed that borderlands are zones of cultural overlap and political instability where the loyalties and national identities tend to become blurred as seen in the case of Hispaniola along the borderland between Dominican Republic and Haiti. Prescott has identified four areas of research concerns namely, i). The political boundary as an element of the cultural landscape. ii) the effect of the boundary upon the landscape and on the economic

activity. iii) The impact of the boundary on the attitudes of border inhabitants .iv) the effect of the boundary upon state policy. ¹¹

Rokkan has identified four basic dimensions namely cultural, economic, political and geographical in his study of core and periphery studies. The first deals with conflicts between elite and minority ethnic groups. The second dimension is concerned with conflict relating to economic exploitation and uneven distribution, while the third deals with conflicts that arise out of variation in political participation and political power and the geographical dimension deals with distance and perception of strategic territorial advantages as well as with local regional conflicts. Hence in areas where all the four dimensions coincide, the potential for border landscape conflict is greatest. Among developing nations the inhabitants of the border area tend to enjoy the least political power and are regarded as culturally and economically peripheral hence the per capita and allocation of economic resources per capita are likely to be lower in these area. Further the inhabitants tend to be more independent culturally or more conservative than those in central locations. Thus, they are less willing to change and adapt to a national culture and a national set of norms. Rather the enforcement of the national or mainstream norms only results in the emergence of radical political action or manifestations. ¹²

Leimgruber asserts that in the border zone both the forces of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies operate side by side. ¹⁴ He adds that landscape are a mirror of a person's perception of regions located at the periphery of a territory. In areas of non-political boundaries border landscape is characterized by transitional zones thus indicators other than landscape may be more suited as the human attitude and action will change gradually while the physiognomy will remain more or less the same.

Generally the image of the border areas will vary between the people living there or those from the interior or centrally located populace. This zone then becomes an area where varying attitudes mingle and where national identity is least questioned. Thus the border in this case is a zone of contact and not a line of separation.

Identity problem may also emerge in sections of the transborder region, where the people may have been relegated to the status of minorities in a sense as they are regarded to belong politically to one, yet culturally they are affiliated to another. Minghi on his study of the Alps

¹¹ Augelli J. quoted in Rumley D & Minghi J.V(ed) *The Geography of Border Landscape*, London: Routledge: 1991, p.3.

¹² J.V.(ed) *The Geography of border landscape*, London: Routledge: 1991, p.6.

Maritimes reveals that after the second world war, France and Italy had unresolved issues pertaining to a shift in the boundary in favour of France but a change is seen after a decade due to greater economic ties reflecting a change in perception one that advocates greater harmony along the border land.

A problem in earlier border landscape research have been the problem of 'separating out' cause and effect. On the one hand, this problem touches on the question of the 'limits' of state law and jurisdiction being expressed differentially across a political boundary, for example, land use. On the other hand, it raises the issue of whether the boundary actually *caused* that land use difference. The resultant conundrum can involve the effect of a boundary being inferred from a model, which assumes that it is not even there! In any event, it would be a mistake to necessarily assume an unchanging effect along the full length of a political boundary.

In addition to overcoming these problems of traditional approaches, there is a need in border landscape studies to move away from a fixation with visible function toward a consideration of border landscapes as the product of a set of cultural, economic and political interactions and processes occurring in space (House, 1982). In addition, there is scope for comparative analysis of intra-state differences in conflict and power which become manifest in the border region in addition to a concern with conflict or cooperation between contiguous states. More emphasis needs to be placed on a comparative approach, which sees the border landscape and its problems from the viewpoint of the contiguous states and their inhabitants. Finally, too little concern has been given to conceptual developments in the other social sciences, which might have some relevance to an understanding of border landscapes.

One such development is Rokkan's attempt to construct a general model of political development in advanced industrial societies which emphasis's comparative analysis, nation-building, the relationships between economic and cultural cleavages and the opposition between centre and periphery (Torsvik, 1981) Taking the centre-periphery opposition as a starting point, political geographer's may well find that Rokkan's framework has considerable potential for comparative analysis and understanding of intra-state differences in conflict and power which become manifest in the border regions.

To date, the centre-periphery model has been used as a framework of analysis in various ways and at different scales, for some the model functions as a symbol of the systematic structuring of space implying an opposition between a dominant centre and a subordinate periphery. Central dominance may well be marked in traditional societies (Gottman, 1980). The model has been used to characterise at least two often-related types of dominance namely social-

ethnic and economic-political dimensions. From a socio-ethnic perspective, control is seen as a prerogative to be exercised by dominant groups over national minorities (Rokkan and Urwin, 1983). If modernisation is unsuccessful, then there is likely to be an ethnic conflict.

An economic-political view of centre assumes an economically dominant centre in which there is a continuing net flow of resources from a weaker periphery. Thus at the international scale, the structure of Western Capitalism comprises a centre or 'core' of the world economy consisting of economically and technologically advanced states of North America and Western Europe (Wallerstein, 1979). At the national scale, the centre generally contains the national capital and thus is also centre of political power.

Apart from describing spatial aspects of the distribution of economic and political power, the centre-periphery model is suggestive of the likely political behaviour of those located at the periphery, which in turn can potentially lend some political conflict. At the international scale, for example, there appears to be a tendency towards authoritarian regimes, especially on post-colonial peripheral states (Rumley, 1985). In such cases, mass political participation is minimised. At the national scale, some regions are more integrated than others into the channels of political communication and thus it is to be expected that those located near the centre will participate more than those closer to the periphery.

Rokkan defines the concept of peripherality based on four basic dimensions viz cultural, economic, political and geographical. The cultural dimension is concerned with conflicts between elite and minority ethnic groups. The economic dimension is concerned with conflicts, which arise out of economic exploitation and an uneven distribution of wealth. The political dimension is concerned with conflicts, which arise out of variations in political participation and political power. The geographical dimension is related to distance and perception of strategic territorial advantage as well as with local regional conflicts. Hence in areas where all the four dimensions coincide, the potential for border landscape conflict is greatest. Among developing nations the inhabitants of the border areas tend to enjoy the least political power and of any group in the state and they participate less. In addition, within the state they are likely to be regarded a culturally and economically peripheral. Per capita incomes, for instance is likely to be lower and state allocations of economic resources are likely to be significantly lower in the periphery, save for grants designed to alleviate or deal with 'specific circumstances'. Peripheral inhabitants tend to be more culturally independent and more conservative than those in central location and are therefore less willing to change and to adapt to a nation culture and a national

set of norms. Strong national pressure to fully adopt national norms, however, may well force peripheral inhabitants into radical political action.

In the study area an attempt has been made to understand the impact of the boundary on the Indo-Myanmar border landscape. It is apparent that the boundary making process was presumably motivated by political convenience. This was probably the cause of unrest later. Further, cleavages and aspirations of the population subgroups led to interest conflicts, particularly in areas where ethnic divisions have encouraged political and other interest conflicts to become concentrated along its boundaries. Consequently, the definition of the boundaries has increased the intensity of conflict parameters. Border landscape studies have contrived to present boundary as more than just a point or line of demarcation with regards to relationships between the states that the boundary divides as well as the core and periphery dimensions.

Mentality of the borderland that includes the perception of the boundary and behaviour along and across the boundary, Government policies with regards to the boundary and international political environment are to be fully explored given its impact on organisation of space and functions of International political boundaries and regionally based ethnic identity. The scope of the latter even on the possible emergence on new boundaries or changes on the perception of boundaries by the inhabitation of the border land all have sufficient scope for future geo-political inquiry, however all this is only possible if we trace the root cause of the issue back to the past during the colonial era which brings us to the present inquiry which is the impact of the boundary demarcation on the border land prior and after independence. Although border landscape related studies have been extensively carried out in Europe and even parts of Asia such as the Thai-Malaysian border, similar studies on the Indo-Myanmar borders are practically non-existent. Paucity of literature and availability of data pertaining to the study area greatly constrained and impeded a satisfactory evaluation of the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants both during the Colonial and the post Independence period, further the information was dominantly descriptive in nature as vital statistics of population and other related aspects particularly in Myanmar was difficult to obtain. Hence the present work seeks to provide some idea of the socio-cultural, ethnic composition and economic conditions of the inhabitants in the borderland and the impact of the demarcation of the boundary on the inhabitants of the area.

Objectives of the Study:

1. To understand the importance and reasons for the demarcation of the boundary by the British.
2. To assess the social, economic and political impact of the boundary on the borderland.

Data base:

By the very nature of the study it was necessary to largely depend upon secondary data and source of information to represent the past incidents to provide information on the conditions and incidents, which could not be ascertained by observation or other sources of information. Considering the data and information base of the study, it was necessary to follow the basic historical methodology and technique of the study, where interpretation skill is essential. The important secondary data sources were tour diaries, memoirs of the British administrative officers, literature and gazetteers pertaining to the study area that were vital for the understanding of the British colonial policies, process of annexation and the stages of the demarcation of the boundary prior to Independence. Further gazetteers and census handbook of Assam and the report on the Chin hill by Carey and Tuck were used to obtain information on the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants under British administration. However paucity of data during the colonial period for all the areas necessitated the selection of a base year of 1871-72 and 1901 to maintain uniformity. Till 1914 the state of Arunachal Pradesh was incorporated under Assam, hence the data of the three eastern most district of Arunachal that were formerly amalgamated with Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts necessitated the use of the data pertaining to the latter districts. Paucity of data with regards to the Naga Hills District in Myanmar was primarily due to the loose form of administration carried out in the area only after 1940 hence the information is wholly descriptive in nature. Newspapers, and unpublished documents and web sites for information on Myanmar were used for ethnic and population statistics aspects. Primary data sources were collected from field survey on the basis of purposive random sampling to understand the present day socio, economic and political conditions and aspirations of the inhabitants in the areas contiguous to the boundary.

Methodology:

Taking into account the accessibility issue in such a strategically important region, and in view of the time period selected for such a study, literatures pertaining to the history of the area with reference to the British period were vital to understand the compulsions of the policies of annexations and the resultant demarcation of boundary prior to independence. In the third chapter, the early history and process of migration into the study area was necessary to understand the ethnic and population distribution of the inhabitation. Further the cultural aspects provided a backdrop to substantiate the levels of diversity or affinity in the study area. In the fourth chapter, the Socio economic conditions under the British administration were assessed to

identify the economic compulsions for British annexation and the impact of the British administration in the area.

In Post Independence era, the impact of the presumably random demarcation of the boundary affected the traditional territorial organization further the present aspirations of the inhabitants based on supposed socio-culturally affinities, economic and political grievances have assumed an alarming proportion that cannot be ignored, hence selective scheduled interviews were conducted in certain villages in the border areas in Mon, Tuensang and Ukhrul selected indicators namely social amenities, economy, migration, perception of the boundary and aspirations of the inhabitants of selected communities in the border land were carried out since People's perception and understanding are of value for such a study while the ground realities were used to substantiate historical narration. In the proposed study the use of cartographic techniques is limited due to lack of authentic database, however historical records were used for the purpose of cartographic understanding. The methodology was essentially interpretation of historical information base, supported by fieldwork limited mainly to the Indian side and as such limited to those areas that were accessible. Secondary sources such as books, journals, gazettes, census reports; unpublished documents and newspapers were used to arrive at an understanding of the implication and people's perceptions and aspiration in the borderland.

Chapterisation Scheme

Given the circumstances of the existing border landscape wherein the peripheral ethnic groups share greater cultural affinity than it does with the mainstream it increases the scope of interaction significantly. Therefore the study attempts to shed light on the emergence of the frontier during the colonial period and the scope of the boundary in the light of its influence on the border landscape.

Chapter-1: Introduction: The first chapter deals with the introduction, literature survey, research questions, methodology and database. This chapter also presents a study on the theoretical concepts of Frontiers, Boundaries and borders.

Chapter 2: Geographical Personality of the Study area: To provide a geographical framework of the study area the physical setting and the socio- cultural aspects of the borderlands are described as an endeavour to highlight the affinities as well as the diversity of ethnic groups that inhabit the study area in an attempt to assess its geopolitical implication at the inter and intra levels .It also gives an account of the economy with emphasis on the pre independence period to understand the economic compulsions that influenced Colonial policies and the level of development achieved during their rule.

Chapter 3: History and Migration: Traces the historical compulsions of the British entry into the region and the policies formulated thereafter to gain access into the strategically significant region. It also indicates the rationale behind the process of demarcation and delimitation during the Nineteenth century and the emergence of the North Eastern frontier as well as the political status of the peripheral western region of Myanmar namely the Sagiang division and Chin State. It provides a historical background to understand the circumstances that helped shape the destiny of its people.

Chapter 4: Socio-economic condition under the colonial rule: An attempt has been made to analyse the impact of the boundary demarcation of the borderland, and the scale of interaction given the social, economic and political dimensions and the perception and response of the inhabitants to the boundary. Given the role of boundaries as a political divide between states it assumes a dual role providing parameters to promote tension and conflict or positive interaction and given the Colonial historical legacy the implication of the demarcation will be varied and wide ranging in spectrum.

Chapter 5: Problems, Geopolitical Implications and Prospects: In conclusion, the problems and impact of the colonial policies and the demarcation of the boundary on the study area are enumerated. This chapter also includes the summary and findings of the study area. Observations from the field study of selected sample villages have also been incorporated in this chapter.

Summary and Findings:

The Indo Myanmar borderland is unique as it is inhabited not only by a diverse population comprising of numerous ethnic groups with diverse cultural ethos but there appears to be wide spread segregations of ethnic groups divided by an imposed boundary since traditional village were not maintained in the course of the demarcation of the boundary. Evidently the opinion and aspiration of the inhabitants were the least of the British considerations in the process of demarcation as administrative convenience based on the selection of natural divides was then a prevalent practice of the British in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century .Further the 1967 bilateral agreement between Myanmar and India further reiterated the maintenance of the traditional boundary demarcated during the Colonial era with minor modifications and the incorporation of the section of the boundary that was unadministered by the British prior to 1947 due to the gradual extension of the British administration into the Naga Hills particularly in this section as the general policy was to extent their area of control to manageable and financially expedient limits.

The Socio-cultural affinities and distribution of the ethnic population has been vital in understanding the rationale and justification of the demands for integration and unification since it has largely been based on cultural and linguistic affinities. The Naga tribes in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur in India and the Naga Hills in Myanmar belong to two different linguistic families based on the classification of Grierson, Shaffer and the Linguistic survey of India namely the Mizo-Kuki- Chin sub group of the Sino Tibetan family while the inhabitants of the contiguous districts of Tirap, Changlang in Arunachal , Mon , Tuensang in Nagaland and the Konyaks and Khiamnungans who occupy the contiguous settlements under Khamti and Lahe subdivisions in Naga Hills of Myanmar all belong to the Bodo-Konyak- Jinghpaw sub group of the Sino-Tibetan Family. Understandably the level of affinity of the second group is greatest even among the Nagas as compared to the linguistic affinity as in the case of the Aos in Nagaland and the Maos in Manipur as their territories are neither contiguous nor do they claim to a common theory of migration unlike the first group .

Land holding system among the Nagas is primarily community or clan owned, with a smaller proportion cumulatively or village owned. The clan ownership of land has prevented fragmentation or alienation of land among a predominantly rural community engaged primarily in the agrarian sector and whose membership to the clan and village thereafter is connected to the ownership of land. In the Ao community, when an individual migrates to a new village, that individual ceases to be a bonafide member of his old village and technically renounces all claim to the clan land or ceases to be a member of his ancestral village since he is expected to subscribe membership in the new village. Thus his offspring can lay no claim to the clan land in his ancestral village. This adaptation prevents the possible emergence of land dispute. Fragmentation or deprivation of land also has economic consequences as reduction in jhum cycle may result in infertility of soil. Numerous Tangkhul Naga villages have been deprived of vast tracts of economically viable clan owned forest land. Consequent to realising the commercial value land dispute has emerged as the villages do not consider the “artificial Boundary” and its delimitations binding. The adherence to one’s village territorial boundaries is indicated by the use of visible marker as encroachment is a punishable offense. Thus the resentment of the communities whose territorial integrity has been compromised by the demarcation of the International boundary can be appreciated as the presence of the boundary is a constant reminder of the loss of their territory and segregation of their community as in the case of the Konyak and Khiamnungan tribes.

Linguistically, the Kuki Chin Mizo group belong to the Tibeto- Burman linguistic family and although dialectic variations exist Gordon Luce (1959) estimates that out of a total of 700 words 230 words are common to this group infact in Mizoram the usage of Dulien as a lingua franca was a unifying factor among the different clans and tribes. In Manipur, a socio political orientation shows a deviation from a formerly Meitei-centric wherein groups redefined their position vis-a vis the dominant group to a tribe centric perspective, particularly in the post independent era that received further impetus by the formal enlistment of the “Scheduled tribe” in 1956. Numerically smaller tribes such as the Anal and Lamkang who found themselves hemmed in by the Nagas in the north and Kukis in the south have aligned themselves with the Naga tribes for greater communal status and political aspirations citing cultural affinity with the latter as these tribes also have an egalitarian traditional political setup like the majority of the Naga tribes and even in communities with a chieftain system rigid dogma of descent was not advocated for as in the case of the Kukis. A factor that contributed to the realignment of the smaller tribes was the non inclusion of the Kukis as a recognised scheduled tribe in Manipur. Presently the ethnonym is used only by the Kukis outside the state in Nagaland and Assam to project a common identity as opposed to the Nagas.

The level of unity is perhaps the greatest among the Nagas as they were able to overcome their linguistic barriers by highlighting their cultural similarities and by virtue of politicising their aspirations have maintained a strong ethnic identity. In the case of the Kukis, Mizo, Chin groups, attempts have been made to highlight their affinities to promote their political aspirations; however divisiveness among the Kukis themselves is apparent as several Thadou clans have sought to distance themselves from the parent tribe as in the case of the Haokip, Kipgen. It is obvious that the Kukis with stronger linguistic or cultural affinities show little social organisation to attain the status of a discrete ethnic group as their Pan Identification is based on social factors that in time may be unable to withstand pressures from within.

It may be summed up that the British annexation of the north-eastern states of India and Myanmar had both political as well as economic dimensions. Their policies were influenced by protectionist measures. The commencement of British inventions can be trace back to the invasion of Assam by Myanmar. The annexation of Arakan by the latter provided an easy access to the Bengal province via Goalpara and Sylhet. The British realised that the occupation of Cachar would have made the position of Sylhet precarious. Its annexation of Assam was economically beneficial given the natural resources and discovery of tea. Consequently, its annexation of the hill areas was devised to secure and protect its interest in the settled districts of

Assam. The extension of their control into the Naga hills not only allowed them to pacify the Nagas, but also provided easy access into Manipur to secure the frontiers given the perceived threat from Myanmar. Consequent to the annexation of the hill areas, boundaries were drawn to facilitate administrative convenience. As a result, numerous ethnic groups were segregated by the emergent international boundary.

The process of decolonisation and modernisation led to the emergence of a new class of people within the modern polity namely the creation of the middle class. Initially the political elites posed no threat to the traditional political setup as they worked in consensus with the tribal and village council but with the passage of time there was a gradual usurpation of their position and influences. Inroads made by Christianity and education created a middle class which represented a cross section of the tribal society wherein educated middle class assumed the role of the protector of the newfound identity, filling in the gaps created by the maladjustments of traditional elites in a changing world. Being literate, they drew their inspirations from western doctrines, modelling their organization after them. This probably explains the usage of 'common' consciousness as a weapon to disseminate their ideology among the people promulgating the crystallization of 'Pan Solidarity' in the erstwhile independent individualistic tribes. In Lushai Hills the abolishment of the chieftainship system spearheaded by the Mizo Union resulted in the disgruntled chiefs supposedly supporting the cause of the Nationalist or the Mizo National Federation (MNF.)

The boundary demarcation between Manipur and Mizoram divided contiguous areas inhabited by their people as a result Hmars in around the Tipaimukh and Churachandpur found themselves excluded from Mizoram contrary to their long cherished hopes of unification. To express their frustration the Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC) aided by the Hmar Volunteers Cell projected their demand for an autonomous region comprising of Hmar inhabited areas in Cachar, Manipur and Mizoram. The movement gain momentum owing to their insecurity in Assam who had not been granted a schedule tribe status. Fissures and divisive tendencies have had an impact on sub-nationalism subverting all attempts to assimilate and subsume all minor cultural difference to promote unity and stability in the region. The scenario has been complicated further by the joining of the Mizo youths in Jampui Hills of north Tripura with more than 5000 populations, as they demanded an inclusion in greater Mizoram.

Pan-Naga identity is relatively a new phenomenon that emerged as a response to the prevailing political climate, which was conducive for the concerted move towards an integrated identity. Undoubtedly each village acted as a sovereign republic, but this did not rule out the

existence sub-conscious sentiments of 'oneness' based on cultural affinities supported by socio-cultural elements that distinguished the allied group of people vis-à-vis the group with whom they shared little cultural affinities. However the conditioning geographical factors have also been responsible for socio-cultural linguistic variation as certain tribes speak more than one sub-dialect. While diversity and absence of lingua franca may have limited communications in the past, the evolution of Nagamese appears to have partially compensated this inadequacy, while English was adopted as the state official language, by the state legislative assembly bill of 1964.

Maintaining the Patkai range as a natural divide all Naga area east of the watershed were incorporated into Myanmar while those on the west were placed under the jurisdiction of India. Consequently the emergent boundary was not in conformity with ethnic boundaries hence the Geo-political ramifications of fragmented communities in a long and porous boundary given their perceived notions of a negligence and ethnic minority status on both sides of the boundary cannot be ignored.

It may be summarised that the British had initially been drawn to Assam to save guard their interest in Bengal from the policy of aggrandizement of Myanmar. Realising the economic potentials in the area especially after the discovery of tea, the administration sought to promote agriculture given the fertility of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valley. While their endeavours reaped benefits in the plains their progress in the hills was understandably slow as revenues from agricultural produce was dismal given the predominant practice of jhum cultivation that allowed little scope for surplus production. To induce greater productivity the administration attempted to popularise terrace cultivation, introduce new crops or provide agricultural loans. However their schemes paid little dividence as the loans was meagre and lack of finances retarded the extension of terrace cultivation. In the plains the agricultural loans and introduction of new crops and seeds clearly increased the production of crops. In areas such as Cachar which were primarily engaged in the production of tea, food grains were imported from the rice producing districts as increasing population of migrant into the tea estates further compounded the shortages in food grain.

Further, collection from land revenues was non existent as the land of the hill people was not accessed since the administration appeared reluctant to interfere in the existing traditional land holding system. Hence the bulk of the revenue was derived from house or poll tax. While the amount was insignificant in comparison with the plains, on one hand it legitimised the authority of the British over the hill dwellers. But on the other hand it proved to be a source of resentment and unrest. In the plains the revenue was derived from both land and other products

such as forest, trade etc, it is evident that the amount acquired from the plains supplemented the meagre collection from the hills. In the hill districts of Myanmar since administration into the Naga Hills commenced only after 1940 it appears that this area was perhaps the most neglected given its inaccessibility. Evidently the development in the agrarian sector was confined to the fertile belts along the Chindwin and Irrawaddy as rice formed the dominant commodity of export. Even in the fertile rice belts the increase in productivity was due to extension of area under cultivation rather than any significant technical innovation introduced by the British.

A major “*civilising*” and factor of pacification was the advent of Christian missionaries and the progress attained in the field of education thereafter. Clearly, the administration left the role of educating the hill tribes to the missionaries by providing financial assistance and it was only in later years that government schools were established since the missionaries had a tendency to focus more on Christian teaching. The education policy in the hill areas was initiated to create a class of literates or interpreters who would be of assistance to the British administration. Later, this was responsible for the emergence of a middle class who disseminated the ideas of ethnic identity and common consciousness.

Findings:

1. While political and administrative convenience had been the bases of boundary demarcation during the colonial period, natural barriers appeared to have played a key role in its demarcation. The Indo Myanmar’s boundary demarcation in the post-Independence era was influenced by then existing amicable relations shared by the two neighbours in the 1950--60’s generally following the pre independent boundaries of the Colonial era however in areas that were unadministered, unconformity with the traditional village boundaries have long been a source of dissatisfaction particularly among those villages who have experienced deprivation of land and segregation of communities.
2. The demarcation of the boundary did not affect traditional village boundary in Mizoram-Chin areas. However in the villages of Longwa and Chen, traditional boundaries of the villages were not maintained consequently in the case of the former the boundary runs through the middle bifurcating the village while the Chen group of thirteen villages have been segregated with four under Mon and nine in Myanmar that has resulted in fragmentation of jointly owned clan jhum fields. For instance the villages of Pessao and Pangsha under Mon and Tuensang of Nagaland have each been deprived of an area of approximately 280 sq km and 250 sq km of jhum land respectively.

3. The level of social interaction among the Konyak villages far exceeds that of the Mizos as the age-old tradition of marriage within one's own class among the chieftain class has been responsible for continuation of cross border marriages. Further the interaction is greatest among those groups of villages that have been segregated by the boundary. A case in point being the adherence to the age old tradition of payment of tributes in the form of paddy and mandatory free service by satellite villages to the chief Ang. Consequently Longwa and Chen village in Mon district continue to receive tributes from their satellite villages in Myanmar. Among the Mizo-Chin border villages the traditional village boundaries were not compromised since the river Tiau which had been the traditional village boundary was retained ,in the process of the demarcation of the International boundary. Thus the level of social interaction has been restricted mainly to border trade.

4. Konyak, Khiamnungan and Tangkhul refugees from Myanmar who have fled into the contiguous Mon, Tuensang or Ukhrul district have not been a source of concern for the local inhabitants as they belong to the same tribe and their economic participation in the district has been negligible. On the other hand the tension and repatriation process in Mizoram of refugees from the Chin state is partly a case of increasing economic entrepreneurship and prosperity of the new arrivals and their inability to amalgamate into the mainstream as they retain their Chin identity outside Mizoram.

5. The level of interaction among borderland inhabitants presents a variation vertically along the boundary. The inhabitants of border districts occupying contiguous villages inhabited by the same tribe have a tendency to spearhead the demand for integration. Generally these areas represent geographically peripheral areas exhibiting the least levels of economic development in the state. The Kuki have been unable to capitalise on their cultural and linguistic affinity to present a concerted demand for integration as they were neither able to politicise their aspiration nor project a united front as their territories were not integrated, scattered as they were owing to the traditional socio- political set-up that encouraged migration.

6. In the village of Pangsha, located a mere 7 km from the International boundary, villagers who have been deprived of prime jhum land continue to cultivate their fields in Myanmar that are within a feasible distance from their village. While in the Ukhrul and Somra border the Tangkhul villages have resolved the issue by simply transferring jhum and forest land between mutually consenting clans on both sides of the boundary owing to the distance factor particularly in the villages that are located more than 30km from the boundary.

7. Border villages and districts on both sides of the boundary have a tendency to be dependent on each other given the distance factor, cost of transportation and logistic constraints from the service centres in their own state. In Champhai livestock from the Chin state is imported via Zokhawthar and Vaphai. While medicine is imported by practically all border villages in Myanmar ever since the Government cut down on imports adversely affecting the health sector in Myanmar.

8. A major grievance of the Naga Hills and Chin state has been non-participation in the political arena. After the general elections in 1990, all thirteen representatives from the Chin including three from the Naga Hills were either dismissed or forced to resign by the military regime of Myanmar.

9. The establishment of Kuki sepoy villages in areas inhabited by the Nagas in Manipur during the colonial period has not only heightened the issue of land dispute but created poly – ethnic social systems wherein ethnic boundaries have become sharply defined as social identities became channelised. This has resulted to ethnic tensions as evident among the Nagas and the Kukis and a *raison d’etra* to supporters of integration or separatist movements cutting across even the international boundary.

10. A cause of immigration into the west from the Chin and Naga Hills has been rooted in discrimination such as employment opportunities and better health care facilities that are provided for those who convert to Buddhism. This policy of indoctrination of the various ethnic groups into the mainstream culture has contributed to the emergence of resistant movements among the Nagas, Chins and Kukis in Myanmar. Another factor for the immigration is the forced relocation of settlements by the regimes as part of their “Four Cut policy” displacing thousands who have been deprived of the means of sustenance to ensure that the resistant groups are cut off from their support. Between 1988-2002 approximately as many as 7411 Naga refugees have fled into Naga inhabited areas of Manipur and Nagaland, while the situation is much the same among the Chins as more than 40,000 have taken refuge in Mizoram and Manipur.

In the post Independence era India’s strategic considerations and bilateral relations with Myanmar has long been influenced by a need to counter the growing prowess of China. Unable to achieve a political rapport with the latter, it envisaged cooperation with Myanmar first in the 1960’s to contain the territorial aggrandizements of China in view of the tension in the northern boundary of Myanmar with China. However the unpredictability and Pro Chinese orientation of Myanmar has possibly arisen as a reaction and defensive mechanism given the past history. Further China has successfully forged economic ties to exploit the resources of the country and

in return provided military aid with an objective to gain access to the Indian Ocean given China's continental location. With the leash of the naval base at the Coco islands close to the Andaman and Nichobar islands, it affords opportunities for espionage and surveillance over India's nuclear activity and in the light of the emergence China as a dominant nuclear power and given the close ties it maintains with both Pakistan and Myanmar, Indian policy makers have to rethink strategies to forge greater cooperation with Myanmar particularly after the decline of the U.S.S.R and the growing menace of Pakistan. Attempts to tackle insurgents harboured by neighbouring countries such as Bhutan has provided grounds for duplicating similar moves in Myanmar and increased cooperation could simultaneously check the refugee problems, drug and arms trafficking and lastly enhanced trade relations which would undoubtedly benefit the peripheral zones of the country. On the other hand given the long standing socio- political problems that plague both the countries given the porous International Boundary, only bi-lateral cooperation and genuine understanding of the aspiration of the people within realistic and reasonable bounds, one that must be acceptable to all parties concerned may go a long way in enabling the respective governments to find a peaceful solution to a complex ethno-political problem if stability and development is to be achieved in the region as these issues remain an obstacle to the stability, peace and security of the region.

**GEOGRAPHICAL APPRAISAL AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF
INDO - MYANMAR BOUNDARY**

*A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)*

By:

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Content

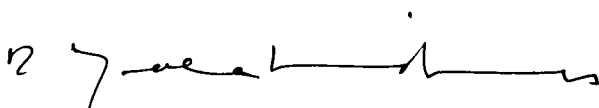
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DECLARATION

October,2004

I, Ms. Tsukjemchila Imchen hereby declare that the thesis topic entitled *“Geographical Appraisal and Impact Assessment of the Indo-Myanmar Boundary”* is a bonafide research work done by me for fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D). This has not been published or submitted to any other University for any other degree. This is being submitted to the Department of Geography, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong with a request to be placed before examiners for evaluation.


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Acknowledgement

I wish to express my gratitude to my Supervisor Prof. R. Gopalakishnan for his guidance and encouragement during the course of my thesis. I am also indebted to the Head of Department, Geography, N.E.H.U, Shillong, Prof. B. S. Mipun for his understanding and kindness as well as support.

My gratitude also goes to my teacher, Dr.H.J. Syiemlieh for his helpful and valuable suggestions. This work would not have possible without the cooperation and help of my friends Shingwang in Mon, Imti Ao, Khuma Varte and Talo Rosanga in Mizoram and all my friends in Manipur whose contribution towards the collection of data was immense.

My heartfelt thanks to Apanesh Patra for helping me with the maps. There are no words to thank my friend Soilalsiam Vaiphei whose generosity of spirit has been a major factor in the completion of this work. His unstinting support and assistance in the typing of my manuscript, helpful suggestions have contributed much to this work. He has gone out of his way to help me and all I can say is "Thank you". May God bless you, Siam.

My special thanks to Prof. Temsula Ao for providing me a home away from home and for being the pillar of strength and inspiration. Thank You J. Longkumer for everything.

To my husband Kika Longkumer and son Wazen. I owe you immensely. Thank you for your unceasing support, encouragement and providing me with an environment for pursuing my studies.

To Mom, your unfailing support, encouragement and most of all your love has pushed me on to complete this thesis. You have been my source of strength. Thank You.

I am extremely thankful to my friends Asang and Bendang for their generosity and support.

Lastly I thank God for making all things possible.

The 22nd October, 2004

Shillong

Ms. Tsükjemchila Imchen

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CHAPTER –I

INTRODUCTION

Studies on the evolution of boundaries unravel important periods in a country's political history. Evidently most Nations did not emerge within a single set of outer limits that remained unchanged before frontiers were parcelled out among the competing sovereign states. In the process, large tracts of land were frequently left as protective barriers or marchlands behind which States developed in safety. These barriers were gradually overcome and the frontier region was incorporated in the territories of the states on either sides.

Great Britain maintained frontiers that not only served as outer limits of their dominion but also assumed the role of a buffer zone. Strategic consideration was vital to their expansionist policies. Where there was a military threat or hostile incursions political frontiers were carefully selected for their defensive advantages. Given the circumstances of the existing Indo-Myanmar border landscape the peripheral ethnic groups share greater cultural affinity with each other than they do with the mainstream. This enhances the scope of interaction significantly.

Colonial history bears witness to changing nature of policies. These reflect to a great extent both the geopolitical realities as well as the economic compulsions within Europe. By the end of Nineteenth century it assumed a new form of Imperialism as industrial nations sought to control weaker areas for the purpose of exploiting their vast resources. It renewed old rivalry between the European powers as evident in Asia and Africa. In the course of their expansion of territory, as in the Indian Sub-Continent tensions frequently emerged. The natives resisted intrusion into the intermediate territories (for example, as in the North-East India) as administered settlements invariably encroached upon the territories of the peripheral dwellers. This resentment resulted in armed raids. As a result, intervention and control of the hills was seen as a necessity to protect British economic interest in the plains. Hence the policies often ranged from annexation to creation of protectorates as witnessed in Sikkim, Tripura and Manipur initially till 1891.

Therefore this study was taken up to understand the circumstances that resulted in the emergence of the Indo-Myanmar boundary during the Colonial period. With the annexation of the territories in the frontier the British incorporated the hill tribes west of the Patkai range under Assam, while those on the east were incorporated under the administration of the

province of Myanmar under British India. Given the ramification of the arbitrary demarcation of the boundary, the study has been a modest attempt to arrive at an understanding of the scope, impact and influence of the boundary on the Indo-Myanmar borderlands.

Statement of the problem:

The British maintained frontiers not only to serve as outer limits of their dominion but also to serve as buffer zones. Strategic considerations were vital to their expansionist policies. The British in India were aware of the consequences of the Myanmarese expansion in the nineteenth century, when they overran Assam, Manipur and Cachar including parts of what is today Bangladesh. They were also aware of the Russia's southward expansion in Central Asia. In the process, they expanded their political control into territories that are now known as Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Mizoram. This was in addition to the annexation of Myanmar (Burma) by 1889. Colonial administrators settled political boundaries separating these territories with Myanmar.

With the emergence of Myanmar as a separate State in 1935 and decolonisation, in 1947, The Indo-Myanmar boundary divided the ethnic communities. The communities particularly the Nagas found the boundary to be inconsistent with the traditional limits. Such a situation promoted and strengthened the trans-border relationships (in cultural, economic and political transactions). Insecurity emerged among the ethnic communities, as they found themselves relegated to ethnic minorities on both sides of the border. Their fears and aspirations manifested in radical forms. Ramifications of such developments were not ignored, as former peaceful borderlands assumed antagonistic postures. Keeping this in view, the theme "Geographical Appraisal and Impact Assessment of Indo-Myanmar Boundary" has been taken up for study.

Literature Survey:

Through the ages the study of Boundaries has generated interest in both the fields of political strategist, administrators and scholars consequently enriching the literature in the concept and its utility and role. Some of the earliest writers such as Finch and Bluntschli in the early nineteenth century made no distinction between the concept of Frontiers and Boundaries. Bluntschli simply maintained that boundaries were natural divisions between two states. However Ratzel in his "*Politische geographie*" in 1895 and *The history of mankind*, actually distinguished between the two concepts stating that boundaries were linear while frontiers were zonal. He compared a state to a living organism that developed and decayed with the

passage of time wherein boundaries acted as an epidermis that sought to protect but simultaneously permitted exchanges. His idea of the permissible political limits of a state were referred to as “*Space conditions*” and since boundaries influenced states power, he added that a strong state was one that had close ties between the borders and its core and that the weakened connections would result in a weak state whose boundary would then be incorporated within a neighbouring state. In the post World wars once again interest in boundary studies emerged, T.H.Holdich in 1916 viewed boundaries as barriers and usually the best were natural barriers such as mountains , deserts etc since they were the unlikeliest causes of war while latitudes and longitudes made bad boundaries. D.W. Johnson pointed out the dangers of over simplification of the concept by Holdich since the latter’ concept was disproved by the sequence of the First World War. Karl Haushofer (1927) theorized that a cultural boundary should be created around a highly ethnic homogenous population that was to be protected a military boundary to defend the cultural homeland while Spykman (1942) regarded boundaries as “points of contact of territorial power Structure” as oppose to traditional concepts.

In the book *Political frontiers and boundaries*, J.R.V Prescott identifies the three ideal stages in the evolution of a boundary. He equates Lapradelles process of Preparation, Decision and Execution with Jones functions of boundary evolution namely Allocation, Delimitation, and demarcation. The process of preparation precedes true delimitation and actual marking on the ground; however all boundary demarcations need not necessarily pass all the stages. Transfer of territory has to an extent been responsible for territorial disputes particularly when the boundary evolution is incomplete and such disputes generally arise during the demarcation, when a commission fails to match the boundary definition with the landscape and secondly when an error is committed during demarcation. Settlement frontiers were settlements of alien districts or division between the settled and uninhabited areas while political frontiers were used to separate neighbouring countries which served as a buffer zone to avoid confrontation. Frontiers which were common features of the political landscape centuries ago have been replaced by boundaries in the twentieth century. Lord Curzon in his *Romanes Lecture* (1907) presents his view of the need to establish strategic boundaries. He describes frontiers as means of promoting peace but the reviews of boundaries were mandatory to check the military appropriateness in keeping with the progress made in the technical advancements. He described frontiers as “the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the

modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations” and just as the security of one’s home is of vital importance so is the integrity of borders which is a condition of existence of a state.

In *The geography of border landscape* (1991) edited by D.Rumley and J.V. Minghi ,emphasis has been laid on stress and conflict with the boundary acting as the “interface between two or more discrete national territories and subject to problems directly reflecting the relations between the nation-states it divides”. Hence the interest generated in the studies have a tendency to reflect the periods of territorial conflict and hostility. However changes in the trend is oriented of late on the harmonies and normal context and with the emphases on the changing nature of human geography of borderland it allows the understanding of the intricate political mechanism both at the inter and intra levels of the state

Liemgruber W. In his case study of the Swiss Italian transborder region states that boundaries are “social constructs” conditioned by our perception of space. Thus boundaries may either repel or attract offering scope to remain within its bounds or escape and either delimit norms or promotes interaction that arises from the varying structure and norms on both sides of the boundary. Rumley traces the evolution of the Thai-Malaysian boundary identifying at least five political conflicts arising from the location of the boundary, the Thai Muslim minorities, Malaysian opposition party support, Chinese resettlement and economic development policies. In the first instance dispute exists over the exact location of boundary markers owing to environmental factors such as dense jungle and the seasonal changes of the islands at the mouth of the river Sungei Kolok. Ethnic tension and separatist tendencies have had an impact on the bilateral relations. Study of the border landscape should also incorporate the human responses such as mentality in the landscape, people’s perception of the boundary, behaviour along and across the boundary, government policies with regards to the boundary and an understanding of the economic and political environment. (Ibid p 297-9)

In his book *Studies in the Frontier History* Owen Lattimore traces the rationale behind colonial policies. He mentions that in the course of expansion, it was considered wasteful to reach out beyond a manageable whole since efficiency in administration was to be limited to territories based on the economic and military feasibility. Given the Colonial policies in the tribal areas owing to the situation, a common axiom of the frontier administration was that a tribe or group of tribes situated between two comparatively powerful states must be under the influence of one of these states.

Urmila Phadnis (1990) in her book *A History of South East Asia* states that Separatist movements in this region is seen as an outcome of the assertion of tribal groups identity and distinctiveness and a mark of protest against assimilation vis- a- vis the mainstream. Geographical linkages coupled with the tribal affinities across the various states in the area made possible militant group interaction. All of them seem to have one thing in common which is an acute sense of relative deprivation and grievance vis-a- vis the institutions of power and central authority.

In *A history of South East Asia*, D.G.E.Hall (1964), traces the Anglo Myanmarese relations stating that confrontation between the British and the Myanmarese was inevitable with the former alternately adopting a policy of retaliation and reconciliation. British policies were motivated by insecurities and apprehensions of the latter providing the French ports which could have served as a base against the British commercial interest in the Bay of Bengal and a springboard to launch an attack on British India. With the invasion of Cachar, Assam and Manipur, the British declared war in 1824 ousting the Myanmarese forces out of the region and with the annexation of Pegu in 1852 and the amalgamation of all the territories by 1886, the fate of Myanmar was finally sealed.

In the book *Indo- Burma relations* B.Pakem (1992) discusses the bilateral relations between the two neighbours suggesting that the role of a third party particularly China was crucial in shaping the policies of the area corresponding to the ebb and flow of the fortunes of the three nations. The Indo Myanmarese boundary demarcations were carried out in phases by a joint boundary commission. In the first phase the demarcation between the Mizo Hills and Myanmar began on 16th November 1968. The reason this section was first selected was because the Chins were the only ethnic minority that were not posing problem for the Myanmarese government at that given point of time, thus anticipating little resistance work commenced. In comparison the northern sector proved problematic due to the difficulty posed by the terrain, as well as the existence of certain unadministered areas compounded by the distribution of Naga tribes on both sides of the border particularly in view of the political unrest in the region.

A.C.Banerjee (1964), in his *The Eastern Frontier of British India 1784-1826* traces the political policies of British imperialism in the region, particularly the circumstances or chain of events in the frontier that led to the occupation of Myanmar. His work provides an insight not only to the circumstances of the defeat of Ava but permits an understanding of the

ideology of the contending parties that may have been tinted by their cultural ethos perception and strategies as one typically embodies European ethic while the other represents the oriental perspectives. Studies on boundaries reveal the changing trends and perception of the concept through the ages having initially been regarded as physical barriers, but presently the focus has been on its functionality and impact on the people they divide.

Study area:

Geographically, the study area lies approximately 95°E to 97°E and 22°N to 28°N. It extends from the extreme Eastern margins of the North Eastern Region of India. It encompasses the eastern areas of the state of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram in India and the Naga Hills district in the province of Sagiang and the Chin Hills sub-division of Myanmar in the south. The people belong to the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese Family. Predominant religion of the area is Christianity followed by Buddhism, Hinduism and indigenous religion (Animism). With a predominantly agrarian economic structure characterised by low levels of socio-economic development as such the culture and material conditions have evolved under the conditions of relative isolation given its difficult terrain and low levels of technology availability. In the post independence period the Government of India formulated programmes to develop the area, hence the second five-year plan emphasised on the implementation of schemes in consultation with members of the leaders of the community and advisory council; further the role of traditional institutions and tribal rights pertaining to land and forests etc were to be considered in the larger framework of tribal development. In Myanmar development in the Border States were initiated largely after independence as the Naga inhabited areas were brought under administered only after 1940. Like its counter part in the areas west of the boundary the erstwhile “frontier areas ” of Myanmar are consequently the least developed areas in Myanmar.

Concept of Boundary, Frontiers, Border and Borderland/landscapes

Although the terms of Boundary, Frontiers and Borderland have often been used interchangeably, these terms represent distinct connotations. Frontier and boundary lie at the two extremes of a spectrum manifesting the sequence of the evolution of boundaries hence frontiers may be viewed as a forerunner of Boundaries. The term Frontiers suggests that which lie at “the front”¹ of an ecumene that also denotes “foreland” or “March” which essentially lie

¹ Kristof .L.K.D, 1959. “The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries” In Harm J. De Blij Systematic *Political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.208.

at the outer fringes of the state expressing the areas of future expansion and not the outer limits of the state. De Blij describes frontier as “a politico geographical area lying beyond the integrated region of the political unit and into which expansion could take place”². Kristof describes the frontier as “outer- oriented” with its focus directed towards the outlying areas that are a source of danger and coveted³. As states become more powerful, they were able to expand into the peripheral frontiers.

Frontiers are literally zones of varying width, which were common features of the political landscape especially during the colonial era that gradually disappeared to be replaced by boundaries throughout the world. Frontiers can be studied under two aspects such as settlements or political limitations. The former are historic features in a sense and a classical example is the westward expansion of North America by migrants from Europe. Primary settlements frontiers demarcated the actual limitations of a states political authority. The advance of frontiers resulted from a combination of factors, which were influenced by social, economic and political factors.

In contrast, political frontiers separate neighbouring countries. Geographic interests were centred on their physical traits, position, altitude, policies of flanking states and influence of the frontier on subsequent development of the cultural landscape or the manner in which boundaries were drawn within a given frontier. Frontiers also promote and encourage either contact or separation. In the case of the former it implied trade, payment of tribute, migration or conflict with policy of the flanking states. A frontier can be both integrative in nature or a manifestation of centrifugal forces.⁴ Generally, political frontiers experienced a much lower level of economic development due to the unfavourable environment .In areas where there were threats of invasion or trespass such frontiers would be carefully selected for its defensive advantages. Buffer zones were created when two strong neighbours wanted to reduce the possibility of conflict erupting between them. In Thailand and China attempts were made by the British to use the Mekong River to separate Myanmar and French Indo-China; or in the case of the Wakhan panhandle that extended into Afghan territory to the limits of Chinese territory was utilised to avoid direct contact between British India and Russian Central Asia. Ratzel was

² Harm J. De Blij “Frontiers and Boundaries” *Systematic Political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.199.

³ Kristof .L.K.D. op cit p.210

⁴ Ibid, p.211-12

the first to identify the differences between political frontiers and boundaries. Frontiers were described as zones, while boundaries were treated as linear. Both were manifestations of the state. Classic examples of frontier marker are the Hadrian wall and the Great Wall of China. The Romans merely allowed the marker to behave as a defence against raids and as such only undertook expeditions as a punitive measure with no intent to consolidate areas beyond the barrier. The Great Wall of China was created to separate the civilized agricultural China from the barbarian populace Central Asia and Mongolia who practiced pastoral form of economy.

Concept of Boundary:

The perception of boundaries underwent significant changes over time i.e. from a natural demarcation to its functionality. In the Middle Ages in feudal Europe boundaries were based on the principles of hereditary. The draw back of this system was the overlapping due to conflicting loyalties as a vassal sometimes accepted land grants from more than one lord. This brought a “patch work” political map coincident with discontinuous holding⁵. However, it was with the development of a central authority or absolute monarch that the territory which led to consolidation of boundaries to emerge, whereby the inhabitants pledged their allegiance.

Interpretation of contemporary international boundaries has its genesis in the concept of a modern state system in Europe and the signing of the first formal act, which was the treaty of Pyrenees in 1659 between France and Spain. The French advocated a concept of natural boundaries with emphasis on culture rather than language, while the Germans based their idea on “Nationality; hence language formed the basis of nationality that endorsed that all German speaking areas were to be considered as one state. Given the absence of a national state in the early nineteenth century language was a criterion for German nationality.

The concept of Ratzel endorsed the principle of Space conditions. It emphasized the need of the state to grow in order to survive. This became a driving factor for boundary making in the nineteenth century. During the interwar period, the emphasis was on the concept of an ideal boundary to reduce tension related to boundary dispute. Hence there was an intense debate regarding the merits and demerits of “artificial” as oppose to “natural”, among the practitioners of Boundary Science. After the post World War I, self determination endorsed

⁵ Jones, Stephen B. 1959 “ Boundary Concepts in the Setting of Place and Time” In Harm J.DeBlij- *Systematic Political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.232

nationalism and war epitomised by the concept of territoriality.⁶ In the post 1945 era, boundaries were regarded as legally contracted demarcating lines that defined the area of jurisdiction of the two contracting parties. Boundary indicates the bounds and limits of a political unit and all that is within is held together by a common ideology. International boundaries limit a state's encompassing an internationally recognized political entity jurisdiction and its authority; Boundaries are a vertical plane that cuts through air space and the subterranean space, without any horizontal dimensions. Boundaries are "inner oriented" which are created and maintained by the will of the Central Government; hence it has no life of its own⁷. It is subject to the test of international law⁸. The boundary separates the sovereign political units from one another and impedes integration across the border. Lyde suggested that the assimilative factors are opposed to the functions and purpose of boundary; thus integration cannot be stimulated by the latter since it delimits the spheres and extent of the integrating forces.⁹ Kristof asserts that boundaries in the political world are supported by jural law and are one of the spatial expressions of the given legal order as oppose to the natural world where boundaries are based on physical laws which are self enforcing and cannot be broken.¹⁰

The sequence involved in the establishment of boundary, Lapradelle identifies three stages namely preparation decision and Execution while S.B. Jones suggests Allocation, Delimitation, Demarcation and Administration. Allocation is the first phase, when a description of the terrain is sought but owing to the lack of information about the area, the process is general rather than specific .In areas that are inhabited, the selection is comparatively precise but in areas that are either uninhabited or have low density of population the selection maybe arbitrary, that involves connecting coordinates through straight lines which in later years may become a source of conflict.

Delimitation process entails the criteria for the location of the boundary, supported by a treaty or a boundary commissioner's report. The treaty makers on considering the report decide upon an acceptable site to locate the boundary. Demarcation entails the actual marking of the

⁶Jones, Stephen B. "Boundary Concepts in the Setting of Place and Time", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.49 No.3, Sept 1959, p.248.

⁷Harm J.De Blij op. cit p.202.

⁸Kristof. L.K.D. op. cit p.211.

⁹Lyde L.W. "Some Frontiers of Tomorrow: An Aspiration for Europe" quoted in Harm J.D'Blij *Systematic political Geography*, New York: J. Wiley & Sons: 1967, p.212.

¹⁰Kristof L.K.D, op cit p.215.

boundary on the ground. It amounts to the identification and placement of markers such as pillars or fences in sensitive areas that need precise demarcation. The contracting parties to represent them call for often a mixed boundary commission or neutrals. Administration is a function concerned with the regulation of activities in relation to the demarcated line and as such it is supervisory in nature.

Borderland and Border landscapes:

Political boundaries and their impact on the immediate border landscape have long been objects of study to political geographers (for example, Ratzel, 1897; Minghi, 1963; de Blij, 1967). This was more concerned with the regional scale than any other (for example, Prescott, 1987). The reasons are due to the fact that the inter-national political boundaries provide the most obvious manifestation of the linkage between geography and politics; as they are palpable spatial manifestations of political control displayed in some way in the landscape. In addition, as a *de cure* expression of the spatial 'limits' of state power, the location of international boundaries has been subject to changes in that power with resultant conflict between and within states. The study of the evolution of political boundaries has tended to preoccupy political-geographical inquiry in this area (Prescott, 1965)

The specific definition of border areas as opposed to boundaries as the objects of analysis remains unclear in much of the literature, although the focus on disputed areas in conjunction with national boundaries provides concrete examples of an areal or regional milieu as opposed to a linear one (Minghi, 1963: 414-16). In similar manner, studies that are organised around the phenomenon of a change in boundary location tend to take a before-and-after approach in examining the impact of the change on the area. (Minghi, 1963. 416-19). In his influential work of over fifty years ago, Derwent Whittlesey examined the impress of central authority in moulding the landscape and found that borderlands are apt to 'be strewn with features intended by central authority to maintain security' (Whittlesey, 1935-87). Two years later, Stephan Jones (1937) used the term 'borderlands' in the title of an article on a section of the Canadian-United States boundary along the forty-ninth parallel. He found the cultural dissimilarities existing in this 'border zone' defining to be in large part not intrinsic to but rather engendered by the presence of the boundary. He suggested the explanations for these dissimilarities as differentiated borderland. Owen Lattimore traces the rationale behind colonial policies. He mentions that in the course of expansion, it was considered wasteful to reach out beyond a manageable whole since efficiency in administration was to be limited to territories

based on the economic and military feasibility. Given the Colonial policies in the tribal areas particularly in India, a common axiom of the frontier administration was that a tribe or group of tribes situated between two comparatively powerful states must be under the influence of one of these states.

In Political Geography the border landscapes has been directly related to boundary studies. John Augelli observed that borderlands are zones of cultural overlap and political instability where the loyalties and national identities tend to become blurred as seen in the case of Hispaniola along the borderland between Dominican Republic and Haiti. Prescott has identified four areas of research concerns namely, 1. The political boundary as an element of the cultural landscape.2 the effect of the boundary upon the landscape and on the economic activity.3 the impact of the boundary on the attitudes of border inhabitants .4 the effect of the boundary upon state policy. ¹¹

Rokkan has identified four basic dimensions namely cultural, economic, political and geographical in his study of core and periphery studies. The first deals with conflicts between elite and minority ethnic groups. The second dimension is concerned with conflict relating to economic exploitation and uneven distribution, while the third deals with conflicts that arise out of variation in political participation and political power and the geographical dimension deals with distance and perception of strategic territorial advantages as well as with local regional conflicts. Hence in areas where all the four dimensions coincide, the potential for border landscape conflict is greatest. Among developing nations the inhabitants of the border area tend to enjoy the least political power and are regarded as culturally and economically peripheral hence the per capita and allocation of economic resources per capita are likely to be lower in these area. Further the inhabitants tend to be more independent culturally or more conservative than those in central locations. Thus, they are less willing to change and adapt to a national culture and a national set of norms. Rather the enforcement of the national or mainstream norms only results in the emergence of radical political action or manifestations. ¹²

Leimgruber asserts that in the border zone both the forces of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies operate side by side. ¹⁴ He adds that landscape are a mirror of a person' s perception

¹¹ Augelli J. quoted in Rumley D & Minghi J.V(ed) *The Geography of Border Landscape*, London: Routledge: 1991, p.3.

¹² J.V.(ed) *The Geography of border landscape*, London: Routledge: 1991, p.6.

of regions located at the periphery of a territory. In areas of non-political boundaries border landscape is characterized by transitional zones thus indicators other than landscape may be more suited as the human attitude and action will change gradually while the physiognomy will remain more or less the same.

Generally the image of the border areas will vary between the people living there or those from the interior or centrally located populace. This zone then becomes an area where varying attitudes mingle and where national identity is least questioned. Thus the border in this case is a zone of contact and not a line of separation.

Identity problem may also emerge in sections of the transborder region, where the people may have been relegated to the status of minorities in a sense as they are regarded to belong politically to one, yet culturally they are affiliated to another. Minghi on his study of the Alps Maritimes reveals that after the second world war, France and Italy had unresolved issues pertaining to a shift in the boundary in favour of France but a change is seen after a decade due to greater economic ties reflecting a change in perception one that advocates greater harmony along the border land.

A problem in earlier border landscape research have been the problem of 'separating out' cause and effect. On the one hand, this problem touches on the question of the 'limits' of state law and jurisdiction being expressed differentially across a political boundary, for example, land use. On the other hand, it raises the issue of whether the boundary actually caused that land use difference. The resultant conundrum can involve the effect of a boundary being inferred from a model, which assumes that it is not even there! In any event, it would be a mistake to necessarily assume an unchanging effect along the full length of a political boundary.

In addition to overcoming these problems of traditional approaches, there is a need in border landscape studies to move away from a fixation with visible function toward a consideration of border landscapes as the product of a set of cultural, economic and political interactions and processes occurring in space (House, 1982). In addition, there is scope for comparative analysis of intra-state differences in conflict and power which become manifest in the border region in addition to a concern with conflict or cooperation between contiguous states. More emphasis needs to be placed on a comparative approach, which sees the border landscape and its problems from the viewpoint of the contiguous states and their inhabitants.

Finally, too little concern has been given to conceptual developments in the other social sciences, which might have some relevance to an understanding of border landscapes.

One such development is Rokkan's attempt to construct a general model of political development in advanced industrial societies which emphasis's comparative analysis, nation-building, the relationships between economic and cultural cleavages and the opposition between centre and periphery (Torsvik, 1981) Taking the centre-periphery opposition as a starting point, political geographer's may well find that Rokkan's framework has considerable potential for comparative analysis and understanding of intra-state differences in conflict and power which become manifest in the border regions.

To date, the centre-periphery model has been used as a framework of analysis in various ways and at different scales, for some the model functions as a symbol of the systematic structuring of space implying an opposition between a dominant centre and a subordinate periphery. Central dominance may well be marked in traditional societies (Gottman, 1980). The model has been used to characterise at least two often-related types of dominance namely social-ethnic and economic-political dimensions. From a socio-ethnic perspective, control is seen as a prerogative to be exercised by dominant groups over national minorities (Rokkan and Urwin, 1983). If modernisation is unsuccessful, then there is likely to be an ethnic conflict.

An economic-political view of centre assumes an economically dominant centre in which there is a continuing net flow of resources from a, weaker periphery. Thus at the international scale, the structure of Western Capitalism comprises a centre or 'core' of the world economy consisting of economically and technologically advanced states of North America and Western Europe (Wallerstein, 1979). At the national scale, the centre generally contains the national capital and thus is also centre of political power.

Apart from describing spatial aspects of the distribution of economic and political power, the centre-periphery model is suggestive of the likely political behaviour of those located at the periphery, which in turn can potentially lend some political conflict. At the international scale, for example, there appears to be a tendency towards authoritarian regimes, especially on post-colonial peripheral states (Rumley, 1985). In such cases, mass political participation is minimised. At the national scale, some regions are more integrated than others into the channels of political communication and thus it is to be expected that those located near the centre will participate more than those closer to the periphery.

Rokkan defines the concept of peripherality based on four basic dimensions viz cultural, economic, political and geographical. The cultural dimension is concerned with conflicts between elite and minority ethnic groups. The economic dimension is concerned with conflicts, which arise out of economic exploitation and an uneven distribution of wealth. The political dimension is concerned with conflicts, which arise out of variations in political participation and political power. The geographical dimension is related to distance and perception of strategic territorial advantage as well as with local regional conflicts. Hence in areas where all the four dimensions coincide, the potential for border landscape conflict is greatest. Among developing nations the inhabitants of the border areas tend to enjoy the least political power and of any group in the state and they participate less. In addition, within the state they are likely to be regarded a culturally and economically peripheral. Per capita incomes, for instance is likely to be lower and state allocations of economic resources are likely to be significantly lower in the periphery, save for grants designed to alleviate or deal with 'specific circumstances'. Peripheral inhabitants tend to be more culturally independent and more conservative than those in central location and are therefore less willing to change and to adapt to a nation culture and a national set of norms. Strong national pressure to fully adopt national norms, however, may well force peripheral inhabitants into radical political action.

In the study area an attempt has been made to understand the impact of the boundary on the Indo-Myanmar border landscape. It is apparent that the boundary making process was presumably motivated by political convenience. This was probably the cause of unrest later. Further, cleavages and aspirations of the population subgroups led to interest conflicts, particularly in areas where ethnic divisions have encouraged political and other interest conflicts to become concentrated along its boundaries. Consequently, the definition of the boundaries has increased the intensity of conflict parameters. Border landscape studies have contrived to present boundary as more than just a point or line of demarcation with regards to relationships between the states that the boundary divides as well as the core and periphery dimensions.

Mentality of the borderland that includes the perception of the boundary and behaviour along and across the boundary, Government policies with regards to the boundary and international political environment are to be fully explored given its impact on organisation of space and functions of International political boundaries and regionally based ethnic identity. The scope of the latter even on the possible emergence on new boundaries or changes on the

perception of boundaries by the inhabitation of the border land all have sufficient scope for future geo-political inquiry, however all this is only possible if we trace the root cause of the issue back to the past during the colonial era which brings us to the present inquiry which is the impact of the boundary demarcation on the border land prior and after independence. Although border landscape related studies have been extensively carried out in Europe and even parts of Asia such as the Thai-Malaysian border, similar studies on the Indo-Myanmar borders are practically non-existent. Paucity of literature and availability of data pertaining to the study area greatly constrained and impeded a satisfactory evaluation of the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants both during the Colonial and the post Independence period, further the information was dominantly descriptive in nature as vital statistics of population and other related aspects particularly in Myanmar was difficult to obtain. Hence the present work seeks to provide some idea of the socio-cultural, ethnic composition and economic conditions of the inhabitants in the borderland and the impact of the demarcation of the boundary on the inhabitants of the area.

Objectives of the Study:

1. To understand the importance and reasons for the demarcation of the boundary by the British.
2. To assess the social, economic and political impact of the boundary on the borderland.

Data base:

By the very nature of the study it was necessary to largely depend upon secondary data and source of information to represent the past incidents to provide information on the conditions and incidents, which could not be ascertained by observation or other sources of information. Considering the data and information base of the study, it was necessary to follow the basic historical methodology and technique of the study, where interpretation skill is essential. The important secondary data sources were tour diaries, memoirs of the British administrative officers, literature and gazetteers pertaining to the study area that were vital for the understanding of the British colonial policies, process of annexation and the stages of the demarcation of the boundary prior to Independence. Further gazetteers and census handbook of Assam and the report on the Chin hill by Carey and Tuck were used to obtain information on the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants under British administration. However paucity of data during the colonial period for all the areas necessitated the selection of a base year of

1871-72 and 1901 to maintain uniformity. Till 1914 the state of Arunachal Pradesh was incorporated under Assam, hence the data of the three eastern most district of Arunachal that were formerly amalgamated with Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts necessitated the use of the data pertaining to the latter districts. Paucity of data with regards to the Naga Hills District in Myanmar was primarily due to the loose form of administration carried out in the area only after 1940 hence the information is wholly descriptive in nature. Newspapers, and unpublished documents and web sites for information on Myanmar were used for ethnic and population statistics aspects. Primary data sources were collected from field survey on the basis of purposive random sampling to understand the present day socio, economic and political conditions and aspirations of the inhabitants in the areas contiguous to the boundary.

Methodology:

Taking into account the accessibility issue in such a strategically important region, and in view of the time period selected for such a study, literatures pertaining to the history of the area with reference to the British period were vital to understand the compulsions of the policies of annexations and the resultant demarcation of boundary prior to independence. In the third chapter, the early history and process of migration into the study area was necessary to understand the ethnic and population distribution of the inhabitation. Further the cultural aspects provided a backdrop to substantiate the levels of diversity or affinity in the study area. In the fourth chapter, the Socio economic conditions under the British administration were assessed to identify the economic compulsions for British annexation and the impact of the British administration in the area.

In Post Independence era, the impact of the presumably random demarcation of the boundary affected the traditional territorial organization further the present aspirations of the inhabitants based on supposed socio-culturally affinities, economic and political grievances have assumed an alarming proportion that cannot be ignored, hence selective scheduled interviews were conducted in certain villages in the border areas in Mon, Tuensang and Ukhrul selected indicators namely social amenities, economy, migration, perception of the boundary and aspirations of the inhabitants of selected communities in the border land were carried out since People's perception and understanding are of value for such a study while the ground realities were used to substantiate historical narration. In the proposed study the use of cartographic techniques is limited due to lack of authentic database; however historical records were used for the purpose of cartographic understanding. The methodology was essentially

interpretation of historical information base, supported by fieldwork limited mainly to the Indian side and as such limited to those areas that were accessible. Secondary sources such as books, journals, gazettes, census reports; unpublished documents and newspapers were used to arrive at an understanding of the implication and people's perceptions and aspiration in the borderland. Given the paucity of literature pertaining to the Indo-Myanmar borderland the scope for future research work in the region is boundless.

Chapterisation Scheme

Given the circumstances of the existing border landscape wherein the peripheral ethnic groups share greater cultural affinity than it does with the mainstream it increases the scope of interaction significantly. Therefore the study attempts to shed light on the emergence of the frontier during the colonial period and the scope of the boundary in the light of its influence on the border landscape.

Chapter-1: Introduction: The first chapter deals with the introduction, literature survey, research questions, methodology and database. This chapter also presents a study on the theoretical concepts of Frontiers, Boundaries and borders.

Chapter 2: Geographical Personality of the Study area: To provide a geographical framework of the study area the physical setting and the socio- cultural aspects of the borderlands are described as an endeavour to highlight the affinities as well as the diversity of ethnic groups that inhabit the study area in an attempt to assess its geopolitical implication at the inter and intra levels .It also gives an account of the economy with emphasis on the pre independence period to understand the economic compulsions that influenced Colonial policies and the level of development achieved during their rule.

Chapter 3: History and Migration: Traces the historical compulsions of the British entry into the region and the policies formulated thereafter to gain access into the strategically significant region. It also indicates the rationale behind the process of demarcation and delimitation during the Nineteenth century and the emergence of the North Eastern frontier as well as the political status of the peripheral western region of Myanmar namely the Sagiang division and Chin State. It provides a historical background to understand the circumstances that helped shape the destiny of its people.

Chapter 4: Socio-economic appraisal under the colonial rule: An attempt has been made to analyse the impact of the boundary demarcation of the borderland, and the scale of interaction given the social, economic and political dimensions and the perception and response of the inhabitants to the boundary. Given the role of boundaries as a political divide between states it assumes a dual role providing parameters to promote tension and conflict or positive interaction and given the Colonial historical legacy the implication of the demarcation will be varied and wide ranging in spectrum.

Chapter 5: Problems, Geopolitical Implications and Prospects: In conclusion, the problems and impact of the colonial policies and the demarcation of the boundary on the study area are enumerated. This chapter also includes the summary and findings of the study area. Observations from the field study of selected sample villages have also been incorporated in this chapter.

CHAPTER-II

GEOGRAPHICAL PERSONALITY OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Physical Setting:

Geographically, the study area lies approximately between 95°00' E to 97°00' E longitudes and 22°00' N to 28°15' N latitudes. It extends from the extreme Eastern margins of the North-Eastern region of India. It encompasses Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram in the west to include the province of Sagiang and the Chin state in Myanmar.

In the west, it is dominated by the young fold mountain systems of the north and east, which accounts for 60% of the total surface area in this sector. Rising steeply from the Brahmaputra valley the young fold mountains may be divided into two distinct units namely the Arunachal Himalayas that extends into Bhutan on the west and the Siang and Dihang in the east while the eastern hills of the Dibang-Lohit-Patkai-Naga-Manipur-Mizoram-Tripura hills.

Assuming its syntaxial bend at Lohit and Tirap districts of Arunachal, the greater Himalayan section gradually decreases as it assumes an eastward trend ranging from 6400m in Tawang in the west to 5200m at Siang and upper Subansiri, with its highest peak at 7090m in Kangto. Commencing from the Dibang and Lohit knot the eastern ranges assume a westward trend. The Namkin Mountain assumes an eastward direction, which is known as the Patkai range in the south, characterized by a rise in elevation towards the east with the Patkai virtually forming a continuous chain along the international boundary of India and Myanmar, assuming a height of 3840m at Mt Saramati serving as a watershed between the two. The Barail range enters Nagaland at the southwest corner traversing in a northerly direction through the west of Kohima with Japvo as its highest peak at 3014m. It is connected with the Patkai by smaller ranges of which one such run in a south-eastern direction, while the other joins first at Mao as it extends into Manipur with Japvo as the highest peak in the southeast, is an intermontane tract with elevation between 1200-1400m.

The Barail and Naga Hills extend into North Cachar on the west with its highest elevation at 1953m in Haflong. In Manipur the Patkai assumes a northeast to southwest trend enclosing the intermontane valley of Imphal with the hills accounting for 90% of the total area of the State, with important peaks such as Iso (Mao- 2994m), Siroi Kashong (2568m), Maphitel (2056m) and Lungpon Chin (1763m) in Chandel. The eastern hills of Manipur are

200km long and 30-50km wide with an average height of 1,500m. On entering Myanmar, the Patkai decreases in height, while its western offshoots assume a north south direction in Mizoram. It comprises of seven long north-south traversing parallel ranges with intervening valleys. The ranges are not continuous but are broken into numerous small hills called Tlang, with an average height of 900m; most of the ranges are of the 'cuesta' type. Blue mountain or Phawngpui is its highest peak at 2065m. The Sialkal range borders Myanmar and the highest peak is Lengteng at 2149m. The other important ranges are Mawmrang, Hmuifang and Reiek range. These ranges continue in a southwestwards direction into northern Tripura with a general elevation between 400-700m. The fold mountains in the west which are an extension of the eastern Himalayas series assumes an arc from Hukwang to Cape Negrais in a southward trend, where there are called the Patkai Naga hills, Chin hills and Arakan Yoma (main bone) as it stretches further into the Arakan Peninsular where it extends under the sea to reappear as the Andaman islands, with an average height of 600m while some peaks attaining 10,000ft or more formed some 20,000,000 years ago. Here the Arakan Yoma bifurcates the Arakan coastal strips from the central plains.¹

South of Patkai range lays a series of hills whose altitude range from nine thousand feet to a few hundred feet with the Sangpang Bum as its chief range east of the Namhpuk Hka in a north to south alignment with Pungra Bum as its highest peak at 2649m. South of the Nantaleik valley is the Somra Tract a mountainous region with a height of 10000 ft in the upper Chindwin area. In the north the range bifurcate with one large range joining the Patkai while another traverses in an opposite direction, breaking up into subsidiary spurs that ceases at the Tarung Hka a tributary of the Chindwin (Tanai).² The important ranges in the Chin Hills assume a north-south direction with a height of 5000-9000ft. The Letha or Tang forms the watershed between Chindwin and Manipur River with Kennedy (Khul) as one of its highest peak in the north at 2704m, while prominent peaks in the south are the Rumklao at 8231 ft.³

The Brahmaputra and the Barak plains constitute an area of 56480sqkm and 6962sqkm respectively while the lacustrine Imphal valley has an area of 1843sqkm with Loktak as its largest lake. The Barak plains dip westwards and are dotted with numerous Ox-bow lakes and

¹ *Encyclopedia Britanica* vol.3.p 503

² Ao Tajenyuba 1993 "*British occupation of the Naga Country*" Mokokchung:Naga Literature Society.p 227

³ Carey and Tuck, reprint 1976, *The Chin Hills vol 1* Calcutta:Firma KLM Private Ltd.p6

swamps. On the east, south of the Hukwang valley lays the Taro valley and to its South lays the Nantaleik valley. The Kabaw valley lies between the Heirok hills in southern parts of Ukhrul and Chandel districts and the left bank of the Manipur river which drains into the Chindwin forming the boundary between Manipur and Myanmar that commences at 24° 30'N extending into 22030' culminating at the left bank of the Manipur river that drains into the Chindwin. It covers a fertile depression of 150 miles in length.

The drainage pattern has been greatly influenced by the mountain building movements in the late tertiary period indicated by its consequent pattern. The Principle Rivers are the Brahmaputra that drains Arunachal, Assam, which rises in the Kailash range where it is better known as the Tsang Po. The river flows through southern Tibet and at Lhote Dzong enters Arunachal where it assumes the name Siang and joining the Lohit flows through Assam as the Brahmaputra finally draining into the Bay of Bengal. Important tributaries comprise of Dikhu, Dhasiri Kopili, Burhi Dihing and Janji (Milak flows through the Ao arch and is then joined by the Tsurang). The Barak river rises in the Manipur Hills and enters the Barak plains before it drains into the Meghna in Bangladesh. Its tributaries include the Manas, Juri, Tut (Gutur), Turial, (Sonia) and Irang, which drains Northern parts of Tripura, Mizoram and western Manipur.

The Tizu dominates the Chindwin system that drains parts of Nagaland and Manipur, which is the only major river that drains into the Chindwin originating in the central part of Nagaland. Assuming a south and easterly course, it is joined by the Zunki in Tuensang and Laniye and Ther, the Ukhrul in Manipur. Imphal, Thoubal and Iril also form a part of this sub-system.

The Karnafuli (Khawthlang tuipui) sub-system drains the western margins of Mizoram and south Tripura. In Mizoram, the rivers in the Chintuipui and Lunglei areas belong to the Kaladan system that flows into the Bay of Akyab, while those in the west joins the Karnafuli River and main tributaries of the Irrawaddy. An important tributary that joins the Chindwin is the Tizu Nantaleik, which flows from the Tuensang-Phek boundary on the west. Further south, the rivers Yin that traverses the Kabaw valley and the Manipur River finally join the Chindwin near Khampat and north of Falam respectively.

The region enjoys a sub-tropical monsoon climate with cool and dry winters and warm humid summers to tropical and sub-tropical or temperate climate in the north and mountainous

areas, with temperature dropping far below the annual range of 15°-20°C. In the hills of Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland, the minimum temperature experienced in winter is 4°C or as low as 0°C in the higher altitudes of Arunachal. The winter seasons are influenced by a weak and retreating monsoon and although the season is generally marked by a dry spell in the period between December to February however occasional rain is experienced due to the influences of the western disturbances. The pre monsoon period commences at February through March and April. The average temperature is 9°-25°C precipitation during this period is due to with rainfall varying from 25-50 cm. As the monsoon seasons begin from the month of June through September, the temperature ranges between 15°-30°C in the hills with 130-185 cm of rainfall. The retreating monsoon between Octobers to November is characterized by a decline in rainfall and temperature varying between 15°C-20°C. In Myanmar two climatic zones have been identified namely the tropical and sub-tropical. In the upland or mountainous areas the temperature is relatively lower than the whole year round.

With the commencement of southeast monsoon the rainy season is experienced between May and October, with annual rainfall between 100-200 inches annually while mountainous upland receives 200 inches of rainfall. Three seasons are identified the cool and dry season, from October to February followed by the hot dry season from March to mid-May and finally the rainy or monsoon season from May to October. The annual temperature is 27°C with a seasonal range varying from 6.5°C-3.5°C. On the western region of the borderland, there appears to be diversity in the natural vegetation ranging from tropical to temperate and alpine. Generally the tropical vegetation is prevalent in areas below 900m in altitude, which includes the evergreen and semi evergreen forests, deciduous and grasslands.

The vegetation in the region may be categorised as tropical confined to areas below 900m.in altitude. It includes evergreen and semi evergreen forests, deciduous and grasslands. The common varieties of trees of the tropical evergreen forests are Nahor, Halong, and Hallock Titachapa etc. The Alpine grasslands are found in areas with an altitude between 4000m -5000m in Arunachal Pradesh. The Sub-tropical mixed forests are found in the Tirap and Lohit districts while temperate forests are confined to areas above 1300-2500m. Sub Alpine forests are found above the altitudes of 3500-4000m. In Myanmar the northern mountainous area above 6000 ft have forests of Rhododendrons and in areas with less than 80

inches rainfall evergreen tropical forests exist. Cary and Tuck classified the forests in the hills into four categories correlating with the altitude. In the foothills the Sal forest dominates which gradually gives way to mixed subtropical forest up to an altitude of 3000ft and above this zone exist the alpine forest found up to an altitude of 5000ft or more. Oak forests and scrubs dominate areas above 4000ft, while teak is found in areas below an altitude of 3500ft in areas such as the Kabaw and Kale valleys. Other important species in the area include ash, oak, wood oil, pine, peepul, rubber, maple, iron wood, laurel and bamboo.

2.2 Indo-Myanmar Boundary

Kabaw valley (Manipur-Myanmar section).

In the Nineteenth century, the British were concerned with the need to establish the boundary between Myanmar and Manipur after the conclusion of the first Anglo Burmese war. The Myanmarese objected to the inclusion of Kabaw valley within the territories of Gambhir Singh claiming that the said area had traditionally been part of their kingdom since the ancient times.

The Kabaw valley dispute and its settlement thereafter was an outcome of British policies that aimed at securing stability in the British frontiers as evident by the chain of events that preceded its finalisation and agreement. It was also the first section of boundary to be demarcation in the Indo Myanmar boundary between Manipur and Myanmar. With the return of Chandra Kanta to the throne of Cachar and the withdrawal of Gambhir Singh, he continued to maintain a Thana at Chandrapara. Finally David Scott succeeded in persuading Govinda Chandra to lease some land to Gambhir Singh for a period of 15 years to establish a military transit point. The disputed areas was finally transferred back to Cachar when the treaty of Jiri of 1833 was signed, and all areas east of Jiri river in Cachar was transferred to Gambhir Singh and he in return was to cede the Chandra Ilaka, without hurting the sentiments or humiliating both the Rajas of Manipur and Cachar. With the signing of the treaty territorial adjustments were made for convenience of administration particularly the effective control of tribal areas of the Jiri area by Manipur and thus the boundary between the two emerged with the Jiri and western bank of Barak forming the inter state boundaries.

It soon became apparent that seemingly generous land adjustment initiated in the Jiri area was a fore planned and well-orchestrated move, calculated for greater economic benefits and political mileage. Since most policies were motivated by economic gains, the East India

Company often allowed their interest to prevail above the needs of the natives. Realising the need to gain the cooperation of the Ava for greater economic control and dilute French influence their immediate concern now centred on peaceful overtures and appeasement attempts. For years, Ava rued the loss of the Kabaw valley and demanded its return. Seizing this opportunity the British decided to hand over the disputed territory as a mark of “expediency and gratification”. Lieutenant Pemberton and Captain Grant were instructed to proceed toward the area accompanied by a deputy to represent Manipur. They were asked to ensure the cooperation of the Raja and “remind him of the liberal consideration of the government in making over to him the tract of Jiribam territory”⁴. Clearly the real intent of the British was made blatantly obvious by certain factors. No tripartite meetings were arranged even though the boundary readjustments concerned the state of Manipur, furthermore with the company paying the compensation, the actual beneficiary Ava was not expected to be financially burdened, hence averting all possible resentment on the part of the beneficiary or its exchequer, and ironically although the said agreement was supposedly arranged with the Raja, neither was he given prior notice or sufficient time to consider the issue. Manipuri scholars believe that Gambhir Singh may not have signed the document given his death shortly after its presentation. The only positive outcome was the continuation of payment till 1947.

The “Agreement regarding compensation for the Kabo (Kabaw) valley”, was later renamed the “Kabo Valley treaty”. It stated that transference of the said Valley was to commence with effect from 9th January 1834 and Manipur Government in turn would receive a compensation of 500 sicca Rupees per month but in the event of retrocession, compensation payment was to be stopped.

The valley of Kabaw is located between Manipur and the western bank of the Chindwin. Formerly it was subdivided into three principalities namely Samjok (Thangdut), Kale and Khambat (Khampat). While the descendants of the original Shan chiefs, who were dependants of Mongmaorong, governed Samjok and Kale Khambat (Khampat) with its capital at Tammu never regained its former glory since it was destroyed by a combined Pong and Manipuri force.⁵ The population comprise mostly of Shans, Manipuri, Burmans and hill tribes.

⁴ Assam secretariat record room, Shillong; letters received from font, series I, Vol. 9

⁵ Pemberton, *The Eastern frontier of India*: reprint 1998, 119)

2.2.1 Early History of the Kabaw valley

The early history of the valley is obscure and although some references have been made in Manipuri chronicles. Professor Gangumei Kabui quoting the Burma gazetteer of upper Chindwin district 1913 writes that during the reign of Tarokpyenein in the 13th century, Samjok presumably a territory of Myanmar was annexed by Manipur and paid tribute to the latter until it was regained by Alaungpaya, but this view has been debated as it has not been ascertained whether Ava indeed controlled the whole of upper Myanmar.

Yet again another reference to Khambat is made during the reign of Soohoongpha of Pong when he assigned the administration of Khambat district to his son Sow–Rum–Khum. After the defeat of a rebellious vassal, Khambat was subsequently divided between Pong and Manipur and a boundary was established between the two, with Manipur given a tract of land extending east of Noajeeree, a range between Moo and Kyendwen River. During the rule of king Mungyamba 1562–1597, the Manipuri kingdom annexed Kabaw.⁶ Later when Marjeet sought the assistance of Ava, in a bid to oust his brother, he agreed to renounce all claims on the Kabaw valley and accept the supremacy of Ava, but was soon deposed. His brother Gambhir Singh regained both Manipur and Kabaw after he attacked the forces of the Ava stockaded at Tammu in 1824.

2.2.2 Dispute and cession of Kabaw Valley

While Gambhir Singh was anxious to avoid further conflict arising from the dipute of Kabaw valley .In good faith he submitted the question of representation and negotiation to the British. Since the British government expressed the desire to return the territory of Manipur intact, comprising of all areas in the possession of Gambhir Singh at the time of signing the treaty, hence Samjok and Khambat divisions of the Kabaw Valley as far as the Ningthee were included in Gambhir’s kingdom. The government of India on June 1926 further stated that Gambhir Singh was to retain the north and the middle positions of Kabaw valley, while the south comprising of Kale was to be negotiated. It had clearly been stated by the government that Chindwin was the true ancient boundary of Manipur. In March 1827, an emissary was sent to Calcutta from Ava, to protest against the British officers who were surveying the boundary.

⁶ Sanajoaba N.1988. *Manipur: Past and Present.The Heritage and Ordeals of a Civilization. vol.1, History, Polity and Politics* Delhi:Mittal Publications p25.

Ultimately it was agreed upon that officers were to be deputed from each country to meet and settle the boundary issues amicably. With the appointment of Captain F.J Grant and Lieutenant R.B Pemberton by the British, Lieutenant Montmorency and Rawlinson were to accompany the commissioners from Myanmar to the Chindwin scheduled for March 1828, but was postponed and only held on April, since the weather did not permit any work, the demarcation was slated for the following year. The commissioners from the court at Ava produced maps falsifying the exact location of the Chindwin, which they now demarcated somewhere west of the Kabaw Valley but it was soon exposed by Pemberton. Again a second Map was sent to Calcutta showing that the Chindwin & Ningthee were two different rivers, but on verification it was again rejected.

When the commissioners from Myanmar refused to meet the British commissioners the following year, the Government of India directed Grant and Pemberton to proceed with the process of demarcation. In accordance with the direction they received, they selected line to the north of Kale in the southern district of Kabaw that included only the areas conquered by Gambhir during the war. When the fixed boundary was submitted to Ava, a second conference was fixed for January 1830, failing which; it would be fixed on specific areas in accordance with the sketch map without further reference to Myanmar. While Ava implied that the treaty did not state or guarantee the cession of Kabaw to Manipur however, it neither validated the stand of retrocession. As evidence testimony of the inhabitants of the area were produced by the British that till 1809–Chourjit Singh held 11 Khambat, Woktang, Tunemoo, Mungsa Mintha and Samjok Thap.

In January 1830, the Chindwin was fixed as the boundary and flags planted to reaffirm the same. The appointment of the British Resident major Burney, found a champion in the cause of Myanmar, paving a path for renegotiations. The Resident Burney presented an argument in favour of Ava having based his research on the available documents in the country. He claimed those 33 years prior to the occupation of Pong by Manipur, the territory was a tributary of Ava and that Kabaw has long been considered a part of Ava and for twelve years prior to the Anglo–Burmese war, the valley was in the hands of Ava.

Finally in 1833 Lord W. Bentinck the Governor general finally declared that there was no doubt that the decision would cause Manipur resentment, not withstanding these consideration, in the best interest of expedience and act of generosity despite the government

adherence to their earlier stance, it decided to waver the decision in favour of Myanmar, admitting that their best opportunity of fixing an ideal boundary was to be sacrificed, and opportunities for further collision between Ava and Manipur, yet he was confident that no war would arise given their superior military capability. In years to come it was established by historical investigation that prior to 1470 AD Kabaw was occupied by Manipur on several occasions, during the reigns of Ningthoukhomba (1432–67), Tammu was attacked by the Moirangs and in the 13th century Khumomba defeated the chief of Kabaw.⁷

2.2.3 Demarcation of the Boundary between Manipur and Myanmar

The Myanmarese and British Commissioners met on the banks of the Ningthee to settle the boundary. Major Grant and Captain Pemberton signed an agreement on January 9th 1834 thereafter the Kabaw valley was transferred. It included Tammu, Khambat and all the villages in the valley, the Angoching Hills and a strip of valley running between the eastern foothills and the western bank of the “Ningtha Khyenden.” With the eastern foothills of the Marring Hills was fixed as the boundary.⁸ While it was presumed that Ava would cease its aggressive policies, two more wars were fought before the British finally annexed upper Myanmar. In 1932, the state government submitted a memorandum to the government of India for the retrocession of Kabaw and for years the idea was mulled over since the defense ministry became interested in an idea that should the valley revert to Manipur, the Chindwin would serve as an ideal defensive boundary but diplomatic consideration forced the government to put the idea in cold storage.⁹ The level of emotions that continue to be aroused with regards to Kabaw and the feelings of resentment and betrayal in Manipur is a testament to perhaps one of the most prolonged dispute in the Indo–Myanmar boundary, spanning a period of more than a century.

3.2.4 The Chin- Lushai Hills boundary.

A boundary commission in 1901 under WCM Dundas demarcated the Boundary between Chin Hills and Lushai hills and AC Batemen submitted their report completing a task long over due since 1891 (postponed due to political problems in the area). According to their report the boundary prior to 1901, commence at the ‘confluence of the Tuipai and Tuisa

⁷ W .I Ibohal Singh, op cit: 564.

⁸ Sanajaoba.N. op cit.p 33

⁹ Ibid: p 36.

streams'. The boundary now goes up the streams of Tuisa where Tuimang meets. This direction is due north and south thence up the Tuimang to a point where its tributary Bapuilvi meet it. Finally up the Bapuilvi to its source below a pillar marked on Vai-khohmun, which is also the source of the Tiao.¹⁰ After 1901, readjustments were made and the previously incomplete demarcations were carried out. Conflict and unrest in the unadministered areas thus the principal offending villages of Zongling and Lakhie (Laki) were punished but by 1921-22 the disturbances had subsided hence the boundary between Assam and Myanmar was drawn with a nine villages with an area of 500 sq miles was placed under Lushai hills while a few villages were incorporated into Chin Hills and Arakan.¹¹ Today this serves as the recognised boundary between India and Myanmar

2.2.5 The Manipur Myanmar Boundary in the Somra Tract.

The Somra Tract is contiguous to the Manipur and formerly under the upper Chindwin District. When the Kuki rebellion broke out in Manipur the unrest spread to this area give the presence of a sizeable kuki population that had migrated into the area in 1915. This necessitated the intervention and control of the British subsequently it was incorporated into Myanmar by the Foreign and Political Department Notification No. 403-E.B dated the 11th December 1917.¹²

2.2.6 The Indo Myanmar boundary agreement.

After the emergence of the "Union of Burma", The Indo-Myanmar boundary was of great concern particularly for Myanmar given the number of boundary related disputes the country experienced , the last being the Sino-myanmarese border conflict and determined to avoid a repetition it expressed its willingness to settle the virtually undemarcated by the British as they had merely been defined in provincial notifications in the pre-independence era. One of the earliest section of the international boundary was fixed by the Kubo valley agreement in 1834 that demarcated the territory of the raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur. Another source of concern was the presence of large unadministered areas in the northern section that was inhabited by Naga tribes. Fearing that the extension of administration into these areas randomly could have triggered tension and although the sub committee on the North eastern

¹⁰ SN Singh: 104

¹¹ (Aitchison .C.U. (Compiled) *A collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries Vol XI* Delhi: Mittal Publications, p 94).

¹² Aitchison C.U. *ibid*, p220.

Frontier Tribal and Excluded areas suggested the extension of frontiers into the Naga Hills, the government was reluctant to undertaken any hasty decision or reluctant to approve the proposal , it finally relented and agreed to extent control over the unadministered territories only in the Hill districts of Arakan, the Chin Hills and the Lushai Hills and the area around Somra Tract. ¹³ But given Myanmar's preoccupation in its domestic affairs and the activities of the Kuomintang activities in northern myanmar were compelled to bid their time for settlement during a more opportune time, although a joint tour by the prime minister Nehru and premier U.Nu was undertaken in 1953 nothing substantial was achieved as the motive was to merely a spot inspection of the area.¹⁴ An impetus was given when an Indian delegation visited Yangon on February 1967 and in meetings with the Myanmarese counterpart, subsequently a bi-lateral Boundary agreement was signed on the 10th of March 1967 and was ratified on 30th may 1967.

The agreement stated that the Demarcation was to be the subject of a separate agreement to be negotiated in the near future. The 1967 boundary follows the "traditional" line between the two states while rendering with precision two formerly indefinite areas. Almost 60 percent of the 872 mile (1,463 Kilometers) long boundary follows water divides, both major and minor, while nearly one-third coincides with median lines of frontier streams and rivers. The remainder of the border comprises straight line between previously established boundary pillars. The frontier area topography varies from low mountains in the south to high ridges and peaks in the north, adjacent to the Himalaya. As a result, the region is one of low population density and of reduced economic development.

2.2.8 Concept of territory and boundary demarcation among the Naga Tribes.

A comparison of the perception and process of boundary demarcation between natives and the colonial powers provides an interesting insight into the parameters selected by the British to delimit the boundary and the response of the borderland inhabitation towards the same through the ages. Among the Nagas, the boundaries of land are demarcated either by lateral sources, fixing stone or stone pillars, bamboo or branches of trees or by the presence of a natural stream. Traditionally, the village boundaries with its jhum or terraced fields and

¹³ Proceedings Foreign Department of India, External A, September 1921, Nos.1-17.

¹⁴ Pakem B. 1992, India-Burma Relations N.Delhi:Omsons publications p.107

forest formed the outer limits of a village. Landmarks, stones and wood served as markers between boundaries.

In the Ao community, when an individual migrates to another village permanently, he ceases to be member of his old village and must subscribe membership to the new village by assuming the title of a specific clan of the receiving village; this would then ensure his bonafide citizenship. Since he ceases to be a member of his ancestral village- technically he ceases to be a member of his clan and in effect renounces or forfeits all claims to the communal land. While the role of clan elders and council is permanent in all matters relating to the allocation of land or disputes, which may arise as a consequence or due to undefined boundaries. In such matters, the issue is taken up by the clan elders and failing satisfactory settlement; it is referred to the village council, while in the case of inter-village disputes, the matter is taken to the Dobashi court or other statutory courts. Failure to comply with their decision is an offence, which is punishable.

In rivers which sometimes act as dividers, the mid-section is assumed as the imaginary boundary. Hence during the utilization of the streams for fishing purposes the river is dammed to act as barrier and markers. Villagers normally select site as the hearth, which may be located anywhere provided it is within the limits of one's boundary. Traditional hearth or 'melong' are continuously used, close to the demarcated line to prevent encroachment thus in concept these hearth also serve as markers. The concept of a fixed and demarcated notion of territories by visible markers indicate the adherence of one's village territorial boundaries and the occupation of the same to the exclusion of all others where inhabitants share rights of exploitation denied to outsiders except with special permission.

2.3 CULTURAL ATRIBUTES OF THE BORDERLAND TRIBES.

Tyler defines culture as 'the complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral law and customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. Given the diversity socio-culturally an attempt has been made to present an ethnological account understanding the dynamics of both the variations as well as the similarities that under pressure may create fissures or affinities which is determined by the socio-political environment.

The social organization:

Naga villages were self-contained socioeconomic and political sovereign units that formed the highest political organization. As in all tribal societies, isolation is a result of difficult terrain and internal feuds that limited social interaction. However, trade and instances of loosely knit political leagues nevertheless existed. Such as the integrated attempt of Angami villages to resist intrusion of the British into the hills, or the case of Mulongyimchen and Waromong that allied against Merangkong in 1885.¹⁵ While such relationships were primarily temporary in nature, traditionally political alliances based on the concept of patronage and oath of friendship or “Ak Su” existed between individual villages as seen in the case among the Aos. The family is the fundamental unit in the society and based along patrilineal and patriarchal lines. The structure of the society is complex. A clan comprises of a group of consanguineous families descending from a common ancestor, a number of such clans constitute a village while numerous villages constitute a tribe. The clan functions as a unit of collective responsibility and provides a criterion of identification. Clan membership determines the choice of marriage partners. The phratry is strictly exogamous hence it is considered a taboo to marry within one’s clan or even a clan of another village corresponding to one’s own. The breach of this rule is punishable as fines are imposed and its members can be ex-communicated from the village.

The Ao tribe is divided into two main moiteis viz: Chungli and Mongsen, which is further divided into three main phratries viz: Pongen, Longkumer and Jamir. Which are again subdivided into several exogamous clans. The Konyak clans are organised on the basis of class distinction viz: the chief or the ‘Great Ang’ class called ‘Wangham’, the ‘Small Ang’ class called ‘Wangsa’ while the intermediate class is called ‘Wangsu’ and the lowest ranking class or commoners are called ‘Ben’.

The Khiamiungan tribe is essentially divided into three major clans viz: ‘Shio, Lam and Thai’. These are further subdivided into numerous subgroups such as Lamhing, Meyh and Nokthanglam etc. The Wanchos, Tangsas and the Nocke Naga tribes of Arunachal Pradesh also comprise of patrilineal and patriarchal exogamous clans consisting of numerous families.

¹⁵ BB Gosh, 1979, *Mokokchung District Gazetteer* pp 44-45

British ethnographers had identified the Tangsas as Sarkari Nagas, while the Wanchos were known as Rangpang Nagas and the Noctes as Namsangyias.¹⁶

Village Layout:

All Naga villages were situated on the hilltops for defense purposes. In a typical Ao village the 'Ariju or Morung' were generally located closed to village gate while in Konyak villages they were sited closed to the house of the Angs. Among the Aos, villages have regular streets with closely serried houses and granaries are located at a distance to ensure the safety in case of fire. Every village irrespective of size is divided into two or more 'khels or 'muphu' (colony). Each khel functions as an individual unit or the lowest unit of social organisation.

The Morung System:

In most Naga villages the general tendency was to identify with one's Morung or bachelor's dormitory rather than a khel. Each khel would contain one or two morungs. Among the Aos, the latter is a microcosm of the village and comprises of two groups, the 'Ariju Sungpur' or the newly inducted junior boys between the ages of 12-15 years who performed the menial duties such as providing firewood, water etc. When the junior grade is completed at the end of three years this batch moves up to make room for the younger group. The second group known, as 'Ariju Chuzen' comprises of those above the 15 years of age forming the bulk of the village defence and are accountable to the village council, which comprises of the 'Tatars' (councilors).

While discipline is strictly inculcated, respect for elders, spirit of service, loyalty and obedience is enforced and observed at all times. The Ariju is also a place for skills and knowledge, oral tradition and warfare tactics are imparted. And an individual remain as a member till he is married. The importance of the Morung varies from tribe to tribe. The corresponding female dormitory or 'Tzuki' (maiden sleeping house) exist in every khel, which is lodged in the house of a widow. Besides imparting discipline and respect for the elders, the inmates are also taught social skills and crafts.

Khiamiungan Kamnois (gathering place or morungs) are segregated along clan lines. There is no rigidity regarding the eligibility of age for its membership since boys above the

¹⁶ (Ao Tajenyuba, *British Occupation of the Naga country* Mokokchung: Naga Literature society 1993 p178).

age of five years may be regarded as members. Its corresponding female dormitory is called 'Nio-hai tamhai'. The strict adherence to clan membership is not without reason. During festivities and ritual courtship, the members of the kamnoi visitation to the 'Nio-hai tamhai' are prohibited to those of the same clan, thus the rigid exogamous rules are maintained. The Village council is an important political institution, which had been accorded immense power in the past.

The Age Group System:

This system is prevalent among the Ao tribe and maybe described as an institutionalised division of labour. Irrespective of age the population is segregated into 'Yinger/Yenger' or age group to which various communal duties are assigned. Every three years a new group of boys born within the same three years enter the Arijū at the age of 12 years. Comprising of five groups viz: 'Mechensangr, Mopungsangr, Kochasangr, Rionsangr and Medemsangr' these individuals are life long members of their respective age group. Girls on the other hand do have their corresponding age group but the system does not play a prominent role in her life. Each of these groups may be assigned specific duties in the village. In this manner, a village of more than a thousand will function smoothly under this communal setup without a central authority or chieftain exhibiting none of the chaos associated with lack of central authority in other societies.

Inheritance:

Inheritance of property devolves upon the heirs by succession hence male issues are greatly favoured under the system. Among the Angamis, Chakesang and Zeliangrong communities, the youngest son inherits a major share of his father's property. While the same is equally among all the other sons in the Khiamiungan society, the daughters are entitled to movable property such as ornaments, utensils etc. Among most Naga tribes customary laws of inheritance generally favour the sons. One of the possible reasons for this may be rooted in the fact that all jhum fields are treated as communal property which are cultivated in strict rotation, thus land cannot be alienated. Consequently, migrants from other villages or tribes cannot acquire landed property within the village and clans have been known to possess or strictly pass on their inheritance from generation to generation, without change in the ownership.

Marriage:

Marriage is strictly exogamous and in the case of Great Angs there is a rigid stratification as their 'purity' is maintained by the rule to marry within one's own class as is the case with Wanchos. Among the Khiamiungan the practice of 'minten' or abduction is prearranged and conducted with the consent of the parents of the bride. The Aos are monogamous strictly prohibiting polygamy and polyandry marriages. Marriage within the same clan is prohibited and is a punishable offence as such a marriage is regarded as void. The 'putu menden' imposes a fine on the parties involved and ex-communicates from the village, since all the members of a clan are considered related and such a relationship is considered incestuous.¹⁷ In the Marings society, both monogamy and polygamy were traditionally prevalent. However, the formal ceremony is performed only for the first marriage and the first wife enjoys an elevated position as her status is considered superior to the other wives. The offspring of the junior wives do not have rights of inheritance, but if the first or major wife does not have a male issue, then the others may have a claim and in such situations the right of inheritance among the sons is recognized as the basis of seniority.

Religion:

Nagas earlier practiced an Indigenous religion. JB Mills had observed that religion particularly among the Ao tribe was not an issue of moral codes; rather it was a system of ceremonies.¹⁸ It is believed that all attempts to prosper in spite of striving at all acts lawful and right within the moral spheres were doomed if the sacrifices due to the deities were omitted. It is not surprising then, that many of the ceremonies and rituals centred on the appeasement of spirits or seeking or acknowledgment of bountiful harvest. Another important feature is the feast relating to wealth or feast of merit, which seeks to establish an individual's status of wealth by giving a feast to the whole village. The Nagas of Myanmar, had primarily been animist worshipping the spirits of heaven (Mu), earth (Ga), mountains (Bum) and Sawn. Spirits are worshipped in altars erected in the village or in areas that are unfrequented. In many villages Nat houses are setup where the community sacrifices to the communal spirits but those villages that do not have Nat houses, ceremonies are held in a specific spot.¹⁹

¹⁷ *The Ao Customary Law*, ibid: 73

¹⁸ Mills, J.B. 1973. *The Ao Nagas*, London: Oxford University press p215.

¹⁹ Ao, Tajenyuba, 1993. *British Occupation of Naga Country*. Mokokchung: Naga Literature Society. P236

Land Holding System:

In the Ao society, specific individuals or family may privately own land and after the demise of the head of the family the oldest son inherits the land. Clan land forms the bulk of the landed property, which is commonly held by all the members and the allotment, is determined by the elders according to respective needs. Common village land is generally utilized for Ariju construction or for other common purposes such as general need of the village and reserve forest which is controlled by the 'Samen or Tazungpur' (village council). When used for private purpose, permission is sought from concerned authority for its utilization and in return receives rent. An individual may permanently lose or be debarred from claiming all his ancestral rights and title over the land should he migrate to another village with the intention of permanently settling down. By adopting a clan (kidong ayim) in that village, he can then be considered a bonafide citizen by subscribing to the 'yim/kidong saru (clan/village fund). He may enjoy certain privileges such as allocation of jhum field for cultivation etc but has no claim to ancestral property. This is however not applicable to migrants who seek temporary settlement as he retain his affiliation to his village by subscribing to the clan/village fund and contributes physical labour if necessary through a substitute.

Among the Khiamiungan the land is both privately and communally own. Private ownership forms the bulk of the land holds in a village. Land or lim may be leased for a period of one year or more and this system is known as 'aphai'. Land may also be leased on rotation basis, which means that two families may cultivate the jhum fields alternately since it is jointly owned. This system is called 'Alai'. Land may also be sold on a permanent basis. The system of 'alai' is peculiar to the Khiamiungans and has been adopted to allow an individual in dire needs to sell a portion of his jhum fields while his family retains the remaining half. Similarly, livestock too can be jointly owned. For instance, mithuns may be individually or jointly own and in the circumstances of its untimely demise the financial loss would not weigh heavily on one family alone. In the Maring community, an extremely well organized land holding system exists. Ownership is partly individual or community based and as such four categories have been identified relating the area allocated for settlement, agricultural fields and reserve forest. The area earmarked for settlement is called a Yul and all land pertaining to this category is community owned and if any individual abandons the site the same may be allocated to

another family. Similarly Jhum fields are also community owned and an individual cannot exercise any claims over it, and may only cultivate it long as they remain residents of the village. The actual allocation and powers of distribution are vested traditionally in a chief or Khunba, but in recent years this has been transferred to the village authority or Yul-Urrap who functions the consultation with the Kaulpu or Khullak. Generally a jhum cycle can be anywhere between 8-10 years. The third deal with the allocation and right over terrace fields and unlike jhum fields; these are individually owned and can thus be inherited or transferred. The fourth category is the reserved forest, which are located beyond the cultivated fields. The reserved forest is under the control of the village authority and preserved mainly for timber, both for construction as well as commercial purposes.

Political Institutions: Autocratic Chieftainship.

The Great Angs of the Konyaks (Wanchos) indeed hold a unique position for not only are they the undisputed rulers of their villages and all the others under their overlordship but their persons were also sacred. The Great Angs particularly of Mon and Chi were true aristocrats with sacred blood pure. Their society is stratified on the basis of class distinction rather than clans unlike the other Naga tribes. The Great Angs are called the Wangham class, the small Angs are called Wangsa while the intermediate class is called Wangsu and the lowest ranked class is called Ben or commoners. The rigidity of the class distinction is maintained by matrimony. The Great Angs were to marry only within their own class and the male offspring of such a union would automatically become the heir. The children of their secondary common wives were not members of this chiefly lineage but held the rank of the small Angs. The power and geographical limits between the two varied, those that were based on autocratic principles were distinguished as 'thendu' while those under the small Angs that were egalitarian were based on democratic principles were called 'thenkoh'. The Great Angs expected deference from the villagers as well as a part of their crops and labour. They are also entitled to the first share of meat slaughtered for feast or game that was hunted. While the Angs commanded great respect and were the key policy makers their position was not guaranteed and given the sacred nature of their person at a ritual level, if the village did not prosper or he was unable to give a feast or was unable to expand his domain by receiving

tributes, he was personally held responsible and his powers subsequently diminish. The chief could only hope to revive his prestige by giving a feast in the village.²⁰

The egalitarian small Angs (Thenkoh) recognized the same classes of commoners, intermediate and Ang clans but the distinction was comparatively less marked and mattered only in terms of non-sharing of food from the same plate with the other classes. Under this system, the Ang share the authority with the leaders of each Morung. The leaders or council (Niengba) were responsible for settling inter-Morung disputes, to determine which fields the village is to cultivate that year, the political policies and also announce the 'gennas' designed to protect the fertility of the crops. Each Morung was also free to make its own alliances with neighbouring Morungs and villages. The Thendu Ang maintains his authority and domination by unequal ownership of land and their monopoly over the rights to give feast. In Naga society feast of merit is an important ritual to mark and create distinctions in social status as it converts material wealth into social rank.²¹ The wealth signifies fertility and thus the celebration of feast is recognition of one's ritual status and a symbolic statement about their power, which is ultimately based on land. However, not all groups stress the feast of merit equally. In the Thendu setup, the great Ang clan alone performs the ritual of dragging of log drum and reception of a carved post, which signify the culmination of the feast. Thus they alone monopolized all fertility maximization and to enhance their power denying the same privilege to the commoners. Henceforth, the social stratification and legitimacy of authority is maintained.²² However, should a chief extract too much from his followers or run out of available land, he can not maintain his position as its sacred status are directly link to the ancestors and spirits which may be undermined making way for other chiefs to emerge as a reaction as in the Thenkoh system. The Noctes and Wanchos have a political setup based on hereditary chieftainship in whom is vested all administrative and judicial powers but are bound to consult their village elders and priests on important matters. The Nocte society is generally divided into two classes namely the Keipi or royal /ruling class and the Tangmo or commoners.²³ Each is further subdivided into several clans or lineages. With privilege limited to the male issues, the first-born inherits his father's

²⁰ Haimendorf, 1976, *Return to the naked Nagas*, N.Delhi: Vikas Publishing house Pvt Ltd. p.104

²¹ J Jacobs, *The Nagas: Hill peoples of North East India*, 1990, N.York: Thames and Hudson, p 77

²² Ibid p 74.

²³ <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/organisations/healthnet/SAsia/suchana/1210/kar.html>

property and succeeds his father in the case of a ruling family. The Wancho society is stratified as in the case of the Konyak society. Like their Konyak counterparts, the Wanchos are divided into three classes, whose members are strictly forbidden to intermarry.

The Tangkhul have a compact social village organization, wherein persons from the families of the same stock in the male line form themselves into a clan or Shangnao. The members of the clan form a village with the head of the clan assuming the title of the headman or Awunga. The headman is selected from among the direct descendant of the founder of the village. Each village comprises of numerous members of an extended family who owe loyalty to the headman and the head of clans are politically subordinate to the village headman. The head of the clan is the ex-officio member of the council and holds his position till death, but his office is not hereditary and may continue in office so long as he commands the confidence of his clan.

Democratic setup:

The Ao village is a miniature state with a republican form of government with a council known as 'Putu Menden/Samen Menchen. The Putu Menden consist of a multi-tier hierarchy system, each having unequal status and function indicated by allocation of meat from different parts of a slaughtered animal, is headed by a chief called 'Ungr' (in Chongli) or 'Tsongba' (in Mongsen) meaning 'Head receiving'. The next category is the steering body Tazung Menden (menden means seat) consisting of Tazung-pur (Thigh receiving group) followed by Tekong Menden consisting of Tokong-pur (neck receiving group), Tarsosang or Tepen-sosang (intestine or stomach receiving group) while Satar who receives only a small portion of meat and Sosanglak who receive nothing. The Putu Menden is constituted by 'Tatars' (chosen leaders or councillors) who are succeeded by the members of the next echelon in the hierarchy on the basis of seniority every thirty years by the process of 'Putu Atsungtepba' (replacement on completion of tenure). The cycle of succession consists of five Putu (generation) namely: Medemsangr, Mechensangr, Mepongsangr, Kosasangr and Rionsangr each comprising of persons of contemporary age group called 'Yinger/Yenger. This system of succession provides equal opportunity to all eligible members to be inducted in the council on the basis of seniority. The Tatars are representatives of various clans from the khel council or Mupu Menden. The number of representatives depends on the size of the clan and is nominated on the basis of seniority within a contemporary age group called 'Yinger/Yenger'. Only a former inmate of the Ariju (Morung or dormitory) is eligible for

membership in the council, as non-members would be disqualified. The 'Ungr' is always chosen from a Pongen clan but in the absence of the said clan, a member from Imchen phratry can occupy the post. A member of the council who is called 'Tonglu' assists him. The Ungr is vested the power and authority to summon emergency conference or Mungdang in case constitutional anomalies relegating the Putu Menden to a non-functioning status. This conference of the citizen is called for referendum and impeachment of any guilty Tartars indicted for having committed an offence. The accused will then be fined and expelled from the council. The Tazungpur or Chujang are the real executive of the village administration forming the inner circle. They are to hear and settle cases and disputes and to summon public meetings in which the Tazungtiba (senior-most) presides. It formulates the general policy exercising both executive and judicial functions in assistance with the Tokung Menden. It also has the power to prepare estimates of expenditure and collection of Saru (village fund), entertain guest and visit neighbouring villages to renew relationship and understanding and are to receive 'Ak su' (oath of friendship or diplomatic relationship). The Tokung Menden category receives privileges and is next in power and authority only to the Tazungpur. In fact major clans who are entitle to two seats, one in the Tazung Menden and the other in the Satar (ordinary members). In case of unrepresentation in Tazung Menden a clan may be represented in the Tokung Menden. Serving as assistant to the Tazungpur, the Tokung Menden are to collect the village Saru and are responsible for negotiation and settlement of any disputes with other villages on behalf of their village. Tarsosang or Tepensosang are from those clans that are not represented in either Tazung or Tokung Menden. They generally act as 'runners or messengers' to relay messages within or outside the village. The next group comprised of the Satar who are merely ordinary members and are not assigned to any specific duty. The Sosanglak consist of junior members who perform the menial duties and chores including preparation of food for the senior members at the time of official meetings.

The traditional system of justice is simple and direct and only one forum of trial exists for a breach of customary code of conduct or belief wherein the decision of the Putu Menden is final and enforced. Punishment may range from imposition of fines and under severe circumstances an individual maybe expelled from the village within a stipulated time and on his expulsion unless his property has been redeemed by his relatives, it will become common property of the village. A post Independent development has been the institutionalisation of the Tsukong (range) Court (Non governmental) to settle disputes in

accordance with the customary laws when two or more villages are involved. The court is constituted by members comprising of representatives from each village of a range (Tsukong).

A Dobashi Customary Court was created by the British in the district headquarters and continues to function till date. It entertain complains which cannot be resolved at the village level and decides the cases based on customary laws and practices. Their decision is accepted and confirmed by a magistrate and appeals against which may be filed in the statutory courts. The councillors according to fixed ratio among themselves appropriate fines imposed by the village council while the fines imposed by the Dobashi Court are deposited in the government account. Members appointed by the government to represent the five Ranges of the Ao area constitute the court. The Village council is an important political institution, which had been accorded immense power in the past.

2.3.1 The Singphos and Khamptis.

The Singphos are closely affiliated with the Kachins of Myanmar while the Khamptis are believed to have migrated from the present Shan States of Myanmar. The Khamptis are segregated into distinct classes signifying distinct status in the social hierarchy with the chiefs occupying the highest position as the political authority is vested in the chief, with the slaves occupying the lowest rank. Formerly the Chiefs were vested with immense authority and privilege as they were considered the lord of the soil. Presently a council known as the Mokchup that represents a cross section of the village inhabitation assists them. The office is hereditary, as the oldest male offspring succeeds his father's office. The priests are second only to the chiefs in social status as they wield influence over all ranks. The Singpho council is called Tungdai or Siphang tungdai while its members are known as Singpho Silang.

In matters of inheritance, the first male offspring inherits his father's estate and the younger receives all the moveable property. In the past, dormitory for young maidens was maintained in all villages that housed girls who had attained puberty and were expected to be inmates till they married thus the houses were taboo to menfolk and were guarded by older women of the community to strictly monitor morality. Formerly when Singpho chiefs proceeded on any important expedition, they distributed the flesh of a buffalo among friends who were consequently bonded in the service of the chief on that occasion. Fued and revenge killings were related to their superstition and beliefs and every murder was to be avenged as appeasement to the departed soul, however today the Singphos and Khamptis are dominantly Buddhist belonging to the Hinayana sect.

2.3.2. *The Mizo-Kuki-Chins*

Definite spatial arrangements of the tribes are apparent; the Lushais occupy the core and central position, while the other tribes occupy the periphery. The Hmars, who were classified as one of the first migrants, initially inhabiting the Champhai area but in due course of time, were pushed towards the northern districts adjoining Manipur. They then spread to north Cachar hills and Tripura while a section continue to inhabit north-western part of Myanmar. Similarly Pois are found concentrated in the Chhimtuipui district of Mizoram, Chittagong hill tracts and Myanmar.

With the geographical isolation and lack of interaction given the hostile environment, the inward looking orientation of these tribes encouraged the emergence of distinct ethnic and linguistic variation. Each village was composite and independent. Scattered and highly dispersed in location, particularly in the mountain crest they were ideal from a defensive viewpoint. However the dominant Sailos were eventually able to hold sway politically over large parts of the state, subsuming the other Lushai clans, which in time adopted the dialect of the Sailos (Lusei) as the lingua franca. While chieftainship evolved as a response to the political environment, which acted as stimulant, unintegrated groups of families sought a more effective political institution, which would integrate and provide stability under a powerful, charismatic leader who would lead them in times of war. In time the institution modified to assume a more autocratic leadership with hereditary rights to succession, leaving little scope for enterprising individuals to attain the highest office. The land holding allows the villagers only usufructuary right over the land. The credibility was maintained so long as a strong political organization existed to withstand the pressures of inter-tribal feuds. As stability increased the system underwent a remarkable change as political authority was materially reduced since the British for the creation of new settlements and Kuki sepoy villages now granted land. For the convenience of administration, fragmentation of land or shifting of villages was greatly discouraged and as the villages became less mobile, the land consciousness emerged. The Kuki chieftainship shows the evolution of the Territorial chiefs in the post independent era whose office are now manned by commoners who are educated but this has allowed the emergence of numerous villages and revealed the gradual shift in allegiance from an institution based on kinship to one that is now based on political institution. Among the chins, villages had independent units claiming land for cultivation generally about 7-11 kms in radius. Hereditary chieftainship was common in the north, whereas a headman or

a village leader ruled the southern villages.²⁴ Chiefs were known to receive tributes from tributary villages that they had conquered and in return be responsible for their protection. Today this traditional political institution has been abolished in Mizoram but retained among the Kukis however their powers have been greatly reduced as the introduction of the Village authority Act has transformed the structure and function. The members of the new setup are now elected the chief continues to remain the ex-officio chairman of the Village authority. In Nagaland the traditional political institutions are retained but the powers of the council are limited to the jurisdiction of the villages.

The Mizos society has a segmentary social structure wherein each clan has its own dialect. In the early eighteenth century, the Sailo clans by its domination influenced the other groups, which in time adopted the Sailo customs and practices, integrating the various groups under one cultural umbrella.²⁵ Comprising of several clans and tribes, the smallest unit is the family and numerous families constitute consanguineous families descended from a common ancestor and like the Nagas, the clans are collectively responsible and its membership is a criterion for identification.

Political Institution:

In the process of migration, stronger and later migrants edged out the older settlers. In this highly competitive environment for resources and fertile cultivable land, inter-tribal and village and feuds were common. This necessitated the urgent requirements of a powerful leader who could guide and protect his people since the people were disorganized and unsettled. The Lusei tribe trace their political institutions of chieftainship to Zahmunha (Zahmuaka) whose descendents are the Sailos.²⁶

Initially chiefs to merely lead their people in times of war and as weaker clans sought protection under stronger families, eventually the people became more integrated and leadership became stable. Gradually the power and functions of Chief increased giving way to an autocratic hereditary institution. The concept of territoriality was limited by the chief's perception of space which was essentially within the village parameters.

Presumably after chiefs became more successful in war, the powers and authority may have been significantly transformed and as a structured political institution evolved, a chief or "Lal" was autocratic and his word became law within his jurisdiction. His power was

²⁴ Vumsom undared, *Zo History*, Aizawl: Published by the author.p8.

²⁵ Dr. Sangkima 1992 *Mizo: Society and social change* Guwahati: Spectrum Publications ,p 25

²⁶ S.N. Singh, *ibid* p 135.

measured by the number of followers and his ability to command them and with the increase of authority, evolved a hereditary system.

He owned the village territory exclusively and he in essence became 'lord of the soil'. A village was an independent unit with a geographical extent of seven to eleven km in radius for its cultivation as jhum fields. Given their slash and burn method of agriculture, all Mizo and Chin villages were migratory. The chief was vested with both executive and judicial functions and was the rightful owner of land within his jurisdiction. The exclusive ownership of land was common to all except in the Sizang community. In the Mizo areas, the 'Upas' or village elders, were nominated at the discretion of the chief.

In his judicial capacity, all litigation both civil and criminal and petty feuds were dealt with in accordance with the customary law of the society. The council was empowered to impose a fine or Salam on the guilty party which constituted a pig and in severe cases, a mithun or even confiscation of the property.

The chief was entitled to free labour from the villagers for construction purposes. He was also entitled share of the cultivated produced or Fathang (paddy tax) paid in kind. In addition he received other taxes from traders operating within his jurisdiction. He receives tributes from other tribes who he has submitted or seeks his protection and the residents of the village were merely tenants paying his tithes and tributes. The chiefs were undoubtedly masters within their boundaries and if any alien wished to enter his territory and work his land, they were to pay him customary tributes. Among the Kukis, John Macrac and Robert Brown have identified two types of chieftainship namely the Hereditary or clan chief and the Village chief that included the territorial chiefs. The Hereditary chiefs or Mi-upa by virtue of a strict dogma of descent and lineage was attributed with autocratic and venerated status in the society unlike the village chief or Hausa-pa. The first group adhere to the law of primogeniture while the village chief are the younger branches of the clan chiefs or in the case of the territorial chiefs, they are not in direct lineage descent of their respective clans as their offices are manned by commoners. In all matters the Hereditary chief's superiority is evident as he alone is vested with the power over clan matters that are beyond the jurisdiction of the clan elders and has the right to receive ceremonial tributes from his clansmen. Land ownership has provided legitimacy to the Kuki chief however his authority seldom extends beyond his village while his control over villages belonging to his clan is merely ceremonial but he has the right to extract tribute from them.

Inheritance and Succession

Traditionally the Mizo society favours the male members. Technically the youngest son inherits his father's property. In a chieftain family, if the chief dies without a male offspring, the property and right to succession would be passed on to the sons of his concubine or even an illegitimate son or sawn. Among the Chins in the villages where the youngest succeeded his father, the older siblings were allowed to setup new villages in land allocated by the father. They were not required to pay any tribute except assist his father in times of difficulties. In the southern chin communities the oldest son inherits the family house, while the younger male siblings may live with the elder brother until they marry and move out to establish their own home. Among the Suktes and Sizangs, the youngest son inherits his father's property.²⁷

Zawlbuk: (Dormitory)

It is one of the oldest traditional institutions and is equivalent to a Naga Morung. Placed under the guardianship of a 'Val Upa' or leader, the members comprise of two groups namely the Tlanguals or older boys and the Thingnawifawn or junior boys. Its equivalent is the Kuki Sawm or Hmar Buonkaw. A Zawlbuk was the 'nerve center' of the society, where the youth were trained to become responsible members of the village and the discipline that its inmates adhered to was responsible for the credible contribution of its society. All-important decisions were based on consensus but the 'Val Upa' was the subject of immense respect. In short, it served as the basis of a village's defense. Warriors who have not been successful in acquiring heads in raids were not worthy to commence courtship.

Marriage:

Marriage among the Chins and Mizos was a form of social contract, soluble at the will of both parties concerned. It has been described as 'marriage by purchase' since bride price is an integral part of negotiation and marriage. The amount would vary from clan to clan as past relationship between the concerned clans determined the amount. Among the chiefs a tendency to practice endogamy was evident to consolidate the position of the ruling family, and chiefs were known to keep concubines, hence Monogamy was restricted to the commoners. In the Chin Community, marriages among close cousins are preferable and if a man fails to marry a girl from his mother's clan his sons may continue with the tradition by marrying from their

²⁷ Carey and Tuck reprint 1976 *the Chin Hills vol. I*, Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd, p 209.

mother's or grandmother's clan. Marriages outside the community are uncommon and issues from such a union are not considered pure or full-fledged members.

Religion:

The social life of the pre-Christian society was one that was dominated by religious (Sakhua) and superstitious beliefs. Their belief in a 'supreme being' or 'Pathian' the creator of the universe, who was omni potent and omni present thus they believed in the appeasement of the spirits with sacrifices since it was the source of all suffering and misfortune. The southern chins believed in a supreme being (Kozin). Their concept of the after life designated two final abodes Mithikwa and Sathikwa for the death .Like the Kukis, the Mizos and Chins believed that the soul of a slain would serve as slave to the victor in his after life .The practice of head hunting is also connected to ceremonial rites to invoke fertility and abundance in crops .

Spirit of Tlawmngaihna:

This practice is equivalent to an act of chivalry based on the principle of unselfishness, self-denial, consideration and industrious qualities of an individual. In a Zawlbuk the 'Val Upa' duly noted those qualities in an innate and such individuals were rewarded or felicitated by offering him the first sip from a 'Tlawmngai no' (horn filled with rice beer) taking precedence before the village chief.This spirit integrates all members of the society and is neither discriminating nor biased in nature. It was this spirit that promoted social services such as construction of a widow's house, tending the field of a sick, and is similar to the Kuki Lawm (social services).

2.4.1 Ethnic composition of the Indo Myanmar borderland.

The inhabitation of the area belongs to diverse ethnic groups. With the advent of the British , there was a tendency to club these diverse groups into generic broad divisions based on the territorial contiguity and overt cultural affinities for administrative convenience .However having set into motion the growing awareness of tribal identity subsequently some sections of the inhabitants aligned themselves into Pan ethnic groups highlighting their similarities and down playing their differences for greater social and political mileage. For our convenience these broad groups maybe identified as the Nagas, Mizo-Kuki Chin, and the inhabitants of the Lohit district namely the Khampti and Singphos who are closely affiliated with the Shans and Kachins. The Mizo-Kuki-Chins, Nagas and the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw sub group belong to the Tibeto Burman linguistic group. Robbins Burling in his "The Tibeto – Burman languages of North East India" has classified all the Naga tribes except the Konyak

group under the Mizo-Kuki-Chin sub group .The classifications of Shafer (1955) and Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson.G.A.) also show a similar category with slight modifications. The second subgroup is the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw that includes the Konyak group and the Singphos (Jinghpaws).

The Naga tribes that have been classified as the Mizo-Kuki-Chin sub group have been divided into four major genetic sub divisions by the LSI and Shaffer (1955) into the Tangkhul group, the Zemi group, the Angami-Pochuri group and finally the Ao group .The Konyak group of the Bodo-Konyak –Jinghpaw comprise of the Konyaks, Khiamnungan, Phom, Tangsa, Nocte, Wancho and Chang. The first group inhabits all the districts of Nagaland except the eastern districts close to the Indo Myanmar Boundary and the Hill districts of Manipur and the Somra tract in Myanmar. While the second sub group inhabit the eastern districts of Nagaland, such as Mon, Tuensang, Longleng and Kiphire; Changlang and Tirap districts in Arunachal Pradesh and the Naga Hill districts of Myanmar. Table 1 Shows the distribution of the Naga Tribes in Myanmar.

Table 1 Language table of Naga tribes of Myanmar

Area	Classification	Language Name	Dialect	Alternative name
N-Western Myanmar, also in Tuensang district Nagaland.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman	Naga Khiamnungan		Khiamnungan, Kalyu-Kengnyu, Makware.Para, Ponyo, Welam.
N-Western Myanmar, also in Changlang district.	Sino-Tibetan.Tibeto-Burman.	Naga, Tase.	Gashan,Hkaluk, Longri, Sangtai.	Tase, Cham Chang, Tangsa, Rangpan.
Southeast Manipur and Myanmar.	Sino-Tibetan Tibeto Burman.	Anal	Moyon-Monshang	Namfau.

Source: Reference library: Encyclopedia at www.campus programme.com.

The Kuki, Mizo and Chin ethnic group are distributed in three countries namely India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. In India, they inhabit the states of Mizoram, North Cachar, Manipur and small pockets of Nagaland and Tripura. Vumson has classified the Zos ethnic group (Kuki, Mizo, and Chin) into six major groups namely the Asho, Laimi (Pawi), Masho, Mizo, Sho and Zomi. The Ashos are inhabitants of Arakan, while the Mashos inhabit the Paletwa and Arakan in Myanmar. The Sho are found in Mindat-Kanpetlet and South Matupi in Myanmar while the Pawi inhabit Matupi, Falam and Haka in Chin state. The Lusei are found

in Mizoram, Manipur, northern Chin state where they are known as Hualngo. The Paite inhabit the Teddim are in the Chin state, Homalin in Myanmar and Mizoram in India. In Churachandpur district of Manipur they are known as Kukis. The Yos of the Gangaw area in Myanmar are in many respects considered more “Burmanised” and have less affinity to the other Zo ethnic group.²⁸ Although there has been difference of opinion as to the suitability of the ethnonym some sections consider the usage of Zomi more appropriate while others feel that the term Mizo or Chin is acceptable and all encompassing, nevertheless most groups continue to ascribe themselves by the name of their tribe but for political mileage attempts have been made to unify and arrive at a Pan identity. A general agreement between most scholars of Zo culture is the need to categorize the various tribes under one common and widely acceptable generic name as envisaged by scholars such as Vumson, T Gougin, Hrangnawl exponents of Zo culture and history.

²⁸ Vumson undated *Zo History* Aizawl :published by the author p40

Area	Classification	Language	Dialect	Alternative Name
Irrawaddy River, Lowlands. Not In China. Also Spoken In Bangladesh.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern, Sho.	Chin, Asho	Thayetmyo (Thayetmo), Minbu, Lemyo, Khyang	Qin, Asho, Sho, Khyang, Kyang
Falam Area, Chin Hills.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Central.	Chin, Bawm		Bawm, Bawn, Bawng, Bom.
Kanpetlet, Yaw, Seidoutia, And Paletwa Townships.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern, Sho.	Chin, Chinbon		Chin, Sho, Chinbon.
Matupi, Paletwa, Kanpetiet Townships.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern.	Chin, Daai		Daai, Dai, M'kaang.
Falam District, Chin Hills. Also Spoken In Bangladesh, India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Chin, Falam	Zanniat, Tashon (Tashon, Shunkla, Sunkhla), Laizo Zahau	Hallam Chin, Halam, Fallam, Falam.
Chin Hills, Haka Area. Also Spoken In Bangladesh, India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Central.	Chin, Haka	Lai, Klangklang (Thlantlang), Zokhua,	Haka, Hakha, Baungshe
Arakan Hills, Southern Chin State, Western Myanmar. A Few In India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern, Khumi.	Chin, Khumi	Matu (Maru, Dai-Patu), Khami, Ngala.	Ubskhumi, Khami, Khweymi, Khimi, Khuni
Arakan Hills, Coast Areas.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern, Khumi	Chin, Khumi Awa		
Myanmar, Also Spoken In Assam, and Lushai Hills.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern.		Tlongsai, Hlawthai, Sabeu.	Mara, Lakher, Zao

Table:2 Language distribution of the Mizo-Kuki-Chin groups

Chin Hills, Falam Area.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Central.	Chin, Ngawn	---	Ngawn, Ngorn, Ngon.
Tiddim District, Chin Hills. Also Spoken In Assam; Manipur, Southern; Mizoram,	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Chin, Paite		Paite, Vuite(Guite)
Chin Hills.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Chin, Siyin		Siyin, Siyang, Sizang.
Chin State, Tiddim Area. Also Spoken In India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern	Chin, Tedim	Sokte, Kamhau (Kamhow, Kamhao).	Tedim, Tiddim.
Myanmar. Also Spoken In Assam; Manipur, Nagaland; Mizoram;	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Chin, Thado	Baite, Changsan, Haokip, Khongzai, Kipgen, Shithlou, Singson	Thadou, Vaiphei, Thado-Pao,
Manipur, Southern Districts; Assam. Also Spoken In Myanmar.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Gangte	---	Gante.
Also Spoken In India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Hrangkhol	---	Rangkhol.
Western Myanmar Also Spoken In Mizoram; Assam; Manipur; Nagaland; Tripura,	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Central.	Lushai	Dulien, Ngente, Mizo.	Hualngo, Lushei, Lusei.
Myanmar. Also Spoken In India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Ralte		
Chin State, Tiddim, Chin Hills. Also Spoken In India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Northern.	Zomi		Zomi, Zou, Zo, Kuki Chin
Chin State, Thantlang Township. Also Spoken In India.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern	Zyphe	Lower Zyphe, Upper Zyphe.	Zophei.
Chin Hills, Western	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, Southern	Chin, MÜN	Nitu	MÜN, Ng'men, Cho, Yawdwın, Mindat, 'Chinbok'.
Chin Hills, Falam Area.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin,	Chin, Ngawn	---	Ngawn, Ngorn, Ngon.

Source: Reference library: Encyclopedia at www.campus programme.com

Kachins

After 1900 onwards the works of Gierson gave the ethnic classification a greater linguistic dimension particularly in Myanmar. Edmund Leach has classified Kachins into the Jinghpaw (Jingpho), Duleng, Tsasen, Gauri, Atsi, Maingtha, Maru, Lashi, Nung, Lisu and Chinese-Lisu. The Singphos of Arunachal Pradesh belong to the Tsasen Kachin linguistic group; its speakers are also inhabitants of north and western Hukwang valley.²⁹ The Jinghpaw is mutually intelligible to all speakers comprising of six dialects, of which, Tsasen is also spoken by the Singphos in India. The Maru with mutually intelligible dialects closer to Myanmarese has five dialects. The Nung is closer to Tibetan than Jinghpaw. The Lisu with several regional dialects is distinct from both Jinghpaw and Maru.³⁰ The number of Jinghpaw (Jingpho) speaking population in Myanmar is estimated at 625,000 (1993).³¹ During the Colonial rule, all the hill men east of Bhamo, Hukwang valley, Assam, Mali Hka and N'Mai Hka valley were classified as Singphos or Kachins. For administrative convenience in later years, the term 'Kachin hills became part of the official jargon of British Burma' that designated the area based on geographical consideration rather than socio-cultural attributes.

Shans.

The Tai or Shan groups are a large ethnic group dispersed over south East Asia and India. G.A. Grierson (1904) has based his classification on the works of Gazeteers of Scott and Hardiman and E.A. Gait divides the Tai into two major groups for convenience, namely the Southern group such as the Siamese, Lao, and Lu etc while the Northern group comprises of namely the Ahoms, Khamtis (Khamptis) and Shan proper. Khamti is spoken in the upper courses of Bor Khampti Upper Brahmaputra and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh with an estimated population of 70,000 speakers (1990)³² Both the Ahoms and the latter Tai migrants into Assam belong to the same group, but the former had converted to Hinduism while the latter such as the Khamptis have retained much of their language and culture hence the Khamptis are the western most surviving representatives of the Shans. The Myanmarese classifies Shans as Burmese Shans (B'mah), Chinese Shans (Tayok) and the Hkamti Shans. The Hkamti Shans are settled in the Hkamti Long (Putao), the Hukwang valley Shans in

²⁹ Leach E, R. reprint 1964, Political systems of Highland Burma London school of Economic and political science pp57, 58

³⁰ *ibid* p 46.

³¹ Information on Burma, reference library :Encyclopedia ,<http://www.campus.program.com>

³² *Ibid*.

Maingkwan, Ningbyen, Taro and the Singkaling Hkamti whose population are presently mostly Nagas and Kachins and finally the Khampti of Assam immigrants from Bor Khampti with their earliest settlements near Sadiya and Lohit districts of Arunachal bordering Dibrugarh with the inhabitants speaking both the Tai language and admixture of Jinghpaw, Tai and Assamese.³³

In India the Khampti and Singpho tribes inhabit the erstwhile Mishmi hills and Tirap Frontier Tract later redesignated as the Lohit and Tirap district of Arunachal. The district of Tirap (2362 sq km in area) is inhabited by the Khamptis who occupy the south eastern corner in the Namsai sub region representing 0.15% of the population and 10.80% in the Lohit subdivision while the Singphos constitute 1.10% and 1.70% of the population in the Lohit and Tirap Subdivisions respectively.³⁴

Table 3 Language table of the Kachin, Shan Groups in Myanmar.

Area	Classification	Language	Dialect	Alternative Name
Lashio, Wa State, and Assam border.	Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto Burman, Burmese Lolo	Lisu	Hwa Lisu	Yaw, Yao
N-West Myanmar and India. (Arunachal Pradesh)	Tai-Kadai, kam-Tai, South and Central.	Khamti	Assam Khamti, N. Myanmar, Khamti, Singkaling, Hkamti.	Hkamti, Khamti, Shan. Kam-Ti, Tai.
Kachin State.	Sino-Tibetan Tibeto Burman	Jingpho.	Hkaku, Hka-Hku, Dulong.	Kachin Jingpho, Marip.
Htawgaw. Kachin State.	Sino-Tibetan Tibeto Burman	Lashi		Lasi Jingphaw, Marip.

Source: Reference library: Encyclopedia at www.campus program.com

The Naga tribes.

The Naga tribes are perhaps one of the largest ethnic groups in the region spread over both sides of the boundary comprising of 65 different tribes inhabiting territories both in Myanmar and India. (See table 4). In India, the Nagas are scattered over the states of Nagaland, Hill district of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and pockets in Assam. In Myanmar they inhabit the Naga Hill districts and Somra Tracts in Sagaing Division. There are fourteen recognized major tribes in Nagaland according to the census 2002, with the Chirri, Tikhir and Makhori

³³ Leach, opcit p 30

³⁴ See Appendice 2.1 for linguistic details of Arunachal Pradesh.

listed as minor tribes under Tuensang district (see table 5). The Yimchungers, Khiamnungan, Tikhir and Konyaks tribes not only inhabit Nagaland but are also found in the Naga Hills district under Sagaing division in Myanmar. The Naga tribes belong to the Tibeto Chinese or Tibeto Burman subgroup linguistic group.

In Manipur there are thirteen Naga tribes with the Tangkhul and the Anal tribes inhabiting the contiguous areas of Ukhrul district under Manipur and Somra Tract in Myanmar. (See table 6). The Eastern most districts of Tirap and Changlang, in Arunachal is inhabited by three Naga tribes namely the Wancho, Tangsa and Nocte Naga tribes. Incidentally the Wanchos are called Konyaks in Mon district of Nagaland and Naga Hills district of Myanmar. The Tangsa tribe is another group that inhabit the the Naga Hills of Myanmar. Out of a total of sixty-five Naga tribes there are approximately thirty-five Naga tribes in Myanmar alone. Linguistically the Nagas of India speak approximately forty – six dialects. In Nagaland the Aos, Konyaks, and Semas accounting for the major tribes with 16.57%, 13.25% and 15.10% respectively (1981) while the Makware account for only about 0.09% of the total population.³⁵ The Wanchus comprise of the largest Naga tribe in Arunachal Pradesh with 45,000 speakers according to the 1997 census.³⁶ The Khiamnungans are one of the largest Naga tribes in Myanmar accounting for a larger proportion of population in Myanmar than in Nagaland. Earlier they were referred to as the Kalyu-Kengnyu by the British.

Table No: 4. Shows the Naga Tribes in the Borderland.

1.Anal (+MR)	18. Kayo (+MR)	35. Nolan(MR)	52. Sangtam
2.Angami	19. Khklak/Hkaklak (MR)	36. Manshik (MR)	53. Saplo (MR)
3.Ao	20. Kengu (MR)	37. Pakang (MR)	54. Shangphiri (MR)
4.Chakesang	21. Lamkang	38. Phellongri (MR)	55. Sira (MR)
5.Chang	22. Liangmai	39. Phom (MR)	56. Somi (MR)
6.Cheril (MR)	23. Laihe (MR)	40. Pochuri (MR)	57. Sumi
7.Chirr (MR)	24. Lainung (MR)	41. Phango (MR)	58. Tarao

³⁵ See Appendices 2.2 for linguistic details on Nagaland.

8.Chiru	25. Lotha	42. Phakem (MR)	59.Tangkhum (+MR)
9.Chothe	26. Maram	43. Pangmi (MR)	60. Thangal
10.Heimi (MR)	27. Mao	44. Pangu (MR)	61. Tangsa
11.Hewa	28. Maring	45. Para (MR)	62. Tikhir (+MR)
12.Htangan (MR)	29. Moyon	46. Poumai	63. Wancho
13.Inpui	30. Monsang	47. Rangpan (MR)	64.Yimchunger (+MR)
14.Konyak (+MR)	31. Macharay/Makury/ Makhori (MR)	48. Rasit (MR)	65. Zeme
15.Khaimnungam (+MR)	32. Malang (MR)	49. Rekho (MR)	
16.Kharam/Hkaklak (MR)	33. Nokho/Noko (MR)	50. Rengma	
17.Koireng	34. Nokte (MR)	51. Rongmei	

(Source: Naga Hoho, White Paper on Naga Integration, 2002: 68). MR- Myanmar, +MR- Myanmar and India.

Table 5: Shows the Recognised Naga Tribes as Scheduled Tribes 1991.

Nagaland	Manipur	Arunachal Pradesh	Assam.
Angami, Khiamnungan, Ao, Chakhesang, Sangtam, Rengma, Phom, Lotha, Lotha, Sema, Chang, Konyak, Pochury, Yimchunger, Zeliang, Sangtam, Tikhir, Chirr, Makhori	Anal, Chiru, Chothe, Koireng, Lamkang, Maring, Maram, Kabui, Mao, Tangkhul, Moyon, Monsang, Kacha Naga (Zeme , Liangmei).	Tangsa Wancho Nocte	Zeliang-rong.

Source: U A. Shimray. Economic and Political Weekly Vol XXXIX no 17 .2004 .p1699.

In the border districts of Nagaland, Phek, Mon and Tuensang are the easternmost districts bordering Myanmar. The district of Phek with an area of 2026 sqkm was carved out of the Kohima district in 1973 and is inhabited by the Chakhesang tribe who were formerly designated as eastern Angamis. The Chakesangs comprise of 10.89% (1981) of the total

population. Melomi presently called Meluri is home to the Pochury tribe. For years several minor tribes earlier classified as the Eastern Angamis sought the right to be recognized as a separate tribe. The Chakre, Kheza and Southern Sangtams combined to form the Chakhesang tribe but in later years seven clans broke away from the Chakesang tribe and amalgamated to form the Pochury tribe, derived from Sapo (Po), Kuchury (Chu) and Khury (Ry) .They claimed to a common ancestor having descended from three brothers viz: Sapo, Kuchury and Khury. This tribe now occupies the Meluri and Phukhungri areas under Phek district.

The district of Tuensang located at an elevation of 1372m shares an international boundary of approximately 180 km with Myanmar and is bordered by Mon. Formerly comprising of an area of 4288 sqkm inhabited by the Changs, Yimchungers, Khiamnungans, Phoms, Sangtam, Konyaks, Chirr, Tikhers and Makware. Presently two districts have been carved out of Tuensang namely Longleng and Kipheri in 2003. The Phoms and Sangtam tribes inhabit it respectively. The Sangtams inhabit Longkhim, Chare and Surongto, while the Yimchungers occupy Shamatore and Chessore, the Changs inhabit Noksen. The Kussum headquarter (kussum range) is inhabited by the minor groups clubbed under the Yimchunger such as the Chirr, Tikhir and Mokhury but have since been demanding the recognition as independent tribes. The Khiamnungan tribe occupies the administrative divisions of Thonoknyu, Noklak and Panso .

The district of Mon is represented by the Konyaks. Formerly a part of Tuensang district, it was separated only in 1973 and upgraded to a district. Subsequently a portion of upper Konyaks dominated areas were placed under Tuensang for administrative convenience and as such since the colonial period, Tobu continues to be a bone of contention for the two which has resulted in numerous instances of conflicts till 1992 and 2004 without any signs of abating. Presently there are 110 Konyak villages under Mon district under 6 rural development blocks with presumably 54 satellite Konyak villages under chief Angs of Mon district in Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar many of whom continue to pay tribute. The village of Longwa under the Phomching block has been bifurcated by the Indo-Myanmar boundary placing one khel under Nagaland and the other under Naga Hills in Sagaing division in Myanmar

The Konyaks formerly known as Wanchos were apparently designated the term Konyak since their first interaction with Europeans. On enquiry about their identity, they

replied that they were 'Konyak' literally meaning human beings and ever since then continue to be referred by that ethnonym. With the separation of Mon from Tuensang most of upper Konyak remained in Tobu (subdivision of Tuensang) barring the Chen and Longching groups, which has been primarily a case of ethnic conflict between the Changs and Konyaks.

In Manipur the Nagas inhabit the Hill districts along with the Mizos and Kukis and in the district bordering Myanmar. The district of Ukhrul with an area of 4,544 sq km, is subdivided into five subdivisions is inhabited predominantly by the Tangkhul Naga tribe with a population of 1, 09,275 of which the Tangkhuls comprise of 1, 01,878 persons (1991). The district of Chandel with an area of 3,313 sq km comprises of two subdivisions is inhabited by the Naga tribes of the Anal, Marings, Chothe and the Monsang. (See table 7 for details) The total Anal population is estimated to be approximately 15,000 (1997).

Naga Hills in Myanmar.

The Somra tract in Myanmar is contiguous to Ukhrul district in Manipur is a mountainous region formerly in the Upper Chindwin district but presently in the Naga Hills of the Sagaing division of Myanmar was inhabited by Tangkhuls and Kukis with the former comprised of 11 villages with a population of 1002 houses and the Kukis under chiefs Komyang and Pasi (Pachei) with 22 villages of 496 households was included in Myanmar in 1915. A disputed section between Assam and Manipur referred to as the cross hatched area lying to the north of Manipur that included three Tangkhul villages which were later included in the latter in 1923.³⁷ This tract lies 25 20' 94 45' south of the Nantaleik valley with a maximum altitude of 10000 ft. Inhabited by the Tangkhuls called Uzumbok or crested Chins by the Myanmarese owing to the manner of dressing their hair, while the Kukis in the tract were simply referred to as Chins. Presently there are 32 settlements under the Somra tract (See table No 6) and 288 Tangkhul settlements under Manipur. Out of five towns in the Naga Hills district, Layshi (Leishi) at a height of 1302m at 250 N 940 E is the headquarters of the Eastern Tangkhuls and Hommalin at the confluence of the Chindwin and Uyu river are under Somra Tract. The other towns are Lahe at 1121m altitude in the north located at 260 N 950 E, Nanyun located west of the Tawumhka river in the north west of Kachin state and finally Hkamti. The latter is the headquarter of the Naga Hills district in Sagaing division, predominantly inhabited by Konyaks.

³⁷ R. Reid, reprint 1997, *History of the frontier areas bordering on Assam from 1883-1941*, p 93).

Table No 6: List of Tangkhul Naga (Eastern Tangkhul Naga) Settlements in Somra Tract.

Name of Settlements	Name of Settlements	Name of Settlements
1. Somra / Somi Village	12. Jela (new) Village	23. Bingkala (-do-)
2. Phungtreat / Nungrei (-do-)	13. Lungbo Village	24. Thamati (-do-)
3. Leiyum / Rurapo (-do-)	14. Tayakung Village	25. Zibyukung(-do-)
4. Pansat / Rafungpo (-do-)	15. Leiting Village	26. Henkut (old)(-do-)
5. Mayeilung / Rasapo (-do-)	16. Shangbya Village	27. Henkut (new)(-do-)
6. Kokailung / Khanileinpo (old) (-do-)	17. Shangbya (new) Village	28. Ari (-do-)
7. Kokailung (new) (-do-)	18. Phapoh Village	29. Chakaram/Tsariampo(-do)
8. Koki / Takapo(old) (-do-)	19. Hommalin Town	30. Ngachang (-do-)
9. Koki (new) (-do-)	20. Tozon (-do-)	31. Kutu (-do-)
10. Nemityobing (-do-)	21. Mantown (-do-)	32. Leishi Town*
11. Jela (old) (-do-)	22. Nongpine (-do-)	

(Source: Field Survey) * HQ of Eastern Tangkhul, Myanmar.

In Myanmar the Konyaks occupy the villages of Tsawlaw, Tsaplav and Ponyo (Yangkhao group), Lao (Law), Langtin, Lachen, Shewlo (Thailo), Haukyat (Hongyat), Thwethwe (Tei) and Nyanching to name a few with Hkamti as the headquarter of the Naga Hills inhabited primarily by Konyaks and Khamnungan.³⁸ In the territory lying north of the Somra tract lies an area occupied by several Nagas extending from Namhpak Hka on the western edge of the Hukwang valley to the Patkai range in the north with Sangpan Bum as its most important range occupied by the Hkalak, Htangan, Pango, Phankem Pangmi, Pangu (Pyengoo). The Pango and Pangu occupy the hills north and east of the confluence of the Namhpuk and Chindwin River (Tanai).

The Mizo-Kuki- Chin group.

In Manipur, 29 tribal populations have been identified of which a common practice in the recent past was to classify all the tribes as Nagas, Kukis and Lushais (Mizos). The Kuki-Chin groups had been identified as Gangte, Paite, Purum, Simte, Ralte, Mizo, Thadou, Vaiphei, Zou, Hmar, Kom and Ainmol. While Chiru, Chothe and Koirang were listed under this category, the latter three have since been identified and aligned themselves with the Nagas.

Certain districts do have a large concentration of the Kuki-Mizo group. A study of the territorial distribution of tribes reveal that in the border district of Chandel, formerly known as Tegnoupal, the Thadou are in a majority while the Thadous and Hmars, Paite are a majority

³⁸ Major Gen. Sardeshpande S.C. 1987, *The Patkai Nagas*, Delhi:Daya Publishing house p7

in the districts of Senapati and Churachandpur respectively .(See table 7 for details). The Thadous are the largest of this group with 4.59%, followed by the Paites and Hmars with 2.22% and 2.13% respectively to the total population of the state of Manipur.³⁹

Table No 7 Territorial Distributions of Scheduled Tribe Communities in the Districts of Manipur.

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of community	
1	Manipur North (Redesignated as Senapati district)	Mao (Major Group), Maram (-do-), Thadou Kuki (-do-), Kabui (Minor Group), Tangkhul (-do-), Maring Chiru (-do-)	Kom (-do-), Koirang (-do-), Vaiphei (-do-), Kacha Naga (-do-), Sema(-do-), Keirao(do)
2	Manipur West (Redesignated as Tamenglong district)	Kabui (Major Group), Thadou kuki (Minor Group) Gangte (-do-)	
3	Manipur South (Redesignated as Churachandpur district)	Hmar (Major Group), Paite (-do-), Thadou Kuki (-do-), Anal (Minor Group), Chote (-do-), Kabui (-do-), Kom (-do-)	Vaiphei (-do-), Zou (-do-), Mizo (-do-), Gangte (-do-), Simte (-do-), Ralte (-do-), Salte (-do-)
4	Tengnoupal (Redesignated as Chandel district)	Anal (Major Group), Maring (-do-), Thadou kuki (-do-), Lamkang (Minor Group), Moyon (-do-)	Monsang (-do-), Aimol (-do-), Chothe (-do-), Purum (-do-), Tangkhul (-do-)
5	Manipur Central (Redesignated & bifurcated into 3 districts) Bishenpur district Thoubal district Imphal district (later bifurcated into East & West Imphal Districts)	Kabui (Major Group) Representatives of most of the tribes are found in small number	
6	Manipur East (Redesignated as Ukhul district)	Tangkhul (Major Group), Thadou (Minor Group)	

(Source: TS Gangte, *The Kukis of Manipur*, 1993: 34-35.

The Thadous also live in pockets of Assam in North Cachar and in Nagaland they constitute 1.15% of the total population and have retain the ethnonym of Kuki as supposedly

³⁹ See Appendice 2.3 for details on linguistic tables of Manipur.

espousing the usage of the term Kuki as a badge of identification and political mileage. The Luseis (Mizo) comprise of the dominant tribe in Mizoram occupying the central areas, such as the Aizawl district, Churachandpur district in Manipur where they are simply called Mizos and Jampui Hills in north Tripura. The Mizos comprise of the tribes namely Lusei, Ralte, Hmar, Paite, Lai (Poi / Pawi) and the Maras. According to Liangkhaia (1976), the Lusei tribe consists of eleven clans with the Sailos belonging to the Lal –Chi formerly ruling clan. The Raltes and Paites are divided into four and fourteen clans respectively, while the Hmars comprise of fourteen within which he includes the Thado-kukis.

The Pawi, comprise of two clans (Hauhulhho and Fanai), while twelve other minor clans have also been identified.⁴⁰ With the passage of time the dialects of the various tribes have lost their identity as Dulien or the Lusei dialect has been adopted by all tribes, which is reflected in the total number of population speaking the Lusei dialect as 79% of the total population.⁴¹

The Hmars on the other hand have retained their own dialect with 1.09% of speakers. In Mizoram the Hmars inhabit the northern blocks of Aizawl district with a population of 13,102 (1981). The Lusei occupy the Aizawl and Lunglei districts of the state while the Lai/Pois (Pawis) are confined mainly to the Chhimtuipui district in the Sangau and Lawngtlai blocks with an estimated population of 30,000. The Lakhers or Maras inhabit the south eastern corner of Mizoram in the Saiha area in the Chhimtuipui district with a total of 3.58% of speakers to the total population while the Paites are concentrated in the Champai district, southern Manipur and pockets in Assam.

Mizo-Kuki-Chins in Myanmar.

The Chin state with an average of 107m above sea level is divided into two districts namely Mindat and Falam with its capital at Haka comprises of 505 wards and village tracts and 9 townships has an area of 13,907 sq miles. The total population is estimated at 465,361 with a density of 32 persons per sq km. It is inhabited by several tribes of the Mizo-Kuki-Chin group but several tribes are also scattered in other parts of Myanmar such as the Naga Hills, Somra and Arakan. The Luseis in Kale Kabaw valley their closely allied tribe the Hualngo inhabits the northwest parts of the state while Masho or the Mru inhabit Arakanese and

⁴⁰ Pachuau.R. 1994, *Geography of Mizoram, Aizawl*: R.T. Enterprise.ppp 10, 11, 12.

⁴¹ See Appendice 2.4 for linguistic table of Mizoram.

Paletwa district (Chin state) .The Sho tribe are concentrated around Mindat, Kanpetlet and south Matupi, northern Matupi are called Chinbok by Myanmarese. Asho or plain Chins reside between the Arakan Yoma and Irrawaddy, concentrated around Padaung, Thayetmyo vicinity, Bassein, Pegu Yoma and Sandoway and in recent years some have migrated into Kale valley near Kalemio. They comprise of an approximate population of 10,000(1990)⁴² as several settlements are also found in Bangladesh. The Lakhers (Klangklang/Maras) inhabit the areas south of Haka subdivision in Chin state while the Kukis (Thadous) called Kuangsais, Lusuang or Khonjais are found in small pockets Hkamti, Hommalin, Somra and Arakan in Myanmar. They constitute 20,000 (1994).⁴³ The Lais also known as the Poi or Pawi comprise of the Hakas, Klangklangs, Yokwas, in southern Chin state. The Chin Mun or Chinbok inhabit the western parts of the state have a population of 30,000 (1991).⁴⁴ Pax Britannica allowed several of their clans to revert to the lowland, establishing settlement close to their earlier home. Lusie (Mizo) population in the Kale-Kabaw valleys were believed to have migrated into the area since 1925, and between 1940's-1950's Vumson states that a substantial increase in population was due to migration of 'Mizos'. The Paites /Vuite inhabiting the Teddim area constitute a population of 8,900(1983).⁴⁵ While the Thadous and the Zomis inhabit Kale-Kabaw and Teddim areas in Myanmar.

Summary:

A study of the culture of the Nagas show that the traditional political setup among the Nagas can be categorised under two systems.. While most of the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw Naga Sub groups such as the Wanchos and Konyaks have a hereditary chieftain system, democratic or Republican form of government is common among a majority of the Naga tribes. A common cultural trait is the existence of a Village council and the Morung or the bachelor dormitory system that served as a bulwark of the village defence and continues to be prevalent among the Konyaks and Khiamnungans as important decisions pertaining to the village are still discussed in the Morung by the council, with the approval of the Chief Ang. Under the democratic setup the functions of the Village Council have been retained within the jurisdiction of the village as the council is endorsed with both Executive and Judicial powers. When a chief Ang

⁴² Information on Burma,reference library:Encyclopedia, [http:// www.campus.com](http://www.campus.com)

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

experiences inability to expand his territory, he cannot maintain his sacred status. Once his aura is undermined then, as a reaction other chiefs may emerge such as the egalitarian Thenkoh Angship. The two are described by Julian Jacobs as two potential transformations of one kind of society to another. The autocratic Angship may in due course of time transform into the egalitarian Thenkoh system or the system prevalent among Ao tribe which is the Age-group system. Should the society not be able to cope with the intense pressure on land given the inability to expand further, then the jhum cultivation would be replaced by terrace or a total change in agricultural method which will now no longer require the Age-group system.

Prior to the advent of the British given the migratory nature of the Kukis they formed little attachment to the land from a conventional exploitative economic view point and given the geographical compulsions and circumstances developed their own perception of space. Chieftainship evolved as a response to the need of a central leadership in an unintegrated community vulnerable to attacks but the emergent political leadership in time became autocratic and the office hereditary assuming a closed system. Since the chief was the lord of the soil, it was on his benevolence that usufructuary rights over land (ram) and his credibility was maintained so long as a strong political organization existed to withstand the pressures of inter-tribal feuds. Tribal communities had set notions of the territory but feuds were not always related to competition for resources as other social pressures played a key role, further each village was a sovereign republic particularly among the Nagas with an efficient local self governing body that functioned effectively without a central authority. On the other hand communities with autocratic setup in reality limited the exercise of powers of the chiefs as inhabitants did not rebel but merely deserted an oppressive leader to setup their own villages hence the authority of a Mizo chief was determined by the number of followers. With the advent of the British the introduction of the boundary papers among the chiefs curtailed the mobility of settlements allowing land consciousness to emerge due to shortage of land. The withdrawal of the privileges of the chiefs greatly reduced their legitimacy as the very act of material ethics of obedience were challenged and nullified.

Culturally affinities among the Kuki, Mizo and Chin group is evident in the social structure as the society is patrilineal and in the rules of inheritance and succession it appears that the youngest male offspring is generally favoured with a few exceptions as in the case of some Chin clans unlike the system prevalent among the Nagas. The customs pertaining to matrimony show that bride price of "marriage by purchase" was common and soluble at the will of both parties. Another code of social conduct is the spirit of Tlawmngaihna which is

equivalent to an act of Chivalry that promotes social service. An intriguing practice among the Kukis is the Sajam Lha or wage of war unto death by harnessing the assistance of all collateral chiefs which was responsible for the initial success of the Kuki uprising during the Colonial rule.

Linguistically the Naga tribes in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur in India and the Naga Hills in Myanmar belong to two different families based on the classification of Grierson, Shaffer and the Linguistic survey of India, namely the Mizo-Kuki- Chin sub group of the Sino Tibetan family while the inhabitants of the contiguous districts of Tirap, Changlang in Arunachal , Mon , Tuensang in Nagaland and the Konyaks and Khiamnungans who occupy the contiguous settlements under Khamti and Lahe subdivisions in Naga Hills of Myanmar all belong to the Bodo-Konyak- Jinghpaw sub group of the Sino-Tibetan Family. The absence of the Lingua Franca among the Nagas has partially been supplemented by the emergence of Nagamese which is a pidgin Assamese. Linguistically the Mizo-Kuki-Chin group belong to the Tibeto- Burman linguistic group and although dialectic variations exist Gordon Luce (1959) estimates that out of a total of 700 words 230 words are common to this group infact in Mizoram the usage of Dulien as a lingua franca was a unifying factor among the different clans and tribes. However in the Kuki community fissiparous tendency emerge despite the linguistic similarities unlike the Nagas.

Tribal identification shows that despite similarities, divisiveness in the society may emerge. On the other hand, communities that are able to overcome their linguistic differences have a greater opportunity to express their political aspiration. History of Manipur shows that socio-political orientations have been subjected to changes and upheavals. RK Ranjit describes these changes as deviation from the previous Meitei centric wherein groups redefined their position vis-à-vis the dominant group, to a tribe centric perspective, particularly in the post independent era. This has been provided further impetus by the formal enlistment of tribes as 'scheduled' since 1956 and ever since a distinct unit for formal reference. Several of the old Kukis have now aligned themselves with either the Nagas or Mizos. Geographical factors have played a key role in the process of identification among the Nagas since all Naga tribes occupy compact, well knit and demarcated territory .These tribes also inhabit contiguous areas encouraging greater social interaction which in time provided an impetus to the process of assimilation and emergence of a common denominator of identification and a resilient Pan Identity movement. This success has been due to its political nature. T.S. Gangte quoting

Kabui (1985:50) ascribes the tendency of smaller tribes such as the Anals, and the Lamkang who found themselves 'sandwiched' between Nagas in the north and Kukis in the south to aligned themselves with the Naga tribes for greater communal status and political aspiration based on cultural affinities such as the political institutions among the Naga tribes that was predominantly democratic in nature. Even the problem of the absence of a common lingua franca among the Nagas has been resolved partially by the evolution of Nagamese that enabled the process of assimilation, another prime example being the adoption of the Ukhrul dialect by the Tangkhuls of Manipur that served as a unifying factor among the numerous Tangkhul villages. Thus the Pan Identity movement among the politically conscious Nagas since the advent of the British in time not only acted as a pull factor with centripetal traits for smaller tribes that were alternately clubbed either with the Nagas or the Kukis by the British Administrators such as the Anals, Moyon and Marings .A second factor was the demands for Naga sovereignty in the 1950's and 1960's at a time when the Kuki as a tribe was not included in the list of recognized tribes in Manipur. The Thadous face serious challenges from within as clans such as Haokip, Kipgen have bifurcated from the parental group, while the Mate seeks enlistment as separate Scheduled Tribe since 1965. They claim their identity was submerged due to the influence of the dominant and powerful Thadous and at such situations fissiparous elements overshadow the process of assimilation

T.S Gangte attributes this to the lack of cohesion between the old and new Kukis due to the lack of communication between them given the time scale factor in the course of their migration and hence affinities may have decreased over time. In Mizoram they however identify themselves as Mizos while those in the Teddim areas in Chin state align themselves with the Chins. Despite strong cultural and linguistic affinities the Kukis have been unable to project a pan identity since their identifications were based on social factors rather than political as in the case of the Nagas. The Kukis had earlier been migratory given the compulsions arising from their socio-political setup and their practice of shifting their settlements in tandem with their jhum fields was not conducive to the establishment of compact well demarcated territory .This lead to the establishment of scattered settlements hence the absence of a well knit community or interaction.

The tribal identification of both the Kuki-Mizo and Chin groups can be further assessed from two levels or tier of identification namely the Pan Level and the Tribal level as each group identifies itself at the tribal level as evident by the existence of the numerous

associations such as the Tangkhul Long , the Hmar Association , Paite National Union and the Tribal Councils in Nagaland since identification at this level cannot change, however the all encompassing Pan Identity that functions at the regional level are undoubtedly the highest ethnic identity labels or badge that seeks at unification channelising the ethnic groups along social boundaries as in the case of the Nagas vis a vis Kukis. Earlier attempts had been made to unite the Chin Lushai territories first by the Chin Lushai Conference followed by a proposal for the inclusion of the areas under the proposal of “The crown Colony Scheme” of Coupland. Chin Nationalist advocate the failure of the latter to the defeat of the Conservative party in the General Election but with the Independence of Myanmar and India finally sealed the fate of a people who were now divided and as a result minorities in their respective countries.

CHAPTER-III

HISTORY AND MIGRATION

The Borderland zone of the Indo Myanmar Boundary is inhabited by diverse groups of people bearing testament to the waves of migration into the region over a long period of time and as such the Phenomena continued till the annexation of the region by the British .The Ahoms held sway over the Brahmaputra valley till their rule was abruptly terminated by the British after 1826 and since then all surrounding hill tribes were eventually pacified and incorporated into Assam.

Migration and early history of the Tais of Assam

The term Tai is a generic name denoting a branch of Mongoloid people who are found in areas stretching from Assam in the west and Kwangsi and Hainam in the east and from Yunan in the north to Siam in the south. They assume local appellation such as Shan, Siamese, Lao, Pai or Ahom. Professor Gedes suggest that Tai is synonymous with Dai meaning comrades in the Ahom language. Max Muller believes that they originally came from central Asia, and then migrated towards Mekong, Menam later spreading to Irrawaddy and finally the Brahmaputra valley. The first seat of political power emerged in the sixth century in Shweli valley or Nam Man, but by the seventeenth century history records them having merged with the Burman ethnic group. Ahom tradition of migration based on the Buranji suggests that conflict over the issue of the right of succession had compelled Shukapha a descendent of Khunlung to migrate west across the Patkai range with followers into a country called Mungdunshunkham meaning garden of gold and thereafter crowned himself king .

Migration of the Khamptis and Singphos

The later migrants who followed the Ahoms into Assam were called Phakeal, Nora, Khamti (Khampti), Khamyung and Turong. The Khamptis and their allied tribes such as the Turongs, Phakial, Khamyungs and the Noras are believed to have migrated from Myanmar via five possible routes namely 1. The Namkin –Lati –Tengapani (Chankham,) 2. Namkiu-Hpungan-Chankham. 3. Namkin-Tengapani 4. Hukwang valley-Khomong-Nao dihing 5. Hukwang-Chindwin-Pangsao Noa Dihing.

The Khamptis trace their ancestry to the great Tai kingdom of Mungnimungram founded in 568 A.D by Khunlung and Khunlai .They claim that they lived with the Ahoms at

Mungkung before the latter migrated to the Brahmaputra valley in the thirteenth century. They then migrated north into Khamtilong or Bor Khamti when Alompra subjugated the kingdom of Mungkung (Pong). Interclan feuds between two powerful clans subsequent to the conquest had a devastating impact forcing people to migrate to distant land. Having established the settlement near Tenga Pani during the reign of Gaurinath (1780-90) they were later evicted and forced to settle near Sadiya. Their leader having ousted the Sadiya Kowa Gohain (Governor) quickly consolidated his position without resistance from the Ahoms who were preoccupied with the Moamaria rebellion. Following a revolt in 1893, they were once again expelled and only allowed to return to the vicinity of their old settlement at a later date.

Migration of the Nagas

From the earliest contact with the Nagas in the seventeenth century, the British struggled to make sense of the 'ethnographic chaos' in the region. Given the absence of written documents the process of historical reconstruction was based solely on oral traditions. Scholars unanimously agree that the Nagas belongs to the Tibeto-Burman speaking Mongoloid race.

The term 'Naga' has long been a source of much debate among scholars. Hokishe Sema writes that the 'tribe' itself defies a common nomenclature, since there are no composite 'Naga' people as they themselves are distinct tribes. In Ahom chronicles, the term Noga refers to the naked hill men whom they had contact with, while in Myanmar they are referred to as Naka (folks with pierced ear lobes), a practice common among the Naga tribe. Elwin Verrier suggest that the term possibly come from Nok meaning 'people in the Tibeto-Burman language which in time came to signify the numerous tribes that inhabited the Naga hills, parts of Assam, Arunachal, Manipur and Myanmar while Tajenyuba suggests that the term may have originated from the Kachari word 'Nahngra' meaning warriors.

S.K. Banerjee presumes that they may have been a branch of the migrants of central Asia who later spread to China, Indonesia, Philippines and Myanmar. The Nagas are believed to have migrated out of Myanmar in successive waves at different times. The Semas, Angamis, Chakesangs and Lothas assert that their original settlement was at Khezakenoma. It is conjectured that following a route from Myanmar they initially settled at Makhel in northern Manipur. Later they presumably migrating into Khezakenoma from where they dispersed into their present habitat. R.R.Shimray is of the opinion that the Tangkhuls, along with the other Naga tribes were part of the horde of migrants who followed the southward

movement toward Indo-China. Later they were settled at Thangdut (Myanmar) which is referred to as Samsok in the Tangkhul dialect. Apparently they then migrated to Makhel in Mao, and later into Longpi in Ukhrul district from where the people further dispersed with the Somra Tangkhuls migrating into the Somra Tract in Myanmar.¹

Tradition of origin among the Ao tribe suggests that their ancestors emerged out of the earth at 'Longterok' (six stones) near Chungliyimti on the right bank of Dikhu River. Eventually, all the Aos crossed the Dikhu River and settle at Koridang from where, groups have migrated out to establish individual villages with Kubza being the first, followed by Sutsu, Longkhum and Ungma. The Konyaks like the former also adhere to the tradition of a devastating flood. They are comprised of the upper and lower, with the former belonging to Thenko and the latter to the Thendu group. Taking different routes five groups have been identified. The Yangkhao claim their origin at Peching near Noklak, migrating eastwards to Loyap and Thamyanyu in Myanmar. The Yangkhaos established Tankong and Shamnyu. The Chaklangshu migrated from Sakchi (Phom areas), and Longleng settling in Maniakshu, and Yonghong. The Pesao group is one of the only groups to have migrated from the northeast and closely allied to the Lao, and Tei (Thwethwe) in Myanmar. The Chen group like the Pesao entered from the northeast and are closely allied with the lower Konyaks. The Longching group claim to have migrated from Yingnyu, a hill that demarcates the areas of the Changs, Phoms and upper Konyaks. From Yingnyu three directions of migrations were assumed. The first migrated into Angphang, the second into Longmien and the third into Jakphang and Ukha. The Chakesangs spread towards the north and east. Their name is an acronym of three allied tribes Cha-Chakru, Khe-Khezha and Sang-Sangtam, while Chakru denotes separation, Khezha suggests ruler and Sangtam means 'united'. This indicates the unity of three tribes who migrated via the Angami area occupying the south-eastern part of the region (Phek district).

Migration of the Mizos Kuki Chin tribes

The term Mizo is of recent origin as all earlier colonial records referred to them as the Luchyes or Lushais. R.B.MacCabe suggests that the meaning may have originated from the manner in which they styled their hair. However a generally accepted explanation and one more plausible is the derivation from the name of the progenitor of the Lusei clan known as Luseia, given the practice of most clans being named after its progenitor. The term Kuki on

¹ Shimray R.R. 1985, *Origin and Culture of Nagas*, N.Delhi: Mrs.Pamleiphi Shimray pp 21, 31

the other hand is believed to be designated by the Bengalis meaning Hillmen or highlanders.²The British categorised the Kukis under two groups depending on the time of their migration into the Hills viz New and Old Kukis. The nomenclature Chin according to Hrangnawl a Haka parliamentarian is a derivative from the term Ciin or Tsin suggesting their origin in China. The term Chindwin is said to be a derivative of the word “the valley of the baskets” after the common practice of its inhabitants, hence the name Chin.

Mizo ,Kuki and Chin tradition refer to Chinnlung cave(khul) as their source of origin , They were possibly a part of the great horde of migrants out of China or the Chíang tribes believed to be the ancestors of the Tibeto-Burmans. They migrated southwards, and arrived at the Chindwin valley possibly around the middle of the first millennium A.D.³ Apparently the Zos lived along side the Shans , but the oppression of the governor of Kale , regular raids by Manipuris and Famine finally drove them out of the Kale-Kabaw valley to the inaccessible Chin Hills .Sizang, Hmar and Lusei oral tradition supports this contention.⁴

The Mizos were supposedly ruled over by three chiefs, but the occurrence of the *Thingpui tam* or Tea famine forced their people to migrate to the Chin Hills around the fourteenth century A.D. where they established their villages clanwise. From the Chin Hills the increase in population compelled migration possibly in three waves into Mizoram namely the old, new Kukis and the Lushais. The first group later migrated to Chittagong Hill Tracts, then into the north Cachar Hills. The second group pressured by the new wave of arriving migrants migrated to Tripura around the twentieth century, while a section moved into north Cachar. The Lushais driven by the pawis or Pois arrived in Mizoram only around the eighteenth century, clanwise with the zadeng clan being the first to arrive while the Sailos were the last but being powerful soon established their supremacy over the other clans.⁵

Early History of the Tai Ahoms

In the year 1288 A.D. a Shan tribe from the ancient kingdom of Mungmau or Pong situated on the upper region of the Irrawaddy valley led by Shukapha invaded the Bramaputra valley entering a tract that formed the southern part of Lakhimpur and south east Sibsagar which was then inhabited by the Morans and Borahis bringing them into direct conflict with

² Gangte.T.S. 1993, *The Kukis of Manipur: A historical Analysis*.N.Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, p19.

³ Lehman F.K “The structure of Chin society,” urbana 1963 in, Vumson .ibid. p29

⁴ Vumson ibid p38

⁵ Sangkima ibid .p 20

the Chutiyas and the Kachari kingdoms. It was during his reign that the Tais came to be known as Ahoms a name which was thereafter given to their country. As their population increased, the Ahoms contrived to consolidate their position till Kallang. During the reign of Lakshmi Simha, the Moamarias a Vaishnava tribe rose in rebellion enraged by years oppression followed by a second revolt between 1780-84 that devastated the entire countryside. Unable to deal with the grave situation British assistance was sought thus marking the commencement of foreign intervention.

Anglo- Ahom relation

The seed of British interest in Assam can be traced to the Moamaria rebellion and the havoc perpetuated by the Burkandazes. Mr. Lumsden the collector of Rangpur apprised the government of the seriousness of a situation arising from a rebellion (Moamaria) in an area close to its frontiers, and the decline of trade relations between Bengal and Assam understandably the Governor General was intrigued. Notwithstanding the contravention of the Pitt India Act of 1784, that advocated a policy of non intervention, the economic prospects and potential of commercial pursuits proved an irresistible lure. A detachment under captain Welsh entered Assam and defeated the Mataks in 1791 and reinstated the ruler.

Meanwhile internal intrigues to oust the powerful Bar Phukan Purnananda allowed Ava the perfect opportunity to invade Assam in 1817. When the intent of the Myanmarese to permanently establish themselves at Assam became obvious the British offered covert assistance to the fugitive Ahom ruler. Soon reports of incursions into British territory captured the attention of the government. Evidently the Myanmarese were resentful of the presumed British covert assistance to the fugitive Ahom ruler and the liberal use of Bengal as a safe base in their operations against the Myanmarese in Assam. By 1823 the situation on the frontier became a source of grave concern given the vulnerability of Bengal with the annexation of Arakan as it then extended the Myanmarese frontier upto the river Naaf. With the occupation of Manipur it was only a matter of time before Cachar, too succumbed. The political instability owing to internal dissent in Cachar did little to ease the apprehensions of the British. The British were convinced that they were in need of more drastic measures to counter the aggression of Ava, particularly in the light of the growing French menace and the threat to Chittagong and Shahpuri at the mouth of Naaf, furthermore the security of Rangpur was a source of concern as the Myanmarese demanded the surrender of Chandra Kanta thus

the kingdom of Cachar was annexed to ensure a “defensive arrangement for the frontier”.⁶ Since Manipur and Assam continued to be held by the Myanmarese forces the threat to Bengal persisted via Brahmaputra as the invaders could sneak into the British territory without rousing any suspicion.⁷ When Shahpuri was captured Lord Amherst declared war with Ava on 5th March 1824. Faced with inevitable defeat, the Myanmarese surrendered on 31st January 1825 and with the conclusion of the treaty of Yandaboo, in 1826. Assam virtually became a part of the British domain thereafter. Purander Simha was raised to the throne in upper Assam and a treaty was signed and as per the agreement the ruler was asked to pay an annual tribute, while lower Assam was retained by the British. On the pretext of mismanagement his kingdom was annexed. By 1838 Assam was directly ruled by the British and in 1832 Cachar was annexed after the death of Govinda Chandra while the territory of Tularam was absorbed in 1850. This was followed by the annexation of Muttack in 1866 and Goalpara in 1926, thus the reign of the Ahoms was brought to an abrupt halt and Assam was incorporated into the province of Bengal.

Anglo–Manipur Relations: Colonial Period.

The first Anglo Manipuri treaty was signed in 1762, when Jai Singh the then Maharaja sought the military assistance of the British stationed at Chittagong. After the death of Garib Niwaz a chain of events followed threaten the political stability of the kingdom. When an emissary of Jai Singh sought British assistance against the Myanmar, the British authority regarded the opportunity ideal to simultaneously safeguard their interest in their frontiers, neutralise growing French influence in Myanmar, and opportunity for trade in Manipur and thereafter secure a foothold in the lucrative trade in the Far East and China. However the expedition did not materialise.

In 1819, invading Myanmarese army occupied Assam and Manipur .Chourjit, Marjit and Gambhir Singh the exiled Manipur princes formerly fugitive in Cachar usurped the throne, deposing Raja Gavind Chandra. The latter then sought the assistance of Ava. Consenting to his request, a contingent was dispatched to enable Govind Chandra to regain his throne, only to find that in the meanwhile the British had already reinstated the ruler and compensated the fugitive princes. This incident marked the beginning of Anglo–Myanmarese conflict in the region. To counter the aggression and provide security in the Sylhet-Cachar

⁶ A.C.Banerjee 1964 *The Eastern Frontier of British India 1784-1826*, Calcutta: A.Mukherjee and Co.Pvt.Ltd., p219

⁷ A.C. Banerjee *ibid* p220

Frontiers, the Agent to the Governor General in Assam, David Scott recommended the raising of a native force under the command of Gambhir Singh the most abled of the princes. The levy succeeded in forcing the withdrawal of the Myanmarese forces.

With the signing of the historic *Kabo Valley Treaty*, the boundary between Manipur and Myanmar was demarcated in 1834.

Struggle for power dominated Manipur between 1844–51, a bitter feud over the issue of succession to the throne revolved around the royal family. However the British government was reluctant to intervene in internal issues, but concession were made by treating the state as a protectorate or Asiatic power in alliance with the Queen merely to save guard her economic interest and prevent further Myanmarese influence on Manipur. After the death of Chandra Kriti Singh in 1886, his son Surchandra Singh succeeded him but his reign was marked by unrest and souring of Anglo-Manipuri relations.

After the occupation of Manipur, the administration was placed under the charge of General Collett on April 1891 but by September of the same year, it was transferred to the unit authority placed under the charge of Major Maxwell the chief political officer. In 1891 the British Government issued a proclamation to the effect that although the actions of the rulers warranted severe penalty, however it decided to retain the status of native state. A Sanad was issued which declared centralisation of administration and power to the British. The political agent now simultaneously function as the superintendent of the state, and only he alone was vested with all the powers as no native were accepted as regents.

When the minor Raja came of age in 1901, the administration was transferred to him. His power and functions were limited as he was merely an ex-officio president of the Darbar. Once again in 1916, the rule was amended and the vice president was now promoted to the status of President while the Maharaja was in effect, no longer directly linked to the functioning of the Darbar but was permitted to override any Darbar decisions if he had the consent of the Agent. The Darbar was responsible for preparing the state budget for both the Imphal valley and the hill areas. However the administration of the hill areas was directly controlled by the Agent, while segregating the plain or valley dwellers, which were now administered by the Darbar.

Anglo-Naga Relation

With the conclusion of the Treaty of Yandaboo the British were compelled to seek an alternate safer route between Manipur and Brahmaputra valley. They also needed a solution to save guard their subjects in Cachar and Nowgong.

In 1833 Lieutenant Gordon accompanied by Gambhir Singh conducted a second expedition into the Angami territory 25 miles east of the first route. Manipur had an ulterior motive for undertaking the expedition which was to subjugate the Naga Villages between Manipur and Assam. This was in order to facilitate communication with Assam. In 1835 the forest between the two rivers of Doyang and Dhansiri was declared as the boundary between Assam and Manipur.⁸ With the incorporation of Cachar to the British dominion survey of the area showed that the salt springs in the hills of Semkhar of Cachar had been neglected due to attacks from the Nagas. The British followed a policy of settling in Cachar, the Kuki and Naga tribes who had emigrated from the hill areas now ceded to Manipur permit the Kukis in particular would act as armed police in the area given their warlike attributes.

When raids from the Nagas continued unabated, Captain Jenkins now commissioner of Assam urged the government to adopt a different approach. In 1837 when a British officer was assigned to occupy a post near the Naga Hills and attempt to bring the chiefs to terms. On January 1839, Mr. Grange Sub-Assistant to the Commissioner at Nowgong was selected to conduct the first Angami expedition and ascertain the motives of their frequent incursions into the plains. The aim was to punish the chiefs of Konemah (Khonoma) and Mozemah for their raids in the plains. The government sanctioned Mr. Grange, to establish a post convenient both to Assam and Cachar for communication, with a permanent garrison to protect the plains and establish a market.

In 1841, Principal Assistant in charge of Nowgong concluded friendly agreements aimed at establishing amicable relations. In addition, the benevolent attitude of the government was further projected by establishing trading facilities impressing upon the inhabitants the need for co-operation toward the establishment of peaceful co-existence; in return the Nagas were to pay a nominal tribute.

Between the winters of 1841–42 the Political agent of Manipur finalised the boundary between the Angamis and Manipur. Justifying this, it was stated that the Angamis and the smaller tribes subject to the influence of the latter, occupied the areas north of the

⁸ Pol. Proceedings 11th Feb 1835, No. 90

proposed boundary; secondly, the western portion of the boundary were virtually deserted as villages had relocated further down south, thirdly the Angami tribes appeared to be separated from the Nagas of Manipur by a range of Mountains, which limited communication if any took place at all. Fourthly, while the Manipur Government appeared to have no control over the villages to the north the Angamis did not have any influence over those to the south, the demarcation would henceforth had little impact, by separating villages from a jurisdiction to which it had long claimed attachment; as would have been the case had any northern village been made over to the Manipur government.⁹ In April 1844, the chiefs refused to pay tributes attacking an outpost and killing most of the sepoys. In 1846–47, a stockade was established at Dimapur and a market at Samaguting. This was followed by a period of a policy of non-intervention that continued in spite of pleas for intervention from 22 Angami villages that were invaded by a Manipur force in 1854.¹⁰

The establishment of the British post at Samaguting proved that the British were determined to control the Nagas effectively. On February 1874, the Naga Hills was placed under the charge of the newly appointed chief commissioner of Assam. The Naga Hills, Manipur Boundary was settled after the Kopamedza range was established as the actual watershed on 1st of January 1874. With the intention of opening up the unexplored area it was suggested that two groups, one commencing at Samaguting and the other at Jaypur was to attempt to bridge the gaps between Sibsagar and Naga hills. The eastern party under Captain Butler started from Samaguting arriving at Wokha on the 23rd Dec 1874, but on December, of the same year, Captain Butler was killed in an ambush at Pangti a Lotha Village.

In 1877, a forward policy was proposed and an expedition was sent to Mozemah for their raids on the British territories and consequent to the submission of the village, a fine of Rs. 50 was imposed. In March 1878, the Chief Commissioner recommended Kohima as the headquarters for the political officer, since it was close to the principal Angami villages and the Manipur border, while Wokha was selected to administer and control the Lotha areas. By this time 16 Naga villages has tendered their submission and by 14th November, 1878 Kohima was occupied without much resistance.

⁹ A Mackenzie, *ibid*: 107–8).

¹⁰ A Mackenzie, *ibid*: 115.

In 1866, the Naga Hills was upgraded into a separate district under a Lieutenant Governor and its headquarters transferred to Kohima. In 1874, the district was placed under the charge of the Chief Commissionership, but was again declared a scheduled district under the scheduled district act of 1874, to be administered as a non-regulation district, which excluded the hills from the preview of the general operation of laws prevailing in the rest of the country.

British Annexation of Arunachal Pradesh:

When Ahom rulers first establish their hold in Assam, little did they realized that the plains had long been subject to raids from the hill tribes and in later years these rapacious attacks was a source of concern. Initially attempts were made to ward off attacks by engaging their armies but after a brief lull the activities once again continued with little respite. They then contrived upon a policy, which would provide incentives for the hill tribes to desist from attacking their territory in the guise of a blackmail or Posa allowance paid to hill tribes bordering Darrang and Lakhimpur.

Sir Charles Elliot the chief commissioner of Assam suggested that amicable terms be arrived at to encourage the Abors to trade and avoid any policy to arouse their suspicion or resentment. However when they were faced with the need to provide sufficient security to the growing tea industry the government decided to temporarily occupy the hills by establishing a chain of forts. Considering the cost of compensating the tea garden, it was considered more expedient to establish a line of defence. When preparations were underway, the Abors and their accomplice the Mishmis quickly submitted to their chiefs who were then brought into a binding agreement for preserving law and order in the frontier areas. The treaty also indicated the line of control or British limits up to the foothills. The British were to also set up posts, stations and roads while the plain dwellers were to be recognized as British subjects. Any attempt to cross the line or attack on the British subjects would be dealt with harshly. In return the Abors would be allowed free access to the markets to trade provided they arrived unarmed, while those who settled in British territory henceforth would be expected to pay revenue to the British subjects.

Meanwhile, the Singphos who had negotiated with the British were asked to surrender their slaves and despite some resentment, 16 chiefs eventually came to an agreement and surrender the captives. With the governor general's agent keen to promote trade between Assam and upper Irrawaddy areas via the Singpho territory, the Bisa Gam was given the

charge of the entire territory while those chiefs who did not submit were warned of being permanently expelled from Assam.

After 1830 onward, raids and counter attacks were often reported as the Singphos and Khamtis combined forces invaded the plains after crossing Burhi Dihing. As Singphos from across the frontier under Duffa Gam made periodic forays into the Bisa Gam's territory. Internal feuds among the Singpho and wanton attacks on British subjects and outposts across the frontier necessitated punitive actions. However, the governor general's agent Captain Jenkins on reporting on the cause of the rebellion attributed it to encroachment of Singpho territory. The government realized that the tribals had been progressively pushed back depriving them of their former territory and their grievances at losing slaves were the primary root cause of their anger.. In subsequent years the Singphos aided the British in restraining the Patkai Nagas.

The Ahoms on crossing the Patkai range first encountered and subdued Naga villages in and around the area. In time they granted concessions of land (ghats and bheels) to the Nagas to procure paddy and articles not available in the hills. In fact the area beyond Ladoigarh was considered the outer limits of the northern extremities of Naga territory. The Ahoms claim suzerainty over villages laying close to the border but apparently given annually in exchange of the use of the ghats were possibly presumed as tributes by the Ahoms.

In 1863, a dispute between the Naga chiefs and the British subject over salt spring and an attack on the Galeki outpost in 1867. The deputy commissioner of Sibsagar traced the attack on Galeki as a result of over encroachment of land. The problems between the hill tribes and the planters arose as the latter often ventured beyond the settled areas, striking up arrangement with the tribals given the government's inability and reluctance to provide security beyond the established settlements. Invariably, tensions arose when conflicts erupted over boundary disputes or non-payment to the Nagas.

The commissioner was directed by the government of Bengal to survey beyond the limits of the revenue paying areas and offer the tribals compensation for land that they claimed but brought under government jurisdiction. However obviously this did not reduce the tension in the area. The government mooted the settlement of the boundary of the Sibsagar district and the delimitation was approved based on the principles of recommendation by the Lt Governor of Bengal. But as surveys commenced in the hills, the

tribals became suspicious of the British motives and on 2nd February 1875, a survey party was attacked. When Lord Lytton became the new Viceroy of India, a radical change in policy was initiated. While the policy of political control and influence had reduced raids in the plains, the inter-tribal and village feuds continued unabated. A policy of gradual extension of British authority over all the independent tribes was considered by Governor General in council and on receiving confirmation a forward policy was activated resulting in the extension of the frontiers. By 1905, the northern and eastern boundary of Lakhimpur district extending into the hills was revived. In 1909, the Naga village beyond Ledo was annexed to the British territory and the Assam Frontier Tract Regulation of 1880 was extended to the tract and poll taxes were collected through the chiefs. After 1910 a policy of 'loose political control' and direct control was administered in the hills and they were now annexed to the province of Assam.

In 1942-43, the control area was extended up to the Namsang and Bordurea areas and Tirap Frontiers Tract was created out of a portion of the eastern and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and since there was no protest from the Nagas, the British presumed that they were totally dislodged from the plains. The 'Inner line' laid down in these northern frontiers demarcated a line beyond which a policy of non-interference was adopted but outrages on the British subjects and violation of the line would be harshly dealt with. Beyond this line lay the outer line- 'limits of the British territory'. With the annexation of the Monpa territory to Darrang, Sherdukpens (1862) followed by the Akas, Daflas (Nishis), Singphos, Khamptis and Mishmis and finally the Nocte, Wanchos and Tangsas the entire territory of erstwhile North Eastern Frontier Agency (minus Tuensang) was annexed to the British territory.

Anglo Mizo (Lushai) relations

For the British, the occupation of the Mizo inhabited areas was coincidental in so far as their motives were concerned, lured by the exciting prospects of acquiring potential economically viable territories, and reinforced by their singular pursuit of expanding their ever increasing spheres of influence into geopolitically strategic locations, the British East India Company left no stone unturned, continuously conjuring reasons for unlawfully annexing and occupying areas hitherto conceived as 'Terra Incognita', whose barren and commercially uninspiring terrain was inhabited by warring aboriginal 'savages'. Nevertheless it became a necessity to safeguard her main interests in the plains, which were the boundless ever expanding tea estates from Cachar and the establishment of an alternative

routes connecting Chittagong to Myanmar, that could promote trading opportunities with the latter and secure the protection of the port of Chittagong 'destined to be some day the proper outlet for the teas of Cachar and products of Manipur and the source from which the Surmah valley must draw those supplementary supplies of food which its yearly growing population will more and more require.¹¹ Confrontation inevitably erupted between the hostile tribals and the tea estate owners in Cachar as a result of the extensive encroachments on the tribal hunting grounds. The estates were isolated and very vulnerable to the sudden but deadly attacks from the hills, who perhaps presumed that these raids would thwart future expansion. Defended by antiquated weapons, decoratively kept to merely bolster the moral of the workers, its presence posed little threat to the possibilities of it being used for defence or retaliation.

The local government rued the inaction suggesting that unless severe punitive actions were undertaken, the adversaries would presume the tolerance as acts of cowardice and unwittingly incur future raids. With the annexation of upper Myanmar a change in policy was evident. Subsequently, all these tracts inhabited by the various tribes were now comfortably hemmed in by settled British territories in Myanmar. With the change and shift in power, a policy more suited to the circumstances was called for now comfortably hemmed in all these tracts inhabited by the various tribes. Invariably a policy which extolled complete pacification of all areas inhabited by the hill men that entailed amongst others, the establishment of proper lines of transport, telegraphs lines and militarization of sensitive spots and over and above the need for the creation of central administrative post under a single competent officer was called for. Carefully evaluating the success rate of similar propositions in the Naga and Khasi hills, the government now actively pursued a policy of pacification.¹²

With the annexation of Cachar in 1832 and upper Myanmar in 1885, the British could not ignore the threat to Cachar with its extensive tea plantations and Chittagong hill tracts where insecurity had resulted in a decline in the revenues. Alternately pursuing a policy of retaliation and conciliation, the British government, gradually subdued the various tribes that initially raided their territories but in the subsequent years desperately sought to oppose the advances of the British Empire.

¹¹ Mackenzie.A , reprint 1979 ,*Northeastern frontiers of India* , Delhi:Mittal Publication ,p 373.

¹² Woodthorpe RG , reprint 1978, *The Lushai expedition 1871-72* Calcutta : Firma KLM Private Limited .

In 1765, Sylhet became a part of the British territory (Bengal) but was later transferred to Assam. Boundary dispute between the British and the raja of Tripura in 1809 resulted in the harassment of the cultivators by supposed men of the raja aggravating the situation, hence a joint meeting was convened to demarcate the boundary but the negotiations failed leading to more raids which were attributed to Kukis. The British were aware of the existence of a constant state of conflict and tension along the Hill Tripura frontiers and more so as these acts often occurred in British occupied areas. Although the Raja claimed allegiance of all the tribes occupying areas south of Cachar, in reality they appeared to have only nominal authority over them.

The Chittagong Hill Tract constituted of the frontier districts in the Chittagong division of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Despite its annexation, the hill tracts remained outside the direct administration of the British government. In 1777, Ramoo Khan presumed to be a Chakma chief aided by kuki tribes rebelled against the exploitations of cotton farmers, who had farmed Kapas Mehal. This was followed by a series of raids in the intervening years. The magistrate of Chittagong was of the opinion that the attacks may have been triggered by the encroachment of tribal territory by the Mugh cultivators since no definite boundary existed on the east. Similar reports were received in 1849-51 but the government realised the difficulties involved in subduing the Shendus given the rugged terrain instead suggested several proposals that entailed the supply of arms to the Poang (Phru chief) to defend his ryots, a military expedition or establish a combined military and police out post on both Arakan and Chittagong frontiers.

In 1862-63 negotiations for the elusive peace was sealed by an agreement between Rutton Poea and several village chiefs of Lenchew range and the authorities. The government was reluctant to allow the extend the line of control beyond the existing police post to the border of Hill Tripura and areas west of this point was to have limited civil control, beyond which the tribes were to be left to their own affairs.

With the shift of Lushai villages from the west to the south towards the Chittagong hill tracts, the government decided to focus their interest in the south. The Lieutenant Governor proposed the idea of using a river as a demarcating line rather than a mountain since the latter was often utilized for the purpose of cultivation. With the proposal being accepted, the Lungai river between Jampai and Hachich ranges was selected as the line upto its source at Betlingsib and further across the watershed to Doleyuri.

British relations with the principality of Manipur had at best been limited till the Anglo-Burmese wars. A Mackenzie states that one among several reasons for British growing interest in Manipur was due to the increase raids by Lushai tribes inhabiting areas south of Cachar. The Suktes who had long been a source of harassment to Manipuri inhabitants were considered a greater threat than the Lushais, having rendered the southern areas virtually inhabitable as a result of frequent attacks. Extremely well armed, their incursions into Manipur can be traced back to the time of Nur Singh (1834-50) when they occupied Mombee and Heeroway. Raids continued unabated till 1878 and the Political Agent as 'most unsatisfactory' described the relationship between the two. Previously in 1877, Lushais under Poiboi, Lalbura and Lengkam attacked the Kabui Nagas under Manipur jurisdiction, compelling the latter to migrate into Cachar and further north, until peace was negotiated by the Maharaja by sending a deputation to convene a meeting with the chiefs to discuss the need to sustain a long term peace plan.

In 1871, the tea estates of Jhalua Cherra, Monierkhal and Alexanderpore in south Hylakandy (Cachar) were attacked by the Howlong and Sailos.¹³ Realising that retaliatory measures were necessary to tackle the increasing Lushai menace in their territory, the British made arrangements to send expeditions into the Lushai territory to punish the offenders implicated in the attacks in Cachar tea estates and rescue Mary Winchester who had been captured in the Alexanderpore raid. The plan was to mount a two pronged attack one commencing from Chittagong and the other from Cachar. Since information of the actual perpetrators was incomplete, discriminating measures were to be implemented when dealing with different chiefs. Punishment was to be inflicted on the guilty and captives forced to be delivered and for non-compliance their houses and property were to be destroyed. If only few offenders were detected from a village without complicity of the entire village then fines would be imposed on the village and punishment of the individuals would follow. In addition leaders or chiefs of certain villages if necessary could be taken or detained as hostages to ensure good behavior of that village in future. In cases of armed resistance, the village would be attacked and burnt and their standing crops destroyed. The British hoped that the expedition would demonstrate that Lushais had far more to gain by co-operating and

¹³ Woodthorpe .R.G. reprint 1978, *The Lushai Expedition 1871-72*. Calcutta: Firma KLM- Private Ltd .pp31,

refraining from hostilities and identify the best locations for setting up frontier posts on the Chittagong border.

The Cachar column (1871-72)

The column was assigned the task of avenging the raids on Monierkhal and east Cachar. Since the Cachar post did not have a pivotal position to safeguard this column and given the need to pressurise Suakpuilal it was vital to maintain communication with Cachar by water. To achieve this roads were cut through connecting Noonvai and Kolasib hills with Sonai and Duleshwari river while a frontier post at Mynadhur became imperative, lying as it were at the left bank of Barak river, it served as the outermost sited tea estate, secure from raids. Depots were setup at Mynadhur and Tipaimukh while the troop press on towards Kholel located between the villages of Khalsom, Lalhi and Poiboi, it on all accounts match the requirement of opening up communication with supposed neutral tribes.¹⁴ The apparent turn about in the attitude of the hostile Lushais had apparently been a result of general Bouchier reoccupation of their villages.

.Leaving Pachui, the troops commenced towards Chepui, the western Lushai chiefs Sukpuilal and Khalkom. Taking a route via Tuila the headman of Tingridum and Darpong were asked to inform Poiboi that the troops meant to pass through his village and warned of consequences incase of resistance. The Lushais expecting the British to pass Gnaupa fortified it with several commanding positions in a desperate bid to drive the British out of their country. As the troops took the route via Surklang, Darpong's timely arrival and warning of an impending armed resistance at Kungnung proved providential for the troop. Thus ensued one of the fiercest battle ever fought on Lushai territory that left scores wounded and more than 60 Lushais dead. The troops pressed forwards Chelam, the latter's Chief village that appeared to be well stockaded but evidently deserted. Poiboi finally submitted, claiming that his fear of meeting a fate similar to Lalchokla prevented an earlier surrender. On arriving at the village of Chonchim the headmen were asked to produce Labura failing which three headmen from their village were to accompany the troop as hostages to Tipaimukh. They were also asked to restore all firearms taken in the Nudigram and Monierkhal raids or give up an equal number of their own which was to be exchanged at a later date. Vonolel's mother was asked to pay fines and in case the payment was not paid before the 20th of that month, their village was to be attacked and destroy. Although the expedition identified the village of

¹⁴ Woodthorpe R.G. 1978, *The Lushai Expedition 1871-72*. Calcutta: Firma KLM. Private Ltd. p 119)

Vonolel as the prime instigator of most raids, most importantly it permitted the British an easy access to the Lushai country.

The Chittagong Column. (1871-72)

The Eastern column was assigned the task of punishing the Howlongs and the Sailo chief Savunga implicated in the raids at Alexanderpore and the murder of Mr Winchester. On 28th October General Brownlow arrived at Chittagong to ensure that all provisions reached as far as Kasalong. The hurdle was to overcome several dangerous rapids along the Karnafoli, first being in the Burkal that necessitating manual transport of boats lugged up the Burkal falls. From this point on the river maintained great depth and calm currents as far as Demagiri. Rutton Poe an ally of the British since 1860 joined the troop at Burkal. The base camp was established at Demagiri before the troop proceeded forward towards the village of Vanunah on the Belkai range. The conquest of the Sailos was complete with the capture of Vanunah and the surrender of Savunga and Benkhua followed by the southern Howlong. The outcome of the expedition was the release of six year old Mary Winchester after a year in captivity by Savunga and Benkhua. Soon chiefs Lalburah, Jatoma and Lienrikum offered their submission bringing in captured slaves. At Dhaleswari, Vantonga and the sons of Vandula surrendered all their captives, marking an end to the eastern campaign and the submission of two powerful tribes led by 15 chiefs.

In 1882, the Pois led by Howsata attacked a Lushai village but the British refused to intervene since the village was not under their jurisdiction. In 1888 a second attack was reported this time on the survey party led by lieutenant J.F. Stewart by tribes across the Koladyne River. Since the season did not permit the deployment of troops, the following year a column commanded by Colonel V.W. Tregear was asked to advance upon the village of Howsata. Their objective was to punish Howsata and Jahuta implicated in the attack on Lieutenant Stewart, and establish a road into the Shendu territory. The result of the expedition was the submission of the Malliam Puis (Pois), and cordial relations established with Saipuya a Howlong chief and Vandula. The weapons of lieutenant Stewart were retrieved while the village of Jahuta was destroyed. In 1889-90 as reports of attacks on Chengri Valley and the destruction of Pakuma Rani was made known an expedition was sanctioned to punish the perpetrators that came to be known as the Chin-Lushai Expedition. Consequent to which the districts of Northern and Southern Lushai Hills were created with headquarters at Aizawl and Lungleh respectively. The motive was not to merely establish a police force to control the

numerous villages but to station an officer who would exert greater influence and better communication, hence separate political officer was appointed and the post regularized only by 1890 by the proclamation no.1698-E.of the Governor General in Council.¹⁵

Administration and development during the Colonial rule.

In the Naga Hills, the administration shows a gradual process of territorial extension from 1881-1947. Their policy was largely influenced by the local prevailing situation, primarily the law and order. The policy of administration in the district ranged from areas under direct control to the unadministered. Three zone of control have been identified viz Administered areas, Political control areas and finally Areas beyond political control.¹⁶ While the first zone was placed under political control with introduction of the Inner Line Regulation Act of 1873, regular administration commenced only after the occupation and establishment of its headquarters at Kohima .The second zone, under political control was not assessed for taxation nor its inhabitants protected from raiders, but in case of attacks, perpetrators were liable to be punished depending upon administrative convenience. In 1875 the sub division of Wokha was created and by 1890, the trans-Dikhu areas were placed under regular administration. The sub-divisional headquarters at Wokha was shifted to Mokokchung in 1890 .By 1905, the Semas and eastern Angamis (Chakesang) tribes were placed under regular administration while the river Tizu formed the boundary between the controlled and non-controlled (unadministered) area and by 1923, Melomi (Meluri) and Primi were also brought under administration. The Naga Hills was declared a ‘backward tract’ within the province of Assam by the Government of India Act 1919, under section 52(A) (2) the Governor-General in India could decree that any act passed by the Indian legislature would not be applicable to the Hills and could be applicable only after it was subjected to qualifications and modifications as might be prescribed.¹⁷

In the unadministered areas the Government followed a policy of non-intervention in internal affairs, but in the case of raids, the Government had the discretion to punish the perpetrators. In 1935, the promulgation of the Government of India section 91(1) of the

¹⁵ Reid .R. reprint 1997. *History of the frontier areas bordering on Assam from 1883-1947*, Guwahati: Spectrum publications p 15

¹⁶Sema. Piketo 1992 *British policy and administration in Nagaland: 1881-1947*, N.Delhi Scholar Publishing House .p23).

¹⁷ S.Hokishe, opcit p75

(excluded and partially excluded areas) Act the Naga hills along with the Lushia hills and N.E.F.A. tracts, were declared as an excluded area within the Government of Assam, under the direct charge of the Governor who administered the district under 92(3) of the Act through the Deputy Commissioner Kohima. In 1937, the Government sanctioned the extension of the controlled areas so as to include Pangsha, Sanglao, Noklak and other Kalu-Kengnyu (Khamniungan) villages with effect from January 1938.¹⁸ With the annexation of the Lushai Hills the area was bifurcated into the North and south with the former under the jurisdiction of Assam with its headquarters at fort Aizawl and the latter placed under Bengal with Lungleh as its headquarter. The Assam Frontier Tract Regulation of 1880 was extended into the hill areas of the present day Arunachal Pradesh in 1914 and by 1921 was declared a Backward Tract. After 1943, the Tirap Frontier Tract was carved out of Lakhimpur and Sadiya Frontier Tract. In subsequent years the Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts were subdivided to form the Abor and Mishmi Hills and Subansiri and Sela sub-agency respectively with no further changes made till 1947. In 1892 the 'ChinLushai Conference' was held at Calcutta to decide the civil and military affairs connected to the control of the Chin and Lushai Hills. After much deliberation it concluded that the two districts of the Lushai hills be amalgamated and placed under the chief Commissioner of Assam with the transfer of the southern districts from Bengal. Major Shakespear as the first Superintendent administered the district of Lushai Hills. In 1901-2 Superintendent Shakespeare introduced the 'Circle administration' consequently 12 circles were created in the Aizawl subdivision while Lungleh subdivision comprised of 6 circles. The Zongling area, which had previously been under loose political control, was incorporated into the district in 1931-32.

No significant or drastic changes were made in the local administration, as traditional administrative institutions were allowed to continue functioning at the rural level thereby ensuring their loyalty and cooperation assisting in the village administration. Given the status of the council or the chiefs in the clan based community, their services offered a cost effective alternative that would reduce the burden of direct administration and integrate the existing leadership into the colonial administrative framework. They existed as a vital link between the government and the masses at the village level. In Mizoram, the British in fact increased the number of the chiefs allotting vacant land for the establishment of villages however the introduction of the Ramlekha or boundary papers demarcated their territories.

¹⁸ S.Hokishe, opcit p 77

The Chief and the Upas constituted the village court dispensing all cases except the heinous crimes, which were referred to the Superintendent. Every village had a Khawchhiar who served as a vital link between the chief and the Superintendent. Certain powers such as the right to appropriate property of villagers who transferred their allegiance, collection of trade tax were curtailed. In short the chief was to be responsible for the activities of his people and all government orders would now be intimated to them through the offices of the circle interpreter. These functions remained effective till the abolition of the chieftainship in 1955. In 1939 the Chief's Council was formed and each circle was to send three representatives that would constitute the Chief's Darbar of which the Superintendent was to act as President. In the Naga Hills a second institution was created to assist in the smooth functioning of the administration was the office of the intermediaries or Dobashis, who served as a link between the traditional leadership and the district colonial administration. In time the Dobashis role evolved to that of an interpreter, and was paid for services rendered. They served as a vital link between the native population and colonial administrators becoming an integral part of the British administration. They were not merely interpreters but also acted as intelligence persons, keeping the colonial administrators abreast of the local situation. They were also entrusted to hear and decide cases that could not be settled at the village level. Thus the colonial administration made rapid progress through the valuable services of the native agents. The traditional village leadership namely the headmen, gaonburas and chiefs were to collect annual house tax, settle cases both criminal and civil based on customary laws and were to also maintain law order within their jurisdiction however the appointment of the Gaonburas in Siang in erstwhile N.E.F.A was responsible for the decline of the powers of the chiefs in the Kebangs (council). By the Assam Frontier Regulation of 1945, the councils and village authorities were empowered to try both civil and criminal offences and impose fines not exceeding Rs .fifty .¹⁹ In the Kuki inhabited areas of Manipur, the introduction of the Village Authority Act in 1956 altered the powers and functions of the traditional administrative institution. This allowed direct participation of the inhabitants of the village in the functioning of the administration simultaneously curtailing the privileges that the chiefs enjoyed earlier such as tributes unless granted permission by the Village Authority.

¹⁹ Verrier E. reprint 1964, *A Philosophy for NEFA*. Shillong: Dutta P.C. p171

Administrative setup in the Borderland after 1900

Having drawn the Inner line in Darrang, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar in 1874, by 1914 the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation was extended into the hills inhabited by Abors, Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Bhutias, Akas, Daflas, Khamptis and Nagas inhabited areas. The areas inhabited by the Singphos, Khamptis and Nagas were to be renamed the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract carved out of the Lakhimpur district and the area inhabited by the Bhutias, Akas, Daflas, Miris and Abors would constitute the Western section of the North East Frontier Tract (NEFT). In 1921, the Governor General acting under the Act of 1919 (Montague-Chelmsfort report) designated all tribal areas under Assam as 'backward tract'. The Governor was instructed to seek measures he regarded appropriate to promote social welfare in the area, while the central and state legislative council was prevented from enacting legislation in the tribal areas. In 1936, the Balipara, Sadiya and Lakhimpur frontier areas were regarded as 'excluded areas and its administration was placed under the charge of the Governor of Assam. The Tirap Frontier Tract in 1943 was carved out of Lakhimpur and Sadiya Frontier Tracts under a separate political officer with its headquarters at Margherita. In 1954, attempts were made to structure the administration under the name North Eastern Agency (NEFA) and several divisions were created viz: Tirap, Siang, Tawang, Kameng, Subansiri and Lohit frontier divisions and each were placed under a political officer and assistant political officer were given the charge of the headquarters and important administrative centers and superintendents were incharge of administrative circles in the divisions.

In 1957, the Tuensang Frontier division was separated from NEFA and in 1965 its charge was transferred from external affairs ministry to the home ministry. By 1972, NEFA was granted a status of a union territory and renamed Arunachal Pradesh and attained full fledged statehood on 20th February 1987. Presently Arunachal Pradesh comprises of 13 districts. The districts of Lohit, Tirap and Changlang form the eastern most divisions in close proximity to Myanmar.

In Mizoram the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution allowed the creation of six autonomous district Councils in Assam thus in 1952, Mizoram district council consisting of 24 members emerged paving way for the abolition of Chieftainship and its replacement with the Village Council by the Lushai Hills District Act 1953 that empowered the formation of councils in every village. The Mizo Hill district under Assam was upgraded to the status of a Union Territory and renamed Mizoram in 1972 by the Government of the Union Territories

(amendment) Act while the District Council was dissolved to allow the election of the new Assembly.²⁰ It became a full-fledged state in and comprise of 8 districts. Manipur was upgraded to the status of a Union Territory in 1957, but as popular demands for statehood gathered momentum, the state of Manipur was inaugurated in 21st January 1972 with B. K. Nehru sworn in as the new Governor.²¹ Currently Manipur comprises of 9 districts, with Ukhrul, and Chandel districts as its easternmost divisions forming the boundary between the state and Myanmar.

Anglo-Myanmar Relation

The increasing aggressive policies of Ava in the frontiers were a source of grave concern in the eastern frontiers. While the East India Company was reluctant to wage war, as it was primarily concerned with commercial pursuits, however the need to secure their territories prevailed influencing their defensive policies. The strategy was to wage war on three fronts namely Assam, Arakan and Rangoon. With the withdrawal of their forces from Assam, Manipur and Tammu in Kabaw the Myanmarese were finally ousted the British eventually closed in on Ava forcing the opposition to sue for peace and the signing of the historic treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. The Company was reluctant to annex the territory of Arakan; however the separation of the latter from Myanmar was necessary to reduce opposition and future recourse in arms. Article 7 of the treaty of Yandaboo endorsed economic privileges and protection of British interest in Myanmar at par with her citizens and China, but since the court at Ava never considered the agreement binding a second recourse to arms resulted in subsequent wars in 1852 and 1885. The Anglo Myanmarese remained strained and uneasy, as the presence of British Resident in Ava was merely tolerated. On August 1830 an envoy was sent to Calcutta to requesting the restoration of the Kabaw valley and as a gesture of goodwill, the valley was restored but the areas of Tenasserim and Arakan were retained by the British. By 1886, Myanmar was annexed to the British Empire and declared a province of India. Shortly after, resistance movements spread engulfing the countryside in turmoil .The British reacted by ruthlessly suppressing the rebellion and after a period of five years they were able to quell the uprising

A period of rapid economic development was experienced between 1890-1900 but the depression in 1930's rendered the economy volatile. Monopoly of trade by non-locals and

²⁰ Sangkima 1992. *MIZOS: Society and Social Change 1890-1947*, Guwahati, Spectrum Publications p180

²¹ Sanajaoba .N. 1988, *MANIPUR Past and Present Vol 1* Delhi: Mittal Publications p191.

steep interest rates alienated numerous farmers of their land already rankled by their increasing penurious state and mass migration from neighbouring countries. In short the impact of the British rule had been profitable for the British traders, but disastrous for the economy of Myanmar setting stage for resurgent Nationalism and anti Colonial movements. The resentment of the natives was understandable since years of economic development had undoubtedly benefited mainly the Non Burmans such as the European traders, Chinese and the Indians. Rapid political activity in Myanmar in later years was a consequence of growing awareness among the educated section, the products of foreign Christian missionary schools. These pioneers of freethinking and liberal minded class of people were seen as prospective new leaders. With the establishment of the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) in 1906, their demands and agitation lead to the constitutional reforms in 1923. Shortly after, aspirations for separatism of Myanmar from India was endorsed by the natives whose affinity to India was non-existent given the socio-cultural differences and whose National pride was wounded by their status as a province of India .The establishment of the General Council of Burmese Association (GCBA) of 1917 led to the emergence of an organized movement supported by the students and the emergent middle class. The intellectual section gradually became more influential and anti authoritarian replacing the vacuum created by the collapse of the traditional political system. Nationalistic movements which were initially urban in character later broadened their base with participation of the rural populace .In later years leftist ideology infiltrated the student's organisation who led the anti colonial movement from 1936 onwards. After the Second World War a new cabinet was formed under sir Hubert Rance which included Aung San in the talks for a peaceful transfer of power concluded in January 1947. On July when the Governor's Executive Council were in session, the members were assassinated snuffing out the lives of dynamic and promising leaders whose services would have proved invaluable in shaping the destiny of Myanmar in the post Independent era. On January 1948 Myanmar gained its independence to become the Union of Burma under the leadership of U Nu, as its first premier. After 1958 political instability threatened the security of the country as the premier was unable to neutralise the centrifugal tendency which threaten to neither consume the fledging nation nor placate the minorities. In fact his unwarranted provocative policies in dealing with crises plunged the Union into a long drawn civil war. This provided an ideal opportunity to Unionist proponents as the coup d' etat stage by

General Ne Win in 1962 culminated the crises. His policy of integration at all cost was amply and ruthlessly demonstrated in the coming years.

Annexation of the Chin Hills

The annexation of upper Burma in 1886 invariably brought the British in contact with the Chins along the course of Myitha and Chindwin rivers. Given the propensity to raid the plains of Myanmar, it became imperative for the government to safeguard their interest in the newly acquired territory. Given the state of chaos and lawlessness the state of Kale found itself, the Sizang chins raided taking advantage of the prevailing situation, virtually depopulating the area. The government lost no time in opening up negotiations with the Chins, hoping to explore an alternative route through their territory into Chittagong. The British sent envoys into the Sizang territory seeking permission to explore a route to Chittagong from Kale via the Chin territory. Captain Raikes also met with the Tashon (Tlasun) head chief Sonpek from Falam. The Tashons expressed their willingness to assist the British in case of attacks, but refrained from commenting on the existence of a route via the Pawi territory. It soon became apparent that the initial hand of friendship extended by the Chin would fizzle out as circumstances propelled the two sides into hostilities. Evidently Shwe Gyo Byu the renegade prince who had earlier fled to the Yaw country after his defeat at the hands of the British soon took up residence in the Tashon (Tlasun) territory instigating the Tashons to oppose the British. The British then sent an ultimatum to the Tashons to surrender Shwe Gyo Byu while the Sizangs were asked to deliver Kaikam who had led the raids against the Shans in the valley. When construction of a road from Kale towards the Sizang country was reported, a delegation met with the British expressing their opposition and requesting the withdrawal of the construction company. Their plea was ignored as the work continued triggering an attack on the British by the Sizangs. This was followed by an expedition. Despite casualties, the Chins succeeded in pushing back the troop to Kale. Eventually the government relented sanctioning a scaled down expedition herein a small party was to be initially dispatched to the northern Chin hills to subdue the most aggressive of all the Chin tribes namely the Sizang followed by the Kamhaus. At the end of the expedition all of Sizang and Sagyilan and 18 Kamhau villages were captured. But its inhabitants continued to evade the troops defiant and unwilling to submit.

The Chin-Lushai Expedition 1889-90

The tranquillity in the hills could not be sustained as old hostilities threatened to resurface. On the home front a new generation of chiefs held sway over the Chin areas and with the change of guard, new policies were bound to replace the old. The new chiefs resented the confinement and restrictions imposed on their movements that prevented migration in search of better cultivable areas, as they had so readily done in the past. A military expedition was despatched .It comprised of two columns operating from Myanmar, the first being the Fort White column targeting the Sizangs and the other tribes inhabiting the area between the Fort and Manipur River while the Gangaw column was to commence at Gangaw and advance via Yokwa on Haka territory. The objective of the expedition was to punish all erring tribes that refused to make amends for their past offences committed in British territory while neutral tribes were to be subjugated as well since exploration of all terra- incognito areas between Chittagong and Myanmar was mooted

The Southern Column:

This column advanced towards Rawvan. The representative of the head chief of Yokwa who claimed suzerainty over seven villages arrived to negotiate the British categorically laid down the terms and conditions for their consent that included the recognition of the supremacy of the British government, a payment of annual tribute and protection to all visiting military officers.²² They were to restore all captive from Myanmar and desist from raiding in Myanmar or other British territory. In turn the British made certain concessions that guaranteed self-governance of their territory and permitted trade with Myanmar. The submission of Yokwa was followed by Shain Byik, Van Duin, Thetta and Yokwa and twelve Haka chiefs. The following day three Tantin (Tlan-tlang) chiefs arrived to offer their submission, they expressed the desire to trade with Myanmar. When the British entered the Tashon territory they found several Kamhaus, Soktes, Sizangs, Zahua and Hualago warrior waiting as reinforcement for further instructions from the Tashons in case of an attack . The terms and conditions for submission were made known which includes among others, annual payment of revenues. The chief refused out right stating his inability to pay since the money could not be raised .This necessitated a review of the terms of penalty; finally they accepted an altered version of the earlier terms of agreement. They were now asked to pay only half of the annual payment which was to be paid within four days failing which the entire amount

²² Reid A.S. reprint 1976, *Chin- Lushai land* Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd, p115

would be appropriated. In return the Chins were allowed to trade with Myittha and their territory would remain unoccupied. In retrospect the reluctance of the Tashons to submit soon became apparent. For years they had held sway over several villages stretching from Manipur to Haka and Myanmar to Lushai hills. They were unwilling to compromise their prestige and position that they had long enjoyed, for their defeat would have invariably invited attacks from their neighbours. The result of the efforts of this column was the surrender of the Yokwas, Hakas, Klangklangs and Tashons.

The Northern Column:

The Northern column was to punish Lianpunga for his raids on the Chengri Valley. As the Chin-Lushai expedition concluded, most chiefs in Falam, Haka had offered their submission. In time the Sizangs, Suktes and Kamhaus also submitted pledging allegiance to the British while Sakta was annexed in 1891, followed by Shurkhua the following month. After a period of six years the entire northern part of the Chin Hills was finally brought under British control. A road connecting Chittagong and Kale, was constructed and an outpost at Paletwa, Haka Falam Lungleh, Fort White and Tregear were established while Aizawl was selected the Northern Lushai outpost.

The Events in the Chin Hills in 1893-94

With the decline in active military operation, the process of administrative re-organization of the Chin Hills commenced. With the shift of political offices from Haka and Tiddim to Falam, administration now functioned effectively and independently. On 21st November, an operation was sanctioned to deal with fugitive of Sizangs rebels and disarmament of Nwegal tract and an escort for the party demarcating the boundary between Chin Hills and Manipur. In a major offensive against the rebels, several small parties were engaged in scouring suspected hideouts of the fugitives. The demarcation bifurcated the Thadou tribe into two groups with 6 villages within the Chin territory placed under Howchinkup. In the month of December, new chiefs were appointed in Sizang areas as all chiefs with the exception of the chief of Sakliang had either died or were deported for their participation in the 1892 rebellion.

The Northern Chin Hills Expedition of 1891-92

The British surveyed all areas adjoining the Soktes territories particularly its borders with Manipur, Northern Lushai hills on its west and Kabaw valley in the east. Meanwhile in the southern hills the British attempted to establish cordial relations with the Chins

particularly the Hakas. These would invariably prove how insignificant the Chins were in comparison with the world at large. At the end of the expedition 33 villages had submitted and 25 captives released. With the surrender of the village of Tao, a provisional boundary between the Chins and Lushai areas were fixed and a permanent post was established at Falam under the command of Major Browne. The northern Chin Hills head quarter was transferred from Fort White to Tiddim.

As the First World War swept through Europe, Britain too prepared deploying about a million recruits both in the combatants and non-combatants sectors from her colonies. In 1916, a fixed number of abled bodied young men were recruited from every clans for the labour corp. Continued recruitment drive instigated a rebellion that commenced with the chief Zokhua refusing to comply. By 1918 Mindat and southern Lushai Hill to joined in the rebellion followed by the Thadou chiefs of Mombi and Longza under Manipuri jurisdiction (the Kuki uprising). The Thadous continued to wage war against the British deploying guerrilla tactic. The British destroyed Surkhua for starting the resistance. In an operation that followed the British destroyed 86 out of 198 Thadous villages and another 18 in the Haka area. During the Second World War the Chin Levy remained loyal to the British and it was partly due to their effort that the advancing Japanese forces were forced to withdraw.

Naga Hills (Sagaing Division)

In 1893, Naga tribes inhabiting the Nantaleik valley, attacked villages in the vicinity of Tamanthi, Consequently the Tashos were subdued and fines were imposed on the perpetrators. As reports of more raids were made known to the authorities, the Tangkhul village of Kalinaw was razed by the British troops, followed by Makware in 1911. Earlier in 1895, the Tangkhul Nagas of Somra Tract raided Sawpu near Homalin in the Chindwin district which was followed by another attack in 1896 by Somra Khulen on another Tangkhul village this time within the jurisdiction of Manipur. Thus a punitive expedition was sent in 1897 whereby the principal village of Somra was destroyed followed by the village of Somra Phuntret in 1911.²³ The Somra Tract is inhabited by both the Tangkhul Nagas and Kukis; the latter were comparatively newer immigrants having moved into the area from Manipur during the chieftainship of Komyang. The area was of great interest to Manipur as its frontier villages were often subject to raids while Myanmar expressed similar interest requesting the

²³ Reid *ibid*, p. 94.

incorporation of the territory under its jurisdiction and administration. While both the governments of Assam and Myanmar in principal agreed that the disputed area was undoubtedly a part of the latter rather than Manipur uncertainty over an area referred to as the 'cross hatched area' led to a deadlock. In 1917, the government agreed to the proposal of the transfer of the tract to Myanmar cited the plight of the Tangkhuls requesting for deliverance from "wholesale slaughter" at the hands of the Kukis. The Crosshatched area was finally settled in favour of Manipur after seven years in 1923. A loose form of administration of the Naga Hills in Myanmar commenced only in 1940.

The civil unrest that plunged the country in the post independence period surprisingly had little impact on the Naga and Chin areas. Unlike the Karens, the Chins were considered the least problematic minorities till 1960's hence the demarcation of the International Boundary commenced in the Chin Hills, but disillusion soon set in as neither the constitutional guaranteed privileges were granted, nor the terms of the Panglong agreement respected. Policies of successive regimes further alienated the frontier tribes that in time have led to a resurgence of dormant Nationalistic tendencies since the intervention of foreign powers in the Nineteenth century.

Summary

British annexation of the north-eastern states of India and Myanmar had both political as well as economic dimensions. Their policies were influenced by protectionist measures. The commencement of British interventions can be traced back to the invasion of Assam by Myanmar. The annexation of Arakan by the latter provided an easy access to the Bengal province via Goalpara and Sylhet. The British realised that the occupation of Cachar would have made the position of Sylhet precarious. The acquisition of Arakan by the Treaty of Yandaboo was a calculated move to establish Arakan Yoma as a buffer between British frontiers and Myanmar. Its annexation of Assam was economically beneficial given the natural resources and discovery of tea. Consequently, its annexation of the hill areas was devised to secure and protect its interest in the settled districts of Assam. The extension of their control into the Naga hills not only allowed them to pacify the Nagas, but also provided easy access into Manipur to secure the frontiers given the perceived threat from Myanmar. Consequent to the annexation of the hill areas, boundaries were drawn to facilitate administrative convenience. As a result, numerous ethnic groups were segregated by the emergent international boundary.

The process of decolonisation and modernisation led to the emergence of a new class of people within the modern polity namely the creation of the middle class. Initially the political elites posed no threat to the traditional political setup as they worked in consensus with the tribal and village council but with the passage of time there was a gradual usurpage of their position and influences. Inroads made by Christianity and education created a middle class which represented a cross section of the tribal society wherein educated middle class assumed the role of the protector of the newfound identity, filling in the gaps created by the maladjustments of traditional elites in a changing world. Being literate, they drew their inspirations from western doctrines, modelling their organization after them. This probably explains the usage of 'common' consciousness as a weapon to disseminate their ideology among the people promulgating the crystallization of 'Pan Solidarity' in the erstwhile independent individualistic tribes. In Lushai Hills the abolishment of the chieftainship system spearheaded by the Mizo Union resulted in the disgruntled chiefs supposedly supporting the cause of the Nationalist or the Mizo National Federation (MNF.)

Surprisingly the popular movement to oust the chiefs in the Mizo inhabited areas had little impact on their counterparts the Kuki chiefs who continued to enjoy the support of the masses in the Manipur. In the Naga Hills, the Naga Club was formed in 1918. It was essentially a socio-cultural institution, which gradually assumed a political tone to represent the political aspiration of the Nagas in the early twentieth century. This is evident from their submission of a memorandum to the Simon Commission- a Constitutional Reformed Schemes in 1929, demanding exclusion of the Nagas from the 'Reformed Schemes' for fear of exploitation by the mainstream. This resulted in the exclusion of the Naga inhabited areas from the purview of the provision of government of India Act, 1935 and made it as 'Excluded Area'. The introduction of 'Innerline or Excluded Area' Acts has had tremendous impact. On one hand ethnocentrism has been brought to the fore however identity and community feeling has also evolved vis-à-vis the plain people or mainstream.

Thus regional parties emerged after independence to articulate the aspirations of the hill people and simultaneously social groups (pressure groups) emerged. The genesis of political awareness in Mizoram dates back to 1925 when the Ralte community attempted to participate in the politics of Assam. Then in 1946, the Mizo Union was born under the leadership of R Vanlawma and Lalbuai as contention of power vis-à-vis the Mizo chiefs thus a cleavage surfaced among the traditional political heads and elected representative based on

general consensus. In 1950 the Tribal Union emerged, initiated by the president Lalmawia of the United Mizo Freedom Organisation sought to integrate the Pawi-Lakher tribes under one administrative unit to preserve their culture and ethnic identity. But once again fissures emerged consequently the Maras Freedom Party splintered to represent the Lakhers that triggered a split among the Pawis and Lakhers. This resulted in the formation of the Chin National Front (1965), which attempted to integrate all Chins (Pawis) of India and Myanmar and neutralize the MNF which was seen as a threat to the fledging identity given their growing influence over the Pawi areas. But the one party that was to have a tremendous impact on the politics of the state was the MNF earlier known as the voluntary organization of Mizo National Famine Front. It emerged as a response to the economic crisis or Mautum, the great famine of 1959. Underlining their manifesto of self-determination, the party voiced their concern against the resettlement policies of refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan. They feared that such a move would imbalance the existing ethnicity.

The MNF in subsequent years established a strong foothold and began their revolt against the government in 1966. Their popularity was rooted in the sentiments of exclusiveness and perceived neglect and apathy by the central government and exposure of the inhabitants to the changes and developments elsewhere compounded by unemployment, economic standstill and socio-economic peripherality. The external influences of interested sections and timely appearance of a charismatic leader proved to be a turning point in favour the movement which in time spread to contiguous areas which was populated by the same ethnic groups. Given the hard line stand of the MNF, a cleavage appeared amongst the Mizo populace, as the exponents of peaceful negotiation such as the Mizo union were opposed to the view and stands of the MNF who were more militant. With the Mizo union requesting a review of the demand for Greater Mizoram, soon a parallel government or the Mizo Sawrkar emerged and for years a chaotic condition prevailed over the state with normal life paralysed .

In 1965, an attempt was made at reconciling the Mizo Union and MNF at Churachandpur that led to a conference however difference of opinion regarding the course of action arose. Having contacted like-minded groups across the border such as the Arkanese National Liberation Front (ANLF) an attempts at establishing contact with the Kachin Independent Army (KIA), the MNF had its bases in the Chittagong hill tracts and, the sympathy of China and Pakistan given their close proximity and animosity towards India, the movement thereafter gained external momentum.

Given the milieu of a diverse tribal population in the area later immigrants such as the Chakmas and Riangs appeared to have little in common with the Mizo mainstream ethnicity given the divergent religious and cultural ethos. Similarly affined cultural groups (Christians) such as the Hmars, Paites, and Lakhers sought to highlight their differences that led to the formation of the Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC) and the Chin National Front which attempted to neutralise the dominant influence of the Lusei clans. The Pois or Pawis who shared a greater cultural affinity with the mainstream nevertheless sought to project their identity and uniqueness given their affinity with their brethren across the boundary in Chittagong and Myanmar. The Hmars perceive their status as an exclusive group taking pride in their unique culture and history. Their resentment at the dominant ethnic group can be appreciated in the light of their contribution towards the political activities during the formative years of the erstwhile Lushai Hills district politics and their role in the self-determination movement.

The boundary demarcation between Manipur and Mizoram divided contiguous areas inhabited by their people as a result Hmars in around the Tipaimukh and Churachandpur found themselves excluded from Mizoram contrary to their long cherished hopes of unification. To express their frustration the Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC) aided by the Hmar Volunteers Cell projected their demand for an autonomous region comprising of Hmar inhabited areas in Cachar, Manipur and Mizoram. The movement gain momentum owing to their insecurity in Assam who had not been granted a schedule tribe status. Fissures and divisive tendencies have had an impact on sub-nationalism subverting all attempts to assimilate and subsume all minor cultural difference to promote unity and stability in the region .The scenario has been complicated further by the joining of the Mizo youths in Jampui Hills of north Tripura with more than 5000 populations, as they demanded an inclusion in greater Mizoram.

Another division is apparent between the Mizos and new immigrants, refugees including political asylum seekers from Myanmar .On one hand sympathy for their kin is evident but in recent years tension has been emerged as witnessed in the riots of 2003 in Aizawl when social and economic issues snow-balled into widespread tension and leading to force repatriation. The emergence of the Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946 resulted in the formation of the first pan Naga political organization. The strength of the Council laid in its mass support and appeal that was endorsed by the support of village councils and chiefs

without whose consensus no plan of action was promulgated. On the eve of the independence of India, the NNC submitted a memorandum in 1947 to Lord Mountbatten, the then Viceroy of India appealing for setting up of an interim government for ten years at the end of which they were to freely choose any form of government they wanted. But the controversy created by the ninth clause of the Nine Point Hydari Agreement regarding the transfer of power led to its non-implementation. This sowed the seed of discord between the Nagas and government of India. Impatient with the stalemate the NNC declared unilateral independence in 14th August 1947. Meanwhile, a parallel government known as the Federal Government of Nagaland was set up in 1956 to formally unite under its banner the NNC and Tuensang area.

The period that followed the establishment of the parallel government was marked by turmoil. Ultimately, the moderates within the NNC initiated negotiation and peace processes with the signing of the Shillong Accord as a result of which, the State of Nagaland came into being on 1st December 1963. However, the extremist out rightly rejected the Accord and till date continues their armed struggle.

Pan-Naga identity is relatively a new phenomenon that emerged as a response to the prevailing political climate, which was conducive for the concerted move towards an integrated identity. Undoubtedly each village acted as a sovereign republic, but this did not rule out the existence sub-conscious sentiments of 'oneness' based on cultural affinities supported by socio-cultural elements that distinguished the allied group of people vis-à-vis the group with whom they shared little cultural affinities. However the conditioning geographical factors have also been responsible for socio-cultural linguistic variation as certain tribes speak more than one sub-dialect for instance, Chongli, Mongsen and Changki among the Aos. Another peculiarity is seen in the villages of Anaki and Chakpa, which lies in the borders between the Ao and Chang territories, is the usage of both dialects within the same village. While diversity and absence of lingua franca may have limited communications in the past, the evolution of Nagamese appears to have partially compensated this inadequacy, while English was adopted as the state official language, by the state legislative assembly bill of 1964. However competition for resources and development benefits has allowed divisive elements to resurface as perceived notions of monopolisation and marginalisation of the aspiration of certain sections have led to resentment and as such the Pan Naga Solidarity movements have not been immune. Infact these developments now pose a challenge to integration and realisation of the aspirations of the people.

The Indo Myanmar borderland is unique as it is inhabited not only by a diverse population comprising of numerous ethnic groups with diverse cultural ethos but there appears to be wide spread segregations of ethnic groups divided by an imposed boundary since traditional village were not maintained in the course of the demarcation of the boundary. Evidently the opinion and aspiration of the inhabitants were the least of the British considerations in the process of demarcation as administrative convenience based on the selection of natural divides was then a prevalent practice of the British in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century. Further the 1967 bilateral agreement between Myanmar and India further reiterated the maintenance of the traditional boundary demarcated during the Colonial era with minor modifications and the incorporation of the section of the boundary that was unadministered by the British prior to 1947 due to the gradual extension of the British administration into the Naga Hills particularly in this section as the general policy was to extent their area of control to manageable and financially expedient limits.

Maintaining the Patkai range as a natural divide all Naga area east of the watershed were incorporated into Myanmar while those on the west were placed under the jurisdiction of India. Consequently the emergent boundary was not in conformity with ethnic boundaries hence the Geo-political ramifications of fragmented communities in a long and porous boundary given their perceived notions of a negligence and ethnic minority status on both sides of the boundary cannot be ignored.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPRAISAL DURING THE COLONIAL RULE

Colonial Period.

Colonial powers based their economic and social relations on reason, impersonal law and individual rights unlike their colonies that had under native rule established a system contrary to the west one that was based on customary law and obligation personalised authority derived from sanction and will and not reason a common feature to all from the primitive societies to the settled agricultural communities with complex social and political organisation based on eastern principles. Nevertheless a contact was established between the two for the benefit of the colonialist that was preceded by maintenance of order.¹ While geopolitical factors were crucial for the policies economic considerations often prevailed as the chartered companies were primarily concerned with the procurement of tropical resources at the lowest cost. Hence, Colonialisation was an outcome of commerce and not vice versa as the flag has followed trade in Colonial history.²

In the early days of the East India Company, corruption had led to financial difficulties compelling the British Government to force the Company to improve its administration bringing about reforms hence the need for direct administration through the Company's officials commencing with the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings. The idea was to organise a better collection of revenue. Territories were divided into provinces manned by European officers who were both collector and magistrate. While the revenue system that had primarily been paid in kind particularly in the hill areas given the barter economy was unsuitable in the commercial economy hence a monetary system was advocated for. In Myanmar eventually much of the native system of collection of revenue was retained that allowed the government to fix the land tax at 10% of the total produce while taxes on essential commodities such as salt were abolished.

The study area west of the Indo-Myanmar boundary includes Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and the eastern most districts of Arunachal Pradesh. While the eastern section includes the divisions of Sagaing and Chin State in Myanmar.

¹ Furnivall J.S. 1948. Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India. Cambridge University Press p 3

² *ibid* p 4.

Assam, which had initially been under the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal, was separated and placed under a Chief Commissionership that comprised of 11 districts with an area of 41,798 sq miles with a population of 4,132,019 persons in 1871-72. It comprised of the Assam valley division, native states of Manipur and Tripura and Surma valley and Hills district division. With the extension of the Assam Frontier Tract Regulation of 1880 into the hill areas in 1914, all tribal areas were separated from Darang and Lakhimpur to constitute the North Eastern Frontier Tracts that comprised of three subdivisions with the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract inhabited by the Singphos, Khamptis and the Nagas who currently occupy the eastern most districts of Arunachal Pradesh namely Lohit, Changlang and Tirap districts in the Indo Myanmar Boundary. The Hill districts comprised of the Naga and Lushai Hills districts while the native states comprised of Manipur and Tripura.

In Assam, the ancient ryotwari system that had earlier been practice was revived and in the Hill areas bulk of the revenue came from poll tax. This was primarily to enable each area to pay for the expenses incurred to maintain law and order since compulsions to safeguard the revenue grossing areas in the plains necessitated the annexation and administration of the hill areas even though the government was initially reluctant to incur expenditure from areas that were considered unprofitable and unlikely to financially enhance the Company's coffer. With the retention of the traditional local political institution a system of self-governance was introduced that functioned under the British permitting the natives to govern themselves simultaneously reducing the responsibility of the government from a costly affair of administration. In the areas under chieftainship, the system proved ideal, as the British were able to inculcate the cooperation of the chiefs through whose offices the natives were efficiently controlled given the factor of allegiance ensuring continuity and allowing the natives to become amiable to the British rule.

Development in the hill areas was essentially viewed as a white man's burden and responsibility to civilize and tame the savage hill dwellers. Promotion of peace and stability in the frontier areas necessitated the weaning of the inhabitants from their penchant and propensity to raid and this was possible only if alternative means of developing the economic standards of the people existed. Hence marts and bazaars were vital to ensure vitality in trade and commerce between the plain dwellers and hill men, to encourage interaction between the two. Secondly, by promoting education, substantial native work force was utilized to assist in the administration and maintenance of law and

order. A case in point being the recruitment of candidates from villages to act as interpreters since formal education was non-existent till 1901.

Population

The districts of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar comprised of Surma division. The district of Lakhimpur with an area of 11,500 sq miles was further subdivided for administrative convenience namely Lakhimpur north of the Brahmaputra, Dibrugarh and Jaipur. The revenue, magisterial and civil jurisdiction was identical in all while the political jurisdiction extended as far as the Deputy Commissioner could exert his influence. Ethnically, the aboriginal hill population comprised of the Khampti, Singhpos, Mishmis Abors, Miris, Daphlas and the Namsangias, Bordurias and Panidwars (Nocte, Wanchos Nagas of Arunachal Pradesh). The first regular census commenced in 1871-72 in the revenue paying part of the district covered an area of 3145 Square miles since the remaining part was thinly populated and numerous tribes maintained a degree of independence. The total population of Dibrugarh subdivision was 82,109 while Lakhimpur subdivision had 39,158 persons with a density of 40 and 35 persons per sq mile in Dibrugarh and Lakhimpur subdivision. The aboriginal population in the district comprised of 1,562 Khamptis, 34 Nagas and 257 Singphos. In 1901, the area that was surveyed had increased to 4529 sq miles with a population at 371396 while the rural population stood at 360169 persons in 1123 villages and 11227 persons in 1 town. The density of population was 81 persons per sq mile.

The Sibsagar district had an area of 4996 sq miles in 1901. It was sub divided into Sibsagar; Jorhat and Golaghat with regular census commencing in 1871-72. The total population of the district was 296,589, persons that year while the aboriginal population was 21 Khamptis, 225 Nagas.³ By 1901, the population had increased to 597,969, with a rural population of 586999 in 2109 villages and an urban population of 10970 persons in 3 towns with a total density of 120 persons per sq miles.

³ Hunter W.W. reprint 1998. A Statistical Account of Assam Vol 1 Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. p 236

**Table No 8 Shows the district wise breakup of Surma valley and Hill division
(excluding the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.)**

District	Area in Sq. M	Population, 1901			No. of towns	No. of Villages	Population Density
		Urban	Rural	Total			
Sibsagar	4996	10970	586999	597969	3	2109	120
Lakhimpur	4529	11227	360169	371396	1	1123	81

(Source: Allen B.C. et al, 2001, *Gazeteer of Bengal and North east India. p 512*). (Excluding other districts).

The Naga Hills district with an area of 3070 sq km comprised of two sub divisions namely Kohima and Mokokchung. The 1871 census was carried out by Captain Butler was conjectural and incomplete, suggested a total population at 68,918. In 1901, the Naga Hills district had a total of 102, 402 persons which had increased by 5.9 in 1891-1901. The increase in Mokokchung sub-division was attributed to the immigration and inclusion of Sema territories under the sub-division. The principal tribes in the district were the Angamis followed by the Aos and Lothas .The population was predominantly rural in nature as there was only one town in the district with a population of 8384 while the rural population was 94018 inhabited 292 villages. In 1931 the total population was 178,844 that had increased to 205950 in 1951.

In the Lushai Hills, the first census record was carried out in 1901. With an area of 7227 sq miles it consisted of two sub divisions namely Aizawl and Lunglei. The Total population of the district was 82,434 persons with Aizawl accounting for a larger proportion of population at 52936 persons and a density at 23 persons per sq km .The population was entirely rural inhabiting a total of 239 villages in 1901. The Lushai (Lusei) were the largest tribe followed by Pois and Hmars with 36400, 15000 and 10000 persons respectively. While the Pois were immigrants of Chin Hills, the Hmars were from Manipur. The other tribes included the Raltes, Thadous, Paites and Lakhers, which cumulatively constituted 13800 persons with Lushai or Dulien as the lingua franca with 87% of speakers. In 1931 the total population was 124404 which by 1951 had increased to 1962202.

Sub-division	Area in sqm	No. of		Populations	Population per sqm	% of variation in population between 1891-1901	No. of persons able to read & write
		Towns	Villages				
Kohima	2337	1	224	68619	29	- 2.3	
Mokokchung	733	-	68	33783	46	+ 27.9	
District Total	3070	1	292	102402	33	+ 5.9	1380

Table No 9 District wise Statistics of the Hill Division 1901

(Source: Allen B.C. 2001, et al, Gazetteer of Bengal and NE India, p 417). *Including house tax.

Table No. 10: Population breakup of Kohima and Mokokchung sub-divisions. 1901.

Districts	Area in Sq. M	Population 1901		No. of Towns	No. of Villages,		Population Density,	Land Revenue 1903-04 (Rs. 1000)
		Urban	Rural		Total			
Lushai Hills	7227	0	82434	82434	-	239	11	30*
Naga Hills	3070	8384	94018	102402	1	292	33	58*

(Source: Allen B.C. 2001. Gazetteer of Bengal and NE India, p 471)

Table No.11 The Population breakup in Lushai Hills 1901.

Subdivision	Area in Sq. Km	No. of Population	No. of Villages	Density	No. of Literate Persons
Aizawl	-	52, 936	125	11	
Lunglei	-	29,498	114	12	2058
	7, 227	82,434	239	23	2058

(Source: Allen BC et al, Gazetteer of Bengal and NE India.)

Table No. 12: Native State of Manipur. 1901.

(Source: Allen BC et al, ibid p610). * Rs. 2 per acre.

Native States	Area in Sq. M	Population, 1901			No of towns	No of villages	Population Density, 1901	Land Revenue, 1903-04 (Rs. 1000)
		Urban	Rural	Total				
Manipur	8456	67093	217372	284465	1	467	34	*

(Source: Allen BC et al, ibid p610). * Rs. 2 per acre.

The native state of Manipur was divided into 5 divisions or Pannas and placed under the charge of a collector. In the Hill areas revenue was collected in the form of house tax with no assessment for actual areas under cultivation. With an area of 8456 sq miles, the total population was estimated at 221,070 persons in 1881 while the tribal population was estimated at 85228 the Nagas comprised of a total of 59904 (4,400 Tangkhuls, 484 Marrings, 17,992 Kolya, Khoiram, including Tangal tribe, 8,476 Kabuis. The Maos and Marams comprised of 750 and 368 houses respectively.) The Kukis were estimated at 25,384 persons comprising of 17,204 new Kukis and old Kukis that included the Anals, Kom, Namfau Lamkang, and Chothe etc). By 1901, the population increased to 284465 persons with a density of 34 persons per sq mile. The urban population was 67093 persons inhabiting 1 town (Imphal) while the rural population of 217372 inhabited 467 villages. Linguistically the largest tribal population was the Naga group with 59904 speakers, followed by the Kukis. In 1931 the total population was 445606 which had increased to 5,77635 in 1951.

Table No. 13: Population Distribution of Manipur in 1881

Religions		Population	Total
	Hindus	130892	
	Muhammadans	4881	
	Christians	7	
	Buddhists	2	
	Hill tribes (Indigeneous religion)	85228	221010
Languages			
	Bengali	15	
	Sengmaie	7151	
	English	7	
	Kuki	25384	
	Manipuri	128526	
	Naga	59904	
	Hindustani	83	221070
Ethnic distribution			
	Plain population	135382	
	Kuki	25384	
	Naga	59904	221070

(Source: Dun EW Gazetteer of Manipur, Reprint 1992 p14 –15).

Religion.

Despite the activities of Christian missionaries already in progress prior to 1834, the population of Assam was predominantly Hindu with Muslims, a close second in rank. The percentage of Hindus in Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur districts in 1871 was 282,969 (95.4%) and 19,748 respectively while the Christian and Buddhist population were 316 and 449 respectively in Lakhimpur. In Sibsagar the Christian and Buddhist population was 283 and 153.⁴ The Muslim population in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts it was, 12619 and 3826 respectively. In Manipur the Christian population in 1881 was only 7 persons in comparison to the other group despite a large tribal population since the latter were predominantly practiced indigenous religion and it was only after the commencement of the missionaries after 1894 that the tribal population converted to Christianity. Education and activities of missionaries had by far one of the most significant impacts on the Hill tribes. Its aim was to pacify and civilise the people. While the British realised the importance of propagating Christianity among the Nagas, Mizos and Kukis, its introduction was seen as a necessity for upliftment. However their motive was more complex. In other parts of Asia and Africa, introduction of Christianity had clearly been advantageous to territorial expansion.⁵ The cooperation between the two is seen in the protection and Grant-in-aid the British were willing to provide to the missionaries to open schools.⁶ One of the first missionaries to work with the Nagas in the vicinity of Jaypur station in Assam was Reverend Miles Bronson of the American Baptist Mission. In 1871, Rev. E.W.Clark another America Baptist missionary in Sibsagar, aided by Gadhula an Assamese Christian, sought permission to enter the Naga hills .He was eventually granted permission to establish the first missionary station at Molungkimong village north of Mokokchung .By 1894, missionary activities spread to other parts of the Naga Hills. The Total Christian population was 41,237 in 1951.

In the Hill districts of Manipur, Reverend Pettigrew, Watkin and Doctor Peter Fraser under the aegis of the Arthington Mission were noted only for their evangelism but also setup the first missionary schools in Ukhrul and Khawpibung near Saikot. Christianity came to Manipur via the Silchar and Aizawl. The Arlington Mission functioned after the

⁴ Hunter.W.W. reprint 1998. *A Statistical Account of Assam*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. Vol 1 pp, 234,305

⁵ Sema.P.second edition 1992. *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland 1881-1947*. N.Delhi: Scholar Publishing House p 67

⁶ Dr P. Sema, *ibid* p 69

arrival of William Pettigrew in 1894, consisting of one of the 13 missionaries that entered India in 1890.⁷ In 1896, Pettigrew moved to Ukhrul, since the resentment of the Hindu Meiteis, compelled the decision of Major Maxwell the political agent. The number of converts had increased to 30 converts in 1901.

Mr. W.R Roberts another missionary arrived at Manipur from Aizawl. Setting up the Thadou-Kuki Pioneer Mission renamed the North East India General Mission.⁸ R Ruichumhao, a student of Pettigrew became the first Tangkhul to be educated in Jorhat. By 1912, 9 Kukis had converted and Makui became the first Church in Manipur. In 1951 the number of converts into Christianity was 68,394.⁹

In 1800s the Welsh Calvinistic Church arrived in Lushai Hills but was not successful in converting the natives but was responsible for introducing formal education in the hills. Till 1901 the animist population in the Lushai Hills, was 95% in 1901 with 4% Hindus who were all sepoys with their dependants.¹⁰ Rev DE Jones Baptist the first two converts Khuma and Khara in 1899 assisted by Rai Bahadur ¹¹ In 1893, Rev Edwin Rowland joined him and given his qualification, was made in charge of education. From Northern Lushai hills, missionaries moved into the southern hills with Serkawn as the headquarters, the Lakher areas were covered, resulting in the establishment of Lakher Pioneer Mission. In 1951 the Christian population was 157,575(80.31%). ¹² Presently several denominations such as the Baptist, Roman Catholics, Seventh Day Adventist operate within the state.

The first missionary to arrive at Naga Hills was in 1871. For a while, trade and to some extent famine in the aftermath of the smallpox epidemic around 1876-77 saw an increased movement of numerous Ao villagers into Assam particularly the inhabitants of Molungkimong areas. In one such sojourn, the villagers presumably chanced upon the activities of missionaries in Assam particularly in the field of education.¹³ The missionaries were invited to the hills but Dr EW Clark evidently declined the offer since his mission did not grant him the permission but he sent his assistant Gondhula Rufus Brown instead in

⁷Gangte T.S. 1993, *The Kukis of Manipur: A Historical Analysis*, N.Delhi: Gyan Publication.p37

⁸ GangteT.S. *ibid* p 39

⁹ *Statistical Handbook of Manipur 2002*. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Govt.of Manipur p 14

¹¹ Sangkima, 1992, *Mizos-Change and Social*, Guwahati: Spectrum publications. p83

¹² *Ibid* p161

¹³ Bendangyapang 2004, *A, History of Christianity in Nagaland- Social change 1872-1972*, p 68

1871. Initially the villagers of Molungkimong were hesitant to allow him to enter the village, possibly suspect ulterior motives of the British. But having changed their mind, invited him into their village. When Dr EW Clark entered the hills in 1872 a church was founded and by 1881 there were already 25 converts in Naga Hills that increased to 41237 persons by 1951.¹⁴

Education

Education was perhaps one of the most powerful agents to civilizing the hill people. For years the government left the responsibility of educating the people to the missionaries; however a change in the policy soon became apparent. The early twentieth century government established schools to provide a healthy competition and provide opportunity to those sections of population who were unwilling to send their children to missionary sponsored schools for fear of conversion. In the Naga Hills there were 6 lower primary schools setup in 1882-83, that increased to 13 in 1899-1900 with an enrolment of 211 students followed by the establishment of one Middle English school. By 1904 the Nagas Hills district had 22 Lower Primary school run by the Government however the schools run by the missionaries, continued receiving grants-in-aid from the government.¹⁵ In 1907, a technical school was opened at Kohima to train students in carpentry and black-smithy but in 1941, it was amalgamated with the first Government high school at Kohima. The idea was to impart practical and vocational training to the youth. By 1946-47, there were 161 lower primary schools, 3 Middle English schools at Mokokchung, Dimapur and 1 high school at Kohima.¹⁶ Scholarships at a rate of rupees three were granted to encourage students in the post primary level. Although strides were made in the field of education, no further measures were taken to promote higher education as opportunities were given only to exceptional students.

In the Lushai Hills, the first school was built in 1894 with an enrolment of two students. From 1902 the Government and the missionaries began a system of cooperation to to promote education. Hence Government schools were now made over to the mission at Aizawl and Lungleh and Reverend Rowland appointed as the first Honorary Inspector of all schools. By 1947, there were 259 Primary Schools, 11 Middle English Schools and a

¹⁴ Sema P. second Ed 1992, *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland. 1881-1947*. N.Delhi:Scholar Publishing House.p77

¹⁵ Sema.P. ibid p79

¹⁶ Sema.p ibid pp81,82

High School with an enrolment of 56 students in the latter. In the hill areas, William Pettigrew of the Arlington Mission established the first school in Ukhrul.

In the Lushai Hills prior to 1901, there were no formal schools and seeing the need to educate interpreters, students were selected and sent to the headquarters from villages. The numbers of literates were 2058 persons representing 2.5% of the population with a higher rate among males at 5% and 0.1% for females in 1901. Porteus the political officer of North Lushai Hills in 1897 mentioned his desire to promote formal education, since nothing had been done till then.

The first school was established at Aizawl in 1893 mainly for the children of sepoys with Hindi as the medium of instruction. As the school was not open to the locals the government opened two more opened at Lunglei and Dimagiri that was followed by Mission schools. He also submitted a proposal to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to sanction one school for the natives with Bengali as the medium of instruction to enable trade and official intercourse. In 1903, the superintendent proposed the handing of schools to the missionaries and in the same year all Government schools were placed under the Mission in Aizawl and Lunglei. In 1908-09 there were two Middle schools and 15 Lower Primary schools. By 1947 there were 259 Primary schools and 11 English Medium schools. After 1950 the control of High schools were given to the Government to ensure that the established Government schools would provided a healthy competition and opportunity to those sections of population who were unwilling to send their children to missionary sponsored schools for fear of conversion. In addition mission schools were understaffed and faced a problem of an acute shortage of qualified teachers. Nevertheless mission run schools continued to flourish and exist irrespective of the increasing number of government schools being setup. From a mere 6 Lower Primary schools setup in 1882-83 , the number had increased to 13 in 1899-1900 with an enrolment of 211 students and establishment of one Middle English school . By 1947 there were 22 Middle schools and 2 High schools in the Lushai Hills.

In Manipur three English Medium schools was established by missionaries in Imphal but as the activities of Pettigrew caused resentment among the Meitei Hindus, he was instructed to go to the hill areas. In 1896 Pettigrew moved to Ukhrul and setup the first mission school serving as the first inspector of schools having been appointed by the Government. In 1951 the total number of literates was 65,895 (including the Valley). In all

the tribal areas the Government sanctioned scholarships or free ration in the case of Lushai hills to promote education. In the latter the literacy rate among women were lower as they were expected to help in household chores.¹⁷ While a technical school was established in Naga Hills when the authorities found that the number of pupils were declining perceiving the impracticability of the curriculum as the traditional education system in the morungs were less academic and more practical given the nature of the needs of the society.

In Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts the government attempted to revive old pathsalas or indigenous village schools which had previously been outside the purview of the Government by increasing the number of such schools that received grant-in-aid. The schools other than the middle or secondary were girl schools. The government later had to close down several girl schools as the attendance was low. In later years an impetus was given to the establishment of higher education as several students from the higher income group were compelled to seek education in Bengal, however apart from the expenses incurred this arrangement deprived pupils from middle income group.

Table14: Government aided Schools in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar (1871-72).

Districts	No of Students	Pathsalas Govt. aided.	Middle Schools	Higher Schools	others	Total Govt. aided.
Lakhimpur	243	-	2	1	-	3
Sibsagar	134	20	2	1	3	26.

Agriculture:

With the population primarily engaged in agriculture pursuits since the ancient times. During the first 30 years of British rule, there had been very little progress made to improve the lot of the cultivators or prospects in Assam. The introduction of mechanized implements such as ploughs and machines and better qualities of seeds was proposed by AD Phookan. He stated that Ryots were ill informed about the latest techniques used the most basic and rudimentary implements and as such were unaware of the potentials of cultivating commercially viable crops suited to the climatic condition of the region.

The administration was concern with the extent of opium addiction estimated at 3/4th of the population since it serious retarded agricultural pursuits and development. The

¹⁷ Sangkima opcit p168

cultivators did little to increase crop production hence its suppression would automatically increase agriculture productivity. The government contemplated measures to check the evils either by regulating its growth, immediately disallowing its cultivation or increasing its cultivation for assessment of land thereby ensuring its gradual decline. Assam province comprises of the Surma valley and the Hills districts and Assam valley with a total area of 44059 sq. miles (excluding Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The Surma valley and the Hills division with a total area of 1954 sq. miles consist of 4 districts viz: Sylhet, Cachar, Naga and Lushai Hills. The Assam valley division comprised of 6 districts viz: Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur with a total area of 24605 sq. miles. The alluvial plains of Brahmaputra and Surma are best suited for the cultivation of rice, the staple food of the district. In the former, Aho or Surma rice, Bao- a long stem variety and Sali- a transplanted winter rice comprising of Lahi and Bar varieties were grown. In the Surma valley, Sail, Aus, Aman (long stem variety) and Sailbura, while sugarcane, & mustard are grown in areas where rice is not cultivated.

In the hill areas, jhum cultivation was the primary method of cultivation with terrace cultivation relegated to the Angami areas. The general opinion of the administrators was that since rice was unsuitable in areas above 4000 ft, terrace cultivation became a necessity in addition to the pressure on land as jhum was wasteful and required extensive area.¹⁸ Terracing was also a preferred alternative as it allowed optimum utilization and yield, allowing fields to be cultivated closer home an advantage among feuding tribes.

Jhum cultivation was practiced in the remaining areas, and efforts were made to introduce terrace cultivation among the Aos and Semas. Despite the initiative taken by administrators such as Sir Charles Elliot, given the stability and peace in the Nagas areas, it was seen as a solution as pressure on land was inevitable, ensuing greater productivity. Potato was a new crop introduced, while free seed were distributed and techniques of agriculture imparted.

In 1884 Assam, agricultural loans Act XII sought to promote productivity and by 1951, the average net sown area was 115952 acres with 3240 acres cultivated for more than one year under jhum while 40600 acres with irrigation was under terrace. Important crops of the area were rice, maize, millet, Jacob's tears, chillies and various vegetables, while cotton was grown in Ao and Lotha areas, which was traded in Golaghat. However

¹⁸ BC Allen et al, 2001 Gazetteer of Bengal and NE India, p 447

inadequate financial assistance retarded progress in the agrarian sector. The method of cultivation in the hill areas was primitive and the period left to fallow depended between districts. Apart from rice yam, the tribals grew beans, corn, pulses, millet, chillies and cotton. In Sibsagar the Chief Crops were rice under 192,559 acres, while other crops included pulses, mustard tea, sugar and sum trees for rearing silk worms accounting for a total of 66641 acres in 1871-72. In Lakhimpur rice was the principal crop with an area of 39,460 acres while tea, pulses, cotton potatoes and other accounted for 22030 acres for the same year.

As new crops such as potato, jute and citrus fruits gradually gaining prominence, government introduced new and improved varieties of seeds to boost agricultural productivity. Commercially tea was by far the most important crop in Assam. With wild tea first discovered in 1821 by Mr. Robert Bruce, it was however the initiative of the governor general Lord W Bentinck who deputed Captain Jenkins to gather information on the resources of Assam that proved instrumental, in setting up a committee on tea, subsequently Griffith, a botanist was sent into Assam.

In 1838, the first tea garden opened in Lakhimpur and with the government encouraging private enterprise the Merchantile Association was formed in 1839 and in the following year the government handed over the experimental establishment to Assam Tea Company. When wild tea was discovered in Cachar in 1855 there was a frenzy of speculators that continued for a while as land was quickly taken up undoubtedly encroaching upon the tribal fringes.

Although there was a slump, by 1869 the industry recovered. By 1871, more than 110000 pounds of tea was manufactures in the province. In 1903, there were already 764 gardens with the capital value estimated at 10 million Sterling. About 4/5th of the capital invested by the Company belonged to proprietors from England. In terms of area under cultivation, Sibsagar accounts for the highest at 78500 acres, Sylhet 73500 acres, Lakhimpur 69300 acres and 60000 acres in Cachar. Nazira under Sibsagar district was the headquarters for the Assam Tea Company with 159 gardens under the district in 1904.

In the native states of Manipur the total geographical area was 12542 (8456) sq. miles that included the fertile valley of Imphal, with its rich reddish clay silt deposit ideal for rice cultivation. No fewer than 19 varieties of rice were grown with 15 varieties alone

constituting of the late crop variety reaped in November.¹⁹ Other important crops are mustard, sugarcane, tobacco and citrus fruits. In the hills, jhum is the predominant method of cultivation with terrace relegated to the district of Ukhrul. The principal crops are rice, potato, ginger, pepper, cotton and pulses with jhum fields seldom cultivated for more than two consecutive years.

Trade, Commerce and Industry:

In Manipur the chief manufactured goods were silk, clay pottery, metal and brass and agricultural implements, cane work and mats. External trade was carried out via Kohima to the railway lines in Dimapur with rice as the principal item followed by forest produce. Mineral oil and dried fish was the main item of export. The chief imports particularly from Cachar were betel nut, cloth yarn, brass and other metal goods amounting to a value of Rs 1,975 while it earned as much as Rs 3533 from its exports into Cachar in 1868-69. One of the chief export items into Myanmar was silk valued at Rs 100 for the same year. The bulk of trade Manipur carried out in Cachar and Assam far exceeds that with Myanmar. Further between 1878-79 movements of goods into Myanmar was temporarily suspended due to the Kongal affair. Produce brought down by the hill tribes into the bazaar in Imphal were primarily vegetables, basketry and woven materials.

In Lakhimpur, the total imports in 1871 were rice (3705 tons), tobacco (56.5 tons), salt (37.5 tons) and oil (155 tons), while the main import items were silk thread (7.5 tons) etc with an excess of imports over exports by 85013 pounds. The local manufactures consist of mainly mats, baskets and muga silk. In Sibsagar, locally manufactured products were not significant comprising of pottery and utensils, with silk as the main industry. Trade was insignificant with principal imports being salt, oil, brass; opium followed by tea, silk, mustard seeds and cotton as the chief exports. Sibsagar was the center of tea industry with 15 factories having been established by 1852 and 2500 acres under its cultivation. Nazira was the head quarter of the Assam Tea Company and to its bazaar were brought down chillies, betel leaf, rubber and bamboo mats from the surrounding hill tribes.

In Lushai Hills, the articles manufactures were earthen pots, cotton cloths, daos, hoes and axes with cloth, foodstuff, iron, brass pots being the chief imports while cotton, chillies, wax and ivory were bartered exchanged for livestock and salt in the Naga Hills.

¹⁹ Dun, E.W 1992 *Gazetteer of Manipur*, p 56

Trade was limited as no permanent markets, or fairs were organised and the trade in the plains was miniscule but gradually increased with the introduction of currency and increase in demands for other essentials. The chief items of import include thread, kerosene, oil and iron. The locally manufacturing goods were essentially for domestic consumption.²⁰

Revenue:

The province was proportioned out into small divisions called Mauzahs or Pergunnahs and rents collected from every individual Ryot the cultivators of land by officers or Mauzahdars or Chowdrees. The land was measured annually or after every 2-3 years and assessed, while the collectors were allowed a commission of Rs. 10-15 percent as charges. The government continued the ancient Ryotwari system of Assam which made each right the master of his land from which he was not ousted until he left on his own free will. In the hill areas only a small portion was derived from land with the bulk of the amount realized from house or poll tax, which ranged from Rs. 1, as in the case of Kohima where the difference in the amount collected arose as terrace cultivations were expected to pay a higher rate given the higher yield per acre. The total revenue in 1871-72 for Sibsagar and Lakhimpur was 93,853, 48,429 pounds respectively and expenditure at 35,193, and 24,856 pounds respectively. In Naga Hills the revenue was 496 pounds while the expenditure was 6485pounds since land tax was levied only on two villages then. The amounts had increased to Rs. 30,000 while Lushai Hills was estimated at Rs 58,000 which included poll tax. The Government had incurred greater expenditure in the hill areas since the revenue from other sources was practically non-existent, however security factors compelled the annexation of the hills to protect the revenue earning areas in the plains such as Cachar and Sibagar. The former accounted for the largest production in tea with 5,171,523 lbs in 1873 in an acre of 25,944.²¹

Natural Resources

In his report on the natural resources of Assam, Captain Jenkins stated that many of the plants in the area were unfamiliar to botanist but in time the ‘inexhaustible resources’ could be exploited for construction purposes namely buildings and naval requirements.²² Gold dust was evidently present in most rivers viz: Lohit, Desoi and Dikrung, but had not been sufficiently exploited due lack of initiative and security. Other mineral such as iron

²⁰ Hunter W.W .opcit vol 2 p196.

²¹ Hunter W W. vol2 p445

²² H.K Barpujari, 1995. Francis Jenkin’s Report of the North East Frontier of India, p 50

ore, coal, salt wells, limestone and petroleum were also mentioned. Coal, which was being extracted, was inferior in the upper stratum but gradually improved as deeper shafts were dug.

Salt from the springs were of inferior quality owing to tedious and primitive method of extraction, but given its steep price natives were compelled to use potash. Given its relevance in construction of permanent buildings and fortification, Jenkins speculated on the probable deposits of limestone in the Nambar area given the presence of salt springs and coal beds. By the late Nineteenth century minerals like coal, limestone and petroleum were already being extracted on a commercial scale. The most extensive coal deposits were in the areas south of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts that stretched for 110 miles northwest of Naga Hills. The important fields were Makum, Jaipur, Nazira, Jhanzi and Desoi. The first field was leased to Assam Railway and Trading Company in 1881. The India general and Rivers Steams Navigation companies utilized the bulk of coal thus extracted. The total output in 1891 was 147000 tons that increased to 239000 tons by 1903, of which Rs 36000 was paid to the government as royalty. Small quantities were also extracted from fields south of Sibsagar district. Although considerable amount of oil was extracted as early as 1868 in the Makum field, a refinery was only established on experimental basis in 1893. After a gap of six years the Assam Oil Company was formed and a refinery was established at Digboi. The total output of petroleum products in 1903 were estimated at 63 tons of candle, 573 tons of paraffin wax, 12,000,000 gallons of kerosene oil and 89000 gallons of other oil. The government revenue from petroleum in 1903-04 was Rs. 3750. Others minerals which were still in the process being explored were iron ore, gold, salt and platinum. In the Hill area salt and small quantities of were procured for domestic purposes such as agricultural implements in Ukhrul district while locally produced salt was brought down into Imphal as markets were supposedly established by the native rulers for its sale. In the Naga Hills coal, chalk and limestone were the only known and significant minerals that were available then.

Health Services

Given the nature of the climatic conditions, epidemics such as cholera and malaria were endemic to the area particularly in the plains. In Lakhimpur an epidemic occurred in 1834, followed by an out break of small pox in the Naga Hills in 1876-77. Realizing the need of the natives and frequent outbreak of epidemics the British built charitable hospitals

and in Lakhimpur two such dispensaries were built in Dibrugarh and north Lakhimpur, while in Sibsagar District two dispensaries were setup at Sibsagar and Jorhat and another in Samaguting in the Naga Hills that had treated as many as 1736, 2881, and 699 patients respectively in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Naga hills in 1875.

Transportation

Waterways were also an important mode of transportation as the general steamer navigation company and river steam Navigation Company connected Cachar to Calcutta. In 1847, the first steam communication between Calcutta and Gauhati was established, to benefit both the government (East India) and the natives in their pursuance of commercial activities, both speedy and safe means of communications. Not only were products now transported but it was to prove an effective mode of conveyance of the tea labourers and coolies. The Directors of the Assam Company had petitioned the Governor General Lord Dalhousie apprising him of the difficulties the company encountered; they stated that apart from the labour problem as a result of insufficient local labour owing to depopulation (Assam was yet to recover from the Myanmarese invasion and the Moamaria rebellion) that necessitated the import of labour. However there were difficulties in conveyance between lower and upper Assam, the former being the terminal of the steamer terminal while most of the enterprises were located in the latter. While manpower was required to bring under cultivation vast expanses of land, this alone could ensure an increase in revenue to compensate the expenses incurred in the process of improving the navigation facilities. It was reiterated that the improvement in the transportation could stimulate immigration to promote cultivation in the obviously fertile but enormously under utilized land vast expanses of “uninhabited jungles” which the company had taken upon itself to cultivate tea, for the benefit of the country.²³ Five years later 155 miles was completed finally being completed in 1903, with the line on meter gauge being 571 miles within Assam while a minor branch of 78 miles connected Dibrugarh to Margherita that was responsible for transporting resources such as coal and oil but also served the principle tea estates. Another domestic line was completed in 1885 that catered to the tea gardens of Sibsagar district. While the services of the waterway proved a boon to the area since the

²³ A.J. Moffatt Mills, 1984, Report on the province of Assam, p80.

dependence on roads was reduced compared to other parts of the country it was only in 1865 that road construction in the Brahmaputra valley was initiated.

Lakhimpur and Sibsagar cumulatively accounted for 833 miles of road, and till 1872-73 there were no railways line or canals alternative mode of transport in Sibsagar while both large and 35 minor streams served Lakhimpur.

Manipur had a cart route via Kohima connecting the state to the Assam-Bengal railway line at Dimapur, of which a length of 67 miles under Manipur state and a bridle path from Imphal to Cachar while a third route connected the Imphal with Chindwin valley via Tamu. In Hill Tripura, a 105-mile road existed but the transportation primarily depended on waterways.

In 1903-04, Lushai Hills had a total of 4 miles of cart road, 542 bridle paths while heavy goods were brought up the Dhaleshwari to Sairang some 13 miles from Aizawl. In the Naga Hills, in the 1903-04 Census, a total length of 73 miles of cart roads, 470 miles of bridle path were maintained. The cart road connected Kohima with the Assam-Bengal railway at Dimapur.

Given the bulk of trade carried out between Calcutta and Assam, a major portion of which was carried out by steamer, while boats were employed in Surma. Roads were responsible for the least volume of trade while waterways remained the chief means of communication in Assam during the early 20th century.

Chin and Naga Hills in Myanmar

Population

With the annexation of the Chin Hill, in the northern hills the estimated number of population was a total of 10,775 persons inhabiting 64 villages with 2,155 houses constituting the Siyin, Sukte, Nwengals and Kamhaus (Kanhows). The Central Chin population was estimated at 39,215 persons inhabiting 132 villages with 7,843 houses that comprised of the Tashons, Yahows and Whenohs. In the southern hills the total population was 39,630 persons inhabiting 120 villages with 7,926 houses that comprised of the Hakas, Klangklang, Yokwa and independent villages. The largest tribe in the north was the Kamhaus with 3,390 persons in 33 villages, followed by the Suktes with 3,255 persons in 14 villages. In the central hills, the largest tribes was the Tashons with 27,765 persons in 74 villages followed by the Yahows with 8,500 persons in 38 villages. While the Independent villages combined to form 17,780 persons in 45 villages, however the single

largest tribe was the Hakas with a population of 14,250 in 41 villages . Haka had at one time spread its influence even across the river Koladyne and Tiau into the present Mizoram state. To the North of the Chin Hills were 11 Thado, 16 Yo villages and 9 Nwite villages that were subordinate to Manipur.²⁴ In the Somra Tract there were approximately 22 Kuki villages with 496 houses and 11 Tangkhul villages with 1,002 houses when a punitive expedition was sent into the tract in 1910-11. In 1941, the Total population in the Chin Hills District was 186,000 with Chins comprising of 98.8% of the district total population while the Naga Hills district had 132,000 population of which the Nagas constituted of 85% of the total population.²⁵

Education

Progress made in the field of education during the colonial era may be best assessed when the role of Christian missionaries in initiating education into the hill areas in India. In Lushai Hills the first schools were setup in the mid nineteenth century due to the keen interest taken by administrators to meet the requirements of native assistance as interpreters. In the Chin Hills Reverend Arther Carson was the first missionary to enter the hills in 1899, as a member of the American Baptist Mission he had an uphill task as he found that the people were reluctant to convert registering his first convert only in 1904 .By 1925 there were only 826 converts that gradually increased to 38,000 by 1962. Presently the figure stand at 62% of the population .One of the reasons for the slow progress made was the emergence of Paucinhausim an indigenous religion founded by a Sakte. Although the bible was translated into different dialects by Carson the progress made by missionaries in the field of education was progressively slower as compared to Lushai Hills. The policy of the administration also did little to benefit the Chins as only offspring of chiefs were allowed to attend school, further the only high school in Falam was reduced to the status of a Middle school while the only middle school in Teddim was closed down subsequently the first graduate from the Chins received his degree only in 1947 whereas the first Mizo graduate received his degree in 1924. In the Naga inhabited area development began after 1940 when a loose form of administration commenced. Missionary activities in the Naga inhabited area in Myanmar commenced with the initiatives taken by Yarteo Kaping, a Tangkhul-Naga who visited the inaccessible area in

²⁴ Carey and Tuck reprint 1976. *The Chin Hills*, vol 2, Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd.p cxvi

²⁵ *Report on the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry 1947*. pp1, 2.

Somra. Subsequently, a school was established at Kongkailung. Again in 1932, Rev. Maiya Gauchui Lunghar established a second lower primary school at Somra village, with an enrolment of thirty one students. Several promising students were taken back to Ukhrul for further studies. In later years, one of these students Thebung, returned to their native villages to spread Christianity.

Economy

The population was entirely rural in character engaged in agricultural activities. The system of cultivation carried out was jhum or Taungya (hill cultivation) where the land was cultivated for a period of two successive years before a new site was selected. Different systems of land ownership existed among the Chins ranging from individual ownership in central parts and were less migratory in nature compared to the north and southern areas. In the south the pattern was circular or repetitive manner while the northern tribes had a tendency to move greater distance either north or west where land was owned by the chief with the exception of the Sizangs where land was owned by both chief and commoners. The system of shifting the site of their villages in tandem with the jhum fields explains the migratory nature of the Chins. The staple crop in the central areas was maize, millet, sulphur beans, potatoes and melon, while in the warmer areas along the valleys rice was the staple crop. Rice was extensively cultivated on the eastern slopes of the Letha range and sown in May and harvested by October. In the Naga inhabited areas Rice was the staple crop with no cultivation carried out above 6,000 ft. The other crops that are grown are maize, beans, yam, cotton and pumpkin with poppy cultivated in small scales in the vicinity of the villages.

Manufacture and Trade.

The Nagas were engaged primarily in spinning and weaving while fishing nets were manufactured from Lakwi (Kachin) tree. While forging of metal implements such as daos were well established while brass ornaments were manufactured in the Hkamla village close to the Namhpuk River. The Nagas traded daos, fishing nets and corn wrappings with the Shans and Kachin villages for the manufacture of cigars and in exchange procured salt and other essential commodities. Locally, paddy was a chief item of trade among the villages that were exchanged for ornaments and beads.

The Chins manufactured products such as cane-bamboo mats, baskets, while bee wax and ivory constituted other items that were sold in Yazagyo, Myintha and Gangwa in

Myanmar .Trade in salt was monopolized by the villages of Tashons who supplied the product to all the other villages in the interior that by 1892-93 as much as 100,000 lbs had been transacted by them. Chins also frequented the Bazaars that were established in the British post purchasing beads, cloth, tobacco and sugar. Internal trade among the villages constituted of livestock. Metal implements were produced mainly for local consumption with iron imported from Myanmar.

Tranportation.

Prior to the advent of the British only a foot path existed but with the commencement of the expeditions and annexation thereafter by 1893, there were as many as 46 routes with route 1-14 under northern Chin hills , 15-17 in central chin hills and 18-46 in the southern hills . The important routes connected Teddim to Manipur and the Nwengal and Fort White and Lungleh, Falam in the north and Falam to Yahow in the central. In the south it connected Kalewa to Haka, Haka to Fort Lungleh and Shurkwa.²⁶

Summary:

It is evident that the British had initially been drawn to Assam to save guard their interest in Bengal from the policy of aggrandizement of Myanmar. Realising the economic potentials in the area especially after the discovery of tea, the administration sought to promote agriculture given the fertility of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valley. While their endeavors reaped benefits in the plains their progress in the hills was understandably slow as revenues from agricultural produce was dismal given the predominant practice of jhum cultivation that allowed little scope for surplus production. To induce greater productivity the administration attempted to popularise terrace cultivation, introduce new crops or provide agricultural loans. However their schemes paid little dividence as the loans was meagre and lack of finances retarded the extension of terrace cultivation. In the plains the agricultural loans and introduction of new crops and seeds clearly increased the production of crops. In areas such as Cachar which were primarily engaged in the production of tea, food grains were imported from the rice producing districts as increasing population of migrant into the tea estates further compounded the shortages in food grain.

²⁶

Carey and Tuck reprint 1976, The Chin Hills, vol 2 Calcutta: Firma KLM Private LTD. P,cxxvi

Further, collection from land revenues was non-existent as the land of the hill people was not accessed since the administration appeared reluctant to interfere in the existing traditional land holding system. Hence the bulk of the revenue was derived from house or poll tax. While the amount was insignificant in comparison with the plains, on one hand it legitimised the authority of the British over the hill dwellers. But on the other hand it proved to be a source of resentment and unrest. In the plains the revenue was derived from both land and other products such as forest, trade etc, it is evident that the amount acquired from the plains supplemented the meagre collection from the hills. In the hill districts of Myanmar since administration into the Naga Hills commenced only after 1940 it appears that this area was perhaps the most neglected given its inaccessibility. Evidently the development in the agrarian sector was confined to the fertile belts along the Chindwin and Irrawaddy as rice formed the dominant commodity of export. Even in the fertile rice belts the increase in productivity was due to extension of area under cultivation rather than any significant technical innovation introduced by the British.

Even in the infrastructural development, there appeared to be biasness in favour of the plains as the absence of proper transport facilities and the problem of navigation upstream in the Brahmaputra necessitated the introduction of steamer service connecting Assam to Bengal. This provided an impetus to the development of roads and railway lines that essentially served the tea belts, coal and petroleum producing areas. Further transportation was vital to ensure the mobility of the troops in the initial phases of annexation and in later years to transport the migrant workers into the tea estates. In the hill areas given the absence of navigable waterways, roads were essential to ensure proper administration and timely deployment of punitive expeditions. Construction of mule paths was extensively carried out connecting mainly the military outpost and administrative centres.

A major "*civilising*" and factor of pacification was the advent of Christian missionaries and the progress attained in the field of education thereafter. Clearly, the administration left the role of educating the hill tribes to the missionaries by providing financial assistance and it was only in later years that government schools were established since the missionaries had a tendency to focus more on Christian teaching.

Development in other sectors of economy was limited as the impetus was given to tea industry, sericulture and oil refineries in the plains. Traditional cottage industries of pottery, handloom products etc were mainly to cater to domestic market. The marts

established in the foothills permitted the hill dwellers to barter their local produce in exchange for the basic necessities namely salt. Incidentally the marts were established to facilitate greater interaction and an alternative avenue to generate income and reduce the occurrences of raids in the plains. Thus it may be concluded that the levels of development and progress in the plains far exceeded that in the hills due to the constraints of the terrain and greater impetus given to economically viable and revenue generating areas. The education policy in the hill areas was initiated to create a class of literates or interpreters who would be of assistance to the British administration. Later, this was responsible for the emergence of a middle class who disseminated the ideas of ethnic identity and common consciousness.

CHAPTER- V

Problems, Geopolitical implication and Prospect

The evolution of boundary and its demarcation is relevant as it indicates both the circumstances and compulsions of its demarcation and the impact thereafter. The emergent boundary has geopolitical and strategic implications on the bilateral relations and policies as it may be influenced by the behaviour of its borderland inhabitants, their perception and response to the boundary.

The impact of boundary demarcation is relevant as its implications can be far reaching as indicated by the Indo Myanmar boundary. The British annexation of the North Eastern States of India and Myanmar had both political as well as economic dimensions. The maintenance of the former as a buffer against the threat from the east was essentially to safeguard the prosperous province of Bengal, a jewel in the crown of her colonies. As long as the Ahoms remained a force to be reckoned with, the area enjoyed stability and prosperity hence British frontiers were secured. The Ahoms contrived to deal with the propensity of raids by neighbouring hill tribes with the payment of posas (black mail payment) or granting ghats in the foothills. This was the preferred alternative to annexation of the tribal territories given its impracticality. They were granted reprieve from undertaking retaliatory measures into the hills to thwart raids realising its futility given the temporary nature of such measures. In later years social and political turmoil arising from rebellions and weak governance due to the inability of the rulers to manage their own affairs encouraged foreign intervention as well as an increase in raids into the kingdom. British India's Eastern frontiers policies were evidently influenced by protectionist measures. The commencement of British intervention in Assam was a consequence of the growing influence of her most formidable eastern neighbor Myanmar. Thus it appears that the native independent principalities that lay in between were neither perceived as grave threat but instead acted as convenient frontiers. By ousting the Myanmarese invaders out of the Ahom Kingdom, the British were able to temporarily check the aggrandizement policies of Myanmar. The latter as a prospective neighbour was unnerving as it was too close to her frontiers and envisaging a spill over of the unrest into Bengal, they were prepared to protect their commercial interest since the turmoil in the frontier took its toll on

trade. Further the British realised that Myanmar could prove instrumental in promoting their commercial interest in the Far East. In the earlier part of the Eighteenth century their endeavour to establish better commercial relations with Myanmar did not have the desired result. At that point of time, Franco phobia was instrumental in determining the British strategic policies in the light of its on going the Anglo French rivalry. In India the East India Company had successfully edged out its rival. Subsequently the French oriented towards establishing a foot hold in Myanmar given its ideal location situated as it were in the threshold of the Far East. When the French menace loomed at large concrete steps were taken to counter its possible growing influence in Myanmar since Franco Myanmarese commercial treaties could tilt the power equations in favour of the French. The acquisition of a naval base in Myanmar could serve as a spring board to attack the British in Bengal. Meanwhile the French had already spread its tentacles of influence in Vietnam and Laos and given its proximity to Myanmar its threat could not be ignored. Earlier, the annexation of Arakan by Bo-daw-pa-ya provided Myanmar an easy access to the Bengal province via Goalpara and Sylhet. The Treaty of Yandaboo provided an ideal opportunity to establish advantageous trade relations in Myanmar and prove its military prowess as French success in Europe had dented Britain's pride and status. In a single stroke the British were afforded greater leverage in Myanmar, securing its northeastern frontiers and eventually neutralising the French menace in Myanmar. The deterioration in the Anglo Myanmar relationship was also propagated by the cultural differences that had political connotations. When the Myanmarese entered British territory in Naf in 1794 to apprehend a Mag fugitive it had unwittingly violated the western principles of unlawful; occupation of territory, a notion totally foreign to Myanmar

Nevertheless Ava's policy was tempered by the perception that the natives on the west merely tolerated the British presence and given the difficulties involved in the expansion east, they now coveted the kingdoms on their western frontier. The British now conspired to instigate counter maneuvers to contain Myanmar as the occupation of Cachar would have made the position of Sylhet one of the most prosperous districts precarious and its control would have been advantageous to Myanmar. Further the permanent occupation of Cachar was deemed necessary to prevent Myanmar from promulgating its suzerainty design in the kingdom. While the first Anglo –Myanmarese war was precipitated by defensive strategies of Lord Amherst, in later years the policy of Lord Dalhousie towards

Myanmar was prompted mainly by expansionist measures as the annexation of Pegu and Martaban led to the disintegration and acquisition of Lower Myanmar.

The acquisition of Arakan by the treaty of Yandaboo was a calculated move to establish Arakan Yoma as buffer between the British frontiers and Myanmar. Given the fact that Arakan was contiguous to Chittagong, the latter's security and defense was compromised, while Tenasserim with its valuable teak forest also afforded an ideal passage for opening up trade with China and Thailand. But Pegu proved contentious as the area was not only fertile but ethnically its inhabitation and the Burman ethnic group had a long closely associated history, hence the Myanmarese were reluctant to hand over the territory. Subsequent British policies towards Myanmar were prompted mainly by expansionist measures as the annexation of Pegu and Martaban led to the disintegration and acquisition of lower Myanmar.

In the Hill areas bordering Assam, the British adopted strategies of cautiousness as they had little intention of administering the hills unless the situation demanded it. Undoubtedly these areas were perceived as economically unprofitable and hence its annexation was neither judicious nor expedient. The British realised that by befriending the Singphos and Khampti these tribes could control raids into the plains as well as act as a buffer. Apprehensions of the renewal of conflict could not be ruled out since Ava deeply resented the loss of prestige and territory after 1826. For decades she had not only contained the Chinese and Thailand but also had successfully consolidated her territory, expanding into Cachar, Manipur and Assam. Unable to sustain an offensive an alternative was resorted to that entailed the process of destabilising Assam via covert operation such as inciting attacks evident by the Duffa Gam incident. Given the vulnerable borders, a strategy was devised to secure it. Sadiya was earmarked as a military key point since it afforded control over both the Singphos and Khampti, devised as a precautionary tactic to discourage future Myanmarese attack. By endorsing the authority of the Bisa Gam over all Singphos in Assam the British formulated a divide and rule policy undermining a confederated move or rebellion against them. Such a move simultaneously permitted them to acquire a spring board into Hukwang valley considered the weakest of Myanmar's frontiers should the need to launch an offensive into the capital ever arise as this route was not only short being a mere nine day walk but was generally free of any insurmountable physical relief. Further north The Khamptis were perceived as a means to subdue the

Abors. By virtue of its locational significance the territory of the Khamptis was connected with Bor Khampti hence their cooperation was deemed vital in the larger scheme of the British geopolitical and economic strategy to control the flourishing trade between China and Myanmar, which they then ambitiously contrived to connect to Tibet.

In the course of opening up a direct route between Assam and Manipur, Britain's reliable ally Manipur was at one point seen as a prospective buffer against aggression on the eastern Frontier. However the British became apprehensive when it became evident that Gambhir Singh had plans to annex the Naga Hills. While the subjugation of the Naga was not a contentious issue, the British feared the possibility of Manipuri encroachment into Assam. British policy towards the hill tribes were motivated by a factor of protectionism towards the lowlands and depending on the circumstances significant changes were made as the government alternated between a policy of Intervention and non-intervention. Initially the British adopted a policy that would essentially allow peaceful submission of villages, collection of tributes and agreement to refrain from raids and in turn the British would not interfere with the internal affairs of the hill tribes. Conciliatory measures such as trading marts to induce economic avenues other than plunder were conceived but it often did not have the desired effect as raids continued unabated. Hence more extreme measures were called for one that necessitated direct intervention and annexation, which they achieved, by systematic means of intimidation and scorch earth policy. Given the burden on the exchequer the British devised an expedient and cost effective measure whereby the new territories were expected to pay for its upkeep. Not surprisingly the extension into the Konyak areas in 1910 was partially motivated by a desire to gain access to the promising coal-bearing tracts east of the Dikhu and the need to check raids into the areas of political control from beyond the Dikhu. The collection of house taxes was initiated for the maintenance of law and order, since the revenues from agriculture or trade was non-existent. The process of annexation into the hills was gradual and administration slow and the incorporation of the eastern Nagas to contain reoccurrences of raids did not curtail inter villages feuds but it merely confined the activities to the more remote and inaccessible areas close to the border.

Manipur became important to the British when Ava invaded the country in 1819. Manipur afforded a passage into Myanmar given its traditional role as a transit point connecting eastern India and Upper Myanmar, and its trade with Yunan in the past. Further

Manipur was seen as an ideal buffer state in the British eastern Frontiers given its imperfect poorly secured state, hence amicable relations with Raja Gambhir Singh was maintained to also curb the activities of the Nagas. But consequent to the Palace revolution, the British in 1891 brought Manipur under the purview of direct British administration, hence it ceasing to exist as a native state.

For years the Lushai and Kukis had been a source of concern for Hill Tripura, Chittagong and Cachar. Attacks in Sylhet and Hill Tripura was a combination of factors namely failure of timely payment of taxes by the plain dwellers expanding tea estates into Lushai traditional hunting grounds caused resentment that culminated in the attacks in Cachar as the hill tribes possibly considered the strategy sufficient to discourage further intrusion. Similar With the conclusion of punitive expeditions into the Lushai hills eventually administration commenced to exercise greater control.

In Arunachal Pradesh while the incursions into the plains of Assam, by the hill dwellers necessitated punitive actions or blockading the entry of the hill tribes into the markets proved just as effective, nevertheless other compulsions such as the geopolitical factors such as perceived threat from Russia, China were also determining factor in later years. Undoubtedly the incursions of the hill tribes into the fertile and resource endowed plains were primarily the cause of British annexation of the hills. A process of maintaining loose political control over the hill areas was engineered by the incorporation of their territories in the province of Assam. Internal (state) boundary demarcation within the annexed hill territories segregated communities across state boundaries in the post-independent period. Presently a sizeable Lushai population inhabits the Jampui Hills of north Tripura and Mizoram .The territory of the Zemi Nagas was placed under North Cachar Hills subdivision in Cachar district by the British administration since the transfer of the headquarter from Assoloo to Samaguting. Today the Zemis are minorities in Nagaland, Assam and Manipur .The transfer of the Rengma Hills and Nambor forest to Golaghat was motivated by a need to facilitate the inclusion of viable and potential tea estates under the fiscal limits in which the Labour and Emigration Acts and others effecting tea industry were in force. Consequently a sizeable Rengma Naga population inhabits Assam.

With the failure of the Chin Lushai Conference unable to unify the affiliated ethnic groups, the Lushais were placed under Assam while Chin Hills technically became a part of

Myanmar. After 1928, the British subdued the tribes between Irrawaddy and Hukwang and accepted their submission. While the Singphos and Khamptis territories were incorporated in Assam, their culturally affiliated Kachins and Karens were placed under British Myanmar. With the extension of the Chin Hills regulation of 1896 into the Somra tract in 1919 the Naga and Kuki tribes inhabiting the area were placed under Homalin sub-division in British Myanmar for administrative convenience. Technically the Naga inhabited areas in upper Chindwin were administered only in 1940.

The demarcation of the Indo Myanmar boundary in the Colonial period had no significant impact on the inhabitants of the borderland since both nations were colonised by the British. It appears that the level of interaction was not impeded as the inhabitants had no notion of its binding factor. The only significant change was that they were now administered either by British India or British Myanmar.

In the postcolonial era the impact of the boundary became relevant as problems arose from both state and the international boundary adjustments. When the Assam Frontier Tract Regulation of 1880 was extended to the hills in 1914, Naga inhabited areas were included in the North Eastern Frontier Tract. When the Tuensang Frontier Division was carved out from North Eastern Frontier Agency in 1957, to form the Naga Hills and Tuensang Agency it did not include the Nagas of the Tirap Frontier Division consequently the Wanchus are scattered in the Districts of Mon, Tirap in India and Naga Hills District in Myanmar. The boundary commission of 1900 demarcated the boundary between Manipur and Mizoram and was once again reaffirmed in 1933. Today the adjoining districts of Churachandpur in Manipur and northern Aizawl district in Mizoram are inhabited by both Hmars and Kukis with far reaching political implication such as the hotbed of the Hmar People's Convention that demands nothing less than integration and autonomy of Hmar inhabited areas of Manipur, Mizoram and Cachar. Not only is this an important development in the politics of Mizoram and Manipur but also by virtue of its strategic location, it has great geopolitical significance.

In the process of separating Myanmar from India the traditional British boundaries were maintained. In the Indo Myanmar boundary large tracts of land remained un-administered and till the demarcation of the boundary in that section, village boundary essentially formed the Northern sector of the line particularly in Tuensang, Mon and Tirap districts. The issue was resolved by the Boundary treaty of 1967 signed between the

independent nations of India and Myanmar but problems nevertheless continue to exist particularly in the western extremity or the tri junction between China, India and Myanmar. Since the section in contention is yet to be resolved between India and China.

The geopolitical implications of the demarcation of the Indo Myanmar boundary is relevant since the two neighbours share a long and porous boundary inhabited by affiliated ethnic groups . On one level, the bilateral relations between the two were largely responsible for the amicable resolution since traditional boundaries inherited from the pre-colonial era was not ratified between the newly emerged nations. Further, the boundary was only defined in provincial notifications during the colonial rule and given the past experiences of Myanmar's border conflicts in China or India with Pakistan understandably both parties were anxious to resolve the issue and avoid disputes that could at a later date result in conflict. The ratified Indo Myanmar boundary in the post independence era merely maintained the traditional boundary created during the British period, hence there appeared little consideration for the ground realities whereby communities were segregated and fragmentation of territories were causes of much resentment. Communities that were most affected were the tribes that live in close proximity to the boundary as seen among the Konyak and Khiamnungan tribe in Nagaland, the Wanchus in Arunachal and the Tangkhuls Paites and kukis in Manipur. A study of the history of the insurgency and demands for secession in the region show that even among the Nagas, inhabitants of the districts in the border have often been in the fore front and active. This is because the demarcation directly affected their communities due to bifurcation of their territories. In parts of Nagaland villages have been bifurcated. Given the interaction of these communities and demands for integration the geopolitical implications are enormous. While the Indian government has contrived to develop these geographically and economically peripheral regions, states such as Mizoram have since distance itself from their former demands of integration of Greater Mizoram reaping the benefits of stability. The Naga on the other hand continue to manifest their political aspirations and of late internationalised their issue. A major cause of resentment is the perceived notions of negligence given the existing level of development. Further the Myanmarese government had long neglected its western frontier inhabitants. Consequently this has fuelled dissatisfaction in those areas as its inhabitants seek integration with their affiliated kin. In recent years the crack down on insurgent activities by the Myanmarese army and apathy of the regime and policies of repression has resulted

to influx of refugees into the Border States in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. While the present Indo Myanmar boundary was demarcated in the pre colonial era. Its ratification in the post independence period was based primarily on traditional boundaries drawn by the British hence the impact is far reaching with geopolitical implications.

Summary

The Indo Myanmar borderland is unique as it is inhabited not only by a diverse population comprising of numerous ethnic groups with diverse cultural ethos but there appears to be wide spread segregations of ethnic groups divided by an imposed boundary since traditional village were not maintained in the course of the demarcation of the boundary. Evidently the opinion and aspiration of the inhabitants were the least of the British considerations in the process of demarcation as administrative convenience based on the selection of natural divides was then a reverent practice of the British in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century. Further the 1967 bilateral agreement between Myanmar and India further reiterated the maintenance of the traditional boundary demarcated during the Colonial era with minor modifications and the incorporation of the section of the boundary that was unadministered by the British prior to 1947 due to the gradual extension of the British administration into the Naga Hills particularly in this section as the general policy was to extent their area of control to manageable and financially expedient limits.

Maintaining the Patkai range as a natural divide all Naga area east of the watershed were incorporated into Myanmar while those on the west were placed under the jurisdiction of India. Consequently the emergent boundary was not in conformity with ethnic boundaries hence the Geo-political ramifications of fragmented communities in a long and porous boundary given their perceived notions of a negligence and ethnic minority status on both sides of the boundary cannot be ignored.

In chapter II it maybe inferred that the Socio-cultural affinities and distribution of the ethnic population has been vital in understanding the rationale and justification of the demands for integration and unification since it has largely been based on cultural and linguistic affinities.

The level of interaction among the Singphos and Khamptis with their affiliated ethnic group in Myanmar was evident only during the initial phases of the annexation of the territory by the British. Presently the level of interaction is non-existent as the continued level of Social interaction as evident among the Konyaks since time immemorial

is absent. British administrators remarked that they appeared to abhor all attempts at being classified with the Kachins. Further they have not been. The Naga tribes in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur in India and the Naga Hills in Myanmar belong to two different linguistic families based on the classification of Grierson, Shaffer and the Linguistic survey of India namely the Mizo-Kuki-Chin sub group of the Sino Tibetan family while the inhabitants of the contiguous districts of Tirap, Changlang in Arunachal, Mon, Tuensang in Nagaland and the Konyaks and Khamnongs who occupy the contiguous settlements under Khamti and Lahe subdivisions in Naga Hills of Myanmar all belong to the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw sub group of the Sino-Tibetan Family. Understandably the level of affinity of the second group is greatest even among the Nagas as compared to the linguistic affinity as in the case of the Aos in Nagaland and the Maos in Manipur as their territories are neither contiguous nor do they claim to a common theory of migration unlike the first group. Further based on the Linguistic classifications of the four subdivisions among the Nagas of the Mizo-Kuki-Chin sub-group, the Aos and the Maos have been classified under two different genetic subgroups by Shaffer (1995). Nevertheless the absence of the Lingua Franca among the Nagas has partially been supplemented by the emergence of Nagamese which is a pidgin Assamese given the proximity and Assamese as medium of instruction in educational institutions in the erstwhile Naga Hills during the Colonial era and in later years it was retained as a compulsory subject. Among the Tangkhuls of Manipur given the diversity in the dialects, the shortcoming was resolved with the adoption of the dialect of Ukhrul among the Tangkhuls that served as a unifying factor.

A study of the traditional political setup among the Nagas show that two types of political institutions exist. While most of the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw Naga Sub groups such as the Wanchos and Konyaks have a hereditary chieftain system, democratic or Republican form of government is common among a majority of the Naga tribes. A common cultural trait is the existence of a Village council and the Morung or the bachelor dormitory system that served as a bulwark of the village defence and continues to be prevalent among the Konyaks and Khamnongs as important decisions pertaining to the village are still discussed in the Morung by the council, with the approval of the Chief Ang. Under the democratic setup the functions of the Village Council have been retained within

the jurisdiction of the village as the council is endorsed with both Executive and Judicial powers.

A study of the Konyak Society reveals the stratification of the society into classes, which may explain the continued practice of payment of tributes by the satellite villages to chief Ang villages and inter marriage particularly among the ruling class. Hence the existing level of social and economic interaction between the Konyak villages in Mon, (Wanchos) Tirap district in Arunachal and the Konyaks in Myanmar. Julian Jacobs presumes that the existing political institutions among the Nagas are merely a transformation from one kind of society to the other possibly as a reaction to the pressures on agricultural land. For instance the Age group system among the Aos is indicative of the intense labour oriented jhum cultivation that necessitates periodic weeding as oppose to the Angami system of terrace cultivation as a response to increasing pressure on land and inability to expand owing to their territory being hemmed in by the Lothas , Chakhesang and Maos. For a Konyak Ang the inability to expand his territory or create surplus prevented him from maintaining his aura of sacred status, once his power was undermined it was quite likely that the egalitarian Thenkoh system merged .We may thus infer from the apparent relation between land and political institutions that possibly the chieftain system may have been prevalent among the Nagas like the Kukis and Mizos till pressure on land compelled a change in agricultural system and possibly the socio-political structure.

All Naga tribes are exogamous with a patrilineal social structure where the oldest male offspring is the natural heir with women having little or no rights to inheritance of property. Land holding system among the Nagas is primarily community or clan owned, with a smaller proportion cumulatively or village owned. The clan ownership of land has prevented fragmentation or alienation of land among a predominantly rural community engaged primarily in the agrarian sector and whose membership to the clan and village thereafter is connected to the ownership of land. In the Ao community, when an individual migrates to a new village, that individual ceases to be a bonafide member of his old village and technically renounces all claims to the clan land or ceases to be a member of his ancestral village since he is expected to subscribe membership in the new village. Thus his offspring can lay no claim to the clan land in his ancestral village. This adaptation prevents the possible emergence of land dispute. However this does not apply to migrants in urban areas as the individual continues to retain his clan membership by prescribing to the

common village fund to validate his bonafide citizenship. Fragmentation or deprivation of land also has economic consequences as reduction in jhum cycle may result in infertility of soil. Numerous Tangkhul Naga villages have been deprived of vast tracts of economically viable clan owned forestland. Consequent to realising the commercial value land dispute has emerged, as the villages do not consider the “artificial Boundary” and its delimitations binding. The adherence to one’s village territorial boundaries is indicated by the use of visible marker, as encroachment is a punishable offense. Thus the resentment of the communities whose territorial integrity has been compromised by the demarcation of the International boundary can be appreciated as the presence of the boundary is a constant reminder of the loss of their territory and segregation of their community as in the case of the Konyak and Khiamnungan tribes.

A majority of Kuki, Mizo and Chins ethnic group claim to a common source of origin at Chinlung while oral traditions and pattern of migration also suggests cultural affinity among them. A study of the society and cultural attributes of the Kuki, Mizo and Chins reveal that prior to the advent of the British, the Kukis in particular were migratory and mobile owing to the nature of the traditional political setup and agricultural practices. Chieftainship evolved as a response to the need of a central leadership in an unintegrated society vulnerable to attacks owing to the prevalent feudatory practices. In time the chief gained greater political rights virtually becoming an autocrat. In time the office become hereditary as opposed to the earlier practice of nomination or selection. Since the Chief was the lord of the soil, it was on his benevolence that usufructuary rights over land was granted to his people and his credibility was maintained so long as a strong political organization existed to withstand the pressures of inter-tribal feuds. Since a common practice was the inheritance of office by the youngest male offspring, the older sons were expected to setup their own villages. Further another prevalent practice was the shift of village settlements in tandem with the jhum fields possibly to reduce the distance between the settlements and fields given the common practice of headhunting. Evidently these factors were to a large extent responsible for the mobility of the community. In time this practice was to have a far-reaching ethnic and political implication, as it was not conducive to the emergence of compact well-demarcated territory. The Kukis settlements are scattered consequently they have become minorities in numerous states on both sides of the borderland which has undoubtedly affected their unity, and political aspirations. Further the existence of pockets

of their people in areas dominated by other ethnic groups was also a policy of the British to setup buffer or sepoy villages among the turbulent tribes living in contiguous territories. This has led to the emergence of a poly-ethnic social system in Manipur and as land disputes and competition for scarce ensue, ethnic conflicts emerged. Among the Mizos the process of integration was possible as the numerous clans that migrated into the erstwhile Lushai Hills were united as the Sailo clan of the Lusei tribes held sway over a greater part of the Hills prior to the advent of the British.

Culturally affinities among the Kuki, Mizo and Chin group is evident in the social structure as the society is patrilineal and in the rules of inheritance and succession it appears that the youngest male offspring is generally favoured with a few exceptions as in the case of some Chin clans unlike the system prevalent among the Nagas. The customs pertaining to matrimony show that bride price of “marriage by purchase” was common and soluble at the will of both parties. Another code of social conduct is the spirit of Tlawmngaihna which is equivalent to an act of Chivalry that promotes social service. An intriguing practice among the Kukis is the Sajam Lha or wage of war unto death by harnessing the assistance of all collateral chiefs, which was responsible for the initial success of the Kuki uprising during the Colonial rule.

Linguistically they belong to the Tibeto- Burman linguistic group and although dialectic variations exist Gordon Luce (1959) estimates that out of a total of 700 words 230 words are common to this group infact in Mizoram the usage of Dulien as a lingua franca was a unifying factor among the different clans and tribes. In Manipur, a socio political orientation shows a deviation from a formerly Meitei-centric wherein groups redefined their position vis-a vis the dominant group to a tribe centric perspective, particularly in the post independent era that received further impetus by the formal enlistment of the “Scheduled tribe” in 1956. The Kukis were earlier classified into the New and Old Kukis by the British administrators based on the time of arrival into the area. However several Old Kukis tribes have since aligned themselves with either the Naga or Mizo tribes while the new Kukis denoted the Thadous. Evidently numerically smaller tribes such as the Anal and Lamkang who found themselves hemmed in by the Nagas in the north and Kukis in the south have aligned themselves with the Naga tribes for greater communal status and political aspirations citing cultural affinity with the latter as these tribes also have an egalitarian traditional political setup like the majority of the Naga tribes and even in

communities with a chieftain system rigid dogma of descent was not advocated for as in the case of the Kukis. A factor that contributed to the realignment of the smaller tribes was the non-inclusion of the Kukis as a recognised scheduled tribe in Manipur. Presently the ethnonym is used only by the Kukis outside the state in Nagaland and Assam to project a common identity as opposed to the Nagas.

Tribal identity of the Kuki-Mizo, Chin and Naga groups can be assessed from two levels or tiers of identification namely the Pan level and Tribal level. Each tribe firstly identifies itself at the tribe level, as the identification at this level cannot change as identity is based on village and clan affiliations with claims to a common ancestor in the case of the latter. Hence the prevalence of numerous associations or unions that is tribe based such as the Tribal Councils among the Nagas as in the Tangkhul Long, the Ao Senden, Sumi (Sema) HoHo and the Hmar Association, Paite National Union etc among the Mizo, Kuki Chin Group. The second level of identification is the Pan Tribal Level an all encompasses tier that functions at the regional level cutting across boundaries both at the state level and the International, hence it is the highest ethnic label or badge that seeks at unification channelising the ethnic group along social boundaries as in the case of the Nagas vis-a vis the Kukis that are maintained strongly in poly ethnic communities as each seek to manifest their aspirations.

The level of unity is perhaps the greatest among the Nagas as they were able to overcome their linguistic barriers by highlighting their cultural similarities and by virtue of politicising their aspirations have maintained a strong ethnic identity. In the case of the Kukis, Mizo, Chin groups, attempts have been made to highlight their affinities to promote their political aspirations, however divisiveness among the Kukis themselves is apparent as several Thadou clans have sought to distance themselves from the parent tribe as in the case of the Haokip, Kipgen. The Mate seek recognition and enlistment as a separate Scheduled tribe since 1965 claiming their identity was submerged due to the influence of the dominant and powerful Thadous. Further the practice of the Thadous to assume the name of their progenitor such as the Singson and Sitlhou appears to denote only those clans under the Thadou badge. With the increasing level of consciousness several groups have begun to resent being identified by the Kuki ethnonym quickening the process of disintegration allowing fissiparous elements to overshadow the process of assimilation. In Mizoram the Paites who are categorised under the Kuki group are known as Mizos in

Mizoram and Chins in Tedim in Myanmar. Similarly the Poi (pawi) identified as Chins in Myanmar but Mizos in Mizoram have been the subject of social tension and forced repatriation of Chin refugees from Mizoram as they have not been able to assimilate themselves into the Mizo mainstream culture as it is undoubtedly dominated by the Lusei tribe. It is obvious that the Kukis with stronger linguistic or cultural affinities show little organisational compatibility to attain the status of a discrete ethnic group as their Pan Identification is based on social factors that in time may be unable to withstand pressures from within.

Of late there has been a move to unite all the Kuki, Mizo and Chin tribes under the banner of one nomenclature as in the case of the Nagas as the term Chikim is suggested. It is an acronym form of Chi from Chin, Ki from Kuki and M from Mizo. The ethnonym is not only all encompassing but reduces the possibility of disagreement over the appropriate usage of a term that is acceptable to all as was the case over the selection of the term Kuki. The recent development may possibly be due to the realisation that the Pan Identity would give them greater political leverage to fulfilled their aspirations and demand as they would no longer be considered minorities but a numerically a major ethnic group.

In chapter III it may be summed up that the British annexation of the north-eastern states of India and Myanmar had both political as well as economic dimensions. Their policies were influenced by protectionist measures. The commencement of British inventions can be trace back to the invasion of Assam by Myanmar. The annexation of Arakan by the latter provided an easy access to the Bengal province via Goalpara and Sylhet. The British realised that the occupation of Cachar would have made the position of Sylhet precarious. The acquisition of Arakan by the Treaty of Yandaboo was a calculated move to establish Arakan Yoma as a buffer between British frontiers and Myanmar. Its annexation of Assam was economically beneficial given the natural resources and discovery of tea. Consequently, its annexation of the hill areas was devised to secure and protect its interest in the settled districts of Assam. The extension of their control into the Naga hills not only allowed them to pacify the Nagas, but also provided easy access into Manipur to secure the frontiers given the perceive threat from Myanmar. Consequent to the annexation of the hill areas, boundaries were drawn to facilitate administrative convenience. As a result, numerous ethnic groups were segregated by the emergent international boundary.

The process of decolonisation and modernisation led to the emergence of a new class of people within the modern polity namely the creation of the middle class. Initially the political elites posed no threat to the traditional political setup as they worked in consensus with the tribal and village council but with the passage of time there was a gradual usurp age of their position and influences. Inroads made by Christianity and education created a middle class who represented a cross section of the tribal society wherein educated middle class assumed the role of the protector of the newfound identity, filling in the gaps created by the maladjustments of traditional elites in a changing world. Being literate, they drew their inspirations from western doctrines, modeling their organization after them. This probably explains the usage of 'common' consciousness as a weapon to disseminate their ideology among the people promulgating the crystallization of 'Pan Solidarity' in the erstwhile independent individualistic tribes. In Lushai Hills the abolishment of the chieftainship system spearheaded by the Mizo Union resulted in the disgruntled chiefs supposedly supporting the cause of the Nationalist or the Mizo National Federation (MNF.)

Surprisingly the popular movement to oust the chiefs in the Mizo inhabited areas had little impact on their counterparts the Kuki chiefs who continued to enjoy the support of the masses in the Manipur. In the Naga Hills, the Naga Club was formed in 1918. It was essentially a socio-cultural institution, which gradually assumed a political tone to represent the political aspiration of the Nagas in the early twentieth century. This is evident from their submission of a memorandum to the Simon Commission- a Constitutional Reformed Schemes in 1929, demanding exclusion of the Nagas from the 'Reformed Schemes' for fear of exploitation by the mainstream. This resulted in the exclusion of the Naga inhabited areas from the purview of the provision of government of India Act, 1935 and made it as 'Excluded Area'. The introduction of 'Innerline or Excluded Area' Acts has had tremendous impact. On one hand ethnocentrism has been brought to the fore however identity and community feeling has also evolved vis-à-vis the plain people or mainstream.

Thus regional parties emerged after independence to articulate the aspirations of the hill people and simultaneously social groups (pressure groups) emerged. The genesis of political awareness in Mizoram dates back to 1925 when the Ralte community attempted to participate in the politics of Assam. Then in 1946, the Mizo Union was born under the leadership of R Vanlawma and Lalbuaia as contention of power vis-à-vis the Mizo chiefs

thus a cleavage surfaced among the traditional political heads and elected representative based on general consensus. In 1950 the Tribal Union emerged, initiated by the president Lalmawia of the United Mizo Freedom Organisation sought to integrate the Pawi-Lakher tribes under one administrative unit to preserve their culture and ethnic identity. But once again fissures emerged consequently the Maras Freedom Party splintered to represent the Lakhers that triggered a split among the Pawis and Lakhers. This resulted in the formation of the Chin National Front (1965), which attempted to integrate all Chins (Pawis) of India and Myanmar and neutralize the MNF which was seen as a threat to the fledging identity given their growing influence over the Pawi areas. But the one party that was to have a tremendous impact on the politics of the state was the MNF earlier known as the voluntary organization of Mizo National Famine Front. It emerged as a response to the economic crisis or Mautum, the great famine of 1959. Underlining their manifesto of self-determination, the party voiced their concern against the resettlement policies of refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan. They feared that such a move would imbalance the existing ethnicity.

The MNF in subsequent years established a strong foothold and began their revolt against the government in 1966. Their popularity was rooted in the sentiments of exclusiveness and perceived neglect and apathy by the central government and exposure of the inhabitants to the changes and developments elsewhere compounded by unemployment, economic standstill and socio-economic peripherality. The external influences of interested sections and timely appearance of a charismatic leader proved to be a turning point in favour the movement which in time spread to contiguous areas which was populated by the same ethnic groups. Given the hard line stand of the MNF, a cleavage appeared amongst the Mizo populace, as the exponents of peaceful negotiation such as the Mizo union were opposed to the view and stands of the MNF who were more militant. With the Mizo union requesting a review of the demand for Greater Mizoram, soon a parallel government or the Mizo Sawrkar emerged and for years a chaotic condition prevailed over the state with normal life paralysed .

In 1965, an attempt was made at reconciling the Mizo Union and MNF at Churachandpur that led to a conference however difference of opinion regarding the course of action arose. Having contacted like-minded groups across the border such as the Arkanese National Liberation Front (ANLF) an attempts at establishing contact with the

Kachin Independent Army (KIA), the MNF had its bases in the Chittagong hill tracts and, the sympathy of China and Pakistan given their close proximity and animosity towards India, the movement thereafter gained external momentum.

Given the milieu of a diverse tribal population in the area later immigrants such as the Chakmas and Riangs appeared to have little in common with the Mizo mainstream ethnicity given the divergent religious and cultural ethos. Similarly affined cultural groups (Christians) such as the Hmars, Paites, and Lakhers sought to highlight their differences that led to the formation of the Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC) and the Chin National Front which attempted to neutralise the dominant influence of the Lusei clans. The Pois or Pawis who shared a greater cultural affinity with the mainstream nevertheless sought to project their identity and uniqueness given their affinity with their brethren across the boundary in Chittagong and Myanmar. The Hmars perceive their status as an exclusive group taking pride in their unique culture and history. Their resentment at the dominant ethnic group can be appreciated in the light of their contribution towards the political activities during the formative years of the erstwhile Lushai Hills district politics and their role in the self-determination movement.

The boundary demarcation between Manipur and Mizoram divided contiguous areas inhabited by their people as a result Hmars in around the Tipaimukh and Churachandpur found themselves excluded from Mizoram contrary to their long cherished hopes of unification. To express their frustration the Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC) aided by the Hmar Volunteers Cell projected their demand for an autonomous region comprising of Hmar inhabited areas in Cachar, Manipur and Mizoram. The movement gains momentum owing to their insecurity in Assam who had not been granted a schedule tribe status. Fissures and divisive tendencies have had an impact on sub-nationalism subverting all attempts to assimilate and subsume all minor cultural difference to promote unity and stability in the region. The scenario has been complicated further by the joining of the Mizo youths in Jampui Hills of north Tripura with more than 5000 populations, as they demanded an inclusion in greater Mizoram.

Another division is apparent between the Mizos and new immigrants, refugees including political asylum seekers from Myanmar. On one hand sympathy for their kin is evident but in recent years tension has been emerged as witnessed in the riots of 2003 in Aizawl when social and economic issues snow-balled into widespread tension and leading

to force repatriation. The emergence of the Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946 resulted in the formation of the first pan Naga political organization. The strength of the Council laid in its mass support and appeal that was endorsed by the support of village councils and chiefs without whose consensus no plan of action was promulgated. On the eve of the independence of India, the NNC submitted a memorandum in 1947 to Lord Mountbatten, the then Viceroy of India appealing for setting up of an interim government for ten years at the end of which they were to freely choose any form of government they wanted. But the controversy created by the ninth clause of the Nine Point Hydari Agreement regarding the transfer of power led to its non-implementation. This sowed the seed of discord between the Nagas and government of India. Impatient with the stalemate the NNC declared unilateral independence in 14th August 1947. Meanwhile, a parallel government known as the Federal Government of Nagaland was set up in 1956 to formally unite under its banner the NNC and Tuensang area.

The period that followed the establishment of the parallel government was marked by turmoil. Ultimately, the moderates within the NNC initiated negotiation and peace processes with the signing of the Shillong Accord as a result of which, the State of Nagaland came into being on 1st December 1963. However, the extremist out rightly rejected the Accord and till date continues their armed struggle.

Pan-Naga identity is relatively a new phenomenon that emerged as a response to the prevailing political climate, which was conducive for the concerted move towards an integrated identity. Undoubtedly each village acted as a sovereign republic, but this did not rule out the existence sub-conscious sentiments of 'oneness' based on cultural affinities supported by socio-cultural elements that distinguished the allied group of people vis-à-vis the group with whom they shared little cultural affinities. However the conditioning geographical factors have also been responsible for socio-cultural linguistic variation as certain tribes speak more than one sub-dialect for instance, Chongli, Mongsen and Changki among the Aos. Another peculiarity is seen in the villages of Anaki and Chakpa, which lies in the borders between the Ao and Chang territories, is the usage of both dialects within the same village. While diversity and absence of lingua franca may have limited communications in the past, the evolution of Nagamese appears to have partially compensated this inadequacy, while English was adopted as the state official language, by the state legislative assembly bill of 1964. However competition for resources and

development benefits has allowed divisive elements to resurface as perceived notions of monopolisation and marginalisation of the aspiration of certain sections have led to resentment and as such the Pan Naga Solidarity movements have not been immune. Infact these developments now pose a challenge to integration and realisation of the aspirations of the people.

The Indo Myanmar borderland is unique as it is inhabited not only by a diverse population comprising of numerous ethnic groups with diverse cultural ethos but there appears to be wide spread segregations of ethnic groups divided by an imposed boundary since traditional village were not maintained in the course of the demarcation of the boundary. Evidently the opinion and aspiration of the inhabitants were the least of the British considerations in the process of demarcation as administrative convenience based on the selection of natural divides was then a prevalent practice of the British in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century .Further the 1967 bilateral agreement between Myanmar and India further reiterated the maintenance of the traditional boundary demarcated during the Colonial era with minor modifications and the incorporation of the section of the boundary that was unadministered by the British prior to 1947 due to the gradual extension of the British administration into the Naga Hills particularly in this section as the general policy was to extent their area of control to manageable and financially expedient limits.

Maintaining the Patkai range as a natural divide all Naga area east of the watershed were incorporated into Myanmar while those on the west were placed under the jurisdiction of India. Consequently the emergent boundary was not in conformity with ethnic boundaries hence the Geo-political ramifications of fragmented communities in a long and porous boundary given their perceived notions of a negligence and ethnic minority status on both sides of the boundary cannot be ignored.

In chapter IV it may be summarised that the British had initially been drawn to Assam to save guard their interest in Bengal from the policy of aggrandizement of Myanmar. Realising the economic potentials in the area especially after the discovery of tea, the administration sought to promote agriculture given the fertility of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valley. While their endeavors reaped benefits in the plains their progress in the hills was understandably slow as revenues from agricultural produce was dismal given the predominant practice of jhum cultivation that allowed little scope for surplus production.

To induce greater productivity the administration attempted to popularise terrace cultivation, introduce new crops or provide agricultural loans. However their schemes paid little dividend as the loans were meagre and lack of finances retarded the extension of terrace cultivation. In the plains the agricultural loans and introduction of new crops and seeds clearly increased the production of crops. In areas such as Cachar which were primarily engaged in the production of tea, food grains were imported from the rice producing districts as increasing population of migrant into the tea estates further compounded the shortages in food grain.

Further, collection from land revenues was non-existent as the land of the hill people was not accessed since the administration appeared reluctant to interfere in the existing traditional land holding system. Hence the bulk of the revenue was derived from house or poll tax. While the amount was insignificant in comparison with the plains, on one hand it legitimised the authority of the British over the hill dwellers. But on the other hand it proved to be a source of resentment and unrest. In the plains the revenue was derived from both land and other products such as forest, trade etc, it is evident that the amount acquired from the plains supplemented the meagre collection from the hills. In the hill districts of Myanmar since administration into the Naga Hills commenced only after 1940 it appears that this area was perhaps the most neglected given its inaccessibility. Evidently the development in the agrarian sector was confined to the fertile belts along the Chindwin and Irrawaddy as rice formed the dominant commodity of export. Even in the fertile rice belts the increase in productivity was due to extension of area under cultivation rather than any significant technical innovation introduced by the British.

Even in the infrastructural development, there appeared to be biasness in favour of the plains as the absence of proper transport facilities and the problem of navigation upstream in the Brahmaputra necessitated the introduction of steamer service connecting Assam to Bengal. This provided an impetus to the development of roads and railway lines that essentially served the tea belts, coal and petroleum producing areas. Further transportation was vital to ensure the mobility of the troops in the initial phases of annexation and in later years to transport the migrant workers into the tea estates. In the hill areas given the absence of navigable waterways, roads were essential to ensure proper administration and timely deployment of punitive expeditions. Construction of mule paths was extensively carried out connecting mainly the military outpost and administrative centres.

A major “civilising” and factor of pacification was the advent of Christian missionaries and the progress attained in the field of education thereafter. Clearly, the administration left the role of educating the hill tribes to the missionaries by providing financial assistance and it was only in later years that government schools were established since the missionaries had a tendency to focus more on Christian teaching.

Development in other sectors of economy was limited as the impetus was given to tea industry, sericulture and oil refineries in the plains. Traditional cottage industries of pottery, handloom products etc were mainly to cater to domestic market. The marts established in the foothills permitted the hill dwellers to barter their local produce in exchange for the basic necessities namely salt. Incidentally the marts were established to facilitate greater interaction and an alternative avenue to generate income and reduce the occurrences of raids in the plains. Thus it may be concluded that the levels of development and progress in the plains far exceeded that in the hills due to the constraints of the terrain and greater impetus given to economically viable and revenue generating areas. The education policy in the hill areas was initiated to create a class of literates or interpreters who would be of assistance to the British administration. Later, this was responsible for the emergence of a middle class who disseminated the ideas of ethnic identity and common consciousness.

Findings

1. While political and administrative convenience had been the bases of boundary demarcation during the colonial period, natural barriers appeared to have played a key role in its demarcation. The Indo Myanmar’s boundary demarcation in the post-Independence era was influenced by then existing amicable relations shared by the two neighbours in the 1950--60’s generally following the pre independent boundaries of the Colonial era however in areas that were unadministered, unconformity with the traditional village boundaries have long been a source of dissatisfaction particularly among those villages who have experienced deprivation of land and segregation of communities.
2. The demarcation of the boundary did not affect traditional village boundary in Mizoram-Chin areas. However in the villages of Longwa and Chen, traditional boundaries of the villages were not maintained consequently in the case of the former the boundary runs through the middle bifurcating the village while the Chen group of thirteen villages have been segregated with four under Mon and nine in Myanmar that has resulted in

fragmentation of jointly owned clan jhum fields. For instance the villages of Pessao and Pangsha under Mon and Tuensang of Nagaland have each been deprived of an area of approximately 280 sq km and 250 sq km of jhum land respectively.

3. The level of social interaction among the Konyak villages far exceeds that of the Mizos as the age-old tradition of marriage within one's own class among the chieftain class has been responsible for continuation of cross border marriages. Further the interaction is greatest among those groups of villages that have been segregated by the boundary. A case in point being the adherence to the age old tradition of payment of tributes in the form of paddy and mandatory free service by satellite villages to the chief Ang. Consequently Longwa and Chen village in Mon district continue to receive tributes from their satellite villages in Myanmar. Among the Mizo-Chin border villages the traditional village boundaries were not compromised since the river Tiau which had been the traditional village boundary was retained, in the process of the demarcation of the International boundary. Thus the level of social interaction has been restricted mainly to border trade.

4. Konyak, Khamnungan and Tangkhul refugees from Myanmar who have fled into the contiguous Mon, Tuensang or Ukhrul district have not been a source of concern for the local inhabitants as they belong to the same tribe and their economic participation in the district has been negligible. On the other hand the tension and repatriation process in Mizoram of refugees from the Chin state is partly a case of increasing economic entrepreneurship and prosperity of the new arrivals and their inability to amalgamate into the mainstream as they retain their Chin identity outside Mizoram.

5. The level of interaction among borderland inhabitants presents a variation vertically along the boundary. The inhabitants of border districts occupying contiguous villages inhabited by the same tribe have a tendency to spearhead the demand for integration. Generally these areas represent geographically peripheral areas exhibiting the least levels of economic development in the state. The Kuki have been unable to capitalise on their cultural and linguistic affinity to present a concerted demand for integration as they were neither able to politicise their aspiration nor project a united front as their territories were not integrated, scattered as they were owing to the traditional socio- political set-up that encouraged migration.

6. In the village of Pangsha, located a mere 7 km from the International boundary, villagers who have been deprived of prime jhum land continue to cultivate their fields in

Myanmar that are within a feasible distance from their village. While in the Ukhrul and Somra border the Tangkhul villages have resolved the issue by simply transferring jhum and forest land between mutually consenting clans on both sides of the boundary owing to the distance factor particularly in the villages that are located more than 30km from the boundary.

7. Border villages and districts on both sides of the boundary have a tendency to be dependent on each other given the distance factor, cost of transportation and logistic constraints from the service centres in their own state. In Champhai livestock from the Chin state is imported via Zokhawthar and Vaphai. While medicine is imported by practically all border villages in Myanmar ever since the Government cut down on imports adversely affecting the health sector in Myanmar.

8. A major grievance of the Naga Hills and Chin state has been non-participation in the political arena. After the general elections in 1990, all thirteen representatives from the Chin including three from the Naga Hills were either dismissed or forced to resign by the military regime of Myanmar.

9. The establishment of Kuki sepoy villages in areas inhabited by the Nagas in Manipur during the colonial period has not only heightened the issue of land dispute but created poly – ethnic social systems wherein ethnic boundaries have become sharply defined as social identities became channelised. This has resulted to ethnic tensions as evident among the Nagas and the Kukis and a *raison d’etra* to supporters of integration or separatist movements cutting across even the international boundary.

10. A cause of immigration into the west from the Chin and Naga Hills has been rooted in discrimination such as employment opportunities and better health care facilities that are provided for those who convert to Buddhism. This policy of indoctrination of the various ethnic groups into the mainstream culture has contributed to the emergence of resistant movements among the Nagas, Chins and Kukis in Myanmar. Another factor for the immigration is the forced relocation of settlements by the regimes as part of their “Four Cut policy” displacing thousands who have been deprived of the means of sustenance to ensure that the resistant groups are cut off from their support. Between 1988-2002 approximately as many as 7411 Naga refugees have fled into Naga inhabited areas of Manipur and Nagaland, while the situation is much the same among the Chins as more than 40,000 have taken refuge in Mizoram and Manipur.

Observation

Throughout the history of Myanmar, the economy was characterized by self-sufficiency, particularly in food crops. During the colonial era the vibrant agrarian sector was unable to sustain the economy that was dealt a terrible blow by the depression of the 1930s, consequently peasants were forced to mortgage their land which led to alienation of land while other profitable economic sectors such as oil, shipping, export and import houses were controlled by the Europeans. In the industrial sector, the colonialist had established a 'free trade' system that best suited and benefited them as exports consisting mainly of raw materials, the domestic industrial sector was allowed to stagnate. Thus the post independent phase witnessed a drastic change in economy policies as the new government introduced an economic system termed as 'mixed economy' where a bulk of the developmental process was left in the hands of the state, however the situation in the agrarian sector failed to keep pace with the industrial development in spite of the 'protectionist' policies followed by the democratic government. In the hill areas the Chins who were primarily while successive regimes attempted at restructuring local industries, import of consumer goods was restricted and reduced raw materials import prevented the industries from reaching their full potential. Certain sectors such as education and health were on the receiving end and as a result of the tightening of the imports of necessary beneficial materials for its growth

Despite the opening up of the market by the SLORC government, the economy continues to stagnate due to its inability to bridge the gap created by 25 years of redundancy. Presently Myanmar has the lowest electricity consumption per capita in southeast Asia and till 1997 the ratios of transport network was only 0.37 miles per 1000 population, while the railways with a total of 6.9% length per 100 sq km (1990) were inadequate and presently new tracks of about 580 miles have been added in recent years. The British focused on the creation of a predominantly English medium education middle class that would help manage the enormous administrative setup and maintain law and order. Hence modern educational institutions were set up, which were financed by the government, missionaries and local community. Post 1948, technical subjects were introduced in the curriculum, to curb the academic biasness of the colonialist past nevertheless. During the socialist era, rapid expansion of schools, paid little heed to the quality of education. All privately run schools were taken over by the state and owing to shortage of funds and

mismanagement, a rapid decline in standards ensued. In the hill areas, the situation in comparison to the pre independence era had improved given by the growth of numerous schools estimated at 563 in 1970 and for the first time a paved road was constructed connecting Chin State to Myanmar proper the same year. New health centres were opened but other sectors such as the agrarian and industrial production, distribution and transportation continued to stagnate due to the Government socialist system in the 1960's. While horticulture was introduced, it was at the cost of traditional crops. Further the marketing of the cash crops became a problem, as there were no facilities for proper storage compounded by inadequate infrastructural facilities hence farmers neither made a profit but were instead faced with the prospects of financial ruin and extreme poverty. Further farmers in Sagaing division were prevented from growing traditional crops such as sesame, chillies, onion, while paddy fields were diverted to cotton.

Development in the post independent era in the borderland zone west of the boundary continues to be constrained by inaccessibility, and unfavorable locational factors from a market perspective reducing the scope for investment. Infrastructure of transportation and communication has also been inadequate. The population remains predominantly rural in character as about 80% of the population is engaged in the agricultural sector where the system of cultivations remains dominantly Jhum hence the production remains low as terrace cultivation is limited to pockets. Traditionally these areas had long been self sufficient in food grain requirements but the increase in population has not been matched by technological advancement in the agrarian sector as jhum cultivation is still predominantly practised in these areas. Out of the four states that border Myanmar the state of Arunachal Pradesh accounts for highest production of food grains with 1188 kg per hectare while Mizoram has the least with 1599 kg per hectare against the total of 510344 kg per hectare in the entire North Eastern region (1991). The impetus provided to Arunachal can be traced back to the pre independence era when initiation for agricultural development in the erstwhile North East Frontier Tract began in 1946 with the establishment of a separate Department of agriculture at Shillong to promote Agricultural development in the state of Arunachal. However in recent years the scope for the development in the sector of horticulture is being realised given the climatic conditions that are ideal for the growth of citrus fruits. With the adoption of systematic development programmes in 1975-6 a thrust was given to this sector. In other allied sectors such as

Animal Husbandry, it has been observed that traditionally the hill areas have long been associated with the rearing of pigs while a deficiency in improved breeds of cattle were supplemented by import of livestock into the region. Presently Manipur and Mizoram respectively account for 14,000 and 2800 tonnes with cattle and piggery dominating this sector. In Nagaland 6 Cattle and 8 pig breeding farms have been established while a scientific pig breeding center has been setup at Thingdui in Mizoram to promote animal husbandry as an alternative avenue for economic development in the area. In the sector of Transport and communication network, a prerequisite for sustained economic development in any area has been tenuous and inadequate in the region compounded by the factor of location and incidence of landslide and natural calamities in an area that had been largely neglected till Independence. The target of the Road network development of the Country based on the Nagpur Plan, 1943 envisaged that by 1961 an average density of 16 km of roads for every 100 sq km was not realised in this region hence subsequent efforts to overcome the inadequacies has subsequently resulted with Manipur now accounting for a total of 10941 km against the all India total of 2465877 km. Railway development during the Colonial area was confined only to the fertile tea growing plains of Assam. However till 1947, the railway network remained disconnected, hence consolidation and extension was given top priority. Presently among the four Border States Nagaland alone accounts for a total gauge of 12.85 km of railway lines out of a total of 2435.2 km in the Northeastern region or even Assam which alone accounts for 2373.52 km of total gauge.

In the health service sector Arunachal ranks first with 262 hospitals against the all India total of 15501. In the Industrial sector, Arunachal has a percentage of 9.55 %. Mizoram accounts for the highest literacy rate at 72.44% in the area as oppose to the all India total of 55.18%. Given the population growth in the area in the last two decades with +29.18 , +64.41 , +30 , +26.21 in Mizoram , Nagaland, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh it is evident that given the pressure on land low production of food grains and low levels of development in the industrial sector the urban population particularly in Nagaland and Mizoram are primarily employed in the tertiary sectors. Understandably unemployment and competition for scarce resources compounded by the increasing immigration into Mizoram and Arunachal have allowed increasing resentment to perpetuate ethnic and political problems arising from a sense of perceived negligence by the central Government.

In the post Independence era an assessment of the villages based on surveys of Sampled villages of Longwa, Pessao and New Pangsha under Mon and Tuensang district of Nagaland and Tusom Christian village under Ukhrul district of Manipur reveal that along the boundary agriculture remains the main stay of the people. The traditional village boundary have been affected in the process of the demarcation of the International boundary as these settlements are located not more than 15 km from the border .The territory of village of Longwa under the Phomching block of Mon district , has virtually been bifurcated by the International Boundary

In the districts of Sagaing and Chin state the population is predominantly agrarian but the impetus to agricultural development as been non-existent. In the Naga hills the practice of Jhum cultivation has been confined to Lahe and Nanyun while wet rice cultivation is confined to Khamti and Homalin .In the Khamti and Homalin areas there are two hospitals for the entire district with an approximate population of 100,000.in an area of 5,895 sq km. (excluding Homalin).¹While three rural health centres and one hospital has been setup in 1995 for the Kabaw valley.² Consequently several Nagas seek treatment in the adjoining districts of Ukhrul and Mon in Manipur and Nagaland given the distance factor and better medical facilities available in India.

Most village roads are neither paved nor motorable as roads that are under construction connect only the towns. Presently there are four roads under construction in the Naga hills in Myanmar namely the Layshi-Tomanthi; Lahe-Sinthee; Khamti-Homalin and Layshi-Phaphao –Somra road while the Chin state has only two all weather roads but of late the Border Area Development program under the aegis of the Township Law and Order Restoration Council have began the process of upgrading the Haka-Gangaw road while the roads connecting Haka-Tham Tlang ,Haka-Matupi, Matupi-Mindat were completed by 1996-97. In 1990 the construction of the Kalay-Gangaw railwayline commenced stretching nearly 312 miles connecting the Sagaing Division to Magwe Division, established with the intention of ultimately linking Mandalay to the Indian border. n the villages transportation of goods is carried out by way of head load or in areas in proximity to river, the services of country boats and motor boats private and Government owned are utilised in the urban areas. In Kabaw valley the government has undertaken the construction of 93 miles length

¹ [Http://www.myanmar.com/today/sagaing.html](http://www.myanmar.com/today/sagaing.html))

²“All Quiet on the Western Front” 1998 Thailand : Images Asia Inc (IA) p55

of roads and 55 bridges. Villages do not have access to running water, electricity. Development is confined to the two large towns of Khamti and Homalin. The former being the headquarter and cultural centre for the Nagas in Myanmar. Most villages do not have direct access to education as the Government has prescribed one school for every two villages in the Naga Hills. Under the Sagaing division there are 5 high schools and 1 college while higher educational institutes are based at Mandalay and Yangon. As part of the "Kabaw New Life Project" 7 new schools have been sanctioned. The medium of instruction in all institutions is the Myanmar dialect. Given the shortages faced in certain essential commodities in the villages owing to the distance from the urban areas most inhabitants on either side continue their age-old practice of transaction in the border areas. Two entry points for transactions exist in the Mizoram and Chin state. The first being the newly declared trade centre in Zowkathar and the second being Vaphei via which livestock is imported into Mizoram. Other items that are traded in the border are vegetables and rice that are imported into Mizoram, while Milk products, Medicine and beverages are exported into the village of RI in the Chin Hills. Another active entry point is the Moreh township in Manipur that by far handles the bulk of goods between the two countries. In Nagaland Pangsha has been declared a trade centre connecting Nagaland and Naga Hills in Myanmar.

The boundary has also allowed the free movement of people and in the light of the insurgency movements and separatist tendency that operate on both sides of the boundary, the continued cross border insurgent activities pose a threat to the political stability, casting a shadow on the bilateral relationships that require countermeasures to peacefully tackle the problems and in situations.

Given the fact that the boundary has segregated large ethnic groups on both sides of the boundary the implication of the situation becomes extremely relevant in bilateral relation. In Myanmar till date several separatist groups operating within the Indian territory have bases in the virtually inaccessible jungles east of the Patkai range and given their alliances with other likeminded sympathetic separatist groups in Myanmar such as the Kachin, Chin, Kuki, Shans and Karens with similar agendas and have been in contention with the dictatorial Military regime. They claim that the regime has been propagating policies of annihilation, ethnic cleansing and coercion to integrate their people into the dominant culture with total disregard for the principles of federalism the very bases and ideals of the union given the multi-dimensional ethnicity of its inhabitants. For years similar sentiments

have been voiced by the Northeastern inhabitation promoting parochialism. Conflict in the region had its roots in the fear of assimilation at the cost of their valued unique culture and this had inevitably galvanized Pan Solidarity movements canalized along ethnic boundaries. Invariably tensions along inter ethnic lines emerged as each group sort to define their territory and area of operation assuming grave dimensions in the areas of poly-ethnic social systems. Therefore these unresolved geo-strategic policies of India have largely been determined by the perceived threats from its neighbours both from the west and the north. During the colonial era, there were fears of Russian exploiting the vacuum created as a consequence of the wane of Chinese influence in the north. To counterpoise the perceived Russian menace, the Younghusband expedition of 1904 was dispatched to gain influence over Tibet and act as a buffer between the British territories and the Russian empire thereby pre-empting another Afghanistan in the North. These in turn created insecurities among the Chinese as they had traditionally maintained an indirect control over Tibet via the contrivances of the religious institutions. With the intent to counter Russian overtures the British were compelled to maintain neutrality over the dispute between China and Kashmir and the issue dominated much of British foreign policies in years to come. As the Chinese posed a threat to Assam, counter measures were considered and this to an extent underlined the necessity of British extension of territory into Arunachal Pradesh.

Given the uneasy relationship between the two major powers namely India and China, the Myanmar government had exploited the animosity to their benefit. With an unstable regime exhibiting strong pro-Chinese communist leanings its position in the region is two fold first its equation with India and secondly its status in South East Asia a region that is determined to promote economic development and progress and as such the incorporation of Myanmar in the A.S.E.A.N was a move to counter the influences of China. But rapid militarization of the Myanmar army has dangers of proliferating the existing arms race in Asia. In addition critics of the military claim that the compulsive military spending has been funded by the proceeds of illegal heroin sales and trafficking of drugs enabling vested parties to operate with total impunity. In fact in some Chin areas the army compelled farmers to abandon rice cultivation to produce opium.

In the post Independence era India's strategic considerations and bilateral relations with Myanmar has long been influenced by a need to counter the growing prowess of China. Unable to achieve a political rapport with the latter, it envisaged cooperation with

Myanmar first in the 1960's to contain the territorial aggrandizements of China in view of the tension in the northern boundary of Myanmar with China. However the unpredictability and Pro Chinese orientation of Myanmar has possibly arisen as a reaction and defensive mechanism given the past history. Further China has successfully forged economic ties to exploit the resources of the country and in return provided military aid with an objective to gain access to the Indian Ocean given China's continental location. With the lease of the naval base at the Coco islands close to the Andaman and Nichobar islands, it affords opportunities for espionage and surveillance over India's nuclear activity and in the light of the emergence China as a dominant nuclear power and given the close ties it maintains with both Pakistan and Myanmar, Indian policy makers have to rethink strategies to forge greater cooperation with Myanmar particularly after the decline of the U.S.S.R and the growing menace of Pakistan. Attempts to tackle insurgents harboured by neighbouring countries such as Bhutan has provided grounds for duplicating similar moves in Myanmar and increased cooperation could simultaneously check the refugee problems, drug and arms trafficking and lastly enhanced trade relations which would undoubtedly benefit the peripheral zones of the country. On the other hand given the long standing socio- political problems that plague both the countries given the porous International Boundary, only bi-lateral cooperation and genuine understanding of the aspiration of the people within realistic and reasonable bounds, one that must be acceptable to all parties concerned may go a long way in enabling the respective governments to find a peaceful solution to a complex ethno-political problem if stability and development is to be achieved in the region as these issues remain an obstacle to the stability, peace and security of the region.

APPENDICES

BURMA - INDIA BOUNDARY

International Boundary Study No. 80 – May 15, 1968 Burma – India Boundary
(Country Codes: BM-IN)

The Geographer, Office of the Geographer, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
The Geographer, Office of Strategic and Functional Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research,
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY STUDY No. 80

I. THE BACKGROUND

The Burma - India Boundary has been delimited in great detail by a bilateral treaty signed on March 10, 1967; and ratified shortly thereafter. Demarcation will be the subject of a separate agreement to be negotiated in the near future. The 1967 boundary follows the "traditional" line between the two states while rendering with precision two formerly indefinite areas.

Almost 60 percent of the 872-mile long boundary follows water divides, both major and minor, while nearly one-third coincides with median lines of frontier streams and rivers. The remainder of the border comprises straight line between previously established boundary pillars.

The frontier area topography varies from low mountains in the south to high ridges and peaks in the north, adjacent to the Himalaya. As a result, the region is one of low population density and of reduced economic development.

II. ALIGNMENT

The 1967 Boundary Agreement delimited the Burma - India boundary as follows:

The southern extremity of the India - Burma boundary is about 1/2 mile south of the triangulation station Reng Tlang. From this point the boundary runs in general northeasterly direction along the divide separating the waters of the Tuichong from those of the Kola Chaung or Sekul Lui to a point just west of the source of a nameless feeder of the Varang Lui; thence in an easterly direction down the midstream of this nameless feeder to its junction with the Varang Lui; thence down the midstream of the Varang Lui to its junction with the Kola Chaung or Sekul Lui; thence up the midstream of the Kola Chaung or Sekul Lui to its junction with the Zocha Lui; thence up the midstream of the Zocha Lui to its source on the Samang Range; thence across the range to the source of the Samak or Kwiman Lui; thence down the midstream of the Samak or Kwiman Lui to the Kaladan River; thence across the Kaladan river to the mouth of the Khangza Lui and up the midstream of the Khangza Lui to its source in the Kaisu Tlang

range; thence southwards along the range of the Kaisi Tlang to the source of the Rale (Shweleik) Lui; thence down the midstream of the Rale (Shweleik) Lui to its junction with the Sala Lui; thence up the midstream of the Sala Lui to its junction with the Khenkhong (Kaikheu) Lui; thence up the midstream of the Khenkhong (Kaikheu) Lui to a point on the Pathian Klang range approximately 700 yards north of height 4146; thence generally northwards along this range to the source of the Para Lui and down the midstream of the Para Lui to its junction with the Tisi Va or Mi Chaung; thence up the midstream of this river to its junction with the Kimung Va or Kheimu Lui; thence up the midstream of Page 3 the Kimung Va or Kheimu Lui to its source in the Kashia Klang; thence generally southwards along the crest of the Kashia Klang to the source of the Raphu Va; thence down the midstream of the Raphu Va to its junction with the Boinu or Tuipui river; thence down the midstream of the Boinu or Tuipui river to its junction with the Tyao or Tio Va River; thence up the midstream of the Tyao or Tio Va river to its source on a saddle marked by Boundary Pillar No. 3 L/CH;1 thence across that saddle to the source of the Bapi Va and down the midstream of the Bapi Va to its junction with the Timang Va or Tuimang river; thence down the midstream of the Timang Va or Tuimang river to its junction with the Tuisa river; thence down the midstream of the Tuisa river to its junction with the Tuivai river; thence up the midstream of the Tuivai river to its junction with the Tuikui stream; thence up the midstream of the Tuikui stream to its source below Boundary Pillar No. 8 situated on a saddle about 4-1/2 miles east of Lunglen Hill. From Boundary Pillar No. 8 the boundary runs down the midstream of a nameless feeder of the Tuimong Lui to its junction with the Tuimong Lui; thence down midstream of the Tuimong Lui to its junction with the Tuivel river; thence up the midstream of the Tuivel river to its junction with the Tuinuam Lui; thence up the midstream of the Tuinuam Lui to a saddle where Boundary Pillar No. 7 is located; thence down the midstream of Paiphum Lui; thence up a ridge; thence eastwards down the ridge to the midstream of a nameless stream to its junction with the Tuival Lui and thence down the midstream of the Tuival Lui to its junction with the Sumtui Lui; thence up the midstream of the Sumtui Lui to its source on Leng Tang range where Boundary Pillar No. 6 is located; thence in an easterly direction down to a nameless feeder of the (Tuita) Tuitha or (Kuga) Khuga river; thence down the midstream of this feeder to its junction with the (Tuita) Tuitha or

(Kuga) Khuga river; thence up the midstream to the (Tuita) Tuitha or (Kuga) Khuga river to its junction with the Chalao Lam or Chika stream; thence along the midstream of this stream up a ravine to Boundary Pillar No. 5; thence down the midstream of the Yangkai Lok to its junction with the Manipur river; thence northwards up the left bank of the Manipur river to its junction with the Yangdung Lui; thence up the midstream of this stream to its source marked by Boundary Pillar No. 3; thence generally northeastwards to height 7582; thence generally eastwards along the watershed between the tributaries of the Manipur River on the one hand and the tributaries of the Chindwin River on the other hand to the source of the Khengyoi Dung and marked by Boundary Pillars 2 and 1; thence down the midstream of the Khengyoi Dung and the Tuisa Dung to Boundary Pillar No. 39 on the left bank of the Tuisa Dung; thence generally eastwards for approximately 400 yards along the left bank of the Tuisa Dung; thence northwards up the midstream of a nameless feeder to Boundary Pillar No. 382 on Nat Taung Hill; thence generally northwards down the slope of the hill to a ravine; thence generally eastwards along the bed of the stream to where Boundary Pillar No. 37 is located; thence in a general northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 36 and thence in the same direction to Boundary Pillar No. 35 located on the right bank of the 1 See Survey of India Quarter-Inch sheet 84E. 2 See Survey of India - one-inch Sheet 84 I/1 and Quarter-inch Sheets 83C and 83L. Page 4 Auktaung Chaung; thence down the midstream of the Auktaung Chaung to Boundary Pillar No. 34 on the left bank of the Auktaung Chaung; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 33 located on the left bank of the Tiwan Lam or Tuiwang Dung thence in a north-northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 32 located on the right bank of the Tiddim Dung or Naneka Chaung; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 31; thence in a north northwesterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 30; thence in a northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 29 located on the left bank of the Rangkep Lok thence down the midstream of the same stream for a distance of approximately 1 mile to Boundary Pillar No. 28 also located on the left bank of the Rangkep Lok; thence in a north-easterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 27; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 26 located about 500 yards from the right bank of the Pantha Chaung; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 25 located on the left bank of the Nanpalaung Chaung; thence in a northeasterly direction

to Boundary Pillar No. 24 located about 400 yards from the left bank of the Chaungngyinaung Chaung; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 23 located on the right bank of the Lokchao River or Chaunggyi Chaung; thence down the midstream of this river for about a mile to Boundary Pillar No. 22; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 21; thence in the same direction to Boundary Pillar No. 20 located on the right bank of a tributary of the Chaunggyi Chaung; thence in the same direction to Boundary Pillar No. 19 located approximately 1 mile southeast of Laiching peak trigonometrical station; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 18 located on the right bank of the Namjet Lok; thence in an easterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 17; thence in a northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 16 located about 700 yards from the south bank of the Waksu Lok or Wetyu Chaung; thence in a northwesterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 15 on the left bank of the Waksu Lok or Wetyu Chaung; thence in a northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 14; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 13 located about half a mile south of the Tuiyang or Natisin Chaung; thence in a northwesterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 12 located on the left bank of Tuiyang or Natisin Chaung; thence in a northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 11; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 10; located on the right bank of the Taret River or Nantalet Chaung; thence due east to Boundary Pillar No. 9; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 8 located on the right bank of the Yu river; thence across the Yu river to Boundary Pillar No. 7 which is located on the left bank of the Yu river opposite Boundary Pillar No. 8; thence in a northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 6; thence in the same direction to Boundary Pillar No. 5 which is located almost north of height 1192; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 4 located on height 1226; thence in a northerly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 3; thence in a north-northwesterly direction to Boundary Pillar No. 2 located on the right bank of a tributary of the Saga Chaung; thence in the same direction to Boundary Pillar No. 1 located on the left bank of the Saga Chaung. Thence in a northeasterly direction for a distance of approximately 2500 yards; thence in a southeasterly direction for approximately 1100 yards; thence in a northeasterly direction for approximately 700 yards; thence Page 5 in a northerly direction for approximately 1000 yards; thence in a northeasterly direction for approximately 1200

yards to a point on the right bank of a tributary of the Nam A-ya; thence down the midstream of this stream for about one mile; thence in a southeasterly direction for approximately 1000 yards; thence in a northeasterly direction for approximately 700 yards; thence in an easterly direction for approximately 1000 yards to a point on the right bank of the Tinaing Chaung; thence up the midstream of the Tinaing Chaung to its source; thence across the ridge, where it crosses a track going from Manipur to Burma, thence to the source of the Pango or Hpinng Chaung starting from the north face of the ridge, thence down the midstream of this chaung to its junction with the Khunou Khong; thence down the midstream of this stream to its junction with the Sana Lok and thence along the midstream of the Nam Panga to the point where the main spur of the Kassom range (Lahinpi Taung) meets this river. From the above point where the main spur of the Kassom range (Lahinpi Taung) meets the Nam Panga, the boundary proceeds along this spur generally in a north-northeasterly direction till it meets the trigonometrical station Mawlashin Taung; thence generally northwestwards, then northeastwards and then northwards along the watershed between the Sana Lok in the West and the Nam Panga, Nam Tagin, Nam Mawngkhkam and Nam Hka streams in the east, passing through trigonometrical station Thyoliching (Kan pal Mol) and peak Hting Hting Bum (Kassom) to trigonometrical station Hkacha Bum; thence in a general northwesterly direction along the same watershed to trigonometrical station Hyakam Bum; thence in a general northwesterly direction along the watershed between the Tuikang stream and the Tizu river in the west and the Nam Hka and the Nam We or Shwezalon Chaung in the east to height 7870; thence in a general northnortheasterly direction along the same watershed to a point approximately 1000 yards southeast of height 8256; thence in a general northeasterly direction to Peak Mol Len (Kasulum Bum); thence generally southeastwards, then eastwards and then northeastwards along the same watershed to peak Dazipfu (Shiloi Mol); thence down the midstream of the Petamtsi Ti to its junction with the Ti-Ho or Nantaleik or Tizu river; thence up the midstream of this river for about two miles to its junction with a nameless tributary of the Ti-Ho or Nantaleik or Tizu river flowing from the northeast; thence up the midstream of this nameless tributary to its source near peak Chaku Mol; thence in a northeasterly direction along the watershed between the Ti-Ho or Nantaleik or Tizu river and the Zungki river in the west and the Chilachi Chaung, a tributary of the

Latnyu He or Nantaleik or Sawmalin Chaung, the Kundwin He-mu or Mya Chaung, and the Nam Salein or Charing Hka in the east to peak Saramati (Nwemauktaung or Kaiwanyu Kyein); thence in a general northerly direction along the same watershed to height 10003; thence in a general northeasterly direction along the same watershed passing through peak Mataungse Kyein to height 11029 thence in a general northwesterly direction along the watershed between the Chokla Lu, the Langnyu river and the tributaries of the Brahmaputra River in the west and the tributaries of the Chindwin River in the east to height 8790; thence in a general northerly direction along the same watershed to Page 6 height 8650; thence in a general northeasterly direction along the same watershed to height 9840; thence generally northwestwards and then northwards and then northeastwards along the same watershed which is known as Patkai Range, passing through trigonometrical station 7912 and 5268 to trigonometrical station 8511; thence generally northeastwards, then northwards, then northeastwards, and then southeastwards along the same watershed to height 8203; thence in a general northeasterly direction following the watershed between the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin river systems along the Patkai Bum, passing through height 8029 and peak Pungkang to height 7489; thence generally southeastwards along the same watershed to peak Longsip; thence generally northeastwards along the same watershed passing through heights 7578, 7041, and 7340 to peak Ranglung Kan; thence generally eastwards along the same watershed to peak Okhutohap; thence generally northeastwards along the same watershed passing through heights 6257 and 5959 to trigonometrical station Maium (Patkai Bum); thence generally northeastwards, then eastwards and then southeastwards following the watershed between Brahmaputra and the Chindwin river systems along the Patkai Bum to peak Shawngshan Bum; thence along the watershed between the Irrawaddy and the Brahmaputra river systems to its northern extremity, the exact location of which northern extremity will remain provisional pending its final determination.

III. TREATIES AND OTHER ACTS

The 1967 Boundary Agreement is the first act to delimit the entire Burma - India boundary. However, numerous earlier treaties and acts have affected the alignment of portions of the boundary and form much of the basis of the new act. Following hundreds of years of division, a reunited and expansive Burma was

established at the end of the 18th century. After repelling Chinese invaders and overrunning Siam, the Burmese moved to reestablish their historical suzerainty over certain hill tribes to the west of the Irrawaddy lowlands, quickly subduing the Shan, Chins and Kachins. Moving further to the west, the Burmese overran Manipur in 1769 and Arakan in 1784 - 5. During the same period, the British put down a rebellion in neighboring Assam. However, following the departure of British forces, chaos returned to this region and, in 1819, the Burmese intervened. Burma and Britain came face to face in the Brahmaputra valley, which runs through the middle of Assam.

At the same time, Arakan revolted against Burma and troubles developed across the Naaf River, which was then - as now - the boundary between Arakan (Burma) and Chittagong (Pakistan). Eventually, in 1824, these frictions brought on war between Burma and the East India Company. The conflict lasted for two years, ending with a Treaty of Peace in 1826.

A. Treaty of Peace...signed at Yandaboo, February 24, 1826 (Aitcheson, C.U., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads..., vol. XII, Calcutta, 1931) The Treaty of Peace negated Burmese influence in Assam, Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur. Moreover, it provided that: "...to prevent all future disputes respecting the boundary line between the two great nations, the British Government will retain the conquered provinces of Arakan.... The Arakan Mountains...will henceforth form the boundary between the two great nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation will be settled by Commissioners...."

Burma also ceded the province of Tenasserim, thereby restricting Burmese access to the sea to the Irrawaddy delta area. Difficulties over the boundary of Manipur, however, did not end with the signing of the treaty.

B. Agreement regarding the Kubo Valley, negotiated at Sunnyachil Ghat January 9, 1834. (ibid., p. 236)

In 1831 the British agreed to return the Kubo (Kabaw) valley to Burma. Commissioners sent in 1833 negotiated an agreement delimiting the boundary along the foothills of the ranges to the west of the Kubo. With later refinements, this boundary line has become a part of the present border. The boundary is referred to as Pemberton Line, named for the junior British commissioner.

In 1837, the Paktai Range was accepted as the boundary between Assam and Burma, being delimited without benefit of a treaty after British annexation of Assam, Cachar, and Jaintia. Continued friction in Arakan led to the Second Burmese War, in 1852. Although a formal peace treaty was never signed, Pegu passed to British control, effectively separating Burma from the sea. Britain then drew a boundary line in the south from the Sittang River to the fort at Myede.

In 1881, Col. Johnstone resurveyed the Pemberton Line, making it more precise. Burma did not cooperate with the British in this venture, but ultimately came to accept the revised line, thereby ending three-quarters of a century of dispute. The larger questions remained unsettled, however, until 1885. In that year, the Third War led to the final annexation of Burma into the Indian realm. There followed a series of internal British acts concerning the boundary. In 1894, the Manipur - Chin Hills boundary was demarcated, and in 1896 Col. Maxwell redemarcated the Pemberton - Johnstone area, placing thirty-eight pillars on the ground. These are referred to by number in the 1967 agreement. The Lushai Hills - Chin Hills boundary was demarcated in 1901 with minor alterations in 1921 and 1922.

C. Government of India Act, 1935 (25 and 26 GEO. 5. Chap. 42)

The Government of India Act separated Burma from India by defining the former as "...all territories which were immediately before the commencement of Part II of this Act comprised in India, being territories lying to the east of Bengal, the State of Manipur, Assam, and tribal areas connected with Assam..." "Burma shall cease to be a part of India...." After World War II, both Burma and India (as well as Pakistan) gained their independence from the United Kingdom. No Burma - India boundary was specified in the independence acts; resolution of the border was left to the newly independent governments.

D. Boundary Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Union of Burma, signed at Rangoon on March 10, 1967. The full text of the delimitation has been quoted in Section 2 above. The treaty ties together the many acts and international agreements affected in the 19th and 20th centuries. While the final boundary demarcation is still to be accomplished, no problems appear to remain unresolved between Burma and India. Chinese claims to Indian Territory in the Northeast Frontier Agency, however, have cast a shadow on the location of the northern

terminus of the Burma - India boundary. This status is reflected in the imprecision of the last sentence of the delimitation. Nevertheless, the U.S. acceptance of the McMahon Line obviates the necessity of acknowledging the dispute on official cartography.

**BOUNDARY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA**

Rangoon, 10 March 1967.

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Union of Burma, 'BEARING in mind the friendly relations existing between the two countries, FIRMLY believing that the formal delimitation and demarcation of the entire traditional boundary between the Republic of India and the Union of Burma will further strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries, have agreed as follows :

Article I

The Contracting Parties agree that the following shall be the description of the boundary between the Republic of India and the Union of Burma beginning from its southern extremity and ending at its northern extremity:

The southern extremity of the India -Burma boundary is about 1/2 mile south of the triangulation station Reng Tlang. From this point the boundary runs in a general northeasterly direction along the divide separating the waters of the Tuichong from those of the Kola Chaung or Sekul Lui to a point just west of the source of a nameless feeder of the Varang Lui; thence in an easterly direction down the midstream of this nameless feeder to its junction with the Varang Lui, thence down the midstream of the Varang lui to its junction with the Kola Chaung or Sekul Lui, thence up the midstream of the Kola Chaung or Sekul Lui to its junction with the Zocha Lui; thence up the midstream of the Zocha Lui to its source on the Samang Tlang range; thence across the range to the source of the Samak of Kwiman Lui, thence down the midstream of the Samak or Kwiman Lui to the Kaladan River, thence across the Kalandan River to the mouth of the Khangza lui and up the midstream of the Khangza Lui to its source in the Tlang to the source of the Rale (Shweleik) Lui; thence down the midstream of the Rale (Shweleik) Lui to its junction with the Sala Lui; thence up to the midstream of the Sala Lui to its junction with the Khenkhontg (Kaikheu) Lui; thence up the midstream of the Khenkhong (Kaikheu) Lui to a point on the Pathian Klang range approximately 700 yards north of height 4146; thence generally northwards along this range to the source

of the Para Lui and down the midstream of the Para Lui to its junction with the Tisi Va or Mi Chaung; thence up the midstream of this river to its junction with the Kimung Va of Kheimu Lui; thence up the midstream of the Kimung Va or Kheimu Lui to its source on the Kashia Klang to the source of the Raphu Va; thence down the midstream of the Raphu Va to its junction with the Boinu or Tuipui river; thence down the midstream of the Boinu or Tuipui river to its junction with the Tyao or Tio Va river; thence up the midstream of the Tyao or Tio Va river to its source on a saddle marked by boundary Pillar No. 3 L/CH; thence across that saddle to the source of the Bapi Va and down the midstream of the Bapi Va to its junction with the Timang Va or Tuimang river; thence down the midstream of the Timang Va or Tuimang river to its junction with the Tuisa river; thence down the midstream of the Tuisa river to its junction with the Tuivai river; thence up the stream; thence up the midstream of the Tuikui stream to its source below boundary Pillar No.8 situated on a saddle about 4-1/2 miles east of Lunglen Hill. From boundary Pillar No.8, the boundary runs down the midstream of a nameless feeder of the Tuimong Lui to its junction with the Tuimong Lui, thence down the midstream of the Tuimong Lui to its junction with the Tuivel river; thence up the midstream of the Tuivel river to its junction with the Tuinuam Lui; thence up the midstream of the Tuinuam Lui to a saddle where boundary Pillar No. 7 is located; thence down the midstream of Paiphum Lui; thence up a ridge; thence to its junction with the Tuival Lui and thence down the midstream of a nameless stream to its junction with the Tuival Lui and thence down the midstream of the Tuival Lui to its junction with the Sumtui Lui; thence up the midstream of the Sumtui Lui to its source on Leng Tang range where boundary Pillar No. 6 is located; thence in an easterly direction down to a nameless feeder of the (Tuita) Tuitha or (Kuga) Khuga river; thence down the midstream of this feeder to its junction with the (Tuita) Tuitha or (Kuga) Khuga river; thence up the midstream of the (Tuita) Tuitha or (Kuga) Khuga river to its junction with the Chalao Loam or Chika stream; thence along the midstream of this stream up a ravine to boundary Pillar No. 5; thence down the midstream of the Yangkau Lok to its junction with the Manipur River; thence northwards up the left bank of the Manipur River to its junction with the Yangdung Lui; thence up the midstream of this stream to its source marked by boundary Pillar No.3; thence generally northeastwards to height 7582; thence generally eastwards along the watershed between the tributaries of the Manipur River on the one

hand and the tributaries of the Chindwin River on the other hand to the source of the Khengyoi Dung and marked by boundary Pillar 2 and 1; thence down the midstream of the Khengyoi Dung and the Tuisa Dung to boundary Pillar No.39 on the left bank of the Tuisa Dung; thence generally eastwards for approximately 400 yards along the left bank of the Tuisa Dung; thence northwards up the midstream of a nameless feeder to boundary Pillar No. 38 on Nat Taung Hill; thence generally northwards down the slope of the hill to a ravine; thence generally eastwards along the bed of the stream to where boundary Pill No. 37 is located; thence in a general northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 36 and thence in the same direction to boundary Pill No. 35 located on the right bank of the Auktaung Chaung; thence down the midstream of the Auktaung Chaung to boundary Pillar No. 34 on the left bank of the Auktaung Chaung; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 33 located on the left bank of the Tiwan Lam or Tuiwang Dung; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 32 located on the right bank of the Tiddim Dung or Naneka Chaung; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to boundary Pill No. 31; thence in a north-northwesterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 30; thence in a northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 29 located on the left bank of the Rangkep Lok; thence down the midstream of the same stream for a distance of approximately 1 mile to boundary Pillar No. 28 also located on the left bank of the Rangkep Lok; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 27; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 26 located about 500 yards from the right bank of the Pantha Chaung; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 25 located on the left bank of the Nanpalaung Chaung; thence in a northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 24 located about 400 yards from the left bank of the Chaungngyinaung Chaung; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 23 located on the right bank of the Lokehao River or Chaunggyi Chaung; thence down the midstream of this river for about a mile to boundary Pillar No. 22; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 21; thence in the same direction to boundary Pillar No. 20; located on the right bank of a tributary of the Chaunggyi Chaung; thence in the same direction to boundary Pillar No. 19 located approximately 1 mile southeast of Laiching peak trigonometrical station; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 18 located on the right bank of the Manjet Lok; thence in an easterly direction to boundary Pillar No.17;

thence in a northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 16 located about 700 yards from the South bank of the Waksu Lok or Wetyu Chaung; thence in a northwesterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 15 on the left bank of the Waksu Lok or Wetyu Chaung; thence in a northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 14; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 13 located about half a mile south of the Tuiyang or Nantisin Chaung; thence in a northwesterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 12 located on the left bank of the Tuiyang or Nantisin Chaung; thence in a northeasterly direction to boundary Pill No. 11, thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 10 located on the right bank of the Taret River or Nantalet Chaung; thence due east to boundary Pillar No.9; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 8 located on the right bank of the Yu river; thence across the Yu river to boundary Pillar No. 7 which is located on the left bank of the Yu river opposite boundary Pillar No. 8, thence in a northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 6; thence in the same direction to boundary Pillar No. 5 which is located almost north of height 1192; thence in a north-northeasterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 4 located on height 1226; thence in a northerly direction to boundary Pillar No. 3; thence in a north northwesterly direction to boundary Pillar No. 2 located on the right bank of a tributary of the Saga Chaung; thence in the same direction to boundary Pillar No. 1 located on the left bank of the Saga Chaung. Thence in a northeasterly direction for a distance of approximately 2500 yards; thence in a southeasterly direction for approximately 1100 yards; thence in a northeasterly direction for approximately 700 yards; thence in a northerly direction for approximately 1000 yards; thence in a northeasterly direction of approximately 1200 yards to a point on the right bank of a tributary of the Nam A-ya; thence down the midstream of this stream for about one mile; thence in a southeasterly direction for approximately 1000 yards; thence in a northeasterly direction for approximately 700 yards; thence in a an easterly direction for approximately 1000 yards to a point on the right bank of the Tinaing Chaung; thence up the midstream of the Tinaing Chaung to its source; thence across the ridge, where it crosses a track going from Manipur to Burma, thence to the source of the Pangero for Hpinnge Chaung starting from the north face of the ridge, thence down the midstream of this Chaung to its junction with the Khunou Khong; thence down the midstream of this stream to its

junction with the Sana Lok and thence along the midstream of the Nam Panga to the point where the main spur of the Kassom range (Lahinpi Taung) meets this river.

From the above point where the main spur of the Kassom range (Lahinpi Taung) meets the Nam Panga, the boundary proceeds along this spur generally in a north-northeasterly direction till it meets the trigonometrical station Mawlashin Taung; thence generally northwestwards, then northeastwards and then northwards along the watershed between the Sana Lok in the West and the Nam Panga, Nam Tagin, Nam Mawngkhkam and Nam Hka streams in the east, passing through trigonometrical station Thyoliching (Kampal Mol) and peak Hting Hting Bum (Kassom) to trigonometrical station Hkacha Bum; thence in a general northwesterly direction along the same watershed to trigonometrical station Hkayam Bum; thence in a general northwesterly direction along the watershed between the Tuikang stream and the Tizu river in the west and the Nam Hka and the Nam We or Shwezalong Chaung in the east to height 7870; thence in a general north northeasterly direction along the same watershed to a point approximately 1000 yards southeast of height 8256; thence in a general northeasterly direction to peak Mol Len (Kasulum Bum); thence generally southeastwards, then eastwards and then northeastwards along the same watershed to peak Dazipfu (shiloi Mol); then down the midstream of the Petamtsi Ti to its junction with the Ti-Ho or Nantaleik or Tizu river; thence up the midstream of this river for about two miles to its junction with a nameless tributary of the Ti-Ho or Nantaleik or Tizu river flowing from the northeast; thence up the midstream of this nameless tributary to its source near peak Chaku Mol; thence in a northeasterly direction along the watershed between the Ti-Ho or Nantaleik or Tizu river and the Zungki river in the west and the Chilachi Chaung, a tributary of the latnyu He or nantaleik or Sawmalin Chaung the Kundwin He-mu or Mya Chaung, and the Nam Salein or Charing Hka in the east to peak Saramati (Nwemauktaung or Kaiwanya Kyein); thence in a general northerly direction along the same watershed to height 10003; thence in a general northeasterly direction along the same watershed passing through peak Mataungse Kyein to height 11029; thence in a general northwesterly direction along the watershed between the Chokla Lu, the Langnyu river and the tributaries of the Brahmaputra River in the west and the tributaries of the Chindwin River in the east to height 8790; thence in a general northerly direction along the same watershed to height 8650; thence in a

general northeasterly direction along the same watershed to height 9840; thence generally northwestwards and then northwards and then northeastwards along the same watershed which is known as Patkai Range, passing through trigonometrical stations 7912 and 5268 to trigonometrical station 8511; thence generally northeastwards, then northwards, then northeastwards and then southeastwards along the same watershed to height 8203; thence in a general northeasterly direction following the watershed between the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin river systems along the Patkai Bum, passing through height 8029 and peak Pungkang to height 7489; thence generally southeastwards along the same watershed to peak Longsip; thence generally northeastwards along the same watershed passing through heights 7578, 7041 and 7340 to peak Ranglung Kan; thence generally eastwards along the same watershed to peak Okhutohap; thence generally northeastwards along the same watershed passing through heights 6257 and 5959 to trigonometrical station Maium (Patkai Bum); thence generally northeastwards, then eastwards and then southeastwards following the watershed between the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin river systems along the Patkai Bum to peak Shawngshan Bum; thence along the watershed between the Irrawaddy and the Brahmaputra river system to its northern extremity, the exact location of which northern extremity will remain provisional pending to its final determination.

Article II

The boundary between the Republic of India and the Union of Burma has been delineated in the maps attached to this Agreement in accordance with the description given in Article I above.

Article III

The Contracting Parties agree to establish a Joint boundary Commission composed of officials representing the two countries who will be charged with the task of planning and carrying out demarcation of the boundary between the two countries, with the preparation of boundary maps and with drafting a boundary treaty.

Article IV

The Contracting Parties agree that should any dispute arise concerning the interpretation of the application of this Agreement, it shall be settled by negotiations between them.

Article V

(1) This Agreement is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in New Delhi within three months of the signature of the Agreement.

(2) This Agreement will come into force immediately on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall automatically cease to be in force when the boundary treaty between the Republic of India and the Union of Burma to be signed by the Contracting Parties comes into force.

DONE in duplicate in Rangoon on the Tenth Day of March Nineteen hundred and sixty-seven in the English language.

Sd/-
K M KANNAMPILLY
Plenipotentiary of the
Government of the Republic of India

Sd/-
KYI MAUNG
Government of the Union of
Burma

Language and Size- Manipur.

Languages	% of speakers to total population	Languages	% of speakers to total population
Meithei	63.24	Hmar	2.13
Tangkhul	5.69	Sangtam	1.87
Kabui	4.6	Bengali	1.4
Thadou	4.5	Kuki	1.3
Nepali	2.4	Vaiphei	1.1
Paite	2.2	Hindi	1.08

(Source: R Gopalakrishnan, *The Northeast India: Land, Economy and People*, 1991:128).

Language and size –Arunachal Pradesh.

Languages	% of speakers to total population	Languages	% of speakers to total population
Dafla	24.4	Bengali	5.1
Adi	21.06	Mishmi	4.71
Nepali	6.61	Hindi	3.28
Wangchu	6.13	Assamese	3.06
Monpa	5.64	Tangsa	2.95
Nocte	5.4		

(Source: R Gopalakrishnan, *The Northeast India: Land, Economy and People*, 1991:129)

Language and Size-Nagaland.

Language	Percentage of Speakers to the Total Population	Language	Percentage of Speakers to the Total Population
Ao	14.59	Nepali	3.4
Konyak	14.01	Hindi	3.37
Angami	13.26	Chang	3.06
Sema	12.48	Khiamnungan	2.71
Lotha	7.11	Kheze	2.2
Sangtam	3.87	Assamese	1.27
Yimchunger	3.8	Kuki	1.15
Phom	3.49		

(Source: R Gopalakrishnan, *The Northeast India: Land, Economy and People*, 1991:128).

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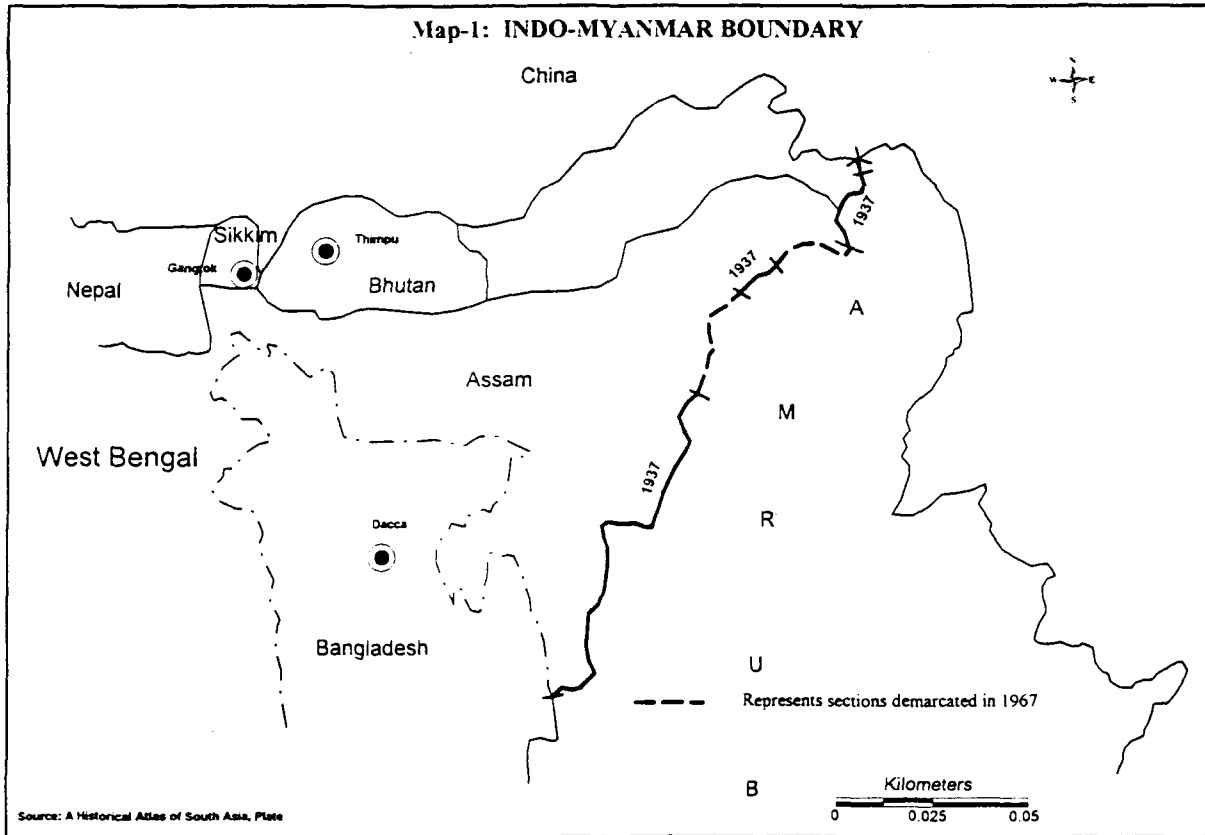
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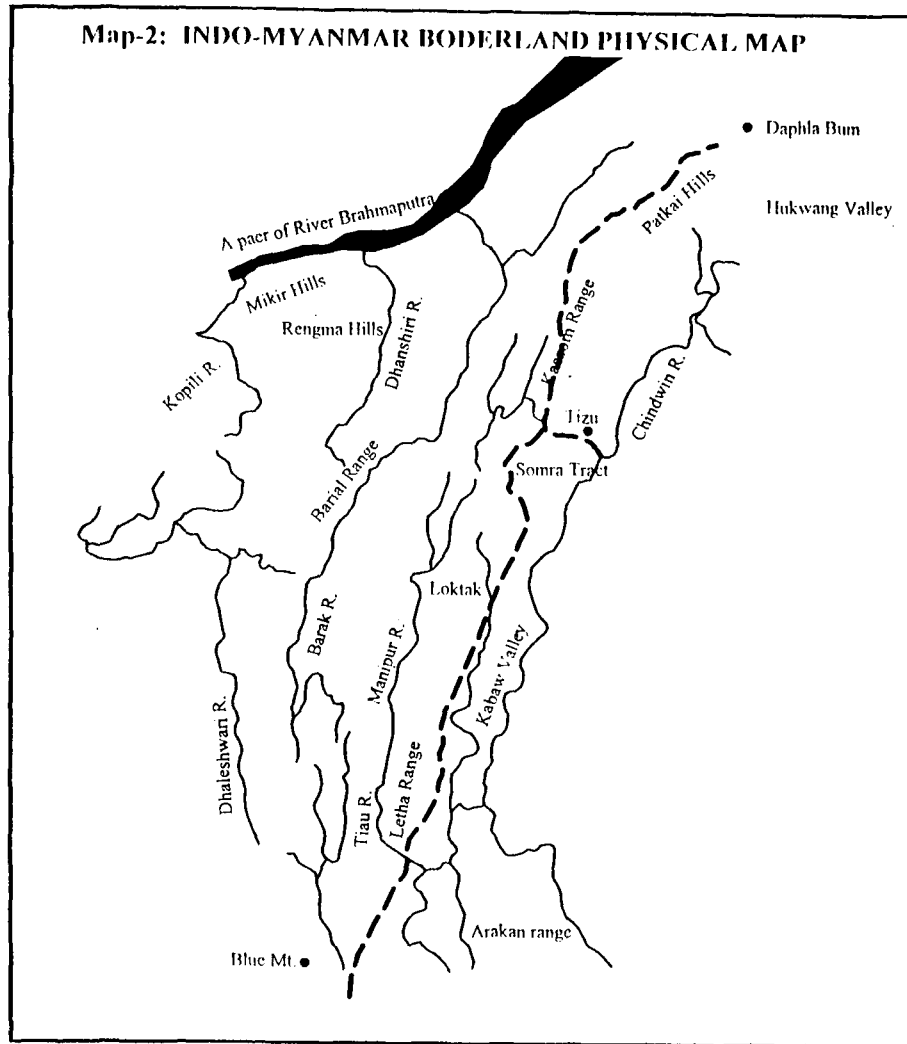
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Map-1: INDO-MYANMAR BOUNDARY

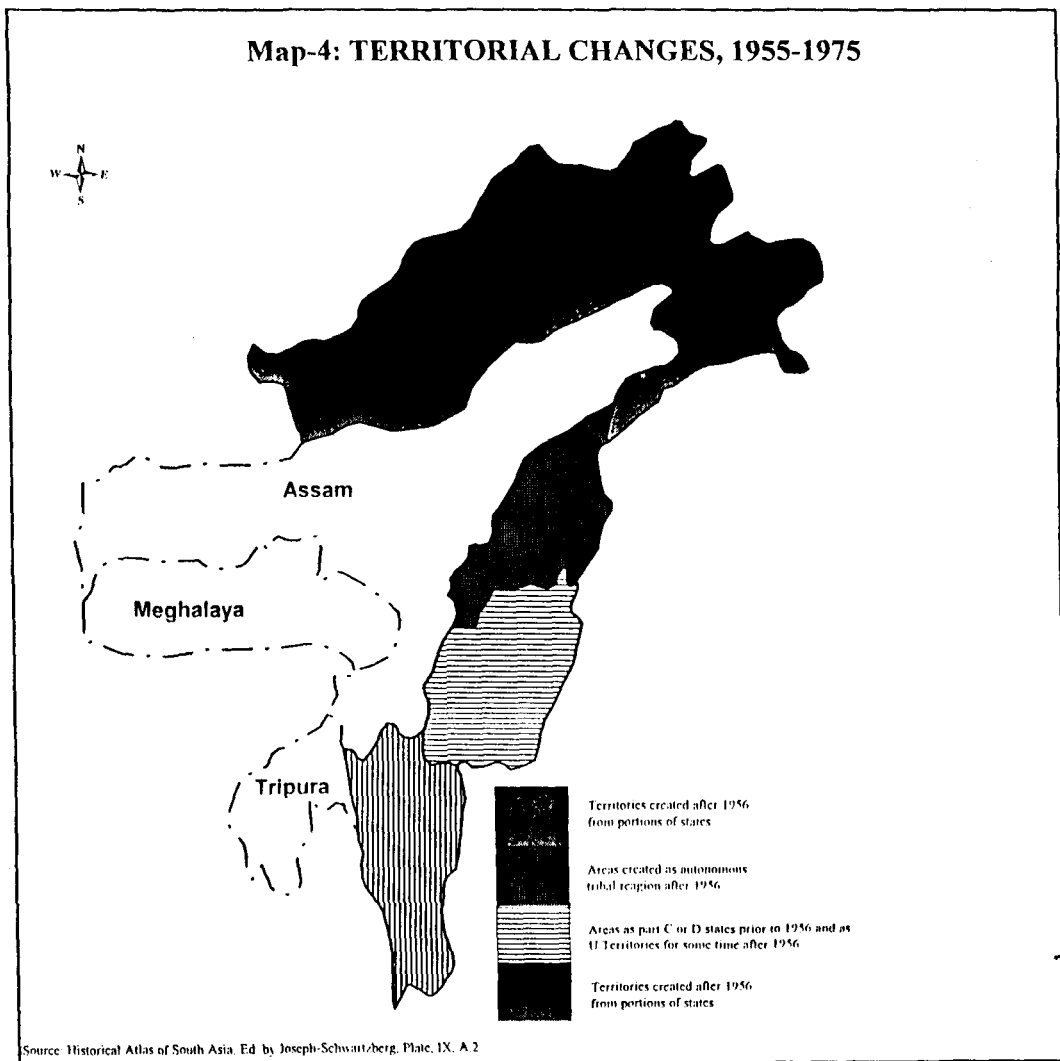


Source: A Historical Atlas of South Asia, Plate

Map-2: INDO-MYANMAR BORDERLAND PHYSICAL MAP



Map-4: TERRITORIAL CHANGES, 1955-1975



Map-5: Ethnic Distribution in the Indo-Myanmar Borderland

